XI.—SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES. By E. R.
WHARTON, M.A.

(1) The modern theory that the 'prothetic,' or, as the Greek grammarians called it (Curtius, *Grundzüge*,⁵ 720), 'prosthetic,' vowel is in most cases really the first vowel of an originally bi-vocalic root can scarcely be rejected (*a*) where other languages besides Greek have a similar vowel, as in ἔρεβος ἐρεῖνγμαι ὄλοφος besides Armenian *erek orcam* օլֵֿֿ (Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, p. 246, n.), or (*b*) where two forms can be best explained by starting from a bi-vocalic root, e.g. *avξw* Sk. *vaksh-* from *aveks-* in *ā(F)εξω*, *avpā*¹ Sk. *vā-* from *avē-* in *ā(F)ημι*, Lat. *unguis* Sk. *nakhās* from *onokhv-* in *ōvηξ*: though why one language dropt the second vowel and another the first we do not in the least know. But in some cases such an explanation is impossible, and the word must be regarded as a compound.

A. Latin *in-cānus in-clutus in-columis* and I think *in-vīlus* are but emphatic forms of *cānus clutus columis* and *vīlus 'forced': 'in enim saepe augendi causa adicimus,' says Festus. This *in-* may be identified with the Preposition *in* meaning 'upon' (quite a different word from *in* meaning 'in,' which goes with *ἐν*), Greek *ἀνά* in *ἀνά σκήπτρῳ* (=in sceptro). The original meaning was 'up' and so 'upon' (cf. German *auf* in both these senses), while in the Latin Adjectives given above and the Greek Adjectives to be given below we have a transition of signification from 'up' to 'in a high degree, quite.' The form in the *Ursprache* would be *ṇ*, represented in Latin by *in-*, in Greek by *ἀν-* before a vowel,² *ἀ-* before a consonant, as in the following words:

ἀ-βληχρός 'weak, gentle,' beside *βληχρός*. The termination, which appears also in *βδελυ-χρός μελι-χρός πενι-χρός*, must go

¹ In the only place in which it occurs in Homer, Od. 5. 469, *αἶρη* means the morning breeze, *ἡᾶθι πρό*; and with it in this sense Buttman righty connects *αἶριον* 'in the morning, to-morrow.' So in my 'Etyma Græca' I have explained Homer's *ἡᾶς*, Lesbian *αἶως*, as from *āvō-*, an Ablaut of *avē-* in *ἄημι*: to a people dwelling near the Mediterranean the morning breeze would be the natural herald of dawn. The Attic form *εἶως* takes its aspiration and accent from *ἡλιος*.

² In some dialects before a consonant also, Hom. *ἀν* 'up,' Theocr. *δμ-μιμνα-σκομένη* (in which the vocalism shows the presence of a sonant).

with *χρoιά* *χρoύς* 'surface, skin, colour,' so that *βλη-χρoύς* means 'weak-looking, weakly': the root is **mlē-** (not **mlā-**, since *βλη-χρoύς* occurs in Doric), Sk. *mlā-* 'to wither,' with Ablaut **mlō-** in Irish *blāith* 'smooth, soft,' and **mele-** in *μέλεος* 'useless.'—Quite a different word is *βλάξ* 'slack,' in which the *ā* must be due to contraction (Kretschmer K.Z. 31, 295), or we should have *βλήξ: as *νέαξ* or *νέηξ* comes from *νέος*, so I would explain *βλάξ* as for *βλαFάξ or *βλαFήξ, from a simpler form *βλαFός, **mlvōs**, Lat. *mollis* for *molvis. The root appears in Gothic *ga-malevan* 'to crush,' and Eng. *mellow*.

ἀ-θέσφατος 'marvellous,' beside *θέσφατος* 'divine': literally 'struck (i.e. made) by a god,' cf. *πρόσ-φατος* 'made in addition, new,' and *δι-φατος* (Hesychius) *δι-φασιος* 'made double.' The root of this *-φατος* is **ghvñ-**, **ghven-**, in *θείνω*¹ 'strike,' *μυλή-φατος* 'struck by the millstone,' and, with a transfer of meaning, *φόνος* 'slaughter,' *Αρηί-φατος* 'slain in battle.'—The first element of *θέσ-φατος* appears with a 'determinative' **o** (Brugmann, Grundriss, 2. 60) in *θεός*, i.e. *θεσός: which, however, can hardly go (as Fick thinks it may, Wörterbuch⁴ 1. 469) with Lithuanian *divasēs* 'spirit,' Middle High German *ge-tiwās* 'ghost,' for the Greek gods were by no means spiritual beings.

So we have *ἀ-μαυρός* 'dim,' beside *μαυρός* (Photius); and in Il. 24. 753 the two readings *ἀμυχθαλόεσσαν* and *μυχθαλόεσσαν*, a word of unknown derivation (the connexion with *ομίχλω*, Hoffmann, Bezz. Beitr. 15. 84, is absurd). So I would explain the *ἀ-* as intensive in

ἀ-γέρωχος, *γερά-οχος 'holding privileges.'

ἀ-(F)ήσυλος 'wicked,' beside Sk. *vātulas* 'mad.' On this dialectic change of *τυ* to *συ* see Classical Review 6. 259: I connect *ἀλο-σύδνη* 'goddess of the sea wave' with Irish *tond* 'wave,' *ἀσύφηλος* (below) with *τυφλός*, *συχνός* 'long, numerous' with *τυχών* 'ordinary,' as a Litotes for 'considerable.' Thus alone can we fairly explain *δασύς* and Lat. *densus* (i.e. *dent-tos) beside Albanian *dent* 'to make thick.'

ἀ-κρος 'at the top' (it never means 'sharp,' and therefore cannot go with *ἀκίς*, Lat. *acuō*), beside *φαλα-κρός* 'white-headed'²

¹ As Lat. *feriō* means both 'strike' and 'cheat,' and *κροῦσις* both 'striking' and 'cheating' (Ar. Nub. 317), so with *θείνω* I would connect *φένᾱξ* 'cheat': a Doric word, like *κόβαλος* 'rogue,' as the *ā*, for *η*, shows, with a dialectic *φ* for *θ* as in *φείς* for *θεός* (G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.² 211).

² The first element is **bhl-n-**, cf. **bhl-n-** in *φαλλός* 'white' (Hesychius) and Lat. *fullō* 'clothes-cleaner.'

(Schulze, Quaestiones Epicae 464), from a by-form of *κάρᾱ*. On these by-forms see Danielsson's Grammatische und Etymologische Studien pp. 1-56, Johansson K.Z. 30. 347-350, Johannes Schmidt's Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra pp. 363-379. From the same root as *κάρᾱ* we may deduce (a) *καῖρος* (i.e. *κάρjos) 'thrum,' end or top of the thread; (b) *κάρτος κράτος* 'headship, power,' quite a different word from *κραταί-λεως* 'rocky,' Gothic *hardus* 'hard' (with which we may put *κέρτομα* 'hard words'); (c) *κλήρος* 'lot,' a Dissimilation for *κρῶρος, cf. Arcadian *Κραριῶται* and Rhodian *Ἥλο-κράρης* (Meister, Griechischen Dialekte 2. 104, G. Meyer 160), the word thus meaning 'head' as sign of individuality, going with *ναύ-κλήρος ναύ-κρᾱρος* 'householder' (whatever the first element of these words may be) and Hesychius' *κραῖρα* 'head'; (d) *κραϊπᾶλη* 'headache,' for *κρᾱσι-παλη 'a fight in one's head,' the first element being Locative of *κράs, while from another form *κρᾱ-πάλη is borrowed Lat. *crāpula*:

ἀ-μείνων 'better,' from *μένος* 'strength':

ἀ-σκηθής 'safe,' quasi 'supported, cared for' (cf. with Active meaning, *σκεθρός* 'careful'); a Dissimilation for *ἀ-σχηθής, from the root of *σχῆμα*, *ἔχω* (in *σχεθεῖν* the *χ* is retained through the analogy of *σχεῖν*):

ἀ-σπερχές 'hastily,' from *σπέρχω* 'hasten':

ἀ-στεμφής 'stiff,' from a root meaning 'to be hard,' whence also *στέμφυλα* 'pressed grapes,' Sk. *stambh-* 'to restrain, hold fast':

ἀ-σύφηλος (with Aeolic accent) 'insulting,' *τυφηλός (see above on *ἀήσυλος*) going with *τυφλός* 'blind,' *τυφώδης* 'dull,' *τύφος* 'conceit':

ἀ-ταρτηρός 'baneful,' *ταρτή a Subst. from *ταρτός Part. of *τείρειν* 'to distress':

ἀ-τενής 'strained,' Lat. *in-tentus*, from *τείνω*:

ἀ-τρύγετος 'swelling,' Lat. *turgidus*, from a root **tver-g-** (Fröhde B.B. 14. 107), an extension of the root **tver-** (see on *σανρωτήρ* sec. 5, and, on the *ρν*, *ῥύζω*, p. 11):

ἀ-υσταλέος 'squalid,' Od. 19. 327, cf. Sk. *ḡush-* 'to dry,' Lat. *sū-dus* 'dry'; from *ἀ-υσσταλέος as *ἄσπνος* from *ἄσπνος.

So, with *ἀν-* for *π-* before a vowel, I would explain *ἀν-ἄεδνος* 'quite dowerless,' *ἀν-ἄελπτος* 'quite unlooked for,' and Hesiod's *ἀν-ἄπνευστος* 'quite breathless,' Suidas' *ἀν-ἀγνώστος ἀν-ἀπταιστος* (J. Schmidt K.Z. 23. 273).

B. The same inceptive particle appears in several Verbs: Lat. *incitō infringō ingeminō innovō intremō* etc. beside *citō frangō*

etc., Greek ἀσκαρίζω ἀσπαίρω 'palpitate' beside σκαρίζω σπαίρω, ἀσφαραγέω 'clank' (Theocr. 17. 94) beside σφαραγέομαι 'burst,' and ἀ-κούω 'hear' beside κο(φ)έω 'perceive.' So

ἀ(φ)εἶδω 'sing' beside οἶδα: i.e. αἶδω used absolutely means 'make my meaning known,' used with an Acc. 'make known, celebrate.' In the original signification 'know' we have (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 62) Cyprian ἀειδε 'hear' and the common word αἰσθάνομαι (i.e. *ἀ-φιδ-θάνομαι) 'perceive': for the transition of meaning from 'know' to 'make known' cf. ἱστορία 'knowledge' (τὸ εἰδέναι) or 'narrative' (τὸ εἰδέναι ποιεῖν), and γιγνώσκω 'know' beside γνωρίζω 'make known':

ἀ-λέγω 'heed' beside Lat. *legō in diligō intelligō neglegō (quite a different word, as the Perfects show, from legō 'gather'). From a Neuter Subst. *ἄλεγος comes ἀλεγεινός 'demanding caution, troublesome'; which, with Ablaut, and without the intensive ἀ-, appears in Hesychius' λαγεινά· δεινά. From this *ἄλεγος come further (a) δυσ-ηλεγής 'cruelly troublesome,' Homeric epithet of war and death; (b) ταν-ηλεγής 'intensely troublesome,' used of death, with the derived sense of τανύω 'stretch,' as in the Homeric use with ἔριδα, μάχην, πόνον, 'to intensify' the strife, etc.; (c) ἀπ-ηλεγέως 'most carefully,' the ἀπο- heightening the meaning:

ἀ-λείφω 'smear,' cf. Lat. *dē-libūtus* 'besmeared':

ἀ-λυκτάζω ἀ-λύσσω 'am in distress,' going with λύσσα (i.e. *λύκ-ja), which in Homer means 'martial rage,' the spirit of a wolf, λύκος: in Il. 16. 156 and 352 warriors are compared to wolves, and Theocr. 4. 11 πείσαι τοι Μίλων καὶ τὼς λύκος αὐτίκα λυσσῆν shows that the Greeks themselves connected λύσσα with λύκος. With these words go μορμο-λύττεσθαι 'to madden as a hobgoblin, μορμύ,¹ would,' and μορμο-λυκεῖον 'bugbear,' literally 'hobgoblin wolf':

ἀ-μαλδύνω 'destroy,' from *μαλδύς, Sk. *mṛdús* 'soft.'

