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Φρένες as an anatomical Organ in the Works of Homer[1]

By S. Ireland, Hull and F. L. D. Steel, Cardiff

Whether directed towards an understanding of its linguistic system or an appreciation of the literature for which it is the vehicle, the study of a language is founded primarily upon the implicit assumption that the semantic force of its vocabulary is either already known or capable of being accurately ascertained. Yet despite this the possibility exists when dealing with a language no longer current or one in which the meaning of many words has undergone fundamental change between the period under investigation and the present day[2]) that interpretations traditionally applied may ultimately prove totally inadequate or at best imprecise. The aim of the present paper is to suggest that just such a case exists in the Homeric use of the term *φρένες*[3]) and the related word *πραπίδες* when found in places that display a clear contextual reference to organs of the human anatomy.

Without doubt the vast majority of instances of either of these words in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* present little difficulty and are readily understandable as either the abstract quality 'mind' with all its connotations of consciousness, rationality, and memory, or as the seat of these processes. Elsewhere, however, this is not the case, and we find clear evidence of something more material, for instance *Iliad* XVI 503f. Patroclus, having slain the Lycian hero Sarpedon, pulls the fatal spear from the chest of his victim and with it come the *φρένες*:

ὁ δὲ λὰξ ἐν στήθεσι βαίνων
ἐκ χροὸς ἕλκε δόρυ, πρυτὶ δὲ φρένες αὐτῷ ἕποντο.

On other occasions the *φρένες* are mentioned as bearing a positional relationship to another organ, either surrounding or partly enclosing

[1]) In the preparation of this paper the authors would like to thank Professor J. D. Lever, Department of Anatomy Cardiff, for his advice with the manuscript, and Professor L. A. Moritz for the encouragement which he gave.

[2]) For semantic changes between Homeric and Classical Greek see D. B. Monro, *Homer's Odyssey* Oxford 1901 vol. II p. 450.

[3]) Though usually found in the plural, the singular form of the word does occur, and with little difference in the overall range of meaning.

it: at *Iliad* XVI 481, the blow that fells Sarpedon is struck where the *φρένες* are set round the heart:

ἀλλ' ἔβαλ' ἔνθ' ἄρα τε φρένες ἔρχαται ἀμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ.

Similarly at *Odyssey* IX 301, Odysseus' initial plan to slay the Cyclops with a swordblow where the *φρένες* enclose the liver:

οὐτάμεναι πρὸς στῆθος, ὅθι φρένες ἦπαρ ἔχουσι.

In turn this same positional relationship of the *φρένες* to the liver occurs in the case of *πραπίδες*. At *Iliad* XI 578f. Apisaon is slain by Eurypylos with a blow to the liver beneath the *πραπίδες*:

ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, εἶθαρ δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν

cf. XIII 412, XVII 349.

Inevitably, however, in addition to the instances already mentioned there exist a number of occurrences in which reference to a physical object is less certain: *Iliad* X 9f., the disquiet of Agamemnon:

ὣς πυκίν' ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀνεστενάχιζ' Ἀγαμέμνων
νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης, τρομέοντο δὲ οἱ φρένες ἐντός.

Iliad XV 60f., Zeus' plan to send Apollo in order to arouse the might of Hector:

λελάθῃ δ' ὀδυνάων | αἳ νῦν μιν τείρουσι κατὰ φρένας

Iliad XXII 475, in which the singular is used:

ἣ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη

cf. *Odyssey* V 458, XXIV 349. *Iliad* XXIV 514, the end of Achilles' lamentations for his father and Patroclus:

καί οἱ ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἵμερος ἠδ' ἀπὸ γυίων

Iliad I 103f., Agamemnon's reaction to Calchas' suggestion that Chryseis be returned to her father:

μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι[4]) *| πίμπλαντ'*

or even in the later *Hymn to Demeter* 175:

ἄλλοντ' ἂν λειμῶνα κορεσσάμεναι φρένα φορβῇ.

In none of these cases, however, can we be at all categorical in stating that the intention of the poet was physical rather than

[4]) Texts vary as to whether *ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι* is to be written as one word or two. In either case it has little bearing on the present argument.

abstract. Both interpretations prove equally valid and acceptable, and since such ambiguity does exist here (as indeed in several other instances)[5], which, if admitted into the present study would doubtless lead on the one hand to an ever increasing degree of complexity and on the other to an ever decreasing level of agreement from others, it is proposed to omit them and to restrict the discussion to those instances which appear to preclude interpretation as an abstract quality.[6])

Over the past hundred years or so a number of scholars, many of them trained in the disciplines of medicine, have touched upon the intentions of the poet in these places either incidentally or with the deliberate intention of attempting to discover their meaning and through this the extent of accurate anatomical knowledge in the Homeric period. The results, as is to be expected, have been diverse, but by far the most common interpretation is that the terms under discussion refer to the diaphragm or to the more general region of the midriff.[7]) Significantly those who advance this view are for the most part classicists, and almost certainly the interpretation is traditional, stemming from an all too ready acceptance of the scholia which date ultimately from the Alexandrine period and are preserved in many instances in the twelfth century commentary of Eustathius. So for instance the scholium to *Iliad* XVI 481 states: *φρένες· τὸ ὑπὸ πνεύμονα διάζωμα τοῦ θώρακος*,[8]) cf. ad XI 579: *ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων· ὑποκάτω γάρ εἰσι τῶν φρενῶν. ἔστι δέ τι σπλάγχνον οὕτω λεγόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ταύτας φησίν, αἳς νοοῦμεν. φρένας ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ πάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιηταὶ τὸ διάφραγμα ἐκάλουν*,[9]) Eustathius ad *Iliad* XVI

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[5]) This contrasts sharply with the view of R. B. Onians *The Origins of European Thought* Cambridge 1951 esp. p. 35, who suggests that many instances of the term *φρένες* interpreted figuratively by the vast majority of scholars should instead be taken literally.

[6]) Cf. L. Doederlein *Homerisches Glossarium* Erlangen 1853 Bd. II p. 316.

[7]) H. Dunbar *The Medicine and Surgery of Homer* British Medical Journal 1880 p. 51; H. E. Sigerist *A History of Medicine* Oxford 1961 Vol. II p. 37 n. 53; Doederlein op. cit. p. 315f.; J. Dumortier *Le Vocabulaire Médical d'Eschyle et les Écrits Hippocratiques* Paris 1935 p. 6f.; H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Leipzig 1885 vid. *φρένες* et *πραπίδες*; LSJ vid. *φρένες* et *πραπίδες*; E. Buchholz *Die Homerischen Realien* Leipzig 1871 Bd. I, Abt. 2, p. 86f.; V. Larock *Les Premières Conceptions Psychologiques des Grecs* Revue Belge de Philologie 1930 p. 385f.; E. Rohde *Psyche* 6th ed. Tübingen 1910 Bd. I p. 44. The equation of *φρένες* with the diaphragm is also commonly found in editions and translations of the Homeric epics.

[8]) *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* G. Dindorf Leipzig 1875–7 vol. IV.

[9]) Ibid. vol. III.

