

9. The main results of this inquiry are:

- (1) DH uses a system of nine word classes, without showing awareness of the so-called traditional system of eight parts of speech.
- (2) Twice his classifications of words betray the existence of older systems with fewer parts.
- (3) He offers the only parallel to the statement that Dionysius Thrax called pronouns *ἄρθρα δεικτικά*.
- (4) He stands alone in mentioning *ἐπιρρήματα τρόπον*, presumably an equivalent of *ἐπιρρήματα ποιότητος*.
- (5) His views on natural word order and agreement correspond on many points with those of Apollonius Dyscolus, and are probably of Stoic origin.
- (6) Stoic influence on his views can also be seen in his statements on the origin of language and on the relation between noun and verb. Whether his use of *συμβεβηκότα*, instead of *παρεπόμενα* of traditional grammar, is influenced by Stoic theory, remains to be seen.
- (7) There is a strong probability that a great part of what DH offers on linguistic subjects corresponds with the level of common knowledge of linguistic views circulating in Greek circles at Rome at the end of the first century B.C.

### Greek *καπάνη* and Latin *capanna*

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*Καπάνη* f. 'mule-car', the Thessalian counterpart of *ἀπήνη* 'four-wheeled wagon, any car or chariot' (Ath. 10.418e), and the variant *καπάνη* are derivatives of *κάπη* 'crib, manger', cf. *κάπτω* 'gulp down'. In Pollux 1.142 *καπάνη* means the cross-piece in the chariot seat, whereas the side-pieces are named *καπάνακες*. On the other hand, the Hesychian gloss *καπαλαί·[κάπηλοι] φάτναι* has been considered spurious. The interpretation *κάπηλοι* 'retail-dealers; tavern-keepers' has been correctly doubted as being dittographic,<sup>1)</sup> and the gloss itself, whose meaning is identical to that of *κάπη*, has been emended

<sup>1)</sup> *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, Hauniae 2 (1966) 409 s.v.

to *καπάναι*.<sup>2)</sup> This emendation was apparently prompted by the fact that the gloss *καπαλίξει·ζευγηλατεῖ* was emended to *καπανίζει* by K. Latte. There is no doubt that both of these emendations dwell on the assumption that dittographic *κάπηλοι* was responsible for the orthographic contamination of the emended forms.

It is interesting to note that Middle and Modern Greek *στάνη* 'sheep- or goat-pen', which is widely attested in the Balkan languages, figures as the second component of the Hesychian gloss *βουστάνη* 'cattle-pen' (cf. *βουστάνη· βοοστασία, ἢ τῶν βοῶν στάσις*).<sup>3)</sup> A variant of *στάνη* is the gloss *στάλη· ταμείον κτηνῶν* Hesychius). Both variants show the *-ανη* ~ *-αλη* suffix variation which can also be seen in *αἰβάλη* 'door' (Theognostus) and the synonymous Hesychian gloss *αἰβάνη*. It is worth noting, however, that the latter has been needlessly emended to *αἰβάλη*.<sup>4)</sup> The same suffix variation is observed in *πτακάνα* and *πτακάλα* variants of *πτανάκα* 'boat-mat' (Poll. 10.166).<sup>5)</sup> The gloss *ἀσκάνη· ἀγανάκτησις* 'physical pain and irritation, vexation' has been equated with *ἀσχαλίη*:<sup>6)</sup> \**ἄσχαλος*, a form postulated as the source of the verb *ἀσχάλλω* (cf. also *ἀσχαλάω*) 'to be distressed, grieved'.<sup>7)</sup>