ἀμέλγω, cf. Lat. *mulgeō*.

C. In three other Verbs we have the 'copulative' ἀ- of ἀθρόος ἀπᾶς ἀπλός, dialectically ἀ- in ἀδελφός ἄκοιτις ἀκόλουθος ἄλοχος ἀτάλαντος; representing *sm-*, *ām-*, Lat. *simul*, Sk. *sam* 'with' (as a Preposition) or, in compounds, 'together.' This appears as ἀ- in

¹ With μορμώ go μόρμυ 'panics' (Hesychius) and I think μέρμερος 'mischievous,' μέρμηρα 'trouble,' and μορμύρων in Il. 18. 402 ῥόδος Ὀκεανοῖο ἀφρῶ μορμύρων, rightly explained by Hesychius as ταρασσών 'making an uproar': it has nothing to do with Lat. *murmur*, which would give far too weak a meaning.

(a) ἀ-μαρτάνω 'fail' (the root, on which see Neisser B.B. 19. 120 *sq.*, may perhaps be found in Lat. *mora*), with which cf. Hesychius' ἀμαρεῖν ἀμαρτάνειν and Homer's ἡμβροτον; as ἀ- in (b) ἀ-μείβω 'exchange' beside Lat. *mīgrō* 'remove' and Old Slavonic *miglŭnŭ* 'mobile,' and (c) ἀ-μείνομαι 'surpass' ('change places with') beside Lat. *moveō*. In these Verbs the copulative prefix, like the (of course unrelated) Lat. *com-* in *commaculō comminūō concitō convellō* etc., merely 'gives intensity to the signification of the simple word,' Lewis and Short s.v. *cum*. With the same force it appears in ἀ-μολγός, which Eustathius says was 'Achaean' for ἀκμή 'prime' (as Hesiod Op. 588 uses ἀμολγαίη of a 'prime' cake, μᾶζα): I would connect the word with **mlg-** in Lettish *milst* 'to swell,' Lat. *multus* for *mulctus (Wiedemann B.B. 13. 303 *sq.*), so that it will mean 'swelling, climax,' and νυκτὸς ἀμολγῆ will be Cicero's *multa nocte* 'late at night.'

A copulative, though not an intensive, ἀ- seems to appear in

ἀ-οσσητήρ 'helper,' which I would explain as 'one who hears a divine voice (*Φόσσα*, as *ῥοσσα* may everywhere be read in Homer, L. Meyer K.Z. 28. 90: the root appears in Lat. *vocō*), and in obedience to it goes to help his comrades.' Hesychius has also the form ὀσσητήρα, referring, according to Moriz Schmidt, to Il. 15. 254 τοῖόν τοι (ἄ)οσσητήρα Κρονίων ἐξ Ἰδης προέηκε, in which case the word must necessarily have had a digamma:

ἀ-σβολος 'soot,' quasi 'thrown together, collected,' from βάλλω. The σβ is the same dialectic representative of **gv** which Fick B.B. 17. 323 finds in φερέ-σβιος 'life-giving' and σβέννυμι 'quench' (Goth. *qistjan* 'to destroy'): and which I find, before other vowels than ε or ι, in (a) ἀμφί-σβαινα 'a serpent that can go either way' and ἀμφι-σβητέω 'dispute,' both from βαίνω; and (b) φλοῖσβος 'din,' the clash produced by the impact of one heavy body on another, from a root **bhleigv-**, cf. φλίβω θλίβω 'rub,' Lat. *fligō* 'strike,' Welsh *blif* 'catapult.'—Another dialectic representative of **gv** was ζ, Eur. Phoen. 45 ἐπεζάρει=ἐπεβάρει, Hesychius ζέλλειν ζέρεθρα ζέιναμεν=βάλλειν βάραθρα σβέννυμεν. So I think in (a) ζάλη 'spray' from βάλλω; (b) ζᾶλος 'jealousy'¹ beside Lith. *geld* 'pain,' Old High German *quāla* 'torment'; (c) ζάψ 'sea,' and Homer's ἐπι-ζάφελος 'stormy,' from βάπτω, the sea 'dipping' the ships, cf. Eur. Orest. 706 ναὺς . . . ἐβαψεν

¹ The *ā* here is Ablaut of *ē* as in *κᾶρός* beside Lat. *cōra*, *μᾶκων* beside Old High German *māgo*, see Johansson B.B. 15. 306 *sq.*

'the ship sank,' Old Norse *kaf* 'a dive, the deep'; (*d*) *ζάω ζών* quasi 'walk,' and *διζήμαι ζητέω* quasi 'go about,' all from *βαίνω*: (*e*) *ροῖζος* 'whistling' beside *ροῖβ-δος* (for the termination cf. *ράβ-δος*).

D. Beside the copulative *sm-*, Greek *á-* or *á-*, there appears a parallel form *so-*, Sk. *sa-*, Greek *ó-*. We have it in Hesychius' *ὀγάστωρ ὄζυγες ὄθροος ὄξυλον* (Schulze 495), Homer's *ὄπατρος* and Il. 2. 765 *ὄτριχας οἰέτεας* (the latter, despite Schulze, a miswriting for **οἰέτεας*, i.e. **ὀ-φέτεας*); and I think in *ὀ-δούς*, Armenian *a-tamn*, each a Singular formed out of a Plural signifying 'the united teeth, the rows of teeth,' as perhaps *ἀστήρ ἄστρον* Arm. *astl* are Singulars formed out of Plurals signifying 'the whole body of stars,' the initial vowel in each word being a copulative prefix.

E. In two important words the initial *é-* or *ê-* seems reduplicative, standing for *se-*:

έσθλός 'brave, good' = **σε-σθλός*, from the root of *στέλλω* 'set in order,' the meaning thus being 'ready, settled, steadfast.' The Greeks found a difficulty in pronouncing the combination *στλ*, which occurs in no old word (*στλεγγίς* 'scraper' appears first in Hippocrates, *ὄστριγξ* 'curl' in Attic): they preferred either (1) to aspirate the *τ*, Attic *ναυσθλώ* 'convey by sea' beside *ναυστολέω*, Hom. *ἱμάσθλη* 'whip' with the same termination as *έχέτλη*, Att. *μάσθλης* 'leather' from the same root as *μάστιξ* 'whip,' and so, I think, *έσθλός*; or (2) to drop the *s*, *τλεγγίς*—or the *τ*, Sappho *μάσλης* 'leather,' Doric and Lesbian *έσλός* and Arcadian *έσλός* (which last must represent **έσθλός*, not **έσθλός*, or it would have a smooth breathing)—or both letters, Att. *ναῶλον* 'fare' beside Hesychius' *ναῶσθλον*; or (3) to change the *λ* to *ρ*, *στρεγγίς*; or (4) to insert a vowel, *ὀστάλιγξ* (as M. Schmidt reads *ὀστάλαιξ* in Hesychius), *στελεγγίς*.—The same *στέλλω* appears, I would suggest, in *ὀφθαλμός* from **ὀπ-σταλ-μός* 'arrangement for seeing,' the first element going with *ὄμμα ὀπωπα ὄψις*: **ὀψ-ταλμός* became *ὀφθαλμός* as **έψ-τός*, the proper Participle of *έψω*, became *έφθός*:

έστιᾶ 'hearth, altar' (in Homer only in the compounds *ἀνέστιος έφέστιος*) = **σε-στιᾶ* from a root *stā-* 'stone,' whence *στῖον* 'pebble' and I think *περί-στια* 'lustration of the Ecclesia' by carrying a victim round the altar, and, with Ablaut, Goth. *stains* 'stone' and Old Slavonic *stěna* 'stone wall.' On the parallel form *ιστίη* see next section.

(2) The greatest difficulties in Greek vocalism are connected with the occasional appearance of *ι* where we should have expected *ε* (G. Meyer 57-60, 29; Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 375 sq.), and of *υ* where we should have expected *ο* (G. Meyer 61, 62; Schulze p. 495 sq.).

A. (a) Some of the instances quoted of *ι* for *ε* rest on doubtful or impossible etymologies:

αἰγίλιψ, epithet of *πέτρη* in Homer and Aeschylus (Suppl. 794), is of unknown meaning (Monro), and can have nothing to do with *λέπας* 'rock.' Hesychius' *λίψ· πέτρα ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει* may go with *λεῖβω*.

ἰγγια· εἶς and *ἴττον· ἔν*, quoted by Hesychius as Cretan, are too obscure to be deduced from a root *sem-*: M. Schmidt suspects both glosses.

ἱλλάς 'rope,' *ἱλλός* 'squinting,' *ἱλλω* or *εἵλλω* 'wrap up,' *ἱλλομαι* 'move to and fro' can hardly have anything to do with Lat. *volvō*.

ἵππος cannot go with Lat. *equus*, Sk. *áśvas*: the aspiration is quite abnormal, and the Homeric form ought at least to be **ἱκκος*, cf. *πέλεκκον* from **πέλεκ-Font*. The form *ἱκκος* in the Etymologicum Magnum may be Lat. *equus* borrowed (with *ι* from *ἵππος*), as *ἀκκιπτήσιος* in Athenaeus is Lat. *acquirēnsis* borrowed.

κισσός 'ivy' cannot go with Lat. *hedera* from a root *ghvedh-*, or we should have **χισσός*.

λικριφίς 'sideways,' with a strange termination, goes with Lat. *licinus* 'with upturned horns' and *obliquus* (i.e. **ob-lic-vos*) 'crooked'; not with *λέχριος*, which stands for **λέξ-ρ-ιος* and goes with *λοξός* (De Saussure, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 7. 91, n.).

χθιζός is not directly from *χθές*, i.e. *ghjes*, but from an Ablant *ghjz* with sonant sibilant, Thurneysen K.Z. 30. 352; the termination is *djó-*, cognate with Lat. *diēs*.

(β) In *ιγνύη ἱζω ἰθρῖς ἰστίη* the initial vowel is reduplicative, as in *ικτίς (κτίδεος) ἰχθύς* (Arm. *jukn*) *ἵπταμαι (πέτομαι) ἴσθι* (Zend *zdi* 'be thou') as opposed to *ἐχθές ἔγνωκα ἔστηκα*: in such cases it would be absurd to talk of a change from *ε* to *ι*. So in *νίσσομαι τίκτω* the *ι* is reduplicative, as in *τιθήνη διδωμι τιτύσκεισθαι* beside *τέτανος δέδωκα τετυκέσθαι*. Thus

ι-γνύη 'hollow of the knee' is reduplicated from the root of *γνύξ, γνύ-πετος*, Sk. *jñu*:

*ἱζω*¹ = **i-σδ-jw* from the 'reduced' root of *ἱζομαι, ἔδος*, Lat. *sedēd*; and so *ιδρύω* (the *ι* is short) = **i-σδ-ρ-ύω*:

¹ *ιστός*, properly Participle of *ἱζω* 'set up,' is used as a subst., 'mast, loom.'

ἰθρῖς· σπάδων and ἐθρῖς· τομίας (so M. Schmidt reads for ταλμίας) in Hesychius may both go with θρῖζω 'cut off':

ἰ-στίη is the Homeric form of ἐστιά, see above. The Homeric compounds of ἐστιά, and the evidence of Boeotian, Cretan, Heraclæan, Locrian, and Sicilian inscriptions (Meister 1. 46), prove that neither form ever had an initial *F*: the Arcadian proper name *Vistias* can have nothing to do with ἰστίη, and is as obscure as the name Κάβαισος in the same inscription (Meister 2. 103).

νίσσομαι = *νί-νσ-join, from the reduced root of νέ(σ)ομαι, νόστος:

τίκτω = *τί-τκ-τω, from the reduced root of τεκεῖν, cf. κάσις 'brother' from *τκ-ῥ-τις.

