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# The Origin of Latin *mustela*<sup>1</sup>

By MAURIZIO BETTINI, Siena

As we know, the name of the weasel in Latin is *mustela*. But why exactly *mustela*? No one seems to have yet proposed a satisfying etymology for this word<sup>2</sup>. But the fact still remains that the weasel, this ominous animal, is one of the most “folkloric” of all the inhabitants of the animal kingdom, associated with abundant beliefs and superstitions. This abundance is revealed most of all in the names given to the weasel both in Romance and non-Romance languages. These names range from designations of the weasel as a “female relative” (sister-in-law, daughter-in-law, godmother, and so on) to other terms which define her as the “bride” or the “little bride”, or simply as the “woman” (Italian *donnola*), or as “pretty” (French *belette*), or as a “fairy” or a “spinster”: and even as “bread and cheese”, “bread and milk,” and so on. Students of folklore and linguistics, from Rohde to Riegler, from Rohlf's to Alinei, have shown that very often these designations are connected to proverbs, folktales, and beliefs in which the weasel “acts” in a way that befits her name<sup>3</sup>: so the weasel called “little bride” (*niphitsa*) in medieval

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by L. K. Gibbs.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Walde – J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954, s. v.: “unerklärt”; A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*, Paris 1967: “pas d'etymologie claire”. On the earlier efforts of Schrader and Walde, see the negative considerations in Walde – Hofmann s. v. *mustela*; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, Leipzig 1909, 165, confidently asserted that *mustela* would be a “Lehnwort” from the Greek *μοσθήρας* “Mausjäger”; further developed in O. Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, Hildesheim 1974 (= Leipzig 1891), 46: the shift from *-θ-* to *-λ-* would be the result of interference from the verb *delere*: but aside from this phonetic improbability, it is worth noting that the term *μοσθήρας* is used both in Arist., H A 612b 3 and Scholia ad Nicander, Theriaca 490 not to indicate the weasel but (apparently) for a type of serpent used for catching mice. There is also an unpersuasive hypothesis in M. Gras'elj, “Lat. *mustela*”, *Živa antika*, 3, 1953, 168, which would have the word *mustela* derived from the Doric *μύσταξ* “whiskers” because, like the cat, the weasel also has whiskers; see the negative considerations by J. André, *Notes Philologiques*, *Revue de Philologie* 36, 1962, 23–35 (28–30).

<sup>3</sup> There is an indispensable study by M. Alinei, “Belette”, in: *Atlas Lin-*

and modern Greek can be associated with the story of the weasel as a “failed bride” found in an Aesopic fable which we will discuss somewhat later<sup>4</sup>; likewise the weasel who is a “spinster” in Germanic dialects is linked to little songs inviting her to come spin, or ritual offerings of spinning materials made to the weasel in both northern European and Greek folk customs<sup>5</sup>; and when the weasel is named “pretty” or “beautiful” she may be ritually flattered as if she were a beautiful woman encountered along the road<sup>6</sup>. The names of the weasel, in short, are a tiny aperture through which we can observe the beliefs attached to this animal in a specific area, making it possible to understand the attitudes and behaviors which coalesce around the animal in a given cultural tradition. For this reason, it is even more discouraging that we do not have a credible hypothesis for the origin of the Latin name *mustela*. If we could formulate such a hypothesis, it would perhaps help us to understand the way in which Roman culture “saw” the weasel, and where they located the weasel within their own system of beliefs about the animal world.

First things first: the ancient hypothesis. Servius derived the name of *mustela* from *mus*, “mouse”, the traditional prey of the weasel, and from *telum*, a word meaning “spear” which Servius somehow derived from the idea of “length”: *telum . . . dicitur secundum graecam etymologiam ἀπὸ τοῦ τηλόθεν . . . unde et mustelam dicimus* (Serv. A. 2,468); *telum: hoc loco gladium ‘telum’ dixit a longitudine: unde et mustela dicitur, quasi mus longus* (Serv. A. 9.744) (“*telum* is said according to the Greek etymology ἀπὸ τοῦ τηλόθεν . . . hence we say *mustela*; *telum*: a sword, *telum*, because of its length, and hence *mustela*, as if a long mouse”)<sup>7</sup>. Except for the “length” conveyed (according to Servius) by “-tela”, this is actually a more sensible hypothesis than it may appear

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guarum Europae, Sous la direction de M. Alinei, Vol. I, Commentaire, Assen/Maastricht 1986, 145–222; see also M. Bettini, “*Nascere*”, Torino, 1998.

<sup>4</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Th. Sheared Duncan, “The Weasel in Religion, Myth and Superstition”, *Washington University Studies, Human. series XII*, 1924, 33–66; R. Riegler, “Zwei mythische Tiernamen”, *Wörter und Sachen* 2, 1910, 186–190; “Wiesel” in: *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, IX, Berlin 1938/1941, 578–600 (591); E. Schott, *Das Wiesel in Sprache und Volksglauben der Romanen*, Diss. Tübingen 1935, 19–21. On the connection between the weasel and the spinner see especially M. Albert-Llorca, *L’ordre des choses. Les récits d’origine des animaux et de plantes en Europe*, Paris 1991, 259–267.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> *Isid.*, *Orig.* 12,3,3;18,7,10.

at first glance. We frequently find a close association between *mus* and *mustela* in the Latin authors. Cicero, for example, makes this argument about the presence of gods in the universe<sup>8</sup>: *an vero, si domum magnam pulcramque videris, non possis adduci ut, etiam si dominum non videas, muribus illam et mustelis aedificatam putes* (“indeed, if you see a large and beautiful house, even if you might not actually see the owner, surely you could not be induced to suppose that it had been built for the mice and weasels”). The contiguity between *mustelae* and *mures*, weasels and mice, surely derived from the fact that these animals frequented the same habitats (cellars, abandoned houses, holes), and that they were traditional enemies<sup>9</sup>. The science of augury also presupposed a close association between mice and weasels as is apparent from a comedy of Plautus, where a weasel catching a mouse is recorded in an ominous context. The story concerns the parasite Gelasimus, who infers from his encounter with the weasel a prediction that is absolutely precious to him: he will get an invitation to dinner (Pl. Stich, 459–463):

*Auspicio hodie optumo exivi foras  
mustela murem abstulit praeter pedes.  
quom strena opscaevavit spectatum hoc mihist.  
Nam ut illa vitam repperit hodie sibi,  
ita me spero facturum: augurium hac facit*

“Today I came out of the house under good auspices: a weasel caught a mouse right at my feet. I was present precisely at the moment of the good auspice: so just as today she found something to nourish herself with, I hope to do the same myself: this makes an augury for me”<sup>10</sup>. The divinatory association between *mus* et *mustela* is also ap-

<sup>8</sup> N.D. 2, 17; see Epistula Aristeae ad Philocratem, 163. For the relationship between the mouse and the *mustela* see O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 167; Steier, “Mustela”, in: RE XXXI, 902–908 (904).

<sup>9</sup> The fact that the weasel was used as a mouser is frequently noted in the Aesopic tradition: see, for example, Perry, *Aesopica*, Univ. of Illinois Press 1952, Nr. 165, 435, etc.; Babrius 27, 31 etc.; Phaed. 1, 21; 4, 2; 6 etc. See also Pl. Stich. 459–463. Farmer’s magic also depended on the enmity between the weasel and the mouse; according to Plin., Nat. 19, 58, the ashes of a weasel had the power to ward off mice (see L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, New York and London 1923 = 1964, 80).

<sup>10</sup> At lines 499–502 Gelasimus, having realized that Epignomus has no intention whatsoever of inviting him to dinner, completely inverts the augural meaning of his meeting with the weasel: she is now an “unstable” animal who continually moves her pups from place to place. On the weasel’s habit of



parent from a passage of Ammianus, which paired the squeaking of a mouse with the unexpected sight of a weasel running by<sup>11</sup>. Therefore these animals were linked not only by their common habitat but also by the cultural practice of divination. In addition, many languages do actually derive the name of the weasel from the name of the mouse<sup>12</sup>. Could these factors support a derivation of the latin name *mustela* from the name *mus*? Unfortunately not, because the morphology and vowel quantity both get in the way. *Mus* has -ū- in Latin, whereas Romance developments of *mustela* clearly demand -ǔ-<sup>13</sup> and even supposing – quite absurdly – that we could overcome this problem with the prosody, how to explain the second element, -*tela* or -*stela*, of *mustela*? Servius, with his dubious *telum* / *longitudo*, is not much help – and we do not find any better solutions in the equally improbable hypotheses proposed by modern linguists<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand,

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moving its pups from place to place continually, see Arist., GA 6, 756b; Plin., Nat. 29, 60; Isid., Orig. 12, 3, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Amm. Marc. 16, 8, 2: *super occentu soricis vel occursu mustelae*. Both the example in Plautus and the example cited here by Ammianus are among the so-called *pedestria auspicia*, that is, signs given by animals who move about on the ground (Paul. Fest. 287. Orig.: *pedestria auspicia nominabant, quae dabantur a vulpe, lupo, serpente, equo ceterisque animalibus quadrupedibus*; in the corresponding passage in Fest., 286, it seems possible to conclude that this type of encounter took place on the *via*; see the type of auspice called *ἐνόδιον* recorded in Suidas IV 627, o 163 Adler). In Greece, to meet a weasel crossing the road was considered an ill omen (see Theophrastus Char. 16; Aristophanes, Ec. 791–793; W.R. Halliday, *Folk-Lore* 12, 1930, 133; R.W. Hutchinson, “The Little Lady”, *Folklore* 77, 1966, 222–227; E.K. Borthwick, “Seeing Weasels: the Superstitious Background of the Empousa Scene in the Frogs”, CQ 18, 1968, 200–206). It is also the case that in ancient Greece the weasel figured among the subjects of so-called “domestic divination”, or the analysis of signs manifested in the home (*οἰκοσκοπικόν*: thus in Suidas, IV 627, 163, in a paragraph which includes an omen constituted by the appearance “under the roof of the house of a weasel and of a snake”; see also IV 243, 2923, where the omens include “the cry of mice and of weasels”). The same still holds true in modern Greek folklore; G.S. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Geek Religion*, New York 1964 (= 1909), 327; L.K. Zoe, *Lexikon Istorikon kai Laographikon Zakyntou*, Athene 1963, 317.

<sup>12</sup> Alinei 185, 208–209. Based precisely on this paradigm, Alinei also includes the Latin *mustela* among the designations for the weasel which are based on the motivation of the “mouse”, on the assumption that the word for weasel was a “taboo word”.

<sup>13</sup> G. Alessio, “Etimologie Latine”, in: *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani*, Brescia 1969, 19–21.

<sup>14</sup> Fay’s hypothesis, which proposes *mus* + *\*stel-* “to steal” (by means of

if the name of the weasel had been derived from *mus* by means of a suffix *-ela* (which we will discuss somewhat later), we would end up with a form realized as *\*mus-ela*, that is: *murela*. But *mustela* requires *u-* and one more *t*. Certainly, the Latin ear heard a strong aural association between *mu-stela* and *mu-s* – an association based on the pairing of these two animals in terms of their shared habitat and of the augural code, and perceived as well on the phonic level of naming. But even so we cannot suppose that the name *mustela* derives directly from *mus*. So we must leave the mouse and go back to the drawing board.

An interesting interpretation of *mustela* was proposed by Mansur Guierios<sup>15</sup>, and taken up again by André<sup>16</sup>: *mustela* would indicate “a young woman”, in line with the many languages in which the weasel is designated as a “woman”, a “girl” and so on<sup>17</sup>. According to these two scholars, we should start from the adj. *musteus* which was “often employed to describe fresh foodstuffs”<sup>18</sup>. This adjective is itself a derivation of the adj. *mustus*, which in antiquity also indicated something “new” or “recent”<sup>19</sup>: from which we get the *vinum mustum*, the “new wine”, the “must” – and the simple form *mustum* itself was often used with this meaning of “must”, the new wine. So, in the sense of being “fresh” or “young”, the adj. *mustus* could be applied also to women, as documented in a comic fragment of Naevius<sup>20</sup>: *utrum est melius, virginemne an viduam uxorem ducere?:: virginem, si musta est* (“Tell me which is better: to marry a virgin or a widow? A virgin, if she is fresh, *musta*”).

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an unlikely comparison with Latin *stellio* “lizard” used metaphorically to refer to an untrustworthy person) is already rejected by Walde – Hofmann; H. Nowicki, *ZvS* 96, 1982–83, 271–276 where it is instead suggested that an etymology of *mus* + *\*dʰers-* “intrepid, brave,” meaning that the *mustela* is conceived of as a “Mäuse angreifend” (?).

<sup>15</sup> *Tabus lingüísticos*, 155 (quoted by André cf. fn.1).

<sup>16</sup> *Supra*.

<sup>17</sup> See Alinei, 174–179, 202–203 (information which was obviously not available to André, who based his work on previous publications).

<sup>18</sup> André op. cit. (fn. 1).

<sup>19</sup> Non. 136, 4: *mustum non solum vinum, verum novellum quidquid est, recte dicitur* (there then follows the citation of Naevius, *Gymnasticus* fr. 2 *Marmorale*); see *CGL* V 643, 73; Prisc., *G.L.* 2, 257, 10 Hertz: *mustus ... veteres et feminino et neutro genere inveniuntur hoc protulisse pro 'novus nova novum' ... Cato Censorius de musta agna pascenda: 'musta agna' pro nova dixit; Cato, Agr. 115, 1 (see also 123) in vinum mustum veratri manipulum coicito in amphoram*. See *ThLL* VIII,1712, 37–51, s. v. *mustus*.

<sup>20</sup> Non. 136, 4f. = Naevius fr. 2 *Marmorale*.

So, according to this argument, the “weasel” – *mustela* – would be designated in Latin as a “fresh woman”, a “girl.” But this interpretation is also not very convincing<sup>21</sup>. In Naevius the word *musta* is not used by itself, but is used to refer to a *virgo*, underlining the fact that she ought to be “young” and “fresh” (an “old” *virgo* would presumably not interest our speaker). The association between *virgo* and *musta* thus results from the context, and is occasioned by the specific comic demands of Naevius’ text. But in order to justify the interpretation proposed by Mansur Guierios and André, the word *musta* should be attested with the independent meaning of “woman” or “girl”, and there is apparently no such attestation. So far as we know, the adjective *mustus* did not suggest “woman” or “girl” to the Latin ear – it meant only something “fresh” or “recent”: anything from wine to a lamb<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> In the additions to Ernout–Meillet, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*, both André’s hypothesis and the possibility of a derivation from *mustus* are recorded, followed by a question mark.

<sup>22</sup> As we read in Non. 136, 4: *mustum ... novellum quidquid est, recte dicitur*: for the relevant texts, see note 20. It is odd that Alessio, who accepted the derivation of *mustela* from *musta*, did not make explicit the meaning of *musta* from which *mustela* would be derived, while putting great weight on the form *musta* = *mustela* attested in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* 789, p. 244, 32ff. Oder (“despite the late date, the etymology is indicated by the parallel form, *musta* ... which cannot easily be considered as a backformation but which must instead be nothing other than the feminine form of *mustus*, young, fresh, new ...”). In point of fact, this form is altogether imaginary. The text reads as follows: *pilos albos ad colores ut reddas. Pilos albos velles et locum elut <ri>abis aceto et prendas mustas et cum carta combusta teris et commisces et loco inde imponis, ante tamen aceto locum elutriabis*. It is clearly impossible that the author of the prescription meant that one takes weasels and mixes them with the burned paper. How many white hairs could there have been to color such that an entire weasel, or for that matter, weasels, would be required? The notion that these *mustas* are equivalent to *mustelas* is an idea found in Oder (see the *Index verborum* s. v. p. 396), which is taken up again by Walde – Hofmann who implausibly considered it a “Rückbildung” of *mustela*, which is clearly not possible. Moreover, the *mustela* is never named as an ingredient in the prescriptions of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. We are dealing here either with a simple error for *mustum* or *musta*, or perhaps the author had in mind (*malas*) *must(e)as* “apples of the *musteus* variety”, which would be a sort of vulgarity typical of this text (*mala*, feminine, in place of *malum* is found in 34, 30; 222, 20; 252, 22; 253, 17; etc.). For the *malum musteum*, see Cato, *Agr.* 7, 3; *Var.*, *R.* 1, 59, 1; etc. Given that in the *Glossaria Latina* (see the *ThLL* VIII, 1711, 55–57) *musteum* is glossed as *viscidum, medium viride*, it is possible that our author wanted to refer to a type of apple which would have this particular consistency.

Yet it does seem highly probable that *mustela* did have something to do with *mustus*. Even if the semantic connection between these two words is difficult to see, the two signifiers are extremely similar, and it is hard to imagine that they are completely independent. So we can try focusing our attention on the meanings of *mustus* and its derivatives. As we saw earlier, the ancient sources tell us that *mustus* originally meant something *novellus* or *novus*<sup>23</sup>: from the scattered testimony that we do possess, we see that this adjective applied to wine, a lamb, a girl. We can now consider a close relative of *mustus*, that is, *musteus*. If we analyze the occurrences of this word, we immediately reach an interesting conclusion: the word is applied purely and simply to the names of foods – apples, pears, honey, cheese, dates, and so on<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, these are markedly “good” foods, such as apples that are particularly sweet (and *mustea mala* also came to be called *melimela*, “honey apples”)<sup>25</sup>, or cheese that is fresh<sup>26</sup>, or dates whose sweetness is being especially emphasized<sup>27</sup>. In other words, it is clear that not

<sup>23</sup> See note 18.

<sup>24</sup> See the TheLL VIII 1711, 55–84. There is only one case in which *musteus* is referred to a name indicating other than food in Plin., Ep. 8, 21, 6: *legere hunc adhuc musteum librum*. But this is clearly a metaphor taken from the “must” of the wine, meaning that this work was not finished, as is also indicated by the adverbial *adhuc* which accompanies the adjective; it is a work which stands in relation to the finished work as *mustum* stands to the wine. For this type of image applied to literary production, see also Cic. Brut. 288 *novam istam quasi de musto ac lacu fervida orationem*; and again Plin., Ep. 9, 16, 2 *devehemus . . . pro novo musto novos versiculos tibi que . . . ut primum videbuntur deferverisse, mittemus*.

<sup>25</sup> Var., R. 1, 59, 1.

<sup>26</sup> See the prescription in Plin., Nat. 11, 240, on how to restore the flavor of stale cheese (*tomare in musteum saporem*) of the *casei senescentes*.

<sup>27</sup> Plin., Nat. 13, 50. In another passage (Nat. 11, 29 *amaritudo grano eadem quae piperi musteo* “fresh pepper”), it might appear that *musteus* is being used to refer to bitter and rather unpleasant flavors: *piperis arborem iam et Italia habet, maiorem myrto nec absimilem. Amaritudo grano edem quae piperi musteo. Deest tosta illa maturitas ideoque et rugarum colorisque similitudo*. But Pliny is clearly comparing this type of indigenous Italian pepper with myrtle, and in this context the appearance of this *piper musteus* (?) is undeniably strange. Already the old editions printed *myrteo* for *musteo*; Detlefsen (who reads *murteo*) provides a definitive parallel: Pliny himself at 15, 118 says that in Italy, among the “ancients,” myrtle was used *antequam piper reperiretur*. It would thus seem unreasonable to insist on the maintenance of the inherited text (as K. Mayhoff does in *Novae Lucubrationes Plinianaes*, Leipzig 22–23, and in his edition of Pliny). What the text involves is a systematic comparison between *piper italicus* and the “myrtle pepper” that was once used in place of

everything that was *novellus* could be considered *musteus*: this qualifier could be applied only to foodstuffs. And if, therefore, we want to interpret *musteus* as being connected to the notion of “recent,” we would have to keep in mind that this should be understood within an alimentary range, implying a notion of pleasant taste, as with foods when they are “fresh.” So now we can analyze the most important – and most used – term from this family of words: *mustum*, still called in English “*must*.” Here we find ourselves not only in the alimentary sphere, but we find specifically that the notion of “sweetness” is strongly emphasized, along with the pleasant-tasting flavor of this food. The *mustum* is in fact often defined as sweet<sup>28</sup>, and in Macrobius there is even a long and erudite discussion about the distinction between the sweet nature of must – *dulce* – and the sweetness that is characteristic of wine – *suave*<sup>29</sup>. There is an historical and economic justification for this emphasis on the sweetness of “*must*”: in a culture which did not have sugar, then *mustum*, along with honey, was a basic source of “sweetness.” So *mustum* also refers us back to the same basic isotopy which we saw in *musteus* and – as is likely – also in the adjectival *mustus*: the trait of being “recent” or “fresh” as a positive quality of food, with, moreover, the added quality of “sweetness”.

At this point we can now ask: would it make sense to define the weasel as something like “fresh” or “sweet”, by means of an alimentary metaphor? The answer appears to be yes. Along this line, in fact, we can find a number of typological comparisons that are quite interesting. For example, in a large border area between France and Spain, and also in some regions of Italy, the weasel is called by names of the “bread and cheese”-type (*paniquesa*, *paniquera* and so on), or by names like “bread and milk” (*panlet*)<sup>30</sup>. What we see here are expressions that use names drawn from the sphere of foodstuffs in order to convey a certain “affectivity” with regard to this particular animal. We know that an expression like “bread and cheese” would be felt

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imported eastern pepper. It is also worth adding here that, as we have seen, *musteus* was regularly used to describe sweet and pleasant tastes, not bitter ones.

<sup>28</sup> Verg., G. 1, 295; Colum. 12, 29; Mart. 13, 8, 2; etc.

<sup>29</sup> Macr. 7, 7, 16.

<sup>30</sup> See Schott, 47–51 and especially Alinei, 169–171. G. Rohlf, *Sprache und Kultur*, Berlin 1928, 30ff. showed that the name “bread and cheese” can be applied also to the firefly, such that the use of such a name cannot be explained in purely naturalistic terms, appealing to the color of the animal so named, as was sometimes assumed in other studies: see Alinei, 171.

as something especially good and tasty because of proverbial sayings like the Spanish “*pan y queso saben a beso*,” “bread and cheese taste like a kiss”<sup>31</sup>. Likewise, in Sardinia the weasel often has a name linking her to “honey”, such as “honey fairy” (*anna e meli*), or “honey mouth” (*buccameli, melimbucca*) and so on<sup>32</sup>. The same designation is found again in Macedonia, where the weasel is called “dear honey” (*blaga medena*)<sup>33</sup> and the same may be found (possibly) in Sweden<sup>34</sup>. This group of names assigned to the weasel forms part of a wide-ranging cultural network which we might define as “polysystemic”: that is, in at least some areas – that is, in those areas about which we are better informed because they have been studied by folklorists – the system of naming the weasel is linked to other systems of discursive practice. For example, when people ran into a weasel, they would sing little rhymes in which they would sing about offering to the weasel precisely those foodstuffs from which the weasel’s name was derived, as in this little song from Ariège (midi-Pyrénées)<sup>35</sup>:

*Panquèro, bèro bèro,  
qu’as pa en’a taulèro,  
hourmage en’a scudèro  
E let en’a caudèro*

“Weasel, pretty, pretty,  
here’s bread for you on the platter,  
cheese on the plate,  
and milk in the kettle”

In “polysystemic” fashion, the weasel was often called “bread and cheese,” “bread and milk”, or “honey”, while, on the other hand, little songs were also sung to the weasel saying that these same good foods were ready and waiting for her. Moreover, we know that these popular little rhymes were sometimes accompanied by equivalent behaviors, with actual offerings of bread and milk made in order to ward off the

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<sup>31</sup> H. Schuchardt, “Romano-baskische Namen des Wiesels”, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 36, 1912, 160–169.

<sup>32</sup> Schott, 65; H. Schuchardt, II. “Zur Wortgeschichte. Sard. *cugurra*; zu *anna e mele*”, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 34, 1910, 212–215, e M.L. Wagner, “Weitere sardische Tiernamenstudien. I. Das Wiesel”, *Archivum Romanicum* 17, 1934, 1–18, where it is argued that the Sardinian weasel, as opposed to the continental European weasel, is especially fond of honey (as in Cetti’s *I quadrupedi in Sardegna*, Sassari 1774, 178).

<sup>33</sup> Alinei 179.

<sup>34</sup> Alinei 179.

<sup>35</sup> Schott 50 (“aus dem Bethmale Tal des Ariège”).

threat posed by the wild weasel. This animal posed a serious danger to the henhouse, after all, so you needed to win her friendship<sup>36</sup>. As we shall see later, the weasel might also be a danger to weddings, so offerings of honey were made to the weasel to keep her from harming the bride<sup>37</sup>. This set of attitudes fits into a folkloric model of food offerings made to animals for which we have very ancient evidence<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, in this “polysystemic” field, the weasel finds herself at the center of a food system organized around things that are good to eat, and she also receives names which are linked to this system. It thus seems possible that we might be able to insert the Latin *mustela* – derived from *mustus* or *musteus* – into this same set of systems.

Before turning in this direction, however, we should pause for a moment to consider the morphology of *mustela*. There are no problems in deriving *mustela* from *mustus* or *musteus* by means of the suffix *-ēla*. What remains, however, is to establish the nature of this suffix. In Latin there is a suffix *-e(l)la* which makes an abstract noun from a verbal root: such as *loquela*, “speech”, from *loqui* “to speak”, *suadela*, “persuasion”, from *suadere*, “to persuade”; *medela*, “remedy”, “from *mederi*”, “to cure”, etc.<sup>39</sup> Frankly, it would be difficult to apply this principle to an animal such as our *mustela*<sup>40</sup>. But are we certain that *mustela* in fact took this type of suffix? There are good reasons for

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<sup>36</sup> Schott 50; R. Riegler, “Wiesel”, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, IX, Berlin 1938–1941, 578–600 (597).

<sup>37</sup> *Infra*.

<sup>38</sup> Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 791 (cited by C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford 1910, I, CXLII n. 8); see H. Gaidoz, *Le loupes en Irlande*, *Revue Celtique*, 8, 1887, 197 (who cites the *Traité des superstitions*, II, 86, of the “curé Thicis”: in addition to Camden, there is also a reference to M. Delrius, *Disquisitiones Magicae*, liber III, p. 2, q. 4, sect. 5); see G.L. Gomme, *Folklore as an Historical Science*, London 1908 (= Detroit 1968), 276 ff.; M. Bambeck, “Kulturgeschichtliche Marginalien zu einer Wieselbezeichnung in Nordspanien und Südwestfrankreich”, in: *Studia Iberica. Festschrift für Hans Flasche*, hg. von K.H. Körner und K. Ruhl, Bern und München 1973, 63–74; P. Sebilot, *Le Folklore de la France, V, La faune*, Paris 1984, 43–59; M. Alinei, *Altri zoonimi parentelari*, Q.S. 4, 1983, 241–255.

<sup>39</sup> We are probably dealing here with formations originally derived from verbal theme vowels in *ē-* (*suadē-la* < *suadē-re*, *candē-la* < *candē-re*), and then extended to other vowels: see Alessio *op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> There are at least three names of animals which seem to be formed like *mustela*: *cicindela* “firefly” (Paul. Fest. 37 L; Plin., Nat. 18, 250; Serv. A. 1, 727), *nitela* “dormouse” (Plin., Nat. 8, 224; Mart. 5, 37, 8), *turdela*, a type of thrush (Isid., Orig. 12, 7, 71: see also Varr., L. 6, 2).

doubt: to begin with, in Plautus the *mustela* often appears as *mustella*, with a double *-l*.<sup>41</sup> We can thus proceed on the assumption that this *mustella* was the original spelling<sup>42</sup> and that the form in *-ela* is simply a doublet occasioned by the instability of double *l*, *-ll-*, in Latin (the same sort of thing seen with *querela* / *querella*, *loquela* / *loquella* and so on)<sup>43</sup>. If the suffix contains *-ll-* things turn out much better than with *-l-*, given that there are many examples of diminutives in *-ello-* or *-ella-* in Latin, including both adjectives (such as *novellus* from *novus*) and many substantives, such as *cistella*, “little *cista*, or chest”; *ofella*, little *offa*, *aucella*, little *avis*, and so on<sup>44</sup>. Therefore, it is possible to see *mustel(l)a* as the “fresh” or “sweet” (feminine) thing, constructed from the adjective *mustus* or *musteus* by means of a diminutive suffix *-ellus*<sup>45</sup>.

This morphological feature – the diminutive – used in combination with the alimentary metaphor raises another question for us to consider. Why would this specific trait – the freshness, the goodness, the thing good to eat – be chosen to designate the weasel (as in the case of the “bread and milk” or “honey” type of name for the weasel mentioned above), and why specifically in a diminutive form? Probably this is simply a strategy to flatter the weasel: just as in modern languages, it is possible to flatter somebody or make endearing statements by using words drawn from alimentary perceptions of the “sweetness” or “goodness” of food, and in such a context a diminutive

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<sup>41</sup> See Pl., St. 499 (A: Palimpsestus Ambrosianus); Petr. 46, 4; Plin., Nat. 8, 45 and elsewhere; etc. see also the ThLL VIII, 1710, 17–18, s. v. and above all the list provided E. Graur, *Les consonnes geminées en Latin*, Paris 1929, 190.

<sup>42</sup> As in Graur 71, who inserts *mustella* among the animal names which offer the double form; see also 190.

<sup>43</sup> Some examples are provided in Graur, 42–44; see especially S. Giannini and G. Marotta, *Fra grammatica e pragmatica*, Pisa 1989, passim (for the basic equivalence V + C: = V: + C which governs the syllabic structure of Latin).

<sup>44</sup> M. Leumann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, 1977, 305: it is essentially a case of a double diminutive, with two *-lo-* suffixes in a row: *agna* > *agn-ul-a* > *agn-ul-la* > *agn-el-la*, *cista* > *cist-ul-a* > *cist-ul-la* > *cistella*; see also Alessio.

<sup>45</sup> Among the other three names in *-ela* which we possess, the *nitela* and *cicindela* appear more often in the manuscript tradition as *nitella* and *cicindella* (Graur 192; ThLL III, 1050, 36 Stadler); according to O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 165, the form *mustella* is a “Koseform”, the result of an assimilation between *mustela* and the other animals named with a diminutive, such as *catella*.



would certainly be appropriate. Thus in Latin we find terms of endearment drawn from the alimentary sphere of sweet and good foodstuffs. In Plautus, for example, an enraged wife or a beautiful courtesan can be soothed or flattered by calling her "*mea mulsa*" (Cas. 372, St. 765) (*mulsa* being a drink made of water sweetened with honey)<sup>46</sup>. Meanwhile a fiancee or a courtesan could be addressed endearingly as *mea melilla*: *melilla* is once again the name of a beverage made of water and honey much like *mulsa*, and in this case we are dealing with an endearing diminutive<sup>47</sup>. In Horace we find that famous apostrophe: *quid agis, dulcissime rerum?* (Hor., S. 1,9,4) To which the equally famous answer is, of course, "*suaviter*" (Hor., S. 1,9,6). And finally we might add this phrase from Seneca: *amicos incolumes cogitare melle ac placenta frui est* ("to know that one's friends are well is like enjoying honey and cake") (Sen., Ep. 7,63,6). In Latin, then, these heartfelt emotions, the sensation precisely of "sweetness" that one feels in the presence of beloved persons, could be expressed in terms of the sweetness of foods: consider also that Seneca's *mel ac placenta* is extremely similar to the "bread and cheese" or "honey" type of name used for the weasel in certain Romance languages. Latin thus seems to proceed according to the following paradigm: a series of "affectionate emotions" is designated by items drawn from a series of "sweet foodstuffs." We can also find an interesting confirmation of this paradigm in the form of its symmetrical inversion, when Cato describes for us a food item which is designated by an item drawn from the affectionate series: a sweet cake made from flour, cheese, honey and eggs, was called *savillum*, "the little kiss"<sup>48</sup>. This Roman

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<sup>46</sup> See the ThLL VIII, 1580, 18ff. It is odd that in the same volume of the ThLL 1579, 14ff., the Plautine examples are instead explained as if *mulsa* were an adjective, "id quod mellis dulcedine praeditum". The word is frequently found in Plautus as a term of endearment: see, for example, Bac. 23 and 1197, Cur. 164, Mos. 325; etc.

<sup>47</sup> Cas. 135; Cist. 247; Ps. 180. In the ThLL VIII 662, 41ff. there is a hypothesis attributed to J.B. Hoffman which asserts that *mellilla* is a diminutive of *mellina* (Pl., Truc. 704): a different interpretation is found in G.K. Strodach, *Latin diminutives in -ello/a- and -illo/a-: a study in diminutive formation*, Philadelphia, 1933, 58.

<sup>48</sup> Cato, Agr. 84. For *savium* as opposed to *osculum* and *basium* see. G. Cipriani, Il vocabolario latino dei baci, *Aufidus* 17, 1992, 69-102 (72-78). According to Varro, *De vita populi Romani I fr. 37 Riposati* (= Non., 424 Lindsay) *savium* should be derived a *suavitate* (Varro's hypothesis was accepted by P. Kretschmer, "Dissimilationen", *Glotta* 9, 1918, 228). It is interesting that the substantive *bellaria* (from *bellus*) can also be used to mean

*savillum* serves as a sort of literal rendering of the Spanish proverb cited earlier: “*pan y queso saben a beso*”. Thus it seems quite possible that the *mustela*, the Latin weasel, was “flattered” and “sweet-talked” by the Romans using “*mustela*” as a term of endearment in naming her; *mustela* would thus be a word indicating “freshness” or “sweetness” of food, further modified by a diminutive suffix.

For the Romans to “sweet talk” the weasel with such a word would not be anything out of the ordinary. Riegler<sup>49</sup> records many folkloric traditions in which the weasel is described as a vain animal who enjoys flattery: the weasel is an animal who likes to listen to compliments. If you call her “pretty” she struts and sashays, makes funny faces, basks in her joy; but if you call her “ugly” she will skulk in the rocks and spit viciously at you. This folkloric characterization of the weasel is confirmed by names belonging to the “pretty” type, such as the French *belette* and the many similar variants in Italian regions that are all drawn from the Latin *bellus*, the Spanish *mono* (“gracious”) and so on – and we could include in this list similar names from many non-Romance languages as well<sup>50</sup>. Ancient Greece also had this sort of name for the weasel, calling her *ίλαρία*, indicating here not so much her “prettiness” but her “gaiety” or “friendliness”<sup>51</sup>. In modern Greece the weasel is still addressed in this way when met along the roadside: “Best wishes, my dear weasel!”<sup>52</sup> This tendency to speak endearingly to the weasel as one might address a charming young girl leads us back again to the theme of the weasel as a “young bride” or young girl. And it is interesting of

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the cakes of the *secundae mensae* (Pl., *Truc.* 480; Suet., *Nero* 25; Stat., *Silv.* 1, 6, 10; see Ter., *Ad.* 590, and the note by Don., Ter. 122, 51 Wessner, ad locum).

<sup>49</sup> R. Riegler, “Wiesel”, in: *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, 595 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Schott 32 ff.; Alinei 176–179; 203–205. On the “beautiful” weasel, and practice of flattering her, see also G. Flechia, “Postille etimologiche”, in: *AGI* 2, 1876, 47–52.

<sup>51</sup> Artem. 3, 28: *καλεῖται γὰρ πρὸς τινῶν κερδῶ καὶ ἰλαρία*; Suidas I 506, g 29 Adler s. v. *γαλή*. About *ίλαρία* the Greek English Dictionary of Liddell Scott Jones s. v. argues that this is a pet-name of the weasel, interpolated into the text (?); E.K. Borthwick, *Seeing Weasels*, 201, note 1, proposes (unconvincingly) that this word is an allusion to the famous “word play” between *γαλή* and *γαληνός* inadvertently uttered by the actor Hegelochos when he played Euripides’s *Orestes* (see Ar., *Ra.* 304).

<sup>52</sup> “*Kalós te nuphítsa mou!*” See Th. Sheared Duncan, 47. R.W. Hutchinson (The Little Lady) reports that in Ireland “a countryman who meets a weasel will doff his hat and address it as ‘little lady’”.

course to observe that this connection between the human and animal worlds – flattering the weasel as if she were a pretty girl – is inverted when real women are called “weasels” in the language of courtship, a usage that is attested at least in Chaucer<sup>53</sup>. Finally, it is also worth noting that *Mustela* could be used as a woman’s name in ancient Rome<sup>54</sup>.

The weasel is thus characterized in many languages and cultures as a vain creature who exults when she hears herself flattered or praised. So people regard these weasels as if they were “women” and – vice versa – men may likewise regard women as “weasels.” As we saw already, many languages preserve traces of this basic pattern of courteous behavior in the names given to the weasel. Naturally, it is possible that in general this affectionate display when meeting the weasel responds to the need for some defense against the superstitious fears provoked by this ominous animal<sup>55</sup>. It is often the case that animals who are considered especially dangerous may be given names which people find more reassuring<sup>56</sup>, and there is no doubt that the weasel is also one of these animals. For example, Rolland<sup>57</sup> demonstrates that in France “the name of the weasel (*belette*) is avoided whenever possible, or its true name is substituted with another name that is tender and affectionate”. The same thing might also have happened at Rome<sup>58</sup>, where the weasel came to be called by a “tender

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<sup>53</sup> Canterbury Tales 3233–3234: *Fair was this yonge wyf, and ther-with-al / As any wesele hir body gent and smak*; see E.K. Borthwick, “Beetle, Bell, Goldfinch and Weasel in Aristophanes’ Peace,” CR 19, 1968, 134–139 (136 note 3: who erroneously cites Ar., Ach. 254–256 as evidence that the *γαλῆ* was used “in classical Athens as a compliment for pretty, nubile girls”).

<sup>54</sup> CIL X 5646 (392 B. C.E.): see H. Van Thiel, “Sprichwörter in Fabeln”, *Antike und Abendland* 17, 1971, 101–118 (112). The word *mustula* can perhaps be found at the end of a piece of Pompeian graffiti CIL IV 1405: see V. Väänänen, “Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompeiennes”, *Annales Academiae Fennicae*, B XL, 1937, 173. In this sense, it is interesting to note that there is a “sancta Mustiola”, celebrated in Chiusi, Italy on July 13; see the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Roma 1967, col. 681–585, s. v. *Mustiola e Ireneo*.

<sup>55</sup> This is the traditional interpretation given by Schott, 50; and Alinei 178.

<sup>56</sup> R. Riegler, “Zoonimia popolare”, *Quaderni di semantica* 2, 1981, 305–360 (340).

<sup>57</sup> E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, VII, Paris 1877, 124; see H. Urtel, “Zum Namen des Wiesels”, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 37, 1913, 210–212.

<sup>58</sup> Even if in Rome the weasel does not seem to have provoked the same fear as it did in Greece; see the omen interpreted in the Stichus, 459ff. cited above (where the appearance of the weasel is initially considered a good

and affectionate” name – *mustela* – a name which located the animal among the things that are “sweet” and “fresh” to eat, made more endearing by the addition of a diminutive suffix.

But we can carry this reconstruction one step farther: it may in fact be possible to narrow the circle somewhat, adding a further cultural motivation for the derivation of *mustela* from *mustus* or *musteus*. We have examined already the adjectival uses of *musteus*, but it was also possible for *musteus* to be used as a substantive – *musteus* or *musteum* – in order to indicate a certain type of sweet<sup>59</sup> – a food that was also called *mustaceus* or *mustaceum*<sup>60</sup>. This was a sweet made from *must*<sup>61</sup>, clearly deriving its name from that word. If we take in account this specific meaning of the adjective *musteus*, now derived from its use as a substantive, we might assume that the name *mustela* indicated more than an association between the weasel and the freshness or sweetness of food but that it in fact linked the weasel to this *musteum*, the “little cake”.

Moreover, we know that these *mustea* or *mustacea* had a specific ceremonial purpose: they were used for wedding celebrations. For example, Juvenal makes the following argument against somebody marrying a woman whom he does not love: *nec est quare cenam et mustacea perdas* (“there’s no point in wasting a dinner and *mustacea* . . .”) (Iuv. 6, 202f.). Both the Juvenal’s text and the scholiast suggest that these *mustacea* were *apophoreta*, that is, gifts which the wedding guests would take home after the banquet<sup>62</sup>, a bit like what happens at traditional Italian weddings with the wedding “confetti”, candy-coated almonds which are handed out to the guests after the banquet so that they can take them home as souvenirs. Regarding these *mus-*

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omen); for other regions in which the weasel is a sign of good luck, see R. Riegler, “Wiesel”, 594.

<sup>59</sup> See Palladius, *Opus Agriculturae* 11, 21; Apicius *De re coquinaria* 5, 189; 7, 294; 295; 301 etc. ThLL VIII, 1712, 1–12.

<sup>60</sup> See J.G.A. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius*, Uppsala 1935, 22. 273. For the *mustacea* see J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, Paris 1981, 212.

<sup>61</sup> Cato, *Agr.* 12 (*mustacei*); Palladius, *Opus Agriculturae* 11, 21 (*mustei*). In Ath., 14, 647d there is reference to *μουςτάκια ἐξ οἴνομέλιτος* (honeyed wine).

<sup>62</sup> Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora, p. 87 Wessner, ad locum: *solebant antea post nuptias recedentibus dulcia erogare pro apophoretis*; CGL V 653, 6: *mustacia quae veteres erogabant in nuptiis*. See H. Blümner, *Die Römischen Privataltertümer*, München 1911, 357 e n. 10.

*tacea* at Roman weddings we have some additional evidence from the little poem about the cook and the baker, the *Iudicium coci et pistoris*, attributed to Vespa<sup>63</sup>. Here the baker explains that his task is to “send the mustacea to the bride” (*sponsae mustacea mitto*). So not only were *mustacea* the sweets distributed to the guests as *apophoreta* at wedding banquets – it appears also that they were specifically connected to the “bride” herself<sup>64</sup>. We know that the wedding banquet took place at the home of the bride’s father<sup>65</sup>, and we can thus imagine that the girl distributed the *mustacea* as *apophoreta* for the guests after the banquet. In any case, we can be certain of at least this much: the *mustacea* were a cultural synonym for the “wedding” at Rome, and they immediately evoked the figure of the “bride.”

This nuptial usage of *mustacea* (or *mustea*) and their specific relation to the “bride” could turn out to be quite important for our discussion here: as was suggested earlier, the field of matrimony is also part of the cultural range of the weasel. In many languages the weasel has the name “little bride”<sup>66</sup>, and the same happens in medieval and modern greek, where the weasel is called *νι(μ)φίτσα*<sup>67</sup>. At the same time stories were told in ancient Greece about the weasel’s “failed wedding”, and her career as a “failed bride.” This is precisely the point of the ancient Greek proverb: *οὐ πρόπει γαλῆ κροκωτός*, “the wedding gown – *κροκωτός* – doesn’t fit the weasel”<sup>68</sup>. This

<sup>63</sup> Anthologia Latina, 1, p. 135ff., line 49.

<sup>64</sup> I think that *sponsa*, in this passage from Vespa, must mean the “bride” and not, as in classical Latin, the “betrothed.” We already saw that Juvenal provides evidence that the *mustacea* were specifically associated with the wedding feast, and not with the betrothal; moreover, the Latin of Vespa is sufficiently late (the work is usually dated to “at earliest the end of the third century C.E.”: M. Schuster, *RE*, II – 16, 1705ff.) which, I believe, allows us to conclude that in this case *sponsa* might already have had the broader sense with which it is used, for example, in the Vulgata: *Matth. 25, 1: [virgines] exierunt obviam sponso et sponsae*; *Apocal. 21, 2 paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo*; etc.

<sup>65</sup> J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, I, Leipzig 1886, 53; Blümner 357.

<sup>66</sup> Alinei 154–156, 200.

<sup>67</sup> The term is already found in the scholia to Aristophanes, Nu. 169 and Pl. 693; see Th. Zielinski, “Das Wiesel als Braut”, *RhM* 44, 1889, 156–157.

<sup>68</sup> The proverb is found in the comic dramatist Strattis, fr. 75 K.-A. (Zenob. Ath.): Zenobius II 93; Diogenianus III 82; Plutarchus II 1 (*Corpus Paroemiog-raphorum Graecorum*, II, ed. E. Leutsch, Göttingen 1851 = Hildesheim 1965): a possible parallel is also cited in O. Crusius, “Ueber die Sprichwörter-

κροκωτός – the saffron-colored dress – was the attire worn by “brides” on the day of their wedding<sup>69</sup>. A narrative version is found in an Aesopic fable<sup>70</sup>: a weasel fell in love with a young man and begged Aphrodite to turn her into a woman so that she could marry him. The goddess agreed, and made the weasel into a woman. The weasel put on her wedding gown (this is our proverb), and was sitting at the banquet table with the wedding guests. But out of nowhere there suddenly appeared – a mouse. The weasel/bride tried to resist but to no avail: she leaped up and ran after the mouse, abandoning her husband and the guests. The goddess, much offended, turned her back into an animal: the weasel did not deserve to be a human bride. And far away from Greece, in Sicily and in the Veneto, people used to sing little rhymes to the weasel when they met her, promising that she’ll get a “husband” right away<sup>71</sup>: perhaps teasing her about the fact that she is a failed bride, acknowledging that what the weasel wants most of all is actually a husband.

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sammlung des Maximus Planudes”, *RhM* 42, 1887, 386–425: p. 417 n. 16; see also E. Rohde, “Ein griechisches Märchen”, *RhM* 43, 1888, 303–305.

<sup>69</sup> See P. Perlman, “Plato Laws 833c – 834b and the Bears of Brauron”, *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 24, 1983, 113–128 (on the κροκωτός, 125–126): this piece of clothing played an important role in the Attic Greek festival of the Brauronia.

<sup>70</sup> 50 Perry and Babrius *Fabulae* 32. The relationship between the proverb and the Aesopic fable is explicitly noted by Zenobius (*supra*). According to Rohde, the fable expresses the truism that “one cannot change one’s own nature.” The same conclusion is also illustrated by the fable of the fox who is made king of the animals by Zeus (107 Perry); another proverbial allusion to this notion is found in Pindar, *Olympica* 11 [1 ] 19ff., and so on: no animal can change its “basic characteristics.” A similar story is also told regarding the girl / mouse who wants to find a husband but must first consider a range of possible partners, and ultimately concludes that the best choice is to marry another mouse. For medieval versions of this widely attested story (derived from the Panchatantra tradition), see John of Capua’s *Directorium humanae vitae*, 2; Odo of Cheriton, *Fabulae*, 63 (L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d’Auguste*, Paris 1893–1899); the story is also found in the Jewish fable tradition, *Fables of a Jewish Aesop*, trans. by Moses Hadas, New York 1967, 58–61, with an extraordinary commentary by H. Schwarzbaum, *The Mishle Shu’alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah Ha-Nakdan*, Institute for Jewish and Arab Folklore Research Kiron (Tel Aviv) 1979, 167–174. The Aesopic weasel-bride also appears in Armenian folklore, as cited by G.L. Permiakov, *From Proverb to Folktale*, Moscow 1979, 211, following I. Orbeli, *Fables of Medieval Armenia [Basni srednevekovoj Armenii]*, Moscow 1956, 131.

<sup>71</sup> See Schott 19–20.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, there is a Greek custom of offering “honey and perfumes” to the weasel on a wedding day, precisely because this “jealous” animal might otherwise try to harm the bride<sup>72</sup>. Thus, there may also be this additional resonance to the word *mustela*: not only is *mustela* linked to the sphere of *mustum* and that which is *musteus*, but also to the *mustea* and the *mustacea*, and so to the matrimonial sphere. The weasel could be called *mustela* not only to speak to her sweetly as “something good to eat”, but also to recall the world of “weddings” and the role of the “bride” – a world to which the weasel is often connected in folklore by means of stories, names, proverbs, and fables.

Indeed, much like the weasel’s wedding, this paper will also end, perhaps unexpectedly, on a melancholic note. As we have already seen, in European folklore the “names” of the weasel are accompanied by little rhymes, by specific behaviors, and by stories and tales, a complex system with branches and offshoots extending all around the animal. Thus, in places where we have the most information, we can watch the weasel emerge from this system in all of her cultural richness, as an object of activity and of belief, as a subject of texts. The weasel appears as the center of a symbolic order, of a polysystemic reality in which different voices and registers cross and intermingle: she is at the same time an object of fear, of endearment, of rhymes, of stories, and even of jokes. The weasel was a real, everyday animal who also figured as a capricious little lady, a feared guest, someone who had to be placated with food and sweet-talk, but she was at the same time a curious personage with whom and about whom you could talk, and who could even be insulted if you called her “ugly”. This “set of discursive systems” coalesces around the weasel while at the same time it extends over an extremely wide territory, reaching from Greece to Italy, to France, and to Spain, from the Slavic world to the Germanic. Moreover, this set of discourses seems also to have extremely ancient origins. This, then, is the reason for our melancholy

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<sup>72</sup> G.F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge University Press 1903, 108–109 (who notes that sweets are specifically mixed in with the linens of the trousseau); see also G.S. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, 327–328; Th. S. Duncan, 47; E.K. Borthwick, “Seeing Weasels”, 203 n. 1; M. Albert-Llorca, *L’ordre des choses*, 259–267. Based on a superficial reading of the entry for Wiesel in the *Realencyclopädie*, P.M.C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myth*, Oxford 1990, 206, reaches the surprising conclusion that “weasels are protectors of young brides”.

conclusion: the Romans have left us almost nothing of their polysystemic discourse about the weasel. Who knows how many popular little rhymes there might have been about the *mustela*, or whether the residents of Rome perhaps also offered her bread and milk, or bread and honey, or *mustacea*, maybe even joking about the fact the baker never bakes *mustacea* for the *mustela's* wedding. But we will never know: from all the possible ways of talking about and with the weasel, all we have is a name, a few lines of Plautus, and (perhaps) a handful of wedding candy offered to us along with an etymological hypothesis. Unfortunately, the scholars of ancient Rome did not deem such things sufficiently interesting to hand down to posterity.



## *Rumpus*, “artiglio” della vite

Di REMO BRACCHI, Rom

Sommario: La voce (pre)lat. *rumpus* “viticcio”, strutturalmente affine al gallese ant. *rump* “ungulum” (cf. anche *rhwmp* “terebra”), è riconducibile a una protoforma gallica *\*ronk<sup>w</sup>o-* “oggetto ricurvo a punta”. Si propone qui di riportare più indietro la ricostruzione verso la sequenza *\*wronk<sup>w</sup>o-*, la quale avrebbe subito la caduta della *w-* per dissimilazione, e verso un significato più arcaico e più immaginoso di “artiglio”, maggiormente connaturale con la mentalità degli antichi. Il termine risulterebbe di natura aggettivale, ricavato da *\*wronk-* “mano; zampa, artiglio” e riducibile (mediante l’aggiunta del suffisso derivativo *-wo-*) all’accezione primigenia di “simile a un artiglio”. La parola sopravvive in area baltica e slava (lit. *rankà* “mano”, russo *ruká* “mano, braccio”) e si riaffaccia pure nel vocabolo (pre)lat. *branca* “zampa”, introdotto nel dizionario di Roma per la mediazione di una differente etnia indoeuropea.

Lo studio che passa in rassegna con maggiore completezza tutti gli aspetti etimologici e i risvolti semantici implicati nella voce (pre)lat. *rumpus* è dovuto a W. Belardi (1975: 13 ss.). La sua dettagliata disamina abbraccia pure le imbricazioni agronomiche relative alla coltivazione della vite presso le antiche culture preistoriche e proto-storiche euroasiatiche.

Le posizioni che precedono l’ultimo sviluppo della linguistica comparativa sono brevemente riassunte dal Forcellini (4/1864: 172): «Döderlein, in Latein. Syn. u. Etym. v. 6. p. 310. deducit a ῥώψ, -πός, *virgultum*; at Pontedera in Antiqu. Graec. et Lat. p. 529. a ῥομφεύς, *lorum*, quia arbusta sustinendis vitibus posita per traduces hinc inde demissas inter se connectuntur; quod culturae genus Plin. 17. Hist. nat. 22. 35. (174), *funetum* vocat».

Già Columella assegnava indirettamente al sostrato celtico il termine, trattando di un suo derivato d’ambito regionale, introdotto a connotare l’*arbustum Gallicum*: «est et alterum genus arbusti Gallici quod vocatur *rumpotinum*» (Colum., 5,7,1, ed. S. Hedberg).

A tale ipotesi si sono attenuti in passato G. Dottin (1906: 72; 1915: 84; 1920: 283) e J. Jud (in AR 6/1922: 210).

La critica più approfondita a questa tesi quasi pacifica sull’autorità

delle testimonianze antiche, accompagnata dal tentativo di assegnare *rumpus* a una lingua preceltica non esattamente definibile in termini etnici (ligure, ‘mediterranea’?) e attribuendo al massimo ai Celti un ruolo di anello di trasmissione della voce al latino, è stata intrapresa dal Marstrander (in RC 36/1915: 351-3; 1924: 18) e dal Bertoldi 1929: 506; 1929a: 295-300; 1939: 267-8, riflesso di parola mediterranea, forse mediata dall’etrusco, che trova una corrispondenza del tutto indipendente nel gr. ῥομφεῖς “legacci”; 1942: 161 e 173, voce di sostrato mediterraneo, senza più riferimento alla glossa greca). Il fulcro dell’argomentazione del Marstrander è soprattutto di natura fonologica e riguarda la negata possibilità di evoluzione di una *o* tonica a *u*, e del ‘timbro’ labiale assunto da una ‘gutturale’ indoeuropea dopo *u*.

V. Bertoldi appunta invece la propria critica su aspetti culturali e semantici. Intendendo *rumpus* secondo un’accezione originaria di “arbusto” usato come sostegno vivo della vite, egli difende la propria convinzione che la viticoltura celtica transpadana, di tipo massaliota a ceppo morto, ignorasse tale pratica. A questo argomento se ne affianca un secondo di natura geolinguistica, e cioè l’assenza di corrispondenze lessicali nel celtico insulare e, conseguentemente, di riflessi romanzi nell’area transalpina già di colonizzazione celtica (cf. REW 1968: n. 1271).

La contestazione contro l’origine celtica è riformulata dal Conway (1933: 204), il quale colloca *rumpus* tra le attestazioni «other than Gallic, or not assigned to any particular tribe») e dal Whatmough (1970, che non prende neppure in considerazione la parola). Ultimamente il termine è stato inserito senza commento nel Thesaurus Linguae Gallicae di P.-H. Billy (1993: 128).

Già in precedenza il Walde (LEW, prima ed.) e il Cuny (1915: 213), come pure altri loro predecessori, erano ricorsi al confronto con la glossa greca ῥομφεῖς ἰμάντες οἷς ῥάπτεται τὰ ὑποδήματα. Dopo aver citate le ipotesi ‘ligure’ e ‘mediterranea’, J.B. Hofmann conclude laconicamente per una provenienza incerta (LEW 2/1954: 452; riassunto delle posizioni da parte M.L. Porzio Gernia in Campanile 1981: 112).

E. Sereni ricostruisce una base paleoligure \**rumbu-* “tralcio della vite” (con passaggio a *rumpu* per mediazione etrusca) e collegabile con altra terminologia settentrionale sul tipo del piem. *brombo* “tralcio”, romagn. *brombol* “tralcio, viticcio” (AIS 7/1928: 1311, punto 478, Meldola), da ricondurre all’ie. \**wremb-*, \**werb-* “avvolgere” (cf. gr. ῥόμβος, ῥέμβω). Lo studioso estende la comparazione a raggio

più vasto, includendo la famiglia entro una cornice 'mediterranea' (cf. tamil *arumpu* "germoglio" ecc.). Il principio sul quale si appoggia è quello che «un organico quadro arioeuropeo non esclude affatto, sempre e necessariamente, la possibilità di un suo inserimento anche in un quadro mediterraneo (e viceversa)» (Sereni 1965: 92 ss., in particolare 197).

Più di recente J. Hubschmid (1/1963: 59-60) ha riformulato l'ipotesi di un'origine preindoeuropea di *rumpus*, puntando l'attenzione in modo particolare sulla presenza nella voce di un presupposto elemento suffissale *-p-*, spesso associato a nomi di piante o di loro parti.

W. Belardi prende le mosse da una glossa gallese antica («glossae Cambricae Oxonienses», ms. Oxoniensis posterior, bodleiano 572): *ungulum i. rump* (cf. Zeuss 1853: 1093). Essa riceve una conferma significativa da una seconda più recente: *terebra rhwmp*. Le due glosse erano già state colte come possibili parenti del vocabolo confluito nel latino e citate in forma un po' confusa da A. Holder (2/1891: 1246). La sua traduzione di *ungulum* come "pioche" cioè "zappa" solleva in particolare difficoltà semantiche. L'autore le denuncia, apponendo un punto interrogativo all'accostamento che dovrebbe invece, con ogni probabilità, indirizzare sul sentiero giusto per la spiegazione etimologica della voce in esame. Di tale valore del tutto singolare lo studioso si rivela tributario di J. Loth (1884: 213).

«Le due glosse, se permettono di revocare in dubbio l'affermazione del Bertoldi che "il celtico insulare rifiuta ogni appoggio" alla tesi di una origine celtica primaria di *rumpus*, permettono anche ... di giustificare la distribuzione areale dei riflessi romanzi di *rumpus*. Per esse, quindi, si profila inefficace non solo l'indizio geografico, addotto dal Bertoldi, ma anche l'indizio semantico, specie se si considera che *rumpus* significa non "arbusto su cui la vite si appoggia" o "palo, sostegno o festone della vite" (così il Bertoldi nella Silloge Ascoli) ma solo "festone" e più precisamente "tralcio" nell'unica sua attestazione presso Varrone (*Rust.* 1,8,4: "quartum est pedamentum nativum eius generis, ubi ex arboribus in arbores traductis vitibus vinea fit, quos traduces quidam *rumpos* appellant"), così come tutti i lessicografi hanno inteso.

La nozione atta a congiungere il documentato significato di "tralcio" con i significati di "ungulum" e di "terebra" ovviamente è "viticcio, cirro", cosicché nella preistoria di *rumpus* si intuisce una operazione di creazione semantica di natura metaforica e successivamente una comune sineddoche» (Belardi 1975: 22-3).

Alle affermazioni del Marstrander il Belardi obietta, d'altra parte,

che *ō* breve tonica davanti a *m* può dare in latino *u* (*umbo* < \**omb<sup>h</sup>o-*, *lumbus* < \**lond<sup>h</sup>-wo-*), se mai l'acclimatazione fonetica fosse avvenuta in un tempo successivo all'accatto (Belardi 1975: 25; cf. Leumann 1977: 48; Sommer 1914 = 1948<sup>3</sup>: 65). L'adattamento di *ōmp* in *ump* sarebbe comunque da assegnare a un livello di latino parlato (i mutamenti più diffusi in questa direzione riguardano *om* + *b<sup>h</sup>*) oppure + vocale: *umerus*, *numerus*).

Il gallese *rump* è spiegabile da un britannico (= gallico) \**rompo-*. In questa varietà infatti, davanti a gruppi consonantici, abbiamo regolarmente *o* > *u*: gall. *twng*, *mwng*, *mwn*, *ystlwn*, *iwrch*, *twuch* e altri (Lewis - Pedersen 1937: 2). Nelle aree labializzanti del gallico e nel britannico la *-p-* continua *-k<sup>w</sup>-*, per cui alla base di \**rompo-* si deve porre una protoforma celtica \**ronk<sup>w</sup>o-*, alla quale, sulla scorta delle glosse, si potrebbe attribuire un'accezione generica di "oggetto ricurvo e appuntito".

Conclude non senza un qualche rimpianto il Belardi: «Certo si desidererebbe un superamento diacronico della fase celtica antica raggiunta con l'accertamento dell'esistenza di \**ronk<sup>w</sup>o-*. Purtroppo, la comparazione indoeuropea (o extra-indoeuropea) non ... pare che ci soccorra in alcun modo. Per altro, ai fini di una illustrazione della preistoria immediata di *rumpus* un accertamento di indoeuropeità del termine celtico si configura come questione allotria» (Belardi 1975: 29).

La tecnica viticola più antica (già sicuramente di fase preceltica) nell'area gallicizzata della pianura padana (l'Ager Insuber) non risulta essere (come voleva il Bertoldi) quella di tipo massaliota, ma quella del sostegno naturale e della potatura lunga. I tralci, condotti da albero ad albero, si configurano, secondo tale tecnica di coltivazione, a festoni e la funzione dei viticci acquista, di conseguenza, un'importanza primaria, permettendo alla pianta di aggrapparsi al sostegno per salire alla luce (Belardi 1975: 31).

Il termine *ungulum* introdotto a glossare *rump* ricorre in un testo medievale (probabilmente da collocare nel corso del sec. X), all'interno di un catalogo di strumenti per lo più agricoli. Almeno formalmente il richiamo a *ungula* "unghia, artiglio" sembra immediato, nonostante la diversità di genere.

«Il celtico insulare, dunque, nel suo ramo britannico, che risulta affine al gallico più di quanto a questo sia affine il goidelico, ci offre valori per il cimrico *rump* che possono a buon diritto essere considerati lo spunto celtico comune per la metafora regionalistica cisalpina. Le immagini dell'uncino, del gancio, del succhiello appaiono ripetutamen-

te in più lingue e in più culture agricole alla base delle denominazioni del viticcio, ossia della terminazione prensile del tralcio che può assumere appunto di solito le due fogge dell'uncino (semplice o doppio) o della spirale; viceversa, per la foggia a spirale del viticcio, il nome di questo è stato utilizzato talvolta per denominare il succhiello o la vite quali strumenti meccanici» (Belardi 1975: 37, documentazione pp. 38-43).

Partendo ora dalla protoforma *\*ronk<sup>w</sup>o-* e dal significato generico di "oggetto adunco terminante a punta", si propone di riportare a uno stadio anteriore tanto la sequenza fonetica quanto la sua accezione primigenia, passando dall'etimologia formale all'icona (Alinei 1997: 11-36). Presupponendo a ritroso una base di partenza *\*wronk<sup>w</sup>o-*, con la perdita della *\*w-* iniziale per dissimilazione<sup>1</sup>, si giungerebbe a una formula molto vicina a quella ricostruita per indicare la "mano", la "zampa" o "artiglio", geograficamente inscrivibile in un'area indoeuropea in parte coincidente con quella presupposta da *rumpus*. La metafora dell'artiglio che si avvinghia al sostegno è certamente più viva da un punto di vista esperienziale e psicologico e sembra corrispondere maggiormente al modo animato di concepire la realtà da parte di popolazioni primitive. Essa sembra primaria anche rispetto ai due significati che ci vengono offerti dalle glosse e del tutto compatibile con una sua evoluzione semantica in diverse direzioni, secondo percorsi conosciuti da altra terminologia affine.

A questo punto si apre la possibilità che anche un'altra voce, la quale ritorna nel contesto specialistico dell'allevamento entro l'arco alpino orientale, appartenga alla stessa famiglia. Il bormino *roncégl* pl. "piegatura opposta al ginocchio", grosino *runscél* "ginocchio dei quadrupedi" (DEG 1995: 713-4), agordino *renziéi* pl. "speroni dei bovini", ladino dolomitico *rancëi*, *rencëi* pl. "la parte della calza che corrisponde al calcagno" paiono confluire spontaneamente per la forma e per l'accezione all'interno del medesimo alveo (Kuen 1991: 224-5; Pallabazzer 1989: 492; EWD 5/1993: 466-7; le proposte etimologiche sono state diverse e discordi e ancora non si è raggiunto un punto di convergenza).

<sup>1</sup> Riflessi di un trattamento analogo, con dissimilazione di uno dei suoni labiali, si possono riscontrare anche nei continuatori di *\*w|k<sup>w</sup>os* / *\*luk<sup>w</sup>os* "lupo" (IEW 1/1949: 1178-9), benché il ritocco fonetico sia forse qui stato promosso dall'interdizione tabuistica di pronunciare il vero nome dell'animale temuto (Buck 1949: 185; Mann 1947-8: 1554; DELL 1967: 370-1; G. Bonfante, "Lat. *Vlpinus* et le nom ancien du loup", in «*Latomus*» 3/1939: 79 ss.).

Sotto la base *\*wrenk-* / *\*wronk-*, allargata da *\*wer-* "piegare", "avvolgere", il Pokorny annota: «spätlat. *branca* 'Pfote' ('die gekrümmte'), aus gall. (wohl nichtkelt. Herkunft) *\*wrankā*, idg. *\*wronkā* = baltosl. *ranka* 'Hand' in lit. *rankà*, lett. *rūoka* 'Hand, Arm', [pruss. *rancko*]; aksl. *ꙗꙑka* 'Hand', russ. *ruká* 'Hand, Arm', sorb. *ruka* "mano, braccio", pol. *ręka* "mano" (IEW 1/1949: 1155; Mann 1984: 1585; Kuryłowicz 1925: 205 ss.; Buck 1949: 237 e 239; Fraenkel 2/1962: 697; Vasmer 2/1953: 545; Schuster-Šewc 3/1983: 1251, gli ultimi autori si dichiarano contro l'ipotesi, e ne avanzano un'altra, configurata all'interno del raggruppamento balto-slavo, che tuttavia risulta confluyente con quella negata, come si vedrà sotto; cf. anche Brückner 1927: 458-9). Il dubbio più ricorrente nei riguardi della celticità è sollevato dalla mancanza di testimonianze parallele. Sulla sua provenienza conclude M.L. Porzio Gernia: «*branca*, -ae, f. "branca, zampa". Parola rara e tarda (Gromatici, Agostino; [ThLL 3/1900: 2163]). Non è un termine germanico (REW 1968: n. 1271) ma, nonostante la mancanza di corrispondenze nel celtico insulare, è gallico con *brda* *\*wr-* (cf. *brigantes*)» (in Campanile 1981: 105; cf. anche LEW 1/1954: 114; DELL 1967: 75; Pedrero 1985: 256). L'evoluzione fonetica invocata non si dimostra tuttavia esclusiva del gallico (DECLC 2/1988: 194). Per quanto riguarda il significato, dalla valenza originaria di "mano" si sarebbe trascorsi a quella secondaria di "zampa" attraverso il linguaggio dei cacciatori (DELI 1/1979: 163).

Intorno alla celticità della voce *branca* si discusse a lungo (K. Jaberg - J. Jud, in IJB 9/1921: 7; Kuryłowicz 1925: 205 ss.; J.U. Hubschmid, in VR 3/1938: 26-9; H. Pedersen, in Litt. 7/1930: 20-1). L'equivoco fondamentale tra gli studiosi nasceva soprattutto dall'assegnazione scontata al sostrato celtico di tutto il materiale indoeuropeo che, nell'Europa occidentale, appariva anteriore al latino. Il problema è riassunto in forma chiara da J. Coromines: «Si Jud mantingué en el seu article fundacional la seva severa i habitual reserva, Hubschmid, en efecte, afirmà que malgrat tot es tractaria d'un mot cèltic continental, entre els que no passaren a les llengües goidelo-britòniques: perquè encara que des del llatí vulgar s'havia trasmès no sols a parlars de l'Alta Alemanya (oberdeutsch *pranke* "pota" sinó també a l'irl. *braice*, aquest era certament un vell manlleu del romànic (Ernout-M., cf. Kuryłowicz). Però Pedersen, home de molta més autoritat celtològica, tot mantenint en l'essencial aquesta etim. indoeuropea, s'oposà a la procedència cèltica. Aqueix substantiu pertany a un radical ben conegut en les llengües indoeuropees *\*wrenk-* / *\*wronk-* amb el sentit de "arrencar, torçar", d'on certament, després, "collir, arrencar plantes", i d'ací el verb lit.

*renkù*, *riñkti* “aplegar, collir, espigolar”, *paranká* (*pa-rancà*) f. “espigolada” (d’on ve ben segur el rom. \**arrancare*, catal. *arrencar*); i aquesta mateixa arrel general \**yer-*, amb nombroses ampliacions formades per elements consonàntics altres que *-k*, o bé amb *-n-* i sense la nasal (de present, etc., cf. irl. *feirc* “vencill, boga”, ky. *cywarch* “corda, canem”, etc.) s’estén per tot el món indoeuropeu (scr. *várjati* “torça, gira”, ags. *wrencan*, angl. *wrench* “torçar”, gr. *ῥάβδος* “vareta, branqueta torta”, ll. *vertere*, ll. *verpa* “verga”, etc.).

Devant aquest conjunt, argumentava Pedersen que si es tracta d’una base indoeuropea de la forma \**uronkā*, que és el tipus estructuralment més planer en la morfologia indoeuropea, el pas fonètic de *on* a *an* és correcte en lituà, però no seria possible en cap dialecte cèltic, almenys en els parlars de les Gàllies; que ha de tractar-se, doncs, d’una altra família indoeuropea, entre les moltes que canvien *o* en *a*» (DECLC 2/1988:192-3). La conclusió del Coromines è che si tratti di un termine pre-romano, sicuramente indoeuropeo del fondo arcaico, “soratàptic”, cioè appartenente alla lingua parlata dai portatori della cultura degli “Urnenfelder”, che presenterebbe spiccate affinità col baltico (DECLC 2/1988: 191).

Per quanto riguarda l’oscillazione finale *-k* / *-kʷ*, si deve osservare che le lingue del gruppo satem non distinguono tra velari e labiovelari (Szemerényi 1985: 84-5 e 90). D’altra parte, all’interno del raggruppamento delle lingue kentum si è creata una scissione tra dialetti Q e dialetti P. «Old Irish among the Celtic languages, and Latin-Faliscan in Italic, are Q-dialects; Welsh, Gaulish, Oscan, and Umbrian were P-dialects» (Sihler 1995: 156). Si dovrebbe allora ammettere che *branca* sia stato trasmesso al lat. da un dialetto Q.

Una soluzione più lineare alla difficoltà fonetica potrebbe essere quella che parte per entrambe le formazioni dall’ie. \**wronk-* e dall’immagine dell’“artiglio”, con trasmissione al latino da parte di etnie differenti. Nel momento dell’applicazione della metafora al “viticcio”, un gruppo diverso da quello che fece poi da intermediario per *branca* ricorse a una creazione aggettivale mediante il suffisso *-wo-*, giungendo a una protoforma \**wronk-wo-* “simile a un artiglio”<sup>2</sup>, con

<sup>2</sup> Un allargamento parallelo in *-w-* su una base in *-k* (rad. \**ter-* “girare, avvolgere”) è presupposto per \**i/o/rk-* da cui procederebbe il gr. ἀτραχίης e il celt. *torc* “collana» (E. Campanile, “Lat. *torques*, ant. irl. *torc*, cimr. *torch*”, in G. Bolognesi – C. Santoro (a cura), *Studi di linguistica e filologia*, Galatina 1992, vol. 2, pp. 139-46; contro LEIA, T 1978: 115-6, che considera la voce irl. un’importazione dal lat.), accanto a \**tork-w-*, che ha dato il lat. *tórquere* e il gr. τρέπω, ἀτρακτος “fuso”.

costituzione secondaria di labiovelare  $k^w$ . In tale sequenza la prima  $*w$ - sarebbe stata eliminata per dissimilazione.

Pare intanto importante osservare come entro il dominio romanzo la voce latina *branca*, solo in periodo tardo testimoniata nell'accezione specifica di "zampa (di bestia feroce)", si trovi distribuita a vasta raggiera sull'intero territorio con le due fondamentali valenze arealmente distinte: rum. *brîncă* "mano, zampa", it. *branca* "artiglio, zampa", sardo *branca*, logud. *franca* "branca, zampa", ticin. *branca*, *brênca* "mano (incavata), giumella", "manciata, manipolo", basso engad. *braunk'a* "mano, braccio", "bracciata", fr. *branche* "ramo, diramazione" (da cui ingl. *branch* "ramo"), prov., catal. *branca* "ramo, diramazione", aragon. *branca* "germoglio che spunta dalla radice", sp. (arc.) *branca* "zampa", ant. port. *branca* "artiglio" (REW 1968: n. 1271; REWS 1972: n. 1271; GMIL 1/1937: 734; Cioranescu 1966: 104; DES 1/1960: 223; DRG 2/1939: 465; VSI 2.2/1952: 880-1; Mistral 1/1932: 358; FEW 1/1922: 496-8; DCECH 1/1980: 651; Buck 1949: 523-4). L'area più vasta, quella che si estende fino alle due opposte estremità, conserva certamente il significato più antico, quello di "mano" parlando di uomini o di "zampa, artiglio" parlando di animali, senso del resto raggiungibile anche attraverso altre considerazioni. Resta difficile determinare se la valenza dell'area più ristretta dipenda da evoluzione autonoma o se piuttosto rifletta un'accezione già arcaica. La fascia centrale risulterebbe innovativa, ma l'uso traslato della voce potrebbe forse venire ricondotto a una fase già prelatina. Un indizio geografico potrebbe essere ricavato dalla constatazione che lo scivolamento semantico si è compiuto proprio in continuità con il territorio ricoperto da *runmpus*. Forse la creazione della metafora si è sviluppata in questa zona intermedia, nel momento in cui le due etnie che hanno trasmesso le due voci al latino ne avvertivano ancora l'affinità etimologica e quindi la concorrenza sinonimica. Sant'Isidoro sembra un lontano erede di tale sovrapposizione quando, trattando proprio della vite, applica il latino *branca* come metafora per il tralcio, quindi già nel sentire semantico che si risconterà imposto successivamente: «Est enim earum natura flexibilis, quae quasi *branchiis quibusdam* quidquid comprehenderit stringunt» (Orig. 17,5,2).

I viticci da giovani sono erbacei e flessibili, ma quando invecchiano diventano legnosi, assicurando il massimo della presa al ceppo di sostegno. L'immagine dell'artiglio sembra adattarsi perfettamente soprattutto in quest'ultimo stadio. Con percorso semantico opposto il termine lat. *sentis* (pl. *sentēs*) "ammasso di rovi, di cespugli spinosi" è



stato usato metaforicamente nella commedia per indicare “artigli, mani adunche e rapaci” (DELL 1967: 614; Forcellini 4/1864: 316).

Gli autori antichi paiono conservare memoria dell'icona originaria, ricorrendo spontaneamente ai paragoni della mano, della palma, delle dita per descrivere dettagli vegetali. Plinio, nella pericope stessa che ci ha trasmesso *rumpotinus*, così si esprime: «*Rumpotinus* vocatur et alio nomine opulus arbor Italiae Padum transgressis, cuius tabulata in orbem patula replent puroque perductae dracone in palmam eius, inde in subrectos ramorum digitos flagella dispergunt» (*Nat.* 14,3,12). Nella sua versione inglese H. Rackham cerca di conservare intatta la concretezza delle immagini: «There an Italian tree on the other side of the Po called the *rumpotinus*, or by another name the ‘opulus’, the broad circular stories of which are covered by vines which spread out with their bare snaky growth to where the tree forks and then throw out their tendrils along the upraised *fingers of the branches*» (Rackham 1960: 195).

Esplicito è pure Cicerone: «vitis [...] ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus, quicquid est nacta, complectitur» (*Sen.* 15,52). E aggiunge Varrone, in un passo riportato da Gellio e da questo inserito entro un discorso più generale: «*pedes cruraque arborum ramos appellat, caput stirpem atque caudicem*» (Gell. 16,16,3, ed. C. Hosius).

L'ingl. *bough* “ramo” viene riportato a un germ. com. \**bōguz* < ie. \**bhāghús* “(avam)braccio”, corrispondente di scr. *bāhús* “avambraccio”, gr. *πᾶχυς, πῆχυς* “(avam)braccio, cubito” (Onion 1982: 109–10; IEW 1949: 108; Mayrhofer, EWAia II, 223 f.).

In rumeno la voce *cracă* vale “ramo”, *crac* “ramo” e “piede”. Proviene dall'adstrato slavo e dall'accezione originaria di “piede”: bulg. *krak* “piede”, serbo *krak*, pol. *krok*, rut. *krak* “piede” e “ramo” (Cioranescu 1966: 245; Brückner 1927: 268).

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# O dee ree PIE

The Vocative Problems of Latin Words Ending in *-eus*<sup>1</sup>

By ELEANOR DICKEY, New York

Summary: The long-standing problems regarding the vocatives of *deus* and of *meus* can be solved if they are recognized to be part of a larger pattern affecting all Latin words in *-eus*. This explanation suggests that the ancient grammarians, who saw the problem as one of words with the nominative *-eus*, were in many ways more correct than many modern scholars, who have tended to treat *deus* and *meus* in isolation.

Latin *deus* almost never occurs in address except in Christian writers<sup>2</sup>, an aberration that is thought to have a psychological and social explanation<sup>3</sup>. Latin *meus* has a vocative form which is etymologically a dative<sup>4</sup> and which is avoided in certain types of poetry. Other words in *-eus* are conspicuously absent in the vocative case. Are these phenomena connected?

Philologists apparently assume that the answer to this question is negative, for the peculiarities of individual *-eus* words are now nearly always explained as isolated problems which must be treated independently. The ancient grammarians, by contrast, often attempted to explain the behaviour of words in *-eus* as a group; they worked on

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<sup>1</sup> This article grew out of a paper given at the Princeton Colloquium on Latin Linguistics in April 1999. I am grateful to Joshua Katz, Michael Weiss, Jill Hart, Glen Bowersock, Anna Morpurgo Davies, and especially Philomena Probert for their help, encouragement, and advice (though they are not responsible for any errors which remain), and to the Institute for Advanced Study for providing ideal working conditions.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper, statements about the non-occurrence of Latin words are based on the following evidence: 1) A corpus of 15,441 vocatives collected by hand from graffiti, inscriptions, letters, and literary sources from Plautus to Apuleius. Most works in Latin literature before A. D. 200 are included in this corpus, but not all. 2) Where practical (i. e., for forms which do not happen to be graphically identical to other, common forms), electronic searches of the PHI Latin database (using the Pandora program) and of the *Patrologia Latina* database. 3) Perusal of the standard reference works, including where available the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

<sup>3</sup> J. Wackernagel, *Über einige antike Anredeformen* (Göttingen 1912); E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* (2nd edn., Lund 1956), vol. 1 pp. 91–6.

<sup>4</sup> See e. g. *ThLL*s.v. (p. 914.34).

the assumption that a word with a given ending would form a vocative just like other words with the same ending, and that if an ending was problematic, it would result in a group of words with the same problems, rather than in isolated phenomena<sup>5</sup>.

Modern scholars are of course far more aware than the ancients were of the history of individual words and the sound changes (in some cases comparatively late in a word's development) which caused words of very different origin to end up sharing the same ending. As a result they usually dismiss the grammarians' assumptions without even a refutation. For example, the most recent article on the problem of *deus*, after a thorough and perceptive analysis of the grammarians' pronouncements on the issue, concludes that the value of the grammarians' statements about individual words such as *deus* is vitiated by their concern with general principles<sup>6</sup>.

When the peculiarities of a word's form or usage are due to factors which operated at a very early period and had ceased to be productive in the historical period, such an isolationist approach to language is not unreasonable. It runs the risk, however, of overlooking factors which could have operated at a later period. In the case of the vocatives of Latin words in *-eus*, the fact that certain problems are common to words which synchronically share an ending but no other features suggests that the ending may indeed be a relevant factor.