In discussing the occurrence of the *-αλο-* suffix in roots and stems containing an alternating nasal, P. Chantraine observed: "Il apparaît d'abord que le suffixe (en *-αλο-*) s'observe souvent en liaison avec des racines ou des mots concernant une nasale: *ἰσχαλέος* 'sec' (Homère, Hippocrate), cf. *ἰσχνός*; . . . *ὀπταλέος* 'cuit' (Homère, etc.), cf. *ὀπτανός* . . . ; *θηγαλέος* 'aigu' (Anth.), cf. *θηγάνη*, etc."<sup>8)</sup> It is well to point out that, in addition to these forms, the *-αλο-* ~ *-ανο-* suffix alternation is widely attested in pairs of variants as the following sample indicates: 1. *ἀρδάνιον* 'water-pot or through' (Poll. 8.64; Hesychius): *ἀρδάλιον* (cf. *ἀρδάλια· τοὺς πνυθμένας τῶν κεραμίδων, οὗς γοργύρας καλοῦσιν* Hesychius); 2. *γρυπάλιον· γερόντιον ἢ γρυπάνιον* 'little old woman' (Hesychius); 3. *κρούπανον* 'wooden shoe' (Hesychius): *κρούπαλον* id. S. Fr. 44; 4. *πύρδανον* 'kitchen or stove for

<sup>2)</sup> H. J. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (GEW)*, Heidelberg 1 (1970) 780.

<sup>3)</sup> D. Moutsos, *Die Sprache*, 18 (1972), 155–162.

<sup>4)</sup> K. Latte, *op. cit.* 1, 60 s. v.

<sup>5)</sup> *Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe, Leipzig 2 (1960), 329; cf. also P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (DELG)*, Paris 3 (1974), 946.

<sup>6)</sup> K. Latte, *op. cit.* 1, 260 s. v.

<sup>7)</sup> P. Chantraine, *DELG* 1, 131.

<sup>8)</sup> P. Chantraine, *La formation de noms en grec ancien (FNG)*, Paris 1933, 253.

cooking' (Hesychius): *πύρδαλον* 'small wood for burning' Lyr. Alex. Adesp. 31; 5. *ράφανος* 'radish, *Raphanus sativus*' (Poll. I. 247): *ράπαλος* id. P Jena 3. 12 (cf. the dim. *ράφάνιον* [PHib. 34. 18]: *ράπάνιον* UPZ 19. 85); 6. *σκάνδαλον* 'trap, snare', cf. PCair. Zen. 608: *σκανδάνων*: *σκανδάλων*); 7. *κάρκανος* adj. 'dry', cf. *κάρκανα ξύλα*: *ξηρά*: *καγκαλέα*: *κατακεκαυμένα* (Hesychius).<sup>9)</sup> The same alternation persists in Modern Greek, e.g. *βράκανον* n., pl. *βράκανα* 'wild herbs' (Hesychius), *βράκανο* 'Rapsdotter, *Rapistrum orientale*' (Euboea: Konistres): *βράκαλο* Id. (Peloponnesus: Germa, Laconia); *γάβανον* 'container' (cf. *γάβενα*: *όξυβάφια ήτοι τρυβλία* Hesychius) > *γάβανος* (Euboea, Thrace, and elsewhere): *γάβαλος* (Cos);<sup>10)</sup> *καύκαλο(ν)* 'skull': *καύκανο* (place name *Καύκανα* Macedonia: Stageira);<sup>11)</sup> *κόπανον* 'pestle' (cf. *σκορδοκόπανον*: *σκορδοκόπαλον* pestle for pounding garlic' Pontos) dim. *κοπάνι(ο)ν*: *κοπάλιν* Pontos;<sup>12)</sup> *κρόταλον* 'clapper' (> Middle Greek *κούρταλ(λ)ον* > common Modern Greek *κούρταλο*) dim. *κροτάλιον*: *\*κροτάνι(ον)* > *τροκάνι* 'small bell' > *τροκάνα* f. 'wooden clapper; heavy bell';<sup>13)</sup> *τυκάνη* 'tribula, trahea' dim. *τυκάνιον* > *τυκάνιν*, *τουκάνιν* Pontos, *τσουκάνι* Cappadocia and elsewhere, *τσουκάλι* Amorgos;<sup>14)</sup> *ροκάνη* 'plane' > *ροκάνα* 'rattle' (common Modern Greek): *ροκάλα* id. East Corinthia: Sophicon.<sup>15)</sup>