(γ) We have *i* as Ablaut of *je* in Sk. *vis-vidh-* beside *vyac-* 'to extend' *vyadh-* 'to pierce,' and so I think in ὑπερ-ικταίνοντο 'they sped on' (Od. 23. 3) beside Sk. *pra-yaksh-* 'to press on.' The relation of ἥκτερος 'jaundice' (for the termination Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 4. 230, compares ὕσ-τέρῃ, γασ-τήρ) to *jekv-*, Lat. *jecur*, is not quite clear: we should have expected *ἥκτερος.

(δ) Homer's κέρννημι πίτνημι πίνναμαι (σ)κίδναμαι beside κέρασσα πέτασσα πέλασσα σκέδασα (ἐκέδασσα), Pindar's κρίννημι¹ πίτνω beside κρέμασαν πετοῖσαι, Attic ὀριγνάομαι beside ὀρέγομαι, owe their *i* to the analogy of reduplicated Verbs, they are formed after γί-γνωμαι μί-μνω,² as Homer's σκιρτάω (root *sker-*, cf. σκαίρω) is formed after τί-κτω. So Pedersen Idg. Forschungen 2. 293 says 'the *i* of σκίδνημι is due to the influence of ἴσσημι τίθημι πίμπλημι etc.'

Homer's πίσυρες beside Lesbian πέσυρες must owe its *i* to the preceding numeral, τρία τρίς τριτος. So (Baunack K.Z. 25. 225 sq., Brugmann Grundriss 2. 165 sq.) ὀκτα- in compounds owes its -a- to ἐπτα-, Heraclæan ὀκτώ and Elean ὀπτῷ draw from ἐπτά their breathing and labial respectively, ὄγδοος borrows its consonants from ἑβδομος.

(ε) There is no clear proof of any confusion in the Ionic-Attic dialect between *e* and *i*: the Old-Attic forms Αἰνεᾶται—Αἰνιᾶται, Αἰλεᾶται—Αἰλιᾶται only show different ways of resolving the diphthong *ei* before a vowel, Delian στλιγγίς is an Assimilation (see J. Schmidt K.Z. 32. 321 sq.) for στλεγγίς, Μινδαίων is a very late form for the earlier Μενδαίων on the coins of Mende in Pallene.

¹ In the MSS. almost always written κρήνημι (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 375), see Aesch. Theb. 229, Eur. Herc. Fur. 520.

² Homer's πέρνημι kept its *e* through the influence of its cognates περᾶω 'sell' and πέρην, Il. 24. 751 πέρνασ'χ', ὄντιν' ἔλεσκε, πέσσην ἄλός.

But in the non-Ionic dialects the letters interchange so often that we can only explain the instances by supposing that in those dialects *ε* was pronounced 'close,' half-way to an 'open' *ι*, and so might be represented by either letter. Before a consonant we have this variation in

Arcadian *ιν* beside *έν*, even in consecutive lines of the same inscription (Meister 2. 90): cf. Hesychius *ἐγκρος· ἐγκέφαλος, ἰσχερῶ· ἐξῆς* (*i.e.* *έν σχερῶ*):

Cyprian *ιν* beside (Hesychius) *ἐνανον· ἐνθες, ἰ(ν)θε* beside *ἐ(ν)θάδε* (Meister 2. 210): cf. Hesych. *πιλνόν· φαιόν* (= Att. *πελλόν*):

Cretan *ιν* and *έν* in the same inscription (G. Meyer 58):

Locrian *γίνος* (Havet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 2. 168).

So the Sicyonians themselves called their city *Σεκυνών* (Meister 2. 89): Hesychius has *λεκροί* and *λικροί* 'antlers' without designation of dialect. Before a vowel (Solmsen *K.Z.* 32. 513 *sq.*) we find this variation in Cyprian, Lesbian, Boeotian, Thessalian (excluding Larisa), and Doric:

Cyprian *θιόν* and *θεῶ*, *μι* and *μέ* (Meister 2. 211):

Lesbian *χρυσίω* and *χρυσέω*:

Boeotian *θιός* and *θεοῖς*, *δοκίει* but *καλέοντι*:

Thessalian *Αίοντα* and *Λέουν*:

Laconian *σιός* and *Θέωνα*:

Heracleian *Τιμοκράτιος* but *Γέτεος*:

Cretan *θιός* and *θεός*, *ἀμίων* and *ἀμέων*, *ἔωμεν* and *ἔωμεν*.

We must therefore conclude that, however it was written, *ε* was always pronounced 'close' in Aeolic, Doric, Locrian, and Cyprian; and, at least when it stood before a consonant, in Arcadian also.

B. (a) The derivation of the following words is unknown, and we cannot say that the *υ* stands for *ο*:

πρύλλες 'champions' (Hom.), cf. Cyprian *πρύλλις* 'war-dance' (Hoffmann *B.B.* 15. 89).

πρύμνη 'stern,' *πρυμνός* 'hindmost': not from *πρό*, which would give just the wrong sense.

πρύτανις 'president': Attic also *προτανεία προτανεύω* (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, p. 19), Lesbian both *πρύτανις* and *πρότανις*, the words being popularly connected with *πρό*.

πύλη 'gate': not from *πέλω* 'move,' which gives too indefinite a meaning.

πύματος 'last': Sk. *pú-nar* 'back' (Bugge *B.B.* 14. 68) has little resemblance of meaning.

σπύραθοι 'stercus' (Hippocrates), cf. Att. σφυράδες.

σπυρίς or σφυρίς 'basket': Lat. *sporta* goes rather with σπάρτον 'rope.'

τρύξ 'new wine': Eng. *dregs* cannot be connected.

ὕπεας 'awl' (Herodotus): Att. ὀπήτιον may take its ὀ- from ὀπή 'hole.'

So γλίφω 'carve' goes with Lat. *glūbō* 'peel,' Ags. *elēðfan* 'split,' not with γλάφω 'scrape.' In ὕλογος 'army,' ὕρραξ 'pell-mell' (Schulze 495), the first element is a dialectic form of σύν, not a 'copulative' ὀ-.

(β) In the following words the *υ* is formative, a stem-ending (Brugmann Grr. 2. 104, cf. 91, n.):

ἀγυρίς 'gathering' (ἀγών), δμήγυρις, πανήγυρις, Att. ἀγύρτης 'beggar': from a stem ἀγυ-, as ἀγορά ἀγείρω from a stem ἀγο- (ἀγε-), all cognate with ἄγω 'drive.'

αἰσυμητής 'umpire': stem αἰσυ-, cf. αἶσ(F)a, see on αἶσχος, sec. 4.

ἄμυδις 'together' (the accent, as opposed to that of ἀμοιβηδής, is from ἄμα)=stem ἄμυ- (on the breathing see sec. 3), as ἄμα from a stem ἀμό-.

διαπρύσιος 'passing through': stem πρυ-, from the root of περάω, see πράσσω, sec. 4.

δρύπτω 'I tear': stem δρυ- (δέρω), as δρέπω 'pluck' from a stem δρε-.

ἐπασσύτεροι 'one after the other,' of obscure formation: if it went with the Homeric ἀσσοτέρω (by-form of ἄσσον) it would be *ἐπασσότεροι.

κροκύδειλος 'lizard,' Hipponax 119: stem κροκυ-, as κροκώδειλος from κροκο-, sec. 4.

μάρτυρος Hom., μάρτυρ Pind. and Att.: stem μαρ-τυ-, root *mr̥*-, as in βρα-βεύς 'umpire' (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 392).

νώνυμος Hom., νώνυμνος Hom. Pind., ἄν-ώνυμος ἐπ- ὄμ- Hom. Pind. Att., εὐ- πολυ- Hes. Pind. Att., δι- συν- ψευδ- πατριωνύμιος Att.: not 'compounds of ὄνομα,' as Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 377 makes them, or they would end in -μων: they are from a stem ὦνυ- (for the ending cf. ἔτυμος ἥδυμος), as ὄνομα is from a stem ὄνο- (Bartholomae B.B. 17. 132).¹

¹ On ὄνομα and its cognates—among which Lat. *nōmen* must not be reckoned, it cannot be separated from *cō-gnōmen* and Old Slavonic *znamę* 'sign'—see further J. Schmidt K.Z. 23. 267 sq.; Thumb K.Z. 32. 130 sq.; Bezzenberger B.B. 10. 72; R. Schmidt Idg. Forsch. 1. 77; Audouin Mém. Soc. Ling.

ὄρνιξ 'quail': stems ὄρνιγ- and ὄρνυκ-, cf., with other stems from the same root, Sk. *varṭakas vārtikā vartīras*, all meaning 'quail.'

ροφέω 'swallow' (Ionic): stem **srū-**, cf., with the same 'determinative' **bh**, **sro-** in Att. ροφέω (Ablauts **srē-** Lithuanian *sriebiu*, **sr-** Lat. *sorbeo*), and, with a different determinative, **sr-** in Old Slavonic *srŭkati*.

ὑπόβρυχα 'under water': stem **mru-**, cf. Lat. *mare* (Hirt Idg. Forsch. 1. 475).

(γ) In ῥύζω 'growl' beside ῥόζω ῥοχθέω, and ῥύμβος 'bull-roarer' beside ῥόμβος, we have different Ablauts: the ῥυ- represents **vr̥-** (Fröhde B.B. 14. 107), the ῥο- represents **vro-**. It seems that in one dialect of the Ursprache **vr̥-** (**v̥l̥**) became **ru** (**lu**), in another the sonant took the same form as in other combinations: we have Sk. *ruc-* 'shine' *rudh-* 'grow' *lubh-* 'be lustful' beside *vārcas* 'light' *vardh-* 'grow' *valbh-* 'enjoy' respectively, ὀρύσσω 'dig' and (nasalised) ῥύγχος 'snout' but Sk. *vrh-* 'to tear,' *lŭkos* Lat. *lupus* but Lith. *wilkas*, see on *σαυρωτήρ* sec. 5.

(δ) In the following cases the *v*—like the *u* in Sk. *dhur-* *ush-hur-* beside *dhvar-* 'injure' *vas-* 'shine' *hvar-* 'be crooked' respectively—is Ablaut of **vo** or **ve**:

γυνή, **gun-**,² beside **gven-**, Goth. *ginō*, Old Irish *ben*, Old Slavonic *žena*, Sk. *janis*, and Elean βενέου (μίσγυντο τῇ γυναικί, Meister 2. 22).

ἐπι-σκόινιον 'skin over the eyes,' **skun-**, beside **skven-tō-**, Old Norse *skinn*.

7. 61; G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² 77 and Albanesische Studien 3. 69; Brugmann Gr. 1. 219 fin. and 2. 340; Schulze 201 sq.; Persson 227. The forms in Celtic (Irish *ainmn* or *ainm*, Welsh *enw*) and Old Slavonic (*ime*) have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The root may appear in ὄνομαι 'blame, disparage,' i.e. 'name,' in our parliamentary sense, stigmatize. Arcadian Κλεωνόμω, Laconian πατρονόμου, seem to owe their third vowel *o* (for *u*) to a false connexion with νόμος.

¹ i.e. (Andrew Lang, Custom and Myth, p. 39), a fish-shaped piece of wood making a hideous noise when whirled round by means of a piece of string. The Greeks themselves seem to have compared the shape of the bullroarer to that of the wryneck, ἰσγξ, with its long snake-like neck: 'the mad bird, the variegated wryneck of the four spokes, bound to an endless wheel,' which Aphrodite in Pindar (Pyth. 4. 381) brings to Jason to help him in gaining the love of Medea, can hardly have been a real wryneck, but a bullroarer spun round by means of a wheel. From the noise which this would make, not from the bird itself, which has not a loud cry, came the Homeric ἰύζω 'roar'; and, from the use of the bullroarer in magical ceremonies, the meaning of ἰσγξ as 'charm, spell' (Pind. Nem. 4. 56) or 'yearning produced by a spell' (Aesch. Pers. 989).

² A Velar after or before *v* becomes Palatal, not Labial (De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 161 sq.).

θύρα, **dhur**-, Lit. *dūrys*, Arm. *duṛn*, Sk. *dur*-, beside **dhvor**-, Zend *dvara*.

