

## Greek *ὄργυια*

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Traditional etymology teaches, doubtless correctly, that Gk. *ὄργυια* 'the length of the outstretched arms, a fathom' is derived from the verb *ὀρέγω* 'stretch out.'<sup>1)</sup> It is further tempting to assume (with Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European*, 1964, p.230) that *ὄργυια* ultimately goes back to an old dual form (meaning '(the) two outstretched (sc. hands)') of the perfect participle of *ὀρέγω*.<sup>2)</sup>

Taking the verb stem underlying *ὀρέγω* to have been originally *\*H<sub>3</sub>reg'-* (with an initial *o*-colouring 'laryngeal',<sup>3)</sup> we may—in accordance with the rules of IE. morphology—restitute the regular reduplicated (IE.) perfect of *\*H<sub>3</sub>reg'-* as (sing.) *\*H<sub>3</sub>e-H<sub>3</sub>róg'-*, (plur.) *\*H<sub>3</sub>e-H<sub>3</sub>rg'-* (' = accent). After the loss of the prevocalic 'laryngeals',<sup>4)</sup> these perfect forms would have given non-Anatolian Indo-European (sing.) *\*ōróg'-*, (plur.) *\*ořg'-* > *\*org'-* by removal of the hiatus *\*[oř]* caused by the loss of the 'laryngeal' preceding *\*r*; the same phonetic development can be seen e.g. in Lat. *uentus* < *\*weñto-* < orig. *\*H<sub>2</sub>weH<sub>1</sub>nto-*, cf. Gk. ptc. *ἄφεντ*.<sup>5)</sup>

Judging by Gk. *χείρ*, *\*g'hesr-* 'hand' seems to have been a feminine noun in non-Anatolian IE.<sup>6)</sup> If so, we would expect a pre-Gk. phrase meaning '(the) two outstretched (sc. hands)' to have been expressed by the feminine dual form of the perfect participle of the verb stem in question. It is further a well-established fact that the feminine dual forms of the active perfect participle were made from the weak stem of the perfect in Indo-European (cf. the Vedic type *jagmúṣī*, from *gam-* 'go'). Consequently, we can reconstruct the feminine nom.acc. dual form of the active perfect participle of *\*H<sub>3</sub>reg'-*

<sup>1)</sup> See Chantraine, *Dict. étym. de la langue grecque* III, p.816f. (with references).

<sup>2)</sup> For similar forms in other languages, see Szemerényi, *ibid.* p.229.

<sup>3)</sup> According to H.Craig Melchert, *Sprache* 33, 1987, p.21f., Hitt. *harganau-* 'palm, sole' derives from the same stem *\*H<sub>3</sub>reg'-*. For the prothetic *o-* of Gk. *ὀρέγω*, see below.

<sup>4)</sup> See my *Introduction to the 'Laryngeal Theory'*, Oslo 1988, p.36f.

<sup>5)</sup> See my *Introduction* p.76.

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. J.Schindler, *IF* 72, 1967, p.246f. It should be noted, however, that E. Neu, in his discussion of Hitt. *kessar* c. (*Festschrift Gheorghe Ivănescu*, 1982/83, pp.125–30, cf. *StBoT* 26, 1983, p.84, note 323) argues that *\*g'hesr-* was a neuter noun in Proto-Indo-European.

'stretch out' as non-Anatolian IE. \**org'-us-ī* (cf. Vedic dual forms in -*úsī*). For the original place of the accent, see Kuryłowicz, *Apophonie* p. 105 f.

Originally a feminine dual, \**org'usí*, if inherited in Greek as a petrified form with the meaning 'a fathom,' could easily be interpreted formally as the nom. sing. of an oxytone feminine noun in \*-*ī*. To the extent that this interpretation was realized, the oxytone \**org'usí* developed into Greek \**ὄργυρία'* to which normal feminine case-forms were analogically created, e.g. gen. sing. \**ὄργυρηᾶς*. After the loss of intervocalic *h*, \**ὄργυρία* became \**ὄργυῖα*, whence *ὄργυια* by a secondary accent shift (for an explanation of which, see Kuryłowicz, *Idg. Gramm.* II, p. 98; cf. also Szemerényi, *op. cit.* p. 235 ff.). The variant form *ὄρόγυια* is due to a later anaptyxis according to Szemerényi, *ibid.* p. 233, cf. also Chantraine, *Dict. étym. de la langue grecque* III, p. 817 (with further references). See Szemerényi, *ibid.*, p. 238, for the form -*ωρογυῖος* found in compounds.

The supposed orig. perfect \**ōróg'* would have been ousted in Greek by the analogically created *ὄρωρεγ-* (cf. *ὄρωρέχεται*), for the origin of which see Kuryłowicz, *Apophonie* p. 271. Cf. also Szemerényi's discussion in *Acta Mycenaea*, Proceedings of the 5th International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, 1972, p. 309 f.