This evidence suggests that *καπαλαί* need not be emended to *καπᾶναι* but rather to *καπᾶλαι* since *καπάλη* can safely be explained as a variant of *καπάνη*. The same is true of the glosses *καπαλευτάς*: *όνηλάτας* and *καπαλίξει*: *ζευγηλατεῖ* which draw on *καπάλη* and,

<sup>9)</sup> Cf. HJ. Frisk, *GEW* s.vv.; P. Chantriane, *DELG* s.vv.; idem, *FNG* 196–200, 253–255. The variants *κάρκανο* and *κάρκαλο* 'dry' persist in dialectal Modern Greek, cf. Ph. Koukoules, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 29 (1917): *Λεξικογραφικόν ἀρχεῖον*, 99–100; idem, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 57 (1953), 206.

<sup>10)</sup> N. Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten* (*LAND*), Wien 1974, 186, 191.

<sup>11)</sup> I. Thomopoulos, *Μελέτη τοπωνυμική τῆς νήσου Κέω*, Athens 1963, 90.

<sup>12)</sup> A. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικόν λεξικόν τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου*, Athens 1 (1958), 464 and 2 (1961), 291; N. Andriotis, *LAND* 326.

<sup>13)</sup> DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatus*, (Lyon 1688) repr. Graz 1958 s.v.; *Λεξικόν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, ed. Proia (undated), vol. 2, s.vv.; N. Andriotis, (*Ἑτυμολογικὸ λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς νεοελληνικῆς* [*ELKN*], Thessaloniki 1967, 378) wrongly assumes that *τροκάνα* is of onomatopoeic origin.

<sup>14)</sup> Ph. Koukoules, *Θεσσαλονίκης Ἐδσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά*, Athens 1 (1950), 260; N. Andriotis, *LAND* 562.

<sup>15)</sup> N. Andriotis, *ELKN* 311; J. T. Pring, *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Greek*, Oxford 1965, 168. The evidence from Sophicon is based on my personal familiarity with this dialect.

therefore, should not be emended to *καπαρευτάς* and *καπανίζει*, respectively. In discussing the complexities of this problem, P. Chantraine made the following remarks: "Diverses glosses d'Hsch. présentent une structure voisine, mais le sens ne permet pas de les évoquer aisément; on peut toutefois penser à la rigueur à *καπαλίζει· ζευγηλατεῖ* (ou mieux corriger avec Latte en *καπανίζει*); mais que faire de *καπάνη· τριχίνη κωνῆ* ou de *καπάνια· ἀρπεδόνες*?"<sup>16</sup>)

According to I. G. Schneider, *καπάνια* are 'funiculi scortei, quibus aurigae sedes sive tarrium alligabatur.'<sup>17</sup>) Although it cannot be fully demonstrated what *καπάνια* stood for, the gloss *ἀρπεδόνες* 'cords for binding or snaring game' implies that they ought to be understood as having resulted from *καπάνια δεσμά ἢ πείσματα* in a fashion similar to that of *ἀγκύρια* (sc. *πείσματα*) 'anchor-cables' (D. S. 14. 73) or *πρυμνήσια* (sc. *δεσμά*) 'mooring-cables' (PMag. Berol. 1. 346) with substantivization of the adjective *καπάνιος*. The proposed emendation of *κωνῆ* (in *καπάνη· τριχίνη κωνῆ*) to *σκηνή* has not been accepted.<sup>18</sup>) On the other hand, the semantic parallelism sought by Latte in Middle Greek *καπάσιον* which, next to the meaning 'capitium, pileus quo caput tegitur,' came to mean 'tilt or hood of a carriage,<sup>19</sup>) is actually a reverse parallel. However, the etymological relation of Late Latin *caranna* 'hut, cabin' to *καπάνη* (as will be shown shortly) suggests that the latter, in addition to the meaning 'wagon-box', apparently came to mean 'a tilted wagon', an intermediate semantic development that most likely preceded that of 'cabin' and 'hut'. A parallel semantic development can be seen in Middle Greek *καροῦχα*: *καροῦκα* 'carriage' (: Latin *carruca* id.) which is also attested as *σκιάδιον* 'pileus, umbraculum, στέγαστρον',<sup>19a</sup>) cf. *σκιάδειον*: (1) sunshade, parasol (Ar. Eq. 1348); (2) a sort of broad-brimmed hat (Hesychius, s. v. *θολία*); (3) carriage with a tilt or hood (Photius, Eustathius); (4) tilt (LXX Is. 66. 20).<sup>19b</sup>) Thus a semantic development similar to that of *καροῦχα*: *σκιάδιον* can shed light on how *καπάνη* came to mean *τριχίνη κωνῆ*, cf. also *κωνῆ· περικεφαλαία. πέτασος πῖλος Ἄρκαδικός. ἢ οἰκία* Hesychius.