κύκλος 'wheel,' **kúkvlos**, beside **kvékvlos** Ags. *hweohl*,¹ **kvekvlóš** Ags. *hweogel*, Sk. *cakrás*, and **kvokvl**- Lat. *poples* (an Oscan form, for *quocles, as *popina* is the Oscan form of *coquina*) 'ham of the knee' as being rounded (Bugge B.B. 14. 64, 65).

κύλιξ 'cup,' **kul**-, beside **kvel**- *πέλιξ* (Cratinus, Meineke 2. 64), and **kvol**- Sk. *kalasas*.

σύραξ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear,' (**s**)**tur**-, beside (**s**)**tver**-, see on *συνρωτήρ*, sec. 5.

ῥόδωρ, **ud**- Sk. *údan*-, beside **vod**- Goth. *vatō*, Old Slavonic *voda*.

ῥπνος, **súpnos**, Old Slavonic *sūnŭ*, Arm. *khun*, beside **svépnos** Ags. *svefn*, and **svópnos** Lith. *sūpnas* (Lat. *somnus* and Sk. *svápnas* may represent either **svep**- or **svop**-).

πίσυρες *πέσυρες* (see pp. 8 and 2), **kvetur**-, Lith. *keturi*, beside **kvetver**- Lith. *ketweri*, Old Slavonic *čtverŭ*, Irish *cethir*, and **kvetvor**- Dor. *tétopes*.

So apparently in

μύλη, **mul**-, beside **mvel**- Irish *melim*, Old Slavonic *melja*, Sk. *mar*-, and **mvol**- Goth. *malan*, Lith. *maù*, Arm. *malem* (Lat. *mola molo* may be either **mvol**- or **mvł**-, see below):

νύξ, **nukʷt**-, beside **nvoktʷ**- Lat. *nox*, Irish *nocht*, Goth. *nahts*, Lit. *naktis*, Old Slavonic *noštŭ*, Sk. *náktis*:

φύλλον, **bhúl-jom**, beside **bhvól-jom** Lat. *folium*.

I.e., though no extant language has initial **mv**, **nv**, or **bhv**, the Greek forms here show that such combinations existed in the *Ursprache*. So (Brugmann *Grr.* 166. 170. 184) **v** is lost after initial **bh** in *ὑπερ-φάλος*, Lat *fis*, Old Slavonic *bě* 'he was'; and after medial **n** in Att. *γόνυα ξένος φθάνω*, and Old Slavonic *člŭnikŭ* 'thin.'

In five of these words we have a further Ablaut, the final liquid of the root becomes sonant:

γυνή: **gvn̥**-, Dor. *γάνᾱ*, Boeotian *βανά*.²

θύρα: **dhvr̥**-, Lat. *foris*, Old Slavonic *dvŭrŭ*.³

¹ So, I think, *πέπλος* 'robe' as being circular when spread out flat on the ground; whence in Latin it was called *cyclas*.

² Also, I think, Ionic (not 'borrowed into Attic from Boeotian' as J. Adam says of *βάνυστος*, *Classical Review* 7. 102): *βάνυστος* 'mechanical'—Herodotus 2. 165 opposes *βανυστή* to *τὸ μάχιμον*—=**βανᾱ-αυτ-ος* (for similar shortenings in compounds see on *ἐγγέλως*, sec. 4) 'quite womanish,' the second element being from *αὐτός* in the sense of Homer's *αἶψως* 'merely, simply.'

³ But not *θαιρός*, which was the pivot of a gate, *πύλαι* (Il. 12. 459), not of a door.

κύλιξ: **kv̥l̥-**, *κάλιξ, a form from which Lat. *calix* was borrowed.

πίσυρες: **kv̥etvr̥-**, Ion.-Att. τέσσαρες, Hdt. τέσσερες (ερ representing *r*, sec. 3 c, as in ἔρσην beside Att. ἄρσην), Boeot. πέτταρες, Oscan *petor*. (So Aeolic σύρκες may be from **turk-**, while Att. σάρκες is from **tvrk-**: the root is unknown.)

μύλη: **mv̥l̥-**, μάλη 'armpit,' cf. μύλη in the sense of 'kneepan': both parts of the body were named from their shape, the armpit concave like the upper millstone, the kneepan convex like the lower.

Why all these forms of Ablaut were used it is hard to see: plainly it had nothing to do with accent, whether of pitch or of stress. My own theory on the subject, *Etyrna Latina* p. xxx., has as yet escaped notice.

(e) In *δυνξ* from **onokhv-** (p. 1) the second vowel is due to Dissimilation, the dislike to having the same sound in two consecutive syllables: cf. with 'regressive' Dissimilation, the dialectic Attic *Δηίφνυβος* (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412). In **onokhv-** the second vowel was a genuine *o*, not one interchangeable with *e*: every other kind of *o* remains in Ionic-Attic in such a position, whether the preceding vowel be *o*, *δοτος* *δοτοῖ* (both onomatopoeic), *δβολός* *δλοφώιος* *δρόγνια* *δροφή* beside *δβελός* *ελεφαίρομαι* *δρέγω* *έρέφω* respectively, *δομαι* *δλοός* beside *δοται* *δλέκω*, *δνομα* from a stem **ono-** (see p. 10),—or *ω*, Hom. *πεμπώβολον* Att. *ἀμφώβολος* *τριώβολον*, Archil. Att. *ἀπ-ώματος* Att. *ἐπ-συν-*, Hom. Att. *ὑπωρόφιος*: with the exception of *πεντῶρυγα* in an Attic inscription of 330 B.C. (Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung* 3. 412), *διώρυγα* etc. in Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 2. 5, which owe their *υ* to the analogy of *ἐπώνυμος* etc., (see p. 10 fin.), since they stood to *δρόγνια* (Ar. *Fragm.* 661¹) as *ἐπώνυμα* etc. seemed to stand to *δνομα*.

But in the non-Ionic dialects an *o* in such a position was pronounced 'close,' inclining to an 'open' *υ*, and might be written either *o* or *υ*: whether the preceding vowel were *o*, *δνομα* in Lesbian, Boeotian (as *δνιουμα*), Thessalian, Phocian, and Doric (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 377, Meister 1. 56), and *δμυσυ* (apparently for *δοσε*, Bezzenberger B.B. 5. 327) in Pamphylian,—or *ω*, Epidaurian *ὑπωρυφίας* beside *δροφά* (Kretschmer K.Z. 378).

(ζ) Even apart from Dissimilation, in the non-Ionic dialects every *un-stressed* *o* seems to have been pronounced 'close' and written indifferently *o* or *υ*. Thus

¹ Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 228 *δρόγνιαν*, and Sappho 98 *ἐπτορόγνιοι*, are mere conjectures.

(a) in the article, which like our 'the' was doubtless unstressed, Pamphylian *ὃ* but Arcadian *ὅ*:

(b) at the end of a word, Lesbian *ἀπὺν* and *ἀπὸ* (the Grammarians give *δεῦρον* as the Aeolic form, Sappho has *δεῦρο*), Arcadian *ἀπὺν κατὺν*¹ *ἄλλυ*² but *ἐλύσατο*, Cyprian *ἀπὺν γένοιτο ὠρίσεν* (never -το), Pamphylian *ἐβωλάσεν ἐπὶ ἡλόδῳ κατεφέρξοδῳ*. So before a final consonant, Cyprian *Κεράμυς* Nom. Sing. (in other words -ος), Pamphylian *βωλήμενυς* and in the same inscription *κεκραμένος*, *Ἔσφιδις* Nom. and *Κουρασίωνυς* Gen.:

(c) in the first element of a compound, whether a monosyllabic Preposition, Cyprian *ὕν-έθηκε* and *ὄν-έθηκε*, both from *ἡ*, Att. *ἀν-*; or at the end of a disyllabic Preposition, Lesbian *ἀπυ-* and *ἀπο-*, Larisaean *ἀπυ-*, Arcadian *ἀπυ- κατυ-*; or at the end of a stem, Rhodian *Ἀγαθυ-μβρότου* and *Τιμο-ρρόδου*, Pamphylian *Φοικύ-πολις* and *Νεγο-πόλεις*.

Pitch-accent seems to have had nothing to do with this pronunciation of *ο*, we have *υ* in the oxytone syllable in *Φοικύπολις* and may suppose it in **Ἀγαθύμβροτος*.³ On the other hand, except in the *later* Lesbian dialect, on which see below, this peculiar *υ* seems to appear only in the unstressed syllable.⁴

In some sub-dialects *ο* before *ι*, whether stressed or not, seems to have been pronounced 'close': the instances (G. Meyer 116; J. Schmidt K.Z. 32. 394 sq.) are—Ionic (at Abu Simbel) *νίς*, Cretan *νί* and *ὄπυι*, Euboean *μέτικος*.

(η) In the *later* Lesbian dialect—that of Theocritus in his three 'Aeolic' poems, and of the poetess Balbilla, not that of Sappho and Alcaeus or of any early inscription—even radical *ο* seems to have been pronounced somewhat 'close.' The Greek grammarians, who say that the 'Aeolians,' i.e. the Lesbians, 'turn *ο* into *υ*,' give *μύγυς ξύανον στόμα τότε ὕμφαλος ὕπισθα ὕρνυς* as the proper Aeolic forms, though Pittacus (in Bergk) has *στόμα*, a Lesbian inscription *ὄτε*, Alcaeus *ὄρνυς*; so that we cannot be sure that

¹ For **κατὸ*, which is to *κατὰ* as *ὀπὸ* to *ὀπα-* (Sappho).

² Homer's *ἄλλυδις* owes its *υ* to *ἔλυδις*.

³ So in Cyprian *κυνόπισμα* (Hesychius) 'wine made from the refuse of pressed grapes,' if Meister 2. 220 is right in making this = **κωνό-πισμα*, from *κῶνος* 'resin' + *πίνω*: but M. Schmidt suggests *κυνυ-πίσμα* ('juice pressed out').

⁴ Cyprian *δοφέναι* and *δουφάναι* seem to contain the same root in two forms, (1) *dou-* from *dōu-* (Wiedemann, *Litauisches Praeteritum*, 41 sq.), cf. Old Slavonic *darati*, and (2) *dū-*, cf. Lat. *duim*, with *F* develope before a vowel, as in Chalcidian *Γαυρόνης*, Boeotian *Εὐφάγορος*, cf. Epirotic *Εὐβαδρος*. Cf. respectively (1) *dō(u)-* in Cyprian *δώκει*, and (2) *dū-* in *ἐπέδυνε* (Meister 2. 220).

the various readings *δυνεῖ* and *ῥσδων* in Sappho 40 and 4 are genuine. In a late inscription we have *ὑμοίως*, in Balbilla (Meister 1. 53) *ῥμοι*, in Theocritus *ῥμοιον ὑμάρτη*, in Hesychius *ἐξ ὑμᾶλλον ἐξ ὁμοίων*, while Theocritus has *στύμα*, Hesychius *μυρμύρων*. These facts seem to show (1) that the 'close' pronunciation of radical *o* was confined to the later Lesbian dialect, and (2) that even in this later dialect the radical *o* was pronounced only slightly 'close,' since in all instances but those just given it is spelt *o* and not *v*.

(θ) As the Romance languages, descended from the dialect of the Roman lower class, make every Latin *u* into *o*, so the dialects of Western Cyprus (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 49 sq.) seem to have made every *v* into *o*: the town-name *Σόλοι* (in Cyprus) is in Plutarch *Σόλοι* (Meister 2. 220), we have *ιθονίκη* in an inscription from Paphos (Deecke B.B. 6. 71), Hesychius quotes *θοράνας μοχοῖ σοάνα* (beside *θύρᾱ μυχός ξυηλή*) as Paphian, and his *βόρμαξ ἐπτόκασεν ἱκαφότευε κόμβος κρόσταλλος λοφνίς πέποσμαι σμογερόν* (beside *μύρμηξ ἐπύκασεν ἐγκαταφύτευε κύμβος κρύσταλλος λυχνίς πέπυσμαι ἐπισμυγερός*) may belong to the same family. So also in some Boeotian dialect (G. Meyer 90), *Ἀμόντας θοσίης*; but Boeotian *Εὐφρασάναν Σομφόρω*, Attic *Ὀλομπος*, Laconian *Κονοουρέων*, may be due to Assimilation (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412), while Strabo's *Ὀρμύνα* for *Ὑρμίνη* (in Elis, II. 2. 616, see Meister 2. 31) seems to show the influence of *ὄρμος* 'roadstead.'