In order to decide whether or not there is a connection, we shall have to begin by examining the historical evidence for each word individually.

*Deus* is rarely used in address except by Christian writers, who normally employ the nominative *deus* as a vocative<sup>7</sup>. Jerome, in discussing the translation of the Hebrew word for 'god', explicitly states that the form *dee* does not exist in Latin<sup>8</sup>, though in fact it is very occasionally attested in Christian sources<sup>9</sup>. There is some evidence for

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<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Priscian on the formation of the vocative (*G.L.* II 300.7 - 305.21), Charisius on *mius* (Barwick 202.34-203.6 = *G.L.* I 159.17-21), and discussion below.

<sup>6</sup> J. Rauk, 'The Vocative of *Deus* and its Problems', *CPh* 92 (1997), pp. 146-7.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Vulgate, Psalms 3.7, 4.2, 5.3, 7.2, 7.4, 7.7.

<sup>8</sup> *Epist.* 65.13 (383) (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 22 p. 631).

<sup>9</sup> Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 1. 29. 8; Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 931 (*bis*). E. Evans (*Tertullian: Adversus Marcionem* (Oxford 1972), p. 85) suggests that Tertullian uses *dee* because the god in question is not the Christian one, but in the other example Prudentius is addressing Christ. The form δέε is

the use of *deus* as a vocative before the Christian period, but only very little, all of it suspect in one way or another<sup>10</sup>, on the whole, the word seems to have been avoided in address. The feminine *dea*, on the other hand, is used freely in the vocative, as is the plural *dei*; such usage suggests that the absence of the masculine singular *dee* from early, classical, and silver Latin is not accidental.

*Deus* is derived from proto-Indo-European \**deiwo-*, which would have had the vocative \**deiwe*. That this vocative in fact existed is suggested by its attested derivatives in Sanskrit (*deva*) and Lithuanian (*diēve*). In Latin, owing to a loss of \**w* before *o*, the \**deiwo-* paradigm split, with the nominative becoming *deus*, the genitive becoming *divi*, and new forms being created as necessary to fill out both paradigms. The attested Latin vocative *dive* is therefore a direct descendant of PIE \**deiwe* and is etymologically the vocative of *deus*, as well as the vocative of *divus*.

Thus the problems with the vocative of *deus* seem to have arisen within Latin and are not traceable to an earlier period, and they must have a cause which affects only the masculine singular, not the feminine or plural. In addition, the reason for the avoidance of *deus* in address must be one that does not apply to *divus*, since the vocative *dive* is not avoided. It is sometimes assumed that *divus* is irrelevant to this debate because it is an adjective while *deus* is a noun, resulting in naturally different usage patterns<sup>11</sup>, but in fact *divus* is also a noun in the classical period and only becomes adjectival well into the imperial epoch<sup>12</sup>. It is also sometimes stated that the vocative of *divus*

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also found as an address to various oriental deities on a group of Greek curse tablets from graves on the Via Appia, of uncertain (but not early) date. Cf. A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris 1904), pp. 208–35. The usage here cannot really be regarded as Latin, since both the script and the language of the tablets is Greek; it is probably governed by the Greek use of θεέ, which despite its rarity in the classical period became a common vocative in late Greek. Cf. J. Svennung, *Anredeformen: vergleichende Forschungen zur indirekten Anrede in der dritten Person und zum Nominativ für den Vokativ* (Uppsala 1958) pp. 229, 284. *Dee* also appears occasionally in later medieval texts, e.g. Ermoldus Nigellus, *De Rebus Gestis Ludovici 2* (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 105 p. 598a).

<sup>10</sup> *Priapea* 42.2 and Scribonius Largus 84; these passages are discussed in detail by Rauk (n. 6), pp. 138–41.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Rauk (n. 6), p. 138 n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v.; Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v.; *ThLL*, s.v.; W. Schwering, 'Deus und Divus', *IF* 34 (1914–5), pp. 1–44.

is nearly as rare as that of *deus*<sup>13</sup>, but in fact *dive* is comparatively well-attested<sup>14</sup>.

The first major attempt to explain the *deus* problem was that of Wackernagel, who argued that the original absence of a masculine singular vocative for both Latin *deus* and Greek θεός was a projection into the divine sphere of the Greek and Roman pattern of human address whereby men tended to be addressed by an individual name and women received generic terms such as 'woman' or gentile names<sup>15</sup>. He suggested that Greek-speaking Christians borrowed the address ὁ θεός from Hebrew (which has no vocative case), and that the Romans in turn borrowed this usage of the nominative, along with many other aspects of the new religion, from the Greeks. Wackernagel's theory is an ingenious one, and it is endorsed by Löfstedt, who (like Wackernagel) was apparently unaware of the extent to which *dive* is attested in Latin<sup>16</sup>.

Wackernagel's explanation did not satisfy everyone, however. Soon after its publication Schwering maintained that the theory was invalidated by the frequency of *dive* and by other factors, though his alternative explanation, based on a subtle difference in meaning between *deus* and *divus*, does not seem to have found a following<sup>17</sup>. Kretschmer and Svennung, who also opposed Wackernagel, argued that in both Latin and Greek the problem was caused by a need to avoid a form ending in *-ee*<sup>18</sup>. In support of this view they argued that Greek νέος, the only other two-syllable Greek word in *-εος*, does not form a masculine singular vocative either, though the vocative plural is attested. In Greek, a vocative in *-εε* would have contracted to *ει*, producing not only a monosyllable in an otherwise disyllabic paradigm, but also an ending which did not look like a vocative; although Greek vocatives in *-εε* are attested in Ἀμφίθεε and Κελεέ, these words are both longer than and of more recent formation than θεός and

<sup>13</sup> Löfstedt (n. 3), p. 96.

<sup>14</sup> At Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.1; Ovid *Tr.* 3.1.78; Petr. 124.1.290; *Priap.* 53.5; Plin. *Pan.* 89.1; Sen. *Apoc.* 10.4; Septimius Serenus frag. 23.1 (Blänsdorf); Sil. 10.344, 15.159; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.4; Tac. *Ann.* 1.43.9; V. Max. 1.6. 3, 6.8.4; Optatianus Porfyrius, *carm.* 24.7; Claudius Claudianus, *Carminum Minorem Appendix*, 2.66 (p. 413 Hall).

<sup>15</sup> Wackernagel (n. 3), p. 26.

<sup>16</sup> Löfstedt (n. 3), pp. 91–6.

<sup>17</sup> Schwering (n. 12), pp. 30–4.

<sup>18</sup> P. Kretschmer, 'Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1912', *Glotta* 6 (1915), p. 296; Svennung (n. 9), pp. 229–37, 279–84.



véος. In Latin, not only might the vowels have contracted, but since the original vocative corresponding to the nominative *deus* was *dive*, a vocative *dee* would have had to be a new, analogical formation, and the motivation for analogy was not strong enough to overcome the antipathy to the *-ee* ending.

The question is now thought to be an open one<sup>19</sup>. Most scholars who sympathize with Wackernagel's approach, however, do not seem to have realized how frequently the vocative *dive* occurs, and how impossible it is to reconcile that fact with a psychological explanation. Under these circumstances, the linguistic explanation of Kretschmer and Svennung is inherently preferable. If it can be shown that words in *-eus* have a larger pattern of avoidance of the masculine singular vocative, the case for that explanation will become virtually unassailable.

Let us now turn to *meus*, a word with a different type of problem. *Meus* does occur in the vocative in all genders and both numbers; it is common both in classical and in pre-classical Latin. As one would expect, all forms of the vocative except the masculine singular are the same as the corresponding nominatives. The masculine singular, however, is *mi*<sup>20</sup> instead of the expected *mee*. The standard explanation for this fact is that first proposed by Wackernagel, that *mi* comes from the Indo-European dative<sup>21</sup> *\*moi*, and that this *\*moi* had to be used because *meus* had no masculine singular vocative form<sup>22</sup>. In

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Rauk (n. 6), pp. 138–9.

<sup>20</sup> So written in most texts, but *mei* in some MSS of Plautus *Men.* 182, 361, 676, *Merc.* 503, 525, and at *CIL* 1.1215b2. It would be unwise to make too much of this spelling, as *ei* is frequently interchangeable with long *i* in early Latin spelling; *CIL* 1.1215 also contains the spellings *sibei*, *sei*, *fuei*, *amicis*, and *noteis*.

<sup>21</sup> Or genitive-dative, depending on one's view of the structure of Indo-European pronouns.

<sup>22</sup> J. Wackernagel, 'Genetiv und Adjektiv', *Mélanges de linguistique offerts à F. de Saussure* (Paris 1908), pp. 151–2; also *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basle 1926–8), vol. 2, pp. 76–7, 81. Cf. W. Havers, *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strasbourg 1911), pp. 183–4; both Havers and Wackernagel credit Brugmann with the origin of the idea. This explanation was disputed by R. Loewe, 'Die indogermanische Vokativbetonung', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 51 (1923), pp. 179–82, but immediately defended by A. Nehring, 'Literaturbericht für die Jahre 1922 und 1923', *Glotta* 14 (1925), p. 239, and E. Hermann, 'Lateinisch *mi fili*', *Streitberg-Festgabe* (Leipzig 1924), pp. 133–4. It has since been generally accepted; see e.g. *ThLL* s. v. *meus*, p. 914.34; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (München 1977), p. 463.

favour of this view are not only the difficulties in explaining *mi* as an inherited vocative form, but also the fact that Greek ἐμός does not form a masculine vocative either, using instead the nominative ἐμός or the dative of ἐγώ, μοι. There is thus a striking equivalency between the Plautine address *gnate mi* and the Euripidean τέκνον μοι. Eichner has also suggested that the same pattern of dative usage may account for the equivalent Hittite vocative, *-mi*, though his views are not universally accepted<sup>23</sup>.

Although the agreement of Latin, Greek, and Hittite makes the *meus* problem look as though it belongs to Indo-European itself, such a direct common origin has never been proposed. The reason is that Latin *meus* and Greek ἐμός do not have a common ancestor. While ἐμός is derived from a fusion of several PIE sources, *meus* and Hittite *-miš* are normally thought to have been developed independently of it, probably from *\*mei*, the genitive-dative of the first-person singular pronoun<sup>24</sup>. This means that *meus* probably comes from *\*meyos*, which was apparently not extant in PIE. Any connection between the missing vocatives of the possessive adjectives in different languages can thus only be typological, not etymological.

No one has ever suggested a reason for this original lack of a vocative, and indeed there may not be a single reason, but rather a series of reasons in the different languages, given that the different words involved are not directly related. What might those reasons be? I cannot suggest one for Hittite, but this is unimportant, as it is not certain that Hittite originally lacked a vocative of the possessive pronoun.

In Greek an obvious phonological explanation presents itself. The regular vocative of ἐμός would be ἐμέ, which would be identical with ἐμέ, accusative of the pronoun ἐγώ. While Greek did not avoid homonymity absolutely, ἐμέ is a common form, and it is possible that a masculine vocative of ἐμός was avoided for this reason.

Another explanation for the situation in Greek is that the address patterns of the Greek language were such as to make a possessive vocative unnecessary. Wackernagel's observations that ἡμέτερε 'von

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<sup>23</sup> H. Eichner, 'Zur Genese der hethitischen Vokative auf *-i* und *-e*', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 96 (1982/3), pp. 236–8; cf. also G. Neumann, 'Zur Genese der hethitischen Vokative auf *-i* und *-e*', *ibid.* pp. 241–4.

<sup>24</sup> The uncertainty of vocalism between *\*moi* and *\*mei* is an acknowledged but unresolved problem.

Homer an mehrfach belegt ist, that the nominative is used to replace the missing vocative in γαμβρὸς ἐμός (*Odyssey* 19.406), and that μοι is used with a masculine vocative in ὦ πόσι μοι (Euripides *Trö.* 1081)<sup>25</sup> make it sound as if the Greeks felt a serious need for a masculine singular vocative of ἐμός. Yet a look at the larger body of evidence suggests that this need has been exaggerated.

The use of the possessive with vocatives is not a common phenomenon in Greek. The first person plural possessive is hardly attested at all: ἡμέτερε occurs four times in Homer, but always as part of the same full-line formula ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρειόντων (*Iliad* 8.31, *Od.* 1.45, 1.81, 24.473). It was evidently not a productive address form even for Homer, and elsewhere in Greek literature it is clearly a fossil. Aristophanes and Lucian use ἡμέτερε in quotations of Homer's line (*V* 652; *JTr.* 1.5), Lucian once uses ἡμέτερε Ζεῦ in what is clearly a parody of polite address, and aside from that the vocative is unattested in Greek literature until the late antique period<sup>26</sup>.

The first person singular possessive (whether an adjective or the genitive or dative of the personal pronoun) is somewhat more common, but still decidedly rare. It is virtually absent from classical prose and comedy, which suggests strongly that it was not part of conversational Attic in the classical period. (The later Greek tendency to join μου to addresses is a separate and post-classical phenomenon which seems to have been influenced by the frequent use of possessives in Latin<sup>27</sup>). In ancient times, the attachment of any type of first-person possessive to an address was a poetic phenomenon, and one not at all common even in poetry<sup>28</sup>.

In addition, the use of μοι as a substitute for a possessive adjective in the vocative is neither common, nor early, nor associated particularly with masculine vocatives. I can find no examples in Homer of possessive μοι with vocatives of any gender, though Homer does use forms of ἐμός in address, as τέκνον ἐμόν. Some vocatives frequently

<sup>25</sup> 'Genetiv und Adjektiv' (n. 22), p. 151.

<sup>26</sup> Statements about the non-occurrence of words in Greek are based on the data collected in E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (Oxford 1996), on the data collected in T. Wendel, *Die Gesprächsanrede im griechischen Epos und Drama der Blütezeit* (Stuttgart 1929), on concordances of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and where practical on electronic searches of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* corpus using the Pandora program.

<sup>27</sup> Svennung (n. 9), p. 245; Wackernagel, 'Genetiv und Adjektiv' (n. 22), p. 151.

<sup>28</sup> See Wendel (n. 26), p. 26; Svennung (n. 9), pp. 412–3.

have this possessive, while others never do, suggesting a formulaic basis to its distribution: τέκνον ἐμόν occurs 17 times in Homer<sup>29</sup>, μήτερον ἐμή ten times<sup>30</sup>, and ἐμόν τέκος twice (*Il.* 21.331, 22.56), but θύγατερ and γύναι are never used with a possessive.

The use of μοι with vocatives is largely Euripidean and does not seem to be connected to the gender of the vocatives involved. Μοι is most often attached to τέκνον<sup>31</sup>, which is of neuter gender and thus could be modified by ἐμόν as in Homer, and it is never used with παῖ, a common address of masculine gender very similar in meaning to τέκνον. It is once used with the feminine γύναι (*Eur. Herc.* 626), but never with its masculine equivalent ἄνερ. It also occurs, but rarely, with the masculine nouns πάτερ (*Eur. Ba.* 1379), πόσι (*Eur. Tr.* 1081), and σύγγονε (*Eur. El.* 1308). Outside Euripides, I have been able to find only a very few examples of μοι with a vocative: τέκνον μοι in Herodas (1.61) and συννομέ μοι in Aristophanes (*Av.* 209). Thus the construction is rare and is used less often with masculine nouns than with feminine and neuter ones. As for the 'nominative for vocative' γαμβρὸς ἐμός, I cannot find any other examples of this means of replacing the masculine vocative of ἐμός, and even this example is now thought to be caused by factors other than the missing vocative<sup>32</sup>. There is thus no real evidence that Greek speakers felt a need for a masculine singular vocative of ἐμός at all, nor that they attempted to replace this missing vocative with other constructions.

The real reason for the lack of a masculine singular vocative of ἐμός in Greek is therefore likely to be that in the absence of a need in the address system for such a form, it was never created. The fact that the obvious form to create would have been homonymous with a common pronoun may have played some role, but not a major one, since potential substitutes such as μοι were not normally exploited either.

If this explanation of the Greek evidence is correct, the lack of a masculine vocative for Latin *meus* must be unconnected to the gap in the Greek paradigm. In contrast to the Greeks, the Romans employed the possessive very frequently in certain contexts – in Cicero's letters,

<sup>29</sup> *Il.* 1.414, 5.382, 9.254, 11.785, 19.8, 19.342, 22.82, 24.128, *Od.* 1.64, 5.22, 11.155, 11.216, 19.492, 22.486, 23.70, 23.105, 24.478.

<sup>30</sup> *Il.* 1.586, 18.79, 19.21, *Od.* 1.346, 11.164, 11.210, 17.45, 18.227, 21.344, 23.97.

<sup>31</sup> *Alc.* 313, *Andr.* 747, *Ion* 1399, *Or.* 124, *IA* 613, *Frag.* 362.32.

<sup>32</sup> Svennung (n. 9), pp. 239, 244–5.

for example, some form of *meus* is attached to 80% of the vocatives. In Latin, a gap in the vocative paradigm of *meus* could not be tolerated; it had to be filled, and it was filled. But why was it filled with the dative of *ego*, and not with the expected vocative form *mee*? The dative may well have inherited characteristics that made it a likely candidate for such usage, but the fact that the dative did not replace all the vocatives of *meus* and function as a universal possessive (like modern Greek μου), but instead was confined to the missing element of the paradigm and was itself reinterpreted as a vocative, suggests that the early Romans preferred to use a vocative rather than a dative in such constructions. In order to use the dative, Latin speakers must have found the masculine form *mee* objectionable in some way, and the objection must have been to the form itself, not to the role it played. It is thus difficult to see how the problem can have been anything other than the *-ee* ending.

There is also another problem with Latin *mi*: it seems to have been avoided in poetry, except comedy. As has long been noted, the use of forms of *meus* with vocatives belongs to a relatively informal register of language; it is common in comedy and certain types of prose but is virtually absent from poetry of higher registers. In comedy and prose, however, all the different genders of the vocative of *meus* clearly function in the same way. A man speaking to a male friend or a woman speaking to her lover uses *mi* just as a woman speaking to a female friend or a man addressing his beloved uses *mea*. The masculine and feminine forms can be attached to the addressee's name, and masculine, feminine, or neuter forms can be attached to nouns standing for the addressee<sup>33</sup>. The only difference among the different genders is one of gender; they share the same register and meaning.

In high-register poetry, on the other hand, the feminine, neuter, and plural vocatives of *meus* occur, but the masculine singular *mi* is virtually absent. I have found in poetry (apart from comedy) 85 examples of addresses modified by a form of *meus*, and only four of these addresses, or five per cent, are modified by the masculine *mi*<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> E.g. *mi animule, mi Olympio, mea vita, mea mellilla, mea festivitas* (Plautus *Cas.* 134–5); *mi vir* (*Cas.* 586), *ere mi* (*Cas.* 632), *mea salus* (*Cas.* 801), *meum corculum* (*Cas.* 836), *mea Gymnasium* (*Cist.* 1), *mea Selenium* (*Cist.* 22), *germana mea sororcula* (*Cist.* 451), *mei spectatores* (*Cist.* 678), *anime mi* (*Cur.* 98), *Phaedrome mi* (*Cur.* 137), *mel meum* (*Cur.* 164).

<sup>34</sup> *Catul.* 10.25, 13.1; Pacuvius 17; Terentianus Maurus, *De Syllabis* 283 (p. 52 Beck). These figures apply only as far as the second century AD (for

(by contrast, *mi* accounts for 91% of the 165 possessives with vocatives in Cicero's letters). A further four addresses are in the masculine singular but use the nominative *meus* instead of the vocative *mi*<sup>35</sup>. The use of *meus* for *mi* is not restricted to high-register poetry, since I have found nine examples of it in comedy and five in prose<sup>36</sup>. In those genres, however, the use of the possessive with vocatives is relatively common, and as a result the examples of *mi* far outnumber those of *meus*; whatever the reason for the use of the nominative in such texts<sup>37</sup>, it cannot be avoidance of the form *mi*. In high-register poetry, by contrast, the general rarity of possessives with vocatives, and in par-

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the occasional use of *mi* in very late poetry, see *ThLL*, s.v. *meus*, p. 917) and exclude several doubtful cases: 1) *Mi care* appears at [Vergil] *Eleg. in Maec.* 171. Although *mi* in this case could in theory be vocative, it is more likely to be a dative, since substantival *care* and *carissime* are frequently used with *mihi* to mean 'dear to me', but they are not used with a possessive to mean 'my dear one', in any genre. Cf. *o mihi care quidem semper* (Ovid *Tr.* 3.4.1), *o cara mihi* (Prop. 3.10.11), *vir optime mihi que carissime*, *Brute* (Cic. *Fam.* 11.21.3), *Agamemnon mihi carissime* (Petr. 48.7), etc. 2) *Mi Flacce* is found in the MSS of Maecenas frag. 2 (p. 145 Blänsdorf), but the line is corrupt and requires emendation; Blänsdorf's version does not contain the *mi*, though it is possible to emend the line without removing this word. 3) Some editors (cf. G. Lee, *The Poems of Catullus* (Oxford 1990), pp. 54, 187) read *mi amice* at Catul. 58b.10, but this conjecture has no manuscript authority, and most modern editors prefer the transmitted *mihi, amice*. 4) Schöll would read *mi Alli* at Catul. 68. 11, and there is some support for this reading among scholars (cf. C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford 1961), p. 342), but it has no manuscript authority.

<sup>35</sup> *Sanguis meus* (Verg. *A.* 6.835), *o meus ardor* (*Il.* 333), *meus ... sanguis* (Stat. *Theb.* 3.239), *meus heres* (Pers. 6.41).

<sup>36</sup> *Meus oculus / oculus meus* (Pl. *Cist.* 53, *Mos.* 311, *Per.* 765, *St.* 764), *meus ocellus* (Pl. *As.* 664, *Poen.* 366), *meu' festus dies, meu' pullus passer* (Pl. *Cas.* 137), *meu' molliculus caseus* (Pl. *Poen.* 367), *meus asellus incundissimus* (Gellius 15.7.3), *animus meus* (Fro. 35.5 van den Hout Teubner), *spiritus meus* (Fro. 42.20 van den Hout Teubner), *meus amor* (Fro. 63.10 van den Hout Teubner), *meus magister* (Fro. 52.11 van den Hout Teubner). There are many more examples among later writers; *deus meus* is a common Biblical address (e.g. Vulgata, Psalms 7.2, 7.4, 7.7). See *ThLL*, s.v. *meus*, pp. 914–5, and Svennung (n. 9), pp. 271–9.

<sup>37</sup> The issue has been much debated and is beyond the scope of the present paper. See Svennung (n. 9), esp. pp. 246–84. In general, when *meus* is nominative, the noun it modifies is also nominative; Wackernagel ('Genetiv und Adjektiv' (n. 22) p. 151) suggests that it is *meus*, rather than the noun involved, which conditions the use of the nominative, but Svennung (p. 251) disagrees. In later Latin *meus* is used freely with nouns in the vocative as well; see Loewe (n. 22), pp. 181–2, and Svennung, pp. 277–8.

ticular of the masculine singular, makes it likely that vocative *meus* is sometimes used as a means of avoiding *mi*.

Given the large number of vocatives in high-register poetry (Ovid alone provides 1,168), none of the vocatives of *meus* is exactly common in such poetry. Nevertheless, it is clear that the feminine and plural forms can occur in such texts; they are not avoided, and they do not even seem to imply a drop in register when they are used<sup>38</sup>. The masculine singular *mi* is different; it seems to be genuinely avoided by poets in a way that its feminine counterpart is not.

One could attempt to explain the poets' avoidance of *mi* by saying that since the use of the possessive is somewhat intimate in Latin, and since Latin poetry involves intimate addresses from males to females more often than from females to males, the absence of *mi* is caused by a general lack of intimate addresses to males in which it could occur. Yet in fact such intimate masculine addresses do appear, and indeed possessives are used not infrequently to males in Latin literature. In such situations, however, the possessive is attached not to the addressee's name but to a noun of some other gender, often but not always a term of endearment such as *mea lux* or *mea voluptas*<sup>39</sup>.

Another possible solution would be to reformulate the rule about the register of *mi*, arguing that it is not the possessive vocative itself which belongs to an informal register of language, but the use of the possessive vocative attached to the addressee's name. This explanation would allow addresses such as *mea lux* to be admitted to poetic language while excluding *mi Cicero*, and thus it accounts rather well for the attested distribution of possessive vocatives to males in poetry. It has two difficulties, however. The first is that in those genres which account for the vast majority of our evidence on the use of *mi* and *mea*, i. e., in prose and comedy, no such distinction between *mi* + name and *mi* + other noun can be observed. Cicero, Plautus, and Terence all attach possessives both to names and to other words with great frequency and no discernible distinction; the only genre in which this distinction surfaces is high-register poetry. The second problem is that even in high-register poetry, the avoidance of *mi* + name seems

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Verg. *A.* 9.486; Prop. 1.19.1; Tib. 1.6.55; Catul. 63.50; Ov. *Met.* 13.521, *Ep.* 8.91; Enn. *scen.* 60; Stat. *Theb.* 5.278; Sil. 11.395.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Verg. *A.* 1.664–5: *nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia*; Ov. *Ep.* 19.17: *o mea sola voluptas*; Prop. 4.11.63: *meum post fata levamen*; [Tib.] 3.9.15: *lux mea*.

to apply only to men. Women can easily be addressed with *mea* + name<sup>40</sup>.

The distinction between the genders can be seen most plainly in the corpus of works attributed to Tibullus. In that collection, the poems addressed by Tibullus himself to his mistress use the address *Delia* six times (1.1.61, 68, 2.15, 3.23, 92, 6.85), *mea Delia* three times (1.1.57, 2.73, 6.55), and *puella* twice (2.4.6, 6.28). The poems purporting to be addressed by Sulpicia to her lover Cerinthus, on the other hand, use the address *Cerinte* five times<sup>41</sup>, *caste puer* once (3.9.20), *lux mea* once (3.9.15), and *mea lux* once (3.18.1). In other words, the male addressee never receives a possessive when he is addressed with a masculine word but always when he is addressed with a feminine word, while the female addressee, who always receives feminine vocatives, may be addressed with or without the possessive.

Thus the idea that the extreme rarity of *mi* in high-register poetry is due to the low register of the possessive can only be saved by the assumption that the possessive only belonged to that register in the masculine singular, and that such a distinction between the genders was only visible in poetry. Such a hypothesis stretches credulity. A much simpler explanation is that the form *mi* itself was avoided in high-register poetry. Why? No metrical explanation is possible, since *mi* is a simple monosyllable, one of the easiest types of word to fit into verse. Nor can the objection to *mi* have been a conscious archaism, a desire to restrict the vocative paradigm of *meus* to forms which were etymological vocatives. *Mi* had clearly been fully integrated into the vocative paradigm already in the time of Plautus, nearly two centuries before the classical poets, and no memory of the state of the language before its integration could have been passed down to a classical poet such as Vergil.

Yet Vergil would not have needed any historical knowledge to realize that *mi* did not look like a vocative of *meus*. Would he and other Latin poets have objected to using a vocative that did not look like a vocative? Such an objection might be uncharacteristic, given the poets' general willingness to accept unusual forms, but there is other evidence that Roman poets avoided the use of vocatives in *-i*. *Fili*, the vocative of *filius*, is common in prose but very rare in poetry,

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *mea Lesbia* (Catul. 5.1), *mea ... Acme* (Catul. 45.2), *mea Delia* (Tib. 1.1.57, etc.), *mea Cynthia* (Prop. 1.18.5.), etc.

<sup>41</sup> 3.9.11, 10.15, 11.1, 11.5, 17.1. The first syllable of *Cerintus* is long, so *mi Cerinte* would not be a metrically problematic phrase.



notably rarer than other forms of *filius*<sup>42</sup>. What is particularly noteworthy about these two cases of avoidance is that their exceptions often match: Catullus, who provides two of the four examples of poetic *mi* and is the only classical poet to use this vocative, is also responsible for half the examples of *fili* in poetry<sup>43</sup>. And Terentius Maurus, the only poet between Catullus and the late empire to use *mi*, also uses *fili*; each vocative is used only once in his works, and they occur together<sup>44</sup>. This pattern suggests that the avoidance of *mi* and the avoidance of *fili* must be somehow linked, and the only feature that *mi* and *fili* share which is not shared by *mea* or *filia* is the *-i* ending; this ending should therefore be responsible for the poets' avoidance of both vocatives. Poets probably avoided other words with vocatives in *-i* as well, but it is more difficult to be certain with those words, since except in the case of *filius* and proper names *-i* vocatives are very rare in all genres of Latin literature<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> See E. Dickey, 'O *Egregie Grammaticae*: The Vocative Problems of Latin Words Ending in *-ius*', *Classical Quarterly* N.S. 50 (2000). The two cases are not completely identical, in that *fili* seems to be avoided in all types of poetry, while *mi* is admissible in comedy but avoided in other poetry.

<sup>43</sup> At 33.2, 33.8, and 37.18; the other examples (excluding very late texts) are Pomponius (p. 108 Blänsdorf); Phaed., *Fabulae Novae* 5. 5; Terentianus Maurus, *De Syllabis* 283 (p. 52 Beck).

<sup>44</sup> *Bassine fili et tu gener Novate mi* at *De Syllabis* 283. J. W. Beck, *Terentianus Maurus De Syllabis* (Göttingen 1993), pp. 143–5, compares this preface to prose letters used as dedicatory prefaces by authors such as Statius. The use here of vocatives normally confined to prose may be explained by the fact that Terentianus' models for the preface were probably all written in prose, especially as he does not use such vocatives elsewhere.

<sup>45</sup> See Dickey, 'Egregie' (n. 42). The names could be argued to be a counterexample to our theory, since *-i* vocatives of names do appear in high-register poetry. Yet names are different from other forms of address, in that a speaker or writer has very little choice about using them, and in any case the poets seem to have used name vocatives not ending in *-i* more often than those ending in *-i*. All Roman men possessed at least two names, *praenomen* and *gentilicium*; of these the *gentilicium* virtually always ended in *-ius* (and hence had a vocative in *-i*) and the *praenomen* might do so as well. Nobles in the Republican period, and virtually all men in the imperial period, also possessed a third name, the *cognomen*, which usually did not end in *-ius*. The conventions governing the use of these different names in address were complex, and as important to Romans as the difference between address as 'John' and as 'Mr. Smith' in English (Cf. J.N. Adams, 'Conventions of Naming in Cicero', *Classical Quarterly* N.S. 28 (1978), pp. 145–66; E. Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address: From Plautus to Apuleius* (Oxford 2002), chapter 1); a poet could not simply choose the name which most suited his stylistic sensibilities.

It is thus very likely that the poets' avoidance of the masculine vocative *mi* had to do with the *-i* ending. It may or may not be coincidental that this, the only vocative form of *meus* they avoided, was also the only form which was not originally a vocative.

What of other Latin words in *-eus*? The suffix is not uncommon, but as far as I can tell no other Latin word with this termination is attested in the masculine singular vocative in early, classical, or silver Latin<sup>46</sup>. One could argue that this lack of attestation is simply due to the fact that the words in question are often adjectives of material like *aureus* 'golden', which we would not expect to find in address with any significant frequency. Yet a number of *-eus* words do appear in the vocative in forms other than the masculine singular. The address *ferrea* 'made of iron' is used several times by men rebuking women for heartlessness<sup>47</sup>, and thus it is notable that the deserted women who in Latin literature so often accuse their former lovers of heartlessness never use the address *ferree*. Women and goddesses living in or near the sea are several times addressed as *aequorea*<sup>48</sup>, but no

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In fact, poets normally address men by their *cognomina* rather than their *gentilicia* and thus normally use the name that does not have a vocative in *-i*, but the choice seems to have been determined primarily by sociolinguistic rules of address rather than stylistic considerations. When the sociolinguistic rules (or an addressee's lack of a *cognomen*) dictated that the *gentilicium* be used, the poet simply had to put up with the ending. In theory, this problem could have been avoided by using an address other than the name, but the normal method of indicating a dedication in the ancient world was to include an address to the dedicatee at the beginning of the work, and the name was the only practical way to identify him or her (cf. *Ov. Pont.* 4.12 and *Mart.* 5.60). The appearance in poetry of vocatives of proper names in *-i* is thus not clear evidence against the theory that *fili* and *mi* were avoided because of their endings.

<sup>46</sup> Greek names such as *Orpheus* are in a different category, since they form a Greek vocative in *-eu*, as *Orpheu* (*Verg. G.* 4.494), *Pentheu* (*Hor. Ep.* 1.16.73), or *Capaneu* (*Stat. Theb.* 8.745). Names and epithets in *-aeus* and *-oeus* are likewise different, because the *e* in such words does not represent the same sound as the *e* of the vocative ending but rather is part of the graphic representation of the diphthongs which in Greek are written *αι* and *οι*. Vocatives in *-aee* and *-oee* are not uncommon in Latin literature (I have found over 100 examples), but they occur only in proper names, as *Hymenaeae* (e.g. *Pl. Cas.* 800, *Prop.* 4.4.61, *Catul.* 61.4), *Lenaee* (e.g. *Hor. Carm.* 3.25.19, *Ov. Met.* 11.132), *Meliboeae* (e.g. *Verg. Ecl.* 1.6, *Calpurnius Siculus Ecl.* 4.6).

<sup>47</sup> *Ov. Met.* 14.721, *Am.* 1.14.28.

<sup>48</sup> *Prop.* 1.17.25, 3.7.67; *Ov. Ep.* 15.199.

male is ever called \**aequoree*. And Ovid at one point addresses fair-skinned women as *niveae* (*Ars* 3. 309), while \**nivee* is unattested.

This collection of evidence for the use of vocatives of *-eus* words in forms other than the masculine singular may seem small, but it must be viewed in the light of the normal predominance of masculine vocatives over feminine ones, for the vast majority of preserved Latin addresses are directed towards males. In the first four centuries of Latin literature *pater* 'father' is three times as common as *mater* 'mother' as an address to humans (the discrepancy would be still greater if one included addresses to gods), *puer* 'boy' is more than three times as common as *puella* 'girl', *rex* 'king' is twice as common as *regina* 'queen', and *dominus* 'master' is twelve times as common as *domina* 'mistress'<sup>49</sup>. The pattern we are seeing with the *-eus* words is thus much more significant than it appears at first sight, and the complete absence (at this period) of masculine singular vocatives of *-eus* words is unlikely to be coincidental.

Another factor suggesting that such vocatives were deliberately avoided in early, classical, and Silver Latin is the fact that in the late empire the avoidance apparently ceased. Suddenly, in the fourth century, vocatives in *-ee* begin to appear: *vitree* 'glassy'<sup>50</sup>, *ignee* 'fiery'<sup>51</sup>, *ferree* 'made of iron'<sup>52</sup>, *puteae* 'well'<sup>53</sup> and *mallee* 'hammer'<sup>54</sup> are all attested in that century, *lignee* 'wooden'<sup>55</sup> appears in the fifth, and *saxee* 'stony'<sup>56</sup> and *tartaree* 'Tartarean'<sup>57</sup> show up still later. The late

<sup>49</sup> Statistics taken from the glossary of Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address* (n. 45).

<sup>50</sup> Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* 20.31 (p. 201 Prete).

<sup>51</sup> Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 10. 1 (NB the occurrence of *deus* as a vocative in the same line: *deus* was by this time an established address); [Hilarius], *De Evangelio* 81 (Peiper, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* vol. 23 p. 273).

<sup>52</sup> Constantinus, *Epistula Ario et Arianis* (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 8.517d).

<sup>53</sup> S. Hieronymus, *Epist.* 78.40.2 (Hilberg); Rufinus (?), *Vitae Patrum* 3.28 (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 73 p. 756c); Joannis S.R.E. Subdiaconus, *De Vitae Patrum* 6.2.17 (*Patr. Lat.* vol. 73 p. 1004a).

<sup>54</sup> S. Hieronymus, *Translatio Homiliarum Originis* 3. 775 (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 25 p. 610b).

<sup>55</sup> Sedulius, *Paschale Carmen* 1.268, *Paschale Opus* 1.26 (pp. 35, 190 Huemer).

<sup>56</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Mammae* 12 (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 114 p. 1053b).

<sup>57</sup> [Bertrarius Cassinensis], *Vita S. Scholasticae* 17 (*Patr. Lat.* vol. 126 p. 986d).

empire is also the period at which the vocative *dee* is attested, as well as the time of the one occurrence of a vocative *mee* which I have been able to find (Vulgate, III Rg. 21.20.2). This shift suggests that there was a change in the attitude toward vocatives in *-ee*.

It thus appears that not only *deus* and *meus*, but all second-declension words ending in *-eus* were avoided in the masculine singular vocative. The avoidance began at a very early period and continued until the late empire, at which point vocatives in *-ee* became possible. By that time Latin speakers had already solved the most pressing difficulties caused by the avoidance, by using *mi* as the vocative of *meus* and *deus* as the vocative of *deus*. Since these forms were well established by the fourth century, they remained entrenched thereafter and were only very occasionally replaced by *mee* and *dee*, which had by that time become theoretically acceptable. Other words in *-eus*, for which no widespread alternatives to a genuine vocative had been created, simply developed masculine vocatives in *-ee* in the late empire.

With that explanation in mind, let us look at the statements of the grammarians.<sup>58</sup> The earlier Latin grammarians do not seem to have discussed the problem of vocatives of words in *-eus*, perhaps because such words were rarely used in the vocative. In the fifth century, however, Probus asserted that the vocative of *deus* should be *dee* and that that of Greek names such as *Ilioneus* should also end in *-ee*, as *Ilionee* (G.L. IV 103.18, 127.9–13). He seems to have anticipated some resistance to this, for he adds:

*Nunc in hac supra scripta forma quaeritur, qua de causa vocativus casus numeri singularis per duas e litteras reperitur scribi. Hac de causa, quoniam quaecumque nomina generis masculini ablativo casu numeri singularis o littera terminantur et nominativo casu numeri pluralis eus litteris definiuntur, haec excepto genetivo casu numeri pluralis per ceteros casus pari numero syllabarum scribuntur.* (G.L. IV 103.22–8)

“Now for the form written above, the question is why the vocative singular is found to be written with two *e*'s. The reason is that all masculine nouns which end in *-o* in the ablative singular and in

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<sup>58</sup> The grammarians do not discuss *meus* with the other *-eus* nouns and adjectives, because they considered it a pronoun and discussed it with the pronouns. Charisius' statements on the way that the attested variant *mius* makes sense of the vocative *mi*, however, show that he recognized the connection between *mi* and the vocatives of *-ius* nouns (Barwick 202.34–203.6 = G.L., I 159.17–21).

*-eus* in the nominative singular [i. e., all second-declension nouns in *-eus*] are written with the same number of syllables in all cases except the genitive plural.<sup>59</sup>

Probus is here using a rule about syllable parity which can be traced back to the second century AD but which was apparently never taken seriously by the more competent grammarians<sup>59</sup>. In this case Probus' view was explicitly refuted by Priscian (c. AD 500), who pointed out that Latinized vocatives of Greek names such as *Ilionee* do not actually occur in literature<sup>60</sup>; rather the Greek vocative in *-eu* is used (*G.L.* II 301. 7–16). Although in one place Priscian says that all *-eus* nouns are Greek (*G.L.* III 448. 2–3), elsewhere he mentions *deus* and says that the nominative *deus* can be used for the vocative *dee*, like *fluvius* for *fluvie* (*G.L.* III 511.32). Still later, in the tenth century, the *Ars Anonyma Bernensis* explicitly refutes Priscian's claim that all *-eus* nouns are Greek, asserting that native Latin words with this termination, such as *ligneus*, *igneus*, *nucleus*, *aureus*, and *argenteus*, exist and have a vocative in *-ee* (*G.L.* VIII 105.27–106.4). This author gives *o deus*, *o lignee*, and *o Orfeu* as varying possibilities for the vocative of *-eus* words and quotes an earlier (unidentified) grammarian as saying that *Veteres dicebant o deus reus pius, pro o dee ree pie* 'The ancients used to say *o deus*, *o reus*, and *o pius* for *o dee*, *o ree*, and *o pie*' (*G.L.* VIII 99.31–100.5).

These statements reveal an increasing acceptance of vocatives in *-ee*, together with an awareness of the fact that such vocatives had not always been acceptable. There is a certain variation in accuracy among the different grammarians, which is only to be expected; some modern scholars are better than others, and the same was true of mediaeval scholars. And just as the extent of modern classical knowledge must be judged by the achievements of the best scholars, not those who know the least, so the extent of the grammarians' grasp of Latin should be measured by their best efforts, not their lapses. By that measurement, the grammarians have done remarkably well in understanding the vocative problems of *-eus* words. They recognized that the problem was common to the group of words with the *-eus* ending, that Greek and Latin words were treated differently, that *-ee* vocatives were avoided in the classical period, and that usage had changed between the classical period and their own time, making those vocatives acceptable.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Terentius Scaurus (*G.L.* VII 22.4–13).

<sup>60</sup> Generally true, but see note 46 above.

Thus the irregularities of *deus*, *meus*, and other words in *-eus* are not isolated cases, but part of a larger pattern, and they can be properly understood only in the context of that larger pattern, a fact which was recognized by the grammarians.

# Acipenser

By ANDREA GUASPARRI, Siena

According to E. de Saint-Denis, the Latin word *acipenser* (“sturgeon”) has uncertain etymology, albeit “le premier terme de ce composé semble se rattacher au groupe *acies, acus*”<sup>1</sup>.

As it has been shown<sup>2</sup>, Latin zoo-nomenclatures and particularly fish-names are almost entirely connected with recurrent images issued from the dry land. Varro had already realised that<sup>3</sup> and *acipenser* is not exceptional.

A good start is the nominative *acipensis* found in Martial 13, 9<sup>4</sup>. In fact, agreeing with de Saint-Denis, *acipenser* is certainly a compound but no compound in *-er* is found in Latin<sup>5</sup>. De Saint-Denis is also right in considering *acus* as the first member of a potential compound (so does Muller Jzn<sup>6</sup>).

Oniga<sup>7</sup> has verified all possible patterns for compounding in Latin; for such compounds as *bi-lingu-i-s* (“speaking two languages”, lit. “having two tongues”), *tauri-form-i-s* (“having bull form”), *citi-rem-i-s* (“having fast oars”), etc., he refers to so-called *bahuvrihi* or ‘possessive’ compounds, namely those meaning “he who possesses *b* specified

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<sup>1</sup> See E. de Saint-Denis, *Vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique* (Paris, 1947), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Guasparri, ‘Varrone linguista. Impositio nominum e creatività linguistica in una tassonomia esemplare’, *BStudLat* 78, 2 (1998), 408ff.; *Il mare mai nato. Un’analisi delle nomenclature zoo-marine nel mondo latino* (Siena, 1996), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Varro *Ling.* 5, 77: *Vocabula piscium translata a terrestribus similibus rebus ut anguilla, lingulaca, sudis; alia a coloribus, ut haec: asellus, umbra, turdus; alia a vi quadam, ut haec: lupus, canicula, torpedo ... Vernacula ad similitudinem, ut surenae, pectunculi, ungues.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also accusative *acipensem*, *ibidem*, v. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See R. Oniga, ‘Compounding in Latin’, *Rivista di linguistica* 4, 1 (1992), 102.

<sup>6</sup> F. Muller Jzn, ‘Latijnsche woordverklaringen op semantisch-taalhistorischen grondslag’, *Verhandeligen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Letterkunde* 20, 3 (Amsterdam, 1920), 102–104. For him *acipenser* means something like “Fisch mit scharfen Schuppen” (quoted in *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*, edited by O. Hiltbrunner [Bern and München, 1981], 228–229).

<sup>7</sup> R. Oniga, *I composti nominali latini* (Bologna, 1988), *passim*.

by  $a^8$ ; as a matter of fact a good part of them, in Latin, has a name both as first and second member, plus a suffix  $-i(s)^9$ .

*Acipensis* can therefore be considered a typical possessive compound with themes<sup>10</sup> *acu-* from *acus* (“needle”) and *penso-* from *pensum* (“weight”) as first and second word respectively, plus the suffix  $-i(s)$ :

$$[ [acu]_a + [penso]_b + i ] + s$$

Morpho-phonological readjustments such as change in the thematic vowel (*aci-* instead of *acu-*) and elimination of the same before vowel (*penso + i(s)* becoming *-pensis*) are perfectly regular processes in Latin compounding<sup>11</sup>.

Semantically the sturgeon turns to be the fish “who possesses a *pensum* of needles”. In fact *pensum* (lit. “weight”) is the quantity of wool given to handmaids to be woven or spun daily. If usually a *pensum* is ‘made of’ wool this one is ‘made of’ needles (the sturgeon’s snout is spindle-shaped<sup>12</sup> and the spindle was the most common spinning tool in the ancient world<sup>13</sup>, while needles were especially used in weaving: this ‘special kind of spindle’ carries needles instead of ordinary wool), but it is at any rate more relevant that *pensum* is connected both with *pendo* (“to weigh”) and *pendeo* (“to hang down”) and ‘needles’ (more exactly four ‘needle-shaped barbels’) actually hang down from the sturgeon’s mouth<sup>14</sup>. So the sturgeon is the fish “who possesses a weight of needles”. Ancient taxonomy, like modern one, is basically centred on determinate features in order to grasp useful similarities which allow the object to be classified<sup>15</sup>. ‘Useful’ metaphors for *acipenser* are issued

<sup>8</sup> See Oniga (1988), 120 and (1992), 102. With “a” and “b” the author refers to the meanings of first and second word respectively.

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e. g., Oniga (1992), 102.

<sup>10</sup> For themes (= “word roots plus thematic vowel”) as basic units in Latin compounding see Oniga (1992), 97–99.

<sup>11</sup> See again Oniga (1988), 68–70.

<sup>12</sup> Significantly R. Riedl (*Fauna und Flora des Mittelmeeres* [Hamburg and Berlin, 1983], s.v. *Acipenseridae*) says ‘spindelförmig’ (“spindle-shaped”) referring to the sturgeon’s body as a whole.

<sup>13</sup> For such a strict relationship *fusus/pensum* cf., among others, Verg. *Georg.* 4, 348–9: *dum fusis mollia pensa devolvunt*; *Ciris* 446: *non licuit gravidos penso devolvere fusos*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Riedl (1983); also W. Luther and K. Fiedler, *Die Unterwasserfauna der Mittelmeerküsten* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1967) s. v. *Acipenser sturio* L.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, G. Simpson, *Principles of taxonomy* (New York, 1990<sup>2</sup>), 7ff. For parallels and differences between ancient and modern taxonomies see Guasparri (1996), 3ff., with references.



from a typical Latin domestic environment, that of feminine works such as spinning and weaving. However, be this the ‘right metaphor’ or not, the connection with *pensum* either as a “weight” to be carried or as something “hanging down” remains, it seems, unquestionable.

A few words on the alternance *acipensis* – *acipenser*<sup>16</sup>. As for genitives *cineris* (nom. *cinis*, gen. \**cinis-is*) or *pulveris* (nom. *pulvis*, gen. \**pulvis-is*) an ancient heteroclisia can have yielded such imparisyllabic cases as genitive \**acipensis-is* which, after rhotacism and apophony (-*ĩ*- > *e* before -*r*-) becomes precisely *acipenseris* (nom. *acipenser* will have been created analogically from such rhotacised forms<sup>17</sup>). Such interferences within third declension inflectional paradigms (parisyllabic in -*is*, -*is* and imparisyllabic in -*is*, -*eris* in our case) are well attested by the ancient sources<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Compare also *vomis* (Verg. *Georg.* 1, 162; Col. 2. 2. 26, 2. 4. 6) beside more frequent *vomer*, -*eris*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *honor*, *labor*.

<sup>18</sup> Significantly Varro (*Ling.* 8, 74): *neque oportebat consuetudinem nature alios dicere boum greges, alios boverum, et signa alios ioum, alios iouerum.*

# Die Diskussion um Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα im homerischen Epos

Von HANSLUDWIG HAGEN, St. Augustin

Schon zu Homers Zeiten wurde ἰοχέαιρα als die ‚Pfeil(e)schüttende‘ verstanden<sup>1</sup> (das Nomen begegnet bei Homer sowohl adjektivisch als auch substantivisch, z. B. E 53, Y 71, ζ 102; I 538, Φ 480, λ 198). Geschosse werden ausgeschüttet bzw. ausgegossen; vgl. z. B. Θ 159 und O 590: βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο; E 618: ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν; χ<sup>3</sup> und ω 178: ἐκχεύατ' ὀιστούς. Die Lexika von Seiler-Capelle (zu Homer) bis Liddell-Scott und die Ilias- und Odysseeübersetzung Schadowaldts z. B. sehen in ἰοχέαιρα die ‚Pfeil(e)schüt-tende‘. Die Wortbildung wurde offenbar so verstanden: ἰό(ς) + χε(F)- + -αιρα-Suffix. Während Risch<sup>2</sup> in der ersten Auflage seiner ‚Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache‘ (s. dagegen dens. weiter unten) die Endung -αιρα in ἰοχέαιρα als Suffixanalogie zu z. B. χίμαιρα oder Νέαιρα (zu m. χίμαρος, νεαρός gebildet) erklärt, geht Bechtel<sup>3</sup> noch von einem nicht belegten \*χεφαρός aus (rechnet also nicht mit Suffixanalogie): „Das Masculinum zu χέφαυρα (als 2. Element in ἰοχέαιρα) würde χεφαρός lauten“. Dies ist jedoch reine Spekulation<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. A. Heubeck, ἌΡΤΕΜΙΣ ἸΟΧΕΑΙΡΑ in ‚BNF 7 (1956), S. 275–279 (= A. Heubeck, Kleine Schriften, Erlangen 1984, S. 260–264); zitiert wird nach der Erstpublikation.

<sup>2</sup> E. Risch, Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache, Berlin u. Leipzig 1937, S. 127.

<sup>3</sup> F. Bechtel, Lexilogus zu Homer, Halle 1914, S. 179.

<sup>4</sup> In den Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem findet sich zu P 465b (Vol. IV, Berlin 1975, S. 262 Erbse) eine Notiz, die möglicherweise dem Grammatiker Choeroboscus zuzuschreiben ist (Erbse versieht den Namen am Rande mit einem Fragezeichen) und die Bildung von ἰοχέαιρα mit der des Nymphennamens Νέαιρα in Verbindung bringt „νέω νέαιρα ὡς χέω χέαιρα, ἰοχέαιρα“ (E53 al.). Demnach wäre Νέαιρα die ‚Schwimmende‘. Auch L. Doederlein (Homerisches Glossarium III, Erlangen 1858, S. 294 [2416]) sieht das noch so: „Die Nymphe Νέαιρα aber Od. XII132 scheint von νέειν *schwimmen* benannt, wie ἰοχέαιρα von χέειν.„ Doch in Wirklichkeit liegt bei Νέαιρα eine Femininbildung zu νεαρός (vgl. B 289) vor: < \*Νεφαρ-ια ‚die Jüngere‘ (mit komparativer Bedeutung). Zu den sprachgeschichtlichen Hintergründen zu νέω (νήχω) vgl. H. Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch II, Heidelberg 1973, S. 310 f.

Außer bei Homer findet sich *ιοχέαιρα* noch bei Pindar P. 2,9 (*παρθένος*) und bei dem hellenistischen Epigrammatiker Mnasalkes AP 6,9, hier in Verbindung mit *φαρέτρα*. Hierzu Seelbach<sup>5</sup>: „Die Alexandriner lieben es, die hohen Epitheta der Götter für bescheidenerne Dinge zu gebrauchen“ (er führt weitere Beispiele an).

Schon früh wurde von einigen *ιοχέαιρα* als die ‚Pfeilfrohe‘ verstanden, also mit *χαίρειν* in Verbindung gebracht. So liest man im *Lexicon Homericum* des Apollonius Sophista (ed. Bekker, Berlin 1833, S. 92): „*ιοχέαιρα* *ιοῖς* *χαίρουσα* *καὶ* *φέρουσα*“ und später bei Eustathios zu I 538 (Bd. II, Leiden 1976 [Valk], S. 793): „*Ἰοχέαιρα* ... *χέουσα* *ιοῦς* ἢ *χαίρουσα* *ιοῖς* ὡς *τοξική*“; Eustathios läßt also zwei Erklärungen zu. Noch E. Dönt (Reclam 1986) übersetzt *ιοχέαιρα* bei Pindar (s. o.) mit ‚pfeilfrohe‘. Doch eine Deutung über *χαίρω* ist wohl unhaltbar. Auch J. La Roche wendet sich in seiner Iliasausgabe (Leipzig 1877) gegen eine solche. Er schreibt zu E 53: „*ιοχέαιρα* = *ιοῦς* *χέουσα*, nicht *ιοῖς* *χαίρουσα*, wie die Alten erklärten“. Ebenso äußert sich W. Leaf (Iliasausgabe London 1900) zur Stelle: „*pourer of arrows*, cf. 618 *δοῦρατ ἔχευαν*: not of course from *χαίρω*“. Wie sollte man auch das Epsilon in *ιοχέαιρα* sprachgeschichtlich erklären? Belardi<sup>6</sup> spricht hier von einem möglichen ‚*accostamento paretimologico*‘. Hat etwa auch der Epigrammatiker Mnasalkes an einen ‚pfeilfrohen‘ Köcher gedacht?

Die Deutung von *ιοχέαιρα* im herkömmlichen Sinne ‚Pfeile schüt-tend‘ war in der neueren Forschung der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts gängig. Kretschmer<sup>7</sup> richtet sich gegen die Erklärung von Ehrlich<sup>8</sup>: ‚Jagdruf gellend‘ (aus *ιῆ* + *χεF-* = skr. *hav-* (*havanam* das Rufen); vgl. Frisk I 732), und er schreibt – allerdings mit einer gewissen Vorsicht – zu *ιοχέαιρα*: „Wenn die herkömmliche Erklärung (d. h. ‚Pfeile versendend‘) möglich ist, verdient sie wohl den Vorzug“. Dezidiert äußert sich dagegen Chantraine<sup>9</sup>: „*ιοχέαιρα*, qui repand des traits‘, qui se rattache évidemment a *χέω*“. Boisacq<sup>10</sup> übersetzt: „qui lance des traits“; Hofmann<sup>11</sup> vermerkt S. v. *ιοχέαιρα* lediglich: ‚Pfeile

<sup>5</sup> W. Seelbach, Die Epigramme des Mnasalkes von Sikyon und des Theodoridas von Syrakus, Wiesbaden 1964, S. 22 f. (Ep. 6).

<sup>6</sup> W. Belardi in *Doxa* III, 1950, S. 208.

<sup>7</sup> P. Kretschmer, Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1910, *Glotta* 4 (1913), S. 350.

<sup>8</sup> H. Ehrlich, Zur idg. Sprachgeschichte, Königsberg 1910, S. 48.

<sup>9</sup> P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, S. 104.

<sup>10</sup> E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 3. ed. Heidelberg/Paris 1950 s. v. *ιοχέαιρα*.

<sup>11</sup> J. B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen*, München 1949.

ausschüttend'. Schließlich führt Belardi (s. meine Anm. 6) – ebenfalls mit Verweis auf χέω – drei Deutungen an: „che scaglia le frecce“, „che ferisce con le frecce“, „che emana (o che sparge) le frecce“ (gegen Pisani; s. weiter unten).

Nun stellt Heubeck (S. 275–279) aufgrund neuerer sprachgeschichtlicher Erkenntnisse die alte Deutung von ἰοχέαιρα in Frage und verweist auf zwei Formen aus dem Hethitischen, die ihm als Beweis dienen, daß nicht \*χεF-, sondern \*χεσQ- ‚Hand‘ in ἰοχέαιρα enthalten sei: heth. *kesri* und *kesras* (S. 277). Demnach wäre Artemis die ‚Pfeil(e)haltende‘: ἰσφο-χεσQ-ια > ἰοχέαιρα. Auch Rix<sup>12</sup> bringt die Bildung der obliquen Kasus von χεῖρ (diese Nominativbildung ist analog zu diesen hinzugebildet) mit den hethitischen Formen in Verbindung: „*ḡhesr-ys* Akk. Pl.: ion.att. χεῖρας cf. heth. (Lok. Sg.) *kesr-i* ‚Hand‘“ (§ 88d, S. 78) – „gr. χεῖρός heth. *kisras* < idg. *ḡhes-r-os*“ (§ 168, S. 153)<sup>13</sup>. Heubeck S. 277: „Entscheidend ist nun m. E. für einen Ansatz von *ḡhesr-* die Tatsache, daß griech. ἰοχέαιρα ... lautlich und formal (und wie nachher zu zeigen ist, auch wortbildungs- und bedeutungsmäßig) einwandfrei aus \**isyo-ḡhesr-iə* entstanden zu denken ist“. Er führt S. 278 aind. Bildungen als Parallelen an, die beeindrucken. Danach „stellt sich ἰοχέαιρα am nächsten zu denjenigen ai. Bahuvrihi, in denen das Vorderglied einen Gegenstand nennt, den der Träger des komponierten Namens mit dem im Hinterglied genannten Körperteil hält, z. B. aind. *vájra-bāhu* – ‚der den Donnerkeil im Arm hält‘, *pātra-hasta* – ‚der ein Gefäß in der Hand hat‘, *śūla-hasta* – ‚der eine Lanze in der Hand hat““. Schließlich verweist er (S. 279) auf eine „fast restlose Übereinstimmung von ἰοχέαιρα mit ai. *śu-hasta* (Ṛgveda); ἰοχέαιρα ist diejenige, ‚die den Pfeil (oder Pfeile) in der Hand hält““.

Bereits Pisani<sup>14</sup> hat neun Jahre vorher ἰοχέαιρα mit χεῖρ in Verbindung gebracht, indem er – meines Wissens als erster – von einem Stamm \**ḡhesr-* ausgeht (\*-χεσQ- - ια): „che reca in mano le frecce“<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> H. Rix, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen, Laut- und Formenlehre*, Darmstadt 1976.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. auch H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache I*, Wiesbaden 1966, S. 275 (§ 156) S. v. *kešsar*.

<sup>14</sup> V. Pisani, *Crestomazia indeuropea*, Turin 1947, S. 142.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. auch W. Brandenstein, *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft II*, Berlin 1959 (Sammlung Göschen Bd. 118/118a), S. 58: „die den Pfeil in der Hand hält“.

Drei Jahre vor Erscheinen des Heubeckschen Aufsatzes – aber schon in Kenntnis der Deutung Pisanis – äußert Fraenkel<sup>16</sup> Bedenken gegenüber einem Stamm \*χεσϝ- in ιοχέαιρα. Mit Verweis auf andere idg. Sprachen schreibt er S. 96: „Doch muss man bedenken, dass die Ausdrücke für Hand in den ide. Sprachen sehr verschiedenartig sind und griech. χεῖρ ... mit dem hethitischen Wort keineswegs identisch sein muss.“ Heubecks aind. Parallelen hätten vielleicht dazu beigetragen, seine Bedenken einzuschränken. Dagegen geht auch Frisk (II 1083) s. v. χεῖρ von einer Wurzel \*χεσϝ- aus<sup>17</sup>.

Es mag zwar zunächst völlig unerheblich erscheinen, ob man bei der Erklärung der obliquen Kasus von χεῖρ von einer Wurzel \*χεσϝ- (vgl. z. B. Schwyzer, Gr. Gram. I 286) oder \*χεσϝ- ausgeht, denn beides, \*χερσ-ος oder \*χεσϝ-ος etc., führt bei unterschiedlicher Lautgesetzlichkeit und Morphologie zum gleichen Ergebnis: χεῖρ-ός etc.; doch bedeutsam ist in unserem Falle die Feststellung, daß nur die Annahme einer Wurzel \*χεσϝ- die Deutung von ιοχέαιρα (< \*k<sup>h</sup>esa-rija) im Sinne einer ‚Pfeil(e)haltenden‘ erlaubt. Auch Risch<sup>18</sup> verweist in seiner völlig überarbeiteten ‚Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache‘ im Zusammenhang seiner Ausführungen über -αιρα-Bildungen bei homerischen Adjektiven auf das Hethitische und Heubecks Deutung von ιοχέαιρα. Frisk (I 732) referiert s. v. den Stand der Forschung und schließt sich, so scheint es, ebenfalls Heubeck an: „Seit dem Altertum gewöhnlich als ‚Pfeile ausschüttend, Pfeilschützin‘ erklärt, von ἰός ‚Pfeil‘ und χέω ... Dagegen nach Heubeck ... von ἰός und χεῖρ als ‚die den Pfeil (die Pfeile) in der Hand hält‘; für diese Deutung sprechen namentlich aind. Bildungen“ (es folgen die oben angeführten Beispiele Heubecks).

In dem 1988 (d. h. kurz nach Heubecks Tod) erschienenen Odysseekommentar von Heubeck, West und Hainsworth (letzterer kommentiert die Bücher 5–8) wird Heubecks Deutung von ιοχέαιρα wieder in Frage gestellt, zugleich aber auch die ungewöhnliche Formenbildung betont<sup>19</sup>. Hainsworth schreibt zu ζ 102: „if the second element

<sup>16</sup> E. Fraenkel, Morphologisches und Etymologisches, 2. Griech. χεῖρ und Verwandte, *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 4, 1953, S. 95 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. zuletzt M. Meier-Brügger, Griechische Sprachwissenschaft II, Berlin/New York 1992 (Sammlung Götschen Bd. 2242), S. 73: \*g<sup>h</sup>sr-.

<sup>18</sup> E. Risch, Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache, zweite, völlig überarbeitete Auflage, Berlin/New York 1974, S. 138 (§ 50d).

<sup>19</sup> A. Heubeck, St. West, J. B. Hainsworth, A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Vol. I, Oxford 1988, S. 299.

is from χέω (which seems most likely, in spite of Heubeck's attempt to link it with χεῖρ ...), the formation is unusual". Ein (metrisch bedingtes) -αιρα-Suffix wird (ebd.) wieder in Erwägung gezogen: „-αιρα being extracted from other feminines to make a word convenient metrical shape“. Wohl im Anschluß an Hainsworth ist für Schmidt, den Verfasser des Artikels ‚ιοχέαιρα‘ im Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos<sup>20</sup>, „ein Verständnis als Abl. von χέω wahrsch.“. Neben Hainsworth verweist er bei seinen Literaturangaben auch auf Peters<sup>21</sup>, der seinerseits wieder die Deutung Heubecks stützt, wenngleich Peters verbleibende Schwierigkeiten beim Vokalismus der vorletzten Silbe sieht (S. 225–227)<sup>22</sup>. Er kommt nach ausführlicher sprachgeschichtlicher Reflexion zu dem Resultat (S. 228), „daß ἰοχέαιρα in der Tat, wie semantisch am sinnvollsten, mit χεῖρ ‚Hand‘ verknüpft und als Bahuvrihi der Bedeutung ‚Pfeile in der Hand, in den Händen haltend‘ verstanden werden kann“. Gegen eine Verbindung mit χέω richtet sich auch Schmitt<sup>23</sup>. Für ihn (S. 178) „wirft diese Verbindung mit χέω morphologische Schwierigkeiten auf, die ... unlösbar erscheinen ... Der einzig gangbare Weg wäre, ἰοχέαιρα ... als feminines Seitenstück zu einem \*ιοχέων ... aufzufassen. Doch muß auch dies Spekulation bleiben, solange ein solches nomen agentis nicht nachweisbar ist.“ Nach Peters (S. 224) „dürfte es freilich gerade neben Feminina auf -αιρα nie entsprechende Maskulina auf -ων gegeben haben“.

Der Zweifel an Heubecks Deutung seitens Hainsworth oder Schmidt scheint mir wesentlich darin begründet, daß dieser ein \*χῆF- in ἰοχέαιρα nicht dezidiert genug zurückgewiesen hat. Er kritisiert zwar (S. 276) ein von Bechtel (s. o.) angenommenes suffixiales -αιρα (zu m. -αρός hinzugebildet), weil „die von Bechtel angeführten -αρος-Bildungen alle zu Nominal- und nicht zu Verbalstämmen gehören“ (dieses Argument Heubecks hat Hainsworth offenbar nicht überzeugt, wenn er die Theorie von einem -αιρα-Suffix wieder aufgreift), doch zu einer Wurzel \*χῆF- vermerkt er lediglich (ebd.) „daß weiterhin ein F in -χέαιρα ohne jeglichen Anhalt ist“. S. 275 (mit Anm. 6) schreibt

<sup>20</sup> M. Schmidt im L f gr E, Band 2 (1991) bzw. 13. Lieferung von 1989, Spalte 1201.

<sup>21</sup> M. Peters, Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen, Wien 1980, S. 223 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Die Hinweise auf Schmidt und Peters verdanke ich Herrn Prof. Strunk, München (brieflich).

<sup>23</sup> R. Schmitt, Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit, Wiesbaden 1967, S. 178 ff.

er mit Verweis auf Boisacq, Bechtel, Risch (1. Aufl. von 1937) und Hofmann (s. vorher), daß „man sich auch der morphologischen Schwierigkeit, -χέαιρα von χέω abzuleiten, meist wohl bewußt ist“. Das vermag ich bei den genannten Gelehrten allerdings nicht zu erkennen.

Es scheint mir deshalb angeraten, einmal zu überprüfen, ob im homerischen Epos mit der Wurzel \* $\chi\epsilon F$ - gebildete Nomina vorkommen. Dabei fällt auf, daß im Gegensatz zum Verb χέω und homerischen Komposita (εἰσ-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-) alle Nomina, die die Wurzel \* $\chi\epsilon$ - enthalten, entweder die lautliche Hochstufenvariante ( $\chi\epsilon\nu$ -) oder die Schwundstufe ( $\chi\nu$ -) oder *o*-Abtönung ( $\chi\omicron F$ -/ $\chi\omicron\nu$ ) aufweisen, so  $\Psi$  561:  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ;  $\epsilon$  483 und  $\tau$  443:  $\chi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ;  $\kappa$  518 und  $\lambda$  26:  $\chi\omicron\eta$ ; B 128,  $\iota$  10,  $\sigma$  396 u. 418:  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma$ . Demnach wäre  $\iota\chi\epsilon\alpha\iota\rho\alpha$  das einzige (zusammengesetzte) Nomen mit der *e*-stufigen Wurzel in der antevokalischen Variante \* $\chi\epsilon(F)$ -.

Folgende kurze Spekulation, wäre Artemis wirklich die ‚Pfeil(e)sendende‘, sei hier bezüglich einer Formenbildung gestattet: O 444,  $\phi$  12 und 60 begegnet  $\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  als Attribut zu  $\phi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\eta$  und an den oben genannten Stellen  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma$ . Demnach wäre auch die Bildung einer Form  $\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma$  (ebenfalls ein zusammengesetztes Nomen und metrisch wie  $\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  und  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma$ ) als Attribut der Artemis im Sinne einer ‚Pfeil(e)-sendenden‘ möglich gewesen. Sogar eine feminine Partizipialform  $\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma\alpha$ , gebildet wie  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma\alpha$  von bei Homer häufigem  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon\omega$  (vgl. IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1514. 32:  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma\alpha$ ; Sappho 5/6 18 D.:  $\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$ ), wäre vorstellbar und metrisch passend wie  $\iota\chi\epsilon\alpha\iota\rho\alpha$ .

Was die archäologischen Darstellungen betrifft, so darf man sagen, daß vom rein optischen Erscheinungsbild her in archaischer Zeit eine pfeil- und bogenhaltende (vgl.  $\Phi$  483  $\tau\omicron\zeta\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ) Artemis geläufig ist<sup>24</sup>. Natürlich wird die Pfeilhaltende anschließend eine Pfeilschießende sein<sup>25</sup>, und als solche wurde sie ja schon seit der Antike verstanden.

Abschließend darf man festhalten: Wenn sich auch nicht mit letzter Sicherheit sagen läßt, ob Ἄρτεμις  $\iota\chi\epsilon\alpha\iota\rho\alpha$  eine ‚pfeil(e)sendende‘ oder eine ‚pfeil(e)haltende‘ ist, so spricht doch sehr vieles für eine ‚pfeil(e)haltende‘ im Sinne Heubecks.

<sup>24</sup> So die Bonner Prof. E. Zwierlein (brieflich). Sie verweist auf das Lexicon Ikonographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC) II 1, Zürich/München, und zwar auf eine Gemme (Abb. 20, S. 443) aus dem 7. Jahrhundert, wo Artemis Pfeil und Bogen in der Hand hält.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. ebd. Abb. 78, S. 448, wo Artemis zum Köcher greift.

# *Pontifices*, Bridge-Making and Ribezzo Revisited

By BERNARD J. KAVANAGH, Kingston

*Pontifices ut Scaevola Quintus pontifex maximus dicebat, a posse et facere ut po(ten)tifices. Ego a ponte arbitror; nam ab his Sublicius est factus primum ut restitutus saepe cum ideo sacra et uls et cis Tiberim non mediocri ritu fiant.*

Varro, *Ling.* 5.83

*Summary:* Most modern scholars accept Varro's etymology of the Word *pontifex*, that it meant bridge-maker and that it referred to their building the *pons Sublicius* during the regal period of ancient Rome. It is argued in this paper that no one in the first century B. C. really knew what the word meant, that Varro found an obscure reference to a ritual performed at the Bridge-on-Piles and concluded on that basis that the priests had actually built the bridge. The author here suggests a different etymology, one which was first proposed by F. Ribezzo in 1931, that the word *pontifex* was derived from the Sabine word for "five".

The Quintus Scaevola who is mentioned in the above quotation was not only pontifex maximus for around seven years, that is, from 89 to 82 B. C., but he was the son and nephew of men who had held that position<sup>1</sup>. In view of his background, it is not surprising that his opinion about the origin of the word *pontifex* carried considerable weight. According to Varro, Scaevola had suggested that the plural of this word, *pontifices*, was a corruption of another form, variously given in modern texts as *\*potentifices* or *\*potifices*, in either case a compound of derivatives of both *posse* and *facere*. Varro does not report what Scaevola thought the derivative of *posse* meant in the compound but Plutarch says in his biography of Numa that it referred either to the power of the gods or to the responsibility the pontiffs had in judging whether something was possible or not (*Num.* 9.1)

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<sup>1</sup> Scaevola's uncle Crassus Mucianus, served that office from 131 until his death in 129 B. C. and he was succeeded by Scaevola's father, P. Mucius Scaevola, who died fifteen years later. (cf. F. Münzer, *R.E.*, 1933, v.16.1, 414.)



We presume that Scaevola was not able to point to an actual example of *\*pontifex* in any sacred or historical text, for, if he had, Varro would probably not have challenged what was then the prevailing opinion with his own derivation. In place of an etymology based on *posse*, Varro proposed that the members of that college were called *pontifices* because it was they who had built the *pons Sublicius*, the wooden bridge which dated to the regal period and which connected the east bank of Rome with the Janiculum. He added that the bridge, usually called in English the Bridge-on-Piles, was often restored by the pontiffs and that elaborate rites were performed on either side of the Tiber, presumably when the bridge was first built and subsequently restored.

Although Varro's etymology of *pontifex* has been the one most accepted since 43 B. C., the year when his treatise on the Latin language was published, his proposal, like that of Scaevola, presents some difficulty. The most consistent criticism, both in antiquity and in modern times, has been that while *pontifex* may appear to be self-evident linguistically as bridge-maker (*pontifex* = *qui pontem facit*: *artifex* = *qui artem facit*), the *pontifices* had a number of responsibilities of which the maintenance of the *pons Sublicius* was not a major priority. Judith Hallett has written the most recent discussion which focuses on the etymology and her argument defends Varro against the chief criticism<sup>2</sup>. The article may be divided into four main sections, wherein Hallett: 1) summarizes the debate of the ancients who supported or opposed Varro's etymology, the principal supporters being Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.73.2) and Servius (2.166), the most vocal opponent being Plutarch (*Num.* 9.2); 2) demonstrates how certain offices, especially those of *aedilis* or *quaestor*, were named because of an initial responsibility in one area but that the duties of these same offices were often expanded to include responsibilities far beyond the original scope; 3) discounts attempts to prove that the Latin word *pons* might mean something other than a literal bridge<sup>3</sup>; 4) concludes by arguing that both bridge-making and bridge-repair were

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<sup>2</sup> Judith P. Hallett, "Over Troubled Waters: The Meaning of the Title *Pontifex*", *IAPA* 101 (1970), 218-227. G.J. Szemler, "Pontifex", *R.E.*, suppl. XV, 1978, 334-335, supports Hallett's view that *pontifex* originally meant "bridge-maker".

<sup>3</sup> Some have tried to show that *pontifex* meant "path-finder". See A. Walde and J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1954, 337.

considered sacred tasks. For those reasons and in particular the last one, the idea that a college of priests began in the early period as a group of bridge-makers is perfectly credible.

At first glance, Hallett's arguments seem convincing but with a closer look under an historical and linguistic microscope, a few omissions and errors become visible. First of all, Hallett emphasizes Dionysius' support for and Plutarch's resistance to the bridge-making idea, but she fails to mention that Livy, a contemporary of Dionysius, does not say a single word about bridges in his discussion of the establishment of the pontificate (1.20.5-7). Since Livy wrote a generation after Varro and must have been aware of the proposed etymology, it would seem to indicate that he, like Plutarch much later, was not convinced by Varro's suggestion. Second, while Hallett asserts rightly that the duties of certain offices often expand beyond their original scope and it is true that in the case of the aedileship, the *aediles* were responsible for a great number of what we would call municipal tasks, the connection of the *aediles* to their earliest function, the upkeep of the *aedes Cereris*, was still apparent to those of the first century B. C., this not being the case for *pontifices* and the word *pons*. Lastly, the points about whether *pons* meant something other than a bridge or that bridge-making was an awesome, religious task seem to be circular arguments which work only if you presume that *pontifex* meant bridge-maker. Bridges may have been considered sacred objects but so too were temples, altars, doorways and just about anything else a priest might wish to consecrate .

With regard to other Latin words which use the suffix *-fex*, the most notable ones being *artifex*, *aurifex*, *carnifex*, the relation of these words to the nouns *ars*, *aurum* and *caro* respectively was evident to any speaker of Latin; on that basis, the derivation of *pontifex* from *pons*, *pontis* should have been equally apparent. In spite of the obvious linguistic connection, no one in the college of pontiffs, including Quintus Scaevola, whom Cicero called an *acutissimus pontifex maximus* (*Leg.* 2.52), noticed the pontifical connection to bridges before Varro and, perhaps more importantly, there was no universal agreement with or acceptance of Varro's theory, even after he published it. These two points seem to offer the strongest argument against the long-accepted bridge-making theory. With this in mind, one might argue that Varro had decided that *pontifex* was derived from *pons*, just as *artifex* was derived from *ars*, and from that point he delved into the records in search of any reference to bridges. When he did find that an elaborate ritual had been performed at the inauguration of the Bridge-on-Piles,

a ritual which was not too different from an inaugural rite for a temple or shrine, he presumed or perhaps simply guessed that the priests had actually built the bridge. I say that he presumed or guessed this idea because if there was an actual record that the priests had built the bridge, Scaevola and indeed Livy would have had access to the same reference; Plutarch, we suspect, would have been less inclined to call the idea laughable. To conclude this point, it would seem that Varro, whose work on the Latin language is priceless for us today but whose reliability at guessing etymologies is not valued as highly, used a law of analogy to identify the origin of *pontifex* and from there, he attempted to support his theory with what must be considered, in light of the many responsibilities of the college of pontiffs, a somewhat remote reference to a rite performed at a bridge. While no one would deny that the pontiffs inaugurated the Bridge-on-Piles or that they were responsible for its subsequent repair or even that the bridge, like so many other things, was considered sacred or holy, the idea that they received their name from building it seems to be based more on folk-etymology and wishful thinking.

If *pontifices* did not actually make a bridge, one might legitimately ask what it was they did make or do, or more grammatically, what the object of the suffix *-fex* was. In the world of Roman religion, the most common object of *facere* was *sacra*, for, whether a *pontifex* was officiating at a patrician wedding, adjusting the Calendar, supervising the Vestal Virgins, inaugurating a temple, shrine or bridge, he, as priest, was performing a sacred rite<sup>4</sup>. Usually, the word *sacra* or an equivalent phrase or term (e. g., *rem divinam, inferias*) is stated in the sentence, but there are instances where the word was not actually written because it was understood in context<sup>5</sup>. If the suffix *-fex* came to signify the one who performed (the sacred rites), that is to say, it alone became an exact equivalent of the compound, *sacrificulus*<sup>6</sup>, this still leaves us with problem of the origin of the component *ponti-*.

The complete titles of many political or religious officials at Rome

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<sup>4</sup> In this regard, Livy writes: "*Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis (Numa) subiecit*" (1.20,6).

<sup>5</sup> cf. 1) Cicero, *Mur.* 90, "*Iunonis Hospitae, cui omnis consules facere necesse est*", . . . and 2) Plautus, *St.* 251, "*quot agnis fecerat?*".

<sup>6</sup> On whether the element *-dos* of *sacerdos* is derived from a form of *facere*, which is today the generally accepted etymology and which in turn makes *sacrificulus* and *sacerdos* not just synonyms but also cognates, or if *-dos* is in fact a derivative of the verb *dare*, see K. Strunk, "Lateinisch *sacerdos* und damit verglichene Komposita", *Glotta* 72 (1994/95) 222-234.

indicated not only the duties involved but also the number of men who served on the board, some examples being *duoviri aquae perducendae*, *triumviri coloniae ducendae*, or *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. H.J. Rose writes that there were originally three Roman pontiffs<sup>7</sup>, his evidence being both a clear statement in the charter of Urso in Spain that the colony would have three *pontifices* and three *augures* (*ILS*, 6087, 67) and an assumption, not difficult to accept, that Roman colonies were established according to the rules set at the time of the foundation of Rome. Rose's conclusion is reasonable though it nevertheless contradicts a statement that Cicero, in his dialogue about the foundation of Rome, puts into the mouth of Scipio, "*Idemque Pompilius et auspiciis maioribus inventis ad pristinum numerum duo augures et sacris e principum numero pontifices quinque praefecit . . .*" (*Cic. Rep. II*, 26.). According to Cicero, Numa accommodated the increased need for auspices by adding two new *augures* to the original number, which was presumably three, but that from the beginning there were five *pontifices* who were put in charge of the sacred rites. All ancient authorities attribute the pontificate to the Sabine king, Numa Pompilius<sup>8</sup>, there being some disagreement whether he was the first pontifex (*Plut. Num.* 9.1) or if Numa Marcius was the first (*Livy I.20,5*), the latter Numa being, according to Plutarch (*Num.* 21), a kinsman of Pompilius. Even if one discounts the historicity of both Sabine Numae, it is possible that the legend of a Sabine connection to the pontificate had a basis in fact. As the ancient Sabines spoke an Osc-Umbrian language, their word for five was *pompe*, a number which serves as a base for such Italic (and later Roman) names as *Pomponius*, *Pompeius* or most appropriately, *Pompilius*. In each of those names, the root *pomp-* is followed by a vowel but in forming the ordinal or adjectival word with the consonantal suffix *-t-*, the consonant cluster *-mpt-* was simplified to *-nt-*, as is demonstrated in the Sabellic name *Púntiis*, which later became Romanized as Pontius<sup>9</sup>. Another derivative of *pompe* which may have greater relevance to this discussion is the word *puntes*, which is preserved in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* and which refers to a group of five men who chose and inspected animals that were offered for sacrifice<sup>10</sup>, duties which are somewhat comparable

<sup>7</sup> H.J. Rose, 1) *Religion in Greece and Rome*, 1959, 231; 2) "Pontifex, Pontifices", *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1976, 860.