<sup>16</sup>) P. Chantraine, *DELG* 2, 493.

<sup>17</sup>) Cf. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, (Jena 1858–1868) repr. Amsterdam 2 (1965) s. v.

<sup>18</sup>) Cf. M. Schmidt, *op. cit.* s. v. *καπάνη*.

<sup>19</sup>) DuCange, *op. cit.* 584–585; K. Latte, *op. cit.* 2, 409 s. v. *καπάνη*.

<sup>19a</sup>) DuCange, *op. cit.* 594, 1389–1390.

<sup>19b</sup>) Cf. also G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 1238, s. v. *σκιάδιον*.

Late Latin *capanna* 'hut, cabin', whose etymological relation to *καπάνη* is debated, is attested in Isidor of Seville (Or. 15,12,2: *casulam faciunt sibi custodes vinearum ad tegimen sui . . . hanc rustici capannam vocant, quod unum tantum capiat*) and later (ca. 800) in the *Scholia in Juvenalem* 3, 296: *hinc proseuka vocatur casula pauperum i. cabanna [capenna C], in qua manentes stipem a transeuntibus petunt.*<sup>20)</sup> F. Diez rejected the derivation of *capanna* from *capio* and *cappa*, which in Old Spanish figures as 'hut', and considered it of Celtic origin.<sup>21)</sup> The Celtic origin of *capanna* was also advocated by J. Jud<sup>22)</sup> and E. Gamillscheg. The latter describes this etymon as follows: "*cabane 'Erdhütte'; es geht mit ital. capanna 'Laubhütte' auf ein gallisches capanna zurück, das bei Isidor v. Sevilla bezeugt ist und kymr. caban 'Bude, Hütte' entspricht, dazu kymr. cab 'Hütte aus Ruten, die in die Erde gesteckt und oben zusammengebunden sind,' aus einem Stamm \*kap-.*"<sup>23)</sup> But since Modern Irish *kaban* and Welsh *kaban* are Romance loanwords,<sup>24)</sup> the Celtic origin of *capanna* has not been accepted.<sup>25)</sup> Various attempts to explain *capanna* from the IE root *\*geu-p-* 'wölben' or from the hypothetical Illyrian *\*kapánā*: IE *\*(s)cāp*: Greek *σκαπάνη* 'hoe' have been equally unsuccessful.<sup>25a)</sup> On the grounds that *capanna* figures in the Juvenalian scholia as a variant of *canaba*, *cannaba*, and *canapa*, the hypothesis was made that it was a metathetic variant of *canaba* which was hesitatingly linked with Greek *κνάβος* or *κάνναβος* 'wooden framework round which artists molded wax or clay, block-figure; manniken or rough drawing of the human body'.<sup>26)</sup> J. Corominas found this etymon unacceptable on the following grounds: "Teniendo en cuenta que es sumamente dudosa la existencia de un *canapa*,

<sup>20)</sup> H. Rönsch, *Romanische Forschungen*, 2 (1886) 305.