---

(3) Leskien's principle of 'Ausnahmslosigkeit,' that a phonetic law has no exceptions, is doubtless true within each dialect; but in Greek there were as many dialects as there are in English, and every poet and each of his hearers or readers must have been familiar with several. So *ovis* and *bōs*, words common enough, were loanwords in Latin (Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 17 sq.), the proper Roman forms would be **avis* and **vōs*: the Romans said 'sedeo in solio,' though the *l* in the last word was Oscan. In 'the skipper met the shipper in a well-equipped skiff' we have four different dialects: in the Windhill dialect of Yorkshire the forms *misen*, *misel*, *miseln* (myself) are used without distinction, and 'probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects' (Prof. Joseph Wright, Dialect of Windhill, p. 122).

A. Whether an initial vowel should preserve its aspiration or not must have depended on dialect in Greek, just as it did in Latin and does in English: the lower orders at Rome, the linguistic progenitors of the Romance languages, must have dropt all their *h*'s, and in England it is only the educated classes that keep theirs.

ἡδύς and *ἡδός* go together: the latter in Il. 11. 318 *ἡμέων ἡδός* 'satisfaction from us' has an ironical sense, which I detect also in cognate words with short vowel, viz. (a) *ἄδος* Il. 11. 88 (where it seems to have a digamma), and *ἄδη* or *ἄη* (in Homer only in Acc.), 'satiety'; (b) *ἀδινός* or *ἀδινός* 'to repletion'; and (c) the post-Homeric *ἀδρός* 'thick, large,' quasi 'sufficient.' — In Il. 5. 203 *ἄδην*, also written *ἄδδην*, may be a contraction of *ἄ-σFάδην 'without satisfying oneself' (Schulze p. 452 sq.); and so I would explain *ἄδέω* in Homer's *ἄδῆσειε ἄδεκότες*, both also written *ἀδδ-*, as for *ἄ-σFαδέω, 'am dissatisfied, displeased':

φροίμιον 'prelude,' beside *προ-οίμιον*, must come from *οῖμιον, as *φρουρός* comes from *πρό* + *όρός 'watcher' (*όράω*), and *φροῦδος* from *φρουδοῦ, i.e. *πρό ὁδοῦ*, 'ahead on the way,' Il. 4. 382. Homer's *οἶμη* 'song' will then be dialectic for *οῖμη, perhaps meaning 'connection,' arrangement of words, from a root *soi-*, Sk. *sētus* 'binding,' *si-*, 'to bind,' *i-mās* 'band.' (Lat. *sacculum* then must be from some other root.)

B. In Lesbian we have *ἵπερ ἵψος* for *ὑπέρ ὕψος* (G. Meyer 91), in Larisaean *ἱέρ* (Meister 1. 224), in Megarian *αἰσιμνῆτάς* for *αἰσυμνητής* (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412 sq.), in Hippocrates both *στριφνός* and *στρυφνός* 'hard.' So I would explain *κίμαιδος* 'wanton' as for *κύναιδος, i.e. *κυνὸς αἰδῶ ἔχων*, 'with as much modesty as a dog,' the dialectic form being employed to disguise the meaning.

C. The Lesbian representative of *ɣ* was *ρo* (G. Meyer 27), e.g. *βροχέως θροσέως στρότᾱγος*, Homer's *ἡμβροτον* beside Att. *ἡμαρτον*: so *βροτός* (cf. Sk. *mṛtás* 'dead') must have been Aeolic, the true Ionic word being *θνητός*, Dor. *θνᾱτός*. So *η* is represented by *vo* in Alcaeus' *γνόφαλλον* beside Att. *κνάφαλλον*:¹ the root, as the varying initial proves,² was originally bi-aspirate, *ghn-bh-*,

¹ On *va* for *η* in Ionic-Attic see Osthoff, *Morphologische Untersuchungen* v., preface: he quotes *γνάθος*, *ναίω* (i.e. *νάσ-ιω), and, for *μi* from *η*, *ματεύω* beside *μεταλλάω*.

² Cf. Hesych. *ἀκαθόν* ἀγαθόν, i.e. the original form was *ἄ-χαθός, from 'intensive' *ἄ-* (see sec. 1) + a root *ghadh-*, Ablaut *ghādh-* in Goth. *gōds* 'good.'

cf. **ghne-bh-** in Att. γνέφαλλον, and with Metathesis (as in ὀμφαλός beside Ags. *nafela*) **ghem-bh-**, Old Slavonic *zeba* 'I tear in pieces' (wool being carded for use).

One dialect seems to have used *é-*, not *á-*, to represent the nasal sonant: Hesychius has ἐοσσητήρ ᾠοσσητήρ, and ἐγρυπνεῖ ἄγρυπνεῖ, the first vowel in each being the 'copulative' prefix, originally **sm-**, sec. 1, c. (In *á-γρ-υπνεῖ*, literally 'is chasing sleep,'¹ and in *ᾗ-γρα* 'chace,' *ᾗ-γρέω* 'seize,' *ζω-ά-γρια* 'reward for saving life,' the *á-* must be a prefix, the root **gr-**, **ger-**, as in Hom. ζώ-γρει 'take alive,' and Hesych. ἔγρηνται ἤρηνται.) So **ɣ=er** in Homer's ἐρι- and Θερότης beside ἀρι- and θάρσος, Hesych. ζέρεθρα and μέργιζε 'gobble' beside βάραθρα and μάργος; and **ɣ=el** in Hesych. ζέλλειν μελερόν beside βάλλειν μαλερόν. Again, with the consonant coming first (as in ματεύω γνάθος κραδίη πλατύς), we have **m=me** in Hesych. μέσταξ for μάσταξ, and **ɣ=re** in Lesbian κρέτος for κράτος (G. Meyer 6), Hesych. ρέμφος for ράμφος 'beak,' Boeotian *τρεπέδδας* beside (in another inscription) *τραπέδδας* (B.B. 17. 336, n.).

D. Homer's ὀδμή = Att. ὀσμή, as Ἄδμητος = Att. Ἄσμητος (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 420); so Pindar's κεκαδμένος 'furnished with' = Att. κεκασμένος, perhaps meaning 'bound with,' and going with the post-Homeric κῆδος 'connexion by marriage' —quite a different word from the Homeric κῆδος 'care, mourning.' Homer's καίνυμαι 'surpass,' Perf. κέκασμαι, cannot be for *κάδνυμαι or go with κεκαδμένος, for Dental + ν would remain unchanged, as in ἀλοσύδνη πίντω ἔθνος (G. Meyer 280): I would explain it as for *κάσνυμαι (cf. εἰνῶμι for *ἔσνῶμι), from a root **kns-**, Sk. *zanis-* 'to praise,' so that καίνυμαι will mean 'am praised' for something, Od. 4. 725 παντοίης ἀρετῆσι κεκασμένος ἐν Δαναοῖσι.

E. Herodotus (Rhys, P and Q Groups, p. 16), uses *κ-* for *π-* in words derived from the Relative stem, e.g. κότε κοῦ κῶς: thus his πρόκα 'forthwith' may stand for *πρό πα, i.e. πρό + the Instrumental (Brugmann Grr. 2. 274) of **kvo-**. Thus πρόκα will be identical with Lat. *prope* 'near,' an Oscan form (see p. 12 init. on *poples*) for *proque from *proqua (Brugmann Grr. 1. 973). — The *-κα* in αὐτίκα must be differently explained, apparently as **kn̥**, Ablaut of κέν 'then' (see Persson Idg. Fors-

¹ Havet's (and Benfey's) connexion of ἄγρυπνος with ἐγείρω, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 111, is rightly controverted by Bréal, do. 172.

chungen 2. 228): the first element is *αῦτι, Location of *αῦ* 'ipse' (Hesychius), while *αὐτός* is from the stem of *αῦ*+a 'determinative' *ο* (see on *θέσφατος*, p. 1).

F. Before *ε* or *ι* a Velar ought in Greek to appear as a Dental (Bezzenger B.B. 16. 254 sq., Bechtel Hauptprobleme p. 356 sq.): the rule-right forms of *βίος* and *βίῃ*, beside Sk. *jīv-* and *iyā-* respectively, would be *δίος and *διῃ. The former appears in *διερός* 'living' (Fick B.B. 16. 287), and I think in *δίεμαι* 'hasten, am quick'; of which the Perfect Active would be *δεδίωκα (as that of *ἀφίγημι* is *ἀφέωκα*, G. Meyer 559), whence was formed a Present *διώκω* 'set in motion' (G. Meyer 45). The form *διῃ I detect in

(a) *διῃ-κονος* 'servant,' quasi *βίῃ κονῶν*, 'compelled to work': the second element, as in Hesychius' *κονεῖν ἐπεέγχεσθαι*, Homer's *ἐγκονέω* 'hasten,' Att. *ἀκοντί* 'without trouble' (Schulze 353, n.), is from **ken-**, a parallel form of **kven-** in *πονέειν*, as **kel-** in *κέλλω*, *κέλης*, Lat. *celer*, is a parallel form of **kvel-** in *πέλω* 'move,' Lat. *colō*:

(b) *διῃ-νεκός* 'continuous,' quasi *βίῃ ἐνεχθεῖς*, 'brought on by force, not to be stopt': the second element being an unnasalised form (as in Lat. *nactus*) of the root of *ἐνεγκεῖν* and Lat. *nanciscor*.

(4) It is often difficult to decide whether a word is a compound or a derivative, or of what elements an admittedly compound word is made up.

ἄζηχός in Homer always connotes sound: it is used of the cries of pain, of a tumult, of the bleating of sheep, and of noisy eating and drinking. I would therefore explain it as 'dry-sounding,' from *ἄζός, Adj. of *ἄζη* 'dryness,' + *ἦχος* 'noise,' comparing Il. 12. 160, *κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αἶον ἄντευν*, of a 'harsh, grating sound' (Monro), and Verg. Georg. 1. 357 *aridus . . fragor* 'a jarring noise.' Hesychius' *ἄζαχ[έα]* then will be the Doric form; his *ἄζεχός* is a different word, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄζην ἔχειν*, as the Scholiast on Il. 15. 25 gives the derivation of *ἄζηχός* (which Apollonius Rhodius uses as = *ἄζαλέος* 'dry,' Wackernagel K.Z. 33. 51).

αἴσχος 'disgrace' = *αἰσ-σχος, from *ais-* in Goth. *aistan* 'to observe,' Old High German *ēra* 'honour,' *αἰ(σ)-δώς* 'shame, respect' (Bezzenger B.B. 4. 313),¹ and *αἰσ-(F)a* 'apportioning,' giving

¹ The *δ* is probably terminational, not from *δίδωμι*.

each his due share of honour. The second element of *αἰσχος* is the 'reduced' root of *ἔχω*, so that the whole word means 'having observation,' getting oneself observed. So *πάσχω* = *πάθ-σχω, 'I have suffering, I suffer,' from *πάθος*, *παθεῖν*: Hesychius' *πασχητιᾶ* shows that the Greeks themselves considered *πασχ-* the root. There is no proof that *πάθ-σκω, with an Inceptive ending, could give anything but *πάσσω* (which is the Elean form, G. Meyer 269): *μίσγω* is not for *μίγ-σκω, but shows the same stem *μισγ-* as in Homer's *μισγ-άγκεια* 'meeting of glens,' i.e. *μυγ-σ-γ-*, the root of *μίγ-νῦμι* increased by *s*, and with the same termination (Brugmann Grr. 2. 91) as *σι-γῆ* beside *σι-ωπάω* 'look silent' (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 471).

