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PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES

BY

E. R. WHARTON.

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PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY. 2°

SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES.

BY
E. R. WHARTON.

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SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES.

By E. R. WHARTON.

(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 ἐρέυγομαι ὄλοφος* besides Armenian *erek orcam olb* (Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 246, n.), or (*b*) where two forms can be best explained by starting from a bi-vocalic root, e.g. *αὔξω* Sk. *vaks-* from *aveks-* in *ἀ(F)έξω*, *αὔρα*¹ Sk. *vā-* from *avē-* in *ἄ(F)ημι*, Lat. *unguis* Sk. *nakhás* from *onokhv-* in *ὄνοξ*: 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-vītus* are but emphatic forms of *cānus clutus columis* and **vītus* '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 σκήπτρω* (= *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 *ḡ*, 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, *αὔρη* means the morning breeze, *ἠῶθι πρό*; and with it in this sense Buttman rightlly connects *αὔριον* 'in the morning, to-morrow.' So in my 'Etyma Græca' I have explained Homer's *ἠώς*, Lesbian *αὔως*, as from *āvō-*, an Ablaut of *avē-* in *ἔημι*: to a people dwelling near the Mediterranean the morning breeze would be the natural herald of dawn. The Attic form *ἔως* takes its aspiration and accent from *ἠλιος*.

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

with *χροιά χρώς* 'surface, skin, colour,' so that *βλη-χρός* means 'weak-looking, weakly': the root is *mlē-* (not *mlā-*, since *βλη-χρός* 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 *νέᾱξ* or *νέηξ* comes from *νέος*, so I would explain *βλάξ* as for **βλαFᾱξ* or **βλαFήξ*, from a simpler form **βλαFός*, *mlvōs*, Lat. *mollis* for **molvis*. The root appears in Gothic *ga-malvjan* '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 *ghn̥-*, *ghven-*, in *θείνω*¹ 'strike,' *μυλή-φατος* 'struck by the millstone,' and, with a transfer of meaning, *φόνος* 'slaughter,' *Ἀρηί-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 *dvasės* 'spirit,' Middle High German *ge-twās* '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 *ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν* and *μιχθαλόεσσαν*, a word of unknown derivation (the connexion with *ὀμίχεω*, Hoffmann, Bezz. Beitr. 15. 84, is absurd). So I would explain the *ἀ-* as intensive in

ἀ-γέρωχος, **γερᾶ-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 *ἄλο-σύδνη* 'goddess of the sea wave' with Irish *tond* 'wave,' *ἀσύφηλος* (below) with *τυφλός*, *συχρός* '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.'

ἄ-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 *κρούσις* both 'striking' and 'cheating' (Ar. Nub. 317), so with *θείνω* I would connect *φένᾱξ* 'cheat': a Doric word, like *κόβᾱλος* 'rogue,' as the *ā*, for *η*, shows, with a dialectic *φ* for *θ* as in *φεός* for *θεός* (G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.² 211).

² The first element is *bhl̥-ḡ-*, cf. *bhl̥-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 Grammatistische 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. **κάρῃος*) '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 **κρῦρος*, cf. Arcadian *Κραριῶται* and Rhodian *Ἦλο-κράρης* (Meister, Griechischen Dialekte 2. 104, G. Meyer 160), the word thus meaning 'head' as sign of individuality, going with *ναύ-κλήρος ναύ-κρᾶρος* 'householder' (whatever the first element of these words may be) and Hesychius' *κραῖρα* 'head'; (d) *κραιπάλη* 'headache,' for **κρασι-πιλλη* 'a fight in one's head,' the first element being Locative of **κράς*, while from another form **κρᾱ-πάλη* is borrowed Lat. *crāpula* :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ἄ-τρύγητος '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*, *ρύζω*, p. 11) :

ἄ-υσταλέος 'squalid,' Od. 19. 327, cf. Sk. *ῡsh-* 'to dry,' Lat. *sū-dus* 'dry'; from **ἄ-υσταλέος* as *ἄυπνος* from **ἄσπυνος*.

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

B. The same intensive 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(F)έω 'perceive.' So

ἀ(F)είδω 'sing' beside οἶδα: i.e. ἀείδω 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 ἀείδε '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) ἐνσ-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 τὴν λύκος αὐτίκα λυσσῆν. shows that the Greeks themselves connected λύσσα with λύκος. With these words go μορμο-λύττεσθαι 'to madden as a hobgoblin, μορμῶ,¹ would,' and μορμο-λυκεῖον 'bugbear,' literally 'hobgoblin wolf':

ἀ-μαλεῖν 'destroy,' from *μαλεῖν, Sk. mṛdus 'soft.'

ἀμέλω, cf. Lat. mulgēō.

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

¹ With μορμῶ go μόρμοι 'panics' (Hesychius) and I think μέρμερος 'mischievous,' μέρμηρα 'trouble,' and μορμύρων in Il. 18. 402 ῥόος Ὀκείανόιο ἀφρῶ μορμύρων, rightly explained by Hesychius as ταρασσῶν '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 *ἤμβροτον*; as *ἀ-* in (b) *ἀ-μείβω* 'exchange' beside Lat. *migrō* 'remove' and Old Slavonic *miglivŭ* 'mobile,' and (c) *ἀ-μεύομαι* 'surpass' ('change places with') beside Lat. *moveō*. In these Verbs the copulative prefix, like the (of course unrelated) Lat. *com-* in *commaculō comminuō 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 **muletus* (Wiedemann B.B. 13. 303 sq.), so that it will mean 'swelling, climax,' and *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ* will be Cicero's *multā 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 *ῥσσα* may everywhere be read in Homer, L. Meyer K.Z. 28. 90: the root appears in Lat. *rosō*), and in obedience to it goes to help his comrades.' Hesychius has also the form *ῥσσητήρα*, referring, according to Moriz Schmidt, to Il. 15. 254 *τοῖόν τοι (ἄ)οσσητήρα Κρονίων ἐξ Ἴδης προέηκε*, in which case the word must necessarily have had a digamma:

ἄ-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 ζείναμεν=βάλλειν βάραθρα σβέννυμεν*. So I think in (a) *ζάλη* 'spray' from *βάλλω*; (b) *ζᾶλος* 'jealousy'¹ beside Lith. *gėld* '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 *ναῦς . . . ἔβαψεν*