<sup>8</sup> *Livy*, I.20,5; *Plut. Num.* 9; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 73f.

<sup>9</sup> R.S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 1897, II, 647.

<sup>10</sup> James Wilson Poultney, *The Bronze Tables at Iguvium*, 1959, 200 and

to those of the Roman pontiffs. Unlike the Roman priestly (or political) boards that included the word *vir* in the full title of each board, the Umbrians simply implied the word “man” in the word *puntes*, “a group of five (men)”<sup>11</sup>.

In consideration of all this evidence, namely, the testimony that there were five members of the pontifical college in Rome at a time when Sabines were reportedly prominent, the Roman and Osco-Umbrian practice of indicating in the title how many served on a collegial board, and lastly the ellipsis of what might be considered important words when the sense or meaning was self-evident, it may be possible to suggest that the word *pontifex* originally meant “a member of a board of five (men) who performed (sacred rites)”. This etymology does not negate the idea that the original number of the board was three but it would indicate that whatever the original name of the college was (*\*trefex* ?), the word *pontifex* was composed at a time when there were five members of the board. The Sabines reportedly played an important role in the institution of certain religious rites and offices in Rome<sup>12</sup> but one can argue that as time passed and as the descendants of Sabine emigrants became completely assimilated as Latin-speaking Romans, the connection of word *pontifex* to the number five became considerably less evident, if not completely lost, so much so that when the number of pontiffs was increased, first to six, later nine and finally sixteen, no one saw a need to adjust the name to comply with the increased number<sup>13</sup>.

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202. Poultney translates the relevant sections (III 9,10) with these words: “The *auctor* (Umb. *uhtur*) shall designate a young pig and sheep, the groups of five (Umb. *puntes*) shall inspect them, then the group of five shall accept the young pig and sheep”. Walde and Hofmann (above n. 3, 337) report an earlier attempt to connect *pontifex* with *puntes* but on the understanding that each word was derived from or simply related to Greek πέμπω, and hence referred to the pontifical role in religious processions.

<sup>11</sup> It should be added that the Oscans and Umbrians seem to have discarded the Indo-European word *vir* and replaced it with a synonym, the stem of which is *ner-*. This latter form is found in the name *Nero*, which was considered a preserve of the patrician and Sabine Claudii (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 1).

<sup>12</sup> Varro himself wrote “*Et arae Sabinum linguam olent*” (*Ling.* 5.74), a poetic way of saying that amid the fragrant incense, the words spoken by the priests often had more in common with the language of the Oscans and Umbrians than with Latin.

<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the board in charge of interpreting the Sibylline books was first called *duoviri sacris faciundis*, but the self-evident name was adjusted each time it was decided to increase the number of members.

This is the second attempt to argue or prove that the first element of *pontifex* was a derivative of the Italic word for “five” and that the entire word meant a member of a priestly board of five. In 1931, F. Ribezzo, a prolific scholar of the Latin, Etruscan and Italic languages, wrote a short note entitled (self-explanatorily), “pontifices ‘*quinionalis sacrificii effectores*’<sup>14</sup>, wherein he proposed that the Sabine presence in Early Rome and Cicero’s reference to five original members of the pontifical board offered ample evidence that the word originally meant one of five priests. Walde-Hofmann reported Ribezzo’s theory but included it among those which they judged to be “teils lautlich, teils sachlich bedenklich”. It is perhaps for this reason that neither Hallett nor Szemler cited Ribezzo’s suggestion in their discussions. As we consider, however, the problem with the bridge-making theory and take into account other aspects of Roman social and linguistic history, it may be time to revisit the idea that the element *ponti-* may have been derived from the Italic word for “five”.

It is difficult to disprove completely Varro’s etymology that *pontifex* originally meant “bridge-maker”, just as it is impossible to say that the evidence unequivocally supports the idea that the word first signified a member of a board of five. If, however, *pontifex* is derived from the Italic word *pompe*, it is not hard to see how the connection escaped the notice of Roman antiquarians of the late Republic. Scaevola and Varro had put forward their suggestions over five hundred years after the pontiffs had been established and in that time, pontifical records had been destroyed, the college had risen from five (perhaps from an earlier three) to fifteen and the ancient language of the Sabines was scarcely heard in the countryside and much less understood in Roman academic circles. In an effort to explain the word, both men attempted to connect the name of this priesthood to a Latin word that was still in use, first *posse* and later *pons*, it probably being the farthest thing from the mind of either that the most august religious board in Rome derived its name from a language other than Latin.

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<sup>14</sup> F. Ribezzo, *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia*, 15, 1931, 56.

## Latin *Vinnus, Vinnulus*

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*Summary:* Dieser Artikel schlägt \*wend<sup>h</sup>- ‘drehen, winden’ als Etymologie für die bei Plautus und den Glossographen attestierten Beispiele von lateinischem *uinn(ul)us* vor. In -nn- erscheint die regelmäßige Entwicklung des \*-nd<sup>h</sup>-n- oder eine volkstümliche und dialektisch attestierte Entwicklung des \*-nd<sup>h</sup>-; in -i- ist eine gelegentlich getroffene Hebung von ě zu ĭ vor -nn- zu sehen, die auch in der Doppelform *penna/pinna*, in einer Inschrift (*Hinnad* für *Hennad*, CIL 1.530), und möglicherweise in anderen Wörtern und Namen erscheint. Die Bedeutung ‘gedreht, gewunden’ erklärt gut die Belege des Wortes. Sie bleibt im Familien-Namen *Vinnius* ‘der, der lockiges Haar hat’ (oder möglicherweise ‘der Verdrehte’) unverändert; diese Namen beschreiben oft körperliche Eigentümlichkeiten. An anderen Stellen ist ‘das gedrehte’ bildlich gebraucht, in Bezug auf die Stimme (‘geschmeidig’) oder auf Verweichlichung.

*Vinnulus* (or *uinnolus*)<sup>1</sup> appears in several places in Latin. In Plautus prostitutes are described as enticing men with speech that is *uinnula uenustula*:

*itidem hic apud nos: aedes nobis area est, auceps sum ego,  
esca est meretrix, lectus inlex est, amatores aues:  
bene salutando consuescunt, compellando blanditer,  
osculando oratione uinnula uenustula (Asin. 219–223).*

It’s the same with us: the house is the clearing; I’m the birdcatcher; the prostitute is the bait; the bed is the decoy; and lovers are the birds.

[The lovers] get used [to the place]  
because of [the prostitutes’] warm greetings [and] ingratiating solicitations,  
because of [their] kissing [and] speech that is *uinnulus* [and] ever so charming.

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<sup>1</sup> The form with -ol- appears only in Isidore, presumably an instance of his very occasional use of -ol- for classical -ul- in penultimate syllables, as also in *uncinolus*, *glandola*, a type very common in later Latin. Alcuin (*Patr. Lat.* vol. 101, col. 0735B) spells *uinulus* (= *uīnulus*, as *āmentum* < *ammen-tum*?). The alternate spelling is recognized in Faustinus Arevalius’ notes to Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (*Patr. Lat.* vol. 82, col. 0868D = 3.20 n. 13).

This passage is cited by Nonius, along with what is probably a line from a *palliata*<sup>2</sup>, *uinnulum sensilocum*<sup>3</sup>. Descriptions of the semantics of *uinnulus* consistently contain the element ‘soft’ or ‘bent’. Both elements appear in Isidore’s applications of *uinnolus* to describe a voice that is soft and supple (*uinnola est uox mollis atque flexibilis*, Orig. 3.20.13). The Latin glossographical tradition records for a lemma *uinnulus* the meanings *mollis* ‘soft’ (IV 296.10, V 519.1) and the semantically near *blandus* ‘gentle’ (V 519.1) and *delectabile* ‘delightful’ (V 648.61). While these definitions may possibly represent extrapolations from the Plautine passage, the definition of Paulus Festus, in whom *uinnulus* is also a lemma, is sufficiently different to suggest the element of ‘softness’ is genuine: *uinnulus dicitur molliter se gerens et minime quid uiriliter faciens* “Somebody with delicate carriage and doing something with very little manliness is called *uinnulus*”. Isidore’s etymology of *uinnolus*, on the other hand, which depends on an etymon not likely to have been generated out of Plautus, contains the element of ‘bending’: he derives *uinnolus* from a *uinnus* or *uinnum*, which he defines as a ‘gently curled lock of hair’ (*et uinnola dicta a uinno, hoc est cincinno molliter flexo*, loc. cit.).

The form of *uinnulus*, to be sure, suggests a diminutive, with the common Latin diminutive suffix *\*-elo-*, so that the form for which an etymology is needed is the putative positive form *uinnus*. In 1883 W. Meyer offered OHG *winden* ‘turn, bend’ (NHG *wenden*) as a comparandum for *uinnus*<sup>4</sup>. As Walde-Hofmann s.v. *uinnulus* point out, this form requires an IE *\*wendh-*. I will argue that Meyer’s comparandum is correct, and that the well-attested *\*wendh-* ‘twist, curl, bend’ (Pok. 1.1148, LIV 2681 *wendh* 2) provides *uinnus* with an etymology that is a match morphologically, phonologically, and semantically.

*Vinnus* might have been derived from *\*wendh-* in two ways. The root might have been thematized directly, viz. *\*wendh-o-*. The Armenian *gint* (gen. *gnti*, loc. *gntav*, also *gind*, *gndi*, *gndav*) ‘earring’, the OHG *wazzarwinda* ‘water winch’, and the ON *vinda* ‘hank of yarn’

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindsay 204.

<sup>3</sup> MSS *sensilocum* emended to *sensiculum* by Onions 1895 but retained by Ribbeck 1898 as a single word, i. e., = *sensiloquus* ‘one who talks carefully’, after *sensim* ‘gradually, cautiously, carefully’. Nonius glosses *id est, inlecebrum* “That is, enticing”. (An *inleceber* is otherwise unattested; Quicherat 1872 emends to *illecebrosum* and Mueller 1888 to *inlecebram*; whatever the solution to Nonius’ gloss, some connection to ‘enticement’ is reasonably certain.)

<sup>4</sup> Meyer 165.



show the root nominalized directly (*wend<sup>h</sup>-ā*, *-ōn-*). In that case *\*-nd<sup>h</sup>-* / V\_V would have become *-nd-* by way of *\*-nδ-*, the normal Italic development<sup>5</sup>. *-nd-* in turn could have become *-nn-* as in *tennitur* (Ter. *Phorm.* 330, 331 Don.) for *tenditur* if the development had currency in the early period<sup>6</sup>. *-nn-* is the normal Oscan and Umbrian development of *-nd-* (U. *ponne*, Osc. *pún* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>om-de*, U. *antentu* < *\*antennetōd* < *\*an-tend-e-tōd*). Perhaps *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-o-* passed to *\*wenn-o-* in a non-Latin dialect before being taken over into Latin.

It is also possible that *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-* was suffixed with the common *\*-no-* participial suffix, viz. *\*w<sup>h</sup>nd<sup>h</sup>-no-*, with the zero grade usual for the *\*-no-* suffix. *\*-ŋ-* would have become *\*-en-*<sup>7</sup>, and the sequence *\*-nd<sup>h</sup>n-* would likely have become *-nn-*. If the standard Italic prevocalic development of *\*-nd<sup>h</sup>-* to *-nd-* by way of *\*-nδ-* also obtained before *\*-n-*, then *\*-nd<sup>h</sup>-n* > *-nδn-* > *-ndn-*<sup>8</sup>. At that point the stop would have been converted to homorganic nasal and the triple cluster (if any) reduced, viz. (?) *\*-nnn-* > *-nn-*. In any case sequences of RTN standardly reduce to RN, with loss of the least resonant element in the middle; so *\*-rdn-*, *-rkn-* > *-rn-*, *\*-rkm-*, *-rpm-* > *-rm-*, *\*-lkm-*, *-lpm-* > *-lm-*<sup>9</sup>. That a similar rule obtained for stops with nasals on both sides, that is, that NTN reduced to NN, may be suggested on the basis of such forms as *quīni* ‘five apiece’: *quīni* < *\*quīnni*<sup>10</sup> < *\*quīncni*<sup>11</sup> < *\*quīncni* < Proto-Italic *\*k<sup>w</sup>enk<sup>w</sup>-noi*. A participle *\*w<sup>h</sup>nd<sup>h</sup>-no-* could have been nominalized into Isidore’s “curly lock of hair” much as *plānum* ‘plain’ was nominalized from *plānus* ‘smooth, flat’ (< *\*p[H<sub>2</sub>-no-*). But Isidore’s noun *uinnus* or *uinum* and Plautus’ adjective *uinnulus* could equally well have come respec-

<sup>5</sup> Meiser 261; cf. *condere* < *\*kom-d<sup>h</sup>H-se*.

<sup>6</sup> Leumann 1977 § 220.a, 200.b.γ. The Terentian forms have been corrected in the manuscripts and are preserved only in Donatus; inscriptional evidence (e. g., *Secunnus* = *Secundus*) is imperial. The *-nn-* of Plautine *dispennite* might represent the development of *-nd-* but is more likely the normal outcome of the *\*-tn-* of a *\*pat-nō*.

<sup>7</sup> Sommer-Pfister § 36, Leumann 1977 § 58.

<sup>8</sup> Occasionally *\*-d<sup>h</sup>-n-* > *-dn-* > *-nd-*, as *\*b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-no-* > *fundus* ~ Vedic *budhná-*; *\*ud-nā-* > *unda* ~ Vedic *udán*, *udnáḥ*. This development may be in at least some case pre-Italic: with *fundus* compare Mid. Irish *bond* and with *unda* Old Prussian *unds*; so Sommer-Pfister § 131.3c, cf. Leumann 1977 § 200.b.β.

<sup>9</sup> Sommer-Pfister § 141.1.a, 142.1.a, Leumann 1977 § 222, Sihler § 231.2.

<sup>10</sup>  $\bar{V}NN > \bar{V}N$ ; cf. Sihler § 222.2a.

<sup>11</sup> The same rule whereby  $V > \bar{V} / \_nct, nx$ ; Sommer-Pfister § 83.3, Sihler § 81.2; cf. Leumann 1977 § 222, 151.a.

tively from *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-o-* and *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-elo-*. The facts of the phonetics and the slightness of the attestations impede further analysis.

At any rate, in a putative outcome *\*wenno-* the only remaining problem is the vowel. The interchange of *e* and *i* in the Latin alphabet conceals several distinct phenomena. I suggest the relevant phenomenon is the raising that affects *\*ĕ* before clustered nasals. The change is regular in front of velar nasals (which are always clustered in Latin), thus *\*leg-no-* ‘the gatherable’ > *\*leŋno-* > *\*liŋno-*, *lignum*, originally ‘firewood’<sup>12</sup>. The same raising occurs with great frequency in front of clustered labial nasals, as in *imber* ‘storm’ < *\*embhris* < *\*ŋbhris* (Osc. *anafriss* ‘*imbribus*’ attests to the *\*ŋ*); *limbus* ‘border, fringe’ ~ *lembus* < *\*lembos* ~ RV √*ramb*, Ved. √*lamb* ‘hang down loosely’<sup>13</sup>.

*\*-nn-* must have been able to effect the same raising<sup>14</sup>. The case of *penna* and *pinna* ‘feather; battlement’ speaks to the point. *Penna* is the expected outcome of *\*pet-nā* (~ *\*pet-no-* > OIr *én*, OW *etn* ‘bird’, with the root of *πέτομαι* ‘fly’)<sup>15</sup>. But *pinna* is also widely attested, in all same senses, both in the simplex and in derivatives like *pinnatus* ‘winged’, *pinniger* ‘wing-bearing’ etc. While separate etymologies have sometimes been offered for *pinna*<sup>16</sup>, the identity of the two forms is suggested by the failure of any clear distinction between the two outside of the late grammatical tradition, where schoolmasterly distinctions are often artificially fabricated<sup>17</sup>, and by the comparable

<sup>12</sup> Sommer-Pfister § 53.1.a.

<sup>13</sup> Sommer-Pfister § 53.1.b confine the change to *-mb-*; but see Hamp 1983: 84–7.

<sup>14</sup> The forms cited by Sommer-Pfister § 53.1.c to suggest that *\*-nt-* and *\*-nd-* had a similar effect, *frumintis* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> I 1.236) = *frumentis* and *Kalindas* (CIL 10.7776) = *kalendas*, are too late to be of relevance for the archaic period, coming respectively from the *Fasti Praenestini* erected by M. Verrius Flaccus (n. ca. 55 B. C.), an inscription without other notable archaisms, and from an inscription that consistently uses *i* for short *e* (thus *riquiescit in paci*). There is marginally better evidence that earlier on *\*ō* could be raised to *\*ū* in this environment, viz. the forms *funtēs* = *fontēs* and *frundes* = *frondes* claimed as antique pronunciations by the grammarians (cf. Sommer-Pfister § 57.1.a,c; *contra* Leumann 1977 § 45.e) and the Lucilian *dupundium* = *dupondium* (1318 Marx; the same form appears at Petronius 58.4. Under Plautine accentual rules, of course, *dūpondium* would yield *dupundium* by vowel weakening).

<sup>15</sup> On *\*-tn-*, *-dn-* > *-nn-*, v. Leumann 1977 § 200.b.α.

<sup>16</sup> See W-H<sup>3</sup> s. v.

<sup>17</sup> *Pinnas murorum, pennas auium dicimus* (Flavius Caper, *de Orthographia* p. 100 l.17); cf. Schwind 175–76. W-H<sup>3</sup> rightly call Caper’s distinction a “spitzfindige Scheidung”.

semantic range of Greek πτερόν, πτέρυξ and πτερόγιον, which illustrates that a word for 'feather' can acquire meanings as diverse as 'parapet', 'gable', 'fin [of a fish]', and 'lobe [of the liver *vel sim.*]', senses which both the Latin and Greek exhibit, and some of which, not entirely transparent in a word for 'feather', seem to have occasioned attempts to find a separate etymology for *pinna*<sup>18</sup>. Whether *pinna* and *penna* were idiolectal or dialectal variants, or contemporaneous or sequential forms, is less easy to determine. Servius claims – rightly, but not necessarily for the right reasons – that *penna* is the older form<sup>19</sup>.

On the other hand, the argument can be made that *pinna* was the normal urban form by the time of Sulla. Schwind has recently observed that *pinna* is the consensus of the oldest inscriptions, the oldest attestation of *pinna* being from Sulla's time (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2216) – *penna* does not appear until a medallion of Honorius – and that *pinna* is virtually the only form in manuscripts of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, appearing, for example, in Codex V of Livy (42.65.10; 44.8.5) and Codex M of the elder Pliny<sup>20</sup>. This evidence is not as decisive as one might like for the older period. But that the raising was at least already possible for that period is suggested by an inscription labelling trophies from M. Claudius Marcellus' assault on Henna in 214, which reads *M. Claudius M. f. consul Hinnad cepit* (CIL I<sup>2</sup>.530), 'M. Claudius, son of Marcus, consul, captured [this booty] from Enna'. The name of modern Castro Giovanni in central Sicily usually appears as *Henna* (Gr. Ἐννα, but in Latin always aspirated)<sup>21</sup>. If *uinnus* is an old *\*-no-* participle, there may be a close parallel to its phonetic history in *cinnus*, according to Nonius an antique word for a 'mixed drink', if *cinnus* is from a *\*kent-no-* with the *\*kent-* of *centō* 'patchwork' ~ Sanskrit *kanthā* 'patched

<sup>18</sup> Schwind 175n.30. So Vaniček's derivation from *\*(s)pit-na* > Lith. *spitnà* 'buckle tongue', cf. OHG *spiz* (= NHD *Spieß*), a protoform evidently chosen with a view to the element of 'pointiness' in such applications as 'gable'.

<sup>19</sup> *ueteres pennas dicebant, non pinnas* (ad *Aen.* 2.479).

<sup>20</sup> Schwind 170–72.

<sup>21</sup> The assertion of Niedermann that *Hinnad* does not represent the intra-Latin raising of *ē* but is a Latin borrowing from some southern dialect with iotacism is made in order to preserve the 'Dreiconsonantengesetz', whereby *ē* > *ī* / *\_CCC*, that he propounds; thus *penna* < *\*pet-nā* but *pinna* < *\*pets-nā* (postulated on the basis of Festus' *pesnas*, which NB would have become *pēna*, like *cēna* from *\*kerts-nā*; cf. Osc. *kerssnāis* 'cēnīs'. On *pesnas* = *pennas*, see Hamp 1973: 151–52).

clothing<sup>22</sup>. Although onomastic evidence is difficult to use, not only because the original forms and lexical content (if any) of a name are not always transparent, but also, in the case of personal names particularly, because of the difficulties of establishing chronological and local patterns – a task beyond the purposes of this note –, still it is worth mentioning several variations between *-enn-* and *-inn-* in names which, if any of them had *e* originally, would also provide evidence for the raising: thus *Abennius/Abinnius*, *Cennius/Cinnius*, *Mennius/Minnius*, *Nennius/Ninnius*, *Percennius/Percinnius*, *Pescinnius/Piscennius*, *Rennius/Rinnius*, *Sennius/Sinnius*, *Sisennius/Sisinnius*, *Spennius/Spinnius*<sup>23</sup>.

The phonetically possible etymology *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-o-* or *\*wŋd<sup>h</sup>-no-* is attractive for two further reasons, attestation and semantics. First, the root *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-*, mainly attested in Germanic, but known elsewhere, as in Armenian (*gind* ‘earring’) and Tocharian AB (*want* ‘wrap up [in]’), is also attested in Italic: cf. Umbr. *ahauendu* ‘turn away’, *preuendu* ‘turn to’ < *\*wend<sup>h</sup>-e-tōd*<sup>24</sup>. Second, a putative meaning ‘curling, twisting’ accounts for the semantic range of the word. As we have seen, Isidore derives *uinnolus* from a word meaning a “gently curled lock of hair”. This *uinnus* or *uinnum* need not be dismissed as ‘eine von Isidor oder einem Vorgänger konstruierte Form’ (W-H<sup>3</sup>). Armenian *gind* ‘earring’, *gndak* ‘tendrils’, ON *vinda* ‘hank of yarn’, OE *gewind* ‘spiral, tendril, winding path’, *windeloc* ‘curly lock’, and MHG *winde* ‘twining plant’ are obviously close in sense. Furthermore a *uinnus/uinnum* ‘curled lock of hair’ or a *uinnus* ‘curling, twisting’ may underlie the *nomen gentilicium*, or family name, *Vinnius*, attested in the literature (Hor. *Epist.* 1.13.1, Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 7.82) and occasionally found in inscriptions (cf. *RE s.v.*; inscriptions also have *Vennius*). *Gentilicia* often add the *\*-yo-* suffix to nouns or adjectives

<sup>22</sup> ‘*cinnus*’ *potionis genus ex multis liquoribus confectum* (Nonius p. 43 M), *commixtio plurimorum* (Nonius p. 59 M). The protoform *\*kent-no-* was suggested by Niedermann 54, but with *ĕ > ĭ* not because of the geminant nasals but by the ‘Dreiconsonantengesetz’. The etymology is rejected by W-H<sup>3</sup> on semantic grounds, but why there could not be a *\*kent-* referring to the ‘mixed’ ‘combined’ or ‘amalgamated’ I do not see.

<sup>23</sup> This list does not take account of variants like *Vinnius/Vinius*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Meiser 76. For other suggestions for the etymology of the Umbrian forms, see Untermann 836. Another etymon for ‘bend’, *\*weng-* (‘gebogen sein’ Pok. 1.260), can be excluded on phonetic grounds: a *\*wŋg-no-* would have developed into *uinnus* (cf. the development of *quini* above), and *\*weng-o-* into *uingus*.

indicating some sort or remarkable physical deformity or characteristic. Thus from nouns e. g., *Naenius* 'Moley' (*naenus* 'mole'), *Verrucius* 'Warty' (*uerruca* 'wart'), *Mucius* 'Snotty' (*mucus* 'snot'); and from adjectives *Flavius* 'Blondie' (*flavus* 'blond'), *Luscus* 'One-eye' (*luscus* 'one-eyed'), *Curtius* 'Stubby' (*curtus* 'mangled'). A *Vinnius*, 'Curly' or 'Twisty', fits this pattern well<sup>25</sup>.

The remaining instances of *uinnulus* can be accounted for by an original meaning 'winding, twisting, bending'. The application of *uinnulus* to a quality of voice, as in Plautus and Isidore, probably derives directly from a metaphorical extension of 'winding', if by 'a winding voice' was meant one that was 'flexible' (Isidore's *flexibilis*), 'modulated', or the like<sup>26</sup>. In that case, might Plautine *oratione uinnula* refer to the trills of certain birds, aped by a birdcatcher? Certainly the metaphor of bird-catching is thoroughly worked out in the passage. At any rate, the application of *uinnulus* to voice may also have to do with a further semantic development of the sense 'winding, twisting'. From 'twisting' to 'soft' is not a very far leap, not certainly if the ideal of 'twisting' is a lock of hair or a tendril. Certainly 'bent' and 'soft' can share terrain, as in IE *\*bheug<sup>(h)</sup>* (Pok. 152, LIV<sup>2</sup> 85 *bheug<sup>(h)</sup>*) > Skt. *bhugná-* 'bent', *bhuj* 'bend'; OIr. *boc*, Bret. *bouk* 'soft'<sup>27</sup>. Some such development must have taken place in Latin. Hence the quality 'soft' (*mollis*) described by Isidore, a sense also contained in the glossographers, and a plausible starting point for the other glossographical equivalents *blandus* and *delectabile*<sup>28</sup>. In the Plautine passage *uinnulus* would then be describing the presumably dulcet tones used by prostitutes to entice potential customers<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> For similar semantic sets in Latin cognomina, cf. Kajanto 222–49.

<sup>26</sup> It is worth noting a critique of the French voice in Ademar Cibaldi: *et omnes Franciae cantores didicerunt totam notam Romanam, quam nunc vocant notam Franciscam, excepto quod tremulas vel vinnolas sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere Franci, naturali voce barbarica frangentes in gutture voces potius quam exprimentes* (*Patr. Lat.* vol. 141, col. 0028B).

<sup>27</sup> Comparable is the development of *\*weng-* 'bend, turn' into 'weak': cf. Lith. *vingis* 'bend, curve', NE *winch*: Old Norse *vākr* 'weak'.

<sup>28</sup> For the reverse change, from 'pleasant' to 'soft', cf. Sp. *blando* 'soft' < L. *blandus* 'agreeable, pleasant'; ME *sefte* 'soft' < OE *sēfte* 'pleasant' ~ OHG *semfti* 'agreeable, comfortable'.

<sup>29</sup> The connection of *uinnulus* to voices supports Ribbeck's retention of *sensilocum* (above n. 3); *uinnulum sensilocum* will have meant something like 'of soft and gentle speech'.

A different metaphorical application of 'soft' is to be seen in Festus' application of *uinnulus* to a man who 'carries himself softly' (*molliter*) and acts 'without manliness' (*minime uiriliter*): in Latin, as often elsewhere, the notion 'soft' provides a metaphor for effeminacy of comportment or character, so commonly *mollis*, *mollitia* and, as I have argued elsewhere, *lepidus*, *lepor*<sup>30</sup>. Plautus' use of *uinnulus* for prostitutes' enticing speech is thus a pun. The prostitutes' voices are 'soft = modulated, lilting', but they are also 'soft = effeminate, sexualized', the latter sense brought to the fore by the phonetically similar *uenustulus*, from *uenustus* 'attractive'. A meaning 'soft' will also have naturally attracted diminutivization to 'nice and soft' (cf. *molliculus*), accounting for the universal attestation of the adjective in the diminutive. An explanation of *uinnulus* that recognizes the occasional operation of partial, apparently idiolectal sound shifts and restores to a line of poetry its sense may be preferred to an equally economical but less literarily sensitive and considerably less linguistically plausible explanation by nonce-formation<sup>31</sup>, especially since the postulated etymology depends on a root otherwise attested in Italic and may explain a gentile name according to a well-established pattern<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Krostenko 64-68.

<sup>31</sup> 'eine onomatopoëtische Bildung mit Alliteration an das folgende *uenustulus*', Niedermann 57; 'eine plautinische Augenblicksbildung im Anklang an das danebenstehende *uenustulus* nach Art von *tinnulus: tenuis*', W-H<sup>3</sup> s.v. *uinnulus*.

<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Meiser and Prof. E. Hamp for their helpful comments.

- LIV<sup>2</sup> = Rix, H. (Ed.) (2001): *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. 2. Auflage, Wiesbaden.
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## A Note on the ὄλισβος

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*Summary:* The term ὄλισβος likely did not univocally refer to a dildo, nor was it the *vox propria* for the implement in ancient Greek. It seems to have meant “slider”, and to have originally referred to a type of musical instrument slid along strings. Like the word *πλήκτρον* (“striker”) it subsequently came to designate the dildo, probably simply as a coinage of Cratinus which was later borrowed by Aristophanes. A number of other terms were used to designate the dildo in ancient Greek.

In scholia of Aristophanes (*in Ar. Lys.* 109–110) and in ancient lexica (*Suda* s. v. ὄλισβος and Phot., *Lex.* s. v. ὄλισβοί) the word ὄλισβος is said to mean “leather penis” (*αἰδοῖον δερμάτινον*). As if this definition were not clear enough, certain early modern scholars, refusing to accept any sexual implications, believed (or at least pretended to believe) the ὄλισβος to be a pessary (or vaginal suppository)<sup>1</sup>. In 1810, however, in a short pamphlet, the pseudonymous Brother Saufejus ab Amphoris, having exhorted scholars to set aside modern pudency, boldly clarified the true use of this leather penis as a dildo (though he also confused it with the costume penis of Old Comedy)<sup>2</sup>. Since then scholars have generally assumed that ὄλισβος univocally meant “dildo”, and that in fact it was the *vox propria* for the implement<sup>3</sup>. I propose to demonstrate that both of these assumptions are incorrect.

In 1951, Edgar Lobel published for the first time a very fragmentary poem in the Aeolic dialect, found on a third century A. D.

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Priestley, et al., *Notae in Aristophanem* (London 1829) vol. 2, 341.

<sup>2</sup> S. ab Amphoris, *De Olisbo Comitorum Veteris Graeciae Instrumento* (Verecum in patria 1810) esp. 10–20. The author seems to have been French, since at one point (17) he speaks of “our French” (*Galli nostrates*). The work is not very scholarly (all together only two passages of Aristophanes are cited: *Ar., Lys.* 109–110 and fr. 332.12–14 K.-A. [= Kassel-Austin]), and thus attribution to some important academic such as Jean François Boissonade de Fontarabie (1774–1857), who edited Aristophanes in 1826 and published a work on the author in 1832, seems unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, among many others, A. Körte, “Olisbos”, *RE* XVII.2 (1937) 2480–2482.



papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (2291), which he tentatively assigned to Sappho (= fr. 99 Lobel-Page). In the fifth line of the first column he restored the reading *ὀλισβ-*, which he nevertheless admitted was “manifestly very improbable”<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, in 1955, Denis Page recorded his opinion that the reading was “practically certain”, and that, though the only surviving letters were *δοκ*, the whole first word was to be reconstructed on metrical grounds as *ὀλισβοδόκοισι*<sup>5</sup>, the dative plural of the *hapax legomenon* \*ὀλισβοδόκος<sup>6</sup>. With this reconstruction the word presumably agrees with the *χόρδαισι* of the previous line, and thus the meaning would be “ὀλισβος-receiving” or “ὀλισβος-welcoming strings”<sup>7</sup>. For the sake of sense in the context Martin West suggested that “ὀλισβος was once a synonym of *πλήκτρον*”, though the word is not otherwise found with this meaning<sup>8</sup>. Giuseppe Giangrande, following Kenneth Dover, proposed instead that *ὀλισβος* should be translated in the same way as in the other instances of the word and thus that the phrase would read “the dildo-receiving strings”. He also suggested that by adjectival enallage the player of the strings was really being referred to. Giangrande even went so far as to say that this incontestably proved that Sappho was a lesbian, blatantly disregarding for one the fact that the poem could have been written by Alcaeus (it is assigned to him as fr. 303A by Eva-Maria Voigt), and, moreover, that even if it had been written by Sappho, and even if the reading *ὀλισβοδόκοισι* could be accepted without question, this need say nothing of Sappho’s own sexual

<sup>4</sup> E. Lobel, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part XXI* (London 1951) 10–14, with quote from 13.

<sup>5</sup> D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 145, n. (with a discussion of the remaining traces).

<sup>6</sup> See G. Fatouros, *Index Verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Heidelberg 1966) 275.

<sup>7</sup> Numerous ancient Greek adjectives end in *-δόκος/-δόχος* (and nouns in *-δόκη/-δόχη*) from the verb *δέχομαι* or *δέχομαι*, and can mean “accepting x” (*[ἀ]δωροδόκος* = “[not] accepting gifts/bribes”), “receiving x” (*ιστοδόκη* = “mast receiver”), “containing x” (*ἐλαιοδόκος* = “containing oil”), “holding x” (*δουροδόκη* = “spear-holder”), “keeping x” (*σμηνοδόκος* = “bee-keeping”), “welcoming x” (*πολεμηδόκος* = “welcoming war”), or “waiting at x” (*πυληδόκος* = “waiting at the door”). For “receiving” here, see K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge 1989 [revised edition]) 176, n. 9, and J. M. Snyder, *Lesbian Desire in the Lyrics of Sappho* (New York 1997) 114 and 204; for “welcoming”, see D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyrics I: Sappho and Alcaeus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990) 125.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. West, “Burning Sappho”, *Maia* 22 (1970) 307–330, at 324.

inclinations. Antonio Guarino, in a short note refuting Giangrande's cavalier claims, rightly pointed out that there is no reason to think that ὄλισβος was used univocally<sup>9</sup>.

West's identification of ὄλισβος with πλῆκτρον can be supported by examining the possible etymology of the word ὄλισβος, which none of the scholars mentioned so far have brought to bear on the question. Two quite attractive alternatives have been given for the philological roots of the word ὄλισβος. First, it has been usually accepted that the term is most likely derived, through the intermediate word ὄλισθος, from the verb ὀλισθεῖν or ὀλισθάνειν which comes from the Indo-European root \*h<sub>3</sub>slejd<sup>h</sup>-, and is thus equivalent to the English cognate verb "to slide"<sup>10</sup>. Pierre Chantraine further explained the suffix -βος in this case as categorizing the word as obscene on the model of such terms as κάληβος ("eunuch"), κωλαβός ("catamite"), and σάραβος ("female genitals")<sup>11</sup>. Second, Maria Grazia Tibiletti Bruno proposed that the word ὄλισβος originated in south-west Asia Minor and came from the word ἀλίσβη (through the hypothetical intermediary \*ἄλισβος) which is an Ionian term meaning "deceit" (ἀπάτη) according to Hesychius<sup>12</sup>. Both of the proposed etymologies for ὄλισ-

<sup>9</sup> G. Giangrande, "Sappho and the ὄλισβος", *Emerita* 48 (1980) 249–250, with A. Guarino, "Professorenerotismus", *Labeo* 27 (1981) 439–440, and Giangrande, "A che serviva l'olisbos' di Saffo?", *Labeo* 29 (1983) 154–155.

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1961) vol. 2, pt. 1, 377, s. v. ὄλισβος (with references to previous scholarship), P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968) 792, s. v. ὄλισβος (who does not patently prefer this etymology to the alternative), A. Dierichs, "Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands", *Antike Welt*, suppl. 3–85 (1988) 66, J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Oxford 1987) 81 (who notes the alternative as well) and *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*<sup>2</sup> (New York, Oxford 1991) 221–222, and E. C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*<sup>2</sup> (Berkeley 1993) 82. For Greek constructions from the \*h<sub>3</sub>slejd<sup>h</sup>- root, see E. P. Hamp, "ὀλισθάνω", *Glotta* 61 (1983) 192, and also H. Rix, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*<sup>2</sup> (Wiesbaden 2001) 307 (\*h<sub>3</sub>iej<sup>s</sup>d<sup>h</sup>- < \*h<sub>3</sub>slejd<sup>h</sup>-).

<sup>11</sup> See P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris 1933) 262 and *Dictionnaire étymologique* (note 10) 792, s. v. ὄλισβος. Perhaps it may not be far fetched to connect ὄλισβος to the -βος noise words discussed by Chantraine (the first parts of which are mainly onomatopoeic) since Plato noted (*Cratyl.* 427b) that the verb ὀλισθάνειν was onomatopoeic because the tongue itself glides on the lambda when it is pronounced.

<sup>12</sup> M. G. Tibiletti Bruno, "Un confronto Greco-Anatolico", *Athenaenm* 47 (1969) 303–312.

βος thus suppose that the word was a simple euphemism meaning essentially either “slider” or “deceiver”.

Indeed the first and most widely accepted meaning “slider” only goes to support West’s contention that a plectrum is meant in the Oxyrhynchus passage since this word, a decent euphemism for the dildo, is indeed a logical straightforward descriptive term for a type of plectrum slid along the strings. West’s quite plausible insight may perhaps be further supported by a puzzling line in Herodas’s sixth mime, in which two women discuss the dildos fabricated by a certain leather-worker named Cerdon. At one point (line 51) one of the women says that one man she knows named Cerdon “could not even stitch the plectrum for (or on?) a lyre” (οὐδ’ ἂν πλῆκτρον ἐς λύρην ράψαι). Since plectra for musical instruments would never really be stitched (as they were made, typically, out of horn, ivory, or wood, or, exceptionally, out of metal), and since elsewhere in the same dialogue Cerdon the leather-worker is said precisely to stitch dildos (lines 18–19, 43, 47, and 48), this passage seems to be evidence that πλῆκτρον was a word which was used to mean dildo, as Jacob Stern noted<sup>13</sup>. The word πλῆκτρον comes from the verb πλήσσω (“to strike”) and means simply “striker”. Like ὄλισβος the “slider”, πλῆκτρον the “striker” is an appropriate euphemism for a dildo, since many expressions meaning “to hit” were used in ancient Greek to mean “to have sex with” (as in the English expression “to bang”)<sup>14</sup>. Also the plectrum could be quite baton-like and resemble a phallus<sup>15</sup>.

There are in fact two other passages which support the contention that πλῆκτρον was a word for dildo, which were cited long ago by Otto Crusius, commenting on the line in Herodas<sup>16</sup>. Juvenal in his sixth satire (383–384) says of the woman who loves music that not only does she play the lyre with the plectrum but “she grasps it, consoles herself with it, and lavishes kisses on the pleasing plectrum” (*hunc tenet, hoc se solatur, gratoque indulget basia plectro*). An even more obvious instance is to be found in Achilles Tatius’s novel *Leucippe and*

<sup>13</sup> J. Stern, “Herodas Mimiamb 6”, *GRBS* 20 (1979) 247–254, at 253.

<sup>14</sup> See Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (note 10) esp. 140–141 and 170–173.

<sup>15</sup> For evidence on the ancient plectrum, see T. Reinach, “*Lyra*”, *DAGR* 3.2 (1877–1919) 1446 and W. D. Anderson, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, London 1994) 175–176..

<sup>16</sup> O. Crusius, *Die Mimiamben des Herondas* (Leipzig 1926) 142. Note also the golden πλῆκτρον dedicated by a prostitute in Asclep. in *Anth. Pal.* 5.203.2; in similar epigrams dildos are sometimes dedicated (see *Anth. Pal.* 6.17.1, 6.210.5, and 13.24.5).

*Clitophon*. In a verbal attack directed at a certain Thersander, which is specifically said to attempt to outdo the comedy of Aristophanes (8.9.1), it is stated (8.9.4) that among many other perversities of his youth he oiled himself and publicly “straddled a plectrum” (πλήκτρον [Saumaise; MSS: πλέκτρον] περιέβαινε). The same verb, περιβαίνω, is used by Aristophanes in the same sexual sense when he has Cinesias say in the *Lysistrata* (979): “she would straddle [my] exposed penis” (περὶ τὴν ψωλὴν περιβαίη). Thus since the whole attack on Thersander was said to be Aristophanic, and the verb used is a known usage of Aristophanes, it is possible that the comic poet also used the word πλήκτρον in an obscene sense in one of his lost plays. In the extant plays πλήκτρον is only found twice, and then to mean a fighting cock’s spur (*Av.* 759 and 1365). Eric Csapo has shown that the cock’s spur itself was often thought of as phallic: it could be depicted looking like a penis and its removal was considered tantamount to castration<sup>17</sup>.

It remains then an intriguing possibility that both ὄλισβος (the “slider”) and πλήκτρον (the “striker”) were originally used to designate musical implements (akin, respectively, to the modern “slide” and “pick” used in guitar playing) and later each came also to euphemistically designate the dildo, perhaps because of both their phallic shapes and their suggestive names. It is further tempting to conjecture that the application of the terms “slider” and “striker” to the dildo occurred in Old Comedy. In fact, after the possible instance in Sappho or Alcaeus discussed above, only two ancient authors are known to have used the term ὄλισβος: the Old Comedy poets Cratinus (fr. 354 K.-A. [a parody of Hdt., 8.96.2] and fr. 394 K.-A.<sup>18</sup>) and Aristophanes

<sup>17</sup> E. Csapo, “Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cock Fight”, *Phoenix* 47 (1993) 1–28 (with pll. 1–4) and 115–124, at 6 and 13, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> Cratinus jokingly mentioned “narcissus-like dildos” (ναρκισσίνου ὄλισβοί) according to Athen., *Deipn.* 15.676f (with the reading of Schweighäuser). The narcissus flower could have been used to describe a dildo because of its slenderness and length (the plant was said to be narrow [Theophr., *Hist. Pl.* 7.13.1] and sword-like [Colum., *de Rust.* 9.4.4]), its softness (note the expression ναρκισσίου τρενωτέρου [“smoother than the narcissus”] at fr. mel. adesp. 25 Page (= *PMG* 943 = *Suppl. Hell.* 1028), actually considered a reference to a dildo by W. Headlam in A. D. Knox, *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments* [Cambridge 1922] 288), or else, most plausibly, its colour (as suggested by Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique* [note 10] 736, s.v. νάρκισσος; however the name ναρκισσίτης does not refer to the stone’s colour, as he claims, but to its smell, as shown by Damigeron-Evax, *de Lapid.* 44.2). The flower is said to be white with a crocus-coloured interior in Ov., *Met.* 3.509–510 (the youth’s skin is white and red at 3.491) and Diosc., *Mat. Med.*

(*Lys.* 109<sup>19</sup> and fr. 332.13 K.-A.). Hesychius quoted the word *ὀλισβοκόλλιξ* in his lexicon, likely taken also from a comic context (= fr. com. adesp. 397 K.-A.), perhaps again from Cratinus or Aristophanes<sup>20</sup>. Wilamowitz's reading of *ὀλίβους* for *ὀβολούς* in a speech by Hyperides (fr. 165 Jensen) is unnecessary and unconvincing, and need not detain us.

For all we know, the word *ὄλισβος* for dildo may simply have been a comic usage of Cratinus adopted by Aristophanes (more likely than the other way around because of chronological limitations). The reason we are so well-informed about the term is likely not because it was a widespread one but because of the great ancient and medieval interest in commenting on Aristophanes. In fact, there was a large number of other expressions used for the dildo in comic sources and also generally in ancient Greek, such as (excluding words generally for penis): an imitation (*μεμιμημένον* in Ar., *Lys.* 159 with Σ, and

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4.158, and it is called *purpureus* in Verg., *Ecl.* 5.38 and Pliny, *H.N.* 21.75.128; more importantly, beautiful skin colour is compared to the narcissus in the novels of Achilles Tatius (*Leuc.* 1.19.1) and Nicetas Eugenianus (*Dros.* 4.127). The dildos in Herodas are said to be red (6.19 and 7.128). A reference to the Narcissus myth (as posited by A. Meineke, *Analecta critica ad Athenaei Deipnosophistas* [Leipzig 1867] 327 and P. Brandt [a.k.a. H. Licht], *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* [Dresden, Zürich 1925–1928] vol. 3, 213–214) is unlikely, since there is no good evidence for the existence of the myth before the first century B. C. as I have shown in M. Nelson, "Narcissus: Myth and Magic", *CJ* 95 (2000) 363–389, at 369, n. 21.

<sup>19</sup> In this passage (and in fr. 592.16–17 K.-A.) Aristophanes may be making a veiled attack on Aspasia of Miletus, who was often treated harshly in Old Comedy, even after her death (see M. M. Henry, *Prisoner of History. Aspasia of Miletus and Her Biographical Tradition* [New York, Oxford 1995] 19–28). There is little evidence to support the notion that Aristophanes was rather providing economic information on Miletus as a notable manufacturing and/or exporting centre for dildos or providing ethnographic information about a local preponderance for the use of dildos, as often thought (see, for example, Brandt [note 18] vol. 2, 24, G. Vorberg, *Glossarium Eroticum* [Stuttgart 1932] 181 and 407, Körte [note 3] 2481, A. Krenkel, "Masturbation in der Antike", *WZ Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock* 28 [1979] 159–178, at 167, Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* [note 10] 81 and *The Maculate Muse* [note 10] 221, and A. H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes Lysistrata* [Warminster 1990] 161).

<sup>20</sup> A. N. Oikonomides has proposed that the word *κόλλιξ*, a type of bread, was itself used to mean "penis" on the basis of a grafitto on an Attic scyphos found in Al Mina: "The 'Bread-Stick' of Mantios", *Horos* 3 (1985) 130–131 and "Κόλλιξ, ὄλισβος, ὀλισβοκόλλιξ", *Horos* 4 (1986) 168–178 (which is not very reliable in its general treatment of evidence for dildos).

note the *μίμημα* in Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 18 and *εἶδωλον* in Diod. Sic., 1.22.6), a reproduction (*εἰκών* in *Ezech.* 16.17 LXX), an instrument (*ὄργανον* in Ps.-Lucian, *Amor.* 28), a long cylinder and tube (*μακρογόγγυλος* and *σωλήν* in Sophr., fr. 23 K.-A.), a staff (possibly the *βακτηρία* in Alciphr., 4.14.2 = fr. com. adesp. 251 Kock [not in K.-A.]), an aid (*ἐπικουρία* in Ar., *Lys.* 110 with Σ, and see Strattis, fr. 57 K.-A.; compare English “sex aid”), a toy (possibly the *παίγνιον* in Lucian in *Anth. Pal.* 6.17.1, and see the *ἄθουμα* in *Anth. Pal.* 6.37.3; compare English “sex toy”), and the leather (*σκύτινον* in Ar., fr. 592.17 K.-A.<sup>21</sup>, and Eupol., fr. 418 K.-A. and see the *δερμά* in Plato Com., fr. 188.18 K.-A.) or the wicker (*γέρρον* [perhaps “pole” here] in Epich., fr. 226 K.-A. and possibly *ταρσός/θαρσός* in Callim. in *Anth. Pal.* 13.24.5<sup>22</sup>). Aristophanes may have also used the name *Ὀρθαγόρας* to designate a dildo (*Eccl.* 916 with Σ)<sup>23</sup>. Herodas, who wrote the longest extant ancient narrative on the dildo (his sixth mime), did not use the word *ὄλισθος*<sup>24</sup> but rather the *hapax legomenon* *βαυβών* (line 19), which has been thought to be derived from the goddess *Βαυβώ* or from *βαυβάω* meaning “to lull to sleep”<sup>25</sup>; I would

<sup>21</sup> For this fragment, see now I. Butrica, “The Lost *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes”, *Phoenix* 55 (2001) 44–76, at 72–73. At the end of line 26 of this fragment *φύσιν* could be read rather than the *χρόαν* universally restored by editors. This word is found referring to physical appearance or shape in the accusative at the end of the line also at Ar., *Nub.* 503, *Av.* 117 and 1569, and fr. 5.2 K.-A.

<sup>22</sup> See Giangrande, “Emendations to Callimachus”, *CQ* 12 (1962) 212–222, at 218–222.

<sup>23</sup> See also *Eccl.* 43–45 (with Sommerstein, *Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae* [Warminster 1998] 142) and 890 with Σ (with R. G. Ussher, *Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae* [Oxford 1973] 197–198) for further possible references to dildos in this play.

<sup>24</sup> Herodas is often mistakenly said to have used this word: see, for example, Chantraine, *La formation* (note 11) 262, Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (note 10) vol. 2, pt. 1, 377, s. v. ὄλισθος, whose mistake is noted by Tibiletti Bruno, “Un confronto” (note 12) 306, n. 6, Krenkel, “Masturbation” (note 19) 167, and R. J. Finnegan, “Women in Herodian Mime”, *Hermathena* 152 (1992) 21–73, at 21.

<sup>25</sup> For *Βαυβώ*, see Headlam, *Herodas* (note 18) 288–289 (who considered it possible [289] that the similarity with *Baubo* is accidental and that the word is simply derived from the verb), Brandt, *Sittengeschichte* (note 18) vol. 2, 25 and vol. 3, 180, W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (Princeton 1952) 136, Tibiletti Bruno, “Un confronto” (note 12) 304, n. 5, Krenkel, “Masturbation” (note 19) 167 (citing other scholars), Stern, “Herodas Mimiamb 6” (note 13) 249, Maurice Olender, “Aspects of *Baubo*: Ancient

suggest rather perhaps from *βουβών* ("genitals"). And finally, in his seventh mime, Herodas euphemistically spoke of dildos as shoes, and perhaps also as the skin coat (*βαίτη* at line 128).

In conclusion, the word *ἄλισβος* seems to have been originally a term for a musical instrument, and only later a rare comic euphemistic term for the dildo, and by no means the *vox propria*. In fact, just as in Latin<sup>26</sup>, ancient Greek had no *vox propria* for the implement.

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Texts and Contexts", in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton 1990) 83–113, at 84, and Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (note 10) 15. For βαυβάω, see Headlam, *Herodas* (note 18) 288–289, Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique* (note 10) 170, s. v. βαυβάω (who cites Headlam), and Tibeletti Bruno, "Un confronto" (note 12) 304, n. 5.

<sup>26</sup> See A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (Oxford 1992 [revised edition]) 231, n. 27. I would like to thank Martin Kilmer for inspiring and encouraging this work. For the evidence for dildos in archaic Greek red-figure uses, see his *Greek Erotica* (London 1993) 26–30, 67, 98–102, and 116–117. Some of the material in this article was presented at the Classical Association of Canada meeting in 1999.

# À propos du nom de l'interprète en latin<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tandis qu'il dispose d'une terminologie assez étoffée pour désigner les opérations de traduction<sup>2</sup> le latin n'utilise guère qu'un seul substantif pour nommer l'auteur de la traduction: *interpres*<sup>3</sup>. En latin, tous les traducteurs sont regroupés sous un même vocable, quel que soit le genre auquel chacun s'adonne. À cette observation vient s'en ajouter une autre. La terminologie latine de la traduction est constituée de composés: *cum-*, *ex-*, *inter-*, *re(d)-*, *trans-*. Utilisés comme prépositions, à l'exception de *red-*, ces préverbes régissent soit l'accusatif, qui marque l'extension dans le temps et dans l'espace<sup>4</sup>, soit l'ablatif, qui indique le point de départ<sup>5</sup>. Si l'on se réfère à la classification proposée par B. García-Hernández<sup>6</sup>, ils ont tous une valeur lative, qui peut être soit adlative (*ad-*, *in-*, *sub-*, *ob-*), soit prosécutive (*per-*, *trans-*, *pro-*), soit ablative (*ab-*, *ex-*, *de-*). Le préfixe

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<sup>1</sup> Je dois remercier Madame le Professeur Clara Montella, de l'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, pour l'aide qu'elle m'a apportée en m'envoyant ses publications relatives au sujet de cet article.

<sup>2</sup> Verbes: (*con*)vertere, explicare, exponere (*ad uerbum / uerbum de uerbo*), exprimere, interpretari, reddere, transferre. On peut encore ajouter: contaminare (Térence, *Andr.*, 16), imitari, mutare, sequi, traducere, transire, transponere, transuere. Substantifs: interpretatio, mutatio, translatio. Sur la terminologie latine de la traduction, on verra: H.-E. Richter, *Übersetzer und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur*, diss. Erlangen, 1938, p. 12-13; A. Reiff, *Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio. Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern*, diss. Cologne, Würzburg, 1959, p. 100-111; A. Traina, *Le traduzioni*, dans *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, II (*la circolazione del testo*), Rome, 1989, p. 96-99 et 117-118; Cl. Montella, *Etimologia e traduzione: le parole latine del tradurre*, dans *Aion (ling)*, 15 (1993), p. 313-321.

<sup>3</sup> Le terme *translator* n'apparaît qu'à partir de Jérôme (*Lettres*, 57, 5) et Ambroise (*Sermones*, XII, 7, 1). Cf. A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A. D.*, Oxford, 1949 [1996], p. 426 et A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, Paris, 1954, p. 826.

<sup>4</sup> A. Meillet - J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, 5ème édition, Paris, 1979, p. 554 (§ 822 c).

<sup>5</sup> A. Meillet - J. Vendryes, *Traité* [n. 4], p. 564 (§ 833).

<sup>6</sup> *Les préverbes latins, notions latives et aspectuelles*, dans M. Lavency - D. Longrée (éd.), *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Colloque de linguistique latine*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989 (CILL, 15, 1-4), p. 149-159.



*inter*, qui est formé de *in-* et de *\*tero* (*\*teri*)<sup>7</sup>, a la double valeur allative et prosécutive<sup>8</sup>.

Or, la fonction sémique de *in-* est analysée par B. García-Hernández comme une «pénétration dans une limite double». Le préfixe *inter* indique donc l'espace à l'intérieur duquel se déroule une action. Cette valeur est confirmée par l'étymologie que donne Isidore de Séville: *interpres, quod inter partes medius sit duarum linguarum dum transfert*<sup>9</sup>.

Cette définition insiste sur la présence de deux points opposés (*partes*), l'un de départ, l'autre d'arrivée, qui sont, si l'on se réfère à la traduction, la langue-source et la langue-cible. L'interprète est celui qui les relie, par sa position médiane (*medius*), en faisant passer le message de l'un vers l'autre (*dum transfert*). Si la valeur du préfixe est facile à déterminer, l'analyse de la racine du mot demande, en revanche, plus d'efforts. L'étymologie la mieux assurée, proposée par M. Bréal<sup>10</sup>, rattache *interpres* à *pretium*<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> A. Walde - J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 126. Cf. aussi H. Hettrich, *MSS* 54 (1993), p. 169-170.

<sup>8</sup> Il faut noter, avec J. Pépin (*L'herméneutique ancienne. Le mot et les idées*, dans *Poétique*, 23 [1975], p. 291), cité par G. Gusdorf (*Les origines de l'herméneutique*, Paris, 1988, p. 19-20), que le préfixe de *interpretatio* «lui confère avant toute spécification le sens de base d'entremise» et que cette acception prégnante s'est reportée sur ἐμνηστία, dont l'étymologie inconnue n'offrait aucune protection.»

<sup>9</sup> X, 123 (Isidore dit que l'étymologie procède *per interpretationem* [cf. J. Fontaine, *Tradition et actualité chez Isidore de Séville*, Londres, 1988, p. 201]). L'étymologie proposée par Isidore serait une métathèse d'*\*inter-pers* (cf. A. Walde - J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 711).

<sup>10</sup> A. Ernout - A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, 4ème éd., Paris, 1959 (nouveau tirage revu par J. André, 1994), p. 320 et 534; A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, *Wörterbuch* [n. 9], p. 710-711; F.M. Renner, *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler*, Amsterdam, 1989 (Approches to Translation Studies, 8), p. 216 et 328. Seul, A. Pariente (*Notas al vocabulario juridico latino*, Madrid, 1946, p. 17) ne partage pas l'avis de Bréal (cf. note suivante).

<sup>11</sup> F. Bader (*La formation des composés nominaux du latin*, Paris, 1962, p. 78 et n. 127) dit que *interpres* «ne permet pas non plus de poser rien de sûr». Elle le rapproche d'un thème II *\*pr-* et de la racine de πέρνημι, *parare*, etc. Peut-être s'agit-il d'une formation comparable à *locuples* ou *superstes*. Le second élément serait alors un verbe, disparu en latin classique, dérivé de *pretium* et signifiant «acheter» ou «vendre». Une autre hypothèse, émise par A. Pariente (*Patrare, interpretari y pellere*, dans *Emerita*, 18 [1950], p. 138-150) explique *interpres* et *interpretari* à partir de *\*interpartari* venant s'ajouter au groupe de

Le sens fondamental du terme renverrait à la sphère des échanges commerciaux. L'interprète serait donc, à l'origine, celui qui fait passer un *pretium*<sup>12</sup> («marchandage, prix fixé par accord commun, valeur d'une chose») d'une personne à l'autre: un intermédiaire commercial, un courtier, un chargé d'affaires<sup>13</sup>. Deux emplois du terme chez Plaute en illustrent le sens fondamental. Dans le troisième acte du *Curculio*, Curculio tente de se faire remettre la jeune fille Planésie. En se donnant pour l'envoyé du capitaine Thérapontigonus Platagidorus, il se présente avec une fausse lettre du militaire auprès du banquier Lycon. Dûment cachetée, cette missive invite Lycon à mettre à la disposition du porteur la somme qui permettra le rachat de la jeune fille. Le faux message contient une clause qui prouve que la transaction s'est déroulée dans les formes: *quod te praesente isti egi teque interprete* (v. 434). *Interpres* est donc bien utilisé ici dans le sens d'intermédiaire lors de la conclusion d'un marché entre deux parties. Dans le *Miles gloriosus*, le terme *interpres* apparaît trois fois. Le premier emploi se trouve dans une réplique de Paestrion à Périplectomène. Paestrion se fait fort de monter un projet d'entremise. Il conclut son plan en disant: *quasi que ego rei sim interpres* (v. 798). Si ce n'est pas un échange commercial qui est évoqué ici, il est question d'un «marché» passé entre les deux protagonistes. Les deux autres emplois sont en fait identiques: il s'agit de l'expression, mise dans la bouche de Paestrion, *per me interpretem* (v. 910 et 952), qui désigne le personnage *par le truchement duquel* doit s'accomplir le plan. Ce sens est encore confirmé par l'emploi, au v. 962, d'un synonyme de *interpres*, *internuntius*<sup>14</sup>, dans une situation analogue.

2. Si *interpres* est encore ressenti dans son sens fondamental à l'époque classique, comme le montre une phrase de Cicéron<sup>15</sup>, où il

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\**parto-* dont fait partie également *patrare*. Cf. aussi M. Benedetti, *I composti radicali latini*, Pise, 1988, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> D'après A. Walde - J. Pokorny (*Wörterbuch* [n. 7], II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927, p. 38), *pretium* serait formé sur le neutre de l'adjectif \**pretios* («qui se trouve en face») qu'il faut rattacher à la préposition *preti*, *proti* («en face»). Cette préposition serait dérivée de la racine indo-européenne \**per-* qui signifie «faire passer», «vendre».

<sup>13</sup> E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, I (économie, parenté, société), Paris, 1969, p. 140.

<sup>14</sup> *Internuntius* est rapproché de *interpres* par saint Augustin à propos des anges (*Cité de Dieu*, VIII, 22), qu'il qualifie aussi de *intercessores* (VIII, 24), cf. aussi n. 15 et 31.

<sup>15</sup> *Ad fam.*, X, 11, 3, où Cicéron dit, à propos des négociations avec Lépide:

est rapproché de *adiutor*, son champ sémantique s'élargit. Le jeu de mots que le même Cicéron fait à propos de Valentius, l'interprète de Verrès en Sicile, montre que le terme peut se comprendre dans un double sens: *Valentius est in Sicilia interpres, quo iste interprete non ad linguam Graecam, sed ad furta et flagitia uti solebat*. Valentius, l'interprète de Verrès en Sicile, était aussi pour lui un *intermédiaire* pour ses rapines et ses exactions<sup>16</sup>. De l'échange d'objets, de biens, voire de lieux, on passe donc à un sens plus abstrait, qui fait intervenir non plus la personne physique, mais les facultés mentales et les mots. Le dénominateur commun qui permet cette continuité, de la vente à la traduction, est la notion de *commercium*<sup>17</sup>.

Cette idée d'échange, qui finit par faire d'*interpres* un «passeur de mots», un «truchement», est illustrée par son emploi quasi stéréotypé *per interpretem*, déjà consacré par Plaute, que l'on trouve le plus souvent dans les récits historiques pour désigner l'intervention d'un traducteur<sup>18</sup>. Quelque concise qu'elle soit, cette expression contient tous les éléments constitutifs de la communication<sup>19</sup>.

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*utor . . . adiutoribus interpretibusque fratre meo et Laterense et Furnio nostro*. On peut encore citer *In Verrem*, II, 4, 49. Pour la littérature impériale: Pétrone, 107, 15; Pline le Jeune, *Panegyrique*, 19, 4 (avec *internuntius*).

<sup>16</sup> *In Verrem*, II, 3, 84.

<sup>17</sup> Ce terme, qu'il faut rapprocher de *merx* («marchandise»), pour lequel on n'a pas d'étymologie assurée, peut aussi s'appliquer à l'«échange verbal» (cf. Tite-Live, V, 15, 5 et IX, 36, 6). Sur l'analogie entre échange commercial et échange verbal, P. Radici Colace, *Comunicare con le monete*, dans *La «parola» delle immagini e delle forme di scrittura. Modi e tecniche della comunicazione nel mondo antico*, Messine, 1998 (Pelorias, 1), p. 78-79.

<sup>18</sup> P. ex. Tite-Live, XXVII, 43, 5 (*litterae . . . lectae per interpretem sunt*) ou chez Quinte-Curce lorsqu'il est question des contacts des Grecs avec des populations alloglottes (p. ex. V, 11, 4-5, 13, 7, VI, 5, 19, 11, 4 [... *homines linguae suae per interpretem audire*, et l'étude de M. Leiwo, *Language Attitude and Patriotism*, dans *Arctos*, 30 (1996), p. 129-137] et VIII, 12, 9). – Sur les textes relatifs aux interprètes, on dispose du recueil de W.J. Snellman, *De interpretibus Romanorum deque linguae Latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio*, 2 vol., Leipzig, 1919-1914 et des études suivantes: H.J. Gehman, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients*, diss., Philadelphie, Lancaster, 1914; A. Hermann – W. von Soden, art. *Dolmetscher*, dans *RLAC*, 4 (Stuttgart, 1954), col. 24-49 et A. Hermann, *Dolmetschen im Altertum. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Kulturgeschichte*, dans K. Thieme, A. Hermann et Ed. Glässer (éd.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dolmetschens*, Munich, 1957 (Schriften des Auslands- und Dolmetscherinstituts der Univ. Mainz in Gernersheim, 1), p. 25-59; V. Rotolo, *La comunicazione linguistica fra alloglotti nell'antichità classica*, dans *Studi classici in onore di Q. Cataudella*, I, Catane, 1972,

L'*interpres* est «au centre» (*inter-*), entre un émetteur et un récepteur, et il sert de canal (*per*) par lequel passe le message (*pretium*, qui représente l'objet même échangé)<sup>20</sup>.

On trouvera donc, dans la littérature latine classique, *interpres* pour désigner l'intermédiaire, celui par qui transite un message, qu'il s'agit d'acheminer vers un récepteur en le transformant de façon à le rendre intelligible. Ce truchement se limite à un «décodage» et à un «réencodage» du message. L'*interpres* fournit la grille de lecture propre à le rendre intelligible pour un tiers. Cette opération se déroule dans les domaines où le récepteur n'a pas directement accès au message parce qu'il n'en connaît pas le code: la religion, le droit et les langues étrangères. À nouveau, un passage de Plaute permet de cerner cette évolution. Dans le *Poenulus* (v. 444), Milphion, qui ne comprend plus rien aux propos embrouillés de son interlocuteur, Agorastoclès, ne voit plus qu'un seul moyen: recourir à Œdipe comme *conjector*, lui qui sut être l'*interpres* du Sphinx. L'*interpres* est ici un «décrypteur» d'un langage hermétique. Le sens de «médiateur» entre le monde des dieux et celui des hommes est clairement illustré par l'expression que Virgile applique à Mercure, le messager des dieux envoyé par Jupiter en personne: *interpres diuom* (*Én.*, IV, 378)<sup>21</sup>. C'est dans le même sens

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p. 406-410; Cl. Montella, *Il fidus interpres nella prassi della traduzione orale*, dans *Aion (ling)*, 4 (1982), p. 197-211; P.R. Franke, *Dolmetschen in hellenistischer Zeit*, dans J. Werner et alii (éd.), *Zum Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechischen-römischen Antike*, Stuttgart, 1992 (Palingenesia, 36), p. 85-96; Br. Rochette, *Fidi interpretes. La traduction orale à Rome*, dans *AncSoc*, 27 (1996), p. 75-89.

<sup>19</sup> Sur le processus de communication propre à la traduction, J. Albert, *Linguistik und Übersetzung*, Tübingen, 1973; R. Jakobson, *Aspects linguistiques de la traduction*, dans *Essais de linguistique générale*. Traduit et préfacé par N. Ruwet, Paris, 1963 (Arguments, 14), p. 78-99; Cl. Montella, *La traduzione tra comunicazione e interpretazione*, dans *Aion (ling)*, 19 (1997), p. 11-27; W. Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft. Probleme und Methoden*, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 14-26.

<sup>20</sup> Cette valeur «médiatrice» est encore prouvée par la forme moyenne du verbe *interpretari* («expliquer, interpréter, traduire»), qui indique, comme le dit É. Benveniste (*Problèmes de linguistique générale*, I, Paris, 1966, p. 172), que «le sujet est au centre en même temps qu'acteur du procès; il accomplit quelque chose qui s'accomplit en lui ... Il est bien intérieur au procès dont il est l'agent».

<sup>21</sup> Voir aussi IV, 356 et X, 175: *hominum diuumque interpres Asilas*. Un emploi métaphorique se rencontre chez Lucrèce (VI, 1149), qui fait de la langue un *animi interpres*, un «messager de l'âme». Horace reprendra l'expression dans l'*Art poétique* (111).

qu'Apulée désignera les démons en les appelant *interpretes*: intermédiaires entre les dieux et les hommes, ils acheminent vers les uns prières et demandes, vers les autres dons et secours<sup>22</sup>. Les astrologues sont qualifiés de *interpretes caeli* (Cicéron, *De div.*, II, 92)<sup>23</sup>. Si les signes envoyés par les dieux requièrent des *interpretes*<sup>24</sup>, qui doivent expliquer la *uoluntas deorum*, les textes juridiques nécessitent eux aussi un intermédiaire. Ainsi les expressions *interpretes legum*<sup>25</sup> ou *iuris*<sup>26</sup> se trouvent-elles couramment dans la littérature latine classique<sup>27</sup>.

Enfin, le dernier stade de cette évolution conduit *interpretes* vers le sens de «traducteur de langues étrangères». Dans cette acception, l'*interpretes* intervient dans de multiples domaines de la vie officielle des Romains: au Sénat, en présence d'étrangers<sup>28</sup>, même de Grecs – ainsi lors de l'ambassade des philosophes de 155<sup>29</sup>, à l'occasion d'ambassades envoyées à l'étranger ou pour accompagner des magistrats à l'étranger<sup>30</sup> ou encore lors de pourparlers de paix entre un général

<sup>22</sup> *De deo Socratis*, 6, 133.

<sup>23</sup> La même expression apparaît chez Pline l'Ancien (*HN*, II, 54). Plusieurs catégories de personnes sont appelées *interpretes*: *augures*, *haruspices*, *decemviri* ou *quindecimviri*, lors de la consultation des *livres sibyllins*, les *magi perses* ...

<sup>24</sup> Plusieurs catégories de signes demandent l'intervention d'un *interpretes*: entrailles (*exta* [Pacuvius 102 Warmington]), auspices (*auspicia* [Cicéron, *Phil.*, 5, 9]), oracles (*uaticinationes*; *oracula*), prodiges (*monstra*; *ostenta*; *portenta*; *prodigia*), éclairs (*fulgura*), songes (*somnia* [cf. F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles, 1937, p. 127, n. 5 et 128, n. 2]).

<sup>25</sup> Des législateurs célèbres sont qualifiés de la sorte, comme le roi Tullus Hostilius, ou des personnages qui les ont secondés, comme Hermodore d'Éphèse, lors de la rédaction de la loi des Douze Tables. Voir aussi F. Cumont, *Égypte* [n. 24], p. 45, n. 2.

<sup>26</sup> F. Cumont, *Égypte* [n. 24], p. 115, n. 1. – Les *interpretes iuris* s'occupent de saisir l'esprit de la loi (cf. *Dig.*, I, 3, 17) en s'attachant à résoudre les problèmes de langue, de finalité de la loi et d'histoire des concepts.

<sup>27</sup> Cicéron, *Top.*, 4; *Pro Balbo*, 20; *Pro Caecin.*, 70; *De leg.*, III, 28; Juvénal, 4, 79. Sur l'acception juridique de *interpretes* et *interpretatio*, cf. M. Fuhrmann, *Interpretatio. Notizen zur Wortgeschichte*, dans *Symptica Franz Wieacker*, Göttingen, 1970, p. 80-110; R. Quadrato, «*Interpretatio*» e «*iuris processus*», dans *AnnSE*, 8 (1991), p. 351-362 et O. Zwierlein, «*Interpretation*» in *Antike und Mittelalter*, dans *AAWM*, 1998/6, p. 31-53 (spéc. 32-39).

<sup>28</sup> Cicéron, *De finibus*, V, 89.

<sup>29</sup> Aulu-Gelle, VI, 14, 8; Macrobe, I, 5, 16 (cf. J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language*, Helsinki, 1979, p. 104).

<sup>30</sup> Cicéron, *In Verrem*, II, 3, 84; *Pro Balbo*, 28; *Ad fam.*, XIII, 54; *Ad Att.*, I, 12, 2 et XVI, 11, 7; *De div.*, II, 131; Valère Maxime, II, 2, 2 et IX, 5, ext. 3; Silius Italicus, IX, 79; Pline, *Panegyrique*, 56, 6. On connaît aussi

romain et des chefs d'armée étrangers<sup>31</sup>. Cette importance de l'*interpres*, tant à Rome que dans les provinces, lui a donné droit à une reconnaissance officielle et à des appointements versés par l'État<sup>32</sup>.

3. Le rôle de l'*interpres* comme intermédiaire permet de comprendre pourquoi le verbe qui s'y rattache, *interpretari*, désigne une traduction purement mécanique, qui s'en tient à la lettre du texte, sans toucher au fond. Voilà pourquoi le terme sera retenu pour parler de la traduction de mots isolés, spécialement de concepts philosophiques ou de termes techniques appartenant à la rhétorique<sup>33</sup>. C'est le verbe que les auteurs utilisent le plus souvent lorsqu'ils donnent l'équivalent latin d'un terme grec. Ainsi chez Cicéron: *scientia ... ea, quam Graeci εὐταξίαν nominant, non hanc, quam interpretamur modestiam* (*De off.*, I, 142) ou chez Quintilien: ἀλληγορία, *quam inversionem interpretantur* (VIII, 6, 44)<sup>34</sup>. D'une façon plus générale, *interpretari* désignera une traduction qui conserve la pensée, mais pas nécessairement l'ordre des mots. L'ouvrage traduit dans cet esprit ressortit le plus souvent à un domaine technique, philosophie, agriculture, ethnographie ou architecture. En revanche, pour la poésie et les œuvres en prose traduites librement, les Latins ont une conception toute différente de la traduction. Ils font œuvre originale en préservant les idées, mais en renouvelant la forme. L'exemple le plus caractéristique est la traduction de l'*Odyssee* par Livius Andronicus<sup>35</sup>. C'est le verbe *uertere* qui qualifie un tel ouvrage, qui est une «traduction artistique», une émulation avec le modèle. L'opposition entre les deux verbes est clairement illustrée par l'œuvre de Sénèque, dans laquelle on ne trouve aucun emploi de

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un *interpres procuratorum* en Syrie (cf. F. Cumont, *Égypte* [n. 24], p. 32, n. 4). Voir *TLL*, VII/1, col. 2252 (B) et A. Hermann, *Dolmetschen* [n. 18], p. 42-44.

<sup>31</sup> Tite-Live, XXX, 30, 1; Salluste, *BJ*, 109, 4 (*internuntius*); César, *BG*, I, 19, 3; I, 47; V, 36, 1. Dans l'armée romaine, l'*interpres* occupe une fonction reconnue, comme le prouvent les mentions sur les inscriptions (cf. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, Bonn, 1908, p. 37, n° 11).

<sup>32</sup> *Dig.*, XLIX, 15, 5, 3 (cf. Th. Mommsen, *St-R*, I, 368).

<sup>33</sup> Quintilien, II, 14, 1 et 15, 25; V, 10, 1 et 8; VI, 2, 9; VIII, 6, 44.

<sup>34</sup> Le verbe peut aussi être utilisé absolument (cf. Cicéron, *Ad fam.*, IX, 26, 2; *De leg.*, II, 45).

<sup>35</sup> S. Mariotti, *Livio Andronico e la traduzione artistica*, Urbino, 1952 et A. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer, Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten. Verfahren des literarischen Übersetzens in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Darmstadt, 1995, p. 109-112.

*uertere*<sup>36</sup>. Dans les *Quaestiones naturales* (III, 29, 1), le stoïcien mentionne la compilation du prêtre babylonien Bérosee en disant: *Berosos, qui Belum interpretatus est*. L'œuvre de Bérosee est donc considérée comme la parole du dieu sémitique mise à la portée du public grec. C'est aussi le verbe *interpretari* que les auteurs utilisent pour désigner les rares traductions en grec ou en latin d'œuvres écrites en langues barbares<sup>37</sup>. Dans la Vulgate, *interpretari* – traduction du grec μεθερμηνεύω – sert à introduire la traduction des paroles araméennes du Christ<sup>38</sup>. À l'époque impériale, le sens de *interpretes*, *qui* comportait, dans la théorie cicéronienne, une connotation péjorative («l'auteur d'une traduction mécanique incapable d'exprimer de façon artistique la pensée de l'original»), se transforme. Il devient synonyme de *explanator* et correspond au grec ἐξηγητής. Ainsi, dans le *De beneficiis* (IV, 16, 3), Sénèque, parlant de la gratitude, la compare à d'autres vertus qui portent moins la marque extérieure de leur valeur. Pour savoir si elles sont conformes au bien, il faut en donner une explication (*alia . . . an sint honesta, interprete egent*)<sup>39</sup>.

4. Les emplois des autres verbes signifiant «traduire» permettent aussi de mieux cerner le rôle de l'*interpretes*. Le plus employé par les prosateurs classiques est *uerto* ou son composé (*con*)*uerto*, même si, dans ce cas, le préverbe n'a pas de valeur prégnante. On trouve le verbe dans deux prologues de Plaute utilisé de façon analogue pour dire que la comédie latine est une adaptation d'un modèle grec: *Demophilus scripsit, Maccus uortit barbare* (*Asinaria*, 11) et *Philemo scripsit, Plautus uortit barbare* (*Trinummus*, 19). L'opposition entre *scribere* et *uertere* est éclairante<sup>40</sup>. Alors que le premier verbe désigne la compo-

<sup>36</sup> A. Setaioli, *Terminologia del tradurre in Seneca*, dans *Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte*, III (Urbino, 1987), p. 359-371 et *Seneca e i Greci. Citazioni e traduzioni nelle opere filosofiche*, Bologne, 1988, p. 453-467.

<sup>37</sup> P. ex. les traductions du traité d'agriculture du Carthaginois Magon (Columelle, I, 1, 10), étudiées par J. Heurgon, *L'agronome carthaginois Magon et ses traducteurs en latin et en grec*, dans *CRAI*, 1976, p. 441-456.

<sup>38</sup> P. ex. *Marc* 15, 34. Les chrétiens en font le même usage (cf. A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire* [n. 3], p. 467). Les Septante sont appelés *interpretes* par Jérôme.

<sup>39</sup> Pour d'autres exemples de l'emploi de *interpretes* chez Sénèque dans le sens de «celui qui explique, interprète» dans quelque domaine que ce soit, cf. A. Setaioli, *Seneca* [n. 36], p. 457, n. 2150 et M. Armisen-Marchetti, *Sapientiae facies. Étude sur les images de Sénèque*, Paris, 1989, p. 129.

<sup>40</sup> A. Traina, *Vortit barbare. Le traduzioni poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone*, Rome, 1974, p. 61-62. *Scriba* était le nom que l'on donnait primitivement au poète.

sition originale, comme γράφω, le second indique le travail du traducteur-adaptateur, comme μεταγράφω<sup>41</sup>. L'idée de circularité qui est dans (*con*)uerto suggère un renouvellement. C'est le verbe qu'utilisera Cicéron pour qualifier la manière dont il a rendu en latin les œuvres grecques. Dans le *De optimo genere oratorum*<sup>42</sup>, il opposera une traduction réalisée *ut orator*, comme celle qu'il présente, à une version fidèle, où chaque mot est rendu par un équivalent, comme le ferait un *interpretes*<sup>43</sup>. De même, saint Jérôme, bien qu'il confère un sens mystique à l'ordre des mots dans les textes bibliques, *ubi et uerborum ordo mysterium est*<sup>44</sup>, est favorable à une traduction *ad sensum*<sup>45</sup>, suivant le modèle cicéronien.

La lettre 114, adressée à l'évêque Théophile, illustre cette conception. Jérôme y parle de la traduction qu'il a faite d'un livre de Théophile. Reprenant le thème de la *paupertas linguae Latinae*, il dit qu'il n'a pas traduit l'original mot pour mot, à la manière des *diserti interpretes*, et qu'il n'a pas rendu pièce pour pièce l'argent qui lui avait été confié<sup>46</sup>. Verbe d'action, *uerto* implique une vision dynamique de la

<sup>41</sup> A. Traina, *Vortit barbare* [n. 40], p. 58 et p. 63 et n. 3. Pour une comparaison avec le grec, cf. E. Tagliaferro, *Per un lessico greco della traduzione*, dans P. Radici Colace (éd.), *Atti del II seminario intern. di studi sui lessici greci e latini*, Messine-Naples, 1997, p. 515-520.

<sup>42</sup> 14 (*nec conuerti ut interpretes, sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, uerbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis...*) et le commentaire de Cl. Montella, *Traduzione* [n. 19], p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> P. Serra Zanetti, *Sul criterio e il valore della traduzione per Cicerone e s. Gerolamo*, dans *Atti del I congresso inter. di studi ciceroniani*, II, Rome, 1961, p. 355-405; V. García Yebra, *Cicerón y Horacio preceptistas de la traducción*, dans *CFC*, 16 (1979-1980), p. 139-154; Cl. Montella, *La rivincita della Latinitas. Alcuni aspetti della riflessione sulla traduzione scritta nella latinità classica*, dans *Aion*, 8 (1986), p. 219-233.