<sup>21)</sup> F. Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1887, 85.

<sup>22)</sup> J. Jud, *Archivum Romanicum*, 6 (1922), 20, 6.

<sup>23)</sup> E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*, Heidelberg 1928, 163.

<sup>24)</sup> R. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle 1884, 53; J. Ventryes, *De hibernis vocabulis, quae latina lingua originem duxerunt*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1902, 118; G. Dottin, *La langue Gauloise*, Paris 1920, 241.

<sup>25)</sup> G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, Paderborn 1899, 208; A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1 (1965), 156–157; W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig-Berlin 2 (1940), 246.

<sup>25a)</sup> Cf. A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 1, 156–157, 854.

<sup>26)</sup> A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris 1967, 91, 94.

variante de *canaba* 'cabaña que sirve de almacén', es improbable que *capanna* salga de *canaba*, pues debería admitirse un cruce con el lat. *capere*, injustificable semánticamente".<sup>27)</sup> It should be pointed out that J. Corominas does not reject completely the Celtic origin of *capanna*.<sup>28)</sup>

Despite the geminate *nn* of *capanna* and the short *a* before it, which cannot be explained directly from Doric *καπάνᾱ*, one can hardly be convinced that the morphological and semantic similarities between these two forms are accidental.<sup>29)</sup> The same problem can be observed in *pannus* m. (*pannum* n.) 'cloth garment' whose derivation from Doric \**πᾱνος* : *πῆνος* : *ὑφασμα* Hesychius (cf. *πᾱνίσδομαι* : *πηνίζομαι* 'wind thread off a reel for the wool')<sup>30)</sup> shows the same reflex. It is interesting to note that the *-ῶn-* → *-Vnn-* reflex is not restricted to these forms alone but has a wider distribution as will be shown shortly. The geminate *nn* of *catachanna* 'ridicule, mockery, derision' < Doric \**καταχᾱνᾱ* : *καταχῆνη* 'flouting, mockery' has been attributed to interference of the verb *cachinno* 'to laugh aloud'<sup>31)</sup> although it is not any different from the geminate of *capanna* or *pannus*. The same is true of the variant *annus* of *ānus* 'ring' whose geminate has been explained as reflecting influence of *annus* 'year'.<sup>32)</sup> Aside from the fact that interference cannot always be fully justified, a close look at this reflex shows that here we have an instance of a unique phonological process which geminates an intervocalic nasal after a long vowel while at the same time the long vowel is shortened. This phonological process, whose details will be discussed after the tabulation of the relevant evidence, does not manifest itself in the nasals only but seems to have affected all major consonant categories of Latin, i.e., the stops, fricatives, and the resonants. A substantial number of debated Latin etyma can thus be clarified.

In spite of the fact that *penna* 'feather; tail of a bird' is earlier attested as *pesna*, (in which case the normal development should

<sup>27)</sup> J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Bern 1 (1954), 554.

<sup>28)</sup> J. Corominas, *loc.cit.*

<sup>29)</sup> G. Alessio, *Studi etrusci*, 19 (1948), 175–176 footnote 34; C. Battisti-G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, Firenze 1 (1948), 731.

<sup>30)</sup> A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 2, 247–248; A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *op.cit.* 479.

<sup>31)</sup> A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 1, 180; A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *op.cit.* 105.