¹ The *ā* here is Ablaut of *ē* as in *κᾶρός* beside Lat. *cēra*, *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 ζώω quasi 'walk,' and διζημαι ζητέω quasi 'go about,' all from βαίνω: (*e*) ροίζος 'whistling' beside ροιβ-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' *ογάστωρ ὄζυγες ὄθορος ὄξυλον* (Schulze 495), Homer's *ὄπατρος* and Il. 2. 765 *ὄτριχας οίετέας* (the latter, despite Schulze, a miswriting for *οὔετέας, *i. e.* *ὄ-*Φέτεας*); and I think in *ὄ-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 *é-* seems reduplicative, standing for *se-*:

ἐσθλός '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 *σθλ*, which occurs in no old word (*σθλεγγίς* 'scraper' appears first in Hippocrates, *ὄστλιγξ* 'curl' in Attic): they preferred either (1) to aspirate the *τ*, Attic *ναυσθλώω* 'convey by sea' beside *ναυστολέω*, Hom. *ιμάσθη* 'whip' with the same termination as *ἐχέθη*, Att. *μάσθης* 'leather' from the same root as *μάστιξ* 'whip,' and so, I think, *ἐσθλός*; or (2) to drop the *s*, *τλεγγίς*—or the *τ*, Sappho *μάσθης* 'leather,' Doric and Lesbian *ἐσλός* and Arcadian *ἐσλός* (which last must represent **ἐσθλός*, not **ἐσθλός*, or it would have a smooth breathing)—or both letters, Att. *ναῦλον* 'fare' beside Hesychius' *ναῦσθλον*; or (3) to change the *λ* to *ρ*, *στρεγγίς*; or (4) to insert a vowel, *ὄστάλιγξ* (as M. Schmidt reads *ὄστάλαιξ* 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*: **ὀψταλμός* became *ὀφθαλμός* as **ἐψτός*, the proper Participle of *ἐψω*, became *ἐφθός*:

ἑστία 'hearth, altar' (in Homer only in the compounds *ἀνέστιος ἐφέστιος*) = **σε-στιᾶ* from a root *stī-* '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:

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

ἴργια· 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 *εἶλλω* 'wrap up,' *ἱλλομαι* 'move to and fro' can hardly have anything to do with Lat. *volvō*.

ἵππος cannot go with Lat. *equus*, Sk. *áçras*: the aspiration is quite abnormal, and the Homeric form ought at least to be **ἴκκος*, cf. *πέλεκκον* from **πέλεκ-φον*. The form *ἴκκος* in the Etymologicum Magnum may be Lat. *equus* borrowed (with *ι* from *ἵππος*), as *ἀκκιπήσιος* in Athenaeus is Lat. *aquipēnsis* 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 Ablaut *ghjz* with sonant sibilant, Thurneysen K.Z. 30. 352; the termination is *djó-*, cognate with Lat. *diēs*.

(β) In *ιγνύη ἴζω ἴθρις ἰστίη* the initial vowel is reduplicative, as in *ικτίς* (*κτίδεος*) *ιχθύς* (Arm. *jukh*) *ἵπταμαι* (*πέτομαι*) *ἴσθι* (Zend *sdī* '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 δίδωμι τιτύσκεσθαι* beside *τέτανος δέδωκα τετυκέσθαι*. Thus

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

*ἴζω*¹ = **ι-σδ-ζω* from the 'reduced' root of *ἕζομαι, ἔδος*, Lat. *sedēō*; and so *ιδρύω* (the *ι* is short) = **ι-σδ-ρ-ύω*:

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

ἴθρις· *σπάδων* and *ἐθρίς*· *τομίας* (so M. Schmidt reads for *ταλμίας*) in Hesychius may both go with *θρίζω* 'cut off':

ἰ-στίη is the Homeric form of *ἐστιά*, see above. The Homeric compounds of *ἐστιά*, and the evidence of Boeotian, Cretan, Heraclian, 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-ιομαι*, from the reduced root of *νέ(σ)ομαι*, *νόστος* :

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

(γ) We have *i* as Ablaut of *je* in Sk. *vic-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 *ἴκτερος* 'jaundice' (for the termination Havet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 4. 230, compares *ἴσ-τέρᾱ*, *γασ-τήρ*) to *jekv-*, Lat. *jeour*, is not quite clear: we should have expected **ἴπτερος*.

(δ) Homer's *κίρνημι* *πίτνημι* *πίλναμαι* (*σ*)*κίδναμαι* beside *κέρασσα* *πέτασσα* *πέλασσα* *σκέδασσα* (*ἐκέδασσα*), Pindar's *κρίμνημι*¹ *πίτνω* beside *κρέμασαν* *πετοῖσαι*, Attic *ὀριγνάομαι* beside *ὀρέγομαι*, owe their *i* to the analogy of reduplicated Verbs, they are formed after *γί-γνομαι* *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 *ἴσθημι* *τίθημι* *πίμπλημι* etc.'

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

(ε) There is no clear proof of any confusion in the Ionic-Attic dialect between *e* and *i*: the Old-Attic forms *Αἰνεᾶται*—*Αἰνιᾶται*, *Αὔλεᾶται*—*Αὔλιᾶται* 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 *κρήμνημι* (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 *περῶ* 'sell' and *πέρην*, Il. 24. 751 *πέρνασχ'*, *ὄντιν' ἔλεσκε*, *πέρην 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 $\iota\nu$ beside $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, even in consecutive lines of the same inscription (Meister 2. 90): cf. Hesychius $\zeta\gamma\kappa\rho\sigma$: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\iota\sigma\chi\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}$: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$ (i.e. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\chi\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}$):

Cyprian $\iota\nu$ beside (Hesychius) $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}(\nu)\theta\epsilon$ beside $\acute{\epsilon}(\nu)\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ (Meister 2. 210): cf. Hesych. $\pi\iota\lambda\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$: $\phi\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (= Att. $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$):

Cretan $\iota\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in the same inscription (G. Meyer 58):

Locrian $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 2. 168).

So the Sicyonians themselves called their city $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omega\nu$ (Meister 2. 89): Hesychius has $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}$ and $\lambda\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}$ '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 $\theta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$ and $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}$, $\mu\acute{\iota}$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ (Meister 2. 211):

Lesbian $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ and $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$:

Boeotian $\theta\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota$ but $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\iota$:

Thessalian $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ and $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\nu$:

Laconian $\sigma\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\alpha$:

Heracleean Τιμοκράτιος but Fέτεος :

Cretan $\theta\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, $\acute{\zeta}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$.

