

Ort für die Glockentürme die Westfront der Kirche mit dem Haupteingang. Bekannt ist die apotropäische Bedeutung des Westwerks abendländischer Kirchen, ebenso die unheilabwehrende Macht des Glockengeläuts: in diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch die Wirkung der Hillebille (neben ihrer Bedeutung als Signalgerät), eine Wirkung, die nachmals die Karfreitagsratschen übernommen haben.

On two Phrygian Glosses

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While analyzing a curious Thracian name *Δαρίκιος*, Kretschmer (1896, 184) has adduced one of the most interesting Phrygian glosses *Δαρεῖος· ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὁ φρόνιμος, ὑπὸ δὲ Φρυγῶν Ἔκτωρ* (Hes.) and mentioned IE **dher-* 'to keep, to hold', Skt. *dhar-* id., OPers. *dar-* as a probable source of both words. The explanation, suggested eighty years later, is much less convincing. Commenting on the gloss, Neroznak (1978, 145) writes: "(The Phrygian word) coincides by chance with the Persian proper name. Perhaps, derived from IE **dhē-* 'to put', although the form is not at all clear".

In fact, the gloss has nothing to do with Phrygian. *Δαρεῖος* here is certainly the name of Darius, i. e. OPers. *dārayavauš*, or */dārayavahuš/* in Benveniste-Sokolov transcription. This name is usually explained as a composite noun including a participle */dārayat-/* 'holding, keeping, possessing' and */-vahu-/* 'good'. The meaning of the whole is, therefore, 'one who possesses the good', and *Ἔκτωρ* seems to be a reasonable translation of the first part of the name, i. e. of */dārayat-/*, while *φρόνιμος* looks like a very rough approximation to the meaning of both parts, describing another positive personal quality. Hence the gloss in question is purely Iranian, and the reference to Phrygian is erroneous.

The problem of the Phrygian word for dog is raised by Plat., Crat. 410A: *ὄρα τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα τὸ πῦρ μὴ τι βαρβαρικὸν ἦ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε ῥάδιον προσάψαι ἐστὶν Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ, φανεροί τ' εἰσὶν οὕτως αὐτὸ καλοῦντες Φρύγες, σμικρὸν τι παρακλίνοντες· καὶ τό γε ὕδωρ καὶ τὰς κύνας καὶ ἄλλα πολλά.* Leaning on this passage,

one usually cites 'Ερμῆ κυνάγχα, μηιονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα (Hipp.) to reconstruct Phrygian *καν-* 'dog', although the attribution of *Κανδαύλης* seems to be rather obscure, cf. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἑλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος (Hdt. I, 7) implying Lydian Provenance (cf. Kretschmer 1896, 388; Solmsen 1912), cf. also *κάνδαυλος* as a name for a Lydian dish and sauce (Men. 397).

I believe that the reconstruction of something like **kan-* as a possible name for dog in Phrygian could be supported by *γάνος· παράδεισος· χάσμα. φῶς. αὐγή. λευκότης. λαμπηδών. ἡδονή. καὶ ἡ ὕαινα, ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Βιθυνῶν* (Hes.). The first part of the gloss is known to represent Phoen. **gn* 'garden, paradise' (Masson 1967, 74), while the end defines *γάνος* as a Phrygian word for hyena. The same animal is called *γλάνος* in Arist. De anim. hist. 594 a, 31, but in spite of Chantraine (1968, 225) *γλάνος* could be a spoiled form of *γάνος*. Now, *γάνος*, though beginning with a voiced stop, looks not unlike *καν-* in *Κανδαύλης* and could be exactly the word for dog implied by Plato, since we are unable to estimate his notions of phonetic similarity.

References

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Bemerkungen zu Iktus und Akzent

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Die beschränkte Zulassung der Iktierung von daktylischen Wörtern auf der Mittelsilbe und das Totalverbot dieser Iktierung von tribrachischen Wörtern, die Häufigkeit des steigenden und die Seltenheit des fallenden Proceleusmatikers, und die Verwandlung von *a* zu *o* in endbetontem *uacent* (Plaut. *Cas.* 527) beweisen Realität des Iktus und das Bestreben, Iktus und Akzent in Einklang zu bringen.