<sup>44</sup> *Lettres*, 57, 5. Sur cette expression, cf. Cl. Montella, *Et uerborum ordo mysterium est. Dialettica e paradosso nel De optimo genere interpretandi di Gerolamo*, dans *Aion (ling)*, 9 (1987), p. 253-267.

<sup>45</sup> *Lettres*, 57, 5: ... *non uerbo e uerbo sed sensum e sensu exprimere*. Les textes les plus intéressants sur la conception de la traduction par Jérôme sont la préface de la traduction du *Chronicum* d'Eusèbe, la lettre 57 *ad Pammachium* et les lettres 99 et 114 *ad Theophilum*.

<sup>46</sup> § 3: *neque uero ut diserti interpretes faciunt, uerbum uerbo reddidi; nec adnumeraui pecuniam, quam mihi per partes dederas, sed pariter appendi, ut nihil desit ex sensibus, cum aliquid desit ex uerbis*. Jérôme reprend ici une image de Cicéron [cf. n. 42].



traduction, qui est envisagée dans son devenir<sup>47</sup>. Un autre verbe technique de la traduction est *transfere* qui peut être comparé, pour sa formation, à *interpretari*. Il est lui aussi composé d'un préverbe latif, *trans*, avec une valeur prosécutive indiquant la direction transverse. Comme l'indique l'étymologie, il s'agit d'un verbe qui désigne un transfert strict, mot par mot<sup>48</sup>. Souvent utilisé par Cicéron<sup>49</sup> et par Quintilien<sup>50</sup>, il qualifie non pas la traduction au sens large, mais l'équivalence, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de la constitution, à l'intérieur du latin, d'une terminologie technique modelée sur le grec. Un exemple suffira. Le chapitre 10 du livre 5 de Quintilien est consacré aux *argumenta*. Passant en revue la terminologie grecque qui est très diversifiée, le rhéteur conclut (§ 8): *haec omnia generaliter πίστεις appellant, quod etiam si propria interpretatione dicere fidem possumus, apertius tamen probationem interpretabimur*.

5. Revenons, pour terminer, à notre constatation du début. Que le latin n'ait eu qu'un seul mot pour désigner le traducteur quelles que soient la sphère dans laquelle se place son activité et la nature de la traduction qu'il réalise vient du fait que ce terme appartenait, à l'origine, à un vocabulaire technique, sans doute celui du commerce et du droit<sup>51</sup>. Il s'est spécialisé avec le temps dans le domaine de la parole, mais n'a été concurrencé que dans le latin tardif par d'autres termes. Ce qui permet de différencier le type de traduction, c'est le verbe<sup>52</sup>. En effet, *interpretari*, *transfere* et (*con*)*uertere*, qui sont les trois verbes

<sup>47</sup> On trouve *ad uerbum transferre* (Pline l'Ancien, *HN*, XVIII, 65) ou *interpretari* (Jérôme, *Lettres*, 57, 5), mais jamais *ad uerbum uertere*.

<sup>48</sup> *Traducere (in linguam Romanam)* a le même sens chez Aulu-Gelle, I, 18, 1 (cf. L. Gamberale, *La traduzione in Gellio*, Rome, 1969, p. 55, n. 2).

<sup>49</sup> P. ex. *De oratore*, III, 149 et *Ad Att.*, VI, 2, 3 (cf. H.-J. Hartung, *Ciceros Methode bei der Übersetzung griechischer Philosophischer Termini*, diss. Hambourg, 1970, p. 23-24).

<sup>50</sup> Le chapitre 14 du livre 2 est éclairant sur ce point: *rhetoricen in Latinum transferentes tum oratoriam, tum oratricem nominauerunt*... Quintilien utilise aussi *translatio* (I, 4, 18). Sur cette terminologie, cf. G. Carozzo, *La tecnica della citazione in Quintiliano*, dans *Pan*, 7 (1979), p. 27-60 (spéc. 37 et sv.).

<sup>51</sup> A. Ernout -A. Meillet (*Dictionnaire* [n. 10], p. 320) le rapprochent de *sequester*.

<sup>52</sup> Dans certains cas, un adjectif vient préciser de quel type d'*interpres* il s'agit: *fidus interpres* (Horace, *Art poétique*, 133-134, étudiés par A. Seele, *Horaz als Anwalt der Übersetzer? Zur Rezeption zweier Verse der Ars poetica*, dans *Arcadia*, 26 [1991], p. 198-203), *interpretes indiserti* (Cicéron, *De finibus*, III, 15 [cf. aussi I, 6, où Cicéron parle de *interpretum munus*]), *diserti interpretes* (St Jérôme, *Lettres*, 114 [*ad Theophilum*], 3).

techniques les plus courants, s'ils ont en commun d'exprimer à l'origine une idée de mouvement, envisagent l'opération de traduction selon trois dimensions spatiales différentes. Le premier prend en considération l'espace continu à l'intérieur de deux points, le second considère la traduction de façon linéaire et transversale, d'un point à l'autre, le troisième voit l'opération selon une vision circulaire et dynamique. Les deux premiers s'appliqueront donc à une traduction envisagée comme un simple transfert d'un point à un autre, le troisième comme un retour au point de départ, après une refonte. Ainsi s'opère la distinction entre fidélité à l'original et liberté du traducteur.

# Grammaticalization in Latin?

Two case studies

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Summary: The concept of grammaticalization can be broken up into several possible materializations on different planes. Of the many forms that have at one point or another in the history of Latin become consolidated as grammatical tools, two, one pronominal (*quibus, quilibet*) and on the syntactic level, the other nominal (*-fer, -ger*) and on the formational level, are examined each as to their type of process, its ultimate outcome and its diachrony: whether at all, to what extent, under what circumstances, and when these forms underwent a change of status.

The two fields which have classically provided stock-examples for grammaticalized forms are auxiliary verbs and sentential particles. Essential, but perhaps less discussed aspects of the process of grammaticalization, namely demotivation and the changing syntactic range or compatibilities of the product of this process may be illustrated preliminarily by some often-visited examples taken from these domains.

*Noli(to), noli(to)te* plus infinitive, commonly described as a dissuasive prohibitive<sup>1</sup>, and on account of an alleged – but statistically unfounded – prevalence of asseverative elements ('Beteuerungsformeln')<sup>2</sup> generally deemed the more polite variety within this domain, comprises, of course, grammaticalized forms of the verb meaning "to be unwilling, not to be inclined to"<sup>3</sup>. It is important to recall that not

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<sup>1</sup> "Vorwiegend inhibierend-korrektiv" H. Ammann (Die ältesten Formen des Prohibitivsatzes im Griechischen und Lateinischen, *IF* 45, 1927, on p. 343).

<sup>2</sup> As in *noli, amabo (quaeso/obsecro/sis/edepol), irasci Sosiae* (Pl. *Amph.* 540). Contrary to J.B. Hofmann's statement of 1926 (*IFAnz* 43, 39), the other prohibitives exhibit approximately the same rate of occurrence of these elements; see my *Latine loqui*, 113 f.

<sup>3</sup> Quite distinct from *noli* + perfect infinitive. The latter construction (attestation in Kühner-Stegmann I 133 f.), excluded from Classical prose, is found – prior to its extended (Grecizing?) use in Augustan literature – in reported speech or in 'style indirect libre' (SCBacch.), or else in generally addressed (Cato RR) or gnomic prohibitions ("it is said that one must not ..."), which may apply also to the dialogical Pl. Poen. 872 *nolito edepol deuellisse* (cf. 871 *sine pennis uolare hau facilest*, generalizing). *Ne uel-* + infin.

the entirety of *nolle* became subject to grammaticalization, but only its imperatives, which are semantically unsuitable to serve as regular directives (not unlike the imperative of *velle*, turned particle) and, moreover, only in the one specific construction and not in others, such as *nolle* + (*ut*) subjunctive “feel unwillingness that ...” or + case-form “not to care for” – which appears to be the fate of all auxiliary verbs, which are identified as such thanks to the construction in which they partake. This tallies with the fact that most auxiliaries did turn into grammatical tools in certain constructions, while preserving their lexical valeur in other patterns, so as to occur even in juxtaposition: *je vais aller, es wird schon werden*. Leena Löfstedt offered Cicero, Pro Caelio 79 (a. 56) *nolite, indices, ... hunc iam ... occidentem velle maturius extinguere uolnere uestro quam suo fato* as the earliest and ultimate proof of the grammaticalization of *noli*<sup>4</sup>. But such compatibilities, while indicative of grammaticalization, do not provide an altogether water-tight proof with this type of modal verbs, not only in the case of pleas which are addressed to the goodwill of judges, but also generally, considering the not infrequent pleonastic inclusion of verbs which reiterate and explicate the main verb, and are especially current with modal verbs<sup>5</sup>. As for ‘demotivation’, there are textual indications, in the very same period, that *noli* (which hardly occurs outside the construction in point)<sup>6</sup> did not sever its semantic ties with the full-fledged verbs *velle* and *nolle* and thus cannot in this construction, too, be regarded as entirely depleted of its normal verbal content; witness Catullus 8.6–10 (with its well-founded supplementation):

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perf. is then an indirect expression of the perfective prohibitive *ne feceris/faxis* (their affinity already suggested in Szantyr 351 f.; cf. A. Orlandini in *Papers on Grammar II*, ed. Gu. Calboli 1986, 137–141).

<sup>4</sup> *Les expressions du commandement et de la défense*, on p. 74 f. As a matter of fact, *nolite, quaeso, eum ... non solum dignitatis ornamentis, sed etiam urbis patriae usu* [*patribus codd.*] *velle esse priuatum* (dom. 146) is a somewhat earlier example, a. 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Oportere non debet* (Mulomed. Chironis), *debere ... oportet* (Ulp.), *nititur velle superare* (Cassiod.); cf. Szantyr. 348, 796, H. Pinkster, *Glotta* 63 (1985), 189, R. Risselada, *Imperatives and other Directive Expressions in Latin* (Amsterdam 1993), 296 n. 71.

<sup>6</sup> *Noli* (suppl. Avantium) in Catullus 8.9 is elliptical, scil. ‘*iocosa facere*’; see below.

*ibi illa multa tum iocosa fiebant  
 quae tu uolebas nec puella nolebat.  
 fulsere uere candidi tibi soles.  
 nunc iam illa non uolt; tu quoque inpote<ns noli>  
 nec quae fugit sectare ...*

While textually not certain, this *noli* which, involving ellipsis, auxiliates ‘*facere iocosa*’ (cf. v. 6) is closely tied with *nolle*. A similar affiliation comes through, if only in a playful fashion, in a rhetorical passage from Cato (173 Malcovati):

*noli, noli <s>cribere, inquam, istud; nolunt audire. . . . istud quoque dele; nolunt audire. . . nihil <e>o minus uolunt dici.*

Adsentential modal particles derive from grammaticalized predications (*forsitan, nimirum*), from adverbs and case-forms (*certe, sane, uerum*) and from verbal forms, the most far-reaching grammaticalization of which – over and above conservatisms of matter such as that of *quaeso* – is that of *amabo*. Still, this particle, which accompanies interrogative<sup>7</sup> and directive<sup>8</sup> utterances (including non-assertive declarative sentences)<sup>9</sup>, maintains a link, close or remote, with “to love”<sup>10</sup>, note *nolo ames* in Plaut. Pers. 245:

– *Dic amabo. = Dic amabo. – Nolo ames. = Facile impetras.*  
 – “Do tell me, there’s a dear.” = “Do tell me, there’s a dear.”  
 – “I don’t wish to be your dear.” = “Your wish is easily granted.”  
 (transl. Nixon)

cf. *Sine amabo ted amari* (Cas. 137). The delexicalization of *amabo* is manifested not by its material attrition or semantic ‘bleaching’<sup>11</sup>, but by its constructions: it may be parenthetical, sentence-initial or sentence-final, or an independent utterance (Plaut. Truc. 873), it occurs absolute or with the object *te* or, at times, with an *ut*-clause expressing

<sup>7</sup> E.g. *ubi ea, amabo, est?* Plaut. Poen. 1265, *alienum es, amabo?* Truc. 665.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. *amabo, . . . inauris da mihi* Plaut. Men. 541, *quin, amabo, is intro?* Men. 382.

<sup>9</sup> *Amabo, iam sat est.* (Plaut. Asin. 707, Mil. 1084); cf. Bolkestein 1977, 63.

<sup>10</sup> Not, however, with “to be in love” which is the sense of *amare* absolute.

<sup>11</sup> In the case of the modal particles *sodes, sis, sultis*, MS tradition has the material erosion (‘contraction’) also in instances of “if you wish to . . .”: *sis erum tuis factis sospitari, da mi istas viginti minas* Plaut. Asin. 683–684 and, on the other hand, the uncontracted shape in the particle-like usage: Ter. Ad. 184 *audi, si uis, nunciam*, and not rarely – in good MS tradition – for *sodes* and *sultis* in Plautus (Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s.vv. *audeo*, p. 186, and *si*, pp. 631 and 632).

the request<sup>12</sup>. There is even a delocutive transform of the particle: *amare ait te multum Erotium ut ...* "My mistress requests you very kindly to ..." (Plaut. Men. 524–525). Again the conjugated form is ostensibly dwindling as a member of the verb-paradigm: in Terence (who has only women say *amabo*<sup>13</sup>, – 19 occurrences – never complemented by an object) the particle alone subsists; in Plautus there are still 3 occurrences of the I sg. fut. *amabo* – out of the total of 103 – in the regular sense of "I will (make) love", all three clearly differentiated from the homophonous particle: either the form is negated (*non amabo* Truc. 442), or the object is other than *te* (*me* *ibid.*, *hanc* Poen. 1230), or coordinated sequences (*amabo atque amplexabor* *ibid.*, *tecum accumbam, te amabo et te amplexabor* Bacch. 1192–1192a) preclude an identification as particle.

Thus in the case of *amabo* as well as in that of *noli ...*, it is the syntactic frame that permits grammaticalization, of one inflected form, while at the same time the specific form itself ceases to exist as a paradigmatically motivated entity.

Grammaticalization, a concept dating back to 19th century science of language<sup>14</sup> and probably first discussed under this term by Meillet in reference to one type of innovation<sup>15</sup>, has seen in the last decade much renewed interest, becoming, in fact, a portmanteau and, at times, a misnomer rather than a generic term for variant ideas. With the republication, actually the first official publication, of Christian Lehmann's *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*<sup>16</sup>, with the appearance of an almost tediously detailed three-volume dictionary of its terminology (Lessau 1994), and prior to it of numerous books and collections<sup>17</sup> bearing on that subject and laying down principles, this process

<sup>12</sup> In contexts (Plaut. Cist. 104, Men. 425–426, 524, Truc. 872–873) in which the *ut*- clause cannot be taken as a final clause nor *amabo* as "I will love you".

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Donatus ad Hec. 824: "haec blandimenta sunt muliebria".

<sup>14</sup> In the works of, among others, Franz Bopp (1816), A.W. von Schlegel (1818), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1825) and Georg von der Gabelentz (1891).

<sup>15</sup> In "L'évolution des formes grammaticales" (*Scientia* XII 26/6, 1912, repr. in *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, Paris 1948, on p. 133).

<sup>16</sup> München/Newcastle 1995; previously circulated as a 'programmatic sketch' in the framework of the Kölner Universalienprojekt (1982–1985).

<sup>17</sup> Notably *Grammaticalization* by B. Heine, U. Claudi, F. Hünemeyer, Chicago 1991, and by P.J. Hopper, E.C. Traugott, Cambridge 1993; the volumes edited by Traugott and Heine (*Approaches to Grammaticalization* I–II,

was variably broken down into different facets, and – most important – stages, or moves, such as

- erosion, or attrition (of matter)
- paradigmaticity, or motivation (which goes hand in hand with a shift towards obligatoriness)
- demotivation  
and, most notably,
- desemanti(c)ization, or, rather, delexicalization, depletion of lexical or, also, of discourse-based content.

This wealth of new theoretical work makes it worth our while to reassess and, if possible, determine the extent or pinpoint stages of this process of grammaticalization within historical Latin in a line of phenomena which had been described, somewhat sweepingly<sup>18</sup>, as simply its perfected outcome. At this point we have two case studies to discuss.

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### I *Quivis, quilibet*

The pair of pronouns *quivis* and *quibet*, understandably recurring in generic utterances<sup>19</sup>, denotes arbitrariness of choice, without conceding existence<sup>20</sup>. The complete grammaticalization of relative clauses having evolved into those inflecting indefinite pronouns<sup>21</sup> is materialized in three features: 1. establishment of a paradigm variable by the *qui-* component, 2. the capability to enter concord, viz. their attributive function (e. g., *uirum in quouis loco paratum* Ter. Andr. 718–719), 3. the correspondence *quid(uis* etc.) substantival – *quod(uis* etc.) adjectival (e. g., *isti quibus quiduis sat est* Turpil. 144 com. vs. *quoduis*

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Amsterdam 1991) and by Anna Giacalone Ramat and Paul J. Hopper (*The limits of Grammaticalization*, Amsterdam 1998).

<sup>18</sup> Most recently by myself, *Latine loqui*, 181 f.

<sup>19</sup> That is, in stipulative (normative or evaluative) generic statements; see A. Orlandini, *Il riferimento del nome* (Bologna 1995), 29 and 137 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Quivis licet, dummodo aliquem* (Cic. Att. 10.15.3); *quem sequar? . . . quemlibet, modo aliquem* (Cic. Acad. 2.132) – “anyone, provided <it is> someone.” Both excellent examples are taken from Touratier’s *Syntaxe latine* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1994), on p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> Ulterior, hypercharacterized developments include sporadic *quiuiscumque* (Lucretius, Martialis) and *aliquilibet* (Gaius, Hyginus, Columella); Szantyr 202. See below on the generalizing relatives.

*donum* ... *optato* Ter. Eun. 1057), which is common to all compound pronouns<sup>22</sup> but is handed down to us in MS traditions which are not at all free from variation in this respect<sup>23</sup>. This correspondence, however, cannot be taken as is to apply to attestation in the early documents, such as the XII Tables and also Cato RR, in which *quis* and *quid* fulfil the role of (perhaps generalizing) relatives<sup>24</sup>. Those pronouns with *-uis* and *-lubet* that exhibit these three features and do not yield to interpretation as normal relative clauses, are found first in Cato, Plautus and Pacuvius, and come up later in Turpilius, Afranius, Pomponius and Terentius; they are extremely scarce in pre-Classical Latin, much less than current dictionaries reflect<sup>25</sup>; their meagre inventory up to about 80 BCE (again, provided we omit all instances interpretable as relative, or interrogative, clauses) consists of the following:

XII Tab.:	<i>quiuis</i> $\emptyset$ ; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$	CIL I <sup>2</sup> :	<i>quiuis</i> $\emptyset$ ; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$
Enn.:	<i>quiuis</i> $\emptyset$ ; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$	Cato:	<i>quiuis</i> 2 subst., 1. adi.; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$
Trag.:	<i>quiuis</i> 1 subst., 1 adi.; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$	FrPLat.:	<i>quiuis</i> $\emptyset$ ; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$
Hist.:	<i>quiuis</i> $\emptyset$ ; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$	Orat.:	<i>quiuis</i> $\emptyset$ ; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$
Com.:	<i>quiuis</i> 1 subst., 1 adi.; <i>quilubet</i> 1. subst.	Var.Men.:	<i>quiuis</i> 1 subst. (v.l.); <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$
Plaut.:	<i>quiuis</i> 8 subst., 13 adi.; <i>quilubet</i> 2 subst., $\emptyset$ adi.	Ter.:	<i>quiuis</i> 14 subst., 5 adi.; <i>quilubet</i> 1 subst.
Lucil.	<i>quiuis</i> 2 subst., 1 adi.; <i>quilubet</i> $\emptyset$		

These pronouns coexisted with full relative clauses comprising *uelle* “want, choose” and *libet* “it pleases” as predicates, clauses which not only vary according to the relative element in them but also exhibit the verb in different tense, mood and (for *uelle*) person-number forms. In an attempt to uncover the morphosyntactic and discourse-based marks which enabled – or even enhanced – the process of hypostasis and to determine its chronological stages or at least its phases, we present here the inventory of Early Latin

<sup>22</sup> Marginally also *qua(libet)* adjectival vs. *quae(libet)* substantival; Neue-Wagener II 488.

<sup>23</sup> Terentius’ MSS abound in these variants. Cf. Neue-Wagener II 487 f.

<sup>24</sup> XII Tab. 1.4: *quis uolet uindex esto*, Cato RR 148.2: *dominus uino quid uolet faciet*; traces also in Plautus, e. g. the MS version of Amph. 708: *quiduis rogare roga*.

<sup>25</sup> Not yet manifesting in Early Latin their preference for prose – “unpoetisch” (B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, Lund 1945, 76), better qualified as belonging to non-elevated style.



relative clauses<sup>26</sup> with *uelle* and *lubet*, arranged along several formal criteria: a) word order, whether or not words, and what kind of words, intervene between the relative element and the verb, b) division by (not automatically controlled) tense and mood, c) the weight of II sg. person forms, and d) what will turn out to be a decisive grammaticalization-promoting factor, the grammatical nature of the relative element. Scanned and evaluated separately from among the entirety of the Early Latin literary and inscriptional material are the inventories of two authors, distinct in time and also in their genre and discourse properties, Cato (with 44 such clauses in the *Res rustica*, all featuring *uelle*, none in the fragments) and Terentius (with 77 such clauses with *uelle*, 15 with *lubet*).

<i>qu.../u... + uol-, lubet</i>		Early Latin	Cato	Terentius
	Total	550	44	92
a)	juxtaposed	413	21	75
	with intervening words (incl. referent)	137	23	17
b)	indic. praes.	331	14	50 (10 <i>lubet</i> )
	fut.	82	27	6 (all <i>uol-</i> )
	preterite	43	∅	16 (3 <i>lubet</i> )
	(non-automatic) subjunctive	94	3	20 (1 <i>lubet</i> )
c)	person-number ( <i>uol-</i> ) <sup>27</sup> :			
	II sg.	188	35	26
	other	252	9	51
d)	direct-object relative (+ <i>uol-</i> )	166	16	29
	'attracted'	8	1	1
	subject relative (+ <i>lubet</i> )	29	-	4
	direct-object and subject (interrogative?) <i>quei-</i>	85	4	9
	subject in AcI (full relative clause)	20	7	3
	object of infinitive (full relative clause)	29	7	3
	non-object relative case-form (+ <i>uol</i> )	29	∅	3
	adverbial relative (conjunction)	184	9	40
				(5 <i>ubi</i> , (10 <i>ubi</i> , ∅ <i>ut</i> ) 17 <i>ut</i> )

As emerges from the preceding figures, in 48% of Cato's clauses and in over 80% of Terence's, *lubet* or forms of *uelle* are juxtaposed to the relative pronoun; 20% of Cato's relative clauses with *uelle* or *lubet* and

<sup>26</sup> After elimination of non-relevant types of clauses; *quid*, *quis* etc. clauses have been listed separately, as they represent a special problem on account of the above-mentioned *quei*-forms whose function changes over time (cf. note 24) and, on the other hand, on account of the variable use of the moods in 'indirect' interrogative clauses.

<sup>27</sup> Finite personal *lube-* only once (Plaut. Aul. 491, dubious).

44% of Terentius' are introduced by conjunctions and in 90% in Terentius the relative is either object (subject with *lubet*) or adverbial.

The correlations that emerge between the studied properties – albeit tendential ones – are more telling than the bare percentages, and may turn out to be conclusive for the issue of grammaticalization:

- adverbial relative ≈ juxtaposition
- direct-object relative ≈ juxtaposition (less marked, intervening: *non*, *magis*, pronouns)
- relative as object of an infinitive ≈ presence of antecedent
- plural relative ≈ presence of correlative
- determinate antecedent ≈ past tense
- uelle* other than II sg. ≈ non-indicative or future tense

For the evaluation of these correspondences, the personal form presents a particular problem: in all its occurrences here, the second person is anchored in the context, as the following random examples illustrate:

*ubi tu uoles, ubi tempus tibi erit* (Ter. Eun. 484–485)

*opta id, quod ut contigat tibi uis* (Plaut. Asin. 720)

*si uoles . . . bibere cenareque libenter, ante cenam esto crudam quantum uoles . . . bibe s que quantum uoles* (Cato RR 156.1); *. . . sumito tibi . . . eo modo quod uis genus arborum facere poteris* (RR 133.3–4)

In Cato's *Res rustica*, which abounds with imperatives in *-to*<sup>28</sup> and also has a host of 2nd person forms, addressed universally,<sup>29</sup> *uis*, *uoles* in our clauses, too, are to be evaluated as referring to a non-personal addressee, but whether this is a factor contributing to the creation of the pronouns at issue is to me a moot question.

Obviously, the nature of the relative clause would be a critical factor, perhaps the most determining factor for the shift of certain clauses towards becoming indefinite pronouns; a great number of the relative clauses with *uelle*, *lubet* of Early Latin are precluded from being generalizing clauses, and easily identifiable as specifically oriented:

<sup>28</sup> Which, unless suppletive, is apersonal; see *Latine loqui* 115 on *-to* in Early Latin.

<sup>29</sup> "Unbestimmte person", "entpersönlicht" (although less common with 2nd person forms in the indicative) – Szantyr 419. See on the universal person orientation of the *Res rustica* – pace Vairel-Carron (*Exclamation, ordre et défense*, Paris 1975, 290) – *Latine loqui*, 115 with note 93.

Those with pronominal correlative, following (e. g., *quot* [quod v.l.] *genera uoles, tot ...; quantum uoles, eadem omnia ...* Cato RR), or (mostly) preceding (*id* (*illud*) *quod uolo; id quod tibi uis; ea quae tu uis uolo; quid <id> est quod uis?; quiddam (res quaedam) est quod ...; si quid est quod ...* Plaut.; *id quod uis (lubet); quid est quod uis?; ea (haec) quae ...; illam (hanc) quam ...; eccos quos ...; hic qui ...; numquam quicquam ... quod magis uellem; si quid ...; quod quidem recte curatum uelis* Ter.), or both (*id enim quod tu uis, id aio atque id nego* Plaut. Men. 162), – including adverbial pronouns (*ubi uoles pater esse ibi esto* Plaut.; *eo quo nos uolumus* Ter.), those with other definite antecedentia or ‘postcedentia’: *omnia (omnia quae tu uis* Plaut.; *omnia quae uellent; quae uoles omnia* Ter.), *cetera, multa (cetera quae uolo; multa quae uolt quae neuolt* Plaut.), with restrictive attributes: *oleam albam quam ...; ianuam alteram quam ...* Cato; *hoc opus quod ...; omnis quaestus quos ...* Plaut., with nouns of unique reference: *ipse est quem ...; pater adest quem* Ter., and more.

The difference between the two kinds of *uelle-* relative clauses, that is, between (1) those without and (2) those with specific referent, marked by a correlative, is evident from the disparity of *quod genus uis / esse uoles* in (1) Cato RR 51–52 and (2) *ibid.* 42:

- 1) *ficum, oleam, ..., haec omnia ... propagari ... eodem modo oportet. ... eodem modo uitem facito. ... hoc modo quod genus uis propagabis. “... In this way one will reproduce any kind”* (after having specified the procedure for a number of fruit trees)
- 2) *quod genus aut ficum aut oleam esse uoles, inde librum ... eximito “that kind of fig or olive-tree that you wish [it to be], from that one you will take a rind”.*

The second clause is no candidate to become a *quiuis*-pronoun, not unlike, e. g., Ter. Phorm. 640–641 *peruenirier eo quo nos uolumus* “arrive (precisely) there, where we choose”, not “anywhere”. A partial match of past-tense *uelle, lubet* and presence of (determinate?) antecedent also emerges. The number of relative clauses which are equivocal as to definiteness is not in general overly high, and those among them which contain *libet* or *uis* et sim. are on their way to hypostasis. Among these, adverbial *ubi, quo, quando* (mainly Plautine), *quam, quā, unde, quī, quo modo (pacto), and quom, ut*<sup>30</sup> clauses (in this order of

<sup>30</sup> Although *quomuīs, utuis, quomlubet, utlubet* are not recorded as indefi-

frequency) are most common (20% of the clauses in Cato and 44% in Terentius, see above, – and there are in our corpus besides instances of apparently favorite expressions of Terence's ("exactly as I/you/ ... wish") *ita ut uolo/uis/uolumus/uolt/uoluisti* and *ne tam quidem quam uis* (Ad. 278), only few instances of an adverbial pronoun correlative to an adverbial *uelle* or *lubet* clause (*ubi uoles ... ibi* Plaut. Epid. 595, *nunc ... quom uolo/uellem* Plaut. Rud. 1279, Ter. Eun. 333, *eo quo nos uolumus* Ter. Phorm. 641, above; cf. for nominal correlatives *ad erum, ... quo uolebas* Plaut. Asin. 486, ... *meo ... modo, ut uolui* Trin. 827).

To sum up: The constructions most reasonably liable to have led to the emergence and entrenchment of the pronouns at issue were positive relative clauses introduced by conjunctions (adverbial without correlative) or by accusative pronoun with an indefinite or without any correlative. In other cases with an explicit substantival referent present, the so-called 'attractio relativa' is to be surmised as having inevitably led to the grammaticalized, hypostatized indefinite pronoun<sup>31</sup>.

The explicitly generalizing relative pronouns constitute a further factor in considering the constellation at issue: in Plautus *quisquis* and *quicumque* are on the whole, and also with *uelle* and *lubet*, noticeably more current than in Terentius who, in turn, has a relatively larger variety of generalizing *qui* + *uelle*. Whereas Terentius has of these generalizing pronouns with *uelle* and *lubet* only Andr. 263 *quae meo quomque animo lubitumst facere* (out of his 3 occurrences each of *qui ... quomque* and *ubiquomque*, 2 of *utquomque*, and 1 of *quomque*) and none of *quisquis* et sim. (out of a total of 25 *quisquis*, 7 *utut*, 4 *quamquam*, 2 *quoquo*, and 1 *ubiubi*), Plautus has 2 instances of ... *quomque* and 1 of *quisquis* with *lubet*: – *ubi eris? = ubiquomque lubitum erit animo meo* (Asin. 110); *quod quomque homini accidit lubere* (Amph. 171); *face quid quid [: quid] lubet* (Pers. 398)<sup>32</sup>, 3 or 4 of *quisquis* et sim. with *uelle*: *ubi inest quid quid*

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nite adverbs, such combinations do exist (e. g., *ut lubet* current in the Comics, Plautus, Terentius and Afran. 169), and the corresponding clauses have been taken here into account.

<sup>31</sup> Attraction is particularly common with an ablatival referent (Kühner-Stegmann II 187f. who however offers no examples from Early Latin): *metuis? quasi non ea potestas sit tua quo [v.l. quod] uelis in tempore ut te exsoluas* Ter. Haut. 720–721; *quo uis illos tu die redducas* Ad. 829–830; *abs qui uis [v.l. quouis] homine ... beneficium accipere gaudeas* Ad. 254.

<sup>32</sup> With the v.l. *quid*, as not infrequently elsewhere; cf. the variant reading

*uolo* (Pseud. 671); *me curaturum dicito quidquid uolet* (Men. 529); *quamquam* [: *quam* codd.] *uolui* (Capt. 298); *quamquam uobis <uolo> quae uoltis* (Rud. 1045)<sup>33</sup>, out of his generally more massive attestation of these pronouns, especially *quisquis* et sim.: 10 instances of *quiquomque* in Plautus, 6 of *ubiquomque*, 4 of *utquomque*, 2 of *quotiensquomque* and 150 of *quisquis*, 63 of *quamquam*, 8 of *quoquo*, 4 of *utut*, 2 each of *quaqua* and *ubiubi*, and 1 each of *undeunde* and *quiqui*. We consequently may be in the position to outline, considering also Cato's non-negligible attestation of *quiquomque* (in the Fragments) and *quisquis*, *quoquoversus* (mainly in the RR), at least for the Plautus-Terentius time frame, a process of gradually growing predominance of 'ubi/quem/quod + uelle (variable) / lubet' turning into the pronominal 'ubi/quem/quod + uis/uoles/lubet' to the disadvantage of the explicitly generalizing relatives<sup>34</sup>. Only of marginal interest are sporadic formations of generalizing relatives hypercharacterized by additional *uis* or *libet*, all from later sources: *quaecum<qu>euis* (? Catull. 64.109); *quicumlibet* (Val.Fl.); *quisquislibet* (Augustinus, Rufinus); *quidquiduis* (? Orosius).

All this was a gradual process. No delexicalization, or semantic depletion, was involved, nor morphophonemic attrition, but eventually fossilization of verb-form and – in certain patterns – syntactic metanalysis of sentence constituents. We are lucky to be able to single out the syntactic conditions favoring this realignment: adverbial relative clauses and identifiable non-restrictive accusative-pronoun relative clauses which allow a generalizing interpretation.

## II -fer, -ger words

In the extremely barren field of Latin nominal composition, the words in -fer and -ger stand out in their frequency and prolificness. They are, originally, 'vedavid'-compounds and were treated as such

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in Cato, *De Rhodiensibus* 164 Malcovati: *id metuere ... quidquid* [: *quid quod*] *luberet faceremus*.

<sup>33</sup> No instances of ... *quomque* with *uelle* in Plautus; note, however, the fairly frequent (Asin. 46, Cist. 497, Mil. 1038, Trin. 437) *quodcumque* (*quaecumque*) *tibi optes*.

<sup>34</sup> And perhaps replacing generalizing relatives with non-specifying antecedents: *ex iis tot rebus quod scriptum est unum quod eorum uis* ("any one of them you wish") *alium deicere potest. uerum ea re tot res sunt, uti bene deicias* (Cato RR 158.2); *uirgas murteas si uoles cum bacis seruare, et item aliud genus quod uis* [scil. *seruare*] (ibid. 101); *bouem aut aliam quam uis quadrupedem* (ibid. 102.1).

in the relevant works on composition<sup>35</sup>. But it has been variably argued<sup>36</sup> that the suffix-like shape<sup>37</sup> of their second components permitted these to become 'degraded' from fully lexematic compound-members into derivational suffixes and that consequently words such as *aestifer*, *belliger* joined the pool of derived, mainly relational adjectives, so that, e. g., the first acquired the meaning of "hot, sultry" (of places, Lucr.+), comparable to *aestuosus* or *aestuans*, the second – that of "military" (of objects, Mart.+), comparable to *bellicus*. But do these elements really become semantically depleted, and across the board so? Even a cursory examination yields uneven results and shows changes over time: *aestifer* means "that causes heat" (Lucr., Cic., Verg.+), as well as "hot, sultry", *belliger* is said of warring persons or gods (Ovid.+), *caelifer* is said literally of Atlas (Verg.) and Hercules (Sen.) as well as of praises extolling to heaven (Mart.Cap.), and *penatifer* describes Aeneas (Ovid.). A fuller investigation is in order.

The inventory of these nouns up to the 6th century comprises ca. 190 *-fer* words (of which 60 are Late Latin, 4th to mid-6th century)<sup>38</sup> and ca. 80 *-ger* words (of which 35 are Late Latin)<sup>39</sup>. A wealth of further innovations, primarily *-fer* adjectives<sup>40</sup>, is presented by Medieval Latin sources. Several often recurring *-fer* adjectives also exhibit

<sup>35</sup> Viz., Françoise Bader, *La formation des composés nominaux en latin*, on pp. 107–111, Renato Oniga, *I composti nominali latini*, on pp. 40–43, 70, 88; Thomas Lindner, *Lateinische Komposita*, passim; non vidi B. Deipser (1886).

<sup>36</sup> By Haiim B. Rosén, *Die Grammatik des Unbelegten*, on p. 369f.; Hannah Rosén, *Grammatical-converting and semantically mutating word-formation*, on pp. 98, 107 n. 17. The shift of status itself was fleetingly but explicitly affirmed already by Norden in 1916 – "uneigentliche Kompositionen mit den fast zu Suffixen herabgesunkenen Silben *-fer*, *-ger*, *-cola*", "das Herabsinken des Kompositionselement zum Suffix" (*P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI<sup>2</sup>* on pp. 177 and 281) and remotely suggested in Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London 1954), on p. 102f.

<sup>37</sup> C–V–(Con)Sonant [r].

<sup>38</sup> Including 3 feminine substantives: *canifera* "basket holder" (Fest. 65M), *flabellifera* "fan holder" (Plaut. Trin. 253), *candelifera* "candle holder", of Juno Lucina (Varro ap. Tertull. ad nat. 2.11). Apart from variant forms (Bader 107f.) there are 2 isolated (exclusively) *-ferus* words: Late Latin *infructiferus* and hybrid *theoferus*. Naturally, the lexical depletion under investigation could not have touched the rare homonymous elements *fer(us)*, *-a* "wild" of the compounds (substantives only) *ouifer*, *equifer(us)*, *feriferus*, *-a*, which in all likelihood lean upon Greek *-αρρος* compounds. Cf. Bader 324, Oniga 163, Lindner s.vv.

<sup>39</sup> In addition to Classical *morigerus* "obliging".

<sup>40</sup> E.g. *artifer*, *laternifer*, *nauigifer*, *panifer*, *querelifer*; see Lindner, passim.

adverbs: *mortifere* “fatally”, *pestifere* “ruinously”. As to the ca. 130 *-fer* and 45 *-ger* words of Republican and early Imperial Latinity, even a superficial glance reveals that most of them are part of the Augustan poetic vocabulary (continued, as is often the case, in ‘silver’ prose). Besides looking into the semantics of several individual terms, J.C. Arens discussed (1950) these poetic formations under the title “*-FER* and *-GER* – their extraordinary preponderance among compounds [my emphasis, H.R.] in Roman poetry”, matching them with their Greek pendants in *-φόρος*<sup>41</sup>. Indeed, this is a match, and a *raison d’être* as well: a good deal of these poetic formations are hapax legomena (over 30% of *-fer* and close to 50% of *-ger*) or are extremely rare – understandably so, given their artistic sources – or else they came into being as translational equivalents (note Cicero’s comment on *Lucifer*<sup>42</sup>) and continued their artificial life within Latin under the pressure of artistic *imitatio*; thus, to take random examples, *flammifer*, a neologism of Ennius (rendering *πυρφόρος*) with a life of its own from Ovid onwards, *corniger*, coined by Cicero in the *Aratea* for *κερασφόρος* and used by Lucretius, Virgil and Ovid (who also has *bicorniger*). Ovid is the greatest fan of these formations (55 *-fer* and 22 *-ger* words), Virgil has about a third. Their preponderance in Latin poetry vs. prose<sup>43</sup> and the fact that, unlike their Greek models, they barely lent themselves to technical usage testifies to this *raison d’être*. Because of this unquestionably elaborate-artificial character in Augustan poetry, a much more restricted inventory is of consequence for our issue of a linguistic process, an inventory of those words that were in evidence before that period, that is, until the end of the Republic.

Republican Latin offers, besides substantival *armiger* “squire”, *laniger* “lamb”, *scytalosagittipelliger* (appellation of Hercules), and *Lucifer* “morning star”, *noctifer* “evening star”, *(tri)furcifer* “scoundrel”, the feminines in *-fera* (note 38), and the military terms *aquilifer*,

<sup>41</sup> Current, inter alia, in Homer, Hesiod and Alexandrian poetry, but no less in Greek prose (Arens, p. 243). Arens fails to note the main reason for the lesser weight of *-φόρος* compounds as compared to *-fer*, *-ger* in Latin: the liberty of deriving bahuvrihis (in *πολυ-*, *εὐ-* et sim.) without resorting to *-φόρος* or *-οὔχος*.

<sup>42</sup> Nat. deor. 2.53: *Stella Veneris, quae φωσφόρος Graece, Lucifer Latine dicitur*, attributively *lucifer* is used already by Accius.

<sup>43</sup> Cicero’s vast prose has 7 *-fer*, his lean corpus of poetic fragments – 10 (Arens, p. 242f.).

*imaginifer*, *signifer*, 16 *-ger* adjectives and 34 *-fer* adjectives, attested as follows:

Lucretius has 8 *-ger* and 12 *-fer*, Cicero's translations and poetic fragments (Aratea, Marius, Timaeus) contain 6 *-ger* and 7 *-fer* adjectives; 6 further *-fer* adjectives are found in other Ciceronian prose. There are 2 *-ger* adjectives in Catullus (c. 63 and 64), 2 in Accius (*armiger*, *pinniger*) and 2 in Varro Menipp., while single *-ger* terms are attested in Ennius (*laniger*, possibly substantivized), Naevius (*thyrsiger*, several instances), and Plautus (*plagiger*). There are 4–5 *-fer* adjectives in Ennius (*dulcifer*, *flammifer*, *frugifer*, *mortifer*, *dentifer*?) Ann. 319V), 2 each in Accius (*lucifer*, *horrifer*) and Plautus (*dulcifer*, *lucrifera* [v. l.]), and single terms in Naevius (*frondifer*) and Pacuvius (*horrifer*). Apart from common *morigerus* (Naevius, Plautus, Terentius, Afranius, Lucretius), of the *-ger* words only Plautine *plagiger* (Pseud. 153) as well as Varro's *lanigera* (Menipp. 242) and *stelliger* (ibid. 465) are perhaps independent Latin formations. On the other hand, of the much more current *-fer* adjectives there are also more that may be deemed Latin: first and foremost Cicero's *-fer* adjectives of non-translated sources, all however either later works or of elevated style: *anxifer* (Consolatio 2.77; Cicero only, also attested in his poetic translations), *glandifer* (leg. 1.2, also in Lucretius), *grandifer* (Phil. 2.101 only), *lucifer* (nat. deor. 2.68; Accius, Lucretius), *mortifer* (Vatin. 20, fat. 17; Ennius+), *pestifer* (de orat. 1.230, nat. deor. 2.122, off. 3.32, dom. 144), *stellifer* (rep. 6.18), *umbrifer* (Consolatio 2.73, also in Cicero's poetic translations). Varro's agricultural terms, too (*bifer*, "bearing twice" RR 1.7.6, *uitarifer* [*uiticarpifer*, *uiticapifer* edd.] Menipp. 246 ap. Prisc. GL II 482 and *umbrifer* RR 2.2.11) are not likely to derive from Greek. While specialists of Lucretius would undoubtedly be divided as to how to evaluate, in this respect, his 8 *-ger* and 12 *-fer* adjectives, and while caution is advisable as to the isolated terms in the Scenici, Catullus' inventory is highly intriguing: both his *-ger* formations (*hederiger* 63.23, *coniger* 64.106) and 1 of his *-fer* formations (*letifer* 64.394) occur in his renderings of Alexandrian poetry; he offers 4 further *-fer* adjectives, in unequivocal contexts; all four are epitheta to toponyms or ethnica leaning, proper names and epitheta alike, on long-standing Greek tradition: *aurifer* (*amnis Tagus*) 29.19; *buxifer* (*Cytorus*) 4.13, hapax; *lasarpicifer* (*Cyrenae*) 7.4, hapax; *sagittifer* (*Parthi*) 11.6.

This brings us briefly to the derivation base of these terms. The number of adjective-derived *-fer* words is not insubstantial, 16 out of the total of 190:



*anxifer* (Cic.), *auctifer* [*auct-* adj.?] (Cic.), *grandifer* (Cic.), *humifer* (Cic.), *dulcifer* (Enn., Plaut.), *horrifer* (Pacuv., Acc.), *multifer* (Plin. NH, Ovid. [dub.]), *omnifer* (Ovid. [dub.]), *sacrifer* (Ovid.), *caducifer* (subst., Ovid.); and in Late Latin: *amoenifer*, *coruscifer* [*corusc-* adj.?], *maestifer* [dub.], *sanctifer*, *sanifer*, *serenifer*

but no safely transmitted adjective comes from the manifold Augustan lexicon. Other types of initial components of *-fer* are numeral adverbs (*bi-*, *tri-*) and in Late Latin also preverbs<sup>44</sup>. Worth noting are also composite constituents (non-transparent *uitari-*, and, with *-ger*, the unique copulative *scytalosagittipelli-*) and negated adjectives (*infrugifer*, Late Latin).

The semantics, or transformational properties of all these terms<sup>45</sup>, call for a few remarks: The percentage of substantival *-fer* and *-ger* words is not negligible; such are already present in Ennius and Plautus, where out of his 5 *-fer* words 3 (*(tri)furcifer* “scoundrel”, *flabellifera* “fan-holder”) are substantives. We find that forms, that are used either preponderantly (e. g., *Lucifer*, *signifer*, *armiger*) or exclusively (e. g., *aquilifer*, *caducifer*, *candelifera*, *flabellifera*, Late Latin *Anguiger*, *Crucifer*) as substantives, all preserve the original full sense of *ferre* and *gerere*. Of the adjectives few are directly transformable into (idiomatic?) verbal phrases (*legifer* “law-giving”, *belliger* “warring”)<sup>46</sup>, many exhibit *-fer* in the meaning of producing (*frugifer*, *aristifer*) or causing (*fatifer*, *letifer*, *pacifer*, *imbrifer*, *uulnifer*) and *-ger* in the meaning of “bearing, carrying”: *libriger*, *thyrsiger*, and often with the connotation of “wearing, covered with” et sim.: *hederiger*, *pelliger*, *saetiger*<sup>47</sup>. Late Latin *-ger* adjectives retain to a greater extent the full semantics of *gerere*, being modelled, probably, after Classical Augustan words. But *-fer* and *-ger* terms can intermingle, in the sense that matching a verbal phrase with *ferre*, we have a *-ger* adjective (*sortiger* “giver of oracles”)<sup>48</sup> and vice versa (*corymbifer*, *soccifer* “wearing garlands, slippers”). At times adjectives manifest deviating semantics: *-ger* adjectives may be interpretable as ‘passive’ (*fluctiger*, *nubiger* “carried

<sup>44</sup> E.g. *circumfer*, *antifer*; cf. Bader 109f.

<sup>45</sup> For which I also refer to Oniga’s insightful work, especially on pp. 40f., 88.

<sup>46</sup> In which case a participle in composition, e. g., *frugiferens* (Lucr. 1.3), or a participle of an occasional unverbated verb, e. g., *belligerans* (Enn. Ann. 195 Vahlen), may play the same role.

<sup>47</sup> Arens observes (p. 253) the paucity of the equivalent *-comus* compounds.

<sup>48</sup> The normal expression being ... *dicere*, *reddere*.

by the waves, clouds”) or the first component of *-fer* adjectives as a circumstantial description (*uernifer* “blooming in spring”, *annifer* “bearing fruit all year”) or an adverbial complement (*caelifer* “extolling to heaven”). Often, but not generally<sup>49</sup>, *-ger* words denote passing circumstances, *-fer* words inherent qualities: *penatigero Aeneae* (Ovid. met. 15.450 “Helenus spoke to Aeneas, while he was carrying the Penates”):

*Haec Helenum cecinisse penatigero Aeneae.*

Another meaningful distinction between *-fer* and *-ger* may be detected in the usage of Ovid, who does not just manifest an indiscriminate preference for *-fer* (as claimed in ThLL s.v. *alifer*); he innovates *turrifer* – avoiding the common *turriger* (“bearing towers”, of towns, ships, elephants and of Cybele with her diadem in Ovid. fast. 4.224, 6.321) – for describing the same Cybele’s diadem (fast. 4.219):

*turriferā . . . onerata coronā*

and likewise steers clear of *aliger* (“winged”, said of Cupid and other gods, or of birds and reptiles), when qualifying a chariot (fast. 4.562):

*alifero tollitur axe Ceres*

Thus, *-ger* for animates and personifications, *-fer* for lifeless objects. But – and this is important – in the pre-Augustan material and again in Late Latin, there is a host of words which cannot be explicated other than as desubstantival relational or “with, having . . .” adjectives (which are of the same function as suffixal *-atus*, *-osus*, *-ulentus* adjectives): *fraudifer* “deceitful”, *buccifer* “full-cheeked”, *cruentifer* “bloody” (Late Latin), *belliger* “military” (of things and practices, ‘silver’ Latin), *litiger* “ad litem pertinens” of *fasces* (Late Latin), possibly *uitarifer* “for drying grapes”(?) (Varro), and others. *Vmifer* “moist” (Cicero) and *horrifer* “frightening” (early Scenici) are notable also for the primary shape of their first component, in comparison with the corresponding, derived, adjectives or substantives. On the whole, there is a sizable number of lexically non-modifying (but syntactically converting)<sup>50</sup> *-fer* and *-ger* adjectives, a fact to which the partly free variation of the two (over and above MS variation) also bears testimony.

<sup>49</sup> See Ovid. fast. 4.252: *sacriferas rates* on boats that at that time were carrying sacred objects.

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of this distinction cf. Rosén 1991.

There are nearly 40 sets of doublets in *-fer* and *-ger*, in about 10 cases Late Latin replaces Classical Latin *-fer* by *-ger*:

*caeliger, floriger, melliger, nubiger, roriger, salutiger, sceptriger, ueliger, uotiger, ...*

in about 6 cases Late Latin substitutes *-fer* words for *-ger* words:

*bellifer, cornifer, pennifer, sistrifer, ...*

Late Latin offers both *aristifer* and *aristiger*, *carnifer* and *carniger*, *fraudifer* and *fraudiger*, *serenifer* and *sereniger*, *urnifer* and *urniger*. In Classical Latin of the equally functioning *flammifer* (Enn.+) and *flammiger* (Lucan., Stat.), *aurifer* (Cic., Catull.) and *auriger* (Cic.), the *-fer* adjective is the more common one, and Apuleius adds a single *salutiger* to his own wider use of Classical (Ovid.+) *salutifer*, in the case of *squamifer* (Sen., Lucan.) and *squamiger* (Cic., Lucr.), *alifer* (Ovid.) and *aliger* (Verg.+), *turrifer* (Ovid.) and *turriger* (Ovid.+) (see above), it is the *-ger* adjective that is more common. On the other hand, *stellifer* and *stelliger* occur once each in Cicero, as do Ovid's *tridentifer* and *tridentiger*, and Virgil has one occurrence of *conifer* against Catullus' single *coniger*.

It is not just the semantic affinity of these terms with suffixal derivatives, manifest in occasional pairs such as *grandiferae et fructuosae* (Cic. Phil. 2.101), but primarily the extensive interchangeability of *-ger* and *-fer* and the liberty of coining in so many cases both terms that demonstrate the blurring of the distinction between the two and at the same time justifies their being conceived of as suffixes, or suffixoids. Furthermore, attestation of the individual terms strongly suggests suffixal status of *-fer* and *-ger*, and one manifesting a high degree of productivity, at that: the amount of hapax legomena is impressive, and their distribution illustrative of the unfolding of this productivity. While in Plautus and Terentius hardly any adjectival hapax *-fer* or *-ger* occurs, there are in the other Classical and pre-Classical poetic inventory 32 *-fer* hapax legomena which make up 32% (28% hapax legomena in the entire non-Late corpus, poetry and prose) and 16, almost 50%, of *-ger* (40% in the entire corpus); the hapax legomena of Late Latin reach the enormous percentage of about 65% for *-fer* and about 90% for *-ger*.

A curious appendix to the above is represented by 10 Latin words which exhibit a second component *-gerulus*. *Gerulus* ("carrier") itself being a well-attested nomen agentis (in Plautus, Horatius, Seneca, Suetonius, Apuleius), nothing is easier than to take these words as

compounded with this *nomen agentis* in *-l-*; this probably applies to the three Late Latin compounds *brevigerulus* ~ “qui breue (‘letter’) gerit”, *famigerulus* ~ “qui famam gerit”, *rumigerulus* ~ “id.”. But as for the other seven, I prefer to take them as diminutives: the five substantives *damnigerulus* (Truc. 551), *mun(er)igerulus* (Pseud. 181, and Donatus ad Ter. Eun. 1023), *nugigerulus* (Aul. 525, and then again in Isidorus), *plagigerulus* (Most. 875, conjectured Pseud. 153), *sandaligerula* (Trin. 253), and the two attributes *salutigerulus* (Aul. 502), *scutigerulus* (Cas. 262), are all Plautine hapax on-the-spot formations in part occurring in the vicinity of other diminutives; I find it hard to refrain from ascribing to Plautus – thinking of his fondness for diminutives and perhaps also of the formationally obscure *gerulifigulus* (“accessory” Bacch. 381) – the coining of some further such derivatives<sup>51</sup>. Should this be the case, it would strengthen the argument for a suffixal standing of *-ger*: nominal compounds do not give rise to diminutives<sup>52</sup>.

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In conclusion: When considering *quiuis*, *quilibet* with their gradual hypostasis, starting in specific sentence patterns and, perhaps, in specific-person contexts, and, on the other hand, the blurring of *-fer* vs. *-ger*, which leads with leaps over periods of external and internal pressure by literary models to a (partial) suffixalization<sup>53</sup>, the inevitable, but not unexpected conclusion is, not to take for granted, when encountering one materialization, any other of the facets of grammaticalization.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Pace Bader, 272, Zucchelli, *Studi sulle formazioni latine . . . non-diminutive*, 163 n. 52, and along the line of thought of Jacobsohn’s discerning comparison (Zur Stammbildung, on p. 434) of Plautus’ *salutigerulus* with Apuleius’ (de deo Socr. 6) *salutiger*.

<sup>52</sup> With perhaps one exception: (*rex*) *sacrificulus* (Liv.), *sacrificiolus* (Varro LL. 6.31). A further seemingly diminutive formation, *anteuentulus*, said of unkempt, flying hair in Apul. flor. 3.10 (*crines . . . anteuentuli et propenduli*) and met. 9.30 (*discerptae comae . . . anteuentulae*), is to me a prepositional-phrase compound of *ante* (ἀντί) + the diminutive *uentulus* “wind”; one may also idly speculate about the immediate constituents of Apuleius’ *semiadopertulus* (met. 3.14: *oculos . . . iamiamque semiadopertulos*).

<sup>53</sup> Partial, since despite delexicalization original semantics become retrievable in a good deal of instances due to associative *imitatio*.

<sup>54</sup> A more limited presentation of this study was given at the Tenth International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Paris, April 1999. During the subsequent discussion Christian Lehmann observed that the two – admittedly

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disparate – phenomena studied share the trait of having left no traces in Romance, a situation stemming from the ultimate dwindling of composition and from popular language's aversion to internal flexion. However, it is a fact that while *quiuus*, *quilibet* may have at some time formed part of living Latin, -*fer* and -*ger* compounds were at all times excluded from non-artistic, familiar language.

# La distribution des morphèmes concessifs en latin tardif

De OLGA SPEVAK, Paris

Dans le cadre d'une recherche sur la syntaxe de la proposition en latin tardif, nous nous proposons d'étudier ici les morphèmes concessifs chez les auteurs des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles, soit ce que l'on nomme traditionnellement les «conjonctions de subordination concessives»<sup>1</sup>: *quamquam*, *quamvis*, *licet*, *quamlibet*, *etsi*, *etiamsi* et *tametsi*. Notre corpus regroupe des œuvres de différents niveaux de langue, comprenant ceux des prosateurs et poètes qui cultivent alors un style recherché (Symmaque, Ammien Marcellin, Augustin, Jérôme, Prudence), les auteurs présentant un niveau de langue «moyen» (Végèce, Avianus), enfin, les auteurs relevant d'un niveau de langue bas (Égérie, Chiron)<sup>2</sup>. Outre cet éventail des niveaux de langue, notre corpus offre une certaine variété quant aux genres abordés, afin que tous puissent être représentés. En prose, on y trouve ainsi le traité philosophique et théologique, le genre épistolaire, la prose historique et le traité technique; dans le domaine poétique, la poésie épique, élégiaque et lyrique. De fait, ces deux paramètres du niveau de langue et du genre littéraire sont en étroite corrélation. Tandis que le traité philosophique, les correspondances, la prose historique et la poésie épique obéissent aux exigences d'une langue très soutenue, le traité technique et la poésie lyrique n'imposent pas de norme linguistique rigoureuse. De surcroît, certains textes écrits pour des raisons purement pratiques et pragmatiques, dans le seul but de fournir des informations (l'*Itinerarium* d'Égérie, la *Mulomedicina* de Chiron et de Pélagonius), n'ont pas de prétentions littéraires et sont rédigés dans une langue «spon-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Ernout – F. Thomas (1997<sup>2</sup>), *Syntaxe latine*, 350–354. Dans sa *Syntaxe latine*, Ch. Touratier (1994), présente les «conjonctions de subordination» comme des morphèmes de subordination.

<sup>2</sup> La liste complète des auteurs et des œuvres qui constituent le corpus est la suivante: les prosateurs chrétiens – Augustin (*Conf.*, *Civ.* et *Trin.*), Jérôme (*Epist.*), Sulpice Sévère, Ambroise (*Fid.* et *Off.*) et le poète Prudence; les prosateurs «païens» – Symmaque, Macrobe, Ammien Marcellin, Aurélius Victor, l'*Histoire Auguste*, Égérie, Végèce, Palladius, Pélagonius, Chiron, et le *Code Théodosien*; les poètes – Ausone, Aviénus (*Arat.*), Rutilius Namatianus, Claudianus, Avianus.

tanée». Enfin, les textes juridiques (le *Code Théodosien*) sont écrits dans la langue officielle de l'époque.

### 1. Deux groupes de termes sur le plan syntaxico-sémantique

Les termes étudiés ici (*quamquam*, *quamvis*, *licet*, *quamlibet*, *etsi*, *etiamsi* et *tametsi*) n'ayant pas tous le même statut référentiel, il convient de procéder en premier lieu à une classification syntaxico-sémantique à l'intérieur de ce groupe.

Les morphèmes grammaticaux<sup>3</sup> *quamquam*, *quamvis*, *licet*, *quamlibet* et *tametsi* se présentent comme des moyens syntaxiques pourvus d'une valeur concessive et fonctionnent comme des adverbess, conjonctions de subordination ou adverbess de phrase. Nous préférons parler de «morphèmes concessifs», car le terme traditionnel de «conjonction concessive» ne s'applique qu'à la subordination d'une proposition dans le cadre de la phrase. *Quamquam*, *quamvis*, *licet*, *quamlibet* et *tametsi* n'étant pas porteurs d'aucune valeur autre que concessive (une valeur susceptible, certes, de revêtir différents aspects et degrés), nous pouvons les considérer comme des morphèmes spécifiquement concessifs.

En revanche, au niveau de la syntaxe de la phrase complexe, les morphèmes grammaticaux *etsi* et *etiamsi* ne sont pas explicitement concessifs puisqu'ils impliquent une double valeur sémantique, à la fois hypothétique et concessive-hypothétique. Leur valeur fondamentale étant hypothétique, ils n'assument la valeur concessive qu'en fonction du contexte dans lequel ils s'inscrivent. Afin de lever toute ambiguïté, certains moyens doivent être mis en œuvre pour préciser la valeur concessive: notamment le recours à des modificateurs (*tamen*, *nihilominus* . . .) insérés dans l'apodose (c'est-à-dire dans la proposition «principale» ou dans la régissante postposée à la subordonnée) ou encore le jeu de la négation opérant dans la phrase, que celle-ci soit exprimée par un morphème de négation ou par l'opposition sémantique des prédicats<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Certes, en synchronie du latin tardif, *licet* est employé également avec la pleine valeur lexicale et représente donc un morphème lexical; en pareil cas, il garde la rection infinitive (par exemple: *licet loqui* «il est permis de parler»). Pareillement, l'adverbe *quamlibet* est homonyme de l'acc. sg. fém. de l'adjectif *quilibet* (par exemple *quamlibet potestatem* «n'importe quel pouvoir»).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. par exemple Chiron 126: *etsi sanus factus fuerit, necesse est ab eo morbo pereat*. (valeur concessive hypothétique) «Même s'il a été guéri, il doit néces-

Contrairement à *etsi* et *etiamsi*, le troisième morphème concessif bâti sur *si*, *tametsi*, que nous avons rangé dans le premier groupe, est sans ambiguïté. En effet, il comporte le morphème *tam* (employé avec la valeur de *tamen* en latin archaïque), qui marque clairement sa valeur concessive. Enfin, les raisons pour lesquelles nous caractérisons *etsi* et *etiamsi* comme non spécifiquement concessifs s'appliqueraient d'autant plus à *cum* («*cum concessiuum*») et au simple *si* à valeur concessive, qui sortent du cadre de la présente étude.

## 2. Présentation des données statistiques: les occurrences effectives des morphèmes concessifs en latin tardif

### 2.1. *Licet*

A l'examen des occurrences brutes<sup>5</sup> des morphèmes *quamquam*, *quavis*, *licet*, *quamlibet* et *tametsi* dans notre corpus, nous constatons que *licet* est le morphème concessif qui présente la plus grande fréquence dans la majorité des œuvres écrites en prose. Il domine chez Ammien Marcellin (115 occurrences), Symmaque (47 occ.), Macrobe (57 occ.), Jérôme (104 occ. dans les *Lettres*), Ambroise (47 occ. dans le *De fide* et le *De officiis*), Sulpice Sévère (35 occ.), de même que dans le *Code Théodosien* (45 occ.), chez Végèce (13 occ.), Pélagonius (2 occ.), Egérie (7 occ.).

Il en va autrement de la poésie, où le morphème concessif *licet* ne se caractérise pas par le plus grand nombre d'occurrences, tout en étant bien attesté. Il figure même dans toutes les œuvres en vers du corpus et représente le terme le plus fréquent dans le poème didactique

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sairement mourir de cette maladie»; valeur purement hypothétique: Chiron 277 *po[s]itum preterea similiter exiguum dabis, et si ceperit melius ab <e>re, mediocribus ambulacionibus eum exercebis*. «En outre, pareillement, tu lui donneras peu à boire, et s'il commence à aller mieux, tu le feras modérément marcher.» (liaison «*et si*» signifiant «et si» en français). Signalons que les graphies *et si* et *etiam si*, indiquant le simple enchaînement d'une hypothétique («et si», «et encore si») et d'autre part *etsi* et *etiamsi* pour marquer une «conjonction» hypothético-concessive («même si», «même quand»), ne sont qu'une convention des éditeurs, qui d'ailleurs n'est pas toujours la même (par exemple, dans les éditions de Jérôme où les deux valeurs ne font pas l'objet d'une différenciation et sont présentées sous la forme des deux unités graphiques *etiam si*).

<sup>5</sup> Toutes les données sont fournies dans un tableau synoptique ajouté en annexe.



d'Avien les *Phénomènes d'Aratos* (4 occ.) et dans le *Cathemerinon* de Prudence (3 occ.).

Il est significatif que les œuvres écrites dans une langue spontanée – celles d'Égérie, Chiron et Pélagonius – comportent aussi des occurrences de *licet*. De tels exemples montrent que *licet* fut à l'époque un moyen syntaxique *vivant*, utilisé dans la langue de tous les jours.

Il faut également évoquer le contexte dans lequel les vétérinaires font appel à *licet*: Chiron et Pélagonius l'emploient dans une préface, au début d'un ouvrage ou d'un livre, autrement dit dans des passages d'une importance capitale, les plus soigneusement élaborés afin de capter l'attention du lecteur: l'auteur use donc des meilleures armes stylistiques dont il dispose.

## 2.2. *Quamuis*

En ce qui concerne les occurrences effectives au sein du corpus, *quamuis*, morphème concessif couramment utilisé dans toutes les œuvres observées, se place en deuxième position derrière *licet* pour la fréquence de ses emplois. Les textes prosaïques le présentent dans les proportions suivantes – en comparaison avec *licet*<sup>6</sup>:

Prose:	<i>quamuis licet</i>			<i>quamuis licet</i>			
			diffé- rence			diffé- rence	
Ammien	7	115	108	Augustin ( <i>Trin.</i> )	125	11	114
Jérôme ( <i>Epist.</i> )	27	104	77	Augustin ( <i>Conf.</i> )	49	2	47
Macrobe	12	57	45	<i>Histoire Auguste</i>	47	4	43
Ambroise ( <i>Fid., Off.</i> )	18	47	29	Palladius	20	5	15
Sulpice Sévère	7	35	28	Aurélius Victor	5	1	4
<i>Code Théodosien</i>	34	45	11	Chiron	3	3	0
Symmaque	37	47	10				
Égérie	1	7	6				
Végèce	10	13	3				
Pélagonius	1	2	1				

Ainsi que nous pouvons l'observer dans la partie gauche du tableau, la plupart des prosateurs emploient plus fréquemment *licet* que *quamuis*. En revanche, la partie droite regroupe les auteurs qui donnent la préférence à *quamuis*. Cette comparaison des occurrences de *quamuis* et de *licet* nous confirme l'importance de *licet* et nous conduit à considérer le rôle de *quamuis* comme secondaire ou un peu spécifique

<sup>6</sup> Nous classons les auteurs par l'ordre décroissant selon la différence entre les occurrences des deux termes.

dans la prose tardive. Mais il reste à expliquer, d'une part, le nombre considérable des occurrences de *quamuis* chez Augustin (125 + 49 occ.), écrivain cultivé, d'autre part, sa fréquence relativement élevée chez un auteur «moyen» comme Palladius (20 occ.). Comme nous le verrons plus loin, ce point nous permettra de préciser le statut de *quamuis* en prose tardive.

En poésie, les occurrences de *quamuis* et *licet* sont inversement proportionnelles à celles de la prose:

Poésie:	<i>quamuis licet</i>			diffé-	<i>quamuis licet</i>			diffé-
				rence				rence
Ausone	26	4	22		Avien	1	4	3
Claudien	36	20	16					
Prudence	19	6	13					
Avian	9	4	5					
Rutilius Nam.	2	1	1					

*Quamuis* l'emporte chez les poètes. Seul Avien préfère *licet* (4 occ. : 1 occ. de *quamuis*). La différence entre les occurrences des deux termes comparés se fait la plus élevée chez Ausone et Claudien (26 *quamuis* : 4 occ. *licet*, resp. 36 *quamuis* : 20 *licet*).

Quelles que soient leur distribution et leur place respective, *licet* et *quamuis* constituent les morphèmes concessifs les plus employés en latin tardif et figurent chez tous les auteurs observés, ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas des autres morphèmes spécifiquement concessifs, *quamquam*, *tametsi* et *quamlibet*, que nous étudierons à présent.

### 2.3. *Quamquam* et *tametsi*

Tandis que *quamquam* figure chez la plupart des prosateurs et poètes, *tametsi* n'apparaît que chez quelques prosateurs:

Prose:	<i>quamquam</i>	<i>tametsi</i>	Poésie:	<i>quamquam</i>	<i>tametsi</i>
Jérôme	57	2	Ausone	19	0
Ammianus	27	2	Claudien	5	0
Augustin ( <i>Trin.</i> )	23	1	Prudence	3	0
Augustin ( <i>Conf.</i> )	20	4	Rutilius Nam.	2	0
Aurélius Victor	20	0	Avien	2	0
Sulpice Sévère	18	0	Avian	0	0
Symmaque	16	0			
<i>Code Theodosien</i>	11	4			
Macrobe	3	2			
Ambroise ( <i>Fid., Off.</i> )	3	0			
<i>Histoire Auguste</i>	2	2			

*Quamquam* est d'un emploi relativement fréquent chez Jérôme (57 occ.), Ammien Marcellin (27 occ.), Augustin (23 + 20 occ.), mais aussi chez Aurélius Victor (20 occ.), où il représente même le morphème concessif dominant. *Quamquam* se rencontre également chez Symmaque (16 occ.), Sulpice Sévère (18 occ.) et dans le *Code Théodosien* (11 occ.). Parmi les poètes, soulignons le nombre d'occurrences chez Ausone (19 occ.). *Quamquam* présente une fréquence infime chez les autres auteurs et est tout bonnement absent des écrits de Végèce, de Palladius, de Pélagonius, de Chiron et d'Égérie et du poète Avian.

La distribution est encore plus restreinte pour *tametsi*, très peu représenté de manière générale. Il apparaît néanmoins chez Augustin (4 + 1 occ.), dans le *Code Théodosien* (4 occ.), chez Ammien Marcellin, Macrobe, Jérôme et dans l'*Histoire Auguste* (2 occ.). En revanche, il est totalement ignoré de Symmaque, Aurélius Victor, Ambroise, Sulpice Sévère, Égérie et des poètes. Les auteurs de prose technique n'utilisent pas *tametsi*.

#### 2.4. *Quamlibet*

*Quamlibet*, qui n'est employé que chez quelques auteurs, présente les occurrences suivantes:

	<i>quamlibet</i>
Augustin ( <i>Conf.</i> , <i>Trin.</i> )	4
Ammien Marcellin	2
Prudence	3
Égérie	1

À l'issue de cette présentation des données statistiques, il convient à présent d'aborder l'analyse de la distribution des morphèmes concessifs en latin tardif. Nous tenterons d'expliquer, d'une part, la fréquence très élevée de *licet* et, de l'autre, le rôle des autres morphèmes concessifs.

### 3. *Analyse du répertoire des morphèmes concessifs en latin tardif*

#### 3.1. *Licet*

Dans le paragraphe précédent, présentant les données statistiques relatives aux occurrences brutes des morphèmes concessifs en latin tardif, nous avons défini *licet* comme le morphème le plus répandu dans la prose latine tardive; nous avons également noté qu'il apparaît

chez presque tous les auteurs du corpus (sauf Aurélius Victor) et dans tous les genres littéraires.

Or en latin tardif, *licet* se présente aussi comme un mot concessif fonctionnant à la fois sur le plan de la micro-syntaxe (syntaxe des constituants à l'intérieur de la proposition, voir l'exemple 1, cité ci-dessous), de la syntaxe de la phrase (exemple 2) et même de la macro-syntaxe, qui concerne les rapports entre les phrases (exemple 3):

(1) Symm., *Epist.* 4, 68, 2 *Paruo licet tempore [...] labem consulto intulisse* «en peu de temps pourtant, il a sciemment porté la ruine ...» (trad. J.-P. Callu, Paris, CUF, 1982).

(2) Amm. 14, 8, 6 *Vrbes [...] licet Graecis nominibus appellantur [...], primigenia tamen nomina non amittunt* «bien qu'elles soient appelées de noms grecs, elles ne renoncent pas cependant aux noms primitifs» (trad. E. Galletier, Paris, CUF, 1968).

(3) Hier., *Epist.* 26, 2 *Postea uero quam in uniuersas gentes euangelii dilatatus est sermo, non potuisse semel suscepta mutari, licet et illud in libris suis quos ἐξῆγηται uocat, Origenes adserat propter uernaculum linguae uniuscuiusque idioma non posse ita apud alios sonare ut apud suos dicta sunt.* «Plus tard, lorsque la prédication de l'Évangile se fut étendue à tous les peuples, il ne fut pas possible de changer ce que l'on avait une fois adopté; pourtant, dans ces livres qu'on appelle exégétiques, Origène allègue aussi le motif suivant: chaque langue possède ses particularités idiomatiques; les mots ne peuvent ainsi avoir la même tonalité pour les étrangers que pour les indigènes qui les prononcent» (trad. J. Labourt, Paris, CUF, 1951).

Dans une perspective diachronique, *licet*, qui apparaît dès le latin archaïque pour marquer la concession «réelle» au sens de «soit», «admettons que», traverse un processus de grammaticalisation qui aboutit à sa démotivation sémantique. Il faut attendre le latin tardif pour voir *licet* devenir un morphème concessif au sens de «bien que», «quoique», susceptible de fonctionner, sur les différents plans syntaxiques mentionnés, comme adverbe, conjonction de subordination et adverbe de phrase. A partir de là, non seulement, sa fréquence s'accroît considérablement<sup>7</sup>, mais il s'infiltré dans les textes les plus divers, apparaissant pratiquement dans toutes les œuvres en latin tardif du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est alors devenu le terme usuel, «normal» et «banal», «l'orthonyme», pour ainsi dire, servant à marquer la concession dans tous les genres littéraires et employé par les auteurs sans intention stylistique ou con-

<sup>7</sup> Voir J. B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, (1972<sup>2</sup>), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, 605.

notative particulière. A ce titre, nous pouvons le considérer comme le morphème concessif par excellence de l'époque tardive. De ce point de vue, nous estimons que *licet* fait partie intégrante de la langue de cette époque, c'est-à-dire de l'ensemble des moyens linguistiques productifs et disponibles en synchronie. Sa fréquence chez les auteurs tardifs n'est autre que le reflet des faits linguistiques de l'époque – donné incontournable qui s'impose à un auteur particulier.

3.2. Par ailleurs, une langue en synchronie englobe aussi des éléments qui représentent les résidus de synchronies antérieures et dont l'usage recule. Cette tendance se montre pour *quamuis* dans la prose tardive. En tant que morphème concessif grammaticalisé («bien que», «quoique»), *quamuis* est présent dans la poésie classique chez Virgile et Horace<sup>8</sup>; par la suite, il se généralise et peut être considéré comme tout à fait productif jusqu'au II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Si, dans la prose tardive en général, *licet* l'emporte sur *quamuis*, c'est inversement *quamuis* qui prédomine chez Augustin. A titre d'exemple, *quamuis* et *licet* se présentent dans la proportion suivante: 49 *quamuis* : 2 *licet* dans les *Confessions* et 125 *quamuis* : 11 *licet* dans le *De Trinitate*. En effet, le traité philosophico-théologique d'Augustin relève d'un style très élaboré et soutenu; en outre, *quamuis* (utilisé par les poètes classiques et les auteurs postclassiques)<sup>9</sup> peut représenter pour Augustin un ornement de style, parfaitement conforme à l'*usus* de l'époque tardive tout en conservant une valeur expressive conférée par la tradition littéraire. Le fait que *quamuis* se présente également chez les poètes de style soutenu va dans le même sens: voir Ausone (26 occ.), Prudence dans les poèmes didactiques (*Apothéose*: 2 occ., *Hamartigeneia*: 8 occ., *Psychomachia*: 4 occ.) et Rutilius Namatianus (2 occ.)<sup>10</sup>.

Face à *licet*, morphème concessif élémentaire et dénué de qualité stylistique à l'époque tardive, la présence de *quamuis* signale donc une certaine recherche littéraire.

<sup>8</sup> Chez Virgile, nous avons noté 17 occ. de *quamuis*, chez Horace 21 occ.; les autres morphèmes concessifs sont représentés dans la proportion suivante: *quamquam* – 11 occ. chez Virgile, 9 chez Horace; *licet* – 3 occ. chez Virgile, 7 chez Horace.

<sup>9</sup> Voir J.B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, (1972<sup>2</sup>), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, 604.

<sup>10</sup> Il faut cependant ajouter qu'il figure aussi dans les distiques élégiaques d'Avian (9 occ.).

Quant à *quamquam* et *tametsi*, leur emploi semble le fruit d'une *motivation stylistique* à l'époque tardive. En effet, il s'agit de morphèmes concessifs caractéristiques de la littérature classique et du nouveau classicisme (Cicéron, Salluste, Tite-Live, Quintilien, Tacite, Pline le Jeune . . .)<sup>11</sup> et comme ils n'apparaissent jamais chez les auteurs tardifs dont la langue ne fait pas montre d'une grande élaboration littéraire (Végèce, Palladius, Pélagonius, Chiron, Égérie, Avian), il faut supposer qu'ils étaient déjà sortis de la langue courante<sup>12</sup>. La présence de *quamquam* et *tametsi* dans la littérature tardive – quoique en proportion modeste – s'expliquerait par l'influence de la tradition littéraire sur les auteurs cultivés et instruits ayant une excellente connaissance de la syntaxe latine classique. *Quamquam* et *tametsi* se présentent effectivement chez des auteurs tardifs aussi lettrés que Jérôme (*quamquam* : *tametsi* – 57 : 2 occ.), Augustin (43 : 5) ou Symmaque (16 : 0). Ces mots ne sont nullement les morphèmes concessifs les plus souvent employés. Ils représentent plutôt des moyens d'expression permettant une variation stylistique *classicisante*, voire *archaïsante*. On peut donc les considérer comme des *stylèmes*<sup>13</sup>.

De surcroît, en considérant les genres littéraires dans lesquels s'inscrivent *quamquam* et *tametsi*, nous pouvons remarquer qu'hormis le traité d'Augustin déjà mentionné, ils apparaissent essentiellement dans les lettres de Jérôme (de véritables traités philosophico-théologiques, pour la plupart), dans les lettres de Symmaque et dans la prose historique.

<sup>11</sup> *Quamquam* et *tametsi* se présentent dans les proportions suivantes: Cicéron – discours (*Pomp.*, *Mil.*, *Mur.*, *Sest.*, *Amer.*, *Rab. Post.* et *Cat.*) 43 *quamquam* et 20 *tametsi*; œuvres rhétoriques et philosophiques (*Lael.*, *Cato M.*, *De off.*, *Tusc. I-II*, *Orat.* et *De orat.*) 115 *quamquam* et 4 *tametsi*; lettres (*Att. I-X* et *Fam. I-X*) 81 *quamquam* et 17 *tametsi*; Salluste 26 *quamquam* et 24 *tametsi*; Tite-Live (*I-X*) 60 *quamquam* et 0 *tametsi*; Quintilien (*Inst. I-IX*) 88 *quamquam* et 3 *tametsi*; Tacite (*Ann.*) 94 *quamquam* et 0 *tametsi*; Pline le Jeune 80 *quamquam* et 3 *tametsi*.

<sup>12</sup> Notons au demeurant que *quamquam* se rencontre à plusieurs reprises dans des glossaires (Gloss. 4, 157. 2; 5, 139.24 . . .), glosé par *etsi*, *etiamsi*, *licet*; *quamuis* apparaît moins souvent (par exemple Gloss. 4, 558.38) avec les mêmes explications. En revanche, nous n'avons pas trouvé de cas où *licet* soit glosé.

<sup>13</sup> Voir G. Molinié (1991<sup>2</sup>), *La stylistique*, 104–105; le «stylème» est défini comme un «comorphème sous la forme de l'association obligatoire de deux éléments de nature linguistique quelconque», et en même temps, comme «un caractérisème de littéralité, c'est-à-dire comme une détermination langagière fondamentalement non informative, dans le fonctionnement textuel.» Voir également *id.* (1991<sup>2</sup>), *Éléments de stylistique française*, 37 et *passim*.

La prose historique tardive présente une fréquence particulièrement significative de *quamquam*: en terme d'occurrences effectives, il constitue chez Ammien Marcellin le morphème concessif le plus employé (27 occ.) après *licet* (115 occ.) – chez cet auteur, on trouve encore, entre autres, 2 occ. de *tametsi*. *Quamquam* est même le plus fréquemment utilisé (20 occ.) par l'abrégiateur Aurélius Victor. Pour la prose historique, la fréquence des morphèmes concessifs chez les historiens classiques est la suivante: Salluste – *quamquam* 26 occ. : *tametsi* 19 occ.; César et *corpus Caesareum* – 10 : 10; Tite-Live – 60 occ. de *quamquam* dans la première décade et Tacite 94 occ. de *quamquam* dans les *Annales* (*tametsi* ne présente aucune occurrence chez Tite-Live et Tacite).