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 ν stands for \omicron :

$\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ 'champions' (Hom.), cf. Cyprian $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ 'war-dance' (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 89).

$\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$ 'stern,' $\pi\rho\upsilon\mu\eta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'hindmost': not from $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$, which would give just the wrong sense.

$\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma$ 'president': Attic also $\pi\rho\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\pi\rho\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (Meisterhans, Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften, p. 19), Lesbian both $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma$, the words being popularly connected with $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$.

$\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ 'gate': not from $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ 'move,' which gives too indefinite a meaning.

$\pi\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'last': Sk. $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\text{-nar}$ 'back' (Bugge B.B. 14. 68) has little resemblance of meaning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

εἰαπρῦσιος 'passing through': stem πρυ-, from the root of περάω, see πρᾶσσω, 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.

κροκῦδειλος 'lizard,' Hipponax 119: stem κροκυ-, as κροκόδειλος from κροκο-, sec. 4.

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

ῥώνυμος Hom., ῥώνυμος Hom. Pind., ἄν-ῥώνυμος ἐπ- ὄμ- Hom. Pind. Att., εὐ- πολυ- Hes. Pind. Att., δι- συν- ψευδ- πατρωνύμιος Att.: not 'compounds of ὄνομα,' as Kretschmer *K.Z.* 31. 377 makes them, or they would end in -μων: they are from a stem ῥωνυ- (for the ending cf. ἔτυμος ἤδνυμος), 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 *znamē* 'sign'—see further J. Schmidt *K.Z.* 23. 267 sq.; Thumb *K.Z.* 32. 130 sq.; Bezzenger *B.B.* 10. 72; R. Schmidt *Idg. Forsch.* 1. 77; Audouin *Mém. Soc. Ling.*

ὄρνυξ 'quail': stems ὄρνυγ- and ὄρνυκ-, cf., with other stems from the same root, Sk. *vartakas vartikā vartīras*, all meaning 'quail.'

ροφέω 'swallow' (Ionic): stem *sru-*, cf., with the same 'determinative' *bh, sro-* in Att. ροφέω (Ablauts *srē-* Lithuanian *sriėbiu*, *sr̥-* Lat. *sorbeō*), and, with a different determinative, *sr̥-* in Old Slavonic *srūkati*.

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

(γ) In ῥύζω 'growl' beside ῥόζω ῥοχθέω, and ῥύμβος 'bull-roarer'¹ 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* (*vl̥*) 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. *erh-* 'to tear,' *lūkōs* 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. *qinō*, Old Irish *ben*, Old Slavonic *žena*, Sk. *janis*, and Elean βενέοι (μίσγοιτο τῇ γυναικί, Meister 2. 22).

ἐπι-σκύνιον '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 *ainmm* or *ainm*, Welsh *enw*) and Old Slavonic (*imē*) 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 *v*) to a false connexion with *vōmos*.

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, ἰνυγξ, 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 ἰνυγξ 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.).

θύρᾱ, **dhur-**, Lit. *dùrys*, Arm. *duṛn*, Sk. *dur-*, beside **dhvor-**, Zend *dvāra*.

κύκλος 'wheel,' **kúkulos**, beside **kvékvlos** Ags. *hveohl*,¹ **kvekvlos** Ags. *hveogel*, Sk. *cakrás*, and **kvokvl-** Lat. *poples* (an Oscan form, for **quocles*, as *popīna* is the Oscan form of *coquīna*) '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. *kalaças*.

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

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

ῥπνος, **súpnos**, Old Slavonic *sŭnŭ*, Arm. *khun*, beside **svépnos** Ags. *svēfn*, and **svópnos** Lith. *sāpnas* (Lat. *somnus* and Sk. *svāpnas* may represent either **svēp-** or **svop-**).

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

So apparently in

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

νύξ, **nuk^vt-**, beside **nvokt^v-** Lat. *nox*, Irish *nocht*, Goth. *nahts*, Lit. *naktis*, Old Slavonic *noštŭ*, Sk. *náktis*:

φύλλον, **bhul-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-φιάλος*, Lat *fīs*, Old Slavonic *bē* 'he was'; and after medial **n** in Att. *γόνατα ξένος φθάνω*, and Old Slavonic *lŭnikŭ* 'thin.'

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

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

θύρᾱ: **dhvr-**, 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 *eyclas*.

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

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

κύλιξ: $kv\bar{l}_3-$, *κάλιξ, a form from which Lat. *calix* was borrowed.

πίσυρες: $kv\bar{e}tv\bar{r}_3-$, Ion.-Att. τέσσαρες, Hdt. τέσσερες (ερ representing \bar{r} , sec. 3 c, as in ἔρσην beside Att. ἄρσην), Boeot. πέτταρες, Oscan *pator*. (So Aeolic σύρκες may be from $tvrk-$, while Att. *σάρκες* is from $tvrk-$: the root is unknown.)

μύλη: $mv\bar{l}_3-$, 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, *Etyma Latina* p. xxx., has as yet escaped notice.

(ε) 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 *Δηφύβος* (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*, *ὄτοβος ὄτοτοῖ* (both onomatopoeic), *ὀβολός ὀλοφώιος ὀρόγνια ὀροφή* beside *ὀβελός ἐλεφαίρομαι ὀρέγω ἐρέφω* respectively, *ὄθομαι ὀλοός* beside *ὄθεται ὀλέκω, ὄνομα* from a stem *ono-* (see p. 10),—or *ω*, Hom. *πεμπύβολον* Att. *ἀμφύβολος τριώβολον*, Archil. Att. *ἀπ-ώμοτος* Att. *ἐπ-συν-*, Hom. Att. *ὑπυρόφιος*: with the exception of *πεντέρνγη* in an Attic inscription of 330 B.C. (Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung* 3. 412), *διώρνη* etc. in Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 2. 5, which owe their *υ* to the analogy of *ἐπώννμος* etc., (see p. 10 fin.), since they stood to *ὀρόγνια* (Ar. *Fragm.* 661¹) as *ἐπώννμα* etc. seemed to stand to *ὄνομα*.

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*, *δυνμα* in Lesbian, Boeotian (as *δνιουμα*), Thessalian, Phocian, and Doric (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 377, Meister 1. 56), and *δμνσν* (apparently for *δμοσε*, Bezenberger B.B. 5. 327) in Pamphylian,—or *ω*, Epidaurian *ὑπυρφήας* beside *ὀροφά* (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 *ὀρόγνιαν*, and Sappho 98 *ἐπτορόγνιοι*, are mere conjectures.

