

- Thumb, Albert, and Ernst Kieckers. *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 2nd ed., Vol. I. Heidelberg 1932: Winter.
- Thumb, Albert, and Anton Scherer. *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 2nd ed., Vol. II. Heidelberg 1959: Winter.
- Winter, Werner. "Internal Structure and External Relationship of Two Verbal Paradigms: Tocharian B *weñ-*, A *weñ-* 'Say'." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 5 (1977), pp. 133–59.

### The Etymology of Greek *μασχάλη* 'Armpit' with Notes on *μάλη*

By DOUGLAS Q. ADAMS, Moscow (Idaho)

*Μασχάλη* is "dunkel" according to Frisk (1970: 183–184) or of "etymologie ignorée" according to Chantraine (1968–1980: 671). Certainly, as it stands, it is not the obvious phonological equivalent of anything else in some other Indo-European group but, since words rarely come into being *e nihilo* and "since in principle we always look for linguistic continuity unless we have powerful evidence to the contrary" (Hamp, 1980: 40), it is worthwhile to see if a little ingenuity cannot recover a bit of history for us in this instance.

The ingenuity proposed here consists, in firstly of ignoring the initial consonant (to whose origin we will return later). The *-σχάλη* that remains matches the PIE *\*akslā* that lies behind Latin *āla* 'wing, shoulder-joint, armpit' almost exactly in kind if not so precisely in order. If in pre-Greek we had *\*aksalā*, a simple metathesis would produce *\*askhalā*. This kind of metathesis is not unknown, particularly in popular words (cf. Schwyzler, 1953: 266), in Greek. It should also be noted that "deformations" of one sort or another are fairly common in words referring to the armpit. Witness for instance Scots Gaelic *achlais* but Welsh *cesail*, both, through borrowing, from Latin *axilla* or, on the other side of the Indo-European world, the various unexpected phonetic developments of the descendants of Sanskrit *kakṣa-* (Fussmann, 1972: 52).<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Compare the similar unexpected *initials* in modern Greek dialects of southern Italy: *paskáli* (beside the expected *maskáli*) in Calabria but *vaskáli* in the Terra d'Otranto (Rohlf, 1964: 319).

The Etymology of Greek *μασχάλη* 'Armpit' with Notes on *μάλη* 57

Of course if the classical Greek word had been **\*\*ἀσχάλη** such an etymology as has been proposed here would presumably be part of the received tradition. The problem is the initial *m-*. Its origin I think is to be found in a misdivision of the definite article plus noun. That is, because in Indo-European double consonants tended to be simplified, a collocation such as *\*tām aksalā* could be taken to represent *\*tām maksalā* too (cf. Hamp, 1967, or Adams, 1983, for discussions of similar restructurings in the opposite direction). The accusative singular, genitive-dative dual, and genitive plural would provide a very slender basis for this restructuring were it not for the fact that the potential initial *m-* in this word would have been reinforced by the semantically similar *μάλη* 'armpit' and *μαζός* 'breast.'<sup>2</sup>)

The *communis opinio*, represented by both Frisk (1970) and Chantraine (1968–1980), is that *μάλη* 'armpit' (but only occurring in set phrases in Classical Greek), is the result of shortening, in these set phrases, from *μασχάλη*. However, the probable existence of *malā* (in the 'locative' [marāphi] 'on the underbelly (?) [of an animal]) in Mycenaean Greek (Baumbach, 1971 s.v.) makes such an assumption dubious. It is best for now at least to consider *málē* an entirely different word from *μασχάλη*. I am tempted to see it related somehow to Greek *μέλος* 'limb' (and Irish *mell* 'knuckle' [from *\*melsā*] and Tocharian B *mlyuwe* 'thigh' [from *\*melewont-* ?]), perhaps as *\*ml-H-ā-*, but such a reconstruction is very speculative.

### Bibliography

- Adams, Douglas H. (1983). "Tocharian A *śāku* 'headhair' and AB *yok* '(body)hair.' KZ 96 (1982/83: 167–169.
- Andriotis, N. P. (1967). *Etymologiko Lexiko tēs Koinēs Neollēnikēs*. 2nd ed. Thessalonika, Elephtheroudakis.
- Baumbach, Lydia (1971). "The Mycenaean Vocabulary II." *Glotta* 49: 151–190.
- Chantraine, Pierre (1968–80). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*. Paris, Klincksieck.
- Frisk, Hjalmar (1960–70). *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, Winter.

---

<sup>2</sup>) The common Modern Greek form, *ἀμασχάλη* (Andriotis, 1967: 15), is the result of a similar restructuring based on a misdivision of article and noun (*i maskáli* [nom. sg.] could be the surface form for either the historically regular *i + maskáli* or for *i + Vmaskáli*).

- Fussmann, Gerard (1972). *Atlas linguistique des parlers dardes et kafirs*. Paris, L'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient.
- Hamp, Eric P. (1967). "On Some Troublesome Indo-European Initials." In *Studies in Historical Linguistics in Honor of George Sherman Lane*, ed. Walter W. Arnst, et al., pp. 146–153. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- Hamp, Eric P. (1980). "IE \*()kuon- 'dog.'" *Indogermanische Forschungen* 85 (35–42).
- Rohlf, Gerhard (1964). *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer.
- Schwyzler, Eduard (1953). *Griechische Grammatik*. Munich, C.H. Beck.

## The First and Only

By BARRY BALDWIN, Calgary (Canada)

M. N. Tod long ago<sup>1)</sup> drew attention to 36 inscriptions containing the interchangeable<sup>2)</sup> expressions *πρῶτος καὶ μόνος* or *μόνος κα-πρῶτος*, remarking that this usage "suggests a weakness of thought and expression on the part of the Greeks."

More recently, J. Duffy<sup>3)</sup> had occasion to point out that Galen was once praised by Marcus Aurelius as *τῶν μὲν ἰατρῶν πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ φιλοσόφων μόνον*, citing an anonymous referee of his paper for the view that this accolade was a variation on the *πρῶτος καὶ μόνος* formula in Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 77.

In view of Tod's statistics, it is not idle pedantry to observe that Aeschines actually has the sequence *μόνος καὶ πρῶτος*, applying it to the deceased daughter of Demosthenes, the only and first to call him "father." Though itself a variation on the inscriptional formula, this passage has little direct bearing on Marcus Aurelius and Galen.

Far more to the point is Lucian, *Demonax* 29, where that witty man deflates the boast of Agathocles the Peripatetic that he is *μόνος καὶ πρῶτος* of the dialecticians by observing *εἰ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος*. Given their mutual dates, this strongly suggests that "First and Only" or "Only and First" were common

<sup>1)</sup> 'Greek Record-Keeping and Record-Breaking,' *CQ* 43 (1949), 111–12.

<sup>2)</sup> *Μόνος* comes before *πρῶτος* on 22 of the 36 occasions.

<sup>3)</sup> 'Philologica Byzantina,' *GRBS* 21 (1980), 266–7.