ἄνωγα 'command' means 'lead up' (Lat. *in-dūcō*, see sec. 1, A), cause to do a thing: *ᾠγα is an unreduplicated Perfect, like *οἶδα*, from the strong form (as in *ἀγ-ωγ-ός*) of the root of *ἄγω*. So *οἰμωγή* 'wailing,' from *οἶμοι* + *ᾠγή: for the sense cf. *κτύπον ἄγειν* 'make a noise,' *γέλωτα ἄγειν* 'raise a laugh.'¹ So I would explain *πρᾶσσω* as *πρᾶ-ἀγ-τ-ῖω, 'make progress,' whence its Homeric use with a 'local' Genitive, e.g. Il. 24. 264 *ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο* 'advance on our way,' and so *πρᾶγος* 'business' = *πρᾶ-αγ-ος: the first element is *πρᾶ 'progress,' a Subst. formed like *χρή* and *ὁμο-κλή* (Brugmann Grr. 2. 896), and standing to *πῶρος* *περάω* much as *δρᾶ-* in *δρᾶμα* *δράω* stands to Lith. *darau* 'I do.'

ἀργαλέος 'difficult' (the *ἀ-* must be long, as it is in Att. *ἀργός* 'idle,' from *ἀ-Φεργός) means 'impracticable, not to be done,' from *ἀ-* negative + (*Φ*) *έργον*. For the contraction cf. *ἄκων* from *ἀ-Φέκων.

ἄρρατος 'unchangeable' (Plato) = *ἄ-Φρα-τος, *ἀ-* negative + *Φρατός Participle from *φτ-* 'to turn,' whence also (*a*), with a termination *-μο-*, *ρόμος* 'worm' (see sec. 3, C), Lat. *vermis* (from *vormis), Goth. *vaurms* 'serpent'; with *-μη*, Lat. *vermina* 'colic,' and (*b*) with a 'determinative' *t*, Lat. *vortō*, Sk. *vart-* 'to turn,' Elean *βρατάνᾱ* 'stirring-ladle' (Hesychius), and *ὄρνυξ* 'quail' quasi 'dancing, turning round.'

διφθέρα 'dressed hide' (Thuc. 2. 75 *δέρρεις καὶ διφθέρας* 'skins

¹ With the literal sense of 'raise' we find *ἄγω* in *ἀκτῆ* 'raised land, coast, river-bank,' cf. Soph. Oed. Rex. 183 *βώμιον ἀκτάν* 'the raised altar'; so in *ἄχθος* 'weight, what one can lift,' cf. Soph. El. 119 *ἄγειν οὐκέτι σωκῶ λύπης ἀντίρροπον ἄχθος*, and the Attic use *ἄγειν μνᾶν* 'to weigh a pound, be able to lift it.'

undressed or dressed') means 'twice spoilt,' *δύς* + *φθείρω*, diverted from its natural use as a covering for the beast, first torn off (*δέρρις* from *δέρω*, with a termination *-ρις* as in *ἄκρις ὄκρις*, Brugmann *Grr.* 2. 98) and then tanned. Hesychius has a dialectic form *διψάρα*, which goes with his *ψείρει φθείρει* (G. Meyer 209 fin.).

ἔγχελυς 'eel' = **ἐγχύ-χελυς*, 'snake with the mouth of a tortoise,' *χέλυς*: **ἔγχυς* exactly = Lat. *anguis*, since *eng-* becomes in Latin *ang-*, *frangō* is for **frenḡō*, cf. Goth. *brikan*.—On similar shortenings in compounds, where the two middle syllables have the same consonant or two similar vowels concur, see G. Meyer 302 and Schulze 427: Aeschylus *Eum.* 52 has *βδελέκτροπος* for **βδελυκτό-τροπος*, and so I would explain (*a*) *παλαμναῖος* 'suppliant not yet purified' as for **παλαμο-μναῖος* (as *Παλαμήδης* = **Παλαμο-μήδης*, Fick *K.Z.* 22. 99), 'with a deed of violence, *παλάμη*, in his memory,' *μνήμη*; (*b*) *στό-μαργος* 'loquacious' as for **στομά-μαργος* 'mad of mouth'; and (*c*) *ὑπεμνήμυκε*, *Il.* 22. 491, of an orphan boy, as for **ὑπ-ε-μνη-ήμυκε* 'is bowed down in mind' (quasi **ὑπήμυκε μεμνημένος*): though for *ἡμύω* 'bow down' I cannot suggest any etymology.

ἔδαφος 'foundation' is marked by Brugmann, *Grr.* 2. p. 204, as the only *Neuter* word with the termination *-bho-*: I therefore take it as a compound of *ἔδος* + *ἰφή ἄπτομαι*, 'touching the seat' or bottom, a Dissimilation of breathing for **ἔδάφος*.

ἑτοιμός 'ready' may mean 'striving after the way,' *οἶμος*; the first element being (as Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterbuch der Griech. Sprache* suggests) *jet-*, Sk. *yat-* 'seek to reach' (Middle). In the Active Sk. *yat-* means 'to marshal, put in order'; and with this we may connect *ἑτεός*, *ἔτυμος*, and (with the root in its long form reduplicated) *ἐτήτυμος* 'true,' quasi 'regular.' On the difference of breathing see sec. 3, A.

εὐρύς must be a compound, or we should have **εἰρύς*,¹ as we have *Εἰλειθυία* beside *Ἑλευθώ*: it seems a contraction of **εὐ-υρύς* 'full wide' (Sk. *urús*). So *εὐθύς* 'straight' may be from *εὐ- + θύνω*, 'rushing well,' going in a straight line. The first element appears in three different forms: (1) *esu-*, *εὐ-*, *έυς* 'brave,' with metrical lengthening (Schulze 33 sq.) *ήύς*; (2) *su-*, the reduced form, Sk. *sú-* 'well,' Greek *ύ-* in *ὑβρις* beside *βριαρός*, *ὕγις* beside

¹ The only non-compound word in Greek with *υ* in both syllables is *γλυκύς*, apparently a by-form of the **γλυκός* which appears in Hesychius' *γλυκή βοτάνη τις ἐδάδιμος*.

Lith. *gyžù* 'I get well' (De Saussure *Mém Soc. Ling.* 7. 89, Zubaty *K.Z.* 31. 52 *sq.*); (3) *sū-*, Sk. *sū-* 'well,' and I think Greek **ṡ-* in *ṡθός, whence by Dissimilation (Osthoff *Morph. Unters.* 4. 190 *sq.*, though his explanation is very different) *ἰθός*, the second element being *θύω*. As Zubaty points out, the parallelism of

Sk. *sū-* 'well' and *dush-* 'ill,'
 Zend *hu-* and *dush-*,
 Arm. *h-* and *t-*,
 Irish. *su-* and *du-*,

makes it difficult to separate *εὖ-*, as the correlative of *δυσ-*, from Sk. *sū-*, and put it with either Sk. *āyús* 'alive' or *ánas* 'favour.'—With *εὖ* I would put (a) *εὔτε* 'when' or 'as,' in the latter meaning also *ἡύτε*, with metrical lengthening: the *τε* being superfluous, as in *αὖτε*, *ὅς τε*, added on the analogy of clauses in which it really meant 'and.' Thus *Il.* 23. 62-65 *εὔτε τὸν ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε . . . ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ*, literally 'well was sleep seizing him: the ghost appeared,' came to mean 'when sleep was seizing him, the ghost appeared;' *Il.* 3. 10-13 *εὔτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην . . . ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κορίσαλος ἄρνυτ' ἀελλῆς* means 'well does the south wind bring fog: so rose the dust,' *i.e.* 'as the south wind brings fog, so rose the dust'; and *Il.* 4. 277 *μελάντερον, ἥτε πίσσα, φαίνεται* 'it looks blacker, quite pitchy': (b) *εὐχομαι* 'boast, vow, pray,' literally 'use only *bona verba*' about myself or the gods, the same termination appearing in *νήχω σμήχω στενάχω τρύχω ψήχω, στοναχή, διδαχή* (this from the same root as *δῆω* 'I will find,' Zend *dā-* 'to know').

ἐχθοδοπέω 'quarrel,' *Il.* 1. 518, means 'organise hostilities,' from the root of *ἐχθος ἐχθρός* + *dekv-* Old High German *gi-zehōn* 'to arrange,' with which Brugmann *Grr.* 1. p. 332 puts *δείπνον* 'dinner,' quasi *δέπ-ν-ιον.—Eng. *hatred*, literally 'arrangement (Ags. *raed*) of hate,' is a somewhat similar compound.

κροκοδείλος 'lizard,' an Ionic word (*Hdt.* 2. 69), = 'yellow coward,' *κρόκος* 'saffron' + *δειλός*, from the colour and shyness of the animal. The application of the word to the crocodile must have been a Litotes, or joke.

λαῖρινός, properly used of an ox (*Ar. Pax.* 925), = 'with a fine hide,' *ῤῖνός*. The first element is the intensive prefix *λα-*, as in *λακαταπύγων, λακατάρματος, Λάμαχος*, representing **λαε-* *i.e.* **λασε-*,

as the similar prefix *λαι-* in *λαίμαργος λαισποδίās* represents **λασι-*:¹ both are from a root *las-*, Sk. *las-* 'to be lively,' reduplicated in *λιλαίομαι* 'I desire,' i.e. *λ-λάσ-ζομαι.²

μενοιόω 'desire eagerly' = *μενο-Φοινάω (for the shortening of a compound see p. 20 on *ἐγχελες*) 'am drunk with desire,' *μένει οἴνωμαι*: cf. the Attic use of *μεθύειν* 'to be drunk with passion.' In Il. 12. 59 *μενοίνεον* is wrong both in form (for *μενοίναον*) and meaning ('were anxious'): Goebel, *Homerische Blätter*, p. 15 sq. proposes to read *μένοινεν ἄν*.

νηγατέος, the Homeric epithet of *χιτών* and *κρήδεμνον*, may mean 'such as never was,' *οἶος οὐπῶ ἐγένετο* (as I think the post-Homeric *ἄπλετος* 'immense' meant *οἶος οὐπῶ ἔπλετο*), *νη-* negative + a Participial form from *γίγνομαι*. So Lat. *ingens* 'huge' means 'quod nondum genitum est.'

παιγνίη 'sport' (Hdt.) and *παίγνιον* 'toy' (Att.) are from an Adj. *παι-γνός for *παιδ-γνός, formed after *νεο-γνός*, the second element going with *γίγνομαι*. But the forms *παιγμοσύνη* *παιξοῦμαι* *πέπαικα* owe their guttural to a mistaken explanation of *παίζω* (i.e. *παῖδ-ζω) as for *παίγ-ζω, since the -ζω in most Verbs arose from -γζω: Curtius, *Verbum* 1. 317, gives thirty instances of -ζω from -γζω, as against nineteen of -ζω from -δζω.

πῶμαλα 'not at all' (Att.) is a negative which was originally an interrogative: *πῶ μάλα* 'how, very much how'? The two words were pronounced and accented as one, to show that the *μάλα* qualified the preceding word and not anything that might follow. So *πῶ* in Aesch. Agam. 1507 is a negation under the guise of a question: Sidgwick rightly translates it 'nay.' In meaning it differs from *πῶς* 'how?' no more than *οὔτω* differs from *οὔτως*: in each case euphony alone determined which form should be employed. So *οὐπῶ* and *οὐπως*, *μήπῶ* and *μήπως*, are used interchangeably: in

Il. 2. 419 οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ οἱ ἐπεκράϊαινε Κρονίων (see Fäsi),

Il. 3. 306 οὐπῶ τλήσομ',

Il. 14. 143 σοὶ δ' οὐπῶ μάλα πάγχυ θεοὶ μάκαρες κοτέουσιν,

Od. 2. 118 κέρδεά θ' οἱ οὐπῶ τιν' ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ παλαιῶν,

¹ For the difference in the final vowel cf. *ἀρχέ-πολις* *ἀρχι-τέκτων* (G. Meyer 81.).