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

(b) at the end of a word, Lesbian *ἀπὺ* and *ἀπὸ* (the Grammarians give *δεῶρν* as the Aeolic form, Sappho has *ἐεῦρο*), Arcadian *ἀπὺ* *κατὺ*¹ *ἄλλυ*² but *ἐλύσατο*, Cyprian *ἀπὺ* *γένειοιτυ* *ὠρίσετυ* (never *-το*), Pamphylian *ἐβωλάσετυ* *ἐπιήλοδν* *κατεφέρξοδν*. So before a final consonant, Cyprian *Κεράμις* Nom. Sing. (in other words *-ος*), Pamphylian *βωλήμενυς* and in the same inscription *κεκραμένυς*, *Ἔστφέδιυς* Nom. and *Κουρασιώνυς* Gen. :

(c) in the first element of a compound, whether a monosyllabic Preposition, Cyprian *ὕν-έθηκε* and *ὀν-έθηκε*, both from *η-*, Att. *ἀν-*; or at the end of a disyllabic Preposition, Lesbian *ἀπυ-* and *ἀπο-*, Larisaeian *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 **Αγαθύμβροτος*.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) *υῖς*, Cretan *υῖ* and *ῶπι*, Euboean *μέτιυκος*.

(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* *τύτε* *ὑμφαλος* *ὑπισθα* *ὑρυς* as the proper Aeolic forms, though Pittacus (in Bergk) has *στόμα*, a Lesbian inscription *ῶτε*, Alcaeus *ῶρυς*; so that we cannot be sure that

¹ For **κατὺ*, which is to *κατὰ* as *ὑπὺ* to *ὑπα-* (Sappho).

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

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

⁴ Cyprian *δοφέναι* and *δυφάνοι* seem to contain the same root in two forms, (1) *dou-* from *dou-* (Wiedemann, *Litauisches Praeteritum*, 41 sq.), cf. Old Slavonic *davati*, and (2) *du-*, cf. Lat. *duim*, with *F* develop'd before a vowel, as in Chalcidian *Γαρυφόνης*, Boeotian *Εὐφάγορος*, cf. Epirotic *Εὐβανδρος*. Cf. respectively (1) *dō(u)-* in Cyprian *δώκοι*, and (2) *dū-* in *ἐπέδυκε* (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 ὑμάλλων· 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 *υ*.

(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 *υ* into *o*: the town-name *Σόλοι* (in Cyprus) is in Plutarch *Σύλοι* (Meister 2. 220), we have *ἰθονίκη* 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 ἰνκαφότευε 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 *Εὐφροσόναν Σομφόρω*, Attic *᾽Ολομπος*, Laconian *Κονοουρέων*, may be due to Assimilation (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412), while Strabo's *᾽Ορμίνα* for *᾽Υρμίνη* (in Elis, II. 2. 616, see Meister 2. 31) seems to show the influence of *ῥρμος* '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 *ἡδος* go together: the latter in Il. 11. 318 *ἡμέων ἡδος* '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 *ἄδη* (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 **ἀ-σφαδην* 'without satisfying oneself' (Schulze p. 452 sq.); and so I would explain *ἄδέω* in Homer's *ἄδήσειε ἄδηκότες*, both also written *ἀδδ-*, as for **ἀ-σφαδέω*, 'am dissatisfied, displeased':

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

B. In Lesbian we have *ἵπερ ἵψος* for *ὑπέρ ὑψος* (G. Meyer 91), in Larisæan *ιπέρ* (Meister 1. 224), in Megarian *αισιμνᾶτᾶς* for *αισυμνητής* (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412 sq.), in Hippocrates both *στριφνός* and *στρυφνός* 'hard.' So I would explain *κίναϊδος* '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 *ρ* (G. Meyer 27), e.g. *βροχέως θροσέως στρότᾶγος*, Homer's *ἡμβροτον* beside Att. *ἡμαρτον*: so *βροτός* (cf. Sk. *mr̥tás* 'dead') must have been Aeolic, the true Ionic word being *θυητός*, Dor. *θυᾶτός*. So *η* is represented by *νο* in Alcaeus' *γνόφαλλον* beside Att. *κνάφαλλον*:¹ the root, as the varying initial proves,² was originally bi-aspirate, *ghh-bh-*,

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

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

cf. **ghne-bh-** in Att. *γνέφαλλον*, and with Metathesis (as in *ὄμφαλός* 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 *έοσσητήρ* *άοσσητήρ*, and *έγρυννεί* *άρυννεί*, the first vowel in each being the 'copulative' prefix, originally **sm-**, sec. 1, c. (In *ά-γρ-υπνεί*, literally 'is chasing sleep,'¹ and in *ά-γρ-α* 'chace,' *ά-γρέω* 'seize,' *ζω-ά-γρ-ια* 'reward for saving life,' the *ά-* must be a prefix, the root **gr-**, **ger-**, as in Hom. *ζώ-γρει* 'take alive,' and Hesych. *έγρηνται* *ήρηνται*.) So **g=er** in Homer's *έρι-* and *Θερσίτης* beside *άρι-* and *θάρσος*, Hesych. *ζέρεθρα* and *μέργιζε* 'gobble' beside *βάραθρα* and *μάργος*; and **l=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 **g=re** in Lesbian *κρέτος* for *κράτος* (G. Meyer 6), Hesych. *ρέμφος* for *ράμφος* 'beak,' Boeotian *τραπέδδας* beside (in another inscription) *τραπέδδας* (B.B. 17. 336, n.).