<sup>32)</sup> A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *op.cit.* 37–38.

be *pesna* > *\*pezna* > *\*pēna* > *penna*, cf. *cānus* 'white, hoary, grey' < *\*caznus* < *\*casnos*, *cascus* 'old'), a protoform *\*petna* (cf. *peto* 'to fall upon, seek') has been postulated. In support of this etymon, M. Niedermann made the following remarks: "Festus p. 222, 25 et 228, 10 rapporte que les anciens disaient *pesna* au lieu de *penna*. Mais *pesna* aurait donné *\*pēna* d'après § 98 et ne peut, dès lors, avoir été l'ancêtre de *penna*. Si donc *pesna* n'est pas un faux archaïsme, inventé par Festus ou par quelque autre grammairien, il faut admettre qu'il existait à côté de *\*petnā* un doublet *\*petsnā* lequel, après être devenu *pesna* en vertu de §§ 75 et 65, 2° aurait été évincé par *\*petnā*, *penna*, et dont le rapport avec ce dernier serait analogue à celui de *\*caidslom* > *caelum*."<sup>33)</sup> The derivation of *penna* from *petnā* has been rejected on semantic grounds and the explanation of it from *\*petsna* > *pesna* > *\*pezna* > *\*pena* > *penna* has been accepted as being more plausible.<sup>34)</sup> In regard to the latter etymon, A. Meillet comments: "Il est surprenant que *\*-etsn-* donne *-enn-* dans lat. *penna*, comme on l'a supposé, alors que des groupes comparables *-eksn-* *ertsn-* aboutissent à *-ēn-* dans *sēni*, *cēna*. Le mot pourrait avoir un traitement de mot expressif, à géminée."<sup>35)</sup> Supporting evidence for the  $\bar{V}n \rightarrow \bar{V}nn$ - reflex can also be obtained from the Romance languages where, for example, *strēna* 'a sign, prognostic omen; a new year present' is the origin of Old French *estreine*, Modern French *étrennes*, Provençal *estrena*, Spanish *estrena*, whereas Italian *strenna* underlies an earlier *strēnna*.<sup>36)</sup>

The geminate *-mm-* of *flamma* has caused some controversy with respect to the etymon of this word. Thus one theory claims that *flamma* draws on *\*flagmā*: *flagrare*, cf. Lettish *blāzma* 'gleam, glare' (< *\*blāġ-mā*), Greek *φλέγμα* 'flame, fire, heat' and the other that it underlies *\*flags-mā*.<sup>37)</sup> The first theory is refuted by forms like *agmen* and *segmentum* which show that *g* is not assimilated to the following *m*, and the second has been doubted on the grounds that the expected derivative should be *flāma*, cf. *exāmen* 'swarm, multitude, crowd' < *\*ex-ag-s-men*. In regard to the complexity of this problem, the following observation has been made: "Quant à

<sup>33)</sup> M. Niedermann, *Précis de phonétique historique du latin*, Paris 1953, 134.

<sup>34)</sup> A. Ernout - A. Meillet, *op.cit.* 496.

<sup>35)</sup> A. Meillet, *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris (BSL)*, 23 (1922) 80.

<sup>36)</sup> H. Weinrich, *Phonologische Studien zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte*, Münster 1958, 20-21.

<sup>37)</sup> A. Walde - J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 1, 513.

flamma, le *-mm-* ne peut s'expliquer ni en partant de *-gm-*, cf. *agmen*, etc., ni en partant de *-gsm-*, cf. *exāmen*. Il y a eu gémination expressive de la consonne médiane."<sup>38</sup>) It is quite clear that here we have a case similar to that of *penna* < \**pēna*; that is, *flamma* underlies an earlier \**flāmā* whose derivation from \**flags-mā* (> \**flaksmā* > \**flasmā* > \**flazmā* > \**flāmā*) is in accordance with the appropriate rules of Latin phonology. It should be noted that *grummus*, a variant of *grūmus* 'little heap, hillock of earth', shows the same reflex.

