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Greek ῥώμη, ῥῶσις and Sanskrit sára-

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The evidence of Sanskrit sára- 'firmness, strength, power' for an aniṭ-root *ser- is uncertain, cf. Skt. cāra-, jána-, tārá-. Then, in spite of Hamp's doubts (*Glotta* 64, 1986, 256), I would derive Greek ῥώμη 'bodily strength, strength, might, force' and ῥῶσις 'a strengthening; encouragement, confirmation' from *sṛh₃-meh₂ and *sṛh₃-ti- respectively.

In vol. 64 (1986), 256 of this journal Eric P. Hamp interprets Sanskrit sára- 'firmness, strength, power' as a noun of the type of Greek τόμος and derives it, according to Brugmann's law, from an aniṭ-formation *sóro-.

Yet, as for the proposed underlying aniṭ-root *ser- of sára-, I would juxtapose this problem with that of Skt. cāra- 'motion, course' (: cīṇa-, iṣ-aorist acariṣam, etc.), jána- 'origin, birth place' (: janiman 'birth, origin', 2nd sg. impv. middle janiṣva, etc.), tārá- 'penetrating, piercing' which is a noun of the type of Gk. τόμος (: tīṇá-, tiráti, turáti, Hitt. tarḫzi, etc.), etc.

If we are to retain Brugmann's law,[1]) there are two possibilities which can be taken into consideration in the case of cāra-, jána-, tārá- and, of course, sára-:

1. That cāra-, jána, tārá- point to Indo-European aniṭ-roots *kʷel-, *ǵen-, *ter- beside the seṭ-ones *kʷelh₁-, *ǵenh₁-, *terh₂- attested by the forms given above. Then, we would have cāra-[2]) < *kʷólo-, jána- < *ǵóno-, tārá- < *toró- beside cīṇa-, janiman, tīṇá-, etc. just as Hamp's sára- < *sóro- beside Greek ῥώμη 'bodily strength, strength, might, force' and ῥῶσις 'a strengthening; encouragement, confirmation'. I am not sure, however, that this is the best solution of our problem.

2. That cāra-, jána-, tārá- are built on secondary aniṭ- roots. Due to the regular loss of the laryngeals after consonants (and consonantal r, l, m, n) when before vowels, forms like Gk. Cretan τέλομαι, Skt. cárati < *kʷélh₁e/o-; Skt. jánati < *ǵénh₁e/o-; Skt. tarati < *térh₂e/o- could be interpreted as representatives of aniṭ-roots;

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[1]) Yet see M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli* (Heidelberg 1951), 35–38; A. Thumb and R. Hauschild, *Handbuch des Sanskrit* I. Teil (Heidelberg 1958), 220–222.

[2]) With analogical c-, as Prof. E. P. Hamp mentioned in our discussion on the problem.

hence we have secondary aniṭ-forms such as Gk. Cyren. *τένται*, Skt. *s*-aorist *acārṣam*; the deverbative nouns *jánman* 'birth, origin, production', *jantú-* 'offspring, creature, being';[3]) Skt. *s*-aorist *atārṣma*, etc. If so, Skt. *cāra-, jána-, tārá-* can be explained as derivatives from the secondary aniṭ-roots seen in *cárati, jánati, tarati* along the lines of *mána-* 'opinion' (: *man-* 'think'), *vára-* 'choice' (: *vṛ-* 'choose'), etc.; similarly, Skt. *sára-* can be formed to a thematic verb *sára- < *serh₃e/o-*.

Then, the evidence of *sára-* for an Indo-European aniṭ-root *ser-* is uncertain.

At this point the original initial of Greek ῥώμη and ῥῶσις is possibly *s-*; i.e., in spite of Hamp's doubts, I would derive Greek ῥώμη and ῥῶσις from *sṛh₃-meh₂* and *sṛh₃-ti-* respectively.

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[3]) On Greek *γέντο* cf. A. Bammesberger, *Glotta* 60 (1982), 27–31.