D. Homer's *ὀδμή* = Att. *ὀσμή*, as **Αδμητος* = Att. **Ασμητος* (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 *καίννμαι* 'surpass,' Perf. *κέκασμαι*, cannot be for **κάδνμαι* or go with *κεκαδμένος*, for Dental+ν would remain unchanged, as in *άλοσύδνη πίντω ἔθνος* (G. Meyer 280): I would explain it as for **κάσννμαι* (cf. *εἰνῶμι* for **εἰσνῶμι*), from a root **kn̄s-**, Sk. *çaīs-* 'to praise,' so that *καίννμαι* 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 **kn̄**, Ablaut of *κέν* 'then' (see Persson Idg. Fors-

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

chungen 2. 228): the first element is **ἀντί*, Location of *ἀντ* 'ipse' (Hesychius), while *αὐτός* is from the stem of *αὐς*+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 *βίᾱ*, beside Sk. *jīv-* and *jyū-* respectively, would be **εῖος* and **εῖᾱ*. The former appears in *διερός* 'living' (Fick B.B. 16. 287), and I think in *δῖεμαι* 'hasten, am quick'; of which the Perfect Active would be **δεδίωκα* (as that of *ἀφίημι* is *ἀφέωκα*, G. Meyer 559), whence was formed a Present *διώκω* 'set in motion' (G. Meyer 45). The form **εῖᾱ* I detect in

(a) *εἰᾱ-κονος* 'servant,' quasi *βία κωνῶν*, 'compelled to work': the second element, as in Hesychius' *κονεῖν ἐπέλεγσθαι*, Homer's *ἐγκονεῖω* 'hasten,' Att. *ἀκονῖτι* 'without trouble' (Schulze 353, n.), is from *ken-*, a parallel form of *kven-* in *πονεῖν*, as *kel-* in *κέλλω*, *κέλης*, Lat. *celer*, is a parallel form of *kvel-* in *πέλω* 'move,' Lat. *colō*:

(b) *εἰᾱ-νεκῆς* 'continuous,' quasi *βία ἐνεχθεῖς*, 'brought on by force, not to be stopt': the second element being an unnasalised form (as in Lat. *nactus*) of the root of *ἐνεκεῖν* 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.

ἄζηχῆς 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 ἀντευν*, of a 'harsh, grating sound' (Monro), and Verg. Georg. 1. 357 *aridus . . fragor* 'a jarring noise.' Hesychius' *ἄζᾱχ[έα]* then will be the Doric form; his *ἄζεχῆς* is a different word, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄζην ἔχειν*, as the Scholiast on Il. 15. 25 gives the derivation of *ἄζηχῆς* (which Apollonius Rhodius uses as = *ἄζαλέος* 'dry,' Wackernagel K.Z. 33. 51).

αἰσχος 'disgrace' = **αἰσ-σχ-ος*, from *ais-* in Goth. *aistan* 'to observe,' Old High German *ēra* 'honour,' *ai(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 *αἴσχος* 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' *πασχητιῆ* 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-ἀγκεια* 'meeting of glens,' i.e. *μιγ-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: **ᾠ-γα* is an unreduplicated Perfect, like *οἶδα*, from the strong form (as in *ἀγ-ωγ-ός*) of the root of *ἄγω*. So *οἰμωγῆ* 'wailing,' from *οἴμοι* + **ᾠ-γῆ*: for the sense cf. *κτύπον ἄγειν* 'make a noise,' *γέλωτα ἄγειν* 'raise a laugh.'¹ So I would explain *πράσσω* as **πρῦ-ἀγ-τ-ζω*, 'make progress,' whence its Homeric use with a 'local' Genitive, e.g. Il. 24. 264 *ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο* 'advance on our way,' and so *πράγος* 'business' = **πρᾶ-αγ-ος*: the first element is **πρᾶ* 'progress,' a Subst. formed like *χρή* and *ὄμο-κλή* (Brugmann Grr. 2. 896), and standing to *πόρος 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. *ἄργος* 'idle,' from **ἀ-Φεργός*) means 'impracticable, not to be done,' from *ἀ-* negative + (*F*)*έργον*. For the contraction cf. *ἄκων* from **ἀ-Φέκων*.

ἄρρατος 'unchangeable' (Plato) = **ἄ-Φρα-τος*, *ἀ-* negative + **Φρατός* Participle from *φρῆ-* '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 *ὄρτυξ* 'quail' quasi 'dancing, turning round.'

διφθέρᾱ '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 ἀκτᾶν* 'the raised altar'; so in *ἔχθος* 'weight, what one can lift,' cf. Soph. El. 119 *ἔγειν οὐκέτι σωκῶ λύπης ἀντίρροπον ἔχθος*, and the Attic use *ἔγειν μνᾶν* 'to weigh a pound, be able to lift it.'

undressed or dressed') means 'twice spoilt,' $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma + \phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$, diverted from its natural use as a covering for the beast, first torn off ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\iota\varsigma$ from $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$, with a termination $-\rho\iota\varsigma$ as in $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma \delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma$, Brugmann Grr. 2. 98) and then tanned. Hesychius has a dialectic form $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, which goes with his $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\epsilon\iota \phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$ (G. Meyer 209 fn.).

$\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ 'eel' = $*\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\acute{\upsilon}-\chi\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$, 'snake with the mouth of a tortoise,' $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$: $*\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ 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 $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\rho\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ for $*\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}-\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$, and so I would explain (a) $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ 'suppliant not yet purified' as for $*\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron-\mu\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (as $\Pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\eta\varsigma = * \Pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron-\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\eta\varsigma$, Fick K.Z. 22. 99), 'with a deed of violence, $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta$, in his memory,' $\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\mu\eta$; (b) $\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}-\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ 'loquacious' as for $*\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}-\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ 'mad of mouth'; and (c) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\mu\upsilon\kappa\epsilon$, Il. 22. 491, of an orphan boy, as for $*\acute{\upsilon}\pi-\epsilon-\mu\upsilon\eta-\acute{\eta}\mu\upsilon\kappa\epsilon$ 'is bowed down in mind' (quasi $*\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\eta}\mu\upsilon\kappa\epsilon \mu\epsilon\mu\upsilon\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$): though for $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'bow down' I cannot suggest any etymology.

$\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$ 'foundation' is marked by Brugmann, Grr. 2. p. 204, as the only *Neuter* word with the termination $-\beta\eta\omicron-$: I therefore take it as a compound of $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma + \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta} \acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, 'touching the seat' or bottom, a Dissimilation of breathing for $*\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'ready' may mean 'striving after the way,' $\omicron\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma$; the first element being (as Prellwitz Etym. Wörterbuch der Griech. Sprache suggests) jet- , Sk. *yāt-* 'seek to reach' (Middle). In the Active Sk. *yāt-* means 'to marshal, put in order'; and with this we may connect $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, and (with the root in its long form reduplicated) $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'true,' quasi 'regular.' On the difference of breathing see sec. 3, A.