Despite H. Craig Melchert, *Sprache* 33, 1987, p. 22, the prothetic *o-* of *ὄρέγω* cannot be shown to be a direct continuation of the 'vocalized' initial 'laryngeal' of \**H<sub>3</sub>reg'*. If we are justified in thinking that the different 'laryngeals' fell together under one colour in non-Anatolian IE.,<sup>8)</sup> we would expect IE. \**H<sub>3</sub>reg'-e/o-* to have yielded Greek \**ἀρεγ-ε/ο-*. However, the regular outcome in Greek of the earlier combination of the augment (\**é- < \*H<sub>1</sub>é-?*) with the stem in question would have been *ὠρεγ-ε/ο-* (e.g. *ὠρεγον*).<sup>9)</sup> The following

<sup>7)</sup> For Gk. -*ια* = Vedic -*ī*, see the discussion in my *Introduction* p. 60 (with references).

<sup>8)</sup> *Introduction* p. 115 f.

<sup>9)</sup> Structurally, \**(H<sub>1</sub>)é-H<sub>3</sub>reg'-e/o-* is to \**ōreg'-e/o-* > Gk. *ὠρεγε/ο-* as \**(H<sub>1</sub>)é-Hnek'-t* is to Vedic *ánaṣ*, i.e. probably \**áneḱ'-t*; for the quality of the initial 'laryngeal' of \**Hnek'* (Vedic *naś-* 'attain'), see my *Introduction* p. 78 (with further references). For the supposed colouring of the *e* of the augment by a following stem-initial 'laryngeal' (\**H<sub>2</sub>-* or \**H<sub>3</sub>-*), see e.g. R. S. P. Beekes, *The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek* p. 170 f. A somewhat similar case can be seen in Gk. *ὠρο* 'he rose' from \**(H<sub>1</sub>)é-H<sub>3</sub>ro*, see my discussion in § 3.1 of my review of A. Bammesberger (ed.), *Die Laryngalthorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems in Historische Sprachforschung* (forthcoming).

analogic proportion now changes the unaugmented stem \**ἀρεγ-ε/ο-* to *ὄρεγ-ε/ο- : ἄμειβ-ε/ο- : ἀμειβ-ε/ο- = ὄρεγ-ε/ο- : x ; x = ὄρεγ-ε/ο-*. (The same way of reasoning applies also in the case of the sigmatic aorist, cf. (schematically): \**āmeib-s- : \*ameib-s- = \*ōreg-s- : x*, cf. *ὄρέξαι*).<sup>10)</sup>

<sup>10)</sup> According to C. Watkins (*Festschrift G. Neumann*, p.455 ff., cf. now H. Craig Melchert, *Sprache* 33, p.23) the *ο-* of Gk. *ὄπνίω* 'marry' is a direct continuation of the 'vocalized' initial 'laryngeal' of a preform \**H<sub>3</sub>pus-* = Hitt. *hapus-* 'penis,' to be read as [*hpus-*]. Formally, this etymology is most unconvincing, however. As the writing *ha-a-pu(-ú-)s-* shows, the Hitt. word represents [*habus-*] (according to Sturtevant's rule). For "inconsequential scriptio plena in clusters" C. Watkins, *ibid.* p.456, refers to E. Neu, *Studien zum endungslosen "Lokativ" des Hethitischen* (IBS 23, 1980), p. 8, note 7. However, what E. Neu says in his note is that the Old Hitt. form *tagan* contains a 'morphologic zero grade' according to Kuryłowicz's teaching in *Idg. Gramm.* II, §328. Neu also refers to J. Schindler, *Sprache* 13, 1967, p.201. Now, if we take Kuryłowicz's "morphologic zero grade" seriously, it follows that the Hitt. form in question *must* be read as [*dagan*] with a full vowel in its first syllable (*-a-* from earlier *-o-*), and *not* as \* [*dgan*]. Thus, Hitt. *dagan*, occasionally written *da-a-ga-an* in the later language, gives no support whatever to C. Watkins' interpretation of *ha-a-pu(-ú-)s-* as [*hpus-*]. (Despite H. Craig Melchert, *Sprache* 33, p.23, I do not think that the spelling *sipand-* for /*spand-*/ 'libate' (cf. Lat. *spondeo*) gives any convincing support to the assumption of a cluster [*hp-*] in *hapus-* : /*spand-*/ is written as *sip* (*p*)*and-* and as *ispand-*. *Non liquet.*) The double scriptio plena found in *ha-a-pu-ú-s-* can be compared to that found e.g. in *me-e-hu-u-na-as*, *me-e-hu-u-ni* (to be read as [*mehunas*], [*mehuni*]).