Ainsi, si l'on considère globalement les morphèmes concessifs utilisés par les grands historiens tardifs, *quamquam* y apparaît comme un véritable *stylème*, un moyen d'expression qui, outre sa valeur syntaxique, dans laquelle il est commutable avec un autre morphème concessif (par exemple avec le plus usuel, *licet*), est porteur d'une valeur stylistiquement marquée. Il introduit dans le texte un élément appartenant à l'ensemble des marques caractéristiques propres au genre historique. Dans la tradition du genre de la prose historique, il s'agit principalement d'une *isotopie* représentée par des *archaïsmes*<sup>14</sup> stylistiquement motivés. Ainsi considérons-nous ces occurrences de *quamquam* et de *tametsi* comme des *stylèmes archaisants*.

#### 4. *Quamuis* dans la prose technique

Si nous avons caractérisé plus haut *quamuis* comme un morphème concessif recherché, nous constatons néanmoins un fait qui pourrait paraître contradictoire de prime abord: *quamuis* est également présent dans la prose technique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Aussi convient-il d'observer la prose vétérinaire et agronome. Elle est représentée tout d'abord, au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, par Palladius, écrivain d'origine grecque, auteur d'un traité d'agriculture, l'*Opus agriculturae*,

<sup>14</sup> Chez Ammien Marcellin et Aurélius Victor, outre des éléments syntaxiques et lexicaux typiques du latin tardif, nous trouvons de nombreux archaïsmes, par exemple syntaxiques: *quis deletis* (Avr. Vict. 35, 2) vs. *quibus respondentibus* (*id.* 35, 10); *oppidi capiundi spe* (Amm. 16, 4, 1); *reges . . . canere bucinis iussis, uenere . . .* (*id.* 16, 12, 44); lexicaux: *grassari* «procéder», «s'agrandir» (Avr. Vict 20, 13); *senecta robustiore* (*id.* 32, 5) et d'autres. Cf. E. Löfstedt (1933), *Syntactica*, II, 295 sq.

et d'un traité vétérinaire, le *De ueterinaria medicina*. Ensuite, trois autres traités vétérinaires de cette époque sont parvenus jusqu'à nous: l'*Ars ueterinaria* de Pélagonius (milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle), la *Mulomedicina* de Chiron Centaurus, qui travailla sur le manuel du vétérinaire grec Apsyrthus (après 337), enfin, vers 400, l'*Ars mulomedicinae* de P. Végèce Renatus, qui remania les six premiers livres de Chiron. Les vétérinaires se proposent de développer les soins à accorder au bétail, un thème qui fut déjà abordé par leurs prédécesseurs.

Or, leurs traités furent inspirés de manière décisive par le *De re agricultura* (notamment les livres 6 et 7)<sup>15</sup> de Columelle (II<sup>e</sup> siècle).

Parmi les vétérinaires et agronomes de l'époque tardive, Végèce et Palladius se caractérisent par le style le plus cultivé et le plus littéraire. En ce qui concerne les morphèmes concessifs, ils emploient *licet* (Végèce 13 occ., Palladius 5 occ.) et *quamuis* (Végèce 10 occ.; Palladius 20 occ.). Les occurrences les plus remarquables sont celles de *quamuis*, dont on n'attendrait pas une telle fréquence puisqu'il apparaît habituellement dans une prose de niveau de langue soutenu (chez Augustin, Symmaque et d'autres).

Or si l'on examine le répertoire des morphèmes concessifs du traité de Columelle, dans lequel les vétérinaires et agronomes ont puisé, on constate que *quamuis* constitue le morphème le plus fréquent (110 occ. de *quamuis*, 14 *quamquam*, 2 *licet* et 2 *tametsi*). Notons au demeurant que *quamuis* est très présent dans les *Géorgiques* de Virgile (6 occ.)<sup>16</sup>. Ainsi, non seulement Végèce et Palladius renouent avec la matière traitée par Columelle, mais ils semblent même s'inspirer de son style, au point d'en adopter certains traits syntaxiques caractéristiques.

Comme pour la prose historique, nous estimons que les occurrences de *quamuis* incarnent ici des stylèmes dont l'introduction dans le texte a pour fonction de renvoyer à la tradition du genre littéraire du traité agronome, représenté, entre autres, par Columelle et le Virgile des *Géorgiques*. Ce type d'isotopie est claire dans le cas de Végèce, dont le texte est autonome et relativement élaboré. Chez Palladius et – nous le verrons plus loin – chez Chiron et Pélagonius, on peut même trouver des liens directs avec le traité de Columelle.

<sup>15</sup> Végèce et Palladius se réfèrent explicitement dans la préface à Columelle (Veg., *Mul.* 1, 1 et Pallad., *Vet.* 2, 1).

<sup>16</sup> Dans les *Géorgiques* de Virgile, on dénombre 6 occurrences de *quamuis* et 1 de *quamquam*. En revanche, dans les *Bucoliques* et dans l'*Enéide*, les morphèmes concessifs se présentent dans la proportion suivante: *Bucoliques* – 6 *quamuis* : 1 *quamquam*; *Enéide* – 5 *quamuis* : 9 *quamquam* et 3 *licet*.



Comparons, par exemple, deux passages tirés de Palladius et de Columelle:

(4) Pallad., *Agr.* 1, 6, 7 *Quamuis temperatis agris serendum sit, tamen si siccitas longa est, occata tutius in agris quam in horreis seruabuntur.* «Bien qu'il faille semer quand la terre est humide, si la sécheresse se prolonge, les semences hersées se conserveront plus sûrement dans les champs que dans les greniers.» (trad. R. Martin, Paris, CUF, 1972)

(5) Colum. 2, 8, 4 *Sed si [...] seri sunt imbres, quamuis sitiendi solo recte semen committitur. Nam quod sicco solo ingestum et innocatum est, proinde ac si repositum in horreo non corrumpitur.* «Mais si elle (= la pluie) se fait attendre [...], les semailles n'en doivent pas moins être exécutées, quelle que soit d'ailleurs la sécheresse du sol. En effet, le grain semé et hersé dans un sol sec ne s'y corrompt pas plus que dans un grenier» (trad. M. Saboureux de la Bonnetterie, Paris, 1783).

Palladius reprend ici un passage de Columelle en utilisant le même morphème concessif: *quamuis*. Or, tandis que Columelle l'emploie pour modifier le sens d'un participe (*quamuis sitiendi*), dans la phrase de Palladius, *quamuis* est lié au verbe fini et possède une fonction subordonnante (*quamuis serendum sit*)<sup>17</sup>.

La série des reprises littérales de phrases tirées du *De re agricultura* de Columelle rend particulièrement perceptible l'influence directe exercée sur l'auteur. Dans le *De ueterinaria medicina* de Palladius, l'apparition de *quamuis* est due, dans plus de la moitié des cas, à la reprise d'une phrase qui contenait déjà le morphème (3 *quamuis* directement repris: 2 occ. dans les phrases authentiques)<sup>18</sup>. Ce phénomène se rencontre également chez Chiron<sup>19</sup> et Pélagonius. On peut citer à titre d'exemple l'unique emploi de *quamuis* chez Pélagonius (21, 1), un exemple qui apparaît aussi chez Palladius (*Vet. med.* 14, 5, 2). La phrase qui le contient provient de Columelle (6, 5, 1):

(6) *Euincendi sunt autem quamuis pestiferi morbi et exquisitis remediis propulsandi sunt.* «Au surplus, si pestilentielles que soient leurs maladies, il faut travailler à les vaincre et à les chasser par des remèdes spécifiques» (trad. M. Saboureux de la Bonnetterie, Paris, Barrois, 1783).

Dans ce passage, *quamuis* porte sur l'adjectif *pestiferi* en indiquant le degré très élevé de la qualité qu'il exprime («même les plus pesti-

<sup>17</sup> Le même phénomène se manifeste par exemple pour Pallad., *Agr.* 1, 19, 1 et Colum. 1, 6, 15.

<sup>18</sup> C'est le cas de Pallad., *Vet.* 18, 1 (= Colum. 6, 17, 1) ou 33, 1 (= Colum. 7, 7, 1).

<sup>19</sup> Par exemple, Chiron 784 correspond à Colum. 6, 37,8.

lentielles»). Une comparaison fort intéressante s'offre pour ce syntagme *quamuis pestiferi* avec le passage correspondant de Végèce, lequel ne s'est pas contenté de la reprise pure et simple du texte de Columelle, mais a introduit une modification syntaxique et lexicale:

(7) Veg., *Mul.* 4, 3, 6 *Euincendi tamen sunt et exquisitis remediis expellendi acerbissimi morbi.*

Végèce a substitué *tamen* à *autem*, étant donné qu'en latin tardif, *tamen* peut fonctionner comme un adverbe reliant une phrase au contexte précédent en dénotant une faible opposition. Il est significatif que Végèce ait aussi remplacé le groupe *quamuis* + adjectif par un adjectif au superlatif en *-issimus*. Cet exemple témoigne clairement de la valeur intensive de *quamuis* dans le premier exemple cité; il montre aussi que *quamuis* est susceptible de marquer le degré très élevé, voire maximal d'une qualité.

Si nous poursuivons cette étude de l'emploi de *quamuis* dans les textes de niveau de langue bas, nous constatons que c'est encore cette valeur intensive de *quamuis* qui apparaît à travers les emplois «authentiques» de *quamuis* chez Chiron, ainsi que dans l'*Itinerarium Egeriae*. En effet, *quamuis* s'attache directement à un adjectif ou à un adverbe et joue sur son degré d'intensité<sup>20</sup>. Cette valeur intensive («très»), dérivée de sa valeur d'origine («autant que tu veux»), est bien attestée depuis Plaute<sup>21</sup>. La fonction de morphème subordonnant au sens de «bien que», qui constitue la majeure partie des occurrences de *quamuis* en latin tardif (et remonte au latin postclassique), découle de la valeur intensive de *quamuis*. D'après les exemples attestés, il semble que cette valeur persiste même en latin tardif: chez Chiron, on relève les expressions *quamuis difficiliter* (196, «si difficile que soit . . .») et *quamuis ueterinam*<sup>22</sup> *tussim* (835 «si vieille que soit la toux . . .»). Chez Égérie, dans le cas du syntagme *quamuis durissimus* (24, 10 «même le plus insensible»), la valeur intensive de *quamuis* s'associe au superlatif de l'adjectif (morphème *-issimus*) pour

<sup>20</sup> La valeur intensive se manifeste également pour les autres morphèmes: *quamlibet* (cf. *infra*, § 5), *quantumuis* (par exemple *quantumuis exigua* Sen., *Epist.* 85, 12) ou *quantumlibet*.

<sup>21</sup> Voir J. B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, (1972<sup>2</sup>), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, 603.

<sup>22</sup> L'adjectif *ueterinus* est employé ici au sens de *uetus*, «vieux». Voir S. Gre-vander (1926), *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Mulomedicina Chironis*, 142 et J. N. Adams (1992), «*The Origin and Meaning of Lat. ueterinus, veterinarius*», *IF*, 97, 85.

dénoter le degré maximal d'une qualité (*durus*), ce qui dote le syntagme d'une grande expressivité.

A propos de l'emploi de *quamuis* dans la prose tardive, il convient de mentionner encore la question de l'*Histoire Auguste*, recueil de biographies des empereurs régnant entre 117 et 284, présenté comme l'œuvre de six auteurs différents qui s'adressent à Dioclétien ou à Constantin 1<sup>er</sup> (entre 284–305, resp. 306–337). Des recherches récentes ont prouvé qu'il ne fut écrit que par un seul auteur<sup>23</sup>, désireux de conserver l'anonymat, vers la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> 24.

Or, on constate avec un certain étonnement que, dans l'*Histoire Auguste*, le morphème concessif le plus fréquent est *quamuis* (47 occ.), à savoir un morphème bien représenté à l'époque postclassique. En outre, dans l'*Histoire Auguste*, les occurrences des morphèmes *quamquam* et *tametsi* sont notables (2 occ. de *quamquam*, 2 de *tametsi*), tandis que *licet*, le plus répandu à l'époque tardive, apparaît assez rarement (4 occ.)<sup>25</sup>. La question se pose alors de savoir si «l'auteur» de l'*Histoire Auguste* n'aurait pas voulu renouer, en quelque sorte, avec le latin postclassique, par les moyens lexicaux et syntaxiques qu'il choisit...

##### 5. *Quamlibet*: morphème de subordination et morphème intensif

*Quamlibet* est un morphème concessif qui ne fonctionne nettement comme tel qu'à l'époque tardive; mais il ne présente alors que très peu d'occurrences et son emploi reste très limité. Il convient de distinguer deux types d'emplois, d'un point de vue syntaxique aussi bien que stylistique.

En premier lieu, en tant que vrai morphème de subordination, c'est-à-dire pleinement démotivé sur le plan lexical, *quamlibet* apparaît chez Ammien Marcellin (3 occ.), Égérie (1 occ.) ainsi que chez Prudence, dans sa poésie lyrique (1 occ. dans le *Peristephanon* et 2 occ. dans le *Cathemerinon*)<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Si l'on examine les morphèmes concessifs dans l'*Histoire Auguste*, on s'aperçoit que *quamuis* est employé dans presque toutes les vies (47 occ.); occasionnellement, apparaissent *licet* (4 occ.), *quamquam* (2 occ.) et *tametsi* (2 occ.). L'emploi «régulier» et systématique de *quamuis* qui peut être interprété comme l'indice de la rédaction effectuée par un seul auteur.

<sup>24</sup> Voir R. Syme (1968), *Ammianus and Historia Augusta* et cf. introduction à l'édition de l'*Histoire Auguste* par A. Chastagnol, IX–XXXIV.

<sup>25</sup> Dans l'*Histoire Auguste*: 47 occ. de *quamuis*; 2 *quamquam*; 2 *tametsi* et 4 *licet*.

<sup>26</sup> Chez Prudence, *quamlibet* apparaît encore dans ses poèmes écrits en

On peut supposer qu'à l'époque donnée, *quamlibet* représentait auprès de *licet* un morphème concessif courant, employé dans la langue de tous les jours. Aussi son usage se justifie-t-il pleinement dans la poésie lyrique, susceptible d'absorber des éléments linguistiques novateurs plus tôt que la prose. Pour la prose, en revanche, *quamlibet* est la marque d'un style peu élaboré tel qu'on le trouve dans l'*Itinerarium* d'Égérie (1 occ.). De même, les occurrences occasionnelles chez Ammien Marcellin se révèlent être des emplois spontanés (3 occ.)<sup>27</sup>. Par ailleurs, *quamlibet* comme morphème concessif ne figure pas dans les textes littéraires de haut niveau (chez Symmaque, Ambroise, Sulpice Sévère, Ausone, Namatianus, Claudien). Il est également absent du *Code Théodosien*, qui illustre le langage officiel. En outre, nous ne trouvons pas non plus *quamlibet* dans les traités vétérinaires et agromomes<sup>28</sup>.

Le deuxième type d'emploi de *quamlibet* s'apparente à celui que nous avons étudié concernant *quamuis* dans le paragraphe précédent. Certaines occurrences de *quamlibet* sont effectivement liées à sa seule valeur intensive («autant qu'il te plaît»), qui modifie la qualité exprimée par un adjectif ou un adverbe. C'est cette fonction de *quamlibet* qui est utilisée par des prosateurs comme Jérôme et surtout Augustin:

(8) Aug., *Ciu.* 2, 27 97 *Neque enim grauius fuerant quamlibet crudelissima inmanitate nocituri homines* «car ces hommes [...] si atroce que fût leur férocité, n'auraient pas fait plus de mal que [...]» (trad. G. Combès, Paris, Étud. Augustiniennes, 1993)

(9) Aug., *Ciu.* 17, 16, 238 *Quis non hic Christum [...] , quamlibet sit tardus, agnoscat?* «Quel esprit, si lent soit-il, ne reconnaîtrait ici le Christ [...]» (trad. G. Combès, Paris, Étud. Augustiniennes, 1994)

Dans ces exemples où *quamlibet* possède la valeur intensive, le terme ne saurait être considéré comme stylistiquement pertinent, puisque son choix est motivé lexicalement («autant qu'il plaît», «très»). Doté de la même valeur, il ne pourrait être commutable qu'avec *quamuis* intensif («autant que tu veux»).

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hexamètres: l'*Hamartigeneia* (1 *quamlibet* : 2 *quamuis*) et dans le *Contre Symmaque* (1 *quamlibet*, 4 *quamuis*, 2 *quamquam*, 2 *licet*). En revanche, il est absent de l'*Apothéose* (8 *quamuis*) et de la *Psychomachia* (4 *quamuis*).

<sup>27</sup> A noter que *quamlibet* (3 occurrences) ne figure que dans les derniers livres de l'*Histoire* (livre 28 et 29).

<sup>28</sup> Cependant, elle figure (1 occ.) dans le traité *De re militari* de Végèce (4, 34).

Au contraire, l'emploi de *quamlibet* comme morphème de subordination se distingue par sa démotivation lexicale et son caractère grammaticalisé («bien que», «quoique»). Pour cette raison, nous estimons que son choix est motivé stylistiquement puisque, chez Ammien Marcellin par exemple, il est commutable avec *quamquam*, *licet*, *quamuis* ou *tametsi*, qui figurent dans la même structure syntaxique:

(10) Amm. 29, 5, 44 *Et quamlibet facto in hostem impetu pluribusque peremptis aperuerit uiam, formidans tamen [...] reuertit ad Audiense castellum.* «Et bien qu'en attaquant l'ennemi et en lui infligeant un grand massacre, il se fit le chemin, redoutant cependant [...], il revint à la place forte d'Auzia» (trad. G. Sabbah, Paris, CUF, 1999).

#### 6. *Tametsi, etsi et etiamsi: mots évités en poésie*

Pour revenir au critère du genre littéraire, rappelons que Bertil Axelson<sup>29</sup> avait déjà signalé que les «conjonctions concessives» principalement employées dans la poésie latine classique et postclassique sont *quamquam* et *quamuis*, tandis que *etsi*, *etiamsi* et *tametsi* en sont absents. Parmi les termes bâtis sur *si*, en effet, *etsi* est extrêmement rare chez les poètes; quant à *etiamsi* et *tametsi*, ils sont systématiquement évités<sup>30</sup>. Cet écart entre poésie et prose concernant l'emploi des termes bâtis sur *si* – *etsi*, *etiamsi* et *tametsi* – se répercute aussi sur la poésie latine tardive des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles: *etiamsi* et *tametsi* n'y figurent absolument pas, seul *etsi* apparaît exceptionnellement chez Ausone (2 occ.) et Paulin de Nole (3 occ.). Or on s'aperçoit que leur œuvre se

<sup>29</sup> Voir B. Axelson, *Unpoëtische Wörter* (1945), 88 sq. *Etsi* est extrêmement rare chez les poètes classiques: Virgile 2 occ. de *etsi*; Tibulle 1 occ.; Properce 2 occ.; Ovide 5 occ.; Horace l'omet complètement. Quant aux poètes postclassiques, seul Stace se sert relativement souvent de *etsi* (9 occ.). En revanche, *etiamsi* n'est ignoré des poètes (classiques et postclassiques). Les références aux poètes classiques fournies par le *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (5, 2, 964.70 sq.) s. u. *etiamsi*, ne concernent que la séquence simple ... *etiam, si* ... («encore, si ...», «bien plus, si ...»). Néanmoins, chez Virgile, *etiam, si* apparaît dans une phrase de structure relative, avec des prédicats sémantiquement opposés (Verg., *Aen.* 2, 420 *Illi etiam, si quos ... fudimus, ... apparent*), dont la subordonnée ne peut être considérée comme une concessive introduite par *etiamsi*: il s'agit plutôt du sens concessif de *si* accompagné du relatif *qui*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. P. Salat (1982), «*Mots-clés et mots évités en poésie et en prose*», 112 sq., et le *Dictionnaire fréquentiel et indexe inverse* – *etiamsi* occupe la 60<sup>e</sup> position dans la liste des mots évités en poésie.

compose aussi bien de vers que de textes prosaïques, où *etsi* est plus courant<sup>31</sup>.

Quant à *tametsi*, que nous caractérisions initialement comme un morphème concessif spécifique, puisque n'impliquant aucune autre valeur, il n'est pas attesté dans la poésie latine hors du latin archaïque<sup>32</sup>. Il ne figure pas chez les poètes classiques, son emploi chez les poètes de l'époque tardive n'est donc influencé par aucune tradition. Ajoutons que le même constat peut être fait à propos de *tamen etsi*, dont l'emploi s'avère, de manière générale, extrêmement réduit<sup>33</sup>.

La raison pour laquelle *etiamsi* ou *etsi* sont écartés de la poésie n'est pas à chercher, semble-t-il, dans la métrique: la scansion de *etiamsi* (VV- -)<sup>34</sup> avec la pénultième accentuée permet au mot de s'intégrer dans les vers, même dans les hexamètres<sup>35</sup>. *Etsi* (- -), avec sa scansion spondaïque, ne pose pas de problèmes non plus.

Il convient donc de trouver une autre explication pour justifier l'absence de *etsi* et *etiamsi* en poésie. Nous proposons ici de prendre en compte la distinction entre les morphèmes spécifiques et non spécifiques présentée au début de cette étude (cf. § 1.). Nous avons défini les morphèmes *etsi* et *etiamsi* comme non spécifiques parce que *si*, sur lequel ils sont fondés, implique et véhicule essentiellement la valeur hypothétique. Ainsi, une double valeur, hypothétique et concessive-hypothétique, peut-elle entrer en jeu. Les séquences *et si* et *etiam si* n'impliquent pas toujours une relation concessive: il peut s'agir – et il s'agit souvent – de l'enchaînement simple d'une hypothétique en *si* («et si . . .», «et encore, si . . .») à l'aide de *et* ou *etiam*. La valeur concessive doit donc être précisée et clairement marquée par d'autres moyens, notamment par l'insertion de *tamen*, *nihilominus* ou autres dans l'apodose, ce qui rend l'expression lourde et ample. Par leur polyvalence

<sup>31</sup> *Etsi* apparaît encore dans le panégyrique d'Ausone, relativement court (2 occ.); l'opposition entre l'emploi de *etsi* en prose et en poésie est nette chez Paulin de Nole (10 occ. de *etsi* dans ses *Epistulae* contre 3 dans les *Carmina*).

<sup>32</sup> *Tametsi*, ou plutôt *tam etsi*, est employé par les comiques Plaute (17 occ., par exemple *Ps.* 244) et Térence (4 occ.), et Lucilius (2 occ.).

<sup>33</sup> En fonction de ses occurrences effectives, *tamen etsi* n'apparaît que chez les scéniques Plaute (3 occ., par exemple, *Cas.* 956) et Térence (1 occ.), dans un fragment d'Ennius (1 occ.), puis chez Lucrèce (1 occ.) et Catulle (1 occ.).

<sup>34</sup> Voir A. Quicherat – E. Chatelain (1893<sup>2</sup>), *Thesaurus poeticus linguae Latinae*. Pour la scansion de *etiam*, voir *TLL*, 5, 2, 925, 19.

<sup>35</sup> Chez les poètes classiques, on trouve, certes rarement, la séquence *etiam, si* – dénuée de sens concessif – avec une élision de la voyelle finale du mot précédent *etiam*, par exemple, Verg., *Aen.* 11, 653: *Ill(a) etiam, si quando . . .*

et leur caractère sémantiquement flou, *etsi* et *etiamsi* s'avèrent trop peu expressifs pour les poètes, qui recherchent une image précise et explicite, et partant, les évitent.

### 7. Conclusion

L'examen de la distribution des morphèmes concessifs en latin tardif des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles nous a montré que *licet* est le plus fréquemment employé, présent chez presque tous les auteurs et dans tous les genres littéraires.

En revanche, *quamuis* domine dans le traité philosophique et la poésie didactique écrite en hexamètres. Il semble être un morphème concessif plus recherché que *licet*, en ce qu'il renoue avec les traditions littéraires de l'époque précédente. Un examen détaillé des occurrences de *quamuis* dans la prose technique (vétérinaire et agronome) a été mené dans cette perspective. Il a permis de faire apparaître, d'une part, les inférences directes et indirectes liées au genre même du traité technique, d'autre part, sa valeur intensive («très») de *quamuis*, dérivée de son sens lexical («autant que tu veux»).

*Quamlibet* se présente en latin tardif soit comme un morphème concessif caractéristique de la langue spontanée, figurant occasionnellement dans la poésie lyrique et les textes (ou passages) d'un niveau littéraire moyen ou bas, soit comme un morphème porteur d'une valeur intensive.

Mais *quamquam* et *tametsi* semblent fonctionner comme des «stylèmes» renvoyant à la tradition littéraire; ils ne sont employés que par un certain nombre d'auteurs tardifs de haut niveau stylistique, qui renouent ainsi, à dessein, avec le latin classique. Ainsi en est-il, tout particulièrement, de *quamquam*, qui apparaît comme une marque (un «stylème») propre à la prose historique.

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*Annexe*  
*Occurrences effectives des morphèmes concessifs*  
*en latin tardif (IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles)*

Auteur	<i>licet</i>	<i>quam-uis</i>	<i>quam-quam</i>	<i>etsi</i>	<i>etiamsi</i>	<i>tametsi</i>	<i>quam-libet</i>
Ambroise ( <i>Fid., Off.</i> )	47	18	3	41	15	-	-
Ammien Marcellin	115	7	27	1	13	2	3
Symmaque	47	37	16	36	10	-	-
Jérôme ( <i>Epist.</i> )	104	27	57	8	8	2	-
Augustin ( <i>Conf.</i> )	2	49	20	21	19	4	2
Augustin ( <i>Trin.</i> )	11	125	23	22	20	1	2
Sulpice Sevère	35	7	18	13	4	-	-
<i>Code Theodosien</i>	45	34	11	45	61	4	-
Aurélius Victor	1	5	20	-	-	-	-
Macrobe	57	12	3	15	12	2	-
<i>Histoire Auguste</i>	4	47	2	6	17	2	-
Égérie	7	1	-	-	-	-	1
Chiron	3	3	-	3	1	-	-
Pélagonius	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
Palladius	5	20	-	3	4	-	-
Végèce	22	19	-	-	7	-	1
Ausone	4	26	19	2+2*	1*	-	-
Prudence	6	19	3	-	-	-	5
Avien ( <i>Arar.</i> )	4	1	2	-	-	-	-
Claudien	20	36	5	-	-	-	-
Rutilius Namatianus	1	2	2	-	-	-	-
Avian	4	9	-	-	-	-	-

\* L'astérisque indique les occurrences dans la prose.

## Mart. 14.187

Μενάνδρου Θαίς

By JUAN FERNANDEZ VALVERDE, Sevilla

*Hac primum iuvenum lascivos lusit amores;  
nec Glycera pueri, Thais amica fuit.*

<sup>1</sup> *Hac* αγ: *haec* βE    <sup>2</sup> *glycera* (lic- α) αβ: -re γ *pueri* Thais β: *vere* Thais γ

Modern editors write and punctuate as above<sup>1</sup>, and translate it thus: ‘With this first he lightly touched youth’s wanton love, and Glycera was not the mistress of his boyhood: ‘twas Thais’<sup>2</sup>; ‘C’est avec elle que tout d’abord il goûta les voluptueuses amours des jeunes gens: Glycère ne fut pas la maîtresse de son adolescence, ce fut Thais’<sup>3</sup>; ‘With her he first played with young men’s wanton love; but the boy’s mistress was not Glycera but Thais’<sup>4</sup>. And the latter explains: “‘Thais’ was Menander’s first love-comedy; and the mistress of the youth in the play was called Thais, not Glycera, which was the name of Menander’s own mistress’.

But, why not *Glycera* as an ablative, in correspondence with *Hac*? So, I would propose:

*Hac primum iuvenum lascivos lusit amores  
nec Glycera; pueri Thais amica fuit*<sup>5</sup>

With her – and not with Glycera – he first played with young men’s wanton love; the boy’s mistress was Thais’. The point of the epigram could lie in the double meaning of *Hac* and *Glycera* (‘woman’/‘comedy’), corroborated by *lusit* (‘to amuse’/‘to write’).

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<sup>1</sup> Ancient editors: *Haec primum iuvenum lascivos lusit amores, / nec Glicere, vere Thais amica fuit.*

<sup>2</sup> W. C. A. Ker (Loeb, 1925).

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Izaac (Budé).

<sup>4</sup> D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Loeb, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> For similar structures see 6.46, 13.54, 9.58.3 –4 and 14.170.

# The Name of Aphrodite

By MARTIN L. WEST, Oxford

It is widely agreed that Aphrodite was a post-Mycenaean (or at any rate post-palatial) addition to the Greek pantheon. She does not appear in Linear B documents, and in Hesiod and Homer she has a strong association with Cyprus, an island where Greek settlement on any scale dates only from the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Her major cult centres were in Cyprus, especially at Paphos.

Her name does not appear to be Greek or Indo-European; attempts to explain it so have been generally abandoned<sup>1</sup>. The suggestion that it comes from an Anatolian or 'Mediterranean' word for 'chief', reflected in Etruscan (*e*)*prθni* and Greek *πρύτανις*, has scarcely greater appeal<sup>2</sup>. Neither has Martin Bernal's (predictably) Egyptian etymology<sup>3</sup>. Explanations from Semitic, in particular the view that the name is a deformation of that of 'Astart-Astarte, have an intrinsically greater plausibility, given Aphrodite's oriental connections and the features she shares with the Canaanite deity<sup>4</sup>, and they have found more favour<sup>5</sup>. I shall argue that the name cannot be derived from 'Astart, or interpreted with certainty, but that it is genuinely Semitic.

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<sup>1</sup> The foam (*ἀφρός*) with which Hesiod connects it (*Th.* 188 ff., approved by Plato, *Crat.* 406c) has no real existence but was spun out of the name itself, as E. Risch noted (*Eumusia: Festgabe E. Howald*, Zurich 1947, 75f. = *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin-New York 1981, 297f.).

<sup>2</sup> M. Hammarström, *Glotta* 11, 1921, 215f.; W. Fauth, *Der Kleine Pauly*, I 426; 'abzulehnen', Frisk, *GEWI* 197; 'as yet unconvincing', W. Beck, *LfggrE* I 1719.17.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bernal, *Black Athena* I, London 1987, 65f.: *pr W<sub>3</sub>dyt*, 'House of *W<sub>3</sub>dyt*'.

<sup>4</sup> For these cf. W. Roscher in his *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig-Berlin 1884-1937, I 390-5; L. Preller in Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4. Aufl., 1894-1923, I 345f.; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I<sup>3</sup> 519-21; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge Mass. 1985, 152f.

<sup>5</sup> For surveys of all the various theories cf. K. Tümpel, *REI* (1894) 2772f.; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1906, 1348; D. Boedeker, *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic*, *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 11, 1974, 6-13; most fully J.-E. Dugand in *Hommage à Pierre Fargues*, Paris 1974, 80-95.

Fritz Hommel is cited as the first to derive it from the name of the Canaanite goddess, though I should not be surprised to discover that he had been anticipated in the seventeenth century<sup>6</sup>. Most modern authorities, while not embracing Hommel's hypothesis with any ardour, remain prepared to admit that it may be possible: 'kann nicht ohne weiteres abgewiesen werden' (Nilsson); 'muß in sprachlicher Hinsicht immer als möglich gelten, da bei diesem Namen mit starker volksetymologischer Angleichung zu rechnen ist' (Frisk); Chantraine is cool, but has nothing more severe to say than that it is undemonstrable<sup>7</sup>.

Hommel starts from the form Ashtóreth, that is, the אַשְׁתֹרֶת given by the Masoretic text at 1 Kings 11.5. He posits a pronunciation \*Aθtóreth, which the Greeks, having no interdental spirant, made into \*Aphtóreth; the influence of ἀφρός then induced a metathesis to \*Aphróreth, from which it is a small step to Ἀφροδίτα.

The starting-point here is unsound, as there was no such form as Aštoreth. The Masorettes, as is commonly accepted, vilified the heathen goddess by furnishing her name with the vowels of *bōšet* 'abomination'. The name was in fact 'Aštar, earlier 'Aštartu (Ugaritic 'ttrt), and it appears in Greek transcription as Ἀστάρτα or Ἀστάρτη<sup>8</sup>. Hommel may be right in supposing that it was still 'Ašt- at the relevant period. But whereas [θ] might be taken over as [f] in a language that possessed the latter phoneme<sup>9</sup>, it is not clear why it should become the aspirated occlusive φ in pre-Homeric Greek; φ did not have the value [f] until many centuries later. It is conceivable that a foreign [f] might have been rendered in Greek as φ, but what the hypothesis requires is a foreign [θ] being rendered in Greek as [f] > [ph]. Nor

<sup>6</sup> F. Hommel, *Neue Jahrbücher* 125, 1882, 176; approved by H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin 1895, 250; H. Grimme, *Glotta* 14, 1925, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Nilsson, *op. cit.* 520; Frisk, *GEW* I 196f.; Chantraine, *DEG* 148; cited as if a worthwhile hypothesis also by Beck, *loc. cit.*; Burkert, *op. cit.* 408. H. Herter, on the other hand, wrote that it 'muss als ein tour de force gelten, bei dem man sich nicht recht beruhigen kann' (*Kleine Schriften*, Munich 1975, 30).

<sup>8</sup> First on a Corinthian graffito of the late fifth century BC (*SEG* 36. 316), then in the Septuagint and elsewhere. The characters t and d in Semitic transcriptions represent the interdental spirants [θ], [ð]. Adherents of Hommel's view protest in vain that Aštoreth may have been a real form.

<sup>9</sup> As in Dodonaean φῶν, φύοντες for θ- (Thumb-Scherer I 315); Russian ФОМА < Θωμά; vulgar English [fiŋ] for 'thing'.

does the postulated metathesis \*φτοϑ > φροδ look at all likely. The fact is that Ἀφροδίτα and Ἀstart or Ἀttart have little in common apart from the initial (ʿ)A- and the final -t(a). There is no realistic prospect of equating [phrodi:] with [ʒtar] or [θtar].

This is a disappointing conclusion to have to reach, as there is no serious doubt that Ἀstart was the Phoenician name of the Cyprian goddess whom the Greeks called Aphrodite. Already in an Ugaritic text of the late second millennium ʿttrt is listed among the gods of Alašiya, i. e., of Cyprus<sup>10</sup>. However, gods usually have more than one name, and it might have been some local title of Ἀstart that provided the Mycenaean colonists with their name for her. Ἀφροδίτα<sup>11</sup> does in any case have a Semitic-looking structure, as the following analysis will show.

We can disregard the final vowel. A Greek word cannot end in an occlusive, and in taking over a foreign name that did, it was natural to add a medium-open vowel, [ə] or [a] (as many Italians tend to do when speaking English). We see this in the names of the letters, ἄλφα, βῆτα < 'alp, bēt, etc., and indeed in Ἀστάρτα < Ἀstart. In Ἀστάρτα and Ἀφροδίτα this [-a] was made into the declinable -ā of the first declension, one of the most typical endings for feminine names<sup>12</sup>.

What precedes it, -t, is the universal Semitic feminine marker.

What precedes this, -i, is the so-called Nisba suffix which in Semitic languages makes a substantive into an adjective with the meaning 'belonging to'<sup>13</sup>. Its commonest use is to make ethnics, as in Ugaritic gzry [gazariya] 'Gazarian', Phoenician Ṣidonî 'Sidonian', Hebrew Mō'ābî 'Moabite', Aramaic 'arḏiy 'terrestrial'. With the feminine marker it becomes -ît.

The initial A- corresponds to the prothetic x which appears sometimes in Phoenician before an initial two-consonant cluster, and which (*nota bene*) is especially characteristic of the Cypriot dialect<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *KTU* 2.42.7-8.

<sup>11</sup> This is the form we must start from; Cretan and Pamphylian Ἀφροδ- shows a secondary metathesis.

<sup>12</sup> Herodian's statement that the Aeolic form was Ἀφροδίτᾱ- (I 6.13 L.; cf. Choer. in Theod. I 304.30) is valid only for the vocative, cf. Thumb-Scherer II 106.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. S. Moscati et al., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Wiesbaden 1964, 83; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 250 § 86 h.

<sup>14</sup> Z.S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, New Haven 1936, 33; S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*, Munich 1976, 29, 75; J.

Subtracting these affixes, we are left with -φροδ-. In Greek transliterations of Semitic, θ φ χ commonly represent Semitic *t p k*, as in ἄλφα < 'alp, χιτών or κιθών < *ktn*, θύννος < *tnn*<sup>15</sup>. -φροδ-, therefore, may correspond to a Phoenician \**prod* (or \**prōd*, see below).

The vowel *o*, not a proto-Semitic phoneme, may represent an allophone of *u*, or alternatively Phoenician *o* from long or stressed \**a*<sup>16</sup>. φροδ would thus correspond to what the Masoretes would have written as פֶּרֶד or פֶּרֶדָּה (*p<sup>e</sup>rud, p<sup>e</sup>rād*).

The δ in Ἀφροδίτα may represent either an original *d* or the voiced interdental spirant *ḏ* [ð], a proto-Semitic phoneme which still existed in the north Syrian area in the late second millennium, as we see from Ugaritic, but which in first-millennium Phoenician and Hebrew appears as *z*.

Aphrodite's name, on this analysis, is a Greek rendering of \**Aprodīt* or \**Aprodīt*, meaning 'She of *prād*' (or *prād, prud, prūd*), a feminine appellative based on a triconsonantal root *prd* or *prḏ*.

Can we go any further and discover a plausible meaning in that root? Here we enter an area of great uncertainty. E. Röth claimed to find the answer in 'Chaldaean' (i. e., Talmudic) *p<sup>e</sup>rīdāh* 'pigeon', from which he constructed a Phoenician \**app<sup>e</sup>rūdet* 'the Pigeon'<sup>17</sup>. This might seem faintly promising in view of the fact that doves are one of the Cyprian goddess's most important attributes. But there are several objections. The word is attested late, and its basic meaning is 'a single item separated from a group' (root *prd* 'separate, divide'); hence it was used of a single grain of corn, or a single pigeon of a pair<sup>18</sup>. The attested vocalization does not resemble that of Ἀφροδίτη.

Friedrich-W. Röllig, *Phönizische-Punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed. by M.G.A. Guzzo, Rome 1999, 51f. § 95.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. É. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967, 115.

<sup>16</sup> For this sound-change in NW Semitic dialects cf. Harris, op. cit. 24f.; Moscati et al., op. cit. 48, 49f., 68; Segert, op. cit. 66f.; J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* III, Oxford 1982, xvii f.; in most detail Friedrich-Röllig-Guzzo, op. cit. 40–2. Some of the grammars represent the outcome of the change as *ō*, but Phoenician had no phonemic opposition of *ō* and *ō̄*, and although the \**ā* which gave rise to *o* may originally have been quantitatively distinguished from \**ā̄*, the distinction in Phoenician between *a* < \**ā̄*- and *o* < \**ā* may have been qualitative rather than quantitative.

<sup>17</sup> *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie* I<sup>2</sup>, Mannheim 1862, 263 with n. 452.

<sup>18</sup> Pigeons were normally sacrificed in pairs. See J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig

The article seems to have been a first-millennium development, and its use is improbable for the early period in question<sup>19</sup>. The last difficulty, of course, could be avoided by explaining the initial 'a- as I have done. But the Pigeon will not fly.

We might take the alternative option of supposing that the underlying root is *pr $\bar{d}$* , which would appear in Hebrew as *prz*. In this case Aphrodite might have been 'the Perizzite': the Perizzites (*Prizzîm*, in the Septuagint Φερεζαῖοι) are repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament as one of the peoples living in Canaan in the late second millennium.

But this idea is capable of refinement. It has long been suspected that *Prizzî* is related to *prāzôt*, the term used for unfortified country settlements in opposition to walled towns. The inhabitant of such a hamlet is a *prāzî*<sup>20</sup>. The feminine, were it attested, would be *prāzît*. If the *z* in this word comes from *d* (for which there is no proof, but there can be no reason to exclude it), an early Cyprian Canaanite equivalent of *prāzît* should have sounded like \*[aproði:t]. If we may suppose that 'Aštar somewhere acquired this as a title, meaning 'She of the Villages'<sup>21</sup>, we shall have in Ἀφροδίτα a Greek rendering as exact in every detail as it could possibly be.

This is speculative, but it is, I submit, speculation more plausible than what has been offered on the question in the past. It is an explanation based not on looking about for similar-sounding words in any Indo-European or Mediterranean language, but on an analysis that relates Aphrodite's name directly to the phonology and morphology of the one language which on historical grounds we should expect to be relevant: Cypriot Phoenician.

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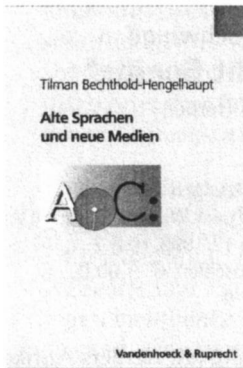
1876-89, IV 101; E. Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv 1987, 528.

<sup>19</sup> It should in fact be written *ha-* (the spelling with aleph is Punic and late), though this would not in itself vitiate the comparison with Ἀφροδίτη.

<sup>20</sup> Deut. 3.5; 1 Sam. 6.18; Esth. 9.19. On the *prāzôt* cf. L.E. Stager, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260, 1985, 5ff., 25, and *Biblical Archaeology Review* 15/1, Jan./Feb. 1989, 55. I am indebted to Professor Jo Ann Hackett for bringing these to my notice, and more generally for her constructive and encouraging comments on an initial outline of my argument.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. perhaps Artemis' title Ἀγροτέρα, 'She of the Countryside'.

# Medienkompetenz und klassische Antike



## Tilman Bechthold-Hengelhaupt **Alte Sprachen und neue Medien**

2001. 154 Seiten mit 10 Abbildungen,  
kartoniert € 19,90 D  
ISBN 3-525-25754-6

Internet, neue Medien, Medienkompetenz – diese Worte sind nur scheinbar weit von der klassischen Antike entfernt. Immer mehr Lehrende entdecken das Internet und die neuen Medien und stellen fest, dass ihre Schüler sich Hilfe und Orientierung in dieser Welt wünschen. Es entsteht ein eigener Kosmos von Texten, Bildern, Landkarten, Sekundärliteratur, ja sogar Filmen zum Bereich Antike und Lateinunterricht im Internet und von Lernprogrammen und digitalen Lexika auf CD-ROM.

Bechthold-Hengelhaupt stellt all dies übersichtlich zusammen und macht die neuen Medien für die Arbeit des Altphilologen in Schule und Studium umfassend alltagstauglich. Dabei reflektiert und wertet er unter didaktisch-methodischen Aspekten und mit einem kritischen Blick auf das Machbare und wissenschaftlich Vertretbare.

*Folgende Themen werden behandelt:*

- Wie funktioniert das Internet und wo findet man Informationen für Studium, Unterrichtsvorbereitung, Unterricht oder wird auf der Suche nach Neuem aus dem Bereich der Antike fündig?
- Die didaktischen Möglichkeiten eines altsprachlichen Unterrichts am PC: Wer die neuen Medien in reflektierter Weise als Ergänzung zum traditionellen Unterricht einsetzt, erschließt nicht nur einen neuen Blick auf Realien und Rezeptionsgeschichte, sondern auch auf die Übersetzungsarbeit.
- Aus der Praxis erwachsene Projekte, die sich unmittelbar in Unterricht umsetzen lassen.
- Wie lassen sich die gängigen Büro-Programme für die grafische Aufbereitung von Texten, aber auch für fesselnde Präsentationen und für Projekte einsetzen, die es wert sind auf der Schul-Homepage veröffentlicht zu werden?

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# Goethe, Herder und die Antike

Ernst-Richard Schwinge  
**Wolfgang Schadewaldts**  
***Studien zu Goethe***

Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim  
Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften e.V.,  
Hamburg, Jahrgang 19, 2001, Heft 3.  
2001. 24 Seiten, broschiert € 5,90 D  
ISBN 3-525-86312-8

Wolfgang Schadewaldt, einer der bekanntesten Gräzisten des 20. Jahrhunderts, hat sich zeitlebens mit Goethe beschäftigt. Goethe sei für ihn, schreibt er selbst, „zu so etwas wie dem ‚primum movens‘ für die Beschäftigung mit Literatur und Dichtung, mit der Antike und den Griechen geworden“, und er habe „in fast anhaltender Wechselwirkung zwischen ihm und den Griechen“ sein Griechisch betrieben. Eine Analyse der poetologischen Grundüberzeugungen und Grundkategorien, die Schadewaldts zahlreiche Goestudien bestimmen, kann mithin nicht nur dieses selbst in ihren Grundstrukturen transparent machen. Sie vermag zugleich ein erhellen-des Licht auf Schadewaldts Arbeiten zur Literatur der Griechen zu werfen. Mit beidem leistet sie einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Geisteswissenschaften im 20. Jahrhundert, in die Schadewaldt einerseits fest eingebettet ist und innerhalb deren er andererseits als autarke Größe erscheint. In Schadewaldts *Studien zu Goethe* wird seine Auffassung von Dichtung und Literatur besonders deutlich.

Ernst-Richard Schwinge  
**„Ich bin nicht Goethe“**

Johann Gottfried Herder  
und die Antike

Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim  
Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften e.V.,  
Hamburg, Jahrgang 17/1999, Heft 2.  
1999. 62 Seiten, broschiert € 11,90 D  
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Eine Beschäftigung mit Herders Antike-Rezeption konfrontiert insbesondere erneut mit der Frage, ob eine authentische Rezeption der Antike möglich ist. Herder verbrachte 27 Jahre seines Lebens in Weimar, im damaligen Deutschland das Zentrum des geistigen Lebens. Dennoch ist der Blick des Autors nicht eingeeengt auf die Weimarer Perspektive, sondern bezieht bewusst die davor liegende Zeit mit ein. Die einzelnen Zeugnisse werden systematisch-synchron betrachtet. Die Komplexität, die Herders Sicht kennzeichnet, besonders hinsichtlich seiner Rezeption der Antike, könnte ihre Ursache in der thematisierten Sache selbst haben.

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ISSN 0017–1298

# Gli aggettivi in -πετής: senso, accento e teorie bizantine nei vocabolari moderni<sup>1</sup>

Di LUIGI BATTEZZATO, Pisa

*Summary:* Greek adjectives ending in -πετής may derive from the stems of πίπτω, πεάννυμι or πέτομαι. Statements by Aristarchus and other ancient grammarians show that adjectives ending in -πετής are paroxytone when they belong to the *a*-stem group (gen. -πέτου), and that they are accented on the last syllable (-πετής, -πετές, gen. -πετούς) when they belong to the *s*-stem group. A theory first attested in Byzantine sources introduces a simplistic distinction: when adjectives ending in -πετής are connected with πέτομαι the accent is paroxytone, whereas it is oxytone (in the nominative) when the adjectives are connected with πίπτω or πεάννυμι. Modern dictionaries have endorsed this view for most relevant adjectives. However, a large number of adjectives ending in -πετής, -πετές is clearly connected with πέτομαι. We need to correct several entries in LSJ and other dictionaries, and offer a new interpretation or reading in some individual passages.

1. Gli aggettivi greci terminanti in -πετής possono essere connessi con πίπτω, πεάννυμι or πέτομαι. Queste forme pongono problemi di accento, derivazione e declinazione.

Le forme declinate come i temi in *alpha* maschili (la cosiddetta prima declinazione) sono parossitone (-πέτης, -πέτου) e derivano da πέτομαι. Queste forme non sono molto numerose, e sono tutte attestate a partire dall'epoca arcaica (con una neoformazione omerizzante in Quinto Smirneo). In epoca classica e post-classica i nuovi composti da πέτομαι terminano in -πετής, -πετές (con genitivo in -πετούς), e questa terminazione viene usata anche per aggettivi derivati da πίπτω e da πεάννυμι.

Questa ricostruzione corrisponde alla teoria dei grammatici alexandrini. Invece la soluzione che si è imposta nei vocabolari e nei manuali moderni, dallo Stephanus al LSJ, è diversa. Essi seguono una teoria attestata in fonti bizantine, secondo cui i composti derivanti da πέτομαι sono tutti parossitoni, e quelli di πίπτω ossitoni, indipendentemente dalla loro declinazione. Questa teoria è chiaramente inaccettabile ed è stata respinta per alcune singole parole, ma il processo di

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<sup>1</sup> Ringrazio G. B. D'Alessio, V. Di Benedetto, D.J. Mastronarde, F. Schironi per utili osservazioni e correzioni.

svecchiamento e correzione non ha raggiunto tutte le opere di consultazione, ed è spesso ignorato da editori anche recentissimi.

Nella sezione 2 discuto le testimonianze che sostengono la teoria che io ritengo corretta, ed elenco i composti in -πέτης, -πέτου. Nella sezione 3 parlo della teoria bizantina sui composti derivati da πίπτω. Nella sezione 4 elenco un gruppo di composti in -πετής, -πετές di età arcaica di significato e derivazione discussi. Nella sezione 5 discuto in ordine alfabetico gli altri composti in -πετής, -πετές che ritengo derivanti da πέτομαι.

2. Secondo i grammatici antichi a) sono parossitoni i nominativi dei vocaboli disillabici della prima declinazione terminanti in -της, dei loro composti, e dei vocaboli plurisillabici della prima declinazione terminanti in -της con penultima sillaba breve<sup>2</sup>. Invece b) i nominativi di nomi e aggettivi composti della terza declinazione in ης sono ossitoni, con alcune eccezioni che non riguardano gli aggettivi in -πετης<sup>3</sup>.

Entrambe queste osservazioni sono il presupposto della discussione di Aristarco sull'accentuazione di ὑπιπέτης in Omero<sup>4</sup>. La discussione

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. le discussioni di Göttling 1835, 312 e Chandler 1881, 11-13. Per i vocaboli disillabici in -της cfr. Hdn. vol. II, p. 946 rr. 3-6 Lenz; Choerob. in *Theod.* in *Theodosii Alexandrini canones, Georgi Choerobosci scholia, Sophroni Patriarchae Alexandrini excerpta*, recensuit . . . A. Hilgard, Lipsiae 1894, vol. I, p. 187 rr. 15 ss.; A. D. *Adv.* in *Apollonii Dyscoli quae supersunt . . . Apollonii scripta minora a R. Schneidero edita*, Lipsiae 1878, vol. I, p. 135 rr. 15-19; *EM* 435. 47; Eust. ad *Il.* 2. 765, 340. 45 ss. Confuso invece Arc. p. 26 rr. 7-19 Barker, che mescola nomi della prima e della terza declinazione; si veda anche la nota di Lenz ad Hdn. vol. I, p. 79 r. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. Arc. p. 27 r. 11 Barker τὰ εἰς ης ἐπίθετα παρὰ ῥῆμα σύνθετα εἰς οὐς ποιοῦντα τὴν γενικὴν ὀξύνεται, εὐσεβῆς, εὐλαβῆς, θεοφιλῆς (con indicazione di eccezioni) = Hdn. vol. I, p. 79 rr. 21-22 Lenz. Secondo Cherobosco le eccezioni si possono dividere nelle seguenti categorie: nomi propri (ad es. Δημοσθένης), derivati di nomi trisillabici parossitoni neutri della terza declinazione (μέγεθος > παμμεγέθης), derivati da disillabi neutri della terza declinazione terminanti in *eta* + consonante labiale, dentale o gutturale + ος (ad es. μήκος > ἐπιμήκης, mentre γένος > εὐγενής). Vedi Choerob. in *Theod.* vol. I, p. 167 rr. 15 ss. Hilgard (vedi sopra, n. 2); Eust. 341. 9-12; Chandler 1881, 197-200, che discute anche alcuni casi divergenti dalla norma, talvolta solo in apparenza.

<sup>4</sup> Studiosi moderni sostengono che ὑπιπέτης, -ου deriva da \*ὑπιπετέτης, poi semplificato: E. Fraenkel, 'Zur griechischen Wortbildung', *Glotta* 1 (1909) 270-287, spec. 276; Fraenkel 1910, 63; Chantraine 1975, 80; D. Steriade, 'Greek Accent: A Case for Preserving Structure', *Linguistic Inquiry* 19.2 (1988) 271-314, spec. 274. Questo non influisce sulla questione dell'accento.

di Aristarco dimostra l'antichità della dottrina esposta dai grammatici citati sopra (note 2-3). Aristarco ritiene che, per stabilire l'accento della parola, è necessario determinare a quale declinazione essa appartiene. Questo è il testo dello scolio che riporta ed approva l'opinione di Aristarco (Σ *Il.* 12. 201 d Erbse)<sup>5</sup>:

ὕψιπέτης· Ἀρίσταρχος ἐβάρυνεν εὐρῶν τὸ “ὠκυπέτα χρυσήσιν ἐθείρησιν” (*Il.* 8.42; 13.24) οὕτως κεκλιμένον, ὡσεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντοπῶλης παντοπῶλα. πρόδηλον δὲ κάκ τῶν διαλέκτων· “ὕψιπέτας” γὰρ εὐρήθη κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ ἦ εἰς τὸ ἄ ὅπερ ζητεῖ καὶ ἡ κλίσις καὶ ἡ βαρεῖα τάσις. τινὲς μὲντοι ἐτόλμησαν τὸ ὑψιπέτης περισπᾶσαι, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἔφη “ὥστ’ αἰετὸς ὑψιπετήεις” (*Il.* 22. 308). ὡς οὖν τὸ “τιμήεις ἔσομαι” (*Od.* 13. 129) ἐγένετο τιμῆς, “οὐκέθ’ ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσαι” (*Il.* 9. 605), οὕτως ὑψιπετήεις ὑψιπετής. ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ τιμῆς εὐρομεν αἰτιατικὴν, “καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα” (*Il.* 18. 475), ἥτις ἐδίδασκε τὸ τῆς εὐθείας πάθος· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ προκειμένου οὐδὲν εὐρομεν τοιοῦτο. ἔνθεν ἐπέισθημεν τῷ Ἀριστάρχωι<sup>6</sup>.

Il verbo βαρύνω significa qui ‘accentare l’ultima sillaba con un accento grave’, cioè ‘dare un accento non ossitono (o perispomeno), ma parossitono, proparossitono o properispomeno’ (la scelta del tipo di accento è spesso obbligata)<sup>7</sup>. Questo significato non è spiegato in maniera precisa nei dizionari<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Questo passo è riportato anche in Hdn. vol. I, p. 65 rr. 25 ss., vol. II, pp. 82 rr. 5 ss., p. 332 rr. 24 ss. Lenz.

<sup>6</sup> La forma ὑψιπετήεις (*Il.* 22. 308, *Od.* 24. 538, in fine verso) era usata da “alcuni” per sostenere l’accento ὑψιπετής, ma è molto più probabile che ὑψιπετήεις sia una neoformazione metricamente conveniente coniata su ὑψιπέτης; cfr. Schmidt 1967, 232 s., n. 1365. Non ci sono attestate altre formazioni in -πετήεις.

<sup>7</sup> Questo uso è attestato ad es. in Σ *Il.* 1. 364 b2 Erbse (a proposito di βαρὺ στενάχων) ὁ Σιδώνιος περισπᾶι ... Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ βαρύνει· τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ κινήματα ὡς ἀπὸ βαρυτόνου γέγονε· “βαρὺ δὲ στενάχοντος ἄκουσα” (*Od.* 8. 95), “ἐπεστενάχοντο δ’ ἑταῖροι” (*Il.* 4. 154), Σ *Il.* 4. 153 a Erbse, Σ *Il.* 2. 764 Erbse, Σ *Soph.* *El.* 70; si veda anche l’interpolazione grammaticale in D. H. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 58. Altri esempi in Chandler 1881, 13-14 e K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis homerici*, Lipsiae 1865<sup>2</sup>, 303-304. Lo stesso vale per l’aggettivo βαρύτονος: parole perispomene sono di solito escluse (*pace* LSJ s. v. 2 ‘not oxytone’), cfr. Göttling 1835, 42 e V. Vécères Botas, *Diccionario de terminologia gramatica griega*, Salamanca 1985, 106. Così, esplicitamente, in Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως τονικά παραγγέλματα. Αἰλίου Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ σχημάτων, edidit G. Dindorfius, Lipsiae 1825, p. 6 rr. 10-17 = Hdn. vol. I, p. 10 rr. 6-12 e 18-20 Lenz: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι καθ’ ἑκάστην λέξιν ἐν μιᾷ συλλαβῇ τίθεμεν ἢ ὀξεῖαν ἢ περισπωμένην, ἐν δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς συλλαβαῖς βαρεῖαν· οἶον



Aristarco sostiene che in Omero l'aggettivo ὑπιπέτης è della prima declinazione. Egli nota che la forma duale omerica è ὠκυπέτα (non \*ὠκυπετεῖ). Questo mostra che un composto di identica terminazione apparteneva ai temi maschili in *alpha*. Lo scolio inoltre cita la forma dorica del nominativo ὑπιπέτας, una forma che noi leggiamo in passi lirici di Sofocle e Aristofane<sup>9</sup>. Gli aggettivi in -ής, -ές mantengono l'*eta* del nominativo maschile e femminile nei passi con vocalismo dorico del dramma attico, in maniera corrispondente al vocalismo dorico di poeti lirici come Pindaro. Questo mostra che almeno Sofocle e Aristofane consideravano ὑπιπέτας come assimilabile ai nomi in -θς, ου, non ai temi in *sigma* della terza declinazione. Si può aggiungere che in Pi. P. 3. 105 troviamo l'espressione ὑπιπετᾶν ἀνέμων, con derivazione dalla prima declinazione, e che Sofocle scrive ὠκυπέται μόρωι in Tr. 1043. Siccome l'aggettivo apparteneva alla prima declinazione, Aristarco sceglieva l'accento parossitono ὑπιπέτης.

Aristarco ritiene dunque che se un composto terminante in -πετης appartiene alla prima declinazione, l'accento non può essere ossitono<sup>10</sup>. La soluzione migliore è quindi non discostarsi dall'accento di Aristarco per Omero e per i passi che dipendono da Omero (come il frammento di Sofocle citato). L'interpretazione aristarchea della *paradosis* omerica era intesa nelle sue implicazioni anche nella tarda antichità. Nonno, in D. 40. 494, deriva correttamente l'accusativo

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ἐν τῶι μὲν ἐλάδῳ δευτέρα συλλαβὴ ὀξύνεται, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ βαρύνονται, καὶ ἐν τῶι ἄλλοιῳ ἢ μέση περισπᾶται, ἢ δὲ πρώτη καὶ τρίτη βαρύνονται. διὸ καὶ βαρύνονα καλεῖται τὰ προοξύτονα καὶ τὰ προπερισπῶμενα, διὸ ἢ τελευταία τούτων βαρύνεται ε, per il verbo, cfr. rr. 25–27 τὰ γὰρ εἰς οὐς ἀπλᾶ πάντα περισπᾶται, οἷον βοῦς, χοῦς, πλοῦς· τὰ δὲ σύνθετα πάντα βαρύνεται, οἷον Μελάμπους, Οἰδίπους.

<sup>8</sup> "Pronunciare con l'accento grave, cioè senza accentazione" è l'unico significato prosodico offerto da Montanari 1995, s. v. βαρύνω 1; in maniera simile anche LSJ s. v. II "mark with the grave accent", DGE s. v. II 5 "pronunciar con acento grave". Cfr. invece Vendryes 1904, 48–49 e 59; Apollonius Dyscole, *De la construction (Syntaxe)*, texte grec accompagné de notes critiques... per J. Lallot, Paris 1997, vol. II, p. 357 ('baryton') e 381 ('grave').

<sup>9</sup> Si vedano Soph. fr. 476. 1 Radt γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ὑπιπέτας, imitato in Ar. Av. 1337, oltre che naturalmente le discussioni grammaticali che dipendono dal passo di Aristarco.

<sup>10</sup> Lo scolio ad Il. 12. 201 d Erbse aggiunge che è improbabile anche una accentazione ὑπιπέτης; per l'aggettivo τιμῆς (da τιμήεις) ci sono casi diversi dal nominativo ed essi confermano la declinazione di appartenenza. In assenza di simili punti di appoggio, osserva lo scolio, è più economico seguire la proposta di Aristarco.

αϊετόν ὑπιπέτην ἱερεύσατε Κυανοχαίτη (non ὑπιπετῆ, che produrrebbe uno iato).

In Opp. *H.* 1. 621 si legge ὑπιπετής γεράνων χορός. Non ci sono edizioni critiche recenti, ma la parola è ossitona nelle edizioni di Schneider (Lipsiae 1776 e 1813) e Mair<sup>11</sup>. Questo sembra linguisticamente possibile (vedi sotto su ὑπιπετής, -ές), ma, dato che l'occorrenza è in poesia esametrica, è più probabile accettare l'accento parossitono (così Passow). Lo scolio collega l'aggettivo al verbo 'volare', ὑπιπέτης [ὑπιπετής Bussemaker]: ὁ ἐν τῷ ὕψει πετόμενος<sup>12</sup>, e probabilmente presuppone un accento parossitono.

Il termine usato nello scolio a Opp. *C.* 3. 111 Bussemaker ὑπιπόλοις· ὑπιπέτοις non corrisponde a nessuna parola segnalata dai lessici. Si può pensare a scrivere ὑπιπέταις nello scolio.

Oltre a ὑπιπέτης ci sono solo due altri aggettivi in età pre-bizantina che io ritengo terminino in -πέτης (si veda sotto la sez. 5 per altri casi controversi):

ὠκυπέτης, -ου<sup>13</sup> è attestato già in Omero al nominativo duale, e al dativo in *S. Tr.* 1043 (citato sopra). Le altre forme attestate confermano l'appartenenza alla prima declinazione: nominativo dorico ὠκυπέτας *Simm. AP* 15. 24. 9 = fr. 24. 9 p. 116 Powell; dativi plurali ὠκυπέταις *Arch. AP* 9. 19. 4 = *Archias XIX* 4 = 3703 Gow-Page 1968; ὠκυπέτησιν in Opp. *C.* 3. 399; accusativo plurale ὠκυπέτας in *A. Rh.* 2. 1050, *Philostr. Im.* 1. 8. 1.

ἀερσιπέτης, -ου è attestato in *Q. S.* 3. 211 = 6. 49 οἰωνοῖσιν ἀερσιπέτησιν ἐδωδῆν L'aggettivo è erroneamente classificato da LSJ<sup>14</sup> e da Montanari s. v. come della terza declinazione (nonostante l'accento e la desinenza). Passow e *DGE* lo assegnano correttamente alla prima declinazione, con accento parossitono. Lascaris proponeva di scrivere ἀερσιπότησιν, una congettura con buoni paralleli<sup>15</sup>, ma è

<sup>11</sup> Oppianus, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus, with an English translation by A. W. Mair, New York-London 1928.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. *Scholia in Theocritum*, ... annotatione critica instruit F. Dübner, *Scholia et paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum*, ... annotatione critica instruit U. C. Bussemaker, Parisiis 1878, 294. Nel lemma dello scolio bisogna accentare ὑπιπέτης: cfr. lo scolio D ad *Il.* 12. 201 Dindorf = 12. 201 Z<sup>s</sup> van Thiel (vedi [www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/vanthiel](http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/vanthiel)) e la prima parte di Suida v 762 Adler.

<sup>13</sup> Passow erroneamente cataloga la parola come ὠκυπέτης, -ες.

<sup>14</sup> L'errore non è corretto né nel *Supplement* né nel *Revised Supplement*.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. κύκνοι ἀερσιπόται in *Hes. Sc.* 316, e il nominativo ἀερσιπότης (solo al nominativo) in *Nonn. D.* 2. 22 e 12. 97. La congettura di Lascaris è riportata

improbabile che la parola ἀερσιπέτησιν si sia corrotta due volte nello stesso modo, e producendo un hapax.

Si veda però anche sotto (sezione 5) su ταχυπέτης/ταχυπετής.

3. Aristarco presuppone che gli aggettivi composti in -πετης che appartengono alla terza declinazione debbano ricevere un accento ossitono al nominativo. L'accento ossitono e l'appartenenza alla terza declinazione vanno di pari passo negli altri aggettivi composti di simile struttura prosodica. Per i composti che terminano in -φύης, -ές, -βαφής, -ές, -σκαφής, -ές, -γραφής, -ές e -τραφής, -ές Buck-Petersen 1945, 731 s. segnalano quasi duecento voci<sup>16</sup>. Nessuna di queste voci viene registrata con accento parossitono o tra i temi maschili in *alpha* (cfr. Kretschmer-Locker 1963, 282, Buck-Petersen 1945, 9). Di conseguenza, se noi troviamo aggettivi in -πετης che chiaramente appartengono alla terza declinazione, dobbiamo seguire il presupposto di Aristarco e accentarli sull'ultima sillaba: -πετής.

Dopo il periodo arcaico, da πέτομαι non vengono creati nuovi composti della prima declinazione, con l'eccezione di ἀερσιπέτης, discusso sopra (sez. 2). Vengono invece tratti numerosi aggettivi in -πετής, -πετές, gen. -πετούς: si veda l'elenco completo sotto nella sezione 5<sup>17</sup>. Anche dai verbi πίπτω e πετάννυμι vengono creati molto

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in Quintus de Smyrne, *La suite d'Homère*, texte établi et traduit par F. Vian, Paris 1963–1969 nell'apparato ai passi ricordati. Non raccomando di scrivere ἀερσιπετέσιν: si tratta sicuramente di un caso in cui Quinto Smirneo consciamente segue regole dei grammatici (Aristarco) nel creare nuovi composti sulla base del materiale omerico.

<sup>16</sup> Kretschmer-Locker 1963, 251 s., meno completi, registrano circa centocinquanta voci per le stesse terminazioni.

<sup>17</sup> Alcuni studiosi hanno già osservato questa possibilità ma non ne hanno tratto tutte le conseguenze, e non hanno condotto un riesame approfondito della questione. Chantraine s. v. πέτομαι, Schmitt 1967, 233 s., e Friis Johansen-Whittle 1980 *ad A. Suppl.* 781 tra gli altri, hanno osservato che esistono numerosi composti in -πετής, -πετές derivanti da πέτομαι. Purtroppo alcuni dei loro esempi sono di interpretazione dubbia (διπετής, παλιμπετής), e ci sono alcune imprecisioni. Schmitt 1967, 233 s. ritiene che "im großen ganzen ersehen wir eine Akzentverteilung -πέτης 'fliegend': -πετής 'fallend' oder 'ausgebreitet'. Doch wird diese Regel auch öfters durchbrochen, z. B. schon von παλιμπετής [che per Schmitt deriva da πέτομαι, come gli aggettivi che seguono], διαιπετής, ἀμπετής und dem euripideischen ὑσιπετής. Allerdings hat das nicht weiter zu bedeuten, da ja unser griechisches Akzentuationssystem erst von den alexandrinischen Grammatikern geschaffen wurde. Und in dieser Zeit hatte man παλιμπετής vielleicht, διπετής aber sicher schon längst nicht mehr

composti in -πετής, -πετές, gen. -πετοῦς (nessuno in -πέτης, -πέτου). La derivazione da πίπτω ad esempio è chiara in διοπετής (E. *IT* 977, cfr. 87 s., 1384; cfr. anche E. fr. 971).

Siccome i composti in -πέτης, -πέτου erano solo ricollegabili a πέτομαι, in età bizantina si è pensato che *tutti* i composti tratti da questo verbo dovessero essere parossitoni, una estensione logicamente non corretta<sup>18</sup>. Ci sono vari altri casi in cui grammatici bizantini tracciano artificiose distinzioni tra vari significati di una parola a seconda di una presunta differenza di accento<sup>19</sup>.

Questa spiegazione semplicistica ha influenzato il *Thesaurus* dello Stephanus, LSJ, e molti editori e studiosi di grammatica<sup>20</sup>, tra cui a volte anche il nuovo, utilissimo dizionario di Montanari. Di conseguenza questi strumenti di riferimento trattano in maniera non corretta un certo numero di aggettivi in -πετής. Talvolta assegnano un accento sbagliato, o distinguono due parole artificialmente in base all'accento o addirittura catalogano degli aggettivi nella declinazione sbagliata. E' necessario correggere un certo numero di voci di dizionario, e suggerire emendamenti all'accentazione o alla lezione di alcuni testi antichi. Prima di elencare i composti in -πετής, -ές derivati da πέτομαι, è necessario però discutere alcuni aggettivi di età arcaica e classica di interpretazione controversa.

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anders verstanden als '... gefallen". Schmitt considera la variazione di accento un errore o un arbitrio dei grammatici alessandrini, e non si rende conto della relazione tra accento e appartenenza a una determinata declinazione. Per Frijs Johansen-Whittle 1980 vedi sotto, n. 44, a proposito di ἀμπετής.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Suda v 762 Adler e i rimandi in apparato; Eust. *ad Il.* 12. 201, 899. 52-57 e i riferimenti ad altri studiosi bizantini riportati nell'apparato *ad loc.* di Eustathii ... *commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, .. edidit M. van der Valk, vol. III, Lugduni Batavorum, 1979. Eustazio crea anche delle parole *ad hoc*, come εὐπέτης, non attestate altrove (899 r. 56 εὐπέτης ὁ εὖ πετόμενος: "vox εὐπέτης paroxytono accentu munita 'qui bene volat' ex Eust. solo, quod sciam, est nota" Van der Valk *ad loc.*).

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. LSJ s. v. μοχθηρός *in fine* e Eust. *ad Il.* 2. 216, 205. 44-46, *ad Il.* 12. 210, 906. 42-58. Naturalmente esistevano molti casi in cui le differenze di accento erano effettive: Vendryes 1904, 27-28, 149-154, e 194-195.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. anche *Lexicon Sophocleum*, ... composuit F. Ellendt, editio altera emendata, curavit H. Genthe, Berlin 1872 [Hildesheim 1965] s. v. ὑπιπέτης, R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, Erster Teil: Elementar- und Formenlehre*, ... in neuer Bearbeitung besorgt von F. Blass, Hannover 1890<sup>3</sup>, vol. I, 545 e 548, Buck-Petersen 1945, 731 ("πέτης or -πετής", nel gruppo di aggettivi della terza declinazione).

4. Il significato degli aggettivi διπετής, διαιπετής, e παλιμπετής è molto discusso<sup>21</sup>. La spiegazione tradizionale è che derivino tutti dalla radice di πίπτω<sup>22</sup>, ma è stata anche sostenuta una derivazione da πέτομαι per queste tre parole<sup>23</sup>. Alcuni grammatici antichi suggerivano anche una derivazione da πετόννυμι per διπετής<sup>24</sup>. La questione è molto incerta, specialmente per l'interpretazione di διαιπετής.

Probabilmente la parola διαιπετής, presente nella misteriosa espressione omerica διαιπετέος ποταμοῖο, fu presto soggetta a reinterpretazioni<sup>25</sup>: differenti associazioni erano possibili, e venivano evidenziate

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. διαιπετέος ποταμοῖο *Il.* 16.174, 17. 263, 21. 268, 326, *Od.* 4. 477, 581, 7. 284, e Treu 1958, Schmitt 1967, 221–236 e la bibliografia ricordata in *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos, 10. Lieferung*, Göttingen 1982, s. v. διαιπετής. La forma διαιπετής è attestata solo in Alcman. *PGMF* 3. 67. La parola παλιμπετής è attestata in *Il.* 16.395 e *Od.* 5. 27, e poi in poesia alessandrina (cfr. Kidd 1997 *ad Arat.* 1032).

<sup>22</sup> Per διαιπετής si veda l'ampio apparato di Erbse a Σ *Il.* 16. 174 a-b. Per παλιμπετές si veda la spiegazione di Σ *Il.* 16. 395 Erbse, con i riferimenti di Erbse in apparato. Tra i moderni LSJ (vedi anche *Supplement* e *Revised Supplement*), Montanari s. v. διαιπετής, διαιπετής e παλιμπετής, Frisk e Chantraine s. v. διαιπετής (non Chantraine 1975) seguono queste spiegazioni. Passow tenta di salvare le apparenze distinguendo διαιπετής, -ές, collegato con πίπτω, da διαιπέτης, -ές (sic), da πέτομαι, con *h. Ven.* 4 come unica attestazione.

<sup>23</sup> In molti hanno collegato διαιπετής con πέτομαι. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, München 1939, vol. I, 452 n. 6; H. Lüders, *Varuna. I Varuna und die Wasser*, Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von L. Alsdorf, Göttingen 1951, 11 e 141–143 n. 5; Treu 1958; Humbach 1967, 277; Schmitt 1967, 44–46 e 221 ss. Connettono διαιπετής a πέτομαι, una connessione che anche io ritengo probabile, Lobel in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXIV, ed. by E. Lobel et al., London 1957, 16; Treu 1958, 268; Humbach 1967, 279; Chantraine 1975, 80–83; *Lirica greca*, a cura di F. De Martino e O. Vox, Bari 1996, tomo I, 169. Contrario invece C. Calame, *Alcman*, Roma 1983, 409, *ad fr.* 26. v. 67 = fr. 3. 67 *PMGF*. Si vedano inoltre la discussione e riferimenti bibliografici di D. E. Gerber, 'Greek Lyric Poetry Since 1920. Part II: From Alcman to Fragmenta Adespota', *Lustrum* 36 (1994) 7–188, spec. 32 s. L'interpretazione del prefisso διαι- è controversa: Schmitt 1967, 227–235 controbatte l'interpretazione di Lobel e Treu secondo cui sarebbe una variante di διά. Treu 1958, 267, seguito da Schmitt 1967, 233 n. 1367, sostiene una derivazione da πέτομαι anche per παλιμπετές in *Il.* 16. 395 e *Od.* 5. 27.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. *Les scolies genevoises de l'Iliade*, publiées par J. Nicole, Genève-Bâle 1891 [Hildesheim 1966], vol. II, *ad Il.* 17. 263: ἡ διαφανοῦς καὶ οἰονεὶ διαπεπετασμένου e *Scholia graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, edidit G. Dindorfius, Oxonii 1855, *ad Od.* 4. 477, p. 215 r. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Così giustamente R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume IV: Books 13–16*, Cambridge 1992, *ad* 16. 173–175.

a seconda del contesto. La commistione dei significati è tanto più facile in quanto *πίπτω* e *πέτομαι* derivano da una radice comune (cfr. Frisk e Chantraine s. *vv.* *πίπτω* e *πέτομαι*). In *h. Ven.* 4 οἰωνούς τε διπετέας la derivazione da *πέτομαι* è sicura (“uccelli che volano nel cielo”)<sup>26</sup>.

Un altro significato sicuramente attestato in età classica è quello di “traslucido, trasparente, brillante, luminoso”. Tra le attestazioni più certe di questo significato troviamo E. *Ba.* 1267 λαμπρότερος ἢ πρὶν καὶ διπετέστερος (a proposito dell’ αἰθήρ) e *Rh.* 43 διπετῆ δὲ ναῶν πυρσοῖς σταθμά. Anche in *Hyps.* I iv 31 στατῶν γὰρ ὑδάτων [ν]άματ’ οὐ διειπετῆ questo significato è possibile<sup>27</sup>. Eroziano cita E. fr. 815 †δμοῖσι δ’ ἐμοῖσιν εἶπον ὡς ταυτηρίαις πυρίδες καὶ διηπετῆ (διειπετῆ Nachmanson) κτεῖναι† per sostenere che l’aggettivo διειπετεῖς ha il senso διαυγῆς καὶ καθαρὸς ma il frammento non è chiaro<sup>28</sup>; l’aggettivo viene glossato anche altre volte con διαυγῆς (Σ *Od.* 4. 477 Dindorf) o con λαμπρός (Σ *Il.* 16. 174 a Erbse). Il papiro dell’*Ipsipile* testimonia la grafia διειπετής, una grafia sostenuta da Zenodoro per Omero<sup>29</sup>, e introdotta per congettura da Elmsely, seguito da Diggle, nei passi delle *Baccanti* e del *Reso*<sup>30</sup>.

Il passo di Emp. 31 B 100 vv. 8-9 Diels-Kranz ὥσπερ ὅταν παῖς /

<sup>26</sup> Si vedano Q. S. 3. 211 = 6. 49 οἰωνοῖσιν ἀερσιπέτησιν ἐδωδὴν (cfr. sopra, sezione 2), e Nonn. *D.* 5. 220 διπετέων ἀνέμων, forse reminescente di Pi. *P.* 3. 105, citato sopra. H. Ebeling et al., *Lexicon Homericum*, Lipsiae-Londini-Parisiis 1880-1885 [Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1987], vol. I, 308 segue la teoria bizantina e cataloga *h. Ven.* 4 come unico esempio sotto la voce διπέτης (“in aere volans”), differente da διπετής “ab Iove delapsus”.

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. Euripides, *Bacchae*, edited ... by E. R. Dodds, Oxford 1960<sup>2</sup> *ad v.* 1267; Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, edited by G. W. Bond, Oxford 1963, *ad I iv*, 31 (contrario alla grafia διει-, con bibliografia); Treu 1958, 263 s. e 273; Schmitt 1967, 222 s.; Humbach 1967, 280 con diverse opinioni. Il passaggio semantico da “che vola nel cielo/che cade dal cielo” a “brillante (limpido)” non è chiaro.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. *Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum collectio cum fragmentis*, recensuit E. Nachmanson, Gotoburgi-Upsaliae 1918, δ 27 (p. 34 rr. 12-15); si veda Treu 1958, 274 n. 4 e sotto, n. 34.

<sup>29</sup> Zenodoro glossa l’aggettivo come διαυγῆς, cfr. *Prophryii Quaestionum Homericarum liber I*, a cura di A. R. Sodano, Napoli 1970, p. 129 rr. 13-16, riportato da Erbse in apparato a Σ *Il.* 16. 174 a/b. Lo Σ *Od.* 4. 477, p. 216 rr. 9-11 Dindorf attribuisce la stessa spiegazione a Zenodoto, ma una variante riferisce la glossa a Zenodoro (cfr. l’apparato di Erbse).

<sup>30</sup> *Euripidis Fabulae*, edidit J. Diggle, Tomus III, Oxonii 1994. Così anche, seguendo il papiro, in E. *Hyps.* I iv 31 = v. 133 *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta*, edidit J. Diggle, Oxonii 1998.

κλεψύδρη [Diels: -ην uel -αις mss.] παίζουσα διπετέος [διει- Diels] χαλκοῖο, spesso trascurato, è difficile da interpretare. Molti interpreti ritengono che Empedocle parli di “una fiala per prendere acqua, fatta di bronzo splendente”<sup>31</sup>, ma il senso di “brillante” sembra una estensione di “traslucido”, “trasparente”, e viene applicato all’acqua, all’aria o al fuoco negli altri casi<sup>32</sup>, non a un metallo<sup>33</sup>. Forse l’uso in questo passo si spiega con il fatto che la ‘clessidra’ di Empedocle era un contenitore con una stretta imboccatura, e con molti fori alla base. Si può suggerire che la luce poteva passare attraverso questi fori (cfr. v. 13 τρήματα πυκνά), ed è perciò che l’oggetto poteva essere detto ‘trasparente/brillante’.

Incerto invece il senso di Hp. *Mul.* 1. 24 (Littré VIII, p. 64 r. 5) ἦν δὲ ὁ γόνος ἀπορρέη διπετής, καὶ μὴ λήγηι, οὐ μίσηται ἀσπασίως τῶι ἀνδρῶι. Dei due significati attestati sicuramente (‘che vola nel cielo/trasparente’) il primo è impossibile e il secondo improbabile, e sono state avanzate varie proposte alternative<sup>34</sup>.