$\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ must be a compound, or we should have $*\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$,¹ as we have $\text{E}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\upsilon\iota\alpha$ beside $\text{E}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\omega}$: it seems a contraction of $*\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon-\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ 'full wide' (Sk. *urús*). So $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ 'straight' may be from $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon- + \theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, 'rushing well,' going in a straight line. The first element appears in three different forms: (1) **esu-**, $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon-$, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ 'brave,' with metrical lengthening (Schulze 33 sq.) $\acute{\eta}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; (2) **su-**, the reduced form, Sk. *sú-* 'well,' Greek $\acute{\upsilon}-$ in $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ beside $\beta\rho\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ beside

¹ The only non-compound word in Greek with υ in both syllables is $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, apparently a by-form of the $*\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ which appears in Hesychius' $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta} \beta\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$.

Lith. *gyjù* '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 **v̄-* in **v̄θús*, whence by Dissimilation (Osthoff *Morph. Unters.* 4. 190 *sq.*, though his explanation is very different) *ιθús*, 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 *εὐ-*, as the correlative of *δυσ-*, from Sk. *sū-*, and put it with either Sk. *āyús* 'alive' or *ánas* 'favour.'—With *εὐ* I would put (a) *εὐτε* 'when' or 'as,' in the latter meaning also *ἡύτε*, with metrical lengthening: the *τε* being superfluous, as in *αὐτε*, *ός τε*, added on the analogy of clauses in which it really meant 'and.' Thus *Il.* 23. 62-65 *εὐτε 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 *εὐτ' ὄρεος κορυφῆσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην . . . ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κοινύσालος 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, ἡύτε 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 *δειπνον* '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,' *ρίνός*. The first element is the intensive prefix *λα-*, as in *λακαταπύγων*, *λακατάρυτος*, *λάμαχος*, representing **λαε-* *i.e.* **λασε-*,

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

μενοινάω 'desire eagerly' = **μενο-Φοινάω* (for the shortening of a compound see p. 20 on *ἐγχελευς*) '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 *μένοειεν ἄν*.

νηγατέος, the Homeric epithet of *χιτών* and *κρήδεμνον*, may mean 'such as never was,' *οἶος οὔπω ἐγένετο* (as I think the post-Homeric *ἄπλετος* 'immense' meant *οἶος οὔπω 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. **παίδ-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 *-εζω*.

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 *οὔπω* and *οὔπως*, *μήπω* and *μήπως*, are used interchangeably: in

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

Il. 3. 306 *οὔπω τλήσομ',*

Il. 14. 143 *σοὶ δ' οὔπω μάλα πάγχν θεοὶ μάκαρες κοτέουσιν,*

Od. 2. 118 *κέρδεά θ' οἶ' οὔπω τιν' ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ παλαιῶν,*

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

² *λελιημένος* 'eager' is not from *λαλαίομαι* but from **λιάομαι* 'I am much set on a thing,' cognate with *λίαν λίην* 'very much'; which itself seems to stand for **λι(F)-ᾶν*, 'smoothly, easily,' beside *λεί(F)ος* 'smooth,' with the same termination as *πλ-ᾶν πλ-ῆν* 'except,' literally 'turning from' (e.g. *πλὴν 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 λάθηται,

Eur. Hec. 1278 μήπω μανείη Τυνδαρίς τοσόνδε παῖς,

we might just as well have had οὐπως (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 δρᾶω, as in ὀλιγοδραπέων 'doing little, feeble.' So I would deduce σφεδανόν 'eagerly' (Il., in the phrases ἔπετο σφεδανόν, σφεδανὸν 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 ὀλοφυδνός πελιδνός ψεδνός, as the termination -τανό-, ἐπηετανός, is a by-form of -τνό- in πελιτνός.

ὑπόδρα, in the Homeric phrase ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν 'looking fiercely at him,' can have nothing to do with δέρκομαι, 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.

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

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

αἰετός 'eagle' (= **αιφετός*, 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 *αἰώνης* 'everlasting.' The two last words Johansson, B.B. 18. 4, puts with *αἰεί*, *αἰών*, and Sk. *āyús* 'living': the common idea then will be 'full of life, strong.'

αἰνός 'terrible' may originally have meant 'bitter, cruel,' **αι-γιός* (cf. *βαίνω* from **βάμ-γιω*, Goth. *qiman*), *m-* Ablaut to *ǫm-*, Lat. *amārus* 'bitter' (on the first vowel see Latin Vocalism 5), *ὤμός* '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*.

ἀνδροτήτα '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 **ερωτήτα* from **νδροτήτα* (*ἀ-νδρός*): this in two places gives an un-Homeric caesura *κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον* (Monro, Homeric Grammar,² 367. 2), *λιποῦσα *ερωτήτα καὶ ἦβην*, and in the third, Il. 24. 6 *ποθέων *ερωτήτά τε καὶ μένος*, will not even scan. (2) The idea that **ἀδροτήτα* could be a 'reduction' of **ἀνδροτήτα* lacks support: *ἀβρότη* is epithet of *νύξ* in Il. 14. 78, and *ἄμβροτος* in Od. 11. 330, but the sense is different, *ἀβρότη* (like *ἀμφιβρότη*, G. Meyer, 179) is 'neu componiert' from *βροτός*, to mean 'void of men, unpeopled,' (*καθ' ἣν βροτοὶ μὴ φοιτῶσιν* Schol., *ἐν ἣ βροτὸς οὐ πρόεισιν* Eustathius), and so in Aesch. Prom. 2 *ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρμηίαν* (as Dindorf rightly reads for *ἄβατον*: Hesychius has *ἄβροτον ἀπάνθρωπον*).² (3) I would therefore read **ἀροτήτα*, as a parallel form to *ἀρετήν*, the *αρ-* in each case representing *nr-* (beside *ἀ-νήρ*). In Il. 2. 651 *Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρείφοντι* we may read **ἄρεφόντι*, 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 ἀργήτι*, *ἀσκεθής ἀσκηθής*, *πρωτοπαγής εὐπηγής* (Schulze 473 n.).

² From *ἀβρότη* Goebel, *Homerische Blätter*, p. 1 sq., derives *ἀβροτάζω* in Il. 10. 65 *μή πως ἀβροτάζομεν ἀλλήλων*, 'walk by night to each other's hurt': Hesychius has *ἀβροτήσαι* 'to meet by night.'

stream,' since according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 9. 60) the sturgeon swims with its scales turned forward. Lat. *aquīpēnsis* 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*.