In light of this evidence, certain peculiarities of some Latin etyma can easily be resolved. Since a good number of forms in *-erra*, *-urra*, e.g., *acerra* 'incense-box', are thought to be of Etruscan origin, the hypothesis was made that *crēterra*, a variant of *crātēra* (< *κρατήρα* acc. of *κρατήρ* 'mixing-vessel or bowl', cf. *crātēr*, is m.), came into Latin via Etruscan. The transformation of *-ēra* to *-erra* was thus attributed to influence of Etruscan. Aside from the fact that the Etruscan origin of *acerra* has been contested,<sup>39</sup>) it seems likely that *crēterra* underlies an earlier \**crētēra* < *κητηήρα*, acc. of Attic-Ionic *κητηήρ* : *κρατήρ*, acc. *κρατήρα* > *crātēra*.<sup>40</sup>) This explanation is corroborated by the same reflex observed in *parricida* < *pāricīda* 'parricide' (< \**pāso-kaidā(s)*, cf. Greek *πηός*, Doric *παός* 'kinsman')<sup>41</sup>) and the proper name *Varro* < *vārus*, among other forms.<sup>42</sup>) Thus the reflex *-erra* from *-ēra* is similar to that of *penna* and *flamma* from the respective \**pēna* and \**flāma*.

In discussing the origin of *quālus* 'wicker-basket or hamper' and its variant *quallus* (Verg. Geor. 2, 241) from \**qwa(s)slos* (cf. the dim. *quasillus* < \**qwassillus*), M. Leumann has characteristically stated: "Zwei Schwierigkeiten sind hier noch nicht endgültig gelöst. Erstens steht neben Schwund mit Ersatzdehnung auch Assimilation ohne Ersatzdehnung."<sup>43</sup>) There is no doubt that the *quālus* > *quallus* innovation is parallel to that of *penna*, *flamma*, and *crēterra*. On these grounds, *pullus* 'young animal' can be explained from \**pūlus* derivative of \**puzlos* < \**pu(s)slos* (cf. the dim. *pusillus* < \**pussillus*) and *grallae* 'stits' (Varr. ap. Non. 115, 21 f.), pl. of *gralla*, can be

<sup>38</sup>) A. Ernout - A. Meillet, *op.cit.* 259.

<sup>39</sup>) A. Walde - J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 1, 8.

<sup>40</sup>) Cf. A. Ernout, *BSL* 30 (1929-30), 119; A. Walde - J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 1, 291.

<sup>41</sup>) A. Walde - J. Hofmann, *op.cit.* 2, 253; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1963, 143.

<sup>42</sup>) M. Leumann, *loc.cit.*

<sup>43</sup>) M. Leumann, *op.cit.* 159.



traced back to *\*grāla* < *\*grazla* < *\*gra(s)sla* < *\*gratsla*.<sup>44)</sup> Likewise, the obscure *cella* 'store, chamber, room' can safely be derived from *cēla*: OInd. *śālā* 'hut, house, room, stall'.<sup>45)</sup>

The  $-\bar{V}C-$  →  $-\check{V}CC-$  (i.e.  $\check{V}\bar{C}$ ) reflex is more widely attested when the consonants involved are not nasals or liquids but voiceless stops. M. Niedermann discusses this problem as follows: "Dans un certain nombre de mots latins, une occlusive sourde, placée entre deux voyelles dont la première était longue et portait le ton, a été redoublée avec abrègement simultanè de la voyelle précédente. Ce que rend ce phénomène déconcertant, c'est d'abord qu'il semble avoir été absolument sporadique et ensuite que, le plus souvent, la forme primitive avec consonne simple et voyelle longue est restée en usage à côté de la forme postérieure avec consonne double et voyelle brève. Il y a là un problème très complexe qui attend encore sa solution."<sup>46)</sup> Some of the word pairs that fall into this category are: 1. *Jūpiter* > *Juppiter* 'Jupiter'; 2. *cūpa* > *cuppa* 'tune, cask, vat', cf. French *cuve* (< *cūpa*) and *coupe* < *cūppa*; 3. *lītera* > *littera* 'letter, a written sign or mark signifying a sound'; 4. *\*mīto* > *mitto* 'to cause to go, send'; 5. *mūcus* > *muccus* 'mucus of the nose'; 6. *sūcus* > *succus* 'juice, moisture, sap'.<sup>47)</sup> On the strength of this evidence, *vitta* 'a head-band, a sacrificial or sacerdotal fillet' can safely be derived from an underlying *\*vīta* (cf. *vītis* 'vine, grapevine' etc.), and the geminate of *plotta* 'flatfish (Cyprinus rutilus)' < *\*plōta* (cf. *flūta* 'a sort of large *muraena*' Varr. ap. Macr. 5, 2, 12) < *πλωτή* 'the floater' need not be attributed to interference of *plattus* 'flatfish', (: *platessa* id.), cf. also *pūpa* > *pūppa* 'girl, damsel, lass; doll, puppet'.<sup>48)</sup> Attention should also be paid to the fact that, aside from *mantīsa* > *mantissa* 'a worthless addition, make-weight' and *omāssum* > *omassum* 'bullock's tripe' whose etyma have not been satisfactorily established, the  $\bar{V}s$  →  $\check{V}ss$  reflex can be postulated for *vēsīca* > *vessīca* 'bladder'.<sup>49)</sup>