5. Elenco ora alcuni aggettivi in -πετής, -πετέος derivanti da πέτομαι. La prima attestazione sicura risale alla prima metà del quinto secolo

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy, Volume II*, Cambridge 1969, 220–222, con bibliografia: “a water-lifter (*clepsydra*) of shining bronze” (Guthrie p. 220); simili Empedocles, *The Extant Fragments*, edited . . . <by> M. R. Wright, New Haven-London 1981, 244 e Diels-Kranz *ad loc.*

<sup>32</sup> A parte [E.] *Rh.* 43, probabilmente del IV secolo a. C.

<sup>33</sup> J. Bollack, *Empédocle, III. Les origines; commentaire 2*, Paris 1969, 485 s. obietta erroneamente che le “clessidre” antiche erano solo di terracotta, non di metallo: cfr. Empedocle, *Poema fisico e lustrale*, a cura di C. Gallavotti, Milano 1975, p. 257–258 e tavole I–II. Bollack adotta la lezione (che io ritengo banalizzante) di parte della tradizione manoscritta δι’ εὐπετέος, e interpreta l’aggettivo nel senso di “*commode . . . maniable, léger*”, riferito all’oggetto in cui la clessidra veniva immersa. Il valore dato alla preposizione διὰ è inadatto. Bollack rimanda ad esempi in cui “διὰ introduit un complément de moyen”, ma traduce come complemento di stato in luogo: cfr. *Empédocle, II. Les origines; édition et traduction*, Paris 1969, 204: “ainsi une enfant / joue à la clepsydre dans une bassine légère”.

<sup>34</sup> Eroziano intendeva il passo ippocratico nel senso di διαυγής και καθαρός (cfr. sopra, n. 28). Chantraine s. v. segue la spiegazione di Eroziano. Montanari s. v. διπετής invece traduce “scorrente, in continuo flusso, limpido”. Humbach 1967, 279, collegando il termine con διερός e πέτομαι suggerisce come significato base del termine “*rasch dahineilend*” e sostiene che “*nur ein geringer Bedeutungswandel ist der zu ‘beständig fließend’*”, il senso richiesto dal luogo di Ippocrate. La questione rimane incerta. L’idea di ‘scorrere’ può essere stata presente anche nel passo di Empedocle citato sopra.

a. C. (ἀμπετής in A. *Suppl.* 782) seguita poi da ὑπιπετής in Euripide, κακοπετής in Aristotele, ὑπερπετής da Polibio in poi. Riporto gli aggettivi in ordine alfabetico, segnalando tra parentesi quadre alla fine di ogni sezione le forme attestate.

ἀεροπετής, -ές Passow, LSJ (non corretti dal *Supplement* né dal *Revised Supplement*) e Montanari hanno due voci, ἀεροπετής, -ές “caduto dal cielo” e ἀεροπέτης ‘che vola in aria’<sup>35</sup>. Bisogna invece distinguere come il *DGE*: (a) ἀεροπετής, -ές (da πίπτω): cfr. ἀεροπετής Φίλιππος in Plb. 36. 10. 2; Ph. Bybl. in Eus. *PE* 1. 10. 31; (b) ἀεροπετής, -ές (da πέτομαι/ἀεροπετέομαι): Horap. 2. 24 σφῆξ ἀεροπετής<sup>36</sup>, P. Lond. 121, 559 s. το πνευμα αεροπετες. Il passo del P. Lond. 121 conferma l’attribuzione della parola alla terza declinazione<sup>37</sup>.

L’interpretazione del composto è confermata dall’uso del verbo ἀεροπετέομαι in testi magici<sup>38</sup>. Un’altra possibile attestazione di ἀεροπετής è in *Vita Aesopi* G 6 ἐπὶ δὲ λεπτοτάτης πίτυος ὄρμη ἀεροπετής [Post: ἡροπήτες ms., ἡεροπέτης Parathomopoulos] ἀπεδίδου μίμημα κοσσίφου. Il *DGE* fa derivare questa occorrenza da πίπτω, “caduto dall’aria”. In vista di Pi. *P.* 3. 105 e Nonn. *D.* 5. 220, citati sopra, è più probabile che ἀεροπετής significhi qui “che vola nell’aria”<sup>39</sup>. La congettura di Parathomopoulos è accettata da Ferrari nella più recente e accurata edizione di questo testo; ἡεροπέτης viene inteso come derivante da πέτομαι da Bonelli e Sandrolini che traducono il testo

<sup>35</sup> Passow scrive addirittura ἀεροπέτης, -ου, da πέτομαι, ma non offre riferimenti a passi. Il *Thesaurus* raccomandava di accentare la parola (da πέτομαι) come παροσσίτονα, ma non correggeva il lemma; Treu 1958, 269 usa l’accentazione παροσσίτονα come parallelo per ὑπιπέτης.

<sup>36</sup> L’aggettivo è costantemente accentato come ossitono nelle edizioni: *Horapollinis Niloti Hieroglyphica*, Graece et Latine, cum ... observationibus ... J. Merceri et. D. Hoeschli et ... N. Caussini, curante J. C. De Pauw, Trajecti ad Rhenum 1727; *Horapollinis Niloti Hieroglyphica*, ed. ... C. Leemans, Amstelodami 1835; e così anche in *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica*, ... edizione critica ... di F. Sbordone, Napoli 1940, 150. Il testo di Mercier (Parisiis 1551) è riprodotto in Horapolo, *Hieroglyphica*, edición J. M. González de Zárate ..., Torrejón de Ardoz 1991, 503.

<sup>37</sup> Preisendanz accenta correttamente ἀεροπετές, e lo fa derivare da πέτομαι: *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, hrsg. und übersetzt von K. Preisendanz, unter Mitarbeit von E. Diehl, S. Eitrem, A. Jacoby, Leipzig-Berlin 1931, VII 559 s.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. *Supplementum Magicum*, vol. I, edited ... by R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, ad 38. 11, e l’indice di Preisendanz (nota precedente).

<sup>39</sup> Si veda anche sotto, a proposito di ταχυπετής.



(“volitante nell’aria”)<sup>40</sup>. Se si sceglie questa forma è forse possibile pensare anche a ἡεροπετής. I composti in ἡερο- sono tipicamente poetici, e questa forma darebbe un tocco elevato alla descrizione della consacrazione di Esopo da parte delle Muse. [ἀεροπετής, αεροπετες]

ἀμπετής è l’interpretazione del testo di M proposta da Hermann in A. *Suppl.* 782 ἀμπετής ἄϊστος ὡς κόνις ἀερεθε πετερύγων ὀλοίμαν (ἀμπετήσαισδόσωσ M: ἀμπετής Hermann, ἄϊστος C. G. Haupt)<sup>41</sup>. Hermann intendeva il composto come “expansus”, da πετάννυμι, come nelle attestazioni di ἀναπετής che si trovano in scritti medici<sup>42</sup>. Editori seguenti hanno presto compreso che la derivazione da πέτομαι è innegabile<sup>43</sup>. I dizionari (LSJ, Montanari, s. v. ἀναπετής) giustamente accettano l’accento ossitono (presente in M), l’attribuzione alla terza declinazione e la derivazione da πέτομαι<sup>44</sup>. [ἀμπετής]

ἡεροπέτης: congettura di Parathomopoulos in *Vita Aesopi G*, § 6; vedi sopra a proposito di ἀεροπετής.

κακοπετής: ‘che vola male’, è attestato solo una volta, al nominativo, in riferimento ad un nome maschile, in Arist. *HA* 616 b 11. L’accento stampato nelle edizioni è κακοπέτης, anche se viene segnalata una variante κακοπετής<sup>45</sup>. Però, come si è osservato, dopo l’età arcaica non vengono creati nuovi composti in -πέτης, -πέτου al di fuori dell’epica, mentre in prosa ci sono molte nuove formazioni in -πετής,

<sup>40</sup> Cfr. *Romanzo di Esopo*, Introduzione e testo critico a cura di F. Ferrari, traduzione e note di G. Bonelli e G. Sandrolini, Milano 1997.

<sup>41</sup> Friis Johansen-Whittle 1980 e M. L. West, in *Aeschyli Tragoediae cum incerti poetae Prometheus*, Stuttgartiae 1990 [1998<sup>2</sup>], preferiscono ἀϊνός di Kirchhoff a ἄϊστος.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. *Aeschyli Tragoediae*, rec. G. Hermannus, Lipsiae 1852, tomus II, ad A. *Suppl.* 782 (752 *ed. suae*), e ἀμπετές in Heliodorus Atheniensis, fr. 472. 15 *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ediderunt H. Lloyd-Jones - P. Parsons, Berolini-Novae Eboraci 1983, con l’apparato *ad loc.* Il parallelo è già ricordato in *The Tragedies of Aeschylus*, with an English commentary by F. A. Paley, London 1870<sup>3</sup> ad *Suppl.* 782 (761 *ed. suae*).

<sup>43</sup> Si veda ad es. la nota *ad loc.* in *The ‘Supplices’ of Aeschylus*, commentary ... by T. G. Tucker, London 1884.

<sup>44</sup> La nota di Friis Johansen-Whittle 1980 *ad loc.* è utile ma imprecisa “ἀμπετής: a hapax, formed from ἀναπέτεσθαι, cfr. ὑμπετής [*sic*, ossitono] (*Il.* 12. 201, etc.), as well as late-attested formations such as ἀεροσιπέτης [in realtà ἀεροσιπέτης, -ου, cfr. sopra], τηλοπέτης [cfr. sotto], αεροπετής, ὑπερπετής”.

<sup>45</sup> Attestata nei mss. PE<sup>a</sup> di Bekker, il primo del XIV sec., il secondo di età più tarda. In base alla teoria bizantina ricordata sopra, la variante è respinta da Fraenkel 1910, 63: “doch bedeutet der -σ-Sta. -πετής nur ‘fallend’, nicht ‘fliegend’, vgl. διπετής, δοριπετής, προπετής, χαμαιπετής u. a.”

-πετές. È molto più probabile che Aristotele intendesse l'aggettivo come ossitono, e che la variante sia giusta (anche se magari solo fortunosamente). LSJ, non corretti dai supplementi, e Montanari scrivono *κακοπέτης*, mentre Passow ha giustamente *κακοπετής*, -ές. [*κακοπέτης / κακοπετής*]

*μεσοπετής*, -ές: cfr. Lampe s. v., che rimanda a Dion. Ar. c.h. 7. 3 e commenti *ad loc.* [*μεσοπετείς*]

*όξυπετής*, -ές: la forma si ritrova usata a proposito della φήνη, "un tipo di uccello simile all'aquila", nello Σ *Od.* 3. 372 Dindorf, che sembra riportare un frammento poetico (fr. 1165 *Supplementum Hellenisticum* *όξυπετεί φαιδρωί*). Si veda anche Evagr. h. e. 3. 26 (PG 86 col. 2649 b), citato da Lampe s. v. *όξυπετής*, e inoltre Eust. PG 136 col. 24 d<sup>46</sup>. Per il significato, cfr. anche Lampe s. v. *όξυπετεστέρως*. Passow, LSJ e Montanari scrivono il nominativo correttamente come ossitono. [*όξυπετές, όξυπετεί*]

*όρσιπετής*: *ύψου πετόμενος* Hsch. o 1330 Schmidt. Il *Thesaurus* e LSJ (non Passow) scrivono *όρσιπέτης* e la parola viene catalogata come della prima declinazione anche da Buck-Petersen 1945, 549. Non è possibile escludere assolutamente che si tratti di una neoforazione poetica della prima declinazione, ma se Schmidt riportava correttamente l'accento della tradizione manoscritta non c'è nessun motivo di correggerlo. [*όρσιπετής*]

*ούρανοπετής*, -ές: è usato come derivato da *πίπτω* in Plu. *Mor.* 637 b, 830 f, 870 c (così, giustamente, Passow, LSJ, Montanari). Lampe s. v. segnala però che Eusebio di Cesarea ed Eustazio di Antiochia<sup>47</sup> usano il termine come derivato di *πέτομαι*. Ai suoi esempi si può aggiungere Eus. in *Is.* 2. 19<sup>48</sup>. [Quando deriva da *πέτομαι* l'aggettivo è attestato nelle forme *ούρανοπετής, ούρανοπετών, ούρανοπετείς*]

<sup>46</sup> Cfr. Eustazio di Tessalonica, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, testo critico di S. Kyriakidis ... versione italiana di V. Rotolo, Palermo 1961, p. 22 r. 7 τὸ κατὰ πρᾶξιν *όξυπετές* "la prontezza nell'agire".

<sup>47</sup> Particolarmente chiari Eust. (Antioch.) *engast.* 20 *ούρανοπετών ἀγγέλων*, 23 *χοροὺς ἀγγέλων ούρανοπετείς*, in riferimento agli "angeli che volano nel cielo", e all'implausibilità che possano essere evocati nello stesso luogo insieme alle "anime dell'Adè".

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. *Eusebius Werke, Neunter Band: Der Jesajakommentar*, hrsg. von J. Ziegler, Berlin 1975, p. 257 rr. 33-36: *δίκην ἀετῶν περοφυῆσαι ὥστε ἀναπτῆναι καὶ ὑψωθῆναι καὶ τέλος τὴν εἰς ούρανοῦς πορείαν στείλασθαι τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ ἀετῶν φύσις ούρανοπετής οὔσα κτλ.* Cfr. anche Eus. v. C. 3.55.1 *οἶα δέ τις ούρανοπετής ἀετῶν ὄξυωπέστατος ἄνωθεν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τὰ πορρωτάτα διεστώτα κατὰ γῆν ἴδοι*.

ταχυπετεῖς è supplemento molto incerto di Reinach a Limenius, p. 149 Powell, v. 8. La forma ταχυπετές è attestata in Dion. Ar. c. h. 15. 8 (337 a 6)<sup>49</sup>. LSJ e Passow sono incerti tra ταχυπέτης e ταχυπετής, assegnando alla terza declinazione il vocabolo. Sicuramente l'accento ossitono, accolto da Montanari e Lampe, è quello giusto. Autori bizantini forse usavano ταχυπέτης, -ες<sup>50</sup>. [ταχυπετές]

τηλοπετής, -ές: in Apollonid. *AP* 6. 239. 4 (= Apollonides III 4 = 1140 Gow-Page 1968) gli editori, seguendo la tradizione manoscritta medievale, stampano δῶρον ἀποιμάντου τηλοπέτεως ἀγέλης<sup>51</sup> (detto del miele), e i dizionari (*Thesaurus*, Passow, LSJ, Montanari) registrano τηλοπέτης, ma non si vede perché Apollonides dovesse preferire un accento idiosincratice in un composto di sua creazione. Non c'è nessuna garanzia che il testo di Apollonides segnasse costantemente gli accenti, o che i manoscritti medievali riportino correttamente gli ipotetici accenti originali. E' probabile che l'accento della tradizione manoscritta medievale sia stato scelto in osservanza dalla norma bizantina (-πετής "che vola" deve essere sempre parossitono). Si osservi che i pochi casi di genitivo in -εως attestati nella tradizione letteraria sono circonflessi: *Il.* 9. 109 διογενεῦς, *Od.* 24. 398 Ὀδυσσεῦς<sup>52</sup>. Basandosi sul modello di διογενεῦς *et sim.* Apollonides avrà inteso scrivere τηλοπετεῦς. Friis Johansen-Whittle 1980 *ad A. Suppl.* 781 presuppongono che l'accento corretto del nominativo sia τηλοπετής, ma non argomentano la loro proposta, e non discutono questo passo (che è l'unico in cui l'aggettivo è attestato). C'è un altro problema: gli altri composti di τῆλε/τηλόσε sono formati con l'elemento τῆλε- (ad es. τηλέπλανος, τηλέπορος, etc.). Si può modificare la congettura

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. Denys l'Aréopagite, *La hierarchie céleste*, introduction par R. Roques, étude et texte critique par G. Heil, traduction et notes par M. de Gandillac, Paris 1958.

<sup>50</sup> In Suida u 58 Adler ἀκόπτερον· ταχυπέτη il manoscritto F ha la variante ταχυπέτην, con una derivazione dalla prima declinazione. Questa forma sembra preferibile in quanto coerente con l'accentazione parossitona. *Anecdota Graeca* Bachmann vol. I, p. 421 r. 6 ha solo ταχυπέτη per la glossa della Suda. La glossa poteva seguire l'erronea dottrina bizantina.

<sup>51</sup> Così Gow-Page e altri editori: cfr. *Anthologia graeca*, edidit H. Stadtmueller, volumen I, Lipsiae 1894 (che riporta esplicitamente l'accento della tradizione manoscritta); *Anthologie Grecque, première partie, Anthologie Palatine, Tome III (livre VI)*, texte établi et traduit par P. Waltz, Paris 1931; *Anthologia Graeca, Buch I-VI*, Griechisch und Deutsch ed. H. Beckby, München 1957.

<sup>52</sup> Il genitivo Ἰδομενεῦς letto da "alcuni" per il nominativo Ἰδομενεύς in *Il.* 13. 424 è un sotterfugio per evitare di avere λήγω con un accusativo interno.

τηλεπέτευς di Dübner<sup>53</sup> e suggerire di considerare anche τηλεπετεῦς [τηλοπέτευς mss., *lege* τηλοπετεῦς *uel* τηλεπετεῦς].

ὑπερπετής, -ές: questo aggettivo è abbondantemente attestato, e la sua connessione con πέτομαι è chiara. A volte prende un significato attenuato: 'alto' (Plb. 8. 4. 4), 'esagerato' (Luc. 50. 17). Passow, *Thesaurus*, LSJ e Montanari s. v. sono corretti [ὑπερπετής, ὑπερπετές, ὑπερπετοῦς, ὑπερπετή, ὑπερπετεῖς, ὑπερπετέσι, ὑπερπετεῖς<sup>54</sup>].

ὑψηλοπετής, -ές: cfr. Lampe s. v., che però accentua incorrettamente ὑψηλοπέτης, come Passow e LSJ. La declinazione e la derivazione sono garantite dalla forma τὰ ὑψηλοπετή e dal suo contesto in Eus. Lc. 12. 22 = PG 24 col. 557 a. Ai passi del Lampe si aggiunga ὑψηλοπετης [si scriva ὑψηλοπετής] (*Glossae graecolatinae* p. 469 r. 27) [ὑψηλοπετής, ὑψηλοπετή]

ὑψιπετής, -ές: LJS (non corretti dal *Supplement* o dal *Revised Supplement*) e Montanari presentano due lemmi: (a) ὑσιπέτης, -ου, derivante da πέτομαι, attestato varie volte a partire da Omero, come si è ricordato sopra, nella sezione 2; sotto questa voce LSJ includono anche ὑσιπετή ὄρνιθα di Ant. Lib. 16. 2, notando però che la forma "belongs in sense to this word, in form to the next" (cioè a ὑσιπετής, -ές); (b) ὑσιπετής, -ές che Passow, LSJ e Montanari fanno derivare da πίπτω<sup>55</sup>. I dizionari citano solo due esempi. Il primo è da Eust. *ad Od.* 5. 27, 1520. 62, che ripete la teoria ricordata sopra (cfr. sez. 3 e n. 18): τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πέτεσθαι γινόμενα βαρύνονται, οἷον "ἀετός ὑσιπέτης" καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν ὀξύνονται, οἷον "παλλάδιον ὑσιπετές". Il sintagma τὸ διοπετές παλλάδιον è diffuso<sup>56</sup>, e Eustazio può aver creato l'espressione παλλάδιον ὑσιπετές semplicemente per spiegare meglio la sua teoria. L'altro esempio citato dai dizionari per la derivazione da πίπτω è *Hec.* 1101, tradotto come "lofty"<sup>57</sup>/"alto". LSJ rimandano anche a Antonino Liberale. In realtà,

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, ... apparatus critico et brevi commentario instruxit F. Dübner, vol. I, Parisiis 1861 *ad loc.* Dübner ricorda anche l'improbabile τηλοπέτευς di Doederlein.

<sup>54</sup> Cfr. rispettivamente Str. 7. 2. 3, Luc. 50.17, Orib. *collectiones medicae* 6. 32. 10 Raeder, Plb. 18. 30. 3, Str. 15. 3. 10, Plb. 8. 4. 4, Plu. *Marc.* 15. 8.

<sup>55</sup> Anche il *Thesaurus* deriva ὑσιπετής da πίπτω. Tutta la discussione di queste forme è sotto la voce ὑσιπέτης.

<sup>56</sup> Cfr. D. H. 2. 66, App. *Mith.* 213, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4. 47. 6, Plu. *Mor.* 309f.

<sup>57</sup> La loro traduzione è ripresa in Euripides, *Children of Heracles*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, edited and translated by D. Kovacs, Cambridge, MA-London 1995, 499: "Shall I fly up to the lofty vault of heaven [...]?"

a parte l'esempio citato da Eustazio, l'unico senso sicuro, e ripetutamente attestato, di ὑπιπετής, -ές è 'che vola alto'.

Per attenersi ai dati bisogna dunque distinguere tre lemmi:

(a) ὑπιπέτης, -ου (collegato con πέτομαι) 'che vola alto', con *Il.* 12. 201, gli altri passi omerici e le loro riprese (vedi sopra, sezione 2);

(b) ὑπιπετής, ές (collegato con πέτομαι) 'che vola alto', con *E. Hec.* 1101, *Ant. Lib.* 16. 2, *Antip. Sid. AP* 7. 172. 2, *Apollonid. AP* 9. 287. 3, e altri passi ricordati sotto;

(c) ὑπιπετής, -ές (collegato con πίπτω) con *Eust.* 899. 57 ("παλλάδιον ὑπιπετέζ").

Illustro ora vari passi che, secondo la mia ricostruzione, si riconducono alla voce (b). Il primo passo da discutere è *Hec.* 1101 {αιθέρ'} [del. Hermann collato scholio] ἀμπτάμενος οὐράνιον ὑπιπετές ές μέλαθρον Ὠαρίων ἢ Σείριος ένθα πυρός φλογέας ἀφήσιν ὄσσων αὐγάς. La derivazione da πίπτω sostenuta dai dizionari (LSJ, Passow, Montanari) è assolutamente inadatta a stelle che rimangono alte nel cielo<sup>58</sup>. Per onviare a questa difficoltà Weil sosteneva che la seconda parte del composto era non significativa<sup>59</sup>. È vero che alcuni composti di πίπτω avevano acquisito presto un valore attenuato: si vedano εὐπετής, "che cade bene", ma anche "fortunato" e "facile", ad es. in *A. Suppl.* 1011<sup>60</sup>; δυσπετής in *S. Aj.* 1046, *A. Pr.* 752; προπετής in *E. Alc.* 909, περιπετής in *E. Andr.* 982. Però i tragici creano un numero di composti nuovi da πίπτω, e in essi il senso di 'cadere' espresso dall'elemento -πετής non è mai obliterato del tutto<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Le Pleiadi ad esempio 'cadono' quando tramontano: *Hes. Op.* 620 πίπτωσιν ές ήεροειδέα πόντον.

<sup>59</sup> Euripides, *Sept tragédies*, . . . avec un commentaire critique . . ., par H. Weil, Paris 1879<sup>2</sup>, *ad loc.*: "ὑπιπετές ne diffère pas de ὑψηλόν: il ne faut pas insister sur le sens primitif du second élément de ce composé poétique". Diggle 1994, 343 avanza un simile argomento per i composti in -δετος.

<sup>60</sup> In *A. Pers.* 95 τίς ὁ κραιπνώι ποδι πηδήματος εὐπετέος ἀνάσσων (v. l. ἀνάσσω) il riferimento al significato etimologico dell'aggettivo è ben chiaro.

<sup>61</sup> "Like Aesch. (βαρυ-, δακρυο-) Eur. coins new -πετής compounds (γόνυ- [*Pho.* > 293 n.], διο-, δορι-) as well as using the more obvious and traditional ones shared by Soph. (εὐ-, περι-, ὑπι- [in realtà Sofocle ha ὑπιπέτας fr. 476. 1, cfr. sopra, n. 9] etc.)": così Euripides, *Phoenissae*, edited by D.J. Mastronarde, Cambridge 1994, commentando *Pho.* 668 γαπετείς. La derivazione da πίπτω è chiarissima ad es. in *Pho.* 293 γονυπετείς έδρας προσπίτνω σ', ἀναξ. L'espressione *A. Ag.* 233 πέπλοισι περιπετή è di significato notoriamente controverso: cfr. le discussioni e i riferimenti bibliografici in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, edited by J. D. Denniston and D. L. Page, Oxford 1957, *ad loc.*

Ritengo improbabile pensare che Euripide creasse un composto nuovo (o usasse un composto comunque non diffusissimo) pensando a una derivazione da πίπτω, ma allo stesso tempo escludendo il senso di ‘cadere’ dal composto<sup>62</sup>.

Il collegamento con πέτομαι è il più probabile. Alcuni interpreti di E. *Hec.* 1101 hanno proposto questa connessione, ma senza fornire paralleli e senza affrontare le questioni linguistiche connesse<sup>63</sup>. L’aggettivo ύπιπετές riferito a μέλαθρον (“dove volerò verso la celeste ‘alto volante’ dimor...”) indica il rapido movimento (“volo”) del cielo con le costellazioni di Sirio e Orione<sup>64</sup>. L’ούρανός è concepito come un palazzo, con porte: *Il.* 5. 749, *Pi.* *N.* 10. 88 ούρανου έν χρυσεύς δόμοισιν, E. *Hipp.* 67–69 ἄ μέγαν κατ’ ούρανόν ναιεις εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν, *Zηνός* πολύχρυσον οἶκον, *Ion* 1 s. “Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκείοισιν [Elmsley<sup>65</sup>: χαλκείοισι νώτοις L] ούρανόν / θεῶν παλαιόν οἶκον

J. Bollack, *Agamemnon* 1., Lille 1981, 295–298 (spec. 298 n. 1) e *S. Aj.* 907 e *Ant.* 1223.

<sup>62</sup> Anche per un aggettivo di uso molto frequente come χαμαιπετής il senso di “cadere a terra” è sempre presente: cfr. E. *Tr.* 507 στίβαδα πρός χαμαιπετή, e *Cyc.* 386 χαμαιπετή / ... εὐνήν, con *Pl. Smp.* 203 c χαμαιπετής καὶ ἄστρωτος “che (dorme) giacendo a terra e senza letto”. L’aggettivo χαμαιπετής è usato in senso metaforico in *Pi.* *O.* 9.12, *P.* 6. 37, ma non viene obliterato il valore del verbo (cfr. *P.* 8. 93, *N.* 4. 41 per l’uso metaforico del verbo πίπτω con χαμαί). In un passaggio più audace come *Tr.* 1003 ἦν δὲ δοριπετής ἀγωνία (“una lotta in cui c’erano dei caduti per la lancia” > “una lotta in cui la gente moriva per i colpi di lancia”) il senso di πίπτω rimane comunque presente. Euripide usa δοριπετής anche in *Andr.* 652, *Cyc.* 305.

<sup>63</sup> Cfr. *Euripides’ Werke*, Griechisch mit ... Anmerkungen von J. A. Hartung, elftes Bändchen: *Hekabe*, Leipzig 1850, v. 1047 *ed. suae*; Euripides, *Hecuba*, edited. ... by W. S. Hadley, Cambridge 1894, 117; Buck-Petersen 1945, 731; Euripide, *Ecuba*, a cura di A. Garzya, Roma-Napoli-Città di Castello 1955, *ad loc.*; Schmitt 1967, 233 s.

<sup>64</sup> Potrebbe essere spiegato come una caso di enallage (“dove mi alzerò altissimo in volo verso la celeste dimora”), ma tra i casi segnalati da W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik*, Stuttgart 1934, 182–186 non ci sono esempi simili: si tratta sempre di trasferimenti di aggettivi all’interno di gruppi nominali strettamente connessi. Sull’enallage in Euripide vedi anche Diggle 1994, 418–420.

<sup>65</sup> La correzione di Elmsley al passo dello *Ione* è convincentemente sostenuta da J. Ebert, ‘Zu Euripides, *Ion* V. 1–3,’ *WJA* N.F. 9 (1983) 49–51 (le altre proposte di Ebert non mi sembrano persuasive); M. C. Martinelli, *Gli strumenti del poeta. Elementi di Metrica greca*, Bologna 1995, 102 s. n. 98; J. A. D. Irvine, ‘Euripides *Ion* l. 1 and Pap. Herc. 1088 2 a Reconsidered’, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 1–8, spec. 6–7. Diggle 1994, 314 ripudia la congettura di Page che accettava nell’edizione dello *Ione*.

ἐκτριβῶν, *HF* 406 s. ἀστροπούς τε κατέσχεν οἴκους ... θεῶν<sup>66</sup>, *Hel.* 1095 s., *Or.* 1684 s., *Cyc.* 353 s. Per il volo delle costellazioni cfr. *Rh.* 531 μέσα δ' αἰετὸς οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται (dove si gioca sul termine 'aquila' per una costellazione)<sup>67</sup>.

Anche il carro del sole 'vola' con i suoi cavalli alati: Diggle *ad Phaeth.* 173, *E. El.* 464-466, *IT* 192, *Or.* 1001 s. τὸ ... περωτὸν ἀλίου ... ἄρμα, *Ion* 122 ἀλίου πτέρυγι θαῖ<sup>68</sup>. Euripide (o Crizia) trasferisce questa metafora alle stelle in *E. fr.* 594 vv. 3-5 (= Critias *TrGF* 43 F 3 vv. 3-5) διδύμοι τᾶρκτοι / ταῖς ὠκυπλάνοις πτερόγων ῥιπαῖς / τὸν Ἀτλάντειον τηροῦσι πόλον. Per il 'corso' del sole e delle stelle cfr. *E. Ion* 1148-1157, *Hel.* 343, e vedi *Tro.* 855 per il 'carro di stelle' preso da Zeus per rapire Ganimede. Il verbo αἴσσω è usato in maniera simile per meteore (Kidd 1997 *ad Arat.* 926) e per stelle (*E. IA* 6-8<sup>69</sup>, *Arat.* 334; cfr. anche *Ion* 745 *PMG* αἰὼν ἀεροφοῖταν ἀστέρα μείναμεν). Il volo delle stelle è quindi ben possibile in *Hec.* 1101.

Hartung valorizzava la variante ὑπιπετής di L<sup>70</sup>, e scriveva ἀμπτάμενος οὐράνιον ὑπιπετής {ἐς} μέλαθρον (= 2cr δ), citando *E. Or.* 1376 per l'assenza di ἐς. Questo proposta è linguisticamente e metricamente possibile, ma l'intreccio degli epiteti combinato con l'assenza della preposizione produce un testo poco chiaro<sup>71</sup>. Inoltre non si vede la

<sup>66</sup> Per le sedi delle singole stelle cfr. invece Nonn. *D.* 6. 232 s. ἀστέρεις ὀππότε πάντες ἐνὶ σφετέροισι μέλαθροις / κεκριμένοι δρόμον εἶχον e forse *Ar. Av.* 1709 s. οἶος οὔτε παμφαῆς / ἀστήρ ἰδεῖν ἔλαμψε χρυσαυγεί δόμωι (δόμωι è rifiutato a favore della variante minoritaria δρόμωι in Aristophanes, *Birds*, edited ... by N. Dunbar, Oxford 1995, *ad loc.*).

<sup>67</sup> Cfr. anche *Arat.* 278 εὐδιόωντι ποτὴν ὄρνιθι ἐουκῶς (a proposito della costellazione dell'*Ornis*), e *Alcm.* 3. 66 s. *PGMF* (sopra, n. 23). Sul verbo 'volare' per comete e simili cfr. *Verg. Aen.* 5. 527 f. *caelo quae saepe refixa / transcurreunt crinetae uolantia ducunt.*

<sup>68</sup> Cfr. Euripides, *Phaethon*, edited ... by J. Diggle, Cambridge 1970; a p. 173 n. 1 discute di *Ion* 122, e sostiene che "the sun's light is imagined as a wing which spreads over the sky", ma i suoi esempi sono di 'ali' che coprono con la tenebra (come quella della notte in *AP* 7. 713. 3 s.), non di ali che 'coprono' con la luce. Penso che *Ion* 122 s. si riferisca al 'volo' dei cavalli del sole.

<sup>69</sup> Accetto il riferimento a Sirio in questi versi: cfr. W. Stockert, *Euripides, Iphigenie in Aulis*, Wien 1992, *ad loc.*

<sup>70</sup> Cfr. *Euripidis Hecuba*, edidit S. G. Daitz, Leipzig 1973 in apparato *ad loc.*

<sup>71</sup> Diggle 1994, 152 s. e 419 s. cita vari casi di aggettivi collocati secondo lo schema ABAB; la difficoltà nel passo dell'*Ecuba* sarebbe che A è espresso non da un nome ma da un participio.

necessità di espungere la preposizione da un testo che si presenta come linguisticamente e metricamente impeccabile. Hadley (cfr. sopra, n. 63), sotto l'impressione che ὑπιπέτες dovesse derivare da πίπτω propone ὑπιπέτης e lo collega a ἀμπάμενος. La sua soluzione è metricamente molto dubbia<sup>72</sup>. La soluzione migliore è accettare ἀμπάμενος οὐράνιον ὑπιπέτες ἐς μέλαθρον, che corrisponde a quattro cretici, e collegare ὑπιπέτες a πέτομαι.

È teoricamente possibile pensare che Euripide intendesse la parola nel senso 'che si dispiega, che si distende in alto', ma non ci sono buoni paralleli per il composto<sup>73</sup>. In Arat. 324 si parla Orione come ὑποῦ πεπτηῶτα 'che si rannicchia in alto' (probabilmente da πτήσσω)<sup>74</sup>. In questo passo Arato allude a ὑπιπέτης di E. *Hec.* 1101, anch'esso riferito alla sede celeste dove si trova Orione, ma varia o reinterpreta il significato del composto. È possibile che Arato alluda a controversie grammaticali su queste forme, e che usi uno stesso participio con significati differenti. Le forme omeriche πεπτεῶς e πεπτηῶς erano e sono molto controverse, così come le imitazioni in poesia successiva<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Il testo ἀμπάμενος οὐράνιον ὑπιπέτης ἐς μέλαθρον darebbe 2cr δ ~, con un docmio di forma non attestata altrove (- ~ - - ~) e una "link anceps" di collegamento ai dattili seguenti.

<sup>73</sup> I composti di πετάννυμι sono pochi, e non attestati in poesia arcaica o classica: Buck-Petersen 1945, 731. Si può rimandare ad Arat. 312 per il verbo παραπετάννυμι. Cfr. la nota successiva.

<sup>74</sup> Secondo Kidd 1997 *ad* Arat. 167 (con bibl.) il participio πεπτηῶς deriva da πτήσσω in quel passo ed in Arat. 517 e 615, mentre va collegato a πίπτω, nel senso, secondo Kidd, di 'giacere', in Arat. 318, 324, 353 [ma la nota di Kidd *ad loc.* implica derivazione da πετάννυμι], 369. Intendere πίπτω nel senso di 'giacere, trovarsi' mi sembra molto dubbio. Martin (in Aratus, *Phénomènes*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. M., tome II, Paris 1998, p. 231 *ad v.* 167) nota che vari interpreti antichi, tra cui Cicerone, traducevano il participio come se derivasse da πετάννυμι, e così Martin lo intende in tutti i passi di Arato.

<sup>75</sup> Il collegamento con πτήσσω mi sembra sicuro in Arat. 615 γνώξ, αἰεὶ δὲ Λύρη παραπεπτηῶτος, il che corrisponde alla derivazione grammaticalmente meno problematica. La stessa osservazione vale per Arat. 369 πεπτηῶτες ὑπὸ πλευρῆσι Λαγῶου. Più problematico invece collegare a πτήσσω il participio in Arat. 318, 324 e 353 (cfr. 204), dove un legame con πετάννυμι sarebbe preferibile per il senso. Per la controversia si vedano Omero, *Odissea, Volume VI*, a cura di M. Fernández-Galiano e A. Heubeck, Milano 1986, *ad* 22. 362 s.; Kidd 1997 *ad* Arat. 167 (che non distingue πεπτεῶς e πεπτηῶς); *Apoloni Rhodii Argonauticon liber quartus*, ... a cura di E. Livrea, Firenze 1973, *ad v.* 93; [Simon.] *AP* 7.24.7; *EM* 662. 49 ss., che discute A. Rh. 1. 1056 e *Il.* 2. 312; Eust. *ad Il.* 2. 312, 229. 4 ss.; O. Hackstein, 'Sprachgeschichte und



Dopo il passo dell'*Ecuba*, il primo esempio di ὑψιπετής, -ές, nel senso di "che vola alto" si trova in Antipatro di Sidone in *AP* 7. 172. 2 (= XXII 2 = 313 Gow-Page<sup>76</sup>) ὑψιπετῆ Βιστονίαν γέρονον. La desinenza rende chiaro che si tratta di un aggettivo della terza declinazione. Questo è confermato dall'accento di parte della tradizione, normalmente accettato dagli editori<sup>77</sup>. Troviamo poi Apollonides, *AP* 9. 287. 3 (= XXIII 3 = 1257 Gow-Page 1968) ὑψιπετῆ τότε τάρσον ἀνὰ πλατὺν ἤερ' ἀερθεῖς, anche in questo caso con variazioni nella tradizione manoscritta<sup>78</sup>.

Didimo il cieco usa costantemente ὑψιπετής, -ές nel senso di "che vola alto". Le edizioni recenti sono coerenti nell'accentazione, presumibilmente seguendo la tradizione manoscritta<sup>79</sup>. L'unico passo in cui bisogna correggere l'accento delle edizioni è nel commento al salmo 49. 9-11a (n. 524, vol. I, p. 364 rr. 12 s., Mühlberg) ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ὑψιπέτεις [*sic lege ὑψιπετεῖς*] γενόμενα ψυχαί, ἐπερωμένοι νοήσσει καὶ ἐναργεῖαις ὄρθαις, πετεινὰ οὐρανοῦ χρηματίζουσι.

In Gr. Naz. *ad patrem* PG 25 col. 849 a, l'edizione più recente, a cura di Calvet-Sebasti<sup>80</sup>, legge ὡσπερ αἰετῶι μεγάλωι καὶ ὑψιπέτει

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Kunstsprache: Der Perfekttyp βεβαρηότες im frühgriechischen Hexameter (und bei späteren Daktylikern)', *Glotta* 74 (1997-1998) 21-53 spec. 23 s. Kidd e Martin non citano E. *Hec.* 1101, che è il modello di Arat. 324.

<sup>76</sup> Cfr. A. S. F. Gow - D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965.

<sup>77</sup> P, Pl e S hanno ὑψιπετῆ, mentre S2 ha ὑψιπέτη, S e vari editori ὑψιπέτην: cfr. *Anthologia graeca*, edidit H. Stadtmueller, volumen II, pars prior, Lipsiae 1899.

<sup>78</sup> C e Pl<sup>mpc</sup> hanno ὑψιπετῆ, mentre A e Pl<sup>mac</sup> hanno ὑψιπετή: cfr. *Anthologia graeca*, edidit H. Stadtmueller, volumen III, pars prior, Lipsiae 1906. Passow s. v. ὑψιπέτης, -ου afferma che in questo passo "falsch ὑψιπετής betont wird", ma non considera che la forma dell'accusativo impedisce di cambiare l'accento.

<sup>79</sup> Cfr. *Psalmenkommentare aus der Kettenüberlieferung, I-II*, von E. Mühlberg, Berlin-New York 1975-1977, n. 114, vol. I, p. 191 r. 10 πτέρυγες δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ ὑπέρτεροι καὶ ὑψιπετεῖς νοήσεις, e poi n. 592a, vol. II, p. 20 r. 20; n. 902, p. 18 r. 18; ὑψιπετέσι n. 1273, p. 356 r. 25; in *Genesim* 45, 16 ὑψιπετῶν, e 75, 25 ὑψιπετ<ε>ῖς (Didyme l'aveugle, *Sur la Genèse, ... édition ...* par P. Nautin, avec la collaboration de L. Doutreleau, Tome I, Paris 1976); in *Eccl.* VI 352, 22 ὑψ<ι>πετές (Didymos der Blinde, *Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil VI, unter Mitwirkung von L. Koenen hrsg. und übersetzt von G. Binder-L. Liesenborghs, Bonn 1986); Didym. in *Ps.* p. 249 r. 8 τὰ ὑψιπετῆ πετεινὰ (cfr. M. Gronewald, 'Didymos der Blinde. Psalmekommentar (Nachtrag der Seiten 248/49 des Tura-Papyrus)' *ZPE* 46 (1982) 97-111, spec. 107).

<sup>80</sup> Gregoire de Nazianze, *Discours 6-12*, introduction, texte critique, traduction, et notes par M. A. Calvet-Sebasti, Paris 1995, 12, § 5.

senza che vengano segnalate varianti in apparato. La forma ὑπιπέτει è inaccettabile. Migne<sup>81</sup> segnala che due mss. hanno la forma ὑπιπετεῖ, ma stampa a testo ὑπιπέτη, presumibilmente una congettura. La forma ὑπιπετεῖ è l'unica sicuramente attestata per questo passo (a parte l'accento), ed è confermata dall'uso patristico: Gr. Nyss. *Eun.* 2. 625 (p. 391 r. 9 s. Jaeger) ὑπιπετουῶς (cfr. r. 12 τῷ τῆς σοφίας περῶν).

È più difficile essere sicuri dell'accentazione corretta in autori più tardi. Talvolta le attestazioni in autori tardoantichi talvolta si conformano alla regola di Aristarco<sup>82</sup> e talvolta no<sup>83</sup>. Più ci si avvicina all'età bizantina e più è difficile stabilire se si debba intervenire per uniformare gli accenti. Per parole molto usate è possibile pensare che l'accento corretto sia stato mantenuto nel parlato, ma gli autori possono comunque aver seguito nella scrittura la regola bizantina, anche contro il loro stesso modo di pronunciare la parola, che sapevano non essere classico. L'accento parossitono era il modo per indicare la derivazione da πέτομαι. [ὑπιπετής, ὑπιπετές, ὑπιπετουῶς, ὑπιπετεῖ, ὑπιπετή, ὑπιπετεῖς, ὑ[ψι]πετή, ὑπιπετῶν, ὑπιπετέσι, ὑπιπετεῖς]

Si possono ricordare infine i seguenti esempi dai glossari greco-latini Goetz-Gundermann:

ιστιοπετης (*Glossae graecolatinae* p. 333 r. 31) e ιστιοπετες (ibid. r. 32): questi vocaboli traducono *ueliolans* e *ueliolum*, e sono chiaramente della terza declinazione, e da accentare come ossitoni (così, giustamente, LSJ, anche se contraddicono la teoria che hanno seguito in molti casi).

υψηλοπετης (*Glossae graecolatinae* p. 469 r. 27) *praepetes* [ms. *praepes* Stephanus<sup>84</sup>] vedi sopra.

*auritus* ωτοπετης· ωτοπαροχος· οξυακοσιλογος (*Glossae graecolatinae* p. 27 r. 17). Bisogna stampare ὠτοπετής. L'aggettivo deriva da πέτομαι, come suggerisce Passow, non da πέτομαι (Buck-Petersen 1945, 731). Passow e LSJ accentano erroneamente ὠτοπέτης, -ες.

<sup>81</sup> *Sancti patri nostri Gregori Theologi ... opera quae extant omnia*, tomus primus, Parisiis 1885, che riprende *Gregorii Theologi ... opera Omnia*, T. I, Parisiis 1778.

<sup>82</sup> Stephanus the Philosopher, *A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates*, edition and translation by J. M. Duffy, [CMG XI 1, 2] Berlin 1983, p. 62 r. 16 διὰ τὸ ὑπιπετή αὐτὸν εἶναι.

<sup>83</sup> Theodoretus *de prov.* PG 83 col. 629 r. 9 ἀετούς ... τοὺς ὑπιπέτεις [ὑπιπετεῖς?], cfr. PG 81 col. 825 r. 32 ὑπιπετές, riferito all'aquila; Gr. *monachus chronicon breue redactio recentior*, PG 110 col. 1240 r. 17 τὸν ὑμπέτη [ὑπιπετή?] ἀετόν.

<sup>84</sup> La congettura sembra palmare, e presuppone una derivazione da πέτομαι.

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# λαρῖνός, λαρός et ἀπολαύω: sémantique et étymologie

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## 1. Introduction

L'adjectif *λαρῖνός* s'applique à des animaux qui sont bien en chair (Xénophane, Aristophane). On a jadis rapproché le nom latin du «lard», *lāridum*, *lārdum* en posant *\*layes-r-inos* pour l'adjectif grec, *\*layes-idom* pour le substantif latin, mais comme ce rapprochement concerne seulement deux langues et que les formes ne sont pas superposables, il ne s'est pas imposé<sup>1</sup>. Nous voudrions ici proposer de rattacher *λαρῖνός* à *λαρός* «agréable au goût», et plus loin, à *ἀπολαύω* «profiter, jouir de». Dans un premier temps, nous présenterons les données relatives à *λαρός* et *ἀπολαύω*; nous essaierons ensuite d'en rapprocher *λαρῖνός*.

## 2. Le problème du sens précis de *λαρός*

*Λαρός* apparaît chez Homère, comme épithète de *δεῖπνον*, *δόρπον*, *οῖνος* et de *αἶμα*, puis en poésie alexandrine et tardive (A. Rh., Mosch., etc.). On pense en général qu'il se réfère à la saveur de la nourriture et on le traduit donc par «agréable au goût» ou par des expressions équivalentes («lecker, wohlschmeckend, genußreich» pour Frisk; «pleasant to the taste, dainty, sweet» pour Liddell-Scott-Jones). En fait, *λαρός* ne se réfère pas vraiment à la saveur, au goût agréable, mais au caractère reconstituant d'une nourriture. Lorsque, en deuil de Patrocle, Achille refuse de prendre quelque nourriture que ce soit et s'exclame:

*Il.* 19. 315–318

*Ἦ ῥά νύ μοι ποτε καὶ σύ, δυσάμμορε, φίλταθ' ἐταίρων,  
αὐτὸς ἐνὶ κλισίῃ λαρὸν παρὰ δεῖπνον ἔθηκας  
αἶψα καὶ ὀτραλέως, ὅποτε σπερχοιάτ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἰπποδάμοισι φέρειν πολύδακρυν ἼΑρηα,*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Pokorny, *IEW*, p. 652; Hj. Frisk, *GEW*, II, p. 85–86; P. Chantraine, *DELG*, p. 620.

«Ah! toi aussi, infortuné, toi le plus cher de mes amis, toi aussi, dans ma baraque, tu m'as servi naguère, prompt et diligent, un repas savoureux, aux jours où les Achéens s'empressaient à porter contre les Troyens dompteurs de cavales l'Arès source de pleurs.»  
(trad. Mazon),

il s'agit seulement d'un repas qui refait les forces, un repas reconstituant, et on pourrait en dire autant pour *λαρὸν* ... *δόρπον* (*Od.* 12, 283 et 14,408, *οἶνον* ... *λαρώτατον* (*Od.* 2,350) et même pour *λαρὸν* ... *αἶμα* en *Il.* 17.572. Certes, le goût compte pour les Anciens: ce qui est *ἡδύς* est préféré à ce qui est *πικρός*; mais ce que l'on attend de la nourriture et de la boisson dans le contexte guerrier de l'épopée, c'est qu'elles restaurent les forces, comme le montrent par exemple les deux passages suivants:

*Il.* 19,160–161 (Ulysse à Achille)

Ἄλλὰ πάσασθαι ἄνωχθι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιοῦς  
σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή.

«Donne plutôt ordre aux Achéens de prendre, près des nefs, leurs parts de pain et de vin: là sont la fougue et la vaillance.»

*Il.* 19,230–232 (Ulysse s'adresse encore à Achille)

ὄσσοι δ' ἂν πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λίπωνται,  
μεινῆσθαι πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον  
ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι μαχώμεθα νωλεμῆς αἰεί.

«Mais tous ceux qui survivent à l'affreuse bataille doivent songer à manger et à boire, afin de mieux se battre avec l'ennemi, obstinément, sans trêve.»<sup>2</sup>

Pour la recherche étymologique, nous partirons donc plutôt de l'idée d'une nourriture *reconstituante* que *savoureuse*.

<sup>2</sup> Une boisson aussi peut être réconfortante, cf. Hécube à Hector, *Il.* 6,258–262: «Reste-là: je vais apporter un doux vin (μελιηδέα οἶνον): tu en feras d'abord libation à Zeus père et aux autres dieux; tu trouveras après, toi-même, profit à en boire (καὺτὸς ὀνήσειαι). Un soldat fatigué voit le vin augmenter grandement son ardeur» (ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει).

3. *Étymologie de λᾶρός*

Il a déjà été remarqué que l'-ω- du superlatif λᾶρώτατος (*Od.* 2,350) «prouve que la syllabe précédente a été brève et que l'*ā* résulte d'une contraction»<sup>3</sup>. On pose donc \*λαF-αρός ou \*λαF-ερός et on rattache cet adjectif à ἀπολαύω<sup>4</sup>.

Ἀπολαύω a le sens général de «profiter de, jouir de»: jouir des biens matériels (τῶν ἀγαθῶν, *Isoc.* 1, 9; *Pl.*, *Grg.* 492 b), jouir d'un savoir (μαθήματος, *Ar.*, *Nu.*, 1231) profiter de la vie (τοῦ βίου, *Thuc.* 2, 53), jouir de loisirs (σχολῆς, *Pl.*, *Lg.* 781e), etc. Mais il s'emploie aussi avec le sens bien précis de «tirer profit d'une nourriture», par exemple dans le traité hippocratique *De l'ancienne médecine*, 11,1, où il est question de brûlures d'estomac chez un sujet qui, habitué à faire un seul repas par jour, s'est mis à en faire deux: la cause doit être que «au lieu d'attendre le temps suffisant pour que son ventre puisse tirer complètement profit des aliments ingérés la veille, les digérer, se vider et avoir du repos, il a introduit en sus de nouveaux aliments dans un ventre qui était en ébullition et en fermentation», οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν τὸν χρόνον τὸν ἱκανὸν μέχρι αὐτοῦ ἢ κοιλή τῶν τῆ προτεραίῃ προσενηνεγμένων σιτίων ἀπολαύση τελέως καὶ ἐπικρατήση καὶ λαπαχθῆ τε καὶ ἡσυχάση ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ζέουσάν τε καὶ ἐζυμωμένην καινὰ ἐπεσηνέγκατο<sup>5</sup>.

La relation qui unit λᾶρός à ἀπολαύω s'éclaire: λᾶρός se dit d'un aliment ou d'une boisson dont on tire profit, c'est à dire qui n'a aucun effet nocif sur le corps, qui permet à l'homme de refaire ses forces.

4. *λᾶρινός: attestations, sens, hypothèse morphologique.*

Λᾶρινός n'entretient, en synchronie, aucun lien avec λᾶρός. Λᾶρινός, en effet, apparaît en ionien-attique (Xénophane, Aristopha-

<sup>3</sup> P. Chantraine, *DELG*, p. 621. – Pour -αFa- et -αFe- se contractant en -ā-, cf. ἄτη < \*ἄFάτᾱ, κάλον < \*κάFαλον, ἄθλον < \*ἄεθλον et ἀργός < ἀεργός.

<sup>4</sup> Étymologie très largement acceptée: Jurmann, *KZ*, 11,399; Hj. Frisk, *GEW*, II, p. 87; F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, p. 212; W. Schulze, *QE*, p. 25; K. Brugmann, *IF*, 38, p. 193; J. Pokorny, *IEW*, p. 655; S. Feist, *Vergl. Wb. der got. Spr.*, p. 325a; E. Risch, *Wortbildung der hom. Sprache*<sup>2</sup>, p. 69; P. Chantraine, *DELG*, p. 621; *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, II, B-Λ (1991), col. 1646.

<sup>5</sup> Texte et trad. J. Jouanna, CUF, 1990. – Cf. aussi *Pl.*, *R.* 354 b, *X.*, *Cyr.* 7,5,81, etc.

ne; -εύομαι en dorien littéraire: Sophron) et se dit d'animaux, tandis que λαῤρός, inconnu de l'ionien-attique, se dit des nourritures (ou du repas lui-même). Mais il est dans le cours normal des choses que les familles de mots éclatent et que des mots originellement liés se séparent et évoluent chacun de leur côté. La différence de sens et d'emploi ou de chronologie des attestations ne saurait donc faire obstacle au rapprochement de ces deux adjectifs pourvu, mais c'est là une condition nécessaire, que l'on trouve un point de contact.

Λαῤρινός n'est que très peu attesté: il est épithète d'un bœuf (βοῦς) gras qu'il est question d'offrir en sacrifice à la Paix chez Aristophane, *Paix*, 925, d'un taureau (ταῦρος) chez Xénophane, *fr.* 6 (ap. Ath. IX, 368e), de porcs (σῦες) chez Ératosthène (*fr.* 25 Hi; ap. Ath., IX, 18), et, au figuré, de ἔπος, Ar. *Ois.* 465, où «Pisthétaire cherche un grand mot bien gras pour briser la colère des Oiseaux»<sup>6</sup>. Le sens de λαῤρινός est défini par l'équivalence λαρινοὶ βόες = οἱ λιπαροὶ de la scholie au vers 465 des *Oiseaux*, ainsi que par λαρινοὶ βόες· εὐτραφεῖς (Hsch.). Enfin, Sophron a employé l'expression βόες δὲ λαρινεύονται (*fr.* 104), avec un verbe dénommatif pour lequel Hésychius donne la glose λαρινεύεσθαι· σιτεύεσθαι. Bien que les occurrences se comptent sur les doigts d'une main, le sens est donc parfaitement défini: «gras, engraisé».

Or nous ne sommes pas loin, avec ce sens, du champ sémantique d'ἀπολαύω et on peut donc supposer que λαῤρινός est un dérivé de sens actif qui s'applique à l'animal qui a été à l'engrais et a bien profité de ce traitement. Pour démontrer ce qui n'est encore qu'hypothèse, il faut étudier la suffixation de λαῤρινός (§ 5) et montrer qu'ἀπολαύω a pu s'employer pour les animaux aussi bien que pour les hommes (§ 6).

##### 5. Les dérivés en -ίνο-; λαῤρινός comme dérivé de λαῤρός

Comme formes en -ίνο-, Chantraine (*Formation*, p. 204–205) cite les adjectifs ἀγχιστίνος «qui se trouve tout près» (P 361, etc.), qui repose sur le superlatif ἄγχιστος (post-hom.), προμνηστίνος «l'un après l'autre» (cf. προμνάομαι, μνηστός), le nom de partie du corps τὰ ἐνδῖνα «intestins» (Ψ 806), tiré de l'adverbe ἔνδον, les sobriquets γελασίνος «le rieur» (Élien) et ἐλεγξίνος «le critique», cf. ἐλεγξίς, le nom de plante, σέλινον «persil», et les noms d'animaux, γυρίνος

<sup>6</sup> Selon l'expression de J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*, Paris 1965, § 499. La scholie est explicite: ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν βοῶν· λέγονται γὰρ τινες λαρινοὶ βόες οἱ λιπαροί.



«têtard» (ion.-att.), cf. *γυρός*, *τυφλίνος*, sorte de serpent (Arist.), cf. *τυφλός*, *κορακίνος*, espèce de corneille, cf. *κόραξ*, *κεστρίνος* «mulet» (poisson), cf. *κέστρα* et *κεστρεύς*, *έρυθρίνος* «rouget», cf. *έρυθρός*, et *φοξίνος* «véron». cf. *φοξός*. Parmi ces formes, quelques unes sont dérivées d'adjectifs en -ος: *άγχιστινος*: *άγχιστος*, *γυρίνος*: *γυρός*, *τυφλίνος*: *τυφλός*, *έρυθρίνος*: *έρυθρός*, et *φοξίνος*: *φοξός*. On peut donc admettre que, parallèlement, *λαρίνος* repose sur *λαρός*.

#### 6. ἀπολαύω s'appliquant à des animaux

Quelques sondages dans les index d'auteurs permettent de constater qu'*ἀπολαύω* s'est effectivement employé pour des animaux qui tirent profit de la nourriture qu'ils prennent. Citons par exemple:

- a) Aristote, *Histoire des animaux*, 557 a 29-32: *έν δέ τή θαλάττῃ τῇ ἀπό Κυρήνης πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἔστι περι τὸν δελφίνα ἰχθύς ὃν καλοῦσιν φθειρα· ὃς γίνεται πάντων πύοτατος διὰ τὸ ἀπολαύειν τροφῆς ἀφθόνου θηρεύοντος τοῦ δελφίνου*, «dans la mer qui s'étend de Cyrène à l'Égypte, se trouve autour du dauphin un poisson qu'on appelle pou (il s'agit du *naucrates ductor*): c'est le poisson qui devient le plus gros, car il profite d'une nourriture abondante grâce à la chasse que fait le dauphin».
- b) pour le substantif *ἀπόλαυσις*, Aristote, *Histoire des animaux*, 595 b 23-26: *ἵπποι δέ καί ὄρεις καί ὄνοι καρποφάγοι μέν εἰσι καί ποηφάγοι, μάλιστα δέ παιίνεται τῷ ποτῷ· ὡς γάρ ἂν πίνῃ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὸ ὕδωρ, οὕτω καί πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχει τῆς τροφῆς, καί ὅπου δ' ἂν ἦττον δυσχεραίνῃ τὸ ποτόν, τοῦτο μᾶλλον εὐχορτόν ἐστιν*, «les chevaux, les mulets et les ânes se nourrissent de grains et d'herbe, mais ils engraisent surtout quand ils ont à boire. C'est, en effet, dans la mesure où elles peuvent boire de l'eau que les bêtes de somme prennent plaisir à leur nourriture [ou plutôt, selon nous, tirent profit de leur nourriture], et c'est là où elles ont moins de difficulté pour boire qu'elles s'engraissent plus facilement.»<sup>7</sup>
- c) et, du même, *Partie des animaux*, 675 a 18-24, où il est question de l'estomac des poissons: *τὸ δέ τῶν ἰχθύων γένος ἅπαν, διὰ τὸ ἐνδεεστέρωσ ἔχειν τὰ περι τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἐργασίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεπτα διαχωρεῖν, λαίμαργον πρὸς τὴν τροφήν ἐστι, καί τῶν ἄλλων δέ πάντων ὅσα εὐθεντέρα· ταχείας γάρ γινομένης τῆς διαχωρήσεως, καί διὰ ταῦτα βραχείας οὔσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, ταχείαν ἀναγκαιον*

<sup>7</sup> Trad. P. Louis, CUF, 1969.

γίνεσθαι πάλιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, «le genre des poissons tout entier, par suite de l'imperfection de son appareil digestif qui laisse passer la nourriture sans en opérer la coction, est vorace, ainsi que ceux des autres animaux qui ont les intestins droits. En effet, comme les aliments passent rapidement et que, par suite, le rassasiement ne dure pas (ou plutôt: et que le profit pour l'organisme est bref), il est nécessaire que l'appétit revienne également vite»<sup>8</sup>.

### 7. Conclusion

En conséquence, il faut partir d'un adjectif \*λαφαρός ou \*λαφερός, de sens actif quand il s'est dit d'un animal «qui profite bien de la nourriture», de sens passif quand il s'est dit d'une nourriture «dont on profite bien». Le dérivé \*λαφαρινός (ou \*λαφερινός) a hérité uniquement de la valeur active, tandis que λαῤρός n'a gardé que la valeur passive: on a là un bel exemple de différenciation sémantique.

On voit donc que λαῤρός et λαῤρινός se rangent à côté de ἀπολαύω dans des cadres tout à fait connus et que la diversité des dates d'attestation et des sens ne peut pas constituer un argument contre le regroupement de ces formes.

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<sup>8</sup> Trad. P. Louis, CUF, 1957, 2<sup>e</sup> tirage, 1990.

# ΚΙΩΝ – ΣΤΥΛΟΣ

Zur Geschichte einer Metapher

Von GEORGIOS FATOUROS, Berlin

Die im vorliegenden Aufsatz untersuchte Verwendung der Wörter *κίων* und *στυλος* in übertragener Bedeutung stellt eine der ältesten und am meisten verbreiteten Metaphern der griechischen Sprache dar, die sowohl im Lateinischen als auch in allen modernen Sprachen übernommen bzw. wiederentdeckt wurde. Ihre Entstehung verdankt sie offenbar den prächtigen öffentlichen Bauten des Altertums, bei welchen die stützende Säule das unvermittelt ins Auge springende, beeindruckende Charakteristikum der Gesamtkonstruktion gewesen ist. Die systematische Untersuchung ihrer Erscheinungsformen und ihrer Entwicklung kann natürlich im Rahmen eines Artikels nicht durchgeführt werden. Nichtsdestoweniger wird im folgenden auf einige charakteristische Beispiele ihrer Anwendung in der griechischen Sprache aufmerksam gemacht.

Von den beiden im Titel erwähnten griechischen Wörtern für „Pfeiler – Säule“ scheint das Wort *κίων* im Griechischen zeitlich zuerst in metaphorischen Gebrauch gekommen zu sein. Dennoch müßte man sich davor hüten, *κίων* als das ältere der beiden gleichbedeutenden (oder fast gleichbedeutenden) Wörter überhaupt zu betrachten, u. a. weil es bei Homer, Hesiod und den frühgriechischen Lyrikern vorhanden ist, während *στυλος* bei diesen Dichtern fehlt. Denn *στυλος* erweist sich einerseits durch seine etymologische Verwandtschaft mit Wörtern im Sanskrit (*sthūnā* „Pforten, Pfeiler, Säule“, *sthūrá* „groß, stark, dick, wuchtig“), andererseits durch die breitere Verzweigung seiner Wurzel im Griechischen (vgl. *στοά*, *στυώ*) als das tiefer greifende, auf eine längere Entwicklung zurückschauende, und damit ältere Wort. *κίων* (hierzu armen. *siwn* „Säule“) hingegen steht innerhalb des Griechischen ohne jede Verzweigung völlig isoliert da. Wenn nun im älteren Griechisch das Wort *κίων* bei den Metaphern bevorzugt wird, dann wahrscheinlich wegen der konkreteren Bedeutung (= Säule eines Tempels usw.) und wegen des plastischeren Bildes, welches durch die Metapher in dieser Weise entsteht.

Außer den hier hauptsächlich berücksichtigten Metaphern von *κίων*

und *στῦλος*, wird gelegentlich auch auf die Wörter *στήλη* und *στήριγμα* Bezug genommen werden, die von den griechischen Autoren ebenfalls in der gleichen übertragenen Bedeutung verwendet werden. *στήριγμα* in Metaphern läßt allerdings als unscharfer Ausdruck kein konkretes Bild entstehen und ist daher seltener in Gebrauch. Was das Wort *στήλη* anbelangt, schwebt dem Schreibenden an den Stellen, an welchen es metaphorisch gebraucht wird, offenbar nicht mehr die unterstützende Säule, sondern eher das tragende Standbild einer (meistens) menschlichen Gestalt vor, wie wir sie z. B. aus der Karyatidenhalle des Erechtheions kennen (vgl. die Beispiele weiter unten).

Wie dem auch sei, das Wort *κίων* in übertragener Bedeutung taucht zum ersten Mal bei Pindar auf: Ol.2.81 f. (Zeus) *Ἐκτορα σφᾶλε, Τροίας ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα*. Hektor wird damit als nicht zu bezwingende, unerschütterliche Säule von Troja bezeichnet, die nur Zeus zum Fall bringen konnte. Sollte dem Dichter hier ein griechischer Tempel oder sonst ein prächtiges Gebäude vorgeschwebt haben, dann könnte man annehmen, daß die anderen Säulen mehr oder weniger durch die Angriffe der Griechen gelitten bzw. keine wesentliche Stütze für das Dach mehr darstellten und daß nur die Säule, die Hektor repräsentiert, bis dahin noch standhielt. Als nun diese letzte „Säule“ von Zeus gestürzt wurde, ist auch der ganze Tempel, d. h. die Stadt Troja, zusammengebrochen. Die Anschaulichkeit des Bildes, die diese Metapher hervorruft, kann nicht genug hervorgehoben werden.

Wenden wir uns jetzt einer anderen Stelle Pindars zu: Pyth. 1,19 f. *κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει, νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πάνετες χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα*. „Die himmlische Säule Ätna, das ganze Jahr schneebedeckt, Nährerin des Schnees, drückt auf die Brust des Typhos.“ Dem Anschein nach wird hier ein Berg metaphorisch ‚Säule des Himmels‘ genannt; in Wirklichkeit handelt es sich jedoch um einen bekannten mythologischen Topos, der auf Homer und Hesiod zurückgeht und gemäß welchem die Berge die Säulen des Himmels sind. Nach Homer, Od. 1,52 f. hält Atlas die hohen Säulen des Himmels, die den Himmel von der Erde getrennt halten. Nun erfahren wir von Herodot 4,184, daß der hohe Berg Atlas in Libyen (heute: Hoher Atlas in Marokko), dessen Gipfel nicht zu sehen sei, von den Einheimischen *κίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* genannt werde. Dieser Gebrauch des Wortes ist aber kaum als metaphorisch zu bezeichnen<sup>1</sup>, sondern stellt eine Reminiszenz des

<sup>1</sup> Wie er bei J. Enoch Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*, Cambridge 1938, s.v. *κίων* bezeichnet wird.

Mythos des Atlas dar, wonach die Säulen des Himmels, die er mit seinen Armen stützt<sup>2</sup>, nichts anderes als hohe Berge seien. Vgl. ferner Aesch. Prom. 348 f. Ἄτλαντος ὃς πρὸς ἐσπέρους τόπους ἕστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς ἅμοις ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον, der offenbar Homer vor Augen hat: Od. 1,53 ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς μακράς, αἰ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἄμφις ἔχουσιν<sup>3</sup>.

Die zuerst zitierte Stelle Pindars, an welcher Hektor als Säule seiner Heimatstadt dargestellt wird, ist natürlich nicht ohne Nachahmer geblieben. Die Spuren dieser Metapher reichen bis ins Neugriechische hinein<sup>4</sup>. Beim folgenden Epigramm, das unter dem Namen des Archilochos überliefert worden ist (vgl. Anthol. Gr. 7,441), taucht der Vergleich prominenter Führungspersönlichkeiten mit einer Säule wieder auf (fr. 16 Diehl):

Ἵψηλὸς Μεγάτιμον Ἀριστοφώωντά τε Νάξου  
κίονας, ᾧ μεγάλη γαῖ', ὑπένερθεν ἔχεις.

Daß hier eine Nachahmung Pindars vorliegt, ist offensichtlich: Die Anführer von Naxos werden wie Hektor als Säulen ihres Vaterlandes bezeichnet, in beiden Fällen sind die Gepriesenen verstorben, in beiden Fällen wird der Name des Vaterlandes dem κίων vorangestellt, schließlich scheint dem pindarischen ἀστραβῆ das Adjektiv ὑψηλούς unseres Epigramms zu entsprechen. Das Epigramm kann also nicht von Archilochos stammen, der fast anderthalb Jahrhunderte vor Pindar gelebt hat, sondern ist von einem jüngeren Dichter verfaßt worden. Interessant ist diesbezüglich noch, daß bereits im Altertum diese Verse Archilochos abgesprochen wurden: Er habe sonst keine Grabepigramme hinterlassen, und das Versmaß ist im Handbuch Hephaistions Περί μέτρων als nicht archilochisch bezeichnet worden<sup>5</sup>. Auch das unpoe-

<sup>2</sup> Außer natürlich seiner Hauptaufgabe, den Himmel auf seinen Schultern zu tragen.

<sup>3</sup> Aus diesem Grund ist die Konjektur von S. T. Bloomfield an der zitierten Aischylos-Stelle (κίων οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονός, ἅμοις ἐρείδων ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον), der den Atlas selbst als Säule zwischen Erde und Himmel verstehen will, verfehlt.

<sup>4</sup> So z. B. in der Übersetzung des Gedichtes „Hektors Abschied“ von Friedrich Schiller: Den Vers „diese Arme schützen Pergamus“ übersetzt K. Chatzopoulos durch „στῦλοι εἶναι τοῦ Ἰλίου τὰ χέρια αὐτά“; vgl. M. Peranthes, Ποιητικὴ Ἀνθολογία, Athen 1954, 413.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. O. Crusius, in: RE 2, 497. Auch U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff hat in einer Notiz am Rande seines Exemplars der Edition der griechischen Lyriker von Bergk die Echtheit des Archilochos-Fragments in Zweifel gezogen.

tische Bild, daß hohe Säulen in der Erde begraben liegen, kann einem Dichter wie Archilochos kaum zugetraut werden.

Ein anderer Nachahmer der hier besprochenen Stelle Pindars ist Libanios. In seiner Monodie auf den Tod Julians bezieht er sich zunächst auf Pindar: Or. 17,3 τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἔκτορα τῆς Τροίας ἤδη τις ἐκάλεσεν ἀστραβῆ κίονα ... πεσόντος γὰρ ἐπὶ σαθροῦ τὸ Ἴλιον εἰστήκει καὶ αὐτίκα ἔμελλε κείσεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ Ἔκτορος. Dem antiochenischen Redner geht es aber hier um Julian: Mit dem Fall dieser „Säule“ ist nicht eine Stadt zugrunde gegangen, sondern die ganze Herrschaft der Römer stützt sich auf keine sichere Grundlage mehr: νυνὶ δὲ οὐ μίᾳς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πόλεως οὐδέ γε ἔθνοῦς ἐνὸς ἀνατέτραπται κίων, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀπογόνων Αἰνείου ... ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἰσχυροῦ βέβηκεν<sup>6</sup>. Den Gedanken, der hinter dieser ausdrucksvollen Metapher steckt, macht dann der Redner im folgenden zum Leitmotiv seiner Monodie.

Bei den griechischen Tragikern kommen keine Metaphern mit κίων vor. Dafür haben wir drei Stellen, an welchen das Wort στῦλος in übertragener Bedeutung gebraucht wird. Zwei davon kommen im Monolog der taurischen Iphigeneia am Anfang der gleichnamigen Tragödie des Euripides (IT 50 f.) vor. Es war oben davon die Rede, daß hinter στήλη meistens ein tragendes Standbild vorausgesetzt wird. An unserer ersten Stelle wird aber einem στῦλος menschliche Gestalt verliehen. Es handelt sich um einen Traum der Iphigeneia, in welchem die einzig übriggebliebene Säule ihres zusammengebrochenen väterlichen Hauses menschliche Züge anzunehmen schien: Ihr dünkte, das Säulenkapitell sei zum Menschenkopf mit herabwallenden blonden Haaren geworden:

μόνος δ' ελείφθη στῦλος, ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι,  
 δόμων πατρῶων, ἐκ δ' ἐπικράνων κόμας  
 ξανθὰς καθεῖναι, φθέγμα δ' ἀνθρώπου λαβεῖν.

Jeder, der diese Verse hört oder liest, versteht sofort, daß es sich hier um Orestes handelt; daher braucht die Monologisierende nicht gleich den Namen zu nennen. In der eindrucksvollen Metapher wird Orestes treffend mit der einzig übriggebliebenen Säule des Agamemnon-Hauses verglichen, die, da es sich um einen Traum handelt, bald darauf die Gesichtszüge des Orestes aufzuweisen beginnt. Mit anderen Worten, die Metapher verliert ihre Funktion zugunsten einer Identifika-

<sup>6</sup> In ähnlicher Weise wird Antonius bei Shakespeare, Ant. & Cleop. 1,1,12 „triple pillar of the world“ genannt.

tion. Um jeden Zweifel auszuräumen, vergißt Iphigeneia im folgenden die Auslegung des Traums nicht (55 f.):

τοῦναρ δ' ὥδε συμβάλλω τόδε·  
τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης, οὐ κατηρξάμην ἐγώ·  
στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παιδές εἰσιν ἄρσενες.

Durch den letzten Vers kommt sie dem möglichen Einwand zuvor, es seien ja noch die Töchter Agamemnons da gewesen.

Die dritte Stelle aus der Tragödie kommt bei Aischylos, Ag. 896 f., vor:

λέγοιμι ἄν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,  
σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης  
στῦλον ποδῆρη, μονογενές τέκνον πατρί.

Gemeint ist hier wieder Orestes: Klytaimestra drückt hier denselben Gedanken aus wie Iphigeneia, so daß man sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren kann, daß Euripides beim Schreiben der obigen Verse die zitierte Stelle des Aischylos vor Augen hatte. Beim letzteren ist freilich nicht vom Säulenkapitell die Rede, dafür aber von der Säulenbasis: eine stabile Säule muß unten fest stehen.

Ein *στῦλος*, der die Züge eines Menschen aufweist, kommt m. W. in der griechischen Literatur ansonsten nicht vor, wohl aber der Vergleich von Menschen mit lebenden *στήλαι*, der vielleicht letztendlich auf das obige Bild des Euripides zurückgeht: Euagr. HE 1,14 (S. 25,7 Bidez – Parmentier) *στήλην τε ζῶσαν διὰ παντός εἶναι βίου τε μοναδικοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν θεωρίας* (i. e. Isidoros). Desgleichen Theodoret, rel. hist. 5 (PG 82,1356A) *ἀμφοτέροι στήλαι τινες ἔμψυχοι καὶ εἰκόνες ... ἀρετῆς* (i. e. Theoteknos und Aphthonios).

Wir kommen jetzt auf die uns interessierende Metapher in der Bibel zu sprechen, wobei sich zwischen dem Alten und dem Neuen Testament, d. h. in den griechischen Versionen, große Unterschiede bemerkbar machen. Im ersteren kommt das Wort *κίων* viermal und das Wort *στῦλος* über 150 mal vor, ohne daß metaphorischer Gebrauch davon gemacht wird, wenn man *στῦλος νεφέλης* bzw. *στῦλος πυρός*, die ein paar dutzendmal auftreten, oder *στῦλος καπνοῦ*, das einmal auftritt, nicht metaphorisch auffassen will. Darüber hinaus kommt im Alten Testament das Wort *στήλη* 48mal vor, das freilich einige interessante Ausdrücke ergibt, die aber kaum als Metaphern bezeichnet werden können; vgl. z. B. Gen. 19,26 *καὶ ἐγένετο στήλη ἄλός* (i. e. Lots Frau, wobei der Ausdruck wörtlich aufzufassen ist), ferner Sap. 10,7. Der Gebrauch des Verbums *στηλοῦν* (= wie einen Grund-

pfeiler aufsetzen) hingegen setzt im Alten Testament offenbar die Übertragung von *στήλη* voraus; vgl. Jd. 18,17 *ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐστηλωμένος παρὰ τῆ θύρα*, ferner 3 Reg. 9,23; Is. 22,23.

Im Neuen Testament aber haben wir an drei Stellen interessante Metaphern von *στῦλος* (*κίων* und *στήλη* kommen ebenda gar nicht vor), während an einer vierten Stelle (Apoc. 10,1) das alttestamentliche *στῦλοι πυρός* zu lesen ist, das uns hier nicht weiter interessiert. Wir kommen zunächst auf eine der berühmtesten neutestamentlichen Metaphern, *στῦλος καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας* (1 Tim. 3,15) zu sprechen. Mit diesem Ausdruck, „Säule und Grundfeste der Wahrheit“, bezeichnet Paulus die Kirche, die er unmittelbar davor *ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος*, „Kirche des lebendigen Gottes“, genannt hatte. Damit wird die Kirche als unerschütterliche Gründung dargestellt, weil sie auf der Grundlage der Wahrheit gegründet wurde<sup>7</sup>; dahinter verbirgt sich letztendlich der Gedanke, Gott habe die Wahrheit des Glaubens in der Kirche niedergelegt<sup>8</sup>.

Das Problem dieses schwierigen Ausdruckes liegt, wie es scheint, in dem Hapax legomenon *ἐδραῖωμα*. Es wird gewöhnlich mit „Fundament“ übersetzt<sup>9</sup>, wodurch m. E. Ausdruck und Metapher an Wirksamkeit einbüßen. Obgleich durch diesen Satz die Festigkeit und Unerschütterlichkeit der Kirche hervorgehoben werden soll, ist die Verbindung von „Säule“ und „Fundament“ in dieser Charakterisierung zumindest unglücklich. Denn angesichts des unerschütterlichen Fundaments fällt die von der einen Säule ausgehende Festigkeit gar nicht ins Gewicht. Bei dieser Unstimmigkeit liegt also der Gedanke nahe, daß unter *ἐδραῖωμα* nicht das Fundament, sondern der untere Teil der Säule zu verstehen ist. In gleicher Weise haben wir bei der oben besprochenen Stelle des Aischylos gesehen (Ag. 898), daß unter *στῦλος ποδῆρης* eine Säule mit fester Basis gemeint ist. Die Kirche ist also an unserer Stelle mit einer Säule verglichen, deren Basis auf einer ganz festen Grundlage steht (*ἐδραιούται!*).

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. J. Roloff, Der erste Brief an Timotheus (Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, XV), Zürich 1988, 200.

<sup>8</sup> Nach A. Jaubert, L'image de la colonne (1 Timothée, 3,15), in: *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus*, II (1963) 101 f. ist der Ausdruck auf den Adressaten Timotheus zu beziehen. Obgleich syntaktisch möglich, ist es andererseits unwahrscheinlich, daß Paulus die Bedeutung des Timotheus für die Kirche so überschätzen kann.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. L. Oberlinner, Kommentar zum ersten Timotheusbrief (Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, XI/2), Freiburg i. Br. 1994, 158.



Die Stelle ist, wie zu erwarten, unzählige Male, die nicht alle hier erwähnt werden können, von christlichen Autoren zitiert bzw. nachgeahmt worden. Vgl. Euseb. HE 5,1 (PG 20,416A) Ἄτταλον Περγαμηνὸν τῷ γενεῖ, στῦλον καὶ ἐδραΐωμα τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀεὶ γεγονότα; Bas. ep. I 243 (PG 32,908C = III 71 Courtonne) οἱ στῦλοι καὶ τὸ ἐδραΐωμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν διασπορᾷ<sup>10</sup>, ferner Theod. Mops. in ep. I ad Tim. (PG 66,941C), Epiph. adv. haer. 2,69,35 (PG 42,256D), Areth. Caes. comm. in apoc. 9 (PG 106,560A), Theod. Stud. ep. 231,14 usw.