ἀνλαξ 'furrow,' *ἀλλή* 'court' (within a high fence, Homer's *βαθέης ἀλλῆς*), *ἀλλός* 'flute,' *ἀλλών* '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 *ελαχύς*: the root of *βρέφος* must be *mreghv-*, as that of *βραχύς* is *mrghv-*, Goth. *ga-maurgjan* 'to shorten' (Johansson K.Z. 30. 442 sq.). I detect a third form, *mṛghv-*, 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 ἐόλον κατὰ δειλάτα* ('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 *πάτις*: the proper form, as Old Slavonic *gospodŭ* 'lord' shows, was *gvěspod-*, the *-d-* 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 *ἀλλός*

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

boars at bay) ἀνδρῶν ἢ δὲ κυνῶν δέχεται κολοσυρτὸν ἰόντα δοχμῶ τ' αἰσσοῦντε περὶ σφίσιν ἄγνουτον ὕλην.

ἔηρις 'contest' may mean 'spear-work,' from *ἔηρFis, *dērv-* Ablaut to *dōrv-*, *dōru*, Sk. *dāru* 'piece of wood': cf., with short vowel, *derv-* Lith. *derwā* 'pinewood,' *dorv-* δούρατα, *doru* δόρυ 'spear.' This *ἔηρFis then became *ἔηρρις, *ēhriς*, though by ordinary Greek laws it should have become *ἔέρFis, *ἔεῦρις; much as *μηνσός became *μηννός (Lesbian μῆννος), *mhnos*, 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 *ērv-* became *epF*, as the law that *ns* became *nv* was earlier in operation (Brugmann Grr. 1. 611) than the law that *ēns* became *evs*.

εἰκῆ 'at random' seems a Litotes for εἰκότως 'as we should have expected, simply, naturally,' Soph. Oed. Rex 979 εἰκῆ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως εὐναιτό 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 Ἐρμῆν (Acc. of Ἐρμῆς), 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 κλωός 'wooden collar,' *i.e.* *κλωF-ιός, shows the same stem *kļiv-* as Lat. *clāva* 'wooden club.'

κωλύω 'hinder' is a Dissimilation for *κῶλύω (as κωκῶω 'howl' for *κῶκῶω, Lith. *kūkū*): with a short vowel the root appears in κυλλώω 'cripple,' and Sk. *kuṇiś* '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) *ληίς* *ληίη* *λεία* 'booty,' public property before it was divided among the combatants, cf. *λείας ἄδαστα* Soph. Aj. 54.

ματάω '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-ζων* (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 *αείδω*, p. 4.

μογαστός, 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 *μόγος*: *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 μόγους τεκουσῶν*: the first element is an Adverb **μόγος* (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 *μόγους* 'with difficulty' (accented like the Subst.), and, with a determinative -*ο-* (see on *θέσφατος*, p. 2), *μόγος* 'labour.'

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

νεᾶλῆς 'fresh' is not a compound of *ἀλίσκομαι*, but a by-form of **νεᾶλός* (as *δαψιλῆς* is of *δαψιλός*, *ἀλουργῆς* of *ἀλουργός*), from a Subst. **νέᾶ* 'youth,' whence also *νεᾶνις*, *νεᾶνίās*. For the termination cf. *ἀπατηλός*, *σιγγηλός*.

νοῦσος = **νόσ-φος* (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 *θεία 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 *ἐβλαδον* '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 *παμφανώνων*, while *παπταίνω* 'look round' must be from a root *kvṅkvth-* (or whatever the last letter may be), *kvṅkvth-*, whence, without the nasal, Sk. *caḥśh-* '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).

πεπνῦμένος 'wise,' *νόον πεπνῦσθαι* '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: *δί' ἀσθένειαν καὶ δειλίαν πεπτωκώς*, says Hesychius: in Homer the word always means 'fallen,' e.g. *Od.* 14. 474 *ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες κείμεθα* 'we lay on the ground, with our shields over us,' and *Il.* 2. 312 (of young sparrows) *πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες* 'at the bottom of the nest, under the leaves.' It has no more to do with *πτίσσω* 'crouch' than has *καταπτίστην* in *Il.* 8. 136, of horses falling under the ear: 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. *paḥrās* '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.'

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

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

ρήγος 'rug' (Hom.), *ρέγος* (Anacreon), *ρέζω* 'dye' (Epicharmus), and *ἄλο-υργής* 'dyed with sea purple' (Att., see Schulze 498, *n.*), must go with *ρήσσω* '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 *vr̥g-*, Ablaut *vr̥g-* in *ράσσω* '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 *khshatrapāvan-* 'viceroy'), and going with Sk. *kshat-tār-* 'charioteer.'

σαυρωτήρ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear' must mean 'twirler,' from a Verb **σαυρώω*, 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* = **τFάρ-Fos*, 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 *ᾧστε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλη ἐπὶ σῶματι 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,' *οικέτης*, *bhu-l-* being Ablaut of *bhōu-l-* in Old Norse *bōl* 'lair' (Wiedemann Lit. Praet. p. 137, despite Kluge