² *λελιτημένος* 'eager' is not from *λιλαίομαι* but from *λιδόμαι 'I am much set on a thing,' cognate with *λίαν λίην* 'very much'; which itself seems to stand for *λιδ-αν, 'smoothly, easily,' beside *λεῖ(φ)ος* 'smooth,' with the same termination as *πλ-αν* *πλ-ην* 'except,' literally 'turning from' (e.g. *πλήν αὐτοῦ* = 'away from him'), from the root of *πέλω* 'move.'

Soph. Oed. Rex 105 οὐ γὰρ εἰσεῖδόν γέ πω,
and again

Il. 4. 234 μήπω τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς,

Od. 9. 102 μήπω τις λωτοῖο φαγῶν νόστοιο λάθεται,

Eur. Hec. 1278 μήπω μανείη Τυνδαρίς τοσόνδε παῖς,

we might just as well have had οὐπω (μήπως). In many passages οὐπω (μήπω) may conveniently be translated 'not yet': but in each it is the Verb that gives the connotation of time, the particle denotes only manner ('not at all').

σόλοικος 'foreign' (=βάρβαρος, Herodian) must be a comic formation from σόλος 'ball of iron'+the termination of ἄποικος ἔποικος μέτοικος σύνοικος, quasi 'lumpish dweller,' *heavy* citizen.

σφοδρῶς 'violently' (Od. 12. 124: σφόδρα and σφοδρός are post-Homeric)= 'acting for oneself,' from the roots of σφός 'their, his' and δράω, as in ὀλιγοδρανέων 'doing little, feeble.' So I would deduce σφεδανόν 'eagerly' (Il., in the phrases ἔπετο σφεδανόν, σφεδανόν ἔφεπε, 'he followed on his own way') from the stem of σφέτερος+the termination -δανό-, μηκεδανός, a by-form of -δνό- in ἀλαπαδνός γοεδνός μακεδνός ὀλοφνδνός πελιδνός ψεδνός, as the termination -τανό-, ἐπηετανός, is a by-form of -τνό- in πελιτνός.

ὑπόδρα, in the Homeric phrase ὑπόδρα ἰδών 'looking fiercely at him,' can have nothing to do with δέркоμαι, which would be giving the same idea twice over, and in which case the word ought to be ὑποδράξ, as the Alexandrians rightly had it. I therefore (Etyma Latina s.v. *odium*) take ὑπόδρα as Instrumental (for the accent cf. σφόδρα from σφοδρός) of an Adj. *ὑπ-οδ-ρός 'with covert hatred,' from the root of ὀδύομαι (Schulze 341) 'am angry,' Lat. *odium*, Arm. *ateam* 'I hate,' Old Norse *ötul* 'fierce' (e.g. *ötul augu* 'fierce eyes'). With *odium* goes *atrōx* 'fierce' (Lat. Consonant Laws 22, see Thurneysen K.Z. 32. 562); so that, if I may coin the Latin word, ὑπόδρα=*subatrociter.

ῥαῖος (apparently Neuter) 'paleness' is in Homer the colour of fear, Il. 3. 35 ῥαῖός τέ μιν εἶλε παρείας, Od. 11. 529 ῥαῖήσαντα χροά, of a coward: it may mean 'egg-colour,' as yellow as the yolk of an egg, τὸ ῥαῖόν τοῦ ᾠοῦ (Aristotle). The first element is the root of ῥ(F)όν (a post-Homeric word), Lat. *ovum*, Old Slavonic *aje* (which last proves the root to be ῥ-, not ῥν-); the second is a by-form of χρώς 'colour.' From ῥαῖος was later (first in Hippocrates) formed an Adj. ῥαῖός 'pale, yellow.'

(5) Some other words may best be given in alphabetical order.

αἰετός 'eagle' (= *aiFeτός, as Pergaeon *αἰβετός* shows), Aratus' *αἰητός*,¹ may mean 'mighty one,' going with *αἰητος*, epithet of Hephaistos in Il. 18. 410, *αἶα* 'land' (the 'mighty' earth), and *αἰανής* 'everlasting.' The two last words Johansson, B.B. 18. 4, puts with *αiei*, *αἰών*, and Sk. *āyús* 'living': the common idea then will be 'full of life, strong.'

αἰνός 'terrible' may originally have meant 'bitter, cruel,' *ām-jós (cf. *βαίνω* from *βάμ-jw, Goth. *qiman*), *m*- Ablaut to *ōm*-, Lat. *amārus* 'bitter' (on the first vowel see Latin Vocalism 5), *ωμός* 'raw, cruel.'

ἄκων 'javelin' may go with *ἄκυλος* 'acorn' and mean 'made of oak.' So Schrader K.Z. 30. 461 connects *αἰγανέη* 'spear' with Eng. *oak*.

ἄνδροτῆτα 'manhood,' occurring three times in the Iliad, is of course unmetrical: it may be corrected in several ways. (1) The most impossible of all is Clemm's, who reads *δροτῆτα from *νδροτῆτα (*ἀ-νδρός*): this in two places gives an un-Homeric caesura κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον (Monro, Homeric Grammar,² 367. 2), λιποῦσα *δροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην, and in the third, Il. 24. 6 ποθέων **δροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος*, will not even scan. (2) The idea that *ἄδροτῆτα could be a 'reduction' of *ἄνδροτῆτα lacks support: *ἄβρότης* is epithet of *νύξ* in Il. 14. 78, and *ἄμβροτος* in Od. 11. 330, but the sense is different, *ἄβρότη* (like *ἀμφιβρότη*, G. Meyer, 179) is 'neu componiert' from *βροτός*, to mean 'void of men, unpeopled,' (καθ' ἣν βροτοὶ μὴ φοιτῶσιν Schol., ἐν ᾗ βροτὸς οὐ πρόεισιν Eustathius), and so in Aesch. Prom. 2 *ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν* (as Dindorf rightly reads for *ἄβατον*: Hesychius has *ἄβροτον ἀπάνθρωπον*).² (3) I would therefore read *ἀροτῆτα, as a parallel form to *ἀρετήν*, the *ἀρ*- in each case representing *nr*- (beside *ἀ-νήρ*). In Il. 2. 651 *Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ* we may read *ἀρεφόντῃ, with the same stem as *ἀρετή*.

ἀντακαῖος 'sturgeon' was a Scythian word, Hdt. 4. 53: if this means Slavonic I would connect the word with *ant*- in *ἀντί* 'against,' Lith. *ant* 'up to,' and *akv*- in Lat. *aqua* (the Ur-Slavisch form would be *aka), and explain it as 'going up

¹ For the varying quantity of the second vowel cf. *ἀργέτι ἀργῆτι*, *ἀσκεθής ἀσκηθής*, *πρωτοπαγής εὐπηγής* (Schulze 473 n.).

² From *ἄβρότη* Goebel, *Homerische Blätter*, p. 1 sq., derives *ἄβροτάζω* in Il. 10. 65 *μή πως ἄβροτάζομεν ἀλλήλους*, 'walk by night to each other's hurt': Hesychius has *ἄβροτῆσαι* 'to meet by night.'

stream,' since according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 9. 60) the sturgeon swims with its scales turned forward. Lat. *aquipēnsis* may mean the same thing, though I cannot explain the second element.—Another Scythian word, ἄσχυ 'hazelsap,' Hdt. 4. 23, may go with Polish *oskola* 'birchsap,' from a stem *askhv-*.

ἄντρον 'cave' may mean 'cul de sac,' and go with Sk. *ántas* 'end,' Goth. *andēis*.

ἀύλαξ 'furrow,' ἀύλη 'court' (within a high fence, Homer's βαθέης ἀύλης), ἀυλός 'flute,' ἀυλὼν 'hollow way' or 'windpipe,' may all go together, the common idea being 'hollow.' The stem then is *au-l-n-* from *ave-l-n-*, p. 1, whence also *ve-l-n-* in Lat. *vallis* (Persson 230: *i.e.* *velnós, with 'pretonic' *a*), Sk. *vāṇī* 'reed' and *vāṇás* 'arrow made of reed.'¹

βρέφος 'babe' stands to βραχύς 'small' much as ελαφρός, see note p. 11, stands to ελαχός: the root of βρέφος must be *mreghv-*, as that of βραχύς is *mṛghv-*, Goth. *ga-maurgjan* 'to shorten' (Johansson K.Z. 30. 442 sq.). I detect a third form, *mǣghv-*, in μόρφνος, Il. 24. 316, 'the little one,' according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 10. 7) the smallest but one (the μελανάετος) of the six kinds of eagle.

δέλεαρ 'bait,' Laconian βλήρ (Alcman 130), must mean 'dropt' into the water, from βάλλω (not, as Meister 2. 204 says, from a root *gvel-* meaning 'to split, tear'). In Od. 12. 252 the grammarian Callistratus read ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ δείλματα ('bait') βάλλων, for εἶδατα (Schulze 102).

δεσπότης and Sk. *jáspatis* 'master of the house' owe their *t* to a popular connexion with the words for 'lord,' πόσις ('husband') and *pátis*: the proper form, as Old Slavonic *gospodŭ* 'lord' shows, was *gvěspod-*, the -δ- perhaps appearing in δεσπόζω. The further derivation is obscure: the word indeed may be un-Aryan.

δέχομαι in Homer and Att., beside δέκομαι in Sappho Pindar Hdt. and -δοκ- in compounds in all dialects, owes its *χ* to ἔχω, a word of cognate meaning: *i.e.*, to use Fick's convenient expression, δέχομαι 'rhymes' with ἔχομαι (Middle).—With δοκ- may go δοχμός (*i.e.*, *δοκ-σ-μός, as πλοχμός is for *πλοκ-σ-μός, De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 91²) 'aslant,' a metaphor from a beast turning to 'receive' the hunter, Il. 12. 147 (of

¹ These must be quite different words from Sk. *vāṇī* 'music, tone' and *vāṇás* 'music, hundred-stringed harp,' with which Johansson, Idg. Forsch. 2. 55 n., puts *aúladós*.

² Cf. ῥωχμός 'cleft,' Il. 23. 420, for *ῥωγ-σ-μός, from ῥήγνυμι.

boars at bay) ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐκ κυνῶν δέχεται κολοσυρτόν ἰόντα δοχμῷ τ' αἰσούντε περὶ σφίσιν ἄγνυτον ὕλην.

δῆρις 'contest' may mean 'spear-work,' from *δῆρFis, **dōrv-** Ablaut to **dōrv-**, **dōru**, Sk. *dāru* 'piece of wood': cf., with short vowel, **derv-** Lith. *derwa* 'pinewood,' **dorv-** δούρατα, **doru** δόρυ 'spear.' This *δῆρFis then became *δῆρρις, δῆρις, though by ordinary Greek laws it should have become *δέρFis, *δεύρις; much as *μηνσός became *μηννός (Lesbian μῆννος), μηνός, though by ordinary Greek laws it should have become *μενσός, *μεισός. In other words, the law that **rv** became **pp** was earlier in operation than the law that **ōrv-** became **epF**, as the law that **ns** became **nn** was earlier in operation (Brugmann Grr. 1. 611) than the law that **ēns** became **ens**.

εἰκῇ 'at random' seems a Litotes for εἰκότως 'as we should have expected, simply, naturally,' Soph. Oed. Rex 979 εἰκῇ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις. It is then Instrumental of an Adj. *εἰκός, seen in εἰκο-βολεῖν 'to aim at random,' cognate with εἶοικε 'it seems.'

εἰπεῖν 'to say' may mean 'to clear up,' **veikv-**, cf. Sk. *vic-* 'to sift, separate, examine.'

ἐπί-σταμαι 'know' seems formed from the Adj. ἐπιστήμων (Od. 16. 374) 'knowing,' literally 'setting oneself to a thing.' The Subst. ἐπιστήμη 'knowledge' appears first in Hippocrates.

ἐρμηνεύς 'interpreter' must be formed from Ἑρμῆν (Acc. of Ἑρμῆς), taken as a stem: Hermes was the god of speech, λόγιος (Lucian). So Ζῆν, Acc. of Ζεύς (Il. 8. 206), being taken as a stem produced in the Tragedians the forms Ζῆνα Ζηνός Ζηνί.