An der zweiten Stelle des Neuen Testaments (wieder aus den Briefen des Paulus!), die an Bekanntheit hinter der obigen kaum zurücksteht, werden die führenden Männer der Jerusalemer Gemeinde mit Säulen verglichen: Gal. 2,9 Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηρᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι<sup>11</sup>. Das Partizip *δοκοῦντες* sollte man hier nicht mit „scheinen“, sondern mit „gelten“ übersetzen. Ob hinter diesem Ausdruck die Vorstellung von der Kirche als geistlichem Tempel Gottes steckt, ob nur die Kirche Jerusalems gemeint ist, oder ob Paulus keine speziellen Vorstellungen hegte, als er diesen Satz schrieb, sondern ihm einfach die Übertragungsmöglichkeiten des Wortes *στῦλος* in der griechischen Sprache vorgeschwebt haben, sei hier dahingestellt<sup>12</sup>. Von den späteren Nachahmern scheint sich Nikephoros Patriarches für die erste der obigen Auffassungen entschieden zu haben: Refut. et evers. 31,58 f. (S. 70 Featherstone) στῦλοι τε γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πεφήνασιν ἀκατάσειστοι καὶ πίστεως ἔρεισμα καὶ πύργοι τῶν θεῶν ἡμῶν δογμάτων ἀκαθαίρετοι. Desgleichen Theod. Stud. ep 544,7 κατέπεσε στῦλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκράδαντος sowie Greg. Nyss. vita Moys. (PG 44,385A) τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τοῦ θεοῦ μυστηρίου, οὓς καὶ στῦλους τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατονομάζει ὁ λόγος. Etwas anders bei Euseb. HE 6,41 (PG 20,609A) οἱ δὲ στερροὶ καὶ μακάριοι στῦλοι τοῦ κυρίου. Unbestimmt hingegen wie bei der obigen Galaterstelle haben wir den metaphorischen Gebrauch des Wortes beim ersten Clemensbrief 5,2 (S. 30 Fischer) διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στῦλοι ἐδιώχθησαν. Schließlich wird bei Eirenaios, haer. 3,11,8 (PG 7,885A) eigenartigerweise das Evangelium *στῦλος καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας* genannt. Bei späteren Nachahmern kommen noch interessantere Anwendungen des Ausdrucks vor. So werden z. B. beim byzantinischen Epi-

<sup>10</sup> Im Brief ist von den arianischen Verfolgungen unter Valens die Rede.

<sup>11</sup> F. Mußner, Der Galaterbrief (Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, IX), Freiburg i. Br. 1988, 121.

<sup>12</sup> Im übrigen wird das dem *στῦλος* entsprechende Wort im Hebräischen ebenfalls auf prominente Männer übertragen; vgl. F. Mußner, ebenda 120 f.

stolographen des 9. Jahrhunderts Ignatios Diakonos die großen Grammatiker der Spätantike Apollonios Dyskolos, sein Sohn Herodianos und ein sonst unbekannter Melaios (?) als große Säulen der grammatischen Kunst bezeichnet: Ep. 36 (S. 100 Mango-Efthymiadis) *μη δῆτα σὺν τοῦς στύλους τῆς τέχνης σοφίας κατασεῖειν πειρώμεθα* (in dem Brief geht es um eine Meinungsverschiedenheit des Briefeschreibers mit dem Adressaten). Dahinter steckt wohl die anmutige Vorstellung, im Altertum sei bereits das prächtige Gebäude der Grammatik errichtet worden.

Schließlich haben wir im Neuen Testament eine dritte Stelle, an welcher das Wort *στῦλος* metaphorisch gebraucht wird: Apoc. 3,12 *ὁ νικῶν, ποιήσω αὐτὸν στῦλον ἐν τῷ ναῶ τοῦ θεοῦ μου*. Der fromme Mensch wird hier mit einer der Säulen verglichen, die den Tempel Gottes, d. h. die Kirche stützen<sup>13</sup>. Im folgenden Satz *καὶ γράψω ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου* bezieht sich *αὐτὸν* offenbar auf *στῦλον*, entgegen der Meinung Boussets und anderer, die das Pronomen auf den Gläubigen beziehen wollen. Dem Schreibenden schwebt, wie es scheint, dabei die seit der Antike praktizierte fatale Gewohnheit vor, Namen in Säulen einzuritzen.

Es sei hier nebenbei bemerkt, daß einige Autoren (vorwiegend der Spätantike) den Eindruck entstehen lassen, daß sie das Wort *κίων* im allgemeinen für den literarisch besseren (hochsprachlichen ?) Ausdruck als *στῦλος* halten, was natürlich als nicht richtige Auffassung zu bewerten ist, wenn man bedenkt, daß Aischylos und Euripides, wie wir gesehen haben, das Wort *στῦλος* benutzen. So bedient sich z. B. Euagrios, wenn er auf das Leben des Styliten Symeon zu sprechen kommt, durchweg des Wortes *κίων*, obwohl der Beiname Symeons eher an *στῦλος* denken läßt; vgl. Euagr. HE 1,13; 14; 6,23 usw. (S. 21,2; 22,27; 24,16; 18; 29; 239,4; 12 Bidez-Parmentier). Anders Nilus ep. 2,114 (PG 79, 249B) (Brief an den Styliten Nikandros): *ὑψώσας σεαυτὸν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ στύλου*; im folgenden Brief (ebenfalls an Nikandros) scheint er sich allerdings eines besseren zu besinnen: ep. 2,115 *ἄτοπον ἂν εἶη ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ μὲν τοῦ κίονος ἴστασθαι* usw. Beim strengen Attizisten Libanios begegnet uns das Wort *στῦλος* kein einziges Mal, während *κίων* in den Reden und Briefen 22mal vorkommt. Desgleichen fehlt das Wort *στῦλος* in den Schriften Platons, des Aristoteles, des Xenophon und des Plutarch. Ob der Zufall in diesen Fällen auch im Spiel ist, sei hier dahingestellt.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. W. Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannis, Göttingen 1966, 229.

Beim letztgenannten Autor haben wir einen interessanten Vergleich mit *κίων*: Plut. de tuend. sanit. praec. 133 CD *διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ἀθληταῖς, οὓς τῶν βιβλίων ἐξελόντες . . ., ὡς ὁ κομψὸς Ἀρίστων ἔλεγε, τοῖς ἐν γυμνασίῳ κίουσιν ὁμοίως λιπαροῦς πεποιήκασι καὶ λιθίνους*. Die Gefühlskälte (?) der Athleten sollte, wie es scheint, mit diesem Vergleich zum Ausdruck kommen (*λιπαροῦς* ist hier wahrscheinlich mit „glänzend“ zu übersetzen).

Zum Schluß erübrigt es sich fast zu sagen, daß die Metapher im Neugriechischen weiter in Gebrauch ist. Natürlich wird dabei das Wort *κίων*, das im modernen Griechisch obsolet geworden ist, nicht mehr benutzt, statt dessen taucht nun in dem metaphorischen Gebrauch das Wort *κολώνα* auf. Es wäre jedoch überflüssig und für den Leser dieses Aufsatzes unergiebig, die obigen Ausführungen mit Beispielen aus dem Neugriechischen abzuschließen. Der interessierte Leser kann Beispiele für den Gebrauch der Metapher in den größeren Lexika der neugriechischen Sprache leicht ausfindig machen.

# The Usage of ἄν and κε in Ancient Greek: Towards a Unified Description

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## 1. Introduction

The usage of the two so-called particles of modality, ἄν (Ionic-Attic) and κε(ν)/κα (Aeolic/Doric), in Ancient Greek has been discussed by generations of grammarians. In Classical Attic Greek, as is well known, ἄν was used both in subordinate clauses – often in the protasis of a conditional (with the subjunctive) – as well as in main clauses – often in the apodosis of a conditional (with the optative or a secondary indicative). In Homeric Greek the usage of the “modal” particle is more varied than in Classical Greek: in subordinate clauses, again e. g. in the protasis of conditionals, ἄν and κε are sometimes combined with the optative or the secondary indicative, and in main clauses we find the particles with the subjunctive and with the future of the indicative. As for the grammatical descriptions of the usage of ἄν (κε), it is quite clear already from a brief survey of the treatments in this area that it is not easy to provide a unified account of the varied uses of the particle. Already in the language descriptions of the *grammatici graeci* a separation of the field of application of ἄν (κε) into two parts is attested, and also in modern treatments a tendency in favour of such an interpretation is quite noticeable. On the other hand, in the grammatical discussions we also find recurrent attempts to establish a definition of the particle which allows us to see its meaning as basically one and the same in all its seemingly heterogeneous uses<sup>1</sup>.

Starting with the *grammatici graeci*, Dionysius Thrax looks upon ἄν (κε) as belonging to two different classes of particles: on the one hand, he reckons ἄν and κε among the so-called *copulative* particles

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<sup>1</sup> Such controversies are not uncommon in the discussions about Greek grammar – cf. e. g. Gildersleeve’s (1891:520, 1902:134) defence of a unified definition of the negative μή in all its uses. Gildersleeve’s strictures are directed primarily against Cook-Wilson (1889-90:49), who, after having separated the meaning of this negative into “prohibitive” and “conceptual”, claims that “whatever the ultimate common ancestry of the two meanings of μή, they are as distinct in use as if they were represented by two different words”.

(συμπλεκτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι). This characterization we can understand, if we consider the use of the particles in conditional sentences, e. g. εἰ δυναίμην, ποιήσῃ ἄν and ἔάν δύνωμαι, ποιήσω, where ἄν seemingly “ties together” the protasis and the apodosis. On the other hand, Dionysius also distinguishes a use of ἄν and κε as *expletive* particles (παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι), which do not have a distinct meaning of their own, being employed merely “for reasons of meter and ornamentation”<sup>2</sup>. This viewpoint may probably be best understood with certain Homeric uses of ἄν and κε as a starting-point, e. g. in cases like *Il.* 1.523 ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται and *ibid.* 2.123f. εἶ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλομεν ([...], πολλαὶ κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἰνοχόοιο), where the particle, if one has the definition of ἄν and κε as “copulatives” in mind, could indeed seem redundant<sup>3</sup>. Apollonius Dyscolus, for his part, generalizes the meaning of ἄν (κε) to be that of a particle expressing *potentiality* (σύνδεσμος δυνατικός), the prime example of this (general) use being the employment of the particle together with a past tense form as an expression which “cancels past state-of-affairs”<sup>4</sup>. Now, much later in the history of Greek grammar, Hermann (1831:15ff.), taking issue with the definition of ἄν (κε) provided by Apollonius (and at the same time with that of some more recent grammarians who had adopted a similar kind of outlook<sup>5</sup>), argues that the characterization of the particle as an expression of “potentiality” does not cover all of its uses. As an example of Hermann’s criticism it may be mentioned that he in a discussion of the use of ἄν with the past tenses of the indicative objects that only in a sentence like ἔλεγον ἄν, εἰ ἐβουλόμην – with an “irrealis” import – the characterization applies. The same idiom is however also (in post-Homeric Greek) used as an expression of iteration in the past, e. g. in the sentence ἔλεγον ἄν, ὅποτε τις ἐρωτῶη, and this “realis” use of the particle, according to Hermann, does not yield an analysis focusing on “potentiality”. Instead he suggests that the use of ἄν implies that a condition is involved, whether this condition be fulfilled (like in the

<sup>2</sup> ὅσοι μέτρον ἢ κόσμον ἔνεκεν παραλαμβάνονται; cf. Uhlig (1883:87).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ruijgh (1971:67f.).

<sup>4</sup> τὰ γεγονότα τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ σύνδεσμος ἀναίρειν θέλει, περιστάτων αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι, ἔνθεν καὶ δυνατικός εἴρηται; cf. Schneider and Uhlig (1910:286).

<sup>5</sup> Among the “modern” grammarians, earlier than Hermann, who defined ἄν (κε) as a *particula potentialis*, Devarius ([[1527] 1793] 1835–42), Viger (1627) and Poppo ([1817] 1822) may be mentioned.

“iterative” case) or not fulfilled (like in the “irrealis” case), and that the two seemingly disparate uses are thus ultimately one and the same<sup>6</sup>.

Since the Ancient Greek usage of ἄν (κε), especially in the Homeric language, is so diversified and at times elusive, it is easy to understand that in this area the grammarians have had more difficulties than elsewhere to find a common denominator for the different employments, and that consequently theories have sometimes been introduced which are both counterintuitive and Procrustean. One example of this is the treatment of ἄν and κε in Monro (1891), who makes use of the notions of “conditionality”, “particularity” and “encroachment”. A “conditional” use of the particle is, according to Monro, *Il.* 4.176 καὶ κε τις ὧδ' ἐρέει (rendered: “in such case men will say”; an employment of the “particular” kind is *ibid.* 21.103f. νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς τις θάνατον φύγη, ὃν κε θεός γε Ἴλίου προπάρουθεν ἐμῆς ἐν χερσὶ βάλλῃσι (κε “indicates limitation to a particular circumstance in the future”); an “encroachment” use (i. e. ἄν or κε in a *general* case) is *Od.* 21.293f. οἴνός σε τρώει μελιθηδής, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους βλάπτει, ὃς ἄν μιν χανδὸν ἔλῃ<sup>7</sup>. The difficulty of subsuming the entire use of the particle under a common denominator can also be noticed in Chantraine (1953:211, 226, 349f.), who sees ἄν and κε in some of their uses (especially the

<sup>6</sup> *Conditio* was to Hermann the key concept underlying all of the uses of ἄν and κε. This view, most persuasively expounded by Hermann himself, but also held by other early grammarians (e. g. Thiersch [1812] 1826), seems to be the source of the rather stereotype definitions of the particles (focusing on renderings like “in that case” or “then”) which we still find in our standard handbooks. Among the grammarians who, on the other hand, have pointed out that also “conditionality” (and rendering such as “in that case”) cannot provide the key to ἄν and κε in *all* of their uses, Bäumlein (1846) and Stahl (1907) may be mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Monro (1891:297, 259, 332). To all appearances Monro considered “conditionality” to be involved also in the “particular” use of ἄν and κε with the subjunctive, like in *Il.* 21.103, or with the optative, albeit in a different way than in the “purely conditional” cases with the indicative. The theory which underlies Monro’s treatment – most explicitly stated in H. M. (sic) (1832), but also, it seems, advocated by Delbrück (1871) – looks upon the former employment of ἄν and κε as being more “definite” and “assertive” than the latter and (at least in H. M.) makes use of the distinction “accidental”/“nonaccidental”, so that also this definition, under the guise of unity, is ultimately bipartite. In Monro’s treatment, however, the difficulty of matching the occurrences of the “Proteus-like” particles with the definition here at issue is more than in anything else, I think, reflected in the need to appeal to the factor of “encroachment” (or “analogy”) as an explanation (and in the need for emendations of the Homeric text, cf. below, note 19).

accented ᾗν) as simply adding emphasis to the containing sentence or clause.

In most modern grammars of Ancient Greek, school grammars as well as more comprehensive ones, a separation of the field of application of ᾗν (κε) is tacitly effected. All who have studied Greek are familiar with the use of ᾗν in subordinate clauses (ἐάν ..., ὅταν ..., etc.) with a *futural* or *iterative* application, which seems quite different from the *potential* and *irreal* uses in main clauses<sup>8</sup>.

Now, in Basset (1988), where the use of ᾗν (κε) in Ancient Greek is examined in a detailed fashion, a separation of the field of application of the "modal" particle is carried out in very much the same way as in the grammars. Here, as I see the matter, many an assumption which in an implicit way underlies the categorizations of the traditional grammarians gets to be explicitly spelled out. For this reason I see it meet to formulate my defence of a unified description of the usage of ᾗν (κε) more or less as a reply to Basset, whose theory will first be summarized. While evaluating Basset's theory and, subsequently, sketching an alternative picture of the usage and meaning of the particle, I shall also have opportunity to discuss in more detail the older theory adopted by Monro in his treatment of some uses found in Homer. The vast majority of the examples will be Homeric, partly because of Basset's focus on such material, partly because of the discussion concerning Monro. The analysis of ᾗν and κε which I shall suggest, however, should be seen as generally applicable to Ancient Greek.

## 2. Basset's theory

In his article Basset takes as his starting-point the use of ᾗν or κε with the subjunctive in the protasis of a conditional or sometimes, in Homer, in main clauses – a use which has often puzzled the grammarians. Drawing to some extent on the discussion of subjunctive conditionals in Howorth (1955:76 ff.), Basset argues that *reference to a futural state-of-affairs* is the essential trait which the clauses where the particle is used have in common, e. g. in the following example:

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. e. g. Kühner and Gerth (1898), Bornemann and Risch ([1973] 1978) and Bizon (1981). Explicitly bipartite are the definitions in Smyth ([1920] 1956) and in Goodwin and Gulick ([1930] 1958), both of which assume "two distinct uses" of ᾗν (κε): one with the secondary tenses of the indicative and with the optative, and one with the subjunctive in subordinate clauses.

(1) *Il.* 20.181f. ἀτὰρ εἴ κεν ἔμ' ἐξαναρίξῃς, | οὐ τοι τοῦνεκά γε Πρίαμος γέρας ἐν χειρὶ θήσει “Nay, but though thou slay me, not for that shall Priam place his kingship in thy hands.”

This observation, then, Basset generalizes to be valid also for independent subjunctive sentences with ἄν or κε, as well as for future indicative sentences with the particle, e. g.:

(2) *Il.* 22.505 νῦν δ' ἄν πολλὰ πάθῃσι, φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀμαρτῶν “But now, seeing he has lost his dear father, he will suffer ills full many.”

(3) *Il.* 4.176 καὶ κέ τις ἄδ' ἐρέει Τρώων ὑπερρηνορέοντων [...] “and thus shall many a one of the overweening Trojans say [...]”

Reference to futural state-of-affairs is, however, Basset notes, involved also in the case of subjunctive and future indicative sentences/clauses *without* the particle, e. g.:

(4) *Il.* 1.340f. εἴ ποτε δὴ αὐτε | χρεῖῶ ἐμείο γένηται [...] “if so be hereafter there shall be need of me [...]”

In order to account for this distribution Basset suggests that in the cases where the particle is used we are dealing with a special kind of futural application: in cases like (1), (2) and (3), he argues, the future is seen from a certain perspective – with the actual speech-situation as a starting-point. This use involves, continues Basset, an “enchaînement temporel”. In cases like (4), by contrast, we according to Basset are dealing with “un avenir détaché de la situation actuelle”.

This use of ἄν or κε with the subjunctive or the future of the indicative, it should be noted, Basset explicitly defines as a *temporal* use of the particle, which is most distinctly to be separated from the well-known use with the optative or the secondary indicative, which he defines as *logical*<sup>9</sup>, e. g.:

(5) *Il.* 9.57 ἦ μὲν καὶ νέος ἐσσί, ἐμὸς δὲ κε καὶ πάϊς εἶης “Moreover, thou art in sooth but young, thou mightest e'en be my son.”

(6) *ibid.* 3.373f. καὶ νύ κεν εἴρουσεν [...], | εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε [...] Ἀφροδίτη “And now would Menelaus have dragged him away [...], had not Aphrodite [...] been quick to see.”

In these uses of κε, according to Basset, the factor which triggers the employment of the particle is not, as was the case in (1)–(3), a relation between the actual speech-situation, defined as a point of time, and

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Basset (1988:33): “La valeur fondamentalement temporelle [...] est incompatible avec l'emploi de la particule accompagnant un indicatif secondaire ou un optatif” (my italics).



a futural state-of-affairs, characterized as the content of the sentence; instead a non-temporal, logical relation between, on the one hand, the “*actualité mentale*” of the speaker – his supply, so to speak, of backgrounded thoughts and assertions – and, on the other hand, the assertion made in the sentence is seen as the important factor.

In support of his characterization of these two, as he sees the matter, incompatible uses of ἄν (κε) Basset compares the employment of these particles with that of the adverb τάχα, which in Homeric Greek has the temporal meaning “soon”, whereas in Classical Greek it also has the “logical” meaning “perhaps”<sup>10</sup>.

### 3. An alternative approach

Against Basset’s account of the usage of ἄν and κε in Ancient Greek, which to my mind, as I have already mentioned, makes explicit many of the assumptions which seem to underlie the treatments of these particles in the traditional grammars, I shall now direct some criticism. Generally speaking, what Basset does not see is that, in a way, *all* uses of ἄν and κε may be described as “logical”. In order to make clear how I see the matter, let us first consider the following examples:

(7) *Il.* 2.229f. ἦ ἔτι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπιδύεαι, ὃν κέ τις οἴσει | Τρώων ἵπποδάμων ἐξ’ Ἰλίου νίος ἄποινα, | ὃν κεν ἐγὼ δῆσας ἀγάγω ἢ ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν [...]; “Or do you still want gold also, which one of the horsetaming Trojans will bring you out of Ilios as a ransom for his son, whom I [...] shall have bound and led away or some other of the Achaeans?”

(8) *Il.* 1.204f. [...] τὸ δὲ καὶ τελέεσθαι οἴω· | ἧς ὑπεροπλήσει τάχ’ ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσση “[...] and I think this will come to pass: through his own insolent acts he will soon lose his life.”

(9) *Il.* 22.66f. αὐτὸν δ’ ἄν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θύρῃσιν | ὤμῃσται ἐρύουσιν, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ὄξει χαλκῷ | τύψας ἢ βαλὼν ῥεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλῃται, | οὓς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας θυραωρούς, | οἷ’ κ’ ἐμὸν αἶμα πιόντες ἀλύσσοντες περὶ θυμῷ | κείσοντ’ ἐν προ-

<sup>10</sup> When Basset at the end of his exposé summarizes his theory, an attempt to unify the description given in the article is undertaken; cf. the statements “ces particules centrent l’énoncé sur l’actualité du locuteur” and “à partir de cette actualité, les particules ἄν ou κε expriment un enchaînement prospectif”. The dominant impression one is left with after having read the entire article, however, is still that of a strong dichotomy (cf. e.g. Basset’s own remark about the incompatibility of the two uses, as quoted above, note 9).

θύροισι “Myself then last of all before my door will dogs that eat raw flesh tear apart, when some man by thrust or cast of the sharp bronze has taken the spirit from my limbs – the dogs that in my halls I reared at my table to guard my door, which then having drunk my blood in the madness of their hearts, will lie there in the gateway.”

(10) *Od.* 4.546f. ἢ γὰρ μιν ζῶόν γε κηγήσεται, ἢ κεν Ὀρέστης ἰκτεῖνεν ὑποφθάμενος [...] “for either you wilt find Aegisthus alive, or you will hear that Orestes have forestalled you and slain him [...]”

In (7)–(9) we find the use of ἄν or κε with the subjunctive/future of the indicative which Basset characterizes as “temporal”; in (10) we have one of his examples of the “logical” use of the particle with a secondary indicative. Now, concerning the use in cases like (7) – (9) Basset argues that something more is involved than only reference to a futural state-of-affairs. This is indeed the case, but in another way than Basset assumes. In (7) and (8) the particle is located in clauses which are within the scope of typical intensional (or “world-creating”) predicates, ἐπιδεύει (“want”) and οἶω (“believe”). Such predicates set up so-called intensional contexts, which crucially involve reference not to the actual, “real” world, but to alternative (or possible) worlds, like here “wish-worlds” or “belief-worlds”<sup>11</sup>. This can, for the examples we are discuss-

<sup>11</sup> In intensional (or opaque) contexts expressions refer *indirectly*, i. e. they refer to their *senses* – to their intensions, whereas expressions in extensional (or transparent) contexts apply to their *reference* – to their extensions. One typical trait of intensional contexts is that substitution of coreferential expressions may not preserve the truth value of the entire statement; e. g. from the sentence “Bertie believes that the owner of the supermarket is wealthy”, we cannot always infer the truth of “Bertie believes that Mr Jones is wealthy”, since Bertie may not know that the owner of the supermarket and Mr Jones are the same person. In an extensional context, by contrast, substitution of coreferentials can take place *salva veritate*; cf. “Bertie is talking to the owner of the supermarket”, which in the case under discussion entails “Bertie is talking to Mr Jones”. In intensional contexts, which are induced by various linguistic items, e. g. *modals* and so-called *verbs of attitude*, expressions have reference in alternative worlds (e. g. in Bertie’s “belief-worlds”), in extensional contexts they have reference in the “real” world. (For an introduction to this matter, cf. for instance McCawley 1981, especially 326ff., and Partee, ter Meulen and Wall 1993, 401ff.). The distinction “intensional”/“extensional” and the concept of “possible worlds”, both of which can be traced back to discussions in philosophy and logic (Leibniz, Frege, Carnap, Kripke *et al.*), have since the seventies, after the appearance of the seminal work of R. Montague, continued to play an important role in the semantic analysis of

ing, be spelled out in the following way: in (7) it is asked whether in the possible worlds which are in accordance with the wishes of the person to whom the question is directed (sc. Agamemnon) there is “gold [...] which some man of the horsetaming Trojans shall bring [...]”. In a similar way it is in (8) stated that in all the “belief-worlds” of the speaker “he [sc. Agamemnon] [...] will presently lose his life”. This kind of analysis, now, can easily be extended to (9), where no overt intensional predicate is at hand, but where the similarity to (8) is quite striking: the speaker (sc. Priam) here visualizes a state-of-affairs which is not to be seen as having future time reference in the actual, “real” world, but only in a set of possible worlds corresponding to his beliefs or fears; in such a case we may reconstruct from the context an intensional governing expression like ὄϊω<sup>12</sup>. Also in (10) there is no overt “world-creating” item, but since we are here probably dealing with an *oratio obliqua*-like construction reporting *hearsay*, a governing intensional predicate can easily be reconstructed (e. g. λέγει (τις) “asserts”). This kind of distribution, now, of ἄν and κε in intensional contexts, comprising cases of Basset’s “temporal” type as well as of his “logical” type, suggests, I think, that in the use of these particles we are not simply dealing with a reflex of temporal (or aspectual) properties of the sentences where they occur. I shall below argue that ἄν and κε *always* occur in what can be diagnosed as intensional contexts, and that this unifying trait in a crucial way determines the usage of the particle.

Intuitively as well as analytically, as can be demonstrated, an analysis of the contexts where ἄν and κε occur as *intensional contexts* makes very much sense. I shall here not go into much detail, as far as the *formal* aspect of such an analysis is concerned, but in mentioning now some further constructions involved in setting up the contexts where we find the particles’ I shall introduce a few concepts which make the picture clearer. Continuing, first, with Basset’s “futural” use of ἄν (κε), we again have to consider the common use of the particle

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natural languages. In their sensitivity to the distinction “intensional”/“extensional”, as well as in their choice of the linguistic means of marking this difference, languages vary a great deal. Ancient Greek, as can be demonstrated, marks it *inter alia* through the choice of negative (cf. Gerö, forthcoming *a*), mood (cf. Gerö, forthcoming *b*), and, as I shall argue in this paper, through the application of the “modal” particle.

<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that only the clauses which fall within the scope of the intensional predicate have κε, i. e. only the clauses which apply to states-of-affairs in alternative worlds and not in the “real” world. For a general linguistic analysis with a bearing on such cases, cf. Dahl (1971).

with a subjunctive in the protasis of a conditional, e. g. in (1) above, or in two Classical Greek passages:

(11) Pl. *Gorg.* 503 d 4f. Ἄλλ' ἐὰν ζητῆς καλῶς, εὐρήσεις “but if you search properly, you will find one.”

(12) id. *Gorg.* 467 d 6f. ἐάν τις τι πράττει ἔνεκά του, οὐ τοῦτο βούλεται, ὃ πράττει, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, οὐ ἔνεκα πράττει; “If a man does something for an object, he does not wish the thing which he does, but the thing for which he does it?”

If we want to find a common denominator between the use of ἄν (κε) in these cases and the use in other contexts, I think we should focus on a trait in such clauses which the traditional grammarians often seem to have noted, viz. that *expectation* and *belief* are here crucially involved<sup>13</sup>. These clauses can thus be seen as epistemically modified – more or less in the same way as (8) and (9), and a certain type of intensionality is here consequently part of the picture<sup>14</sup>.

Also in cases of ἄν or κε with the optative, or with a secondary indicative as an expression of an “irrealis” value – uses which Basset, as we have seen, regards as profoundly different from the employment of the particle with the subjunctive or the future of the indicative – it is easy to find a feature of intensionality which provides a linkage to the cases discussed up to now. The use of the optative with ἄν or κε as an expression of potentiality, like in (5), or of probability, of course does not primarily involve reference to states-of-affairs in the “real” world, but again in possible worlds. The “world-creating” item we have to supply in an analysis of this construction would in many cases be something like the possibility operator (M) in modal logic<sup>15</sup>. The “irrealis” use of secondary indicative forms also yields an analysis focusing on intensionality and possible worlds – a topic which I have discussed elsewhere<sup>16</sup>. In such cases, e. g. in (6), we may supply an intensional adverb “would”, on which the protasis and the apodosis are dependent; this adverb quantifies over the worlds (or spheres of worlds) where the implicational relation expressed in the conditional holds true<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e. g. Gildersleeve (1876).

<sup>14</sup> Sentences like (11) and (12) contrast with such as Soph. *Ant.* 93 εἰ ταῦτα λέξεις, ἐχθαρή [...] ἐξ ἐμοῦ, where we find the future of the indicative and no particle. Such sentences are not epistemically modified.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e. g., Allwood, Andersson and Dahl (1977:108f.).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gerö (forthcoming *b*).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the treatment of counterfactual conditionals in von Stechow (1994, 1995, 1996), which draws upon the analyses by D. Lewis and R. Stalnaker.

From what has now been said about the various uses of ἄν (κε), it can be seen, I think, that all the uses of the particle involve what Basset would call a “logical” modification of the assertion, or viewpoint, of the containing sentence. Some further discussion of the data, however, is necessary in order to complete the picture.

In an investigation of the use of ἄν and κε it is of course also important to note in what contexts the particles are *not* employed. In his article Basset refers to the treatment of ἄν and κε in Monro (1891), who looks upon cases of the subjunctive (in subordinate clauses as well as in main clauses) with the particle as having application to *particular* cases, whereas cases of omission of the particle with this mood (in subordinate clauses) are seen as having a *general* application<sup>18</sup> (a theory which Basset rejects, seeing here instead the feature of “enchaînement temporel” – present or absent – as the essential one). Contrasting examples of the type at issue are (1) – with the particle – and (13) – without it.

(13) *Il.* 10.183f. ὡς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσωνται ἐν αὐλῇ |  
θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες [...] ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην | ἔρχηται δι' ὄρεσφι· πολὺς  
δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ | ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν, ἀπὸ τέ σφισιν ὕπνος  
ἄλωλεν | “And just as dogs keep painful watch about sheep in a  
fold, when they hear the wild beast [...] that comes through the  
wood among the hills, and a great din arises about him of men  
and dogs, and from them sleep perishes [...]”

Now, what Monro does not recognize is that (13) is not really general in the same way as some cases in Homer where ἄν or κε is employed (and which Monro, it should be noted, often rejects as spurious or considers to be the outcome of “encroachment” [cf. above, p. 3])<sup>19</sup>, e. g.:

(14) *Il.* 1.218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπέιθηται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ “Whoso  
obeys the gods, to him they gladly give ear.”

Whereas the phrase ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπέιθηται in (14) has a generic application in the proper sense of the word, θηρὸς ... ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην ἔρχηται δι' ὄρεσφι in (13) should be seen as an expression with “inherited genericity”, i. e. an expression which receives a generic interpretation by being referentially dependent on a generic con-

<sup>18</sup> Cf. above, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Monro lists a whole series of passages where κε is employed in a subjunctive conditional relative clause in spite of a *general* application of the sentence. He suggests that the text in these cases probably is corrupt and proposes that κε should be changed into τε (1891:259).

cept<sup>20</sup>. In Greek, in some respects, these two types of generic phrases are not treated in the same way (e.g. concerning the choice of negative in noun phrases<sup>21</sup>). Furthermore, it obviously did not occur to Monro that e.g. (1) and (14) could share some feature which (13) – at least to the Greek mind – does not have, and which could account for the employment of the particle in the two former cases. Upon a brief survey, indeed all the cases of ἄν or κε which Monro discusses as “particular” and the ones he rejects or considers to be the outcome of “encroachment” involve reference to possible worlds, i.e. intensionality<sup>22</sup>. Now, in (13) – a case of “inherited genericity” – we have a type of context which in Greek generally, it seems, exhibits grammatical traits typical for *extensional* contexts, which – in contrast to intensional contexts – deal with the actual, “real” world (e.g. again the choice of negative in noun phrases [οὐ]). Consequently, it cannot be seen as surprising that ἄν and κε, which typically occur in intensional contexts, are usually omitted in this type of environment.

Finally, a further distinction pertaining to the notion of intensionality, frequently referred to above, should be introduced, which seems to be of importance for our understanding of ἄν and κε as well as for the comprehension of other grammatical items which regularly occur in intensional contexts. The distinction I have in mind is that of *strong and weak intensional contexts*<sup>23</sup>. In my work in the area of Greek negation, I have found that in strong intensional contexts, set up by modals and so-called verbs of attitude (“believe”, “want”, etc.), noun phrases in case of negation regularly have μή, whereas in weak intensional contexts, set up by past and future tense, as well as in extensional contexts, they take οὐ. I have no unambiguous examples at hand which show whether ἄν and κε are used when only a future or past tense marking are the items which introduce, not alternative worlds, but alternative times or *world-states*<sup>24</sup>. However, I see it as significant that in cases like (15), where we find future tense and the

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Dahl (1988), who discusses sentences like “the eyes work together”, where the domain we need in order to interpret the reference of the noun phrase is something like “any human body”.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gerö (forthcoming a).

<sup>22</sup> For an analysis of *generic* expressions as involving reference to possible worlds, cf. Dahl (1975).

<sup>23</sup> Terminology and definition taken over from von Stechow (1995:10f.).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dahl (1971).

particle, as it seems, within its scope, we can usually distinguish some other, “stronger” modality item which in a more natural way accounts for the use of the particle. In (15) “epistemic modification” (cf. above, p. 9f.) can be seen as underlying the employment of ἄν:

(15) *Il.* 6.447f. εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·  
| ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρή “For of a surety know  
I this in heart and soul: the day shall come when sacred Ilios shall  
be laid low.”

My hypothesis is thus – in reliance on the distribution of the “modal” particle which can be observed in Homeric Greek as well as in Classical Greek, and further on findings from a related field of investigation (negatives in noun phrases) – that ἄν and κε are used in strong intensional contexts (set up by modals, verbs of attitude, etc.) and omitted in extensional and (set up by past and future tense) weak intensional contexts.

#### 4. Some conclusions

Above I have argued that the “distinctive feature” of the various uses of ἄν and κε in Ancient Greek is that these particles occur in intensional contexts (*ex hypothesi* in strong intensional contexts). Taking, now, one further step towards an explicit theory about the meaning of these particles, I would like to propose that ἄν and κε are *reflexes* of the intensionality of the context where they occur, or, with other words, that they are *intensionality-sensitive items* (like in Greek also e. g. the negative μή). Clearly a complete analysis of the semantic contribution made by the different moods and tenses together with ἄν (κε) in the contexts which we are interested in would be quite complex, and synchronic as well as diachronic considerations would have to be appealed to<sup>25</sup>. An even more complex picture would probably be the result of any attempt to account for the distribution of the various moods and tenses in different types of intensional contexts (contexts of an epistemic, deontic, “potentialis” type, etc.). For my part, I shall here not attempt such an analysis, seeing my goal as having been attained if I have been able to convince the reader that the analysis I have suggested indeed has the merit of accounting for *the role of the “modal” particle itself* in a unified way. As for Basset’s

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e. g. the analysis in Gerö (forthcoming *b*) of the Greek past tenses with ἄν (κε).

analysis, it should be obvious from what has just been said that, on the one hand, viz. if we focus on the use and meaning of ἄν and κε *per se*, it is too complex; on the other hand, if we want to consider the whole picture, i. e. the interaction between moods, tenses, particle and governing expressions, it is too simple.

Finally, it should be mentioned that if, from a compositional point of view, we try to locate the information provided by ἄν and κε in an explicit semantic representation of a sentence where the particle occurs, the item which would be most likely to carry the information would be the *intensional operator* ( $\wedge$ ). As is well known, predicates of the type which have been discussed above apropos intensional contexts operate not on sentences, but on propositions, and in explicit semantic representations propositions are usually introduced by this operator<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g. Cann (1993:311f.), where the sentence "Jo believes that the Ladies' Scottish Golf Champion is wealthy" is represented as "believe' ( $\wedge$ [wealthy' (sgc')](jo)'".



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## On Greek ἄντρον

By GEORGIOS K. GIANNAKIS, Ioannina

*Summary:* The paper offers a new etymology of the Greek word ἄντρον. It is suggested that the word is a compound *\*anti-tʰh<sub>2</sub>-on*, and the process of its derivation involves haplology of ἀντί to ἀν- and laryngeal loss of -tʰh<sub>2</sub>- before vowel in compounds; -tʰh<sub>2</sub>- represents the zero grade of IE *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* “cross”, and so ἄντρον literally means “the place of crossing to the opposite side”, with strong associations to the otherworld. A formal parallel may be provided by ἄντρον which derives from *\*ana-tʰh<sub>2</sub>-on* lit. “the drawing up” (of liquids), with apocope of the preposition ἀνά, and -tʰh<sub>2</sub>- being the zero grade of IE *\*telh<sub>2</sub>-* “hold or lift up”.

The Greek word ἄντρον refers to a cave, a cavern, but is also used for the inner chamber of the residence. The first attestation of the word is in the *Odyssey*: 7× in bk. 9 for the cave of the Cyclops Polyphemos; in 13. 103 and 347 for the cave of the nymphs Naiads, a cave where only immortals are allowed to enter, as stated in 13. 111–12 (οὐδέ τι κείνη/ἄνδρες εἰσέρχονται, ἀλλ’ ἀθανάτων ὁδός ἐστιν ‘men do not enter it at all, but this is only open to gods’); in 13. 363 the word again refers to the cave of the same nymphs, where Odysseus is urged by Athena to place his luggage “in the innermost recess of the wondrous cave” (μυχῷ ἄντρον θεσπέσιον). Finally, in 24. 6ff. we find the same characterization of the place as “the innermost recess of a wondrous cave” in the simile of the spirits of the suitors led by Hermes to the Underworld which is compared with a cave filled with bats flittering around. Let us consider the last example in a little more detail:

ὡς δ’ ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρον θεσπέσιον  
τρίζουσαι ποτέονται, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν  
ὄρμαθού ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ’ ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται,  
ὡς αἱ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ’ ἦσαν· ἄρχε δ’ ἄρα σφιν  
Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα κατ’ εὐρώεντα κέλευθα

And as when bats in the depth of an awful cave flitter and gibber, when one of them has fallen out of his place in the chain that the bats have formed by holding one on another; so, gibbering, they went their way together, and Hermes the kindly healer led them along down moldering pathways (Lattimore).

In this passage, the word εὐρώεντα is used as a qualification of κέλευθα ‘pathways’, in what seems to be a metaphorical designation of Hades. This picture of the Underworld becomes even more complete in lines 13–14 of the same passage where further qualifications of the world of the dead are given: . . . αἶψα δ’ ἴκοντο κατ’ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων ‘. . . and presently arrived in the meadow of asphodel. This is the dwelling place of souls, images of dead men’ (Lattimore).

A brief comment on a number of items is required here. First of all, the term εὐρώεντα (nom. εὐρώεις, from a noun εὐρός, which is an s-formation like ἰδρός, γέλως, ἔρωσ, etc.) is usually translated as ‘dank’. Thieme (1952:59ff.) connects the word with Iranian *urvan* ‘soul’, and sees in it a protoform \*εὐραφοεντ- with the meaning “reich an Seelen, von Seelen bevölkert”, a meaning that seems to fit all its Homeric attestations. However, this etymology is not without problems (see Frisk GEW s.v. εὐρός). Difficulties also exist with the derivation from \*ε-φρ-ώς “Hülle(r), Decke(r)” and with the connection with Skt. *vṛhōti* ‘cover’ which was suggested by Brugmann (1913:197 n. 2) and by Solmsen (1901:123 n. 2). As a possible, perhaps only paretymological, connection we may mention the word εὐρος, after psilosis from \*εὔσ-ρος (compare εὔω ‘to singe’), occurring already in Homer, a word that refers to the south-eastern wind.

There are also other items that strengthen the general picture of the passage with respect to death and the underworld: νυκτερίδες ‘bats’, κέλευθα ‘pathways?’, ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα ‘meadow of asphodel’, ψυχαί ‘souls’, εἶδωλα καμόντων ‘images of the dead’. Some further commenting is necessary on some of these terms. Bats are usually symbols of darkness and eerie mystery, and are known to have associations with the dead or the spirits of the dead<sup>1</sup>; their dwelling places are dark and misty caverns, places that also constitute dwellings for the dead and for chthonic divinities of primitive religions (for instance, the many cave-figures of the Odyssey, like Circe, Calypso<sup>2</sup>, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> This negative attribute of the bats is not entirely true, since these creatures also have protective powers and functions. Parts of bats, especially certain bones, are used in the Greek tradition and elsewhere in making charms and other items of magic as protective amulets carried by people or hidden in the house, or used in magical spells and incantations (see, for instance, Faraone & Obbink 1991:231).

<sup>2</sup> It is, of course, curious that the word ἄντρον is not used for Calypso’s cave, for which the much more frequent σπέος is used instead.

Regarding ψυχαί, there is no need for any comment, the word refers to the spirit of the dead. The same is also true for the expression εἶδωλα καμόντων, which is again a euphemistic reference to the images of the dead in Hades. Although of obscure origin, the association of ἀσφοδελὸς λειμών with the world of the dead is again well known.

The general context of the scene is replete with underground wind currents that in a metaphorical sense also represent the fluttering spirits of the dead suitors. This context also lent support to the etymological association of the word ἄντρον with the semantic sphere 'breathe, wind'. Thus, ἄντρον has been related etymologically to ἄνεμος 'wind', Lat. *animus* 'id.', and with a different extension (if not with dissimilation from *\*anima-*) to Skt. *ánila-* 'wind', Arm. *hołm* 'id.' (with dissimilation *n-m > t-m*)<sup>3</sup>, perhaps also ἄσθμα; the verbal root is attested in Skt. *áni-ti* 'breathe', Go. *uz-anan* 'breathe one's last'; furthermore, Toch. AB *āñm* 'life, spirit', MBret. *anavon* 'the spirits, the dead', all from IE *\*an(ə)-*; also cf. Hesych. ἄνται· ἄνεμοι· ἀντάς· πνοάς. For more details and bibliography, see Frisk GEW s.vv. ἄνεμος, ἄσθμα. Thus, ἄντρον is from *\*an-tro-* (cf. Schwyzler Gr. Gr. I, 532), but according to Risch (1974:42) this is uncertain. The problem, however, here is the loss of -ε- of ἄνε-, as in ἄνε-μος, i. e., the laryngeal *-h<sub>1</sub>-*. Thus, formally a derivation *\*an-h<sub>1</sub>-tron > ἄντρον* would be difficult to explain, or at least would have certain difficulties. Meier-Brügger (1992 II:73, referring to Lamberterie) sees in ἄντρον a formation coupled by *\*antér*, as is common with nomina agentis, as well as nouns of the type of ἀνήρ: ἀνδρ-, ἀστήρ: ἄστερ-, etc.

From the preceding discussion it becomes clear that there is an association of caves with the world of the dead; therefore, we can assume that such an association is also present in the meaning of the Greek word ἄντρον. It remains to support this assumption also etymologically.

A fixed characteristic of the world of the dead is its marked boundary separating it from the world of the living; this boundary is often a body of water which the dead must cross. The act of crossing, that is of passing by the dead onto the beyond is usually expressed in Indo-European by the roots *\*per-* and *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-*. From the first root one receives a number of terms with clear connection to the dead and

<sup>3</sup> There has been a suggestion that the Greek word is related to Arm. *ayr* 'cave', but Clackson (1994:98) believes that the Armenian and the Greek words cannot be grouped together. He further suggests a possible connection of Arm *ayr* to Hitt. *harris* 'valley'.

their world, e. g., Gk. πορεῖν, πόρος, πείραρ/πείρατα (cf. especially the collocations πείραρ θανάτου, πείρατα ὀλέθρου, πείρατα γαίης/θαλάσσης/ὠκεανοῖο, etc.).

The root *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-*, on the other hand, has the meaning ‘cross over, pass through’, applying mainly to a body of water but to other obstacles as well, and it also develops the secondary meaning ‘overcome, vanquish, conquer’. In the latter meaning we find the root in the Hittite verb *tarh-* and the name of the Hittite storm-god <sup>D</sup>U/<sup>D</sup>IM (in Summerographic writing), in the Hittite cuneiform *\*Tarhunnaš* or *\*Tarhutaš* ‘Conqueror’. The root *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* is used in nominal compounds in Greek *-ταρ*, Vedic *-tur*, both reflecting zero-grade *\*tṛh<sub>2</sub>-* (see Watkins 1995:344). Among the derivatives we mention here Gk. νέκταρ which, according to Thieme (1952), reflects *\*nek-tṛh<sub>2</sub>-*, lit. ‘what overcomes death’ (cf. also Schmitt 1961).

Watkins (1995:347 ff.) also discusses the Latin term *tarentum* ‘grave, tomb’, also used as a place-name in the Campus Martius, saying that it is the place of the cult-offering for the dead. Lat. *tarentum* reflects *\*tṛh<sub>2</sub>-(e)nt-ó-*, “an individualizing thematic vowel derivative of the regular participle *\*tṛh<sub>2</sub>-ént-* of the athematic present *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘pass over, cross, overcome’” (Watkins 1995:351), and is parallel to Vedic *tīrthám* ‘crossing place, ford, watering place’ (cf. *tar-apáh* (RV+); Haudry 1977:318), and is itself the crossing place. Throughout Indo-European what is crossed is water in the sense of crossing over water to the other side, i. e., to the otherworld, and metaphorically crossing over death, overcoming death, like Gk. νέκταρ, as was mentioned above.

Within the context of the idea of death as “crossing over”, that is crossing over some space onto the other side, from the world of the living to the world of the dead, we can also see the form and the meaning of the Greek word ἄντρον. I believe that the word is a compound, with *-τρον* reflecting IE *\*tṛh<sub>2</sub>-on*, i. e., the zero grade of the root *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* with a thematic-vowel extension. The first part of the compound *ἀν-* represents the haplological form of the preposition ἀντί ‘opposite to’. In other words, ἄντρον derives from *\*ἀντι-τρον* and its meaning is “the place of the crossing to the opposite side”, and this place is the entrance to the world beyond, precisely like Lat. *tarentum*. That the word came in Greek to mean cave and cavern is explained by the common popular belief that caves were residences of the dead or openings on the ground that lead to the underworld<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> In the Homeric passage 13.111–12 mentioned in the beginning of the

The development of *\*tʰh₂-* > *-tr-on*, though not very common, is documented by a few more cases from Greek and other languages. Since Hirt (Idg. Gr. 2, 184ff.) it is known that there is a connection between the loss of a laryngeal and the *o*-vocalism in composition. Kuryłowicz (1956:172ff. and 197ff.) states that in compounds where roots of the shape *TR̥ǵ-* form the second member of the compound or follow reduplication we have the change of *TR̥ǵ-o-* to *-TR-o-*, as in γίγνομαι, νεογνός, ἕγκρος 'brain', perhaps even κύκλος < *\*kʷekʷlh-*os (on which cf. Rix 1994:23–24), and in Sanskrit *ābhva-*, *pāpri-*, *twigrī-*, *sāsni-*. Beekes (1969:242ff.) accepts this view and gives more examples from both Greek and other languages, mainly Sanskrit. Similarly, Mayrhofer (1986:129) talks of loss of laryngeal in trisyllabic words, in composition, and in reduplicated presents (although not always). Greek ἄντρον meets all the requirements for application of this rule: it is a compound and its second member is of the shape *-TR̥ǵ-*, thus the expected outcome is *-TR-o-*. The process must have been as follows: *\*anti-tʰh₂-on* > (loss of laryngeal) *\*anti-tr-on* > (haplology) ἄντρον.

It is true that we do not have another case of ἀντί becoming ἄν- by haplology, but we do have such cases with ἀμφί, as in ἀμφορεύς: ἀμφορεύς, two forms also attested in Mycenaean *a-pi-po-re-we* and *a-po-re-we*. We also have ἀμπαις: ἀμπαις, ὀπισθέναρ: ὀπισθοδόμος, κίονκρανον: κιονόκρανον, ἡμέδιμνον: ἡμιμέδιμνον, and others (see Schwyzler Gr. Gr. I, 262–63).

According to Wackernagel (Aind. Gramm. II/2, 278), haplology is the loss of the first of two successive syllables, and can occur across a morph boundary in derivation or in composition. Wackernagel offers some examples from Sanskrit, among them *rujānās*: *\*rujānā-nās*, *śé[va]-vāra-*: *śéva-* + *vāra-*, *śé[va]-vṛdha-*: *śéva-* + *vṛdha-*, *pi[na]-nasa-*: *pina-* + *nas-*; *uloká-* from *ulu-* (= *urú-*)-*loká*, *t[ri]-ṛcá-*, *s-*, *śuśmayá-*: *śuśma-máya-*, and other examples. Greek ἄντρον is of the latter type, i. e., haplology in composition.

We should add here that haplology is a type of dissimilation; the syllable that drops normally consists of consonants homorganic to those of the syllable against which the dissimilation takes place. Contrary to other dissimilation phenomena, haplology cannot be described systematically. In other words, haplological phenomena do not follow

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paper the word ἄντρον is explained as a passage or a path (ὁδός) for the gods, perhaps an allusion by the poet to the etymology of the word (!)

well-defined and well-structured rules with total application to the data; they tend to be random phenomena with no systematicity. This means that one cannot predict haplology in the same way that this is done with other regular phonological changes.

That there have been no cases documented till now where ἄντι loses the -ι before consonants is not an obstacle, since haplology is not the same as apocope; with haplology it is mainly a consonant or consonant-cluster that plays the primary role, and not the final vowel of the dropped syllable. Besides, the vowel [i] is characterized by the same features as [r]. As Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996:216) remark, there is a close affinity between rhotics (viz. r-sounds) and vowels, and this is due to some common features of the two sound groups, such as privileged position in the syllable structure, the fact that rhotics often have syllabic variants, they merge with contiguous vowels or exert acoustic modifications on them, and other acoustic and articulatory features<sup>5</sup>.

It is possible to add as a formal parallel to ἄντρον another example from Greek, namely the word ἄντρολος, ἄντρολον, items which are normally taken from \*ἄν-τρολος < \*\*ἄμ-θλο-ς as cognates to Lat. *sentina* “Schiffsbodenwasser” and Lith. *semiù* “schöpfen” (Frisk GEW s.v. ἄντρολος). It is possible that ἄντρον and ἄντρολος, -ον are parallel formations, at least with regard to the second element -τρο- and -τρο-. As -τρο- derives from \*tʀh<sub>2</sub>- so could -τρο- derive from \*tʀh<sub>2</sub>-, the zero grade of IE \*telh<sub>2</sub>- ‘hold, lift (up)’. The first part ἄν- could represent either apocopated ἀνά or ἀντί with haplologic loss of -τί as in the case of ἄντρον. In the first case ἄντρολος contains precisely the root meaning ‘(to be) drawn up’ (i. e., water (to be) pumped up from a ship, a well, etc.), in the second case its original meaning is ‘(to be) drawn opposite to, drawn to the other side’, or something of the sort. In both cases the semantics present no difficulty.

Thus, the possibility of ἄντρολος, -ον < \*ἄν(α)-τρο- (i. e., \*tʀh<sub>2</sub>-) looks more likely than the derivation from \*ἀντι-τρο-, but this does not affect much the parallel model of formation with that of ἄντρον. In a way parallel to the derivation of ἄντρον, the process here is: \*ana-tʀh<sub>2</sub>-on > (loss of laryngeal) \*ana-tʀ-on > (apocope) ἄντρον.

If this suggestion has some value, then it offers support to our explanation of the origin of ἄντρον, and in both instances a less problematic line of derivation is offered which is more economical and more plausible.

<sup>5</sup> The sounds [i] and [r] are also together in the so-called “ruki-rule”.



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## Gr. σκολόπενδρα

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As it seems, the etymology of Gr. σκολόπενδρα has not been explained yet and generally the assumed hypothesis is that of an alien origin, a “substratum” word, and the like<sup>1</sup>.

Given the accuracy of Aristotle’s descriptions<sup>2</sup>, a zoological identification of σκολόπενδρα is not problematic<sup>3</sup>.

As Aristotle notes, land and sea σκολόπενδραι (Eng. *millipede* or *scolopendra* as well) are much alike, both having a segmented wormlike body<sup>4</sup> with many pointed legs on each side<sup>5</sup>.

In fact, although land scolopendras<sup>6</sup> belong to arthropods chilopoda while aquatic ones<sup>7</sup> belong to annellids polychaeta, their features are similar<sup>8</sup>, and no doubt the ancient sources referred to both as σκολόπενδραι<sup>9</sup>. They also share the unpleasant characteristic of being stinging animals, and sea-scolopendras in particular ‘bite apparently along the whole body’<sup>10</sup>.

Hence the idea of a compound with σκόλοψ (theme σκόλοπ-, ‘anything pointed’), and ἔντερον (pl. ἔντερα ‘guts’, but even ‘earth-

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1970), s. v.; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1977), s. v.; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (München, 1968), 1, 533.

<sup>2</sup> See Arist. *HA* 505b13ff. and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Which is essential to the etymologist dealing with taxonomies: the ‘referential constraint’ is crucial approaching descriptive animal names, indeed taxonomies, natural and scientific ones, are typically created on referential features, namely physical features selected as typical of the object we want to classify (Cf. G. Simpson, *Principles of taxonomy* [New York, 1990<sup>2</sup>], 7ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *HA* 621a10, 505b14.

<sup>5</sup> *HA* 505b16.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. *Scolopendra cingolata*.

<sup>7</sup> E. g. *Nereis versicolor*.

<sup>8</sup> As modern zoologists confirm; see for instance, H.-W. Smolik, *Das Große Illustrierte Tierbuch* (Gütersloh, 1968), s. v. *Polychaeta*.

<sup>9</sup> See, e. g., A. L. Peck (Ed.), *Aristotle. Historia Animalium* (Cambridge Mass., 1979), 123, note a.

<sup>10</sup> Arist. *HA* 621a. Pliny (*HN* 8, 14) even mentions *scolopendras* as causing *Rhoetienses* to abandon their land.

worms') as first and second member respectively: literally *σκολόπενδραι* will be 'biting earth-worms' or 'thorny earth-worms', whether referring to infixed legs (which earth-worms have not), to stinging properties, or pincers-like oral apparatuses.

The stem *σκολοπ-* appears in few other compounds<sup>11</sup>, always as first member and with the same attributive meaning ('pointed', 'sharp' etc.).

As to *ἔντερα* 'guts', the specialised metaphorical meaning 'earth-worms' is largely attested<sup>12</sup>, mostly in the syntagm *γῆς ἔντερα* (lit. 'earth's worms').

In fact the compound *skolópendra* needs some morpho-phonological explanations; in particular its second member *\*-entera* has to be accounted for as *-endra*.

The location of stress is a crucial determinant for sound changes: vowel contrasts are reduced in unstressed position, syllables deleted entirely (syncope)<sup>13</sup>; since *ἔντερον* is generally grouped within nouns suffixed in *-tero/ā*<sup>14</sup>, here it is not difficult to find cases of syncope whose result is deletion of *-e-* (*-tro-* instead of *-tero-*), what seems possible only when, as it is our case, a well formed<sup>15</sup> consonant cluster (e. g. *-ntr-*) derives from *-e-* deletion<sup>16</sup>.

As far as the voicing of *-t-* is concerned (*\*skolóp-entra* becoming *skolóp-endra*), the first source attesting *σκολόπενδρα*, Aristotle's biological works, is a fairly late one (Aristotle already uses a *κοινή* Greek) and this is good for us: voicing (sonorization) of occlusive consonants after nasals is a typical reduction process in the evolution of Greek consonantism, becoming more frequent in *κοινή* (in mod. Greek all

<sup>11</sup> E. g. *σκολοπ-ειδής* and *σκολοπ-ώδης* ('pointed like a pale'); *σκολοπ-ώνυμον* ('poignantly named') *σκολοπο-μαχαίριον* ('pointed surgical knife'); cf. also derivative *σκολόπ-αξ* ('woodcock').

<sup>12</sup> See e. g., (with a survey of quotations from the ancient sources) D. Kidd (Ed.), *Aratus. Phaenomena* (Cambridge-Mass., 1997), 505–6.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, M. Kenstowicz, *Phonology in generative grammar* (Cambridge-Mass., 1994), 48.

<sup>14</sup> See Schwyzer, 1, 533.

<sup>15</sup> According to the so called Sonority Sequencing Principle 'that requires syllable onsets to rise in sonority toward the nucleus and codas to fall in sonority from the nucleus' (Kenstowicz, 255).

<sup>16</sup> Schwyzer (1, 533, note 8) gives another useful example of syncope in a parallel context (*-ter-* + vowel becoming *-tr-* due to unstressed position): cf. *ύστέρα* but *ύστρος*, *ύστρία*.

voiceless stops are pronounced as voiced after nasals<sup>17</sup>); yet pamphylian dialect has *πένδε* instead of *πέντε* even in earlier sources<sup>18</sup>.

So \**skolópentra* could have reasonably passed to *skolópendra* (maybe a pamphylian influence word?), and the compound will have become no longer recognisable<sup>19</sup> as such to Greek speakers, except for its first member (what can explain stress location in *skolópendra*, viz. by analogy with *skólop-*). For the same reason a form like *σκολόπενδρα* will have been easily interpreted as a first declension feminine singular (cf. neuter plurals agreement with verbs in Greek), hence *σκολόπενδρα, ας*.

As a compound, *σκολόπ-ενδρα* is formed according to regular patterns of compounding in Greek, either semantically (righthanded)<sup>20</sup> or morphologically<sup>21</sup> (noun + noun).

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<sup>17</sup> See F. Biville, *Les emprunts du latin au grec. Approche phonétique*, (Louvain-Paris, 1990), 251.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Schwyzer 1, 210; Biville, 210.

<sup>19</sup> That is: morphologically/semantically opaque.

<sup>20</sup> See E. Williams, "On the notions 'lexically related' and 'head of a word'", *Linguistic Inquiry*, 12, 2: 254, 74.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Schwyzer, 1, 430 ff.

# Parentesen im Lateinischen am Beispiel der Pliniusbriefe<sup>1</sup>

Von SABINE HÄUSLER, Jena

*„Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren, wenn wir in dieser Feierstunde – nur das hat Bedeutung, so meine ich – durch oder besser im Sinne der musikalischen Glaubwürdigkeit als Selbstverständnis im Sinne kultureller Verpflichtung unter der Maxime: Wer, wo, was und warum ... Hier liegt die unverzichtbare Aufgabe unserer geteilten Stadt.“<sup>2</sup>*

In dieser Festrede von Lorient begegnet am Anfang eine typische Parenthese, d. h. ein in den Satz eingefügter selbständiger Ausdruck. Dieser kann aus einem Wort, einer Wortfolge oder einem vollständigen Satz bestehen und ist vom gesamten Satzgefüge strukturell unabhängig<sup>3</sup>. Aus sprachhandlungstheoretischer Sicht wird in der Parenthese eine sprachliche Nebenhandlung formuliert, die zur Haupthandlung – ausgedrückt durch den Trägersatz – in einer bestimmten kommunikativen Relation steht<sup>4</sup>.

Normalerweise, sagt man, treten Parentesen in der Umgangssprache auf und in Textformen, die der Umgangssprache nahe stehen. Eine interessante Frage ist nun, ob auch rhetorisch geschulte Autoren Parentesen verwenden und man in dieser Ausdrucksweise somit ein gezielt eingesetztes Stilmittel sehen kann. Welche Schriftsteller eignen sich mehr für eine derartige Untersuchung als die Römer, die ja, sofern sie in der Öffentlichkeit standen, eine Rhetorikausbildung genossen hatten?

Will man also den Gebrauch von Parentesen von Rhetorikern an der lateinischen Literatur überprüfen, so bietet sich als Textgrundlage die umfangreiche Briefliteratur an, da es sich dabei um eine der mündlichen Ausdrucksweise eng verwandte Textsorte handelt. Des weiteren

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<sup>1</sup> Der Aufsatz geht auf einen Vortrag zurück, den ich auf dem Internationalen Symposium „125 Jahre Sprachwissenschaft in Graz“ im Juli 1998 gehalten habe. Die Vortragsfassung wurde weitgehend beibehalten. Für die Unterstützung möchte ich mich an dieser Stelle beim Jenaer Lehrstuhl für Indogermanistik bedanken, ganz besonders bei Susanne Zeilfelder.

<sup>2</sup> Lorient 1992: 100.

<sup>3</sup> Auf parenthetische Vokative soll hier nicht näher eingegangen werden.

<sup>4</sup> Lühr 1991: 162.

hat man hier ein ausreichend großes Corpus, und da ganze Briefsammlungen verschiedener Autoren überliefert sind, ist eine vergleichende Untersuchung möglich.

Auch aus einem anderen Grund scheint die Untersuchung der Parentesen anhand von Briefen angebracht. Man würde ja meinen, daß sich Elemente der Umgangssprache besonders häufig in Aufzeichnungen finden, die gesprochene Sprache abbilden sollen, z. B. in der Komödie. Das ist jedoch erstaunlicherweise in der lateinischen Literatur nicht der Fall, so daß Parentesen vielleicht auch aus diesem Grund kaum in das Blickfeld der Altphilologen geraten sind. Eine exemplarische Untersuchung der Parentesen<sup>5</sup> in jeweils einer Komödie von Plautus und Terenz hat nämlich ergeben, daß sich lediglich 5 Parentesen bei Terenz in der *Andria* und 15 bei Plautus im *Amphitruo* finden lassen<sup>6</sup>. Diese Gattung als Materialbasis scheint daher weniger geeignet<sup>7</sup>.

Was die Untersuchungsmethode betrifft, haben Parentesen bei der Betrachtung der lateinischen Syntax aus der Sicht der modernen Linguistik bislang kaum Beachtung gefunden<sup>8</sup>. Das soll nun durch eine

<sup>5</sup> Es handelt sich allerdings meist nur um kurze Einwürfe wie *quaeso* oder *obsecro*.

<sup>6</sup> Beispielsweise sind das für Terenz (*Andria*) die Verse: 8, 218, 232 f., 323, 747 und für Plautus (*Amphitruo*): 94, 378, 437, 425 f., 540, 577, 596, 612–615, 619, 625, 693, 725, 923, 1066, 1097. (Für die Bereitstellung des Materials von Plautus' *Amphitruo* danke ich Bettina Bock, Projekt: Indogermanische Konkurrenzsyntax an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Bereich Latein/Plautus.) Daß Plautus gemeinhin sprachlich als der volkstümlichere gilt, wird somit auch durch die Anzahl der vorkommenden Parentesen bestätigt.

<sup>7</sup> Für die Komödien ist über die hier vorgestellten Parentesentypen hinaus ein weiterer anzusetzen: der Bezug auf die Sprechsituation. Dabei wird der Zuschauer von einem der beiden Dialogpartner angesprochen, so daß ein direkter Kontakt zum Rezipienten hergestellt wird, vgl. dazu Terenz *Andria* 218, wo Davos den Zuschauer darüber aufklärt, daß es sich um Verrückte, nicht um Verliebte handelt (*nam inceptiost amentium, haud amantium*). Dieser Parentesentyp findet sich in der Briefliteratur erwartungsgemäß nicht, da hier Kommunikation zwischen nur zwei Personen stattfindet.

<sup>8</sup> Man vgl. zur Parenthese im Lateinischen: v. Albrecht 1963 und aus syntaktischer Sicht: Scherer 1975: 228–233, Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr 1965: 728 f. und Kühner/Stegmann 1992: (unter verschiedenen Paragraphen), die jedoch wenig Erhellendes zum Thema beitragen. Meist werden lediglich syntaktische Verbindungen zum übergeordneten Satz untersucht, z. B. Einleitungswörter wie *enim* etc. Auch Sherwin-White 1968: 559 behandelt im sprachlichen Teil des Pliniuskommentars die Parentesen nur in einem Absatz

sprachhandlungsorientierte Analyse am Beispiel der Pliniusbriefe nachgeholt werden.

In literaturwissenschaftlicher Hinsicht stellt sich darüber hinaus die Frage, ob es sich bei den Pliniusbriefen um echte Briefe oder um rein literarische Produkte handelt, auch wenn dies nicht im Vordergrund dieser Arbeit stehen soll, sondern stilistisch-syntaktische Überlegungen.

Zuerst ist ein Blick auf die Gattungsgeschichte der Briefliteratur nötig (I). Die anschließende Klassifizierung und statistische Auswertung der bei Plinius vorkommenden Parenthesen mitsamt ihren Untertypen (II) bildet die Basis für die Verknüpfung der unterschiedlichen Arten von Parenthesen mit Themen und Texttypen der Briefe. Dadurch werden genauere Aussagen als bisher über das Verhältnis von Schreiber und Leser möglich (III).

## I.

Ciceros Briefe, die den Beginn der Briefliteratur als Gattung in der lateinischen Literaturgeschichte darstellen, wurden von seinem Sekretär Tiro postum herausgegeben. Sie werden in der Klassischen Philologie als echte Privatbriefe betrachtet. Dagegen ist über die Briefe des jüngeren Plinius zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts die Auffassung vertreten worden, seine Briefe seien reine Kunstprodukte, Stilübungen oder Essays in Briefform ohne wirklichen Bezug zum Adressaten<sup>9</sup>, da sie ja auch von Plinius selbst zur Veröffentlichung gedacht waren<sup>10</sup>. Mittlerweile ist die Debatte in dieser Frage doch erheblich differenzierter.

Begründet wurde diese Meinung hauptsächlich auch mit stilistischen Argumenten, denn man vermißte bei Plinius vor allem die Merkmale einer zwar gebildeten, aber doch eher umgangssprachlichen Ausdrucksweise, die man – nach dem Vorbild der Cicerobriefe – für den

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von ca. 15 Zeilen mit dem Ergebnis, daß Parenthesen bei Plinius wohl neben der Hypotaxe auftreten. Eine syntaktische oder semantische Klassifizierung wird jedoch nicht vorgenommen.

<sup>9</sup> Zum Problem der Briefliteratur siehe: Peter 1901.

<sup>10</sup> Zwischen 109 und 111 u. Z. erschienen die ersten 9 Bücher als Briefsammlung, herausgegeben von Plinius. Ein möglicher Anlaß dazu mag durchaus die Kenntnis der veröffentlichten Cicerobriefe gewesen sein. Anders steht es dagegen mit dem 10. Buch, das die Briefe an Kaiser Trajan und von ihm enthält und erst nach 113 nach dem Tod des Plinius wahrscheinlich von Sueton und Plinius' Frau Calpurnia Hispulla veröffentlicht wurde.

Briefstil der spätrepublikanischen und augusteischen Zeit für typisch hielt.

Überprüft man jedoch allein die Anzahl der Parenthesen bei Plinius und Cicero<sup>11</sup>, so ergibt ein statistischer Vergleich auf syntaktischer Ebene, daß Plinius in seinen 368 Briefen auf 400 modernen Druckseiten 205 Parenthesen<sup>12</sup> verwendet, also 0,5 pro Seite bzw. 0,6 pro Brief, d. h. in jedem zweiten Brief tritt eine Parenthese auf. Dagegen scheinen zwar auf den ersten Blick in Ciceros Quintusbriefen mehr als doppelt so viele Parenthesen vorzukommen<sup>13</sup>; wenn man aber die Brieflänge berücksichtigt, so zeigt sich, daß Ciceros Briefe dreimal länger sind und man somit auf nur 0,4 Parenthesen pro Seite kommt: rein statistisch gesehen sind Parenthesen bei Plinius sogar etwas häufiger als bei Cicero, und wenn man die Parenthese als typisches Merkmal des colloquialen Stils gelten läßt, dann ist der Briefstil des Plinius keinesfalls weniger umgangssprachlich als der ciceronische.

Das Vorkommen und die Häufigkeit der Parenthesen sprechen also dafür, daß die Pliniusbriefe in erster Linie als echte Privatbriefe anzusehen sind.

## II.

Fragt man nun nach den unterschiedlichen Funktionen der Parenthesen bei Plinius, so zeigt sich: Bei 2 von 3 Parenthesen gibt Plinius eine inhaltliche Ergänzung zur Aussage des Trägersatzes, und in einem Drittel der Fälle kommentiert er ihn. Weiter läßt sich feststellen, daß nur ein Drittel der Parenthesen dazu dient, dem Leser die Bedingungen für das Verständnis des Briefinhalts zu erleichtern. Zusätzliche Informationen als reine Verständnishilfen zu geben, scheint also nicht die Hauptfunktion der Parenthese bei Plinius zu sein, sondern sie dient eher dazu, dem Leser die Proposition, d. h. die Aussage, glaubhaft zu machen: durch Begründungen, die sich größtenteils auf die [Proposition beziehen, und durch metakommunikative], d. h. formulierungskommentierende Einschübe. Und über 10 Prozent der Paren-

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<sup>11</sup> Ein semantischer Vergleich erfolgt unter III.

<sup>12</sup> Grundlage der Untersuchung sind die Ausgaben von Schuster/Hanslik<sup>3</sup>1958 und Mynors 1963. Die Übersetzung wurde erstellt in Anlehnung an Philips/Giebel 1998.

<sup>13</sup> Es handelt sich dabei um 38 Parenthesen in 27 Briefen auf 92 Druckseiten, d. h. 1,4 Parenthesen/Brief; 0,4 Parenthesen/Seite.



thesen bestehen aus einer direkten Anrede; allein das zeigt schon, daß Plinius sehr wohl auf den Empfänger seiner Briefe eingeht.

Im folgenden soll nun genauer untersucht werden, in welchen Sprechsituationen Plinius Parenthesen verwendet. Um dies zu klären, werden nach der Terminologie der Sprechakttheorie Sprechakte auf drei Ebenen untersucht: erstens in Bezug auf die Proposition, zweitens in Bezug auf die Bedingungen, die für den Vollzug einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendig sind, und drittens in Bezug auf die Sprechsituation.

In der folgenden Tabelle wird die relative Verteilung der bei Plinius vorkommenden Parenthesentypen veranschaulicht<sup>14</sup>:

1. Bezug auf die Proposition	
1.1. Additionsbeziehung	35 %
1.2. Teilbeziehung	33 %
1.3. Kommentarbeziehung	32 %
2. Bezug auf die für den Vollzug einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendigen Bedingungen	
2.1. Verstehensbedingungen	34 %
2.1.1. Bezug auf die Proposition	96 %
2.1.2. Bezug auf die Illokution	4 %
2.2. Akzeptierungsbedingungen	66 %
2.2.1. Evidenzen	9 %
2.2.2. Verdeutlichungen	5 %
2.2.3. Begründungen	47 %
2.2.3.1. Propositionsbegründungen	62 %
2.2.3.2. Illokutionsbegründungen	3 %
2.2.3.3. Ausdrucksbegründungen	35 %
2.2.4. Metakommunikation	39 %
3. Bezug auf die Sprechsituation	13 %

Zur kommunikativen Funktion der Parenthesen bei Plinius sind die folgenden Beispiele zu vergleichen<sup>15</sup>:

### *1. Bezug auf die Proposition*

#### *1.1.*

In Bezug auf die Proposition kann die Parenthese zwei Funktionen haben: Sie kann – als Additions- oder als Teilbeziehung – Zusatzinformationen mit eigener Proposition geben:

<sup>14</sup> Die Einteilung folgt in der Systematik Lühr 1991: 224.

<sup>15</sup> Eine Auflistung aller Parenthesen befindet sich im Anhang geordnet nach dem Parenthesentyp und alphabetisch nach dem Empfänger und Briefzählung.

(1) Plinius an Cornelius:

VI 31,14

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO SVO S.

*Summo die abeuntibus nobis (tam diligens in Caesare humanitas) xenia sunt missa.*

Am letzten Tag vor unserer Abreise – so aufmerksam war der Kaiser in seiner Menschenfreundlichkeit – wurden uns Gastgeschenke gereicht.

Dies ist ein Beispiel für eine Additionsbeziehung, denn zur Proposition des Trägersatzes kommt eine nebengeordnete Proposition in der Parenthese hinzu. Dabei herrscht keine Übereinstimmung zwischen dem nominalen Satzglied von Trägersatz und Parenthese.

1.2.

Dagegen liegt im folgenden Beispiel eine Teilbeziehung vor.

(2) Plinius an Maximus:

II 14,6

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SVO S.

*Here duo nomenclatores mei (habent sane aetatem eorum qui nuper togas sumpserint) ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur.*

Gestern wurden meine beiden Nomenclatores – sie haben freilich erst das Alter, in dem man die Toga anlegt – für drei Denare zum Beifallklatschen weggeschnappt.

Hier besteht Referenzidentität; die Parenthese läßt sich auflösen und in ein Satzgefüge umwandeln, entweder in einen Relativsatz *qui habent sane aetatem* oder in eine Partizipialkonstruktion *habentes sane aetatem*.

1.3.

Und einen Kommentar zur Aussage des Trägersatzes bietet die Parenthese in:

(3) Plinius an Priscus:

VI 8,9

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SVO S.

*Quin potius, ut coeperam, rogo oro des operam, ne ille se (quod ual-*  
*dissime uereor) a me, ego me neglectum a te putem.*

Lieber bitte ich Dich, wie ich es anfangs getan, inständig, Dich zu bemühen, daß er nicht – das fürchte ich am meisten – sich von mir und ich mich nicht von Dir vernachlässigt fühle.

Bei Kommentarbeziehungen wird auf den Inhalt der Proposition des Trägersatzes Bezug genommen, häufig durch Verben des Sagens oder Denkens. In der Umwandlung in einen komplexen Satz wird aus der Parenthese der Hauptsatz und aus dem Trägersatz ein Nebensatz mit der Einleitung ‚daß‘, lat. *ut*, bzw. negiert *ne*. Kommentare können dabei rein deskriptiv oder aber wertend sein.

*2. Bedingungen, die für den Vollzug  
einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendig sind*

Um einen Sprechakt zu verstehen, muß der Hörer/Leser die Intention des Sprechers/Schreibers erstens erkennen und zweitens akzeptieren. Parenthesen können daher dazu verwendet werden, dem Leser Verständnishilfen zu geben; diese beziehen sich sowohl auf die Proposition wie auf die Illokution, d. h. die Intention des Sprechers vor oder während des Sprechaktes.

2.1.1.

Das erste Beispiel zeigt einen Bezug auf die Proposition:

(4) Plinius an Fuscus:

IX 36,3

C. PLINIUS FVSCO SVO S.

*Vbi hora quarta uel quinta (neque enim certum dimensumque tempus),  
ut dies suasit, in xystum me uel cryptoporticum confero, reliqua meditor  
et dicto.*

Sobald die vierte oder fünfte Stunde gekommen ist – ich habe nämlich keine bestimmte, festgesetzte Zeit –, begeben sich je nach Witterung, auf die Terrasse oder in die Wandelhalle, denke über den Rest nach und diktiere ihn.

2.1.2.

Dagegen liegt im folgenden Beispiel ein Bezug auf die Illokution vor; es handelt sich hierbei um eine Warnung.

(5) Plinius an Tiro:

VI 22,7  
C. PLINIVS TIRONI SVO S.

*Quod tibi scripsi, ut te sortitum provinciam praemonerem, plurimum tibi credas, nec cuiquam satis fidas, deinde scias si quis forte te (quod abominor) fallat, paratam ultionem.*

Dies habe ich Dir geschrieben, um Dich, der Du eine Provinz durch Los erhalten hast, zu warnen. Verlaß Dich am meisten auf Dich selbst und vertraue niemandem zu sehr! Weiter sollst Du wissen, daß die Strafe auf dem Fuß folgt, wenn Dich jemand betrügt – das möge der Himmel verhüten.

2.2.1.

In anderen Fällen wird versucht, mit Hilfe von Parenthesen die Akzeptierungsbedingungen zu verbessern. Dies kann durch Angabe von Evidenzen geschehen.

(6) Plinius an Arrius Antoninus:

IV 18,1  
C. PLINIUS [ARRIO] ANTONINO SVO S.

*Accidit hoc primum imbecillitate ingenii mei, deinde inopia ac potius (ut Lucretius ait), egestate patrii sermonis.*<sup>6</sup>

Das kommt erstens von meiner schwachen Begabung, dann auch von dem Mangel, oder besser – wie Lucrez sagt – von der Dürftigkeit unserer Muttersprache.

Bei Feststellungen können in Parenthesen also Referenzen oder Gewährsleute angegeben werden, die den Leser dazu motivieren sollen, die Aussage des Trägersatzes zu glauben.

2.2.2.

Eine ganz ähnliche Funktion haben Verdeutlichungen. In ihnen kommt die persönliche Ansicht des Sprechers stärker zum Ausdruck, da ein Verb des Denkens oder Meinens bei der Auflösung der Parenthese hinzuzudenken ist.

(7) Plinius an Julius Genitor:

III 11,2

C. PLINIUS IVLIO GENITORI SVO S.

*Equidem, cum essent philosophi ab urbe summoti, fui apud illum in suburbano, et quo notabilis (hoc est, periculosus) esset fui praetor.*

Als die Philosophen aus der Stadt verwiesen worden waren, befand ich mich bei ihm auf seinem Landgut in der Nähe der Stadt, und zwar, wodurch die Sache noch bemerkenswerter – das bedeutet: gefährlicher – wurde, ich war gerade Prätor.

2.2.3.1.

Weiterhin finden sich Begründungen unter den motivationsstützenden Parenthesen. Sie können sich auf die propositionale oder auf die illokutionäre Ebene des Trägersatzes beziehen. Eine Propositionsbegründung ist z. B.

(8) Plinius an Tacitus:

VII 20,4

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Et erant multa clarissima ingenia; sed tu mihi (ita similitudo naturae ferebat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus uidebaris.*

Und es gab damals viele höchst bedeutende Talente. Aber Du schienst mir – die Ähnlichkeit unseres Charakters brachte es mit sich – am ehesten nachahmbar, am meisten nachahmenswert.

2.2.3.2.

Eine Illokutionsbegründung durch eine indirekte Aufforderung stellt etwa das folgende Beispiel dar:

(9) Plinius an Licinius Sura:

IV 30,11

C. PLINIUS LICINIO SURAE SVO S.

*Scrutare tu causas (potes enim), quae tantum miraculum efficiunt: mihi abunde est, si satis expressi quod efficitur.*

Untersuche die Ursachen – Du kannst es nämlich –, die eine so wunderbare Erscheinung hervorrufen; mir genügt vollständig, wenn ich Dir deutlich genug dargestellt habe, was vor sich geht.

2.2.3.3.

Auch die sprachliche Ausdrucksweise kann in einer Parenthese begründet werden.

(10) Plinius an Maximus:

II 14,3

C. PLINIVS MAXIMO SVO S.

*Et hercule ante memoriam meam (ita maiores natu solent dicere) ne nobilissimis quidem adolescentibus locus erat nisi aliquo consulari producente: tanta ueneratione pulcherrimum opus colebatur.*

Aber, weiß Gott, vor meiner Zeit – so sagen gewöhnlich die älteren Leute – gab es nicht einmal für die vornehmsten jungen Leute Zutritt, wenn sie nicht ein Konsular ins öffentliche Leben einführte: mit solcher Hochachtung verehrte man diese sehr schöne Tätigkeit.

2.2.4.