504:[10]) *ὅτι δὲ σωματικὰς φρένας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔφη, δηλοῖ καὶ αὐτὸς προϊὼν ἐν τῷ, ὁ δὲ λὰξ ἐν στήθεσι βαίνων εἵλκε δόρυ, ποτὶ δὲ φρένες αὐτῷ ἕποντο, ἐνσχεθέντων πάντως τῷ δόρατι τῶν τοῦ διαφράγματος ὑμένων. ἔνθα δηλῶν καὶ ὅτι καιρία ἡ πληγὴ ἐπάγει. τοῦ δ' ἅμα ψυχήν τε καὶ ἔγχεος ἐξείρυσ' αἰχμήν. γέγονεν οὖν ἡ πληγὴ κατὰ τὸ διάφραγμα, ὃ καλεῖται φρένες, καθὰ προϊστόρηται, ἤγουν κατὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τὸν πνεύμονα διάζωμα τοῦ φώρακος.*, ad XI 578:[11]) *πρὸ δ' αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος Ὁμήρου ὡς ὁ Εὐρύπυλος ἔβαλέ τινα ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, τουτέστι φρενῶν, ταὐτὸ γὰρ πραπίδες καὶ φρένες, τὸ μὲν ποιητικῶς, τὸ δὲ κοινῶς φραζόμενον, φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὅτι φρένες οὐ μόνον ἡ δύναμις καθ' ἣν νοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καί τι σπλάγχνον, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ προεδηλώθη, ὅ περ διάφραγμα οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα πρῶτοι ὠνόμασαν.*, ad *Odyssey* XI 476:[12]) *τουτέστι φρένας μὴ ἔχοντες. αἵ εἰσι κρεμαστῆρες τοῦ ἥπατος, κατὰ τὸ, ὅθι τε φρένες ἦπαρ ἔχουσι.* The question, however, remains whether the interpretation placed upon the word by the scholiasts represents a real understanding of what Homer intended, or whether they were merely mirroring classical or their own contemporary usage. That the latter is more likely will become apparent later on. At the same time it has to be admitted that the interpretation of *φρένες* as diaphragm has been seriously disputed on grounds more closely related to actual anatomy. The fact that something as insubstantial as a thin sheet of tissue should come to occupy as important a position in the Homeric view of human anatomy as it does is hardly likely, while the possibility of it adhering to a spear drawn from a wound is equally doubtful.[13])

For other writers the word is to be interpreted as pericardium,[14]) and this may gain some support from the scholium to *Odyssey* IX 301: *ὅθι φρένες ἦπαρ ἔχουσιν· ὅπου αἱ φρένες τὸ ἦπαρ συνέχουσιν. φρένες δὲ λέγονται ὁ ὑμὴν ὁ σκέπων τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ ἦπαρ.*[15]) Apart

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[10]) *Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem ad Fidem Exempli Romani* Leipzig 1829 vol. III, 1071.56.

[11]) Ibid. 863.60.

[12]) *Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* Leipzig 1825, 1695,4.

[13]) Cf. Onians op. cit. p. 26–7.

[14]) J. F. Malgaigne *Étude sur l'Anatomie et la Physiologie d'Homère* Bull. Acad. Roy. Méd. Paris 1841–2 p. 995; O. Körner *Wesen und Wert der Homerischen Heilkunde* Wiesbaden 1904 p. 18, cf. *Die Ärztlichen Kenntnisse in Ilias und Odyssee* Munich 1929 p. 26ff. Significantly Körner differentiates between *φρένες* as pericardium and *πραπίδες* as diaphragm; B. Coglievina *Die Homerische Medizin* Graz-Vienna-Leipzig 1922 p. 16; C. Allbutt Classical Review 1923 p. 130.

[15]) *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* G. Dindorf Oxford 1855 Vol. II.

from this, however, the same objections apply here as did in the case of the diaphragm, the relative insignificance of the pericardium as a feature of the human anatomy.

More recently the term *φρένες* has been taken up by R. B. Onians who advances a number of well-documented arguments for its interpretation as lungs.[16]) If anything, however, his arguments suffer from overstatement, from a desire to interpret literally many cases better left to be understood in a figurative sense. So for instance his interpretation of the Aeschylean phrase *μελαγχίτων φρήν*[17]) partly on the grounds that "the adult lung is bluish grey, more or less mottled with black" begs the question whether this result of modern urban life is indeed applicable in terms of Mycenean or Athenian society. From this he proceeds to cite as confirmatory evidence the *λευκαί φρένες* of Pindar,[18]) which, if taken literally, could well indicate an advanced state of disease, though in fact he goes on to suggest that the contrast is "simply analogous to that of our own ancient phrase 'white-livered'". This in itself raises the important issue of whether the Greeks, lacking accurate understanding of the functions of organs, first applied the terms *φρένες* and *πραπίδες* to parts of the body and then transferred this to their imagined functions, or whether the abstract notion 'mind' was the first to appear and was then located in an 'appropriate' organ. Related to this is the problem whether adjectives such as *μέλαιναι* or *λευκαί* applied to *φρένες* were the result of inspection subsequently related to known characteristics of the individual, or were merely the imagined physical attributes of a particular character type. In other words did the lack of courage suggested by 'white-livered' result from actual inspection or an imagined deficiency within an organ itself imagined to be the seat of courage?

Later Onians deals with the effect of liquids upon the *φρένες*, the fact that sleep was conceived of as wet,[19]) and that the *φρένες* were easily overcome by wine: *Odyssey* IX 362:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Κύκλωπα περὶ φρένας ἦλυθεν οἶνος.

However, while it is true that later philosophers viewed the mind or soul as consisting of air or fire that might be affected by moisture

[16]) Op. cit. p. 23ff.; cf. P. T. Justesen *Les Principes Psychologiques d'Homère* Copenhagen 1928 p. 4–16; Q. Celli *La Medicina Greca Nelle Tradizioni Mitologiche e Omeriche* Rome 1923 p. 187.

[17]) Op. cit. p. 25; *Persae* 115 cf. *φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι Iliad* I 103, XVII 83, 499, 573, *Odyssey* IV 661.

[18]) *Pythian* IV 109f. [19]) Schol. ad *Iliad* XIV 253: *ὑγρὸς γὰρ ὁ ὕπνος.*

and some passages appear to suggest the absorption of wine into the lungs,[20]) is there any evidence that the φρένες which Onians describes, p. 32, as "damaged, subdued, heavy, or possessed" by wine need be anything other than the consciousness of the mind? Indeed would the symptoms of intoxication for Homer be very different from those which we ourselves experience, an effect upon the mind as distinct from something felt in the lungs? In this sense Onians' arguments often overshoot their intended target, for much of the proof he produces for the interpretation he offers itself depends either upon an initial equation of φρένες with the lungs and is thus circular, or upon a literal understanding of passages which are equally valid, and have certainly proven more acceptable as figurative usages.

In addition to these two major interpretations there remains a number of others which have been advanced from time to time. So for instance Daremberg[21]) interpreted the φρένες which issued from the wound caused by the spear of Patroclus at *Iliad* XVI 504 as life itself, though elsewhere[22]) he suggests the more normal idea of diaphragm and pericardium. In contrast Floquet[23]) saw them variously as the chest wall, "la cage thoracique ... cette cloison qui enferme le coeur vivant", or as the organs, "entrailles", around the liver. In neither case, however, do the arguments advanced prove fully acceptable. Indeed such is the overall variety of interpretation placed upon the passages of Homer under discussion that before proceeding to an examination of later developments in the use of the word φρένες and alternatives introduced to signify the organs suggested by scholars it might be advisable to obtain a clear understanding of the anatomical nature of the area involved.

That part of the human body with which we are dealing, the region usually known (in the widest sense of the word) as the trunk, extends from the root of the neck to the lower part of the pelvis.

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[20]) Euripides fr. 983N: *οἶνος περάσας πλευμόνων διαῤῥοάς*. Alcaeus fr. Z 23a1 Lobel & Page: *τέγγε πλεύμονας οἴνῳ*. Do we infer from these that the ancients really believed in the absorption of wine into the lungs, or that they were merely aware of the smell of drink upon a person's breath? Cf. Plato *Timaeus* 70c.

[21]) *La Médicine dans Homère* Paris 1865 p. 56.

[22]) Ibid. p. 51.

[23]) *Homère Médicin* Thèse Paris 1912 p. 35 & 41; cf. H. Hayman *The Odyssey of Homer* London 1873 ad *Odyssey* IX 301.