ἦτρον 'abdomen' ('wind' in our pugilistic sense) stands to Old Slavonic *větrŭ* 'wind' as Lat. *venter* (see *Etyrna Latina*) stands to *ventus*: ἦτρον is from (a)**vē-**, ἄημι, with a termination **-trom**, as *venter*, stem *ventri-*, is from **vent-** (a Participial form from the same root, Brugmann Grr. 1. 612), with a termination **-ri-**.

κάλλαια 'a cock's wattles' may mean 'beauties,' *κάλλαιος Adj. from *καλλή by-form of κάλλος (as εὐχή of εὐχος).

κλοιός κλωφός 'wooden collar,' i.e. *κλωF-i-ός, shows the same stem **kļv-** as Lat. *clāva* 'wooden club.'

κωλύω 'hinder' is a Dissimilation for *κῶλύω (as κωκύνω 'howl' for *κῶκύνω, Lith. *kūkiu*): with a short vowel the root appears in κωλλόω 'cripple,' and Sk. *kupis* 'crippled in the arm' (Fortunatov B.B. 6. 216).

λαῶς ought in Ionic to be ληός, as it is in Hipponax, and perhaps

once was in Homer (Monro, *Hom. Gramm.*² p. 390). From *ληός* I would deduce (a) *ληίον* 'crop,' the produce of 'common' land, and (b) *ληῖς ληήη λείᾱ* 'booty,' public property before it was divided among the combatants, cf. *λείας ἄδαστα* Soph. *Aj.* 54.

ματώ 'linger' (Il.) and *μάτη* 'folly' (Tragg.) are from *μη-τός* Part of *μένω*, with the same transition of meaning as appears in Eng. *dwelling* and *dull*.

μείων 'less,' for **μή-γων* (G. Meyer 391), goes with Sk. *mā-* 'to measure,' and so means 'more measured,' *μετριώτερος*, not so immense.

μη-νύω, Dor. *μᾶ-νύω* 'make known,' is from *μη-* Ablaut of *μη-* in Lat. *mens*, Sk. *matīs* 'thought.' For the transfer of meaning from 'think' to 'declare' see on *αἰδω*, p. 4.

μογαστόκος, epithet of Eileithyia in Homer, of Artemis in Theocritus, cannot mean, as Brugmann *Grr.* 1. 204 makes it, 'causing pangs,' from **μόγους* Acc. Plur. of *μός*: *τίκτω* is not used metaphorically in Homer, and such a use would be peculiarly inappropriate in connexion with the occasion. Liddell and Scott rightly translate it 'helping women in hard childbirth,' protectress *τῶν μόγεις τεκουσῶν*: the first element is an Adverb **μός-ος* (with the same termination as *πάρ-ος*) from a stem *μογ-*, whence with Locative ending, and the same *s* as in *ἀμφί-ς*, we get *μόγεις* 'with difficulty' (accented like the Subst.), and, with a determinative *-ο-* (see on *θέσφατος*, p. 2), *μός* 'labour.'

μύωψ 'gadfly, goad' means 'flylike,' stinging as a fly does: from *μύᾱ*, the Attic form of *μυῖα* (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 5. 77, where Liddell and Scott wrongly make it the name of a plant), + *ωπα*. Prellwitz derives it from *μυῖα* in the sense of 'buzzing'; but this will not suit the meaning 'goad.'

νεᾶλής 'fresh' is not a compound of *ἀλίσκομαι*, but a by-form of **νεᾶλός* (as *δαψιλής* is of *δαψιλός*, *ἄλουργής* of *ἄλουργός*), from a Subst. **νεᾶ* 'youth,' whence also *νεᾶνις*, *νεᾶνίας*. For the termination cf. *ἀπατηλός*, *σιγγηλός*.

νοῦσος = **νόσ-For* (Kretschmer *K.Z.* 31. 471), which I would connect with *νέ(σ)ομαι* 'come': thus *Od.* 9. 411 *νοῦσος Διός* means 'the visitation of Zeus,' and *Soph. Ant.* 421 *θεῖα νοσος*, of a whirlwind, 'the visitation of heaven.'

παφλάζειν 'to foam' must be from an Adj. **παφλός* (or **παφλός*, cf. *γυμνάς* beside *γυμνός*), from the same root as *πέμφιξ πομφόλυξ* 'bubble.' It cannot be, as Prellwitz makes it, a Reduplication from *ἐφλαδον* 'they burst,' which would give **παιφλάζειν* (Brug-

mann *Grr.* 2. p. 1084): *παμφαίνω* 'shine' must be formed on an Adj. *παμ-φανής 'all shining,' whence also *παμφανόων*, while *παπταίνω* 'look round' must be from a root *kvḡkvth-* (or whatever the last letter may be), *kvenkvth-*, whence, without the nasal, Sk. *caksh-* 'to see' (*Fick B.B.* 18. 134).—So *τετρεμαίνω* must be from an Adj. *τε-τρεμανός, not straight from *τρέμω*, or we should have *τιτρεμαίνω, like *τιταίνω*; and *τετραίνω* 'pierce' from an Adj. *τε-τρανός, or we should have *τιτραίνω* (the form used by Theophrastus).

πεπνυμένος 'wise,' *νόον πεπνύσθαι* 'to have understanding' *Od.* 10. 495 (see Goebel, *Homerische Blätter*, p. 24), go with *ποιπνύω* 'am busy,' the common idea being that of *strength*: the root is *kvneu-*, Old High German *pi-hniutan* 'to glorify,' *πνύξ* 'meeting-place of the Ecclesia,' quasi 'enclosure, stronghold.' Thus *πνέω* 'blow' must originally have been used of the wind blowing strong, and then transferred to the breathing of human beings.

πεπτηώς δι' *ἀσθένειαν καὶ δειλίαν πεπτωκώς*, says Hesychius: in Homer the word always means 'fallen,' e.g. *Od.* 14. 474 *ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηώτες κείμεθα* 'we lay on the ground, with our shields over us,' and *Il.* 2. 312 (of young sparrows) *πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηώτες* 'at the bottom of the nest, under the leaves.' It has no more to do with *πτήσσω* 'crouch' than has *καταπτίτην* in *Il.* 8. 136, of horses falling under the car: horses do not crouch down when they are frightened, but struggle to get away.

πηγή 'fountain' must go with *πηγός* 'big,' the Homeric epithet of horses and waves, and Sk. *pajrás* 'strong': it means a place where the water is strong enough to force its way out.

πίθηκος πίθων 'ape' must go with *πίθος* 'jar,' and means 'rotund, pot-bellied.'

πρόχυν means 'wholly' in Homer, as it is allowed to mean in Apollonius Rhodius: it has nothing to do with *γόνυ* (which would not account for the *χ*),¹ in *Il.* 9. 570 *πρόχυν καθεζομένην* means 'sitting right down,' not 'sitting on her knees,' which would be an impossible feat. I would deduce the word from *πρόξ, formed from *πρό* as *πέριξ* is formed from *πέρι*, and, I think *ἄπαξ* from *ἄπα Instrumental of *ἄπος, i.e. *smkvós*, from *sm-* 'together' (see 1, C): for the sense cf. Lat. *prorsus* 'utterly,'

¹ Sk. *prajnus*, quoted by Fick, *Wörterbuch*⁴ 1. 432, is unauthenticated, and at best only means 'bandy-legged.'

from *pro*. The second element is the *-nu* which appears in Cyprian *ὄνυ* 'this,' Arcadian *τάνυ* 'these things,' Goth. *thanunu* 'so then,' and I think *πάνυ* 'altogether' (i.e. *πᾶν-νυ*, the first element going with Lat. *pen-itus*, Sabler K.Z. 31. 371), see Persson Idg. Forsch. 2. 251: **πρόξ-νυ* became *πρόχυν* by De Saussure's law, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 7. 90, as **λῡξ-νός* (cf. Zend *raokhshna* 'shining') became *λύχνος*.

ῥήγος 'rug' (Hom.), *ῥέγος* (Anacreon), *ῥέζω* 'dye' (Epicharmus), and *ἄλο-υργής* 'dyed with sea purple' (Att., see Schulze 498, *n.*), must go with *ῥήσσω* 'beat the ground' (Il. 18. 571), cloth being stamped on to make the dye penetrate: so German *walken* 'to clean cloth' is the same word as Eng. *walk*. The root must be *vr̥ǵ-*, Ablaut *vr̥g-* in *ῥάσσω* 'push': Sk. *raj-* 'to be red' cannot be connected, if only because the meaning would be too narrow.

σατίνη 'chariot' may be a Persian word, standing for **ξατίνη* (as *σατράπης* stands for **ξατράπης*, Old Persian *kshatrapāvan-* 'viceroy'), and going with Sk. *kshat-tār-* 'charioteer.'

σαυρωτήρ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear' must mean 'twirler,' from a Verb **σαυρόω*, itself from a Subst. *σαῦρος*, originally, I would suggest, meaning 'a stirring-stick,' and hence coming to mean 'a lizard,' which when motionless looks like a piece of wood. This *σαῦρος* = **τῥάρ-φος*, from a root *tv̥r-*, whence also Lat. *trua* 'stirring-ladle' (on the *ru* see p. 11 med.), *ὀτρύνω* 'urge,' *ὀτραλέως* 'quickly'; Ablauts (1) *tur-* in *τορύνη* 'ladle,'¹ a Dissimilation for **τυρύνη*, as *κόκκυξ* is for **κύκκυξ*, Lat. *cuculus*; (2) *tvor-* in Old Norse *thvara* 'stirring-stick'; (3) *tver-* in Ags. *thviril* 'churn-handle,' Eng. *twirl*, Old High German *dweran* 'to mix up,' Sk. *tvar-* 'to hasten.' From a by-form *stver-*, *stur-* (see Schrijnen, *Phénomène de l' S Mobile*) comes *στύραξ*, p. 12.

σῶμα, which in Homer always means 'dead body, carcase,' may go with *σῶς* 'safe,' and mean 'remnant, what has escaped being eaten by dogs or birds': Il. 3. 23 ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας.

τόσσαις 'being,' *ἐπιτόσσαις* 'finding' (both in Pindar), seem to point to an Aeolic Verb **τόσσᾶμι* 'I do so much,' from *τόσσος*.

φύλαξ. 'guardian' may originally have meant 'the man in the house,' *οἰκέτης*, *bhu-l-* being Ablaut of *bhōu-l-* in Old Norse *ból* 'lair' (Wiedemann Lit. Praet. p. 137, despite Kluge

¹ Fick, *Wörterbuch*⁴, 1. 499, adds *τυρός* 'cheese'; but this is not made by stirring, though butter is.

K.Z. 26. 97), **bhō-l-** in *φωλεύω* 'lurk,' *φωλάς* 'in his den' (of a bear). So *φῦλή*, 'tribe' may originally have meant 'house' in the sense of Lat. *gens*.

*χέρης, used by Homer in the forms *χέρηα*, *χέρηι*, *χέρηες*, must go with *χείρ* and mean 'belonging to a handicraftsman,' *χερνής*, as opposed to a warrior. Thus it is used contemptuously, Il. 1. 80 *βασιλεὺς ὅτε χύσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηι* ('a low fellow'), Od. 15. 324 *οἶά τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρῶσι χέρηες*; and so in the Neuter, Il. 14. 382 *ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔδυνε, χέρηα* ('those fit for an artisan') δὲ *χείρονι δόσκειν*. In Od. 14. 176 *οὔτι χέρηα πατρός*, 'not like a handicraftsman beside his father,' we have a Genitive-Ablative of comparison, such as Brugmann Griech. Gramm.² 183 finds in Thucydides' *πόλεμον ἀξιολογιώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων* 'most notable in comparison with those before.' The Comparative of *χέρης is *χερείων* or *χείρων* 'more fit for an artisan,' or, as in Il. 14. 382 above, 'more like an artisan.' But in another view battle was called 'handwork,' *χάρμη* (with the 'reduced' root *χῖ-*); and with this I would put *χερμάδιον* 'a stone used in battle as a missile.'