Und schließlich hat der Sprecher die Möglichkeit, auf den Hörer durch die eigene Aussage betreffende metakommunikative Einschübe Einfluß zu nehmen.

(11) Plinius an Maximus:

VI 11,3

C. PLINIVS MAXIMO SVO S.

*O diem (repetam enim) laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo!*

Was für ein glücklicher Tag – ich möchte es wiederholen – und für mich ein Tag, den ich im Kalender rot anstreichen muß!

In diesem Fall wird durch Metakommunikation die Redeorganisation thematisiert.

An diesen wenigen Beispielen erkennt man bereits, wie groß die semantische Vielfalt der Parenthesen bei Plinius ist; die Variationsbreite steht der in den modernen Sprachen in nichts nach.

### 3. Bezug auf die Sprechsituation

Bei der Verwendung von Parenthesen geht es aber nicht nur um das reibungslose Funktionieren der Kommunikation, sondern es liegt darüber hinaus ein kontaktstiftendes Element in einer solchen Aus-

drucksweise, d. h. ein Bezug auf die Sprechsituation. Der Leser wird ja durch die direkte Anrede nicht nur über das Geschehen informiert, sondern auch miteinbezogen. Diese kommunikative Funktion ist in einem Brief sicher keine reine Höflichkeitsfloskel, sondern erleichtert dem Leser das Verständnis. Er muß sich ja in eine Sprechsituation hinein finden und kann nicht wie ein Dialogpartner direkt zurückfragen.

Der Gesprächskontakt kann durch Verweise auf gemeinsames Vorwissen vertieft werden, um eine bessere Grundlage für die weiteren Ausführungen zu schaffen.

(12) Plinius an Cornelius Minicianus:

III 9,11

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO MINICIANO SVO S.

*Erat in consilio Sertorianum illud exemplum, qui robustissimum et infirmissimum militem iussit caudam equi – reliqua nosti.*

Bei der Beratung hatten wir jenes Beispiel des Sertorius vor Augen, der einem sehr starken und einem sehr schwachen Soldaten befahl, den Schwanz eines Pferdes – Du kennst ja den Rest der Geschichte.

### III.

„... Du kennst ja den Rest der Geschichte.“ Mit dieser Parenthese nimmt Plinius Bezug auf den Kenntnisstand seines Gegenübers – auch wenn es sich bei direkten Anreden nicht in jedem Fall nur um Exklusivwissen der beiden Brieffpartner handeln muß.

Auf das Urteilsvermögen auf Grund gleicher oder ähnlicher beruflicher Erfahrungen kann ebenso in solchen Parenthesen verwiesen werden, z. B. in einem Brief an Priscus, der selber konsularischer Legat war.

(13) Plinius an Priscus:

II 13,4

C. PLINIVS PRISCO SVO S.

*Ipsa ceterioris Hispaniae (scis quod iudicium provinciae illius, quanta sit grauitas) flamen proxime fuit.*

Er selbst war zuletzt Flamen im diesseitigen Spanien; Du weißt ja, was das Urteil dieser Provinz bedeutet und wie groß ihr Gewicht ist.

Darüber hinaus kann sich auch die Art des persönlichen Verhältnisses zwischen Plinius und dem Adressaten auf die Verwendung der Parenthesen auswirken, besonders wenn sie sich nicht wie in (12) auf allgemeines Wissen – die Geschichte um Sertorius und die Provinz Spanien waren sicherlich einem breiteren Publikum ein Begriff –, sondern beispielsweise auf einen gemeinsamen Bekannten bezieht, den man aus dem persönlichen Erleben kennt.

(14) Plinius an Minicius:

VII 12,1

C. PLINIVS MINICIO SVO S.

*Libellum formatum a me, sicut exegeras, quo amicus tuus, immo noster (quid enim non commune nobis?), si res posceret uteretur, nisi tibi ideo tardius ne tempus emendandi eum, id est disperdendi, haberes.*

Die Schrift, die ich auf Deine Bitte hin so verfaßt habe, daß sie Dein, oder vielmehr unser Freund – denn was haben wir nicht gemeinsam? –, falls notwendig benutzen kann, habe ich Dir deshalb später geschickt, damit Du keine Zeit hast, sie zu verbessern, d. h. zu verderben.

Natürlich ist aber auch der Anlaß des Schreibens wichtig. Knappe, monothematische Briefe, kurze Mitteilungen, formelle Dankschreiben oder Geschäftsbriefe enthalten so gut wie keine Parenthesen. Das läßt sich auch an den Briefen an ein und dieselbe Person zeigen, z. B. an den Briefen an Caecilius Macrinus: In 3/4 bittet Plinius den befreundeten Kollegen um eine Stellungnahme zu einem Rechtsfall, in 7/10 berichtet er kurz und in sachlichem Ton über einen Prozeß. Beide Schreiben, amtliche Briefe also, zeigen keine Parenthesen. Anders steht es dagegen mit dem Brief 7/6. Dieser Brief behandelt zwar ebenfalls einen Rechtsfall, aber hier wendet sich Plinius als Privatperson an einen Freund und schildert den Prozeß aus persönlicher Sicht. In der Parenthese entschuldigt er sich dafür, daß er vom Thema abgewichen ist.

(15) Plinius an Macrinus:

VII 6,8

C. PLINIVS MACRINO SVO S.

*Mater amisso filio (quid enim prohibet, quamquam alia ratio scribendae epistulae fuerit, de studiis disputare?) liberos eius eosdemque coheredes suos falsi et ueneficii reos detulerat ad principem, iudicemque impetraverat Iulium Seruianum.*



Eine Mutter hatte ihren Sohn verloren – denn was hindert mich, obwohl der Grund diesen Brief zu schreiben, ein anderer war, über meine Tätigkeit zu sprechen? – Sie hatte seine Freigelassenen, die zugleich ihre Miterben waren, beim Kaiser wegen Urkundenfälschung und Giftmord angezeigt und Iulius Servianus als Richter erhalten.

Severus, der hier als weiteres Beispiel für einen Briefpartner angeführt wird, erscheint als Berater von Plinius in rechtlichen Angelegenheiten. In zwei Briefen geht die Korrespondenz jedoch über das Geschäftliche hinaus. Mit Hilfe dieser Briefe läßt sich so ein weiteres wichtiges Einteilungskriterium von Briefen zeigen, das Auswirkungen auf die Verwendung von Parenthesen hat, nämlich die Unterscheidung von Texttypen: Narrative und deskriptive Texte enthalten recht häufig Parenthesen.

Die ersten beiden Beispiele stammen aus einem Brief, der die Beschreibung und den Bericht über eine Statue zum Thema hat.

(16) Plinius an Severus:

III 6,4

C. PLINIUS ANNIO SEVERO SVO S.

*Emi autem non ut haberem domi (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo), uerum ut in patria nostra celebri loco ponerem, ac potissimum in Iouis templo.*

Ich habe sie aber nicht gekauft, um sie in meinem Haus zu behalten – bisher habe ich nämlich zu Hause noch kein korinthisches Kunstwerk –, sondern um sie in meiner Heimatstadt an einem öffentlichen Platz aufzustellen, und zwar am liebsten im Jupitertempel.

(17) Plinius an Severus:

III 6,6

C. PLINIUS ANNIO SEVERO SVO S.

*Ego signum ipsum, ut primum inuenero aliquem qui non grauetur, mittam tibi uel ipse (quod mauis) adferam tecum.*

Die Statue selbst werde ich Dir schicken, sobald ich jemanden gefunden habe, dem es nicht lästig ist, oder ich werde sie persönlich überbringen – das willst Du ja lieber.

In ähnlich lockerem Plauderton streut Plinius in einem anderen Schreiben an Annius Severus, das die Erzählung über einen vergnüglichen und gut ausgegangenen Erbstreit enthält, eine Parenthese ein.

(18) Plinius an Severus:

V 1,6

C. PLINIVS ANNIO SEVERO SVO S.

*Respondi paucis ego (neque enim aderat alius, qui defunctae pudorem tueretur), deinde secessi, et ex consilii sententia ‚Videtur‘ inquam, ‚Curiane, mater tua iustas habuisse causas irascendi tibi.‘*

Ich antwortete kurz – denn es war niemand anders da, der die Ehre der Verstorbenen in Schutz genommen hätte – dann zog ich mich zurück und sagte ihm aufgrund der bei unserer Beratung gefaßten Entscheidung: „Curianus, Deine Mutter scheint triftige Gründe gehabt zu haben, Dir zu zürnen.“

Die Verwendung der Parentesen hängt jedoch nicht nur vom Gesprächsthema ab, sondern, wie schon aus dem Beispiel (14) ersichtlich wurde, auch vom Gesprächspartner. Das läßt sich an den Briefen an drei historisch gut bekannte Personen nachweisen: an Kaiser Trajan, an Plinius' dritte Frau Calpurnia und einen seiner besten Bekannten, den Historiker Tacitus.

Im 10. Buch der Pliniusbriefe, das die 121 Briefe an den Kaiser Trajan und von ihm an Plinius enthält, finden sich nur ganze 4 Parentesen. Offensichtlich verbietet die Achtung vor dem Kaiser Abschweifungen, denn so kann man Parentesen ja auch auffassen.

Ganz ähnlich ist die Situation bei den Briefen an die Ehefrau: Es treten keine Parentesen auf. Doch ist hier der Grund ein anderer: Denn wer würde sich einen Liebesbrief in Parentesen wünschen? Und die durch Parentesen signalisierte Vertraulichkeit muß gegenüber dem allernächsten Partner nicht eigens ausgestellt werden.

Anders ist es dagegen bei einem sehr guten Bekannten wie Tacitus<sup>16</sup>. Quantitativ liegen nicht nur die an ihn adressierten Briefe (11) an der Spitze, sondern auch die darin enthaltenen Parentesen (25) weit über dem Durchschnitt. Bei Tacitus findet Plinius also zu einem zwanglosen, colloquialen Stil.

Die *communis opinio*, wonach Parentesen ein typisches Stilmittel der Umgangssprache sind, wird also durch Plinius' Briefe voll und ganz bestätigt. Besonders die Briefe an Tacitus sind ein gutes Beispiel dafür.

Weiterhin ist zu fragen, ob sich nicht nur auf Grund der quantitativen, sondern auch der qualitativen Verteilung, d. h. der Unterschei-

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. zum Verhältnis von Plinius und Tacitus: Vielberg 1989: 171 ff.

dung in die einzelnen Parenthesentypen mit ihren unterschiedlichen Funktionen, Aussagen über den Adressaten treffen lassen.

Zunächst die vier Parenthesen in den Briefen, die Plinius an Kaiser Trajan gerichtet hat. In (19) findet man eine zweiteilige Parenthese, wobei jeder Teil eine eigene kommunikative Funktion erfüllt:

(19a) Plinius an Trajan:

X 39,1

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

*Theatrum, domine, Nicaeae maxima iam parte constructum, imperfectum tamen, sestertium (ut audio; neque enim ratio operis excussa est) amplius centies hausit: uereor ne frustra.*

Das Theater von Nicaea, o Herr, das zum größten Teil schon steht, aber noch nicht ganz fertig ist, hat – so höre ich (die Rechnung wurde nämlich noch nicht geprüft) – mehr als zehn Millionen Sesterzen verschlungen, und ich fürchte, für nichts und wieder nichts.<sup>17</sup>

(19b) Plinius an Trajan:

X 39,1

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

*Theatrum, domine, Nicaeae maxima iam parte constructum, imperfectum tamen, sestertium (ut audio; neque enim ratio operis excussa est) amplius centies hausit: uereor ne frustra.*

Das Theater von Nicaea, o Herr, das zum größten Teil schon steht, aber noch nicht ganz fertig ist, hat – so höre ich (die Rechnung wurde nämlich noch nicht geprüft) – mehr als zehn Millionen Sesterzen verschlungen, und ich fürchte, für nichts und wieder nichts.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Kommentarbeziehung; Akzeptierungsbedingungen/Evidenz.

<sup>18</sup> Additionsbeziehung; Verstehensbedingung/Proposition.

(20) Plinius an Trajan:

X 41,5

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

*Sed hoc ipso (feres enim me ambitiosum pro tua gloria) incitor et accendor, ut cupiam peragi a te quae tantum coeperant reges.*

Aber – Du wirst mir ja erlauben, Ehrgeiz zu entwickeln für Deinen Ruhm – gerade das gibt mir Ansporn und Anreiz zu dem Wunsch, Du mögest das vollenden, was Könige nur begonnen hatten.<sup>19</sup>

(21) Plinius an Trajan:

X 61,3

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

*Quod ita fiet si necessitas coget, et (spero) non coget.*

So wird es zu machen sein, falls es sich als notwendig erweist, und es wird – so hoffe ich – nicht dazu kommen.<sup>20</sup>

(22) Plinius an Trajan:

X 75,1

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

*Iulius, domine, Largus ex Ponto nondum mihi visus ac ne auditus quidem (scilicet iudicio tuo credidit) dispensationem quandam mihi erga te pietatis suae ministeriumque mandavit.<sup>21</sup>*

Julius Largus, ein Mann aus Pontus, von dem ich noch nie etwas gehört oder gesehen hatte, o Herr, hat mich – gewiß im Vertrauen auf deine gute Meinung von mir – sozusagen zum Sachwalter seiner Ergebenheit dir gegenüber eingesetzt.<sup>22</sup>

In den Briefen an Trajan sind von den fünf Parenthesen drei, also 60 % der Fälle – erst die Angabe von Prozentzahlen ermöglicht den Vergleich mit den Parenthesen im Gesamtkorpus<sup>23</sup> –, als syntaktischer Zusatz mit eigener Proposition aufzufassen. Das entspricht in etwa dem Wert, der für die Pliniusbriefe insgesamt ermittelt wurde. Hin-

<sup>19</sup> Additionsbeziehung; Akzeptierungsbedingung/Metakommunikation; Bezug auf die Sprechsituation.

<sup>20</sup> Kommentarbeziehung; Akzeptierungsbedingung/Metakommunikation.

<sup>21</sup> *scilicet* wird hier als Satzadverb aufgefaßt.

<sup>22</sup> Teilbeziehung; Akzeptierungsbedingung/Begründung/Proposition).

<sup>23</sup> Die relative Verteilung der Parenthesen befindet sich in der Tabelle im Anhang.

sichtlich der Proposition bieten also die Parenthesen in den an Trajan gerichteten Schreiben nichts Auffälliges.

Bemerkenswert ist hingegen in Bezug auf die für den Vollzug einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendigen Bedingungen, daß vier Parenthesen in den Trajan-Briefen, wenn man so will, also 80 %, dazu verwendet werden, die Akzeptierungsbedingungen zu verbessern. Zwei dieser Parenthesen bestehen aus metakommunikativen Einschüben. Diese zielen ja darauf ab, das Gelingen des eigenen sprachlichen Handelns und der Partnerreaktion sicherzustellen. In (20) unterstützt die Parenthese die Intention, den Kaiser von einem recht ehrgeizigen Kanalprojekt zu überzeugen, das Plinius gerne in Angriff nehmen möchte. Dagegen drückt Plinius in der Parenthese von (21) einen persönlichen Wunsch aus, der wohl – davon darf man sicher ausgehen – mit dem des Adressaten übereinstimmt.

Eine Begründung kommt jedoch nur in einem Fall (22) vor. Auch gibt Plinius in den Parenthesen, die in den Briefen an Trajan auftreten, kaum Verständnishilfen. Alle relevanten Informationen inhaltlicher Art werden in Satzgefügen, wie es dem schriftlichen Stil der Hochsprache entspricht, syntaktisch korrekt formuliert.

Die fünf Parenthesen haben in den Briefen an Trajan also vor allem das Ziel, den Kaiser für die eigene Position, für die man um Verständnis bittet, einzunehmen.

Vergleicht man dieses Ergebnis mit den statistischen Werten der Parenthesen, die in den Briefen an Tacitus vorkommen, so zeigt sich, daß sich hier von 25 Parenthesen nur etwa die Hälfte (56 %) auf die Akzeptierungsbedingungen beziehen; bei den Briefen an Trajan hatten fast alle Parenthesen genau diese Funktion. Bei einem Freund wie Tacitus braucht sich Plinius also kaum Gedanken darüber zu machen, wie seine Informationen aufgenommen werden; er versucht dementsprechend relativ selten, auf den Leser Einfluß zu nehmen.

Als Beispiel folgt der berühmte Brief über den Ausbruch des Vesuv im Jahr 79 u.Z., bei dem auch sein Onkel Plinius d. Ä. umkam. Der Brief enthält 6 Parenthesen.

(23) Plinius an Tacitus:

VI 16,5

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Nubes – incertum procul intuentibus ex quo monte (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est) – oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus expresserit.*<sup>24</sup>

Eine Wolke erhob sich, für die, die aus der Ferne schauten, war es unsicher, von welchem Berg – daß es der Vesuv war, erkannte man später –; ihre Gestalt dürfte wohl am ehesten einer Pinie ähnlich gewesen sein.<sup>25</sup>

(24) Plinius an Tacitus:

VI 16,8

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Egrediebatur domo; accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci imminente periculo exterritae (nam uilla eius subiacebat, nec ulla nisi nauibus fuga): ut se tanto discrimini eriperet orabat.*

Er wollte gerade das Haus verlassen; da erhielt er ein Schreiben der Rectina, der Frau des Tascus, die wegen der drohenden Gefahr sehr beunruhigt war – ihr Haus lag nämlich am Fuße des Vesuvs, und ein Entkommen war nur zu Schiff möglich –; sie bat ihn, er möge sie aus einer so großen Gefahr retten.<sup>26</sup>

(25) Plinius an Tacitus:

VI 16,9

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Deducit quadriremes, ascendit ipse non Rectinae modo sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) laturus auxilium.*

Er ließ Vierruderer in See stechen, bestieg selbst ein Schiff, um nicht nur Rectina, sondern viele Menschen – die Küste war nämlich wegen ihrer anmutigen Lage dicht besiedelt – Hilfe zu bringen.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Auch diese Parenthese ist zweiteilig. Anders als in Beispiel (19) haben aber in diesem Fall beide Teile dieselbe kommunikative Funktion, so daß sie in der Klassifikation als Einheit betrachtet werden.

<sup>25</sup> Addition; Verstehensbedingung/Proposition.

<sup>26</sup> Teilbeziehung; Verstehensbedingung/Proposition.

<sup>27</sup> Addition; Verstehensbedingung/Proposition.

(26) Plinius an Tacitus:

VI 16,12

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Stabiis erat diremptus sinu medio (nam sensim circumactis curvatisque litoribus mare infunditur); ibi quamquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, conspicuo tamen et cum cresceret proximo, sarcinas contulerat in naues, certus fugae si contrarius uentus resedisset.*

Dieser befand sich in Stabiae, getrennt durch die dazwischenliegende Bucht – denn das Meer strömt in einem sanft gekrümmten Bogen zum Land hin –; zwar war hier die Gefahr noch etwas fern, doch schon sichtbar, und wenn sie zunahm, war sie ganz rasch da; daher hatte Pomponianus sein Gepäck auf die Schiffe bringen lassen, fest entschlossen zur Flucht, wenn sich der Gegenwind gelegt hätte.<sup>28</sup>

(27) Plinius an Tacitus:

VI 16,12

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Quo tunc auunculus meus secundissimo inuectus, complectitur trepidantem consolatur hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri in balineum iubet; lotus accubat cenat, aut hilari aut (quod aequae magnum) similis hilari.*

Dorthin fuhr nun mein Onkel mit dem für ihn äußerst günstigen Wind, umarmte den Verängstigten, tröstete und ermunterte ihn, und um dessen Angst durch seine eigene Unbesorgtheit zu lindern, ließ er sich ins Bad tragen. Nach dem Bad setzte er sich zu Tisch und speiste gelassen oder – was ebenso großartig ist – anscheinend gelassen.<sup>29</sup>

(28) Plinius an Tacitus:

VI 16,20

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

*Vbi dies redditus (is ab eo quem nouissime uiderat tertius), corpus inuentum integrum inlaesum opertumque ut fuerat indutus.*

Nachdem es wieder Tag geworden war – es war der dritte nach

<sup>28</sup> Addition; Verstehensbedingung/Proposition.

<sup>29</sup> Kommentar; Akzeptierungsbedingung/Begründung/Proposition.

dem, den er zuletzt gesehen hatte –, fand man seinen Körper unversehrt und bedeckt, wie er angezogen gewesen war.<sup>30</sup>

Nur eine der Parentesen, Beispiel (27), versucht, beim Briefpartner die Akzeptanz für das Geschriebene – die Einschätzung der Gelassenheit des Onkels nämlich –, zu erhöhen. In der Parenthese wird die persönliche Meinung des Plinius wiedergegeben.

Inhaltliche Ergänzungen und Erklärungen scheinen Plinius in den Briefen an Tacitus wichtiger zu sein. Sie werden allerdings oft unverbunden angehängt. Das Was ist wesentlicher als das Wie. Akzeptanz erreicht er durch die Angabe von Fakten und sachliche Begründungen, weniger durch gutes Zureden, da er sich des Wohlwollens des Adressaten sicher sein kann.

Es scheint nun sinnvoll, zur Überprüfung der Annahme, daß man sich der Akzeptanz des Lesers seltener dann versichert, wenn es sich um einen nahestehenden Menschen handelt, noch einmal auf die Briefe von Cicero an seinen Bruder Quintus zurückzukommen. Das bietet sich deswegen an, weil außer Frage steht, daß ein Familienmitglied eine dem Schreiber besonders vertraute Person ist. Auch hier kann man feststellen, daß die Relevanz der Akzeptierungsbedingungen mit ungefähr der Hälfte (53 %) nicht übermäßig hoch ist; die Anzahl solcher Parentesen entspricht genau der prozentualen Verteilung der Parenthesentypen in den Pliniusbriefen an Tacitus: Sie fördern das Verständnis (Cicero an Quintus mit 47 %, Plinius an Tacitus mit 44 %); der Verbesserung der Akzeptanz dienen hauptsächlich Begründungen (bei beiden Adressaten 50 %), wogegen die Metakommunikation mit 29 % in den Tacitusbriefen und mit 35 % an Quintus unter dem Durchschnitt liegt, d. h. daß die eigene Intention nur selten in einer Art Sprechaktbegründung thematisiert wird.

Das bedeutet, daß man von der Verwendung und vor allem der Art der Parentesen, die die unterschiedlichen Intentionen des Schreibers widerspiegeln, tatsächlich Rückschlüsse auf das Verhältnis von Plinius zu seinem jeweiligen Briefpartner ziehen kann.

Von Bedeutung dürften in dieser Hinsicht auch die direkten Anreden in Parentesen sein. Dazu zwei Beispiele aus Plinius' Adressatenkreis, die Briefe an Voconius Romanus und Minicius Fundanus.

Voconius Romanus, ein Ritter aus Saguntum in Spanien, der sich als Redner und Schriftsteller betätigte, gilt als enger Freund von Plinius. An ihn sind 8 Briefe adressiert, die 13 Parentesen enthalten. In dreien wendet sich Plinius direkt an den Freund.

<sup>30</sup> Teilbeziehung; Verstehensbedingung/Proposition.



(29) Plinius an Voconius Romanus:

I 5,2

C. PLINIUS VOCONIO ROMANO SVO S.

*Rustici Aruleni periculum fouerat, exsultauerat morte; adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur atque etiam ‚Stoicorum simiam‘ adpellat, adicit ‚Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum‘ (agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli), lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter quidem, ut dixerit ei Mettius Carus ‚Quid tibi cum meis mortuis?‘*

Er hatte den Prozeß gegen Rusticus Arulenus unterstützt und über dessen Tod gejubelt, ja er rezitierte und veröffentlichte eine Schrift, in der er den Rusticus verhöhnte und ihn gar einen „Affen der Stoiker“ schimpfte, obendrein hinzufügte, jener sei mit der Narbe des Vitellius gebrandmarkt – daran erkennst Du die Beredsamkeit des Regulus – über Herennius Senecio zog er so maßlos her, daß Mettius Carus ihm entgegnete: „Was gehen Dich meine Toten an?“

In diesem Fall dient Plinius die Parenthese dazu, durch die ironische Verwendung des Begriffes *eloquentia* dem Bekannten nicht nur das eigene Urteil über den politischen Ankläger nahezubringen, sondern ihn auch gegen den verhaßten Regulus einzunehmen. Plinius unterbricht dabei seinen Bericht und redet den Leser unmittelbar an.

Die beiden letzten Beispiele sind ebenfalls in Hinblick auf die Anreden sehr aufschlußreich.

(30) Plinius an Romanus:

VI 33,8

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SVO S.

*Sunt multa (non audeo nisi tibi dicere) elata, multa pugnacia, multa subtilia.*

Viele Stellen sind erhaben – nur Dir wage ich es zu sagen –, viele kämpferisch und viele schlicht.

(31) Plinius an Romanus:

VIII 8,1

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SVO S.

*Si nondum (et puto nondum: alioqui narrasses mihi), uide.*

Wenn noch nicht – und ich glaube nicht, denn sonst hättest Du es mir erzählt –, so sieh sie Dir an!

Gerade durch diesen Parenthesentyp wird ein besonders enges und

von gegenseitigem Vertrauen geprägtes Verhältnis ausgedrückt, durch „nur Dir wage ich es zu sagen“ und „ich glaube nicht, denn sonst hättest Du es mir erzählt“.

Wie steht es nun aber mit Minicius Fundanus? Wir wissen von ihm, daß er schon früh eine wissenschaftliche Laufbahn eingeschlagen hat. Er war mit diversen Schriftstellern seiner Zeit befreundet, besonders mit Plutarch, der ihn mehrfach in seinen Werken nennt. 107 wurde er zum Konsul ernannt und war später unter Hadrian Statthalter in Asien. Plinius hat drei durchaus private Briefe an ihn geschrieben: 1/9, 4/15, 6/6, und besonders der zweite Brief enthält auffällig viele Parenthesen, nämlich vier, wovon sich zwei auf die Sprechsituation beziehen.

(32) Plinius an Minicius Fundanus:

IV 15,1

C. PLINIUS MINICIO FVNDANO SVO S.

*Idem Cornelium Tacitum (scis quem uirum) arta familiaritate complexus est.*

Ebenso ist er mit Cornelius Tacitus – Du weißt, was für ein Mann das ist – durch enge Freundschaft verbunden.

(33) Plinius an Minicius Fundanus:

IV 15,7

C. PLINIUS MINICIO FVNDANO SVO S.

*Difficile est ut mihi de absente credas (quamquam credere soles omnia), tantum in illo industriae probitatis eruditionis ingenii studii memoriae denique esse, quantum expertus inuenies.*

Es ist aber schwierig, mir zu glauben, wenn es um den Abwesenden geht – obwohl Du mir gewöhnlich alles glaubst –, daß er so viel Fleiß, Rechtschaffenheit, Bildung, Begabung, Eifer und schließlich Gedächtnis besitzt, wie Du bei näherer Bekanntschaft finden wirst.

Aus beiden Parenthesen erfahren wir etwas über den Adressaten. In der ersten wird uns mitgeteilt, daß Minicius Fundanus zu den Bekannten des Tacitus, der ja auch mit Plinius eng befreundet war, gehört und mit ihm viele gemeinsame Erlebnisse teilt. Wir können ihn daher in den entsprechenden intellektuellen Kreis einordnen und das Verhältnis von Plinius und Fundanus über einen gemeinsamen Freund, nämlich Tacitus, bestimmen. Da sie beide mit Tacitus engen Kontakt hatten, werden sie sich auch untereinander recht gut gekannt haben.

Die zweite Parenthese bezieht sich direkt auf das Verhältnis von

Plinius und Fundanus. „obwohl Du mir gewöhnlich alles glaubst“ – das weist eindeutig darauf hin, daß die beiden schon seit längerem befreundet sind. Sie pflegen einen geistigen Austausch, und einer legt somit auf die Meinung des anderen Wert, sie schätzen und respektieren sich. Fundanus ist also zum engeren Freundeskreis von Plinius zu rechnen. Denn in einem Brief an einen Freund erlaubt man sich Parenthesen, direkte Anreden, Andeutungen, kurzum Stilmittel, die den schriftlichen Dialog dem vertrauten mündlichen Gespräch annähern.

### *Fazit*

Parenthesen sind bei Plinius keine künstlichen Stilmittel, sondern haben eine wichtige kommunikative Funktion. Sie fördern Verständnis und Akzeptanz des Briefinhaltes. Auch wenn man annehmen kann, daß Plinius die Briefe vor der Veröffentlichung stilistisch überarbeitet hat, hat die Untersuchung gezeigt, daß man von echten Briefen ausgehen kann, denn sie weisen je nach Briefftyp, Gesprächsthema und Adressat Unterschiede in der Häufigkeit und der Verwendung von Parenthesen auf. Außerdem hat die Untersuchung ergeben, daß sich mit Hilfe der Parenthesen auch Aussagen über außersprachliche Gegebenheiten machen lassen. So können sie das persönliche Verhältnis von Schreiber und Adressat widerspiegeln.

Jena, im Sommer 1998

### *Literatur*

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*Anhang**Plinius**1. Bezug auf die Proposition**1.1. Additionsbeziehung:*

*Annius Severus* 3/6/4; *Annius Severus* 5/1/6; *Arrianus Maturus* 1/2/6; *Arrianus Maturus* 2/11/15; *Arrianus Maturus* 6/2/2; *Attius Clemens* 1/10/10; *Attius Clemens* 1/10/11; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/7; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/12; *Calestrius Tiro* 9/5/1; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 4/1/5; *Caninius Rufus* 6/21/1; *Caninius Rufus* 6/21/4; *Cornelianus* 6/31/14; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/11; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/20; *Cornelius Minicianus* 4/11/3; *Cornelius Minicianus* 4/11/16; *Cornelius Priscus* 7/19/1; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/11; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/5; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/12; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/20/5; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/20/3; *Cornelius Tacitus* 8/7/1; *Cornelius Ursus* 4/9/5; *Cornutus Tertullus* 7/31/1; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/8; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/46; *Fundanus* 4/15/6; *Fundanus* 4/15/7; *Fuscus Salinator* 7/9/10; *Fuscus Salinator* 9/36/3; *Gallus* 2/17/1; *Gallus* 2/17/14; *Iulius Genitor* 3/11/8; *Iunius Mauricius* 1/14/5; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 2/14/3; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 2/14/13; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 9/1/1; *Maximus (d. J.)* 8/24/1; *Montanus* 8/6/4; *Montanus* 8/6/5; *Novius Maximus* 5/5/5; *Plinius Paternus* 4/14/4; *Plinius Paternus* 8/16/1; *Pompeia Celerina* 1/4/1; *Pompeius Falco* 1/23/5; *Pompeius Falco* 7/22/3; *Pompeius Saturninus* 5/21/1; *Pompeius Saturninus* 5/21/3; *Pontius Allifanus* 7/4/4; *Priscus Neratius* 6/8/9; *Priscus Novius* 2/13/4; *Septicius Clarus* 1/1/1; *Septicius Clarus* 1/15/2; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/12; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/13; *Traian* 10/39/1; *Traian* 10/41/5; *Ummidius Quadratus* 9/13/20; *Vibius Severus* 3/18/4; *Vibius Severus* 3/18/10; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/2,3; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/3; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/4; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/4; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/7

*1.2. Teilbeziehung:*

*Acilius* 3/14/3; *Aefulanus Marcellinus* 8/23/5; *Arrianus Maturus* 2/11/10; *Arrius Antoninus* 4/3/1; *Attius Clemens* 4/2/2; *Avitus* 2/6/2; *Baebius Macer* 3/5/9; *Baebius Macer* 3/5/10; *Baebius Macer* 3/5/14; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/3; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/11; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/13; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 4/1/3; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 4/1/4; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 6/12/5; *Calvia* 2/4/2; *Calvia* 2/4/2; *Calvisius Rufus* 3/1/3; *Calvisius Rufus* 3/1/8; *Caninius Rufus* 3/7/3; *Caninius Rufus* 3/7/14; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/9; *Cornelianus* 6/31/1; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/29; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/31; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/18; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/25; *Cornelius Tacitus* 4/13/3; *Cornelius Tacitus* 4/13/4; *Cornelius Tacitus* 4/13/5; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/8; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/20; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/33/9; *Cornutus Tertullus* 7/31/5; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/33; *Erucius Clarus* 1/16/1; *Fadius Rufinus* 8/18/4; *Fundanus* 4/15/1; *Fuscus Salinator* 7/9/9; *Gallus* 8/20/5; *Iulius Genitor* 3/11/2; *Iulius Genitor* 9/17/3; *Iulius Sparsus* 8/3/3; *Iunius Mauricius* 1/14/3; *Iunius Mauricius* 2/18/4; *Licinius Sura* 4/30/3; *Licinius Sura* 7/27/16; *Maesius Maximus* 3/20/7; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 2/14/5; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 2/14/10; *Montanus* 8/6/12; *Plinius Paternus* 1/21/1; *Plinius Paternus* 9/27/2; *Pontius Al-*

*lifanus* 5/14/8; *Priscus Novius* 2/13/4; *Rosianus Gemius* 7/24/7; *Sosius Senecio* 1/13/4; *Titius Aristo* 5/3/5; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/6; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/10; *Traian* 10/75/1; *Ummidius Quadratus* 9/13/4; *Ummidius Quadratus* 9/13/5; *Vestricius Spurinna* 5/17/4; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/10; *Voconius Romanus* 6/15/2

### 1.3. Kommentarbeziehung:

*Acilius* 3/14/2; *Annius Severus* 3/6/6; *Arrianus Maturus* 1/2/3; *Arrianus Maturus* 2/11/9; *Arrius Antoninus* 4/18/1; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/1; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/1; *Caecilius Macrinus* 7/6/8; *Calestrius Tiro* 6/22/7; *Calpurnia Hispulla* 8/11/2; *Calvisius Rufus* 5/7/2; *Caninius Rufus* 1/3/3; *Caninius Rufus* 9/33/7; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/6; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/11; *Cornelius Priscus* 7/19/7; *Cornelius Priscus* 7/19/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/8; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/12; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/20/1; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/20/2; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/20/4; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/33/1; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/33/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 8/7/1; *Cornelius Tacitus* 9/14/1; *Cornelius Titianus* 9/32/1; *Cornelius Ursus* 4/9/17; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/42; *Fadius Rufinus* 8/18/9; *Fundanus* 4/15/9; *Fundanus* 6/6/3; *Iulius Genitor* 7/30/5; *Iulius Servianus* 6/26/2; *Iulius Valerianus* 5/13/3; *Licinius Sura* 4/30/11; *Licinius Sura* 7/27/13; *Luperus* 9/26/7; *Maecilius Nepos* 6/19/4; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 6/11/3; *Maximus (d. J.)* 8/24/7; *Minicius Iustus* 7/12/1; *Montanus* 7/29/2; *Montanus* 8/6/2; *Pompeius Saturninus* 7/7/2; *Pompeius Saturninus* 7/15/3; *Pontius Allifanus* 5/14/2; *Pontius Allifanus* 7/4/2; *Priscus Neratius* 6/8/9; *Sardus* 9/31/1; *Septicius Clarus* 1/15/2; *Severus* 6/27/1; *Suetonius Tranquillus* 9/34/1; *Titinius Capito* 5/8/1; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/1; *Traian* 10/39/1; *Traian* 10/61/3; *Ummidius Quadratus* 6/29/1; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/8; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/1; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/8; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/11; *Voconius Romanus* 8/8/1; *Voconius Romanus* 8/8/1

## 2. Bezug auf die für den Vollzug einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendigen Bedingungen

### 2.1. Verstehensbedingungen

#### 2.1.2. Bezug auf die Proposition:

*Acilius* 3/14/3; *Aefulanus Marcellinus* 8/23/5; *Annius Severus* 5/1/6; *Arrianus Maturus* 2/11/10; *Arrianus Maturus* 6/2/2; *Attius Clemens* 4/2/2; *Avitus* 2/6/2; *Baebius Macer* 3/5/9; *Baebius Macer* 3/5/10; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/11; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/7; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 4/1/4; *Calvia* 2/4/2; *Calvisius Rufus* 3/1/8; *Caninius Rufus* 3/7/3; *Cornelianus* 6/31/1; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/11; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/20; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/29; *Cornelius Minicianus* 4/11/3; *Cornelius Priscus* 7/19/1; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/8; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/18; *Cornelius Tacitus* 4/13/3; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/5; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/8; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/12; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/20; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/20/1; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/20/5; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/33/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/33/9; *Cornelius Ursus* 4/9/5; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/8; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/33; *Fadius Rufinus* 8/18/4; *Fundanus* 6/6/3; *Fuscus Salinator* 9/36/3; *Gallus* 2/17/14; *Gallus* 8/20/5; *Iulius Valerianus* 5/13/3; *Iunius Mauricius* 1/14/3; *Licinius Sura* 4/30/3; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 2/14/5; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 2/14/10;

*Montanus* 8/6/5; *Novius Maximus* 5/5/5; *Plinius Paternus* 8/16/1; *Plinius Paternus* 9/27/2; *Pontius Allifanus* 5/14/2; *Pontius Allifanus* 7/4/4; *Priscus Novius* 2/13/4; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/1; *Traian* 10/39/1; *Ummidius Quadratus* 6/29/1; *Ummidius Quadratus* 9/13/4; *Ummidius Quadratus* 9/13/5; *Vibius Severus* 3/18/4; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/10; *Voconius Romanus* 6/15/2; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/3; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/4; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/4

### 2.1.2. Bezug auf die Illokution:

*Arrianus Maturus* 1/2/6; *Calestrius Tiro* 6/22/7; *Fadius Rufinus* 8/18/9

## 2.2. Akzeptierungsbedingungen

### 2.2.1. Evidenzen:

*Arrius Antoninus* 4/18/1; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/13; *Caninius Rufus* 6/21/1; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/11; *Cornelius Tacitus* 8/7/1; *Cornelius Ursus* 4/9/17; *Iulius Genitor* 9/17/3; *Licinius Sura* 7/27/13; *Licinius Sura* 7/27/16; *Montanus* 7/29/2; *Pompeius Saturninus* 7/7/2; *Traian* 10/39/1; *Ummidius Quadratus* 9/13/20

### 2.2.2. Verdeutlichungen:

*Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/31; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/11; *Cornelilus Titianus* 9/32/1; *Iulius Genitor* 3/11/2; *Priscus Neratius* 6/8/9; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/6; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/13

### 2.2.3. Begründungen

#### 2.2.3.1. Propositionsbegründungen:

*Annius Severus* 3/6/4; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/1; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/1; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 4/1/3; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 4/1/5; *Caninius Rufus* 1/3/3; *Caninius Rufus* 3/7/14; *Caninius Rufus* 9/33/7; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/9; *Cornelianus* 6/31/14; *Cornelius Minicianus* 4/11/16; *Cornelius Priscus* 7/19/7; *Cornelius Tacitus* 4/13/4; *Cornelius Tacitus* 4/13/5; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/16/12; *Cornelius Tacitus* 6/20/2; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/20/4; *Cornelius Tacitus* 8/7/1; *Cornutus Tertullus* 7/31/5; *Fundanus* 4/15/1; *Fundanus* 4/15/7; *Fuscus Salinator* 7/9/9; *Iulius Genitor* 7/30/5; *Iulius Servianus* 6/26/2; *Lupercus* 9/26/7; *Maecilius Nepos* 6/19/4; *Maesius Maximus* 3/20/7; *Maximus (d. Ä.)* 9/1/1; *Montanus* 8/6/4; *Pompeia Celerina* 1/4/1; *Pompeius Saturninus* 5/21/1; *Pompeius Saturninus* 5/21/3; *Pontius Allifanus* 5/14/8; *Septicius Clarus* 1/1/1; *Septicius Clarus* 1/15/2; *Septicius Clarus* 1/15/2; *Sosius Senecio* 1/13/4; *Titinius Capito* 5/8/1; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/10; *Traian* 10/75/1; *Voconius Romanus* 8/8/1

#### 2.2.3.2. Illokutionsbegründungen:

*Licinius Sura* 4/30/11; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/8

#### 2.2.3.3. Ausdrucksbegründungen:

*Arrianus Maturus* 2/11/15; *Arrius Antoninus* 4/3/1; *Attius Clemens* 1/10/10; *Baebius Macer* 3/5/14; *Calvisius Rufus* 3/1/3; *Caninius Rufus* 6/21/4; *Cornelius Priscus* 7/19/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 9/14/1; *Cornutus Tertullus* 7/31/1; *Domitius*

*Apollinaris* 5/6/42; *Domitius Apollinaris* 5/6/46; *Fundanus* 4/15/6; *Iulius Sparsus* 8/3/3; *Iunius Mauricius* 2/18/4; *Maximus (d.Ä.)* 2/14/3; *Maximus (d.Ä.)* 2/14/13; *Maximus (d.J.)* 8/24/1; *Minicius Iustus* 7/12/1; *Montanus* 8/6/12; *Plinius Paternus* 4/14/4; *Priscus Novius* 2/13/4; *Voconius Romanus* 8/8/1

#### 2.2.4. Metakommunikation:

*Acilius* 3/14/2; *Annius Severus* 3/6/6; *Arrianus Maturus* 1/2/3; *Arrianus Maturus* 2/11/9; *Arrius Antoninus* 4/3/1; *Caecilius Celer* 7/17/3; *Caecilius Macrinus* 7/6/8; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/12; *Calestrius Tiro* 9/5/1; *Calpurnia Hispulla* 8/11/2; *Calpurnius Fabatus* 6/12/5; *Calvia* 2/4/2; *Calvisius Rufus* 5/7/2; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/6; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/9; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/25; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/20/3; *Cornelius Tacitus* 7/33/1; *Erucius Clarus* 1/16/1; *Fundanus* 4/15/9; *Fuscus Salinator* 7/9/10; *Gallus* 2/17/1; *Iulius Genitor* 3/11/8; *Iunius Mauricius* 1/14/5; *Maximus (d.Ä.)* 6/11/3; *Maximus (d.J.)* 8/24/7; *Montanus* 8/6/2; *Plinius Paternus* 1/21/1; *Pompeius Falco* 1/23/5; *Pompeius Falco* 7/22/3; *Pompeius Saturninus* 7/15/3; *Pontius Allifanus* 7/4/2; *Priscus Neratius* 6/8/9; *Rosianus Gemius* 7/24/7; *Sardus* 9/31/1; *Severus* 6/27/1; *Suetonius Tranquillus* 9/34/1; *Titius Aristo* 5/3/5; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/12; *Traian* 10/41/5; *Traian* 10/61/3; *Vestricius Spurinna* 5/17/4; *Vibius Severus* 3/18/10; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/2,3; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/1; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/7; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/8; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/11

#### 3. Bezug auf die Sprechsituation:

*Annius Severus* 3/6/6; *Arrianus Maturus* 1/2/6; *Attius Clemens* 1/10/10; *Calestrius Tiro* 1/12/7; *Clusinius Gallus* 4/17/11; *Cornelius Minicianus* 3/9/11; *Cornelius Tacitus* 1/20/25; *Cornelius Tacitus* 8/7/1; *Fundanus* 4/15/1; *Fundanus* 4/15/7; *Gallus* 2/17/1; *Iunius Mauricius* 2/18/4; *Licinius Sura* 4/30/11; *Licinius Sura* 7/27/16; *Minicius Iustus* 7/12/1; *Plinius Paternus* 1/21/1; *Pompeius Saturninus* 5/21/1; *Pompeius Saturninus* 7/7/2; *Priscus Novius* 2/13/4; *Priscus Novius* 2/13/4; *Septicius Clarus* 1/15/2; *Titius Aristo* 8/14/12; *Traian* 10/41/5; *Voconius Romanus* 1/5/2,3; *Voconius Romanus* 6/33/8; *Voconius Romanus* 8/8/1

### Cicero

#### 1. Bezug auf die Proposition

##### 1.1. Additionsbeziehung:

1/1/26; 1/1/36; 1/2/3; 1/2/6; 1/2/8; 2/3/2; 2/4/2; 2/5/3; 2/6/3; II/9/2; 2/14/3; 2/16/5; 3/1/1; 3/1/4; 3/2/2; 3/2/2; 3/4/2; 3/4/3; 3/4/4; 3/5/1; 3/6/4; 3/7/8

##### 1.2. Teilbeziehung:

2/3/2; 2/3/2; 2/12/4; 2/13/3; 3/1/13; 3/4/1; 3/5/5



### 1.3. Kommentarbeziehung:

1/1/15; 1/1/26; 1/2/3; 1/2/8; 1/4/3; 3/1/4; 3/1/18; 3/3/1

## 2. Bezug auf die für den Vollzug einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendigen Bedingungen

### 2.1. Verstehensbedingungen

#### 2.1.1. *Bezug auf die Proposition:*

1/1/26; 1/2/6; 2/3/2; 2/3/2; 2/5/2; 2/5/3; 2/6/3; 2/12/4; 2/14/3; 3/1/1;  
3/1/4; 3/1/13; 3/4/1; 3/4/3; 3/5/1; 3/5/5; 3/7/8

#### 2.1.2. *Bezug auf die Illokution:*

-

### 2.2. Akzeptierungsbedingungen

#### 2.2.1. *Evidenzen:*

3/1/4

#### 2.2.2. *Verdeutlichungen:*

1/1/26; 2/9/2

#### 2.2.3. *Begründungen*

##### 2.2.3.1. *Propositionsbegründungen:*

1/1/15; 1/3/8; 2/3/2; 3/1/18; 3/2/2; 3/2/2; 3/3/1

##### 2.2.3.2. *Illokutionsbegründungen:*

-

##### 2.2.3.3. *Ausdrucksbegründungen:*

2/16/5; 3/4/2

#### 2.2.4. *Metakommunikation:*

1/1/36; 1/2/3; 1/2/3; 1/2/8; 1/4/3; 2/13/3; 3/4/4

### 3. *Bezug auf die Sprechsituation:*

1/1/36; 1/2/3; 1/2/8; 2/13/3; 3/3/1

Cicero an Quintus	Pliniusbriefe insgesamt	Plinius an Trajan	Plinius an Tacitus
1. Bezug auf die Proposition	35 %	40 %	28 %
Additionsbeziehung	58 %	20 %	32 %
Teilbeziehung	21 %	40 %	40 %
Kommentarbeziehung	21 %		
2. Bezug auf die für den Vollzug einer sprachlichen Handlung notwendigen Bedingungen	34 %	20 %	44 %
Verstehensbedingungen	96 %	100 %	100 %
Bezug auf die Proposition	4 %	0 %	0 %
Bezug auf die Illokution	66 %	80 %	56 %
Akzeptierungsbedingungen	9 %	25 %	14 %
Evidenzen	5 %	0 %	7 %
Verdeutlichungen	10 %	25 %	50 %
Begründungen	47 %		
Propositionsbegründungen	62 %	100 %	86 %
Illokutionsbegründungen	3 %	0 %	0 %
Ausdrucksbegründungen	35 %	50 %	14 %
Metakommunikation	39 %		
3. Bezug auf die Sprechsituation	13 %	20 %	8 %
	35 %		17 %

## Grec σῶς

Par WITOLD MAŃCZAK, Cracovie

D'après le dictionnaire de Chantraine, «le terme usuel pour le nom du porc en grec ancien est ὕς qui s'explique bien ... Mais le σ- initial de σῶς est obscur. Parmi les hypothèses proposées: 1. le rapprochement avec le lit. *kiaŭlē* «porc» résoudrait le problème phonétique, mais est très invraisemblable (malgré la forme douteuse d'Hsch. σωλοῦς· ὕς qu'évoque v. Blumenthal ...); 2. l'hypothèse qui voit dans σῶς une forme de ὕς issue de la phonétique syntactique (Kretschmer ...) est arbitraire; 3. on a rapproché σίαλος «porc engraisé» et la glose d'Hsch. σία· ὕς. Λάκωνες ...: σῶς résulterait du croisement de ὕς avec un thème préhellénique σι-, cf. Ruijgh ..., malheureusement l'argument reposant sur la valeur du syllabogramme mycénien 85 est caduc; 4. le plus simple est de supposer que σῶς serait emprunté à une langue i.-e. voisine conservant le σ- initial.»

Il y a encore d'autres explications. Par exemple, Rozwadowski<sup>1</sup> pensait à une prononciation expressive \**ssūs* à côté de la prononciation normale \**sūs*. Récemment, Françoise Bader<sup>2</sup> affirme que «en grec, un \**s-* subsiste à l'initiale quand il vient d'une simplification de la géminée \**ss-* issue, par assimilation, de \**sh<sub>2</sub>-*, ainsi dans des exemples du nom du «porc», \**sh<sub>2</sub>-u* ..., à côté de la forme à métathèse \**suh<sub>2</sub>-* > \**suw-* devant voyelle/ \**sū-* devant consonne, où *s* n'étant plus une sifflante forte, disparaît normalement».

Comme certains linguistes (par exemple Pokorny ou bien Buck) n'excluent pas l'origine onomatopéique du nom indo-européen du porc (cf. v. ind. *sūkara-*), nous croyons que le σ- dans σῶς pourrait s'expliquer par l'influence d'une onomatopée. Autrement dit, la différence entre ὕς et σῶς serait comparable à celle qui existe entre les équivalents français du lat. *cucūlus*, *cocu*, qui a autrefois désigné l'oiseau et qui est à peu près régulier, et *coucou*, qui a subi une influence beaucoup plus forte de l'onomatopée.

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Rozwadowski, *Wybór pism*, vol. II, Varsovie, 1961, p. 225–228.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bader, *Homère et le pélasge*, *Miscellanea Indo-Europea* [sic], éd. par E. C. Polomé, Washington, DC, 1999, p. 211–212. Personnellement, nous croyons que la théorie des laryngales est erronée, cf. *Critique de la théorie des laryngales*, *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia I*. Safarewicz memoriae dicata, Cracovie, 1995, p. 237–247.

Ajoutons que, selon le dictionnaire étymologique de Bloch et Wartburg, le mot français *cochon* est «probablement formé d'après les cris qui servent à appeler les porcs (*koš koš*). *Cutiones* «cloportes» de Marcellus Empiricus, V<sup>e</sup> s., ne convient pas pour la forme; peut du reste avoir une origine analogue, le cloporte étant souvent désigné par le nom du porc.» D'après le dictionnaire de Buck, le mot grec moderne γουρούνι est «formed from the grunting sound γρῦ, seen also in γρούζω, Lat. *grunnîre*, NE *grunt*, etc.»

## Καρείνων: a Ghost-word in the Scholia to Lucian<sup>1</sup>

By FREDERICK WILLIAMS, Belfast

In the *Erotes* ascribed to Lucian, Callicratidas, the advocate of pederasty, inveighs against women for using artificial means to enhance their fading charms; in c. 41 he attacks them for wearing translucent garments which reveal all their physical features *χωρίς τῶν ἀμόρφως προπεπτωκότων μαζῶν, οὐς αἰεὶ περιφέρουσιν δεσμώτας* “except for their shapelessly sagging breasts<sup>2</sup> which they always carry around bound like prisoners”. The jibe is directed at the mature woman’s need to control and support her breasts with the *στρόφιον*, even when she is seductively displaying the rest of her attractions. A scholiast commenting on this passage exclaims excitedly<sup>3</sup>:

*τί φῆς, ὦ Λουκιανέ; ποιοῦσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦτο; ποιοῦσι τῷ ὄντι· ἐπεὶ πῶς αἱ γεγηρακυῖαι καὶ τῶν αἰγῶν πλέον κεχαλασμένους τοὺς μαστοὺς ἔχουσιν οὕτω τὰ οὐθατὰ ἐλάχιστα δίκην καρείνων ἔφερον; πείθομαί σοι, ἄνθρωπε, πειθοῦς μεστὰ ῥήματα λέγοντι, καὶ δὴ συν-εξύφαινε τὴν λοιπὴν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν.*

It would appear that the scholion is meant to represent a mock dialogue between reader and author, and should be punctuated appropriately<sup>4</sup>. Leaving untranslated the problematic word *καρείνων*, one might render the note (albeit inelegantly):

- *What are you saying, Lucian? Do they really do this?*
- *They do indeed; because how did women who had grown old, and who had breasts even slacker than ewes, thus wear their udders very small in the manner of καρείνων?*
- *I believe you, sir, as the words you speak are full of persuasiveness; now then complete the tale of their licentiousness.*

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mr. N.G. Wilson and Dr. M.J. Alden for discussing this problem with me; they should not be blamed for my conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> Not “their hideously prominent breasts” as Macleod puts it in his Loeb translation; I have documented this topos in a forthcoming article on the *Erotes*.

<sup>3</sup> *Scholia in Lucianum* ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1906; reprinted 1971) 205–6.

<sup>4</sup> Apostrophes to the author are not uncommon in the Lucianic scholia: see the list of *conuicia Luciano facta* in Rabe, p. 336.

The word *καρείνων* seems not to occur elsewhere<sup>5</sup>. Rabe, the editor of the scholia, was led to make the cryptic note in his apparatus criticus “*καρείνων fort. καρινῶν*”; *obscurum per obscurius*, for he failed to indicate what he understood by *καρινῶν*. The least unlikely significance is probably “Carian women”<sup>6</sup>, a comparatively uncommon synonym of *Καρικῶν*, but the mature women of Caria are not to my knowledge notorious for their flat-chestedness (whether natural or achieved by sartorial contrivance). So unless we are content to regard *καρείνων* as the unique occurrence of a word of uncertain significance and without apparent cognates, we must assume that it is corrupt. What it has displaced must be a word meaning “girls” or “young women”, the most apposite being *παρθένων*. How such an everyday word could be supplanted by a *vox nihili* is admittedly puzzling; it does not seem profitable to entertain speculations involving rarer cognates of *κορῶν*, e. g., *κοριδιῶν* or *κορίσκων*, the diminutive force of which might be inappropriate to the simple contrast between the figure of the mature woman and that of the unmarried girl<sup>7</sup>.

The use of *οὔθατα* for women’s breasts rather than the udders of an animal, here obviously prompted by the preceding words *τῶν αἰγῶν πλέον κεχαλασμένους τοὺς μαστοὺς ἔχουσαι*, is extremely unusual; the best known example is Aeschylus, *Cho.* 532, where Orestes, after hearing of Clytemnestra’s dream of giving birth to a snake and suckling it, asks

καὶ πῶς ἄτρωτον οὔθαρον ἦν ὑπὸ στύγου;<sup>8</sup>

There, as here in the scholion, two factors influence the choice of the unexpected word: simple variation (the previous line was *αὐτῇ προσέσχε μαστὸν ἐν τῶνείρατι*), and the blurring of the distinction between animal and human<sup>9</sup>. A closer parallel for the scholiast’s

<sup>5</sup> It is not in LSJ or its supplements, nor in Lampe, nor in Montanari’s *Vocabulario della lingua greca*, nor in the hospitable pages of the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*; it does duly appear on the TLG disks, cited from this passage. At the time of writing, the published fascicles of the *Diccionario Griego-Español* have reached only to *διώνυχος*.

<sup>6</sup> If this is the intended meaning should the word be accentuated *Καρίνων*?

<sup>7</sup> There is a useful discussion of the meaning of *παρθένος* in J. Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* (Oxford, 1996) 226–9.

<sup>8</sup> We should of course remember that *οὔθαρον ἦν* is Pauw’s brilliant conjecture for the manuscript’s *οὐχαρην*.

<sup>9</sup> “Et *δάκος* aderat et mater pro belua haberi poterat”, Pauw, quoted by Groeneboom; “the word is appropriate to Clytaemestra’s character and to the creature which suckles her” Garvie.

expression *τὰ οὔθατα ... ἔφερον* is to be found in the comic poet Teleclides, fr. 33 K-A:

*ὡς οὔσα θῆλυς εἰκότως οὔθαυ φορῶ*

where Kassell-Austin cite the interpretations of Meineke: “videtur hoc versu indicari Teleclidem in hac fabula virum introduxisse, qui mulieris habitum induerat, quod in Thesmophoriazasis fortasse imitatus est Aristophanes” and of Kaibel: “crediderim potius mulierem loqui in beluae speciem transformatam. vir enim dixisset opinor *τιθί' εἰκότως φορῶ*”. The Aeschylean passage, and this scholion, lend support to Kaibel's view. The parallelism of the expressions *τὰ οὔθατα ἔφερον* and *οὔθαυ φορῶ* shows that in the scholiast's mind women's use of corsetry to falsify their figures is as unnatural and artificial as wearing an animal costume on the theatrical stage<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> “versum ex prologo quo comicus Euripidem imitando irriserit excerptum esse conii. Kock” Kassell-Austin on Teleclides fr. 33.

# Objective and Subjective Modality Satellites in Ancient Greek: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ and $\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$

By EMILIA RUIZ YAMUZA, Sevilla

## 0. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

It is a well known fact in Functional Grammar (FG) literature that the contents of subjective and objective epistemic modality are similar. Dik (1989) following Hengeveld and Lyons, offers a classification into three major modalities: inherent, objective, and subjective modalities. Epistemic objective modality and epistemic subjective modality evaluate the actuality of the State of Affairs (SoA). The difference between subjective and objective modality is based on two semantic features plus a structural difference. The two semantic features are: the personal commitment of the speaker to the truth of the proposition and the idea that the speaker is the source of the information. The structural difference is: they both operate at a different layer within the layered structure of the clause.

It is also well known that both of them can be expressed by satellites. On the other hand, we are aware that in some languages, like English or Spanish, the same adverb can be used as a manner adverb (satellite  $\sigma_1$ ) and as an attitudinal satellite ( $\sigma_3$ ). It is said that the differences between these can be read off from the placement of the adverb and the intonation pattern with which the construction is provided (Dik 253). The tradition of FG had paid more attention to distinguishing between manner adverb and attitudinal satellite than to answering to the question whether a specific satellite could be used, at the same period, as an objective modality satellite and as a subjective modality satellite<sup>2</sup>. The present paper has a twofold aim. The

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<sup>1</sup> An early version of this paper was presented at the Eighth International Conference on Functional Grammar.

<sup>2</sup> As for Greek syntax, Cuzzolin's words p. 138: *Per quanto riguarda il greco classico, invece, una descrizione appositamente dedicata all'avverbio, e in particolare all'avverbio di frase manca . . . La descrizione complessiva piú soddisfacente è ancor oggi, almeno per che mi risulta, quella che si può trovare nelle due grammatiche del Kühner-Gerth e dello Schwyzer . . .* describe the situation perfectly well if we remember Kühner's statement (vol. II 2, p. 116): *In grammatischer Hinsicht sind die Modaladverbien, von den übrigen Adverbien nur*



first one is to find out if a given adverb can work as both an objective and subjective modality satellite. The second one is to delimit the compatibility between modality satellites and temporal operators and satellites. I have limited myself to the study of two satellites *τάχα* and *ἴσως*. It could be hoped, though, that the conclusions will amply illustrate the relationship between objective and subjective modalities and point to some inadequacies in the current theory about the properties of objective and subjective modalities<sup>3</sup>.

### 1. Greek modality system

In classical Greek there are three verbal moods: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative, which can combine with the modal particle *ἄν*. The modal particle works as a discontinuous morpheme. Not only moods, but tenses (Vet 1990) can also work as modality operators: the future tense, and past tenses with modal particle<sup>4</sup> are often used to express modality. Classical Greek exhibits the following distribution:

FACTUALITY: indicative mood.

PROBABILITY: future tense, optative mood plus particle, subjunctive mood plus particle.

POSSIBILITY: optative mood plus particle.

IMPOSSIBILITY (IRREALIS): indicative past tenses plus particle.

The modal<sup>5</sup> adverbs *τάχα* and *ἴσως* may combine with modal operators, i. e., verbal moods. The root of *ἴσως* means “same”, “similar”, “equal”. We can render a paraphrase of the adverb’s modal value saying that it signals the SoA as being equally likely to happen than not to happen. The root of *τάχα* means “quick”. The adverb shows a semantic and structural shifting from a manner satellite “quickly” to a tense satellite “immediately” and finally to a modality satellite<sup>6</sup>.

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*wenige Zeitadverbien von Bedeutung. Daher werden wir uns nur auf diese beschränken, alle übrigen aber dem Lexikon überlassen.*

<sup>3</sup> My examples are from Homer and from Plato. I have checked Homer’s *Iliad* and the works from Plato which do not have authorial problems. The homeric texts are necessary to know the shifts from circumstantial satellites to modal satellites and the evolution of the system.

<sup>4</sup> Also without particle. Stahl 384.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth 497. 3.

<sup>6</sup> I do not agree with Basset in the first occurrence of the adverb as a modality satellite. I have found modal occurrences in Homer, like *Il.* 11.654

In the last case the meaning of the adverb is the same meaning of immediacy, but referred to the factuality of the SoA. In the factuality scale, whose two ending poles are factuality and impossibility, *τάχα* and *ἴσως*<sup>7</sup> occupy the Probability / Possibility zone.

## 2. Greek modality satellites and satellite typology

If we use the test provided by Dik *et al.* (1990: 40ss) to demonstrate whether a satellite works as a predication satellite or as a proposition satellite, we find behavioural oddities.

1) Satellites of the type 1–2 form one information unit together with the core predication, they can be within the scope of a proform, and the whole unit, including the representational pattern, can be questioned with a yes/no question. But the satellites *τάχα* and *ἴσως* can appear in questions (Vismans: 312) working not only as predication satellites but also as proposition satellites.

In the following sentence the meaning of the verbal mood operator is factuality and the satellite modifies the modality content of the sentence. It is possible to answer yes / no to the question.

- (1) (Pl. *Sph.* 228a) νόσον ἴσως καὶ στάσιν οὐ ταῦτὸν νενόμικας;  
 Question (possibility satellite *ἴσως* [negation οὐ – perfect tense predicate νενόμικας])  
 “Perhaps you have not considered that disease and discorde are the same thing?”

In (2) the modality meaning of the satellite is similar to the modality meaning of the verbal mood operator. It is working at the predication layer.

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δεινὸς ἀνήρ: *τάχα* κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον αἰτιόωτο. Basset says (p. 33): “Son emploi (de *τάχα*) logique, avec le sens ‘peut-être’, est posthomerique (Hes. Op. 401). Cette différence de sens repose sur un changement de portée. *τάχα* peut porter sur le contenu de l’énoncé, c’est-à-dire sur un événement prochain (par exemple la défaite d’Iros). Il peut porter aussi sur l’énoncé lui-même, ou du moins la pensée qui le suscite. L’énoncé est alors présenté comme proche, mais non assumé. Il est seulement présumé, d’où le sens dubitatif ‘peut-être’. *τάχα* est alors un adverbe d’annonciation”.

<sup>7</sup> I do not agree with Cuzzolin p. 145. n. 10: “Il valore di *ἴσως* corrisponde, in genere, più a quello di *probabilmente*, con il quale il parlante si impegna sulla verità di ciò che afferma, che non a quella di *forse*, un avverbio che non esprime nessun impegno del parlante sulla verità di quanto affermato”.

- (2) (Pl. *Lg.* 662a) ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως ἂν συγχωρήσαίτε, τό γε αἰσχροῶς;  
 Question (possibility satellite ἴσως – modal particle ἂν – optative mood predicate συγχωρήσαίτε)  
 “Probably you will agree at any rate to call it ‘base’?”

In the current literature about modalities it is said that only objective modalities can be questioned, while subjective modalities can not be questioned. It is as a rule in the case of adverbs but not in the case of expressions like “in my opinion”, “in your opinion” that show subjective modality. In Spanish there are the following pairs:

Subjective Modality	Objective Modality
A – <i>En mi opinión, el atasco será terrible.</i>	A – <i>El atasco será terrible.</i>
B – <i>¿Tú crees?</i>	B – <i>¿Tú crees?</i>
C – <i>¿En tu opinión, habrá atasco?</i>	C – <i>¿Habrá atasco?</i>
D – <i>Sí, creo que sí.</i>	D – <i>Sí, creo que sí.</i>
A. “In my opinion, the traffic jam will be terrible.”	A. “The traffic jam will be terrible.”
B. “Do you think so?”	B. “Do you think so?”
C. “In your opinion, will there be a traffic jam?”	C. “Will there be a traffic jam?”
D. “Yes, I think so.”	D. “Yes, I think so.”

It is possible to make a question about the contents of a sentence with subjective modality as well as about a sentence with objective modality and it is also possible to give the same answer. Note that the questions are specifically pointing at the subjective modality content of the sentences.

2) As for the scope of operators, the satellites do not fall under the scope of negations (Dik et al. 1990:60):

- (3) (Pl. *R.* 557e) ἴσως γοῦν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἂν ἀποροῖ παραδειγμάτων  
 (possibility satellite ἴσως – negation οὐκ – modal particle ἂν – optative mood predicate ἀποροῖ)  
 “Perhaps, at any rate, he said, he would not be lacking any patterns”  
 “It is the case that he possibly would not be lacking any patterns.”

As a propositional satellite:

- (4) (Pl. *Grg.* 500d) ἴσως οὐπω οἶσθα τί λέγω  
 (possibility satellite [ negation – indicative mood predicate])  
 “Perhaps you are not aware of that I am saying.”

“It is possibly the case that you are not aware of what I am saying.”

The layered structure of the clause prevents subjective satellites, but not objective, from falling within the scope of polarity operators, because subjective modality works in an upper layer. But in Greek not only subjective, but also objective modality satellites do not fall within the scope of polarity operators as examples number 4 and 5 show. Probably the odd behaviour of Classical Greek is caused by its strong tendency to apply negations to the verb. On the other hand, in the current literature all the efforts have been concentrated on the fact that there are no negative forms of modal adverbs. For instance, the series *impossible* vs. *\*impossibly* does not exist. Neither in English, nor in Spanish. It has been said that this proves that the negative in the first one is a mark of objective modality and that the absence of negative in the second one is a mark of subjective modality. But we must pay attention to the fact that this is not a grammatical derivation. It is just a rule of word formation, since it does not rule the whole word class. Actually, there are modality adverbs, which admit negative forms: *undoubtedly*, *indisputably*, *indudablemente*, *improbablemente*. Therefore, we could not draw any general conclusion on the basis of the lack of negative forms.

3) *ἴσως* can be in coordination with other satellites. The rule is that only objective modality markers can be coordinated:

(5) (Pl. *Sph.* 246d) βία χαλεπώτερον, ἴσως δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον  
 (“\*but perhaps and almost impossible”).

4) The adverbs contradict also the rule about Focus status (Dik *et al.* 1990:40). This rule allows to distinguish between satellites of the layers 1–2 and 3–4. Two tests give a clear indication of the Focus status: occurrence as an answer to a WH-question and occurrence in contrastive contexts such as constructions with alternative negation and interrogation. But it is very usual that the adverbs occur in answers (cf. note 10). *ἴσως* appears also in contrastive contexts:

(6) (Pl. *Lg.* 965e) οὐκ ἴσως ἀλλ’ ὄντως  
 “Not perhaps, but actually.”

### 2.1. A tentative classification of modality satellites

The mechanical use of the parameters does not provide us with a clear differentiation between the adverbs as objective modality satellites and subjective modality satellites. My proposal is based on the specific combinations the satellites make. It is clear that *τάχα* as well as *ἵσως* may combine with modal operators in two different ways. They can combine with satellites and operators whose modal content is similar, or at least belongs to the same type of modality and they can combine with satellites and operators whose modal content is different. Following Lyons, we call the first combinations *harmonic* modal combinations and the second ones *non-harmonic* modal combinations.

All the combinations between these modality adverbs and the optative mood, the future tense or the subjunctive mood are harmonic combinations, since both the adverbs and these moods express the same grades of factuality: either probability or possibility.

- (7) (Pl. *Ap.* 31e) ἵσως ἄν οὖν δόξειεν ἄτοπον εἶναι  
 “Perhaps it may seem odd that.”

I use paraphrases similar to Lyons’s or Dik’s paraphrases in order to capture the meaning of the adverb:

- “It is the case that perhaps it may seem odd.”  
 (8) (Pl. *Lg.* 885c) ταῦτα τάχ’ ἄν ἐρεσχηλοῦντες εἶποιεν  
 (probability satellite – modal particle – optative mood predicate)  
 “In derision they would probably say this.”  
 “It is the case that they may *probably* say in jest.”

Verbal mood and modal satellite render similar evaluations of the SoA. The verbal mood (optative + particle) renders an evaluation of the SoA as ranging from *probable* to *possible*. The modality adverb renders an evaluation of the SoA as either *probable* (*τάχα*) or *possible* (*ἵσως*). It gives a further specification of the modal evaluation rendered by the mood operator.

In such combinations the operator can be described as having scope over the satellite. We could say (Lyons) that there is a kind of concord running through the clause, which results in the double realization of a single modality. A single modality, which has been expressed by two means. The lexical items increase the accuracy of operators and provide finer and finer gradations of modality. There are also quite redundant combinations in Spanish:

- (9) *Posiblemente venga mañana.*  
 (possibility satellite – subjunctive mood predicate)  
 “Possibly he may arrive tomorrow.”

Verbal mood and modal satellite render the same evaluation of the SoA; the SoA is evaluated as *possible*.

Harmonic combinations are compatible with the expression of inherent modality<sup>8</sup>. This behaviour confirms that the inherent modalities are in the innermost layer.

- (10)(Pl. *Ap.* 38b) ἴσως δ' ἂν δυναίμην ἐκτεῖσαι ὑμῖν που μνᾶν ἀργυρίου  
 (possibility satellite – modal particle – optative mood predicate  
 [inherent modality predicate] – infinitive)  
 “I might perhaps be able to pay a mine of silver.”  
 “It is the case that I am perhaps be able to pay a mine of silver.”

The adverbs can combine with each other making, together with the particle ἂν, very usual expressions. Each of the adverbs can at a lesser extent combine with other adverbs or particles, e. g., *σχεδόν*, *μέντοι*, etc., increasing the meanings and grades of probability or possibility.

- (11)(Pl. *Lg.* 645c) φανείη δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως τοῦ μήκους γ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπάξιον  
 (probability adverb – modal particle – possibility adverb – optative mood predicate)  
 It may very likely be shown that it is a matter which merits prolonged discussion.

#### 2.1.1. Non-harmonic combinations

*Τάχα* and *ἴσως* may constitute non-harmonic combinations. A combination is non-harmonic if the modality expressed by the satellite is different from the modality expressed by the verbal operator.

Combinations of satellites and factuality operators:

- (12)(Pl. *Lg.* 642b) οὐκ οἶσθα ἴσως ὅτι τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἢ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως οὔσα ὑμῶν πρόξενος.  
 ([negation indicative mood predicate] – possibility satellite)  
 “You are not perhaps aware that our family is, in fact, a

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ruiz Yamuza 1994 & 1997.

‘proxenus’ of your state.”

“In my opinion, it is probably the case that you do not know that my family is a ‘proxenus’ of your state.”

- (13)(Pl. *Lg.* 711a) ὑμεῖς δὲ τάχα οὐδὲ τεθέασθε τυραννουμένην πόλιν  
(probability satellite – [negation indicative mood predicate])

“But you probably have never so much as set eyes on a monarchical state.”

“It is probably the case that you have never set eyes on ...”

- (14)(Pl. *Sph.* 248b) τάχ' οὖν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπόκρισιν σὺ μὲν οὐ κατακούεις

(probability satellite – [negation indicative mood predicate])

“Possibly, Theaetetus, you do not hear their reply to this.”

“It is probably the case that you do not hear their reply ...”

Combinations with verbal moods indicating unreality:

- (15)(Pl. *Lg.* 805c) εἰ μὲν ταῦτα ἦν μὴ ἰκανῶς ἔργοις ἐληλεγμένα ὅτι δυνατά ἐστι γίνεσθαι, τάχα ἦν ἂν τι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τῷ λόγῳ  
(probability satellite (past tense predicate – modal particle [infinitive predicate]))

“If the possibility of such a state of things taking place had not been sufficiently proved by facts, then it might have been possible to gainsay our statement.”

“It is probably the case that somebody might have contradicted if such a state of things had not been sufficiently proved.”

- (16)(Pl. *Ap.* 32d) καὶ ἴσως ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον  
(possibility satellite [modal particle – past tense predicate])

and perhaps I would have died because of that

“\*It was possibly the case that I would have died ...”

There are two kinds of modalities in clauses where non-harmonic combinations occur: subjective and objective modalities. Objective modalities occur at an inner layer, the predication layer; they are marked, in this opposition, mainly by operators. Subjective modalities occur in an outer layer, the proposition layer; they are marked, in this opposition, by satellites. In harmonic combinations, since operators and satellites act at the same level, operators have scope over satellites. But in non-harmonic combinations, since operators and satellites act at different layers, satellites have scope over

operators, because they act at the outer layer. The modality meaning of satellites “falls upon” the modality meaning of operators and specifies it in different ways. We can paraphrase (16) in this way:

“In my opinion, my death, that obviously did not happen, was a possibility.”

The verbal mood signals unreality, impossibility but in fact is modified to express something different: past possibility.

### 2.1.2. Non-harmonic satellites show compatibility with different tenses

The adverbs, specially ἴσως, make combinations where there is a *wide temporal compatibility*. Temporal compatibility<sup>9</sup> is the capability of being in the same sentence in which there are other tenses than the one implied in the modality notion expressed by the adverb; namely past or present tenses. The future tense has a particular status (among others, Lyons). The future is rather a mood and works as a probability marker. Because of that the combinations it makes with the satellites are harmonic combinations.

The satellites can occur in a sentence with a perfect tense. The perfect tense is a diphasic tense (past and present) (Comrie, Kurylowicz) and deserves a specific mention:

- (17)(Pl. *Th.* 162d) νῦν δέ τούναντίον τάχα μεταπέπτωκεν  
(temporal satellite – probability satellite – perfect tense predicate) (probability satellite [temporal satellite – perfect tense predicate])

“But now perhaps it has changed to the opposite.”

“It is perhaps the case that it has changed to the opposite.”

Modality adverb combined with a present tense:

- (18)(Pl. *Grg.* 527a) τάχα δ' οὖν ταῦτα μῦθος σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι ὡσπερ  
γραὸς καὶ καταφρονεῖς αὐτῶν,  
(probability satellite [present tense predicate])

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<sup>9</sup> Subjective modality is bound to the moment of speaking, whereas objective modality is not. According to Hengeveld this would explain why in the few cases where modals can occur with a past tense (may / might) this past tense does not involve temporal reference but only expresses higher uncertainty, whereas the past tense in “It was possible that John would come, so I went home” does have temporal reference. This would imply that objective modality is within reach of temporal qualifications whereas subjective modality is hierarchically higher than temporal qualifications (Nuyts 80).



“Possibly, however, you regard this as an old wife’s tale and despise it.”

“It is possibly the case that you regard this as an old wife’s tale and despise it.”

Modality adverb combined with past tenses:

(19)(Pl. *Alc.* I 110d) ἀλλ’ ἴσως τοῦτό σοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρινάμην  
(possibility satellite [negation – past tense predicate])

“Perhaps the answer I gave you was not correct.”

“It is possibly the case that I gave you a not correct answer.”

In the field of FG, the theory about this particular aspect inherits the idea that subjective modalities are bound to the time of utterance and objective modalities are free. Subjective modalities evaluate an SoA as probable, possible, etc. in the moment of utterance and objective modalities evaluate without reference to the moment of utterance. But it is necessary to reformulate the assert in the way proposed by Bolkestein. Subjective modalities have a strong tendency to bind at the moment of utterance. The most usual situation is that subjective modality expresses the speaker’s evaluation at the moment he makes it. But it is possible to express an evaluation produced in a temporal moment different from the time of utterance.

(20) *En mi opinión, ayer era probable que viniera y hoy es imposible.*

“\*\*In my opinion, yesterday, it was probable that he might come, but today it is impossible.”

But, anyway, this binding has nothing to do with the tenses of the predication. The predication can have past, present or future tense reference. The situation in Spanish is similar:

(21a) *En mi opinión el atasco será terrible.*

(21b) *En mi opinión el atasco fue terrible.*

(21c) *En mi opinión el atasco es terrible.*

(21a) “In my opinion the traffic jam will be horrible.”

(21b) “In my opinion the traffic jam was horrible.”

(21c) “In my opinion the traffic jam is horrible.”

This behaviour is based on the fact that subjective modality belongs to an upper layer than tense operators and satellites.

### 3. Conclusions

1) *Τάχα* and *ἴσως* can function as satellites of subjective and objective modality, but *τάχα* is less used<sup>10</sup> as a subjective modality satellite. Evidence for this fact is provided by non-harmonic combinations. When non-harmonically combined, they can both appear in sentences with past or present tenses. In such combinations, they show scope over tense operators and satellites.

2) There are a few oddities that should make us rewrite some of the rules established for subjective and objective modalities.

3) The analysis of the data has confirmed the idea of two modalities working in two different layers.

4) But the definition of subjective modality would possibly demand some revision. As for Classical Greek, the features attributed to that specific modality are not so clearly understandable. For objective modalities do as much express the speakers knowledge about the actuality of the SoA.

5) The most imposing idea is that both modalities seem to be very similar in semantic content, and that all modalities seem to be ever subjective “by default”.

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<sup>10</sup> *ἴσως* occurs 19 times in combination with *τάχα ἴσως ἄν* and 82 times with the modal particle, and 62 times in answers. That makes a total of 173 occurrences in harmonic combinations. In non-harmonic combinations appears 229 with different moods and tenses. It is more usual in non-harmonic than in harmonic combinations. *τάχα* occurs 70 times with optative plus particle, once in the combination *τάχα ἴσως* without particle, 19 times in the sequence *τάχα ἄν ἴσως*, and 10 times in answers with and without particle. That makes a total of 100 modal harmonic occurrences. The adverb appears 10 times with future tenses and 7 times with other different tenses and moods.

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## Corrigenda

Durch einen technischen Defekt bei der Datenübertragung wurden in der Druckfassung des Beitrags WEST, Glotta 76, S. 134–138, Korrekturen nicht ausgeführt. Wir bitten, dies zu entschuldigen und führen diese Stellen hier auf:

S. 135, 3. Absatz, Zeile 5: recte	Ἄσπάρτα or Ἄσπάρτη
S. 136, 1. Absatz, Zeile 4: recte	[ʃtar]
S. 136, 3. Absatz, Zeile 5: recte	ἄlp, in Ἄσπάρτα (2x)
S. 136, 4. Absatz, Zeile 6: recte	Mô'ābī, 'ardiy
S. 136, Fußnote 12: recte	Ἄφροδίτᾱ
S. 137, 4. Absatz, Zeile 1: recte	*Ἄprodīt
S. 137, 4. Absatz, Zeile 2: recte	*Ἄprodīt
S. 137, 5. Absatz, Zeile 4: recte	*ἄpp <sup>e</sup> rūdet
S. 137, Fußnote 16, Zeile 8: recte	<*ā
S. 138, 1. Absatz, Zeile 3: recte	'a-
S. 138, 3. Absatz, Zeile 2: recte	prāzôt
S. 138, 3. Absatz, Zeile 7: recte	*[ἄproði:t]
S. 138, Fußnote 20: recte	prāzôt
S. 138, Fußnote 21: recte	Ἄγροτέρα

## La transizione dal latino alle lingue romanze

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