Its contained cavity is roughly kidney-shaped in cross-section, the indentation of the 'kidney' being produced by the forward projection of the vertebral column. The upper part is reinforced by the ribs, the breastbone or sternum, and the costal cartilages, which form a link between ribs and sternum, thus producing a box with walls capable of movement but which cannot collapse: the thoracic cage. In contrast the lower or abdominal part of the cavity of the trunk is enclosed by walls formed entirely of soft tissues except for the vertebral column and, lower down, the pelvis. In addition to this most obvious difference between the thoracic cage and the abdominal cavity a number of others exist. It should be noted for instance that a large part of the thorax is occupied by air within the lungs and thus in direct contact with that surrounding the body, and it is the pressure of this air alone (atmospheric pressure) that prevents the lungs from collapsing, since between the lungs and the chest wall (i.e. in the pleural space) the pressure is less than atmospheric. In contrast to this negative intrathoracic pressure the intra-abdominal pressure is usually positive because of distension of the viscera, particularly the gut and urinary bladder. In this sense the thorax is always potentially on the point of implosion, the abdomen on the point of explosion, and that this is no exaggeration is confirmed by everyday surgical experience; for without artificial inflation of the lung any uncontrolled opening of the pleural space is certain to prove fatal, while in the days of inhalation anaesthesia before the advent of muscle-relaxing drugs an abdominal operation frequently meant a struggle before exposed parts of the gut could be returned to their normal positions and the wound closed.

Sweeping upwards from its peripheral attachment to the vertebral column and thoracic outlet[24]) and resembling the spinnaker of a racing yacht running before the wind is the diaphragm, which separates the upper, thoracic from the lower, abdominal cavity. Centrally it is membranous, with the membrane giving way to a sheet-like layer of muscle as the circumference is approached. Above it and resting upon it lie the lungs, and between them the heart, the latter enclosed in the threefold bag of the pericardium and occupying a position behind the sternum and as near to the middle of the

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[24]) The lower limit of the thorax following roughly the line of the bottom ribs. It is not in fact horizontal since the wall of its anterior section comes to an end at a position higher than that of its posterior section.

chest as an asymmetrical organ can be.[25]) Below it lie the liver, stomach and other organs of the abdomen, the pressure of which, especially that of the liver, maintains the general dome shape that the diaphragm assumes.

Significantly a result of this shape is that the rib cage, especially in its lateral and posterior sections, provides protection for more organs than simply those of the thorax, shielding also the liver, stomach, spleen, and to a lesser degree the kidneys. In its anterior sections, however, because the ribs sweep up to meet the sternum these abdominal organs are less effectively protected and in consequence more open to damage.

In the centuries following Homer the scant evidence that remains of literature produced before the Classical period indicates a continuation of the positional use of *φρένες* already seen in epic. So for instance Theognis[26]) employs the phrase *δόλιον δ'ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ.*, Solon[27]) *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ καρτερὸν ἦτορ*, Tyrtaeus[28]) *ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν* and Pindar[29]) *ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν λευρὸν ξίφος*, but while interpretation in an anatomical sense, perhaps as chest, is not without some justification here, nowhere is there any sure indication what the word actually means. A similar situation is found in the case of the tragic dramatists of the fifth century: Aeschylus *Choephoroe* 831f.:

Περσέως δ' ἐν φρεσὶν
καρδίαν ⟨ ⟩ σχεθὼν

though elsewhere there do exist more powerful indications of the word being used as an organ of the anatomy: *Eumenides* 155ff.

ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος ἐξ ὀνειράτων μολὸν
ἔτυψεν δίκαν διφρηλάτου . . .
. . . ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν·

Prometheus 361: *φρένας γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς τυπεὶς*

cf. *Agamemnon* 996; similarly Sophocles *Trachiniae* 931, the fatal blow inflicted by Deianeira upon herself:

πλευρὰν ὑφ' ἧπαρ καὶ φρένας πεπληγμένην.

[25]) Above and in front of the heart lies the thymus, strictly speaking a bilateral organ which though comparatively large at birth and reaching its maximum development about the eighth year, is hardly distinguishable in adults. It may be significant, however, that in some animals and especially their young, it remains a much more prominent feature.

[26]) Fr. 122 West, cf. fr. 1261.

[27]) Fr. 4c1 West. [28]) Fr. 10. 17 West. [29]) *Nemean* VII 27f.

Again, however, there is little clear evidence as to what exactly is meant. Certainly the pounding heart mentioned in *Prometheus* 881:

κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει

would hardly be a noticeable sensation in the region of the diaphragm or even the lungs, but would be felt quite strongly by either the chest wall beneath the left breast or in the carotid arteries of the neck. Application of these anatomical features to the other references, however, raises difficulties that cannot be easily overcome.

At a slightly later date a number of uses of a more specific nature begin to occur. The Hippocratic work, *On Ancient Medicine*, *περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς*, usually assigned to the second half of the fifth century, includes a description of the *φρένες* which strongly suggests the diaphragm: XXII *διάτασις μὲν γὰρ φρενῶν πλατείη καὶ ἀντικειμένη, φύσις δὲ νευρωδεστέρη τε καὶ ἰσχυροτέρη* . . . This same idea of an extended organ recurs in the *περὶ ἱερῆς νούσου* assigned to the late fifth or early fourth centuries: XX *εἴ τι ὤνθρωπος ὑπερχαρείη ἐξ ἀδοκήτου ἢ ἀνιηθείη, πηδῶσι καὶ ἅλσιν παρέχουσιν* (sc. *αἱ φρένες*) *ὑπὸ λεπτότητος καὶ ὅτι ἀνατέτανται μάλιστα ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ κοιλίην οὐκ ἔχουσι ἐς ἥντινα χρὴ δέξασθαι ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν προσπῖπτον*,[30]) and it is here too that we find the concept of *φρένες* = diaphragm as the seat of consciousness under attack: *διὸ φημὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον εἶναι τὸν ἑρμηνεύοντα τὴν σύνεσιν. αἱ δὲ φρένες ἄλλως ὄνομα ἔχουσι τῇ τύχῃ κεκτημένον καὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ δ' ἐόντι οὔκ, οὐδὲ τῇ φύσει, οὐδὲ οἶδα ἔγωγε τίνα δύναμιν ἔχουσιν αἱ φρένες ὥστε νοεῖν τε καὶ φρονεῖν.*[31]) At the same time the work *περὶ φυσῶν*, again dated to the end of the fifth century, shows that the separate and specific term 'diaphragm' was at this time beginning to emerge. The writer refers in chapter X to inflamation in the chest being prevent from passing downwards

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[30]) The diaphragm may also be suggested by *Aphorisms* VI 18: *κύστιν διακοπέντι, ἢ ἐγκέφαλον, ἢ καρδίην, ἢ φρένας, ἢ τῶν ἐντέρων τι τῶν λεπτῶν, ἢ κοιλίην, ἢ ἧπαρ, θανατῶδες* and VII 54 *ὁκόσοισι μεταξὺ τῶν φρενῶν καὶ τῆς γαστηρὸς φλέγμα ἀποκλείεται, καὶ ὀδύνην παρέχει, οὐκ ἔχον διέξοδον ἐς οὐδετέρην τῶν κοιλιῶν, τούτοισι, κατὰ τὰς φλέβας ἐς τὴν κύστιν τρεπομένου τοῦ φλέγματος, λύσις γίνεται τῆς νούσου.*

[31]) Cf. XVII. The idea of the brain as the seat of reasoning is in fact older than this, and is said by the ancients to have occurred in the writings of the fifth century philosopher Alcmaeon: H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1934 Vol. I p. 212.8 cf. 213.11; *Doxographi Graeci* Berlin & Leipzig 1929 p. 407.

by the *φραγμὸς τῶν φρενῶν*. Similarly, Plato's *Timaeus* 70a refers to the diaphragm as a partition between the thorax and the abdomen to separate the different functions of the mortal soul: *διοικοδομοῦσι τοῦ θώρακος αὖ τὸ κύτος . . . τὰς φρένας διάφραγμα εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν τιθέντες*. In both of these, however, the idea of the diaphragm remained specifically one of explanatory adjunct, narrowing the more general term *φρένες*, and it would seem to have been not until Aristotle that an effort was made to remove the confusion that must have arisen on numerous occasions through the use of *φρένες* as both abstract and object. To achieve this separation the philosopher sought to introduce the word *διάζωμα* to refer to the organ while *φρένες* he retained in the sense 'mind': *Historia Animalium* 506a6: *ἔτι δὲ καρδίαν ἅπαντ' ἔχει ὅσα αἷμα ἔχει, καὶ τὸ διάζωμα, ὃ καλοῦνται φρένες* cf. 496b11: *ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν πνεύμονά ἐστι τὸ διάζωμα τὸ τοῦ θώρακος, αἱ καλούμεναι φρένες*; *De Partibus Animalium* 672b11: *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ διάζωμα καλοῦσί τινες φρένας*. The introduction of such a distinction one might think would have proven a welcome step for the scholars of antiquity. In reality, however, it appears to have had little impact as evidenced by the continued use of *φρένες* even in Roman times: Pliny *Natural History* XI, lxxvii, 197: *exta homini ab inferiore viscerum parte separantur membrana, quam praecordia appellant quia cordi praetenditur: quod Graeci appellaverunt φρένας*. Significantly, however, Pliny's use of *φρένες* is neither consistent in its equation with the Latin term *praecordia*, nor strictly accurate. At XXX, xiv, 42, for instance he uses *praecordia* as a synonym for all the higher organs: *praecordia vocamus uno nomine exta in homine*, while in the earlier reference, though *praecordia* is undoubtedly the diaphragm, Pliny envisaged it as lining the thorax as far up as the armpits — hence his etymological derivation. In this sense the term *praecordia* proves as great a source of difficulty as did the Greek *φρένες*, and even in the more detailed works of Pliny's contemporary, the medical writer Celsus, its range of meaning is considerable: *at sub corde atque pulmone traversum ex valida membrana saeptum est, quod praecordiis uterum diducit*, IV, i, 4, suggests the organs of the thorax; *iocineris autem vulnerati notae sunt multus sub dextra parte praecordiorum profusus sanguis*; *ad spinam reducta praecordia*, V, xxvi, 10, the region of the diaphragm; *eaque* (i.e. *arteria*) *descendens ad praecordia cum pulmone committitur*, IV, i, 3, the mid-chest. For a more specific meaning Celsus tends to employ the term *transversum saeptum* as at IV, i, 4, cited above, and already used at II, vii, 32: *exque eo*

casu plerumque infra transversum septum, quod διάφραγμα Graeci vocant, fit abcessus. Significantly too at V, xxvi, 18, both *transversum saeptum* and *praecordia* are involved: *at si saeptum transversum percussum est, praecordia susum contrahuntur,* suggesting that here at leat he regarded them as essentially different organs.

Glancing back from the position of Celsus we have to admit the basic situation is little improved. Certainly from the time of the medical writers of the fifth century B. C. the organic nature of the *φρένες* resolved itself into a clear equation with the diaphragm even to the extent of people like Aristotle wishing to introduce fresh and clearer nomenclature, but in the centuries which both precede and follow there are many instances of usage which defy interpretation along the consistent lines so far proposed. In view of this two initial conclusions may be tentatively considered. First, that Homer and to a certain extent the later Roman writers had no first-hand knowledge of human anatomy, and in composing their works included descriptions of the term *φρένες*, its position and liability to damage, that bore no relation to the accepted ideas of the time and are thus not open to accurate interpretation; or secondly, that these writers were in possession of at least a rudimentary knowledge of anatomy, but that modern interpretations, in so far as they fail to account for all the certain known factors are erroneous.[32]) Like any part of a natural language as distinct from specifically coined jargon the term *φρένες* cannot have been immune to change over the course of centuries:[33]) while in the fourth century it might mean the specific organ diaphragm, there is no guarantee of consistency for previous times, and from the evidence of Homer himself the equation of *φρένες* with the diaphragm or even pericardium seems specifically precluded on anatomical grounds. What then do we know of the term in the epics? First, there is the relationship to other organs: it surrounds or partially surrounds the heart and liver, having thus much in common with the *πραπίδες*; it is not so

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[32]) One of the most intractable problems concerning *φρένες* in Homer is the ease with which many passages may be taken to prove any hypothesis. Justesen, op. cit. p. 8, for instance, uses *Iliad* XIV 164f., Hera's plan to shed sleep over the eyelids and *φρένες* of Zeus, as proof of his thesis on the grounds that the two obvious characteristics of sleep are closed eyes and gentle breathing rather than unconsciousness. In this way, as has already been stated, the number of instances taken as referring to an organ is often greatly inflated by scholars.

[33]) Onians op. cit. p. 24.

securely attached that it cannot come away when a spear is withdrawn from a wound; and, if we accept the possibility of including here some of the less certain instances given above, it is where a range of emotions might be felt. In addition to this there is the evidence of the related word *μετάφρενον* which Onians[34]) uses to designate an area behind the *φρένες*, of necessity large, and which Homer himself located between the shoulders.[35])

Taking these factors into consideration, however, not one of the alternative interpretations offered by scholars can readily be said to fulfil every requirement. True, the lungs would appear applicable to those passages initially set out for investigation, given first that when Patroclus withdrew his spear only part and not the whole organ came with it, and secondly that the close connection of liver and lungs suggested by *Odyssey* IX 301 is not applied too rigorously. Nor indeed can the fact that the term *πνεύμων* itself occurs specifically at *Iliad* IV 528 be said to rule out such an equation since parallel variations of vocabulary exist for both head and heart in Homer. On the other hand acceptance of the suggestion that *φρένες* as the area of registered emotion retained in Homer's day and perhaps later some vestige of initial connection with an organ does effectively rule out the lungs in many respects, situated as they are too high in the thoracic cavity to be the imagined agent of many such feelings. Similarly the chest wall might well be regarded as fulfilling several of the basic requirements, but again there is no reason why this should prove more acceptable than anything else. For this reason alone the case of *φρένες* is surely to be left open. Like the later use of *praecordia* its range of occurrence suggests not a single organ but a group situated within a vaguely defined area extending from the upper chest to the mid-abdomen. With *πραπίδες* on the other hand the instance at *Iliad* XI 578f. could certainly refer to the diaphragm itself, but lack of parallel occurrences prevents any sound decision.

In all of this we should, however, remember that Homer was first and foremost a poet engaged in the oral transmission of material that was largely traditional. The vocabulary he used, itself the result of decades and even centuries of change and development, may in turn exhibit, though we cannot hope to tell, many of the alterations of emphasis and meaning more clearly visible in the

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[34]) Op. cit. p. 27.

[35]) *Iliad* V 40f.; VIII 258f.; XI 447f.; XVI 806f.

centuries that follow him. For this reason we should perhaps be wary of applying too narrow an interpretation upon a word that appears to display a range of meaning as wide as that of φρένες. It may be that initially it was restricted to the description of an anatomical feature and that by slow degrees this became extended to the abstract quality of 'mind' and its physical location, until this latter significance came to prevail. It may be that the process involved was quite the reverse, and that initially the word described a state of consciousness later situated within an organ imagined to be its source. At all events it cannot be that we require from the poet an exactitude in dealing with a word that has at once physiological and psychological overtones, as might be expected when describing the body pure and simple.

Homeric ἄωτος and Pindaric[1]) ἄωτος. A semantic Problem

By Rahim A. Raman, Wooster (Ohio), U.S.A.

The Greek word ἄωτος occurs five times in the Homeric poems, where it is interpreted as meaning 'wool', and twenty times in the Pindaric corpus, with general abstract connotations of 'the best,

[1]) The term "Pindaric" is used in this paper to refer to the post-Homeric ἄωτος because outside of Pindar the word is very rare. In the literature of the Archaic and Classical periods it occurs only three times: (Aesch. *Supp.* 665, Bacch. frg. 23.1 [Snell], Bacch./Simon.(?) A.P. II 13.28) always with the Pindaric abstract meaning. It appears again in Alexandrian poetry in 6 instances: Call. frg. 399 [Pfeiffer] (Pf. misinterpreted the sense of ἄωτος in this context: it is not the adj. ἄ-ωτον 'without handles,' but the noun ἄωτον used in its Pindaric sense, in apposition with νέκταρ), *Hymn to Ap.* 112, *Hec.* 4.3; Ap. Rho. 176; Theocr. *Id.* 2.2, 13.27. In all these instances imitations of specific Homeric and Pindaric passages are evident. The word is attested twice in late Christian times (Opp. *Cyn.* 4.154, Orphic *Arg.* 1336), both times with οἰός as in Homer, in accordance with the archaising language of works that consciously attempt to imitate the ancient epics. Finally there are three attestations in stone-inscribed epitaphs of late date (IG 3.1328, CIG 2804, Epig. Gr. [Kaibel] 455), all bearing the abstract Pindaric sense. Here, the occurrence of the term is clearly due to the formalistic, poetic, and archaising style characteristic of the language of epitaphs (I owe this observation to Professor O. W. Reinmuth).

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the quintessence' of its kind. The problem presented by the semantic connection between the two uses of the word has embarrassed both ancient and modern commentators, to the extent that they have, arbitrarily, read overtones of the Pindaric ἄωτος in the Homeric ἄωτος, and vice-versa.

The ancient commentators,[2]) scholiasts[3]) and lexicographers[4]) all ascribe to ἄωτος the meaning of ἄνθος 'flower,' in a metaphorical sense. The interpretation probably arose from the fact that both ἄωτος and ἄνθος were used with the genitives of words like ἥβη, ἀκμή, to convey notions of 'quintessence' or 'peak,' very much as we would say 'the flower of youth,' 'the flower of strength.' Such a metaphorical expression with ἄνθος occurs once in Homer (ἥβης ἄνθος *Il.* 13.484), and became fairly common in the later literature. But ἄωτος in similar formulas is post-Homeric; though rare, it reveals a clear parallelism with the metaphorical use of ἄνθος.[5])

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[2]) The best example is Eustathius on *Od.* 1.443, where he synthesises his views on the meaning of the Homeric ἄωτος. He starts off by glossing ἄωτον οἷος ('the ἄωτος of sheep') as τὸ ἐξ ἐρίων ὕφασμα ('a [robe] woven from wool'), and proceeds to explain: οὐ τὸ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθηρὸν, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς, . . . τὸ ἐξ ἐρίων ἀπανθισθέν . . . ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔριον, δέρματος οἷον ἄνθος ('not literally, but metaphorically "the flower," . . . that which has bloomed from wool . . . for wool is as it were the flower of [the sheep's] hide').

[3]) Cf. esp. the Pindaric scholia (ed. A. B. Drachmann, Leipzig 1903) I on *O.* 1.15, 3.4, 9.19; II on *P.* 4.130 and 188; III on *I.* 5.12, 6.4.

[4]) Hesychius glosses ἄωτον θεσπεσίοιο at *Od.* 9.434 as ἐρίου θείου ('of the divine wool'), and explains: ἄωτον γὰρ τὸ ἄνθος ('for ἄωτος is the flower'). In the Anecdt. Gr. I (ed. Bekker) 476 ἄωτος is glossed: ἄνθος ('flower'), κόσμος ('adornment'), στέφανος ('garland').

[5]) Cf. also CIG 2804: ἄω[τ]ον το[ῦ] δήμου and IG 3.1328: ἀκμῆς ἐν ἄωτῳ on the epitaphs of dead youths. In Pind. *P.* 4.130–1, Jason, giving a banquet attended by the prime elements of his clan, is described as "plucking the holy ἄωτος of the good life (δραπὼν . . . ἱερὸν εὐζοίας ἄωτον), and in *I.* 5.21, good fare and good reputation "cherish the sweetest ἄωτος of life" (ζωᾶς ἄωτον . . . ποιμαίνοντι . . . τὸν ἥλπνιστον). In Aesch. *Supp.* 665 the prime of the Argive youth is referred to as ἄωτος, following closely upon ἥβας . . . ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον ('the unplucked flower to youth'). It is tempting in this Aeschylean passage to read ἄωτος and ἄνθος as synonyms (so the Reverend Fishlake, half-heartedly, in an editorial note of his translation of Buttmann [see below note 6], 184) due to their parallel usage in reference to the Argive youth. The temptation must be resisted on two grounds: 1) In the far more frequent attestations of ἄωτος in Pindar, not once is the term used of a flower as such (Buttmann, below note 6, 183). 2) It is unlikely that Aeschylus would be using the same image twice in close juxtaposition. We must therefore understand ἄωτος in its Pindaric abstract sense of 'the prime.' I will show later that even 'flower' as the primary meaning of ἄνθος

Such a rapprochement between ἄνθος and ἄωτος, coupled with the meaning 'best of its kind' of the Pindaric ἄωτος, led the ancients to believe that ἄωτος was simply a rare synonym of ἄνθος, and that the Homeric ἄωτος as in the formula ὀιὸς ἄωτος, meant 'the flower of sheep' or 'the best part of the sheep.'

Over a century ago Buttmann[6]) pointed out that 1) the Pindaric ἄωτος does not evoke the metaphorical flower, and 2) there is nothing in the Homeric contexts to warrant the attribution of qualitative overtones to the semantics of the Homeric ἄωτος. He argued that whereas four of the five contexts refer to wool, the passage in *Il.* 9.661 (κώεά τε ῥῆγός τε λίνοιό τε λεπτὸν ἄωτον: 'wool and a blanket [?][7]) and the light ἄωτος of linen') describing handmaidens laying out a bedding for Phoenix has ἄωτος connected not with wool, but with linen. Buttmann might have added that the line also distinguishes between woolen material and linen, and that the association of ἄωτος with linen shows it could not have meant wool. Besides, any qualitative force which the word has in the context is not inherent in it *per se*, but in the epithet λεπτός which in Homer is regularly used to describe the delicate, refined quality of certain fabrics.[8]) Similarly, in the four other contexts where ἄωτος appears in Homer, it is the epithets that add quality to the term, while the term itself refers to nothing more than fleece (*Od.* 9.434) or wool (*Il.* 13.599, 716; *Od.* 1.443). In the latter context which

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is disputed, but it is important to emphasize here that the commentators of late antiquity transferred to the Homeric ἄωτος the meaning of ἄνθος which they understood exclusively as 'flower.'

[6]) P. Buttmann, *Lexilogus* (trans. J. R. Fishlake), London 1861[5], 182–8.

[7]) It is possible, with W. Leaf (ed.) *The Iliad*, London 1900 I *ad. loc.*, to take ῥῆγός τε λίνοιό τε ἄωτον together by hendiadys if one accepts his suggestion that ῥῆγος is a sheet of linen. But it is not at all certain of what material the Homeric ῥῆγος consists. LSJ (s.v.) think that it is "probable that the ῥῆγος was of wool." ῥέζω 'dye' from which it is derived makes either meaning possible.

[8]) Cf. *Il.* 18.595, *Od.* 7.96–7. In *Od.* 19.233, we have what is probably an elaboration upon the good quality of the material which λεπτός seeks to convey. The excellence of the tunic-material lies in the fact that it has a glossy surface (σιγαλόεις) and is light and dry 'like an onion peel' (οἷον τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κάτα ἰσχαλέοιο, T. W. Allen's Oxford text). In this connexion we may note the rare term ὀθόνη which occurs in three Homeric contexts in reference to cloths (*Il.* 3.141, 18.595; *Od.* 7.107) and to which the lexica adduce inherent qualitative value (cf. LSJ, Boisacq, Frisk s.v.). Here again there is nothing in the contexts to show that ὀθόνη meant 'finest linen' *per se*. The quality is provided by the epithets (cf. λεπτάς *Il.* 18.595).

describes Telemachus wrapped up in the ἄωτος of sheep (κεκαλυμμένος οἰὸς ἄωτῳ), warmth and softness and quality are conveyed by the whole context, not by the term itself.

Buttmann concluded that ἄωτος in Homer was strictly material in sense and meant *die Flocke*, the 'lock' which 1) comes from the body of sheep, thus meaning wool and 2) also from the flax-plant (λίνον), thus meaning flax and then linen. Therefore, since the combination οἰὸς ἄωτος meant 'wool,' then the combination λίνοιο ἄωτος had to mean 'linen' (= the lock of the flax-plant). The second part of Buttmann's conclusion is slightly out of focus since it involves ascribing to the Homeric ἄωτος the meaning 'flax-plant' which it nowhere has in Homer. There is no need for such an assumption in support of Buttmann's view. Taking λίνον in our context as meaning properly 'cloth, linen,' we may posit the following connection. If the ἄωτος of sheep is wool, then the ἄωτος of linen must be a material which is to linen as wool is to sheep. Since, as we have seen, all value-notions are absent from the Homeric term, we are left with the inevitable conclusion that ἄωτος is the 'nap' that *lies on the surface of* cloth, as well as the fleece that *grows on the surface* of sheep.[9]) In view of the semantic link which I will propose as connecting the Homeric and the Pindaric ἄωτος, it is important to draw attention here to this notion of surface-growth or deposit as basic to the meaning of the Homeric ἄωτος.

Buttmann's remarks on the Homeric ἄωτος went virtually unnoticed. Modern lexicographers[10]) and commentators[11]) persisted in the notion that the term in Homer meant '*fine* wool,' arbitrarily adding the qualitative 'fine' to the wrong meaning, and then extra-

[9]) Buttmann (above note 6) 187 himself came close to formulating this notion, but since he derived ἄωτος from ἄημι his emphasis was on the *movement* of the material on top of the body or thing in question. At the same time, he contradicated his own findings by adding value to the material: "whatever moved, as it were, above or upon any body or any number of things, *as the best and most beautiful* [my emphasis], was called the *flock* or *down* of it, the *floccus* or ἄωτος of it."

[10]) LSJ still give for the Homeric ἄωτος: "mostly of the *finest wool*; once of the *finest linen*." H. Frisk, *Gr. Etym. Wörterbuch.* glosses: „Flocke, Flaum, feine Wolle", and P. Chantraine, *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Gr.*: "laine la plus fine; dit aussi du lin, d'où tout ce qui est de la qualité la plus fine, fleur . . ."

[11]) J. Duchemin, *Pindare: poète et prophète*, Paris 1955, 234 does note that in Homer ἄωτος refers to both wool and linen, though she insists on its qualitative overtones: "le confort d'une chaude toison ou la finesse d'un tissu." L. R. Farnell (ed.), *The Works of Pindar*, London 1932 II on *O.* 1.15

polated and transferred this quality to the Pindaric ἄωτος as a 'natural' semantic shift. It is important for two reasons to revive the question and to bring Buttmann's results to the attention of scholars. 1) Lexically the term needs to be given its proper sense of 'nap' or 'pile' rather than 'fine wool.' 2) In particular for the exegesis of Pindar in whose vocabulary of superlatives ἄωτος occupies an important place, it is essential that we understand that the word never meant 'wool' *per se*. The dangers of ascribing this basic sense to the term are well illustrated in the otherwise excellent book of Jacqueline Duchemin.[12]) Anxious to find an aura of mysticism working in Pindaric religion, she attempts to read a symbolism of the fleece (which has mystic associations in Greek literature) in the Pindaric ἄωτος, not only in *Pythian* 4 which deals with the myth of the Golden Feece, but also in other poems where there is no question of an image of the fleece in the contexts where ἄωτος appears.[13]) And yet, *Pythian* 4 itself is proof enough that Pindar was unaware of an overlap in meaning between 'fleece' and ἄωτος. Though he uses the word twice in the poem (131, 188), it preserves the same abstract superlative values which it has elsewhere in his work, while the fleece itself is mentioned four times, once as νάκος (68), twice as δέρμα (161, 241) and once as κῶας (231).

So far no satisfactory etymology has been proposed for ἄωτος.[14]) Buttmann suggested a derivation from ἄημι 'blow.' Formally this

asserts that Homer uses ἄωτος "generally"(!) as "flower, (even for wool, as the flower of sheep)". C. M. Bowra, *Pindar*, Oxford 1964, 228 also invests the Homeric ἄωτος with additional value: "Homer uses it in a strictly material sense for fine linen and the best part of a sheep's fleece." W. B. Stanford's note in his edition of the *Odyssey* London 1962 *ad* 1.443 is rather factitious: "ἄωτος from ἄημι as it was easily blown about."

12) Duchemin (above, note 11) 234–7.

13) Duchemin 234 assumes that the use of ποιμαίνειν in association with ἄωτος in *I.* 5.12 preserves the original sense of ἄωτος i.e. 'fleece' ("lui garde sa valeur première"). But ποιμαίνειν used in its literal sense either with words denoting sheep, flocks, lambs, etc. or absolutely (see LSJ s.v. ποιμαίνω I 1), always means to tend or herd *flocks* or *sheep*. To 'tend' or 'herd' *fleece* would be an absurd expression. Used metaphorically, as in this Pindaric passage, the verb means to 'cherish, preserve', and does not require an object organically related to sheep. Thus, so far from retaining any supposed original overtones, ἄωτος in this context has no connection with sheep or fleece. Rather, it is a general abstraction for "the best moment" of life, and success and glory are said to "cherish" it.

14) See Frisk and Chantraine (above, note 10) s.v. Frisk finds Buttmann's derivation of ἄωτος from ἄημι „semantisch und formal gewiß möglich," Chantraine "pas impossible, mais indémontrable."

is possible, but the semantic application leaves much room for doubt. In any event, an "etymological" interpretation of the Pindaric ἄωτος based on Buttmann's proposal, such as Bury attempted to do in his edition of the Nemean odes,[15]) is characterized by apriorism. The images of 'breath' and 'wind' which Bury reads in several contexts of the Pindaric ἄωτος are only present if one is prejudiced by Buttmann's etymology.

With regard to the semantic connection between the concrete Homeric use of ἄωτος and the Pindaric abstract ἄωτος, Buttmann suggested by way of solution that the nap on cloth when it was still new had a delicate fineness and beauty, that this quality became naturally crystallized as an idea in the historical development of the word ἄωτος, and accordingly was adopted as the specialized sense of the Pindaric ἄωτος. He adduced as evidence the Latin expression *defloccatae vestes* used of old clothes when they had lost their gloss.[16]) Buttmann's methodology here is faulty on two counts: 1) He harnesses a Latin expression to "explain" a Greek semantic problem, thus falling guilty of what Benveniste described as "une transposition illégitime des valeurs d'un système sémantique dans un autre."[17]) 2) He makes an *a priori* assumption regarding the newness and fineness of nap although he had himself cautioned against extracting this quality from the Homeric ἄωτος and applying it to the Pindaric ἄωτος.

If then, my contention is acceptable that no Homeric usage of the term reflects an intrinsic qualitative value, it seems arbitrary to assume that the Pindaric ἄωτος obtained its superlative connotations as a result of the abstraction of certain values inherent in the original Homeric term. I believe that the semantic shift can be explained by a different method of approach, that of analogy. There is in Greek a number of terms which give evidence of similar historical evolution as that of ἄωτος. I will attempt to demonstrate by briefly examining the semantic development of χνόος, πίνος, ἄνθος, ἀκμή, and certain closely related terms, that the Pindaric ἄωτος

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[15]) J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, London 1890 (= Amsterdam 1965) 227–31. Bury is obviously following Buttmann's etymological suggestion here, although he does not refer to the German scholar. Cf. his note on *N.* 2.9.

[16]) Buttmann (note 6 above) 187.

[17]) E. Benveniste, "Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction," *Word* 10 (1954), 254.

acquired its qualitative overtones from the idea of *growth to* or *appearance on the surface or extremity* which I have shown to be the primary meaning of the Homeric ἄωτος.

χνόος (Att. χνοῦς).

In Homer the term occurs only once: ἐκ κεφαλῆς δ' ἔσμηχεν ἁλὸς χνόον ἀτρυγέτοιο (*Od.* 6.226), Odysseus "washed off from his head the χνόος of the barren sea." Whether we take χνόος to refer specifically to the "incrustation from salt water" (LSJ), or more generally to "les humeurs de la mer,"[18]) it clearly points to a deposit which has collected on Odysseus' head from his mishap in the stormy sea the day before: perhaps seaweed, algae, foam etc. In any event it is something material which gathers on the surface. Its use in sporadic later occurrences as 'powder, chaff, dust' (see examples in LSJ) confirms this as the primary sense. There also appears to have been a slightly divergent usage, in particular of the appearance of down on the surface of fruit (Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 2, 8.4), or in the "middle" (?) of a reed (Diod. Sic. 2, 59),[19]) or on the body of an adolescent (Ar. *Nub.* 978). In the latter context particularly we can see an association forming between the appearance of the first down and the qualitative notion of "best time of life," "best" (from the point of view of the Greek pederast). This added value is found in certain contexts of the verbal form χνοάω: a tender adolescent boy is still "bringing forth downy beard," (ἔτι χνοάοντας ἰούλους A.R. 2.43; cf. ἔτι χνοάοντος ἰούλου δενόμενον on the epitaph of a boy who died before reaching the prime of youth, IG 14.1362, 1). It must be pointed out that it is not the idea of softness, freshness or tenderness which adds value to χνοῦς and χνοάω in these examples. This is accomplished, rather, by the notion of growth or appearance on the surface, as reflecting the beauty of the time of life when soft beard or body-hair begins to sprout. We have already seen that χνόος in *Odyssey* 6.226 refers to a surface deposit. In Sophocles *O.T.* 742, the phrase χνοάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα describes the initial growth of white in Oedipus' hair: "just beginning to show white strands on his head" (for λευκανθές see below on ἄνθος). Thus there is no intrinsic valuation in χνόος and its derivatives. The basic sense is one of situation: growth or deposit on a surface.

[18]) V. Bérard (ed. and trans.) *L'Odyssée*, Paris 1924, *ad. loc.*

[19]) C. H. Oldfather (ed. and trans.) *Diodorus of Sicily*, Camb., Mass. 1935 II 2.59 n. 4 suggests that "probably cotton is meant" in this context.

The only completely metaphorical use of *χνοῦς* occurs in the terminology of literary criticism used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in discussing the use of archaism in literary style. In the *de Demosthene* (38), he says that great skill is needed in the combination of words so as to avoid jarring sounds, and so that "a certain *χνοῦς* with its patina of antiquity and an unforced grace may flourish in such combinations": *ἀλλ' ἐπανθῇ τις αὐταῖς* (sc. *συζυγίαις*) *χνοῦς ἀρχαιοπινὴς καὶ χάρις ἀβίαστος*. Here in association with the verb *ἐπανθέω* (for which cf. Ar. *Nub.* 978 and below on *ἄνθος*), *χνοῦς* carries an image of "growth, rising" to the surface in reference to archaism which adds dignity to oratorical style. From the above examples, we can see a development in *χνοῦς* establishing a semantic connection between the notion of growth or surface-deposit (the basic meaning of the term) and the value "good," "appealing," "aesthetic."

πίνος.

In the passage of Dionysius quoted above, the compound adjective *ἀρχαιοπινής* is attached to *χνοῦς*, and means something like "with its patina of antiquity." The second element of the epithet comes from the noun *πίνος*, a rare word of obscure origin,[20]) which appears first in its literal sense[21]) in Sophocles (*O.C.* 1259)[22]) with reference to the dirt that has collected on Oedipus' clothes. Plutarch (*Mor.* 359B) uses it of "verdigris" which collects on the surface of a bronze statue (as opposed to "patina" [*τὸ ἀνθηρόν*], a natural film which collects on bronze and has artistic value). Another passage of Dionysius (*de Dem.* 5) uses *πίνος*, like *χνοῦς*,[23]) also as a qualitative term in the criticism of style, in reference to archaism and the dignity and solidity which the accretion of this element gives to style. The whole of this passage of Dionysius is heavily couched in metaphorical language suggestive of growth, and shows that the *πίνος* of archaism is viewed as a subtle element which "rises" to the top of one's style, or "collects" on it, making its presence felt and adding

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[20]) Cf. Frisk (above note 10) s.v.

[21]) The first attested occurrence is metaphorical: Aesch. *Agam.* 776.

[22]) The MSS. give *πόνος*, but Scaliger's emendation *πίνος* is universally accepted.

[23]) In this passage certain MSS. give *σχνοῦς* (= *καὶ ὁ χνοῦς*) after *πίνος ἀντῇ*, but this is apparently an interpolation on the analogy of the passage in ch. 38 (discussed above under *χνόος*).

fullness and dignity to style. In Ciceronian epistolary art,[24]) πίνος in a letter makes one *doctior*, referring to the archaisms with which one "laces" one's style to give it the added value of learnedness.[25]) πίνος then is an excellent example of how a word which connotes "surface-deposit" primarily, acquires value and is used as a term of quality.

ἄνθος.

Over 35 years ago, Standord[26]) challenged the lexicographical gloss "flower" as the primary meaning of ἄνθος and suggested that the word meant originally "that which rises to the surface," although, following Stephanus, he posited a "folk" etymology for the term.[27]) More recently Aitchison,[28]) independently it would appear, came to the same conclusion. He showed that of the 12 occurrences of ἄνθος/ἀνθέω in Homer, no less than 8 cannot be satisfied with the simple meaning "flower" or "bloom," not even the expression ἥβης ἄνθος in *Iliad* 13.484 which must mean "the growth of manhood' i.e. a beard." Also in *Odyssey*, 11.320, the context in which ἀνθέω appears means "'they died before their beards sprouted'."[29]) Aitchison also adduced evidence from the medical writers to show that even in post-Homeric times several compounded forms of the verb retained the sense of "sprouting forth," used of skin-eruptions, pimples, rashes, hair, beard, etc. (see LSJ for further examples, especially s.v. ἐπανθέω). I may add two uses of ἄνθος-forms already quoted above: λευκανθές in Soph. *O.T.* 792 (above p. 201), and τὸ ἀνθηρόν in Plut. *Mor.* 395 B (above p. 202) λευκανθές in the context cannot have anything to do with "flower," but rather

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[24]) Att. 14.7: "a Cicerone mihi literae sane πεπινωμέναι, et bene longae: cetera autem vel fingi possunt: πίνος literarum significat doctiorem."

[25]) For further expressions of the solid dignity of archaism in style, cf. Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* 23, and Suidas s.v. πίνος where striving after the ἀρχαῖος πίνος is viewed as superior to the imitation of οἱ νεωτέροι.

[26]) W. B. Stanford, "In lexicographos: another heresy," *Greece and Rome* 5 (1935), 156–7.

[27]) *Ibid.* 157. But the etymology is disputed. Cf. Frisk, Chantraine (note 10 above) s.v., Aitchison (note 28 below) 276–8.

[28]) J. M. Aitchison, "Homeric ἄνθος," *Glotta* 41 (1963), 271–8.

[29]) *Ibid.* 272. Cf. Stanford (note 26 above) 156. Aitchison refers to L. Meyer, *Handbuch der griech. Etym.* I (Leipzig 1901) 215 for this meaning of ἀνθέω. Buttmann (note 6 above) 133–4 had intimated this long before, but changed his mind (without elaboration) in respect of the use of ἀνθέω in *Od.* 11.320.

points to the *growth* of white in Oedipus' hair,[30]) and *τὸ ἀνθηρόν* refers to the *collection* of bronze patina on a statue.

If Stanford and Aitchison are right (and the evidence appears conclusive), and the common word *ἄνθος* originally meant "that which grows" or "comes to, is on the surface," and only secondarily assumed the special sense of "flower," we have strong confirmation that the Homeric and Pindaric *ἄωτος* went through the same phase of development. In particular, we observe that some other terms which refer to the early growth of beard or down, or to surface-gloss (e.g. *λάχνη*, *ἴουλος* cf. *Il.* 10.134, *Od.* 11.320, Pind. *O.* 1.68), the oozing of sap to a tapped surface (*ὀπός*),[31]) the inflorescence on the grape-vine (*οἰνάνθη* Pind. *N.* 5.66) are used in close connection with notions of youth, beauty, perfection.[32]) The sum of these observations appears conclusive in relation to the similar semantic functions of *ἄωτος*.

ἀκμή.

This word goes back to an IE root *ak-, expressing an idea of "point, edge, top."[33]) It is more often attested in its metaphorical sense "prime, pinnacle, perfection, culmination" of anything (cf. LSJ s.v. II), but the primary sense was material: the extremity or edge of a sword (Pind. *P.* 9.8), a lance (Eur. *Supp.* 318), the point of a shuttle (Soph. *Ant.* 976). The connection between the notion of "top" and that of "excellence" is here again apprehensible. In this respect we may note the rare compound *ἀκροόθις* (*ἀκροοθίνιος-ον*, lit. "top of the heap"), used of the first choice of

[30]) R. C. Jebb (ed.) *O.T. ad loc.* refers for contrast to Aesch. *Supp.* 154 where occurs the expression *μελανθὲς γένος* for a "swarthy race." Not a race of black *flower*, but one of black *skin*.

[31]) Cf. the expression *ὀπὸς ἥβης* in A.P. 5.257. However, the image here may point to the *freshness* of juice, rather than to its *oozing* to the surface, especially since the contrast in expressed in the word *ῥυτίς* 'wrinkle'.

[32]) It is perhaps relevant to draw attention here to the noun *λώτισμα* which is attested in the metaphorical sense of 'the best, the choicest,' very much like *ἄωτος* and *ἄνθος* (LSJ s.v.), and to the verb *λωτίζομαι* likewise attested in the general sense 'cull the best.' Since the identity of the lotus is disputed (see Frisk [note 10 above] s.v. *λωτός* for bibl.) it is difficult to pinpoint the source of the valuation in these two derivatives. LSJ s.v. *λωτός* indicate that the name is applied to a variety of plants and trees "providing fodder or fruit." It is possible that the qualitative value in *λώτισμα* and *λωτίζομαι* was acquired from this idea of *production* or *growth*. If this is so, then we note a semantic development parallel to that which is argued in this study.

[33]) See Chantraine (note 10 above) s.v. *ἀκ-*.

war-booty (Pind. *N.* 7.41, Hdt. 1.89, 90), and of the first-fruits of the field offered to the gods (Simon. 97 [Diehl], Aesch. *Eum.* 834), with qualitative overtones of "the best part." Also relevant in this context is the word κορυφή "head, top, summit, apex," which often occurs in the metaphorical sense of "choicest, best" (see LSJ s.v. II 2, Frisk, Chantraine s.v.).

To sum up the above arguments. There have been in the past two erroneous interpretations of the meaning of the Homeric ἄωτος. 1) Prejudiced by the Pindaric attestations of ἄωτος in the sense of 'the best, the quintessence,' and by the observation that ἄωτος and ἄνθος occured with much the same functions in certain metaphorical expressions, ancient scholars assumed that the two terms were synonymous and that ἄωτος meant 'flower' in a metaphorical sense. Consequently, the ἄωτος of sheep in Homer was interpreted as the 'flower' of sheep, i.e. wool. 2) Later scholars observed that in Homer ἄωτος was used in connection with wool and assumed that the term meant in fact 'wool.' Some scholars also noted its single occurrence in connection with linen. In order to explain the semantic shift to the Pindaric 'best, choicest,' the added value '*fine* wool' or '*fine* linen' was assigned to the Homeric ἄωτος and then the quality 'fine' was abstracted and attributed *in toto* to the Pindaric ἄωτος. In the foregoing analysis we have seen that the Homeric ἄωτος does not mean 'wool' but rather 'nap' or 'pile' on the surface of cloth or on the body of sheep. We have also seen that the Homeric contexts do not warrant the ascription of value-notions to the term. I have suggested that the semantic connexion between the concrete Homeric sense of 'nap' and the abstract Pindaric sense of 'quintessence' lies in the idea of 'surface' or 'top' which is inherent in the meaning of the original ἄωτος. In support of this view I have examined four Greek words, χνόος, πίνος, ἄνθος, ἀκμή, wherein a similar semantic shift is observed: these words have a common denominator in the idea of 'surface, top' in their literal and original sense. Likewise, in the course of development, they all undergo the same shift from the concrete notion 'top' to the abstract notion 'excellence.' It seems reasonable to conclude that ἄωτος falls within the same category both in its literal and metaphorical occurrences, and presents us with one further example of a word where the concrete meaning of 'surface-growth' is converted into a qualitative abstraction.[34])

[34]) Professor Peter Green draws my attention to the modern Greek word for "cream": ἀνθόγαλα. The "flower" of milk? Or that which "rises to the

A note on ἀωτέω:

The verb *ἀωτέω* presents some serious semantic difficulties which are compounded by the paucity of its attestations. In extant Greek literature it occurs three times:

1. Hom. *Il.* 10.159. Nestor asks Diomedes: *τί πάννυχον ὕπνον ἀωτεῖς*, "Why do you *ἀωτεῖν* sleep all night long?"

2. Hom. *Od.* 10.548. Odysseus warns his men: *μηκέτι νῦν εὕδοντες ἀωτεῖτε γλυκὺν ὕπνον*, "do not any longer now, sleeping, *ἀωτεῖν* sweet sleep."

3. Simon. 37.5 (Diehl). Danaë addresses the baby Perseus as he sleeps, and as they drift on the sea in the box: *σὺ δ' ἀωτεῖς, γαλαθηνῷ δ' ἤθει κνοώσσεις* . . . "but you *ἀωτεῖν*, and you slumber after a babe's manner . . ."

In the two Homeric contexts *ἀωτέω* governs the accusative *ὕπνον*, and in the Simonidean passage it is used absolutely. All three contexts are connected with the notion 'sleep.' The problem is this: is *ἀωτέω* to be semantically connected with *ἄωτος*? The ancient lexicographers and commentators did connect the two terms, mistakenly taking *ἄωτος* to mean 'flower' or 'wool.' For example we find Hesychius glossing the Odyssean context as follows: *ἀωτεῖτε· ἀπανθίζετε*, "cull the flower of sleep," although for the Iliadic passage he glosses *ἀωτεῖς* both as *ἀπανθίζεις* and *κοιμᾷ* "you sleep."[35] The difficulty here is the absolute use of the term in Simonides. Are we to assume a Homeric reminiscence and understand an accusative *ὕπνον* with *ἀωτεῖς*?[36] This would be a makeshift solution. If the interpretation of *ἄωτος* presented above is accepted, the connection of *ἀωτέω* with *ἄωτος* as a denominative verb becomes semantically impossible.

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top" of milk? Without necessarily drawing any conclusions, it is interesting to note the metaphorical uses of both English "cream" and French "crème" in the sense of "choicest, best." This infusion of value does not derive from the inherent "goodness" or "richness" of cream but from the fact that it rises to the top.

[35]) Both Hesychius and the *Anecd. Graec.* (Bekker I, 476) have the otherwise unattested form *ἀωτεύειν*, glossed *ἀπανθίζεσθαι* and *ὑφαίνειν* 'weave' respectively. The latter gloss clearly arises from the meaning 'wool' attributed to *ἄωτος*. Eustathius in *Il.* 10.159 connects *ἀωτέω* with *ἄωτος* and 'flower.'

[36]) So Chantraine approved by Frisk (note 10 above) Bd. III, Heidelberg 1972, s.v. *ἀωτέω*.

In the circumstances, it seems best to posit different roots for ἄωτος and ἀωτέω, and assign ἀωτέω to an IE root *au-, meaning 'sleep.'[37]) In this case, the accusative ὕπνον with ἀωτέω in the Homeric contexts would be "internal" or "cognate."[38]) As for the objection that in the Odyssean passage particularly, ἀωτεῖς cannot mean 'sleep,'[39]) presumably because of the proliferation of words for 'sleep,' it is not serious on either semantic, syntactic or stylistic grounds.[40])

Other words to be connected with the root *au-, and bearing the notion 'sleep' are: the reduplicated form ἰαύω, the rare term ἄωρος, the difficult Homeric aorist ἄεσα (ἄϝεσα), and the nominal forms αὐλή, αὖλις.[41])

The verb ἀωτέω, then, and the noun ἄωτος are semantically distinct entities. In the absence of an etymology for ἄωτος we must also