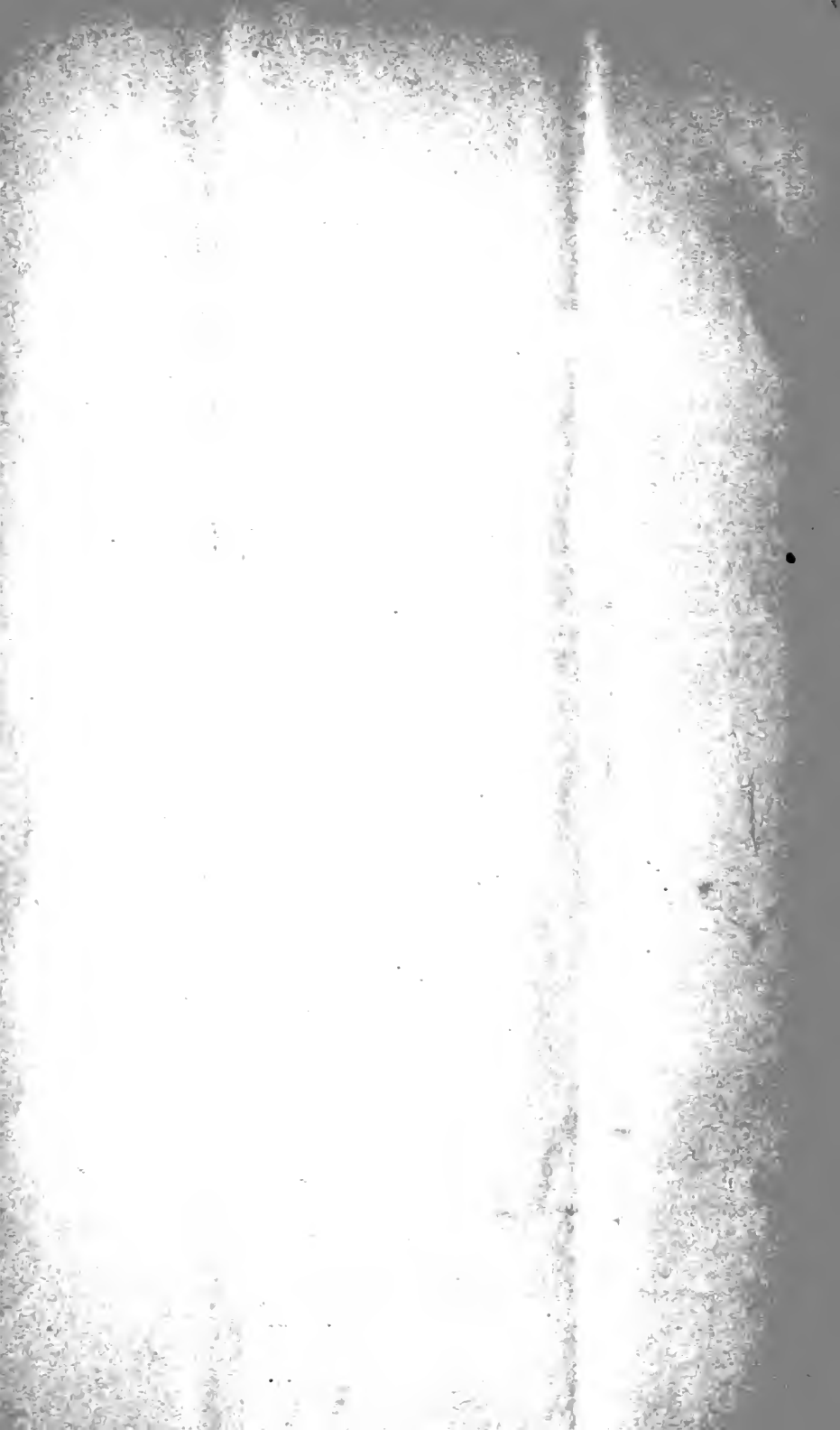
¹ Fick, *Wörterbuch*⁴, 1. 499, adds *τυρός* 'cheese'; but this is not made by stirring, though butter is.

K.Z. 26. 97), bhō-1- 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 παραδρώσι χέρηες*; and so in the Neuter, Il. 14. 382 *ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔδυνε, χέρηα* ('those fit for an artisan') *δὲ χείρουι 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 ἀξιολογώτατον 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.'

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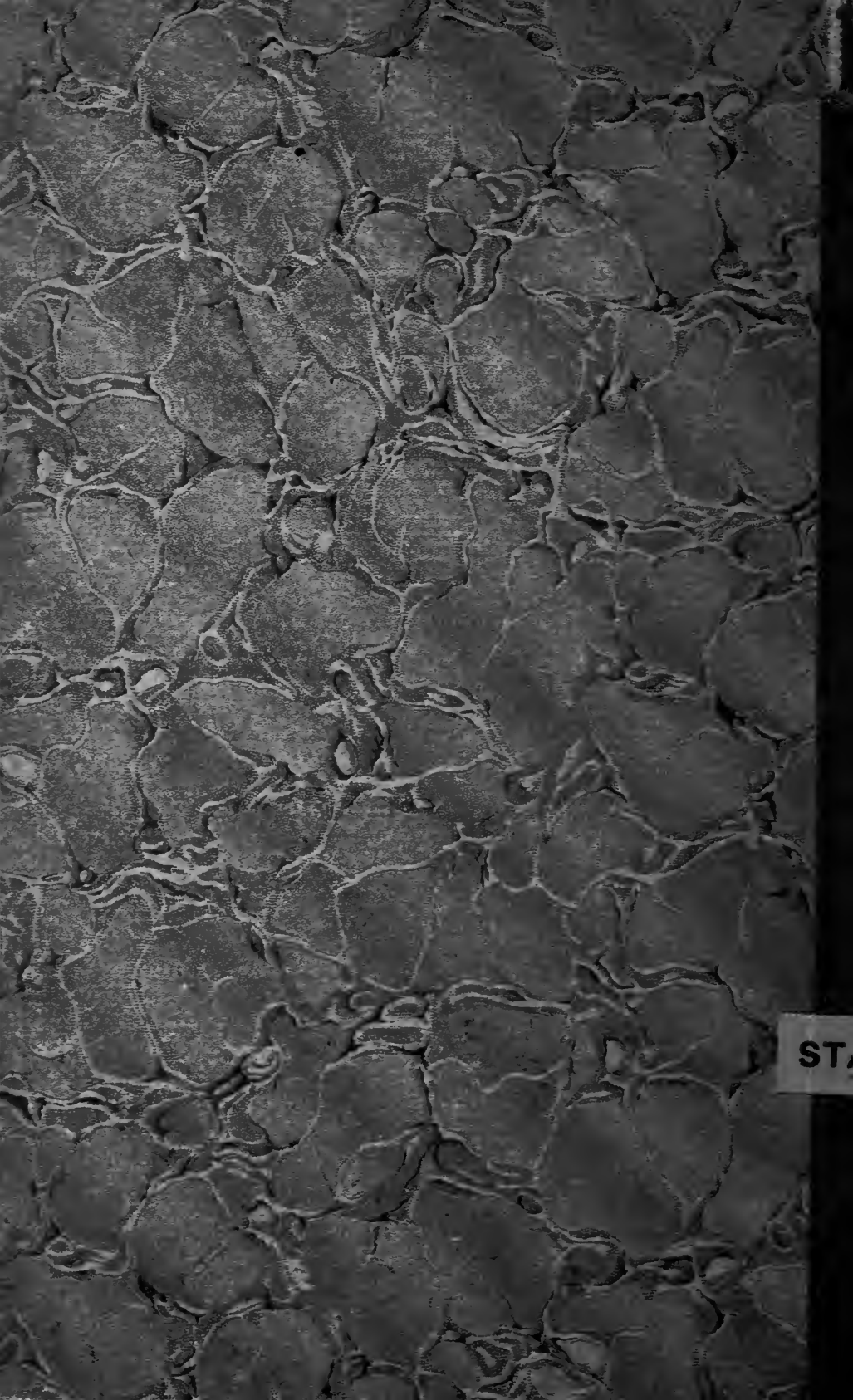
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