These facts lend themselves to the conclusion that a spontaneous sift of the length from a long vowel to the immediately following

<sup>44)</sup> M. Leumann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>45)</sup> A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *op. cit.* 1, 194.

<sup>46)</sup> M. Niedermann, *op. cit.* 113.

<sup>47)</sup> M. Niedermann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>48)</sup> A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *op. cit.* s. vv.; A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *op. cit.* s. vv.; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1935 s. vv.; cf. also M. Leumann, *op. cit.* 143c.

<sup>49)</sup> A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *op. cit.* s. vv.

intervocalic short consonant, a sift somewhat similar to the quantitative metathesis in Greek *νηός* > *νεώς*, *πόληος* > *πόλεως* etc.,<sup>50)</sup> is at work. Innovations like *\*pāricīda* > *parricīda* and *vēsīca* > *vessīca*, among others, minimize the importance of the stress as a conditioning factor of this quantitative metathesis which has been often described as expressive gemination.<sup>51)</sup> It thus becomes apparent that this sporadically operating rule sheds light on numerous Latin derivational anomalies, including *capanna* which obviously underlies *καπάνᾱ*, the Doric variant of *καπάνη*.

### Das etruskische Numerale *śa*

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In einem interessanten Aufsatz hat Lejeune (1981) gezeigt, daß der lateinische Typus *duodēvigintī*, *undēvigintī* in Nachahmung des etruskischen Typus *eslem zadrum*, *θunem zadrum* entstanden ist. Bei dieser Gelegenheit erwähnt er alle etruskischen Numeralia, u. a. die Namen von Einheiten „de 4 à 6: (ici, par ordre alphabétique) *huθ*, *maχ*, *śa* (5 étant probablement *maχ*)“. Es scheint mir, daß *śa* sicher '6' bedeutet und folgendes Argument dafür erbracht werden kann.

Aus verschiedenen Frequenzwörterbüchern ergibt sich, daß die Numeralia 4, 5, 6 manchmal eine fallende Frequenz aufweisen:

Englisch (Thorndike und Lorge 1944)	<i>four</i> 1637	<i>five</i> 1462	<i>six</i> 978
Französisch (Juilland, Brodin usw. 1970)	<i>quatre</i> 184	<i>cinq</i> 161	<i>six</i> 120
Geschriebenes Niederländisch (Uit den Boogaart 1975)	<i>vier</i> 214	<i>vijf</i> 158	<i>zes</i> 110
Italienisch (Juilland und Traversa 1973)	<i>quattro</i> 116	<i>cinque</i> 58	<i>sei</i> 30
Latein (Gardner 1970)	<i>quattuor</i> 44	<i>quinque</i> 23	<i>sex</i> 20

<sup>50)</sup> Cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, München 1 (1939), 245.

<sup>51)</sup> Cf. M. Niedermann, *op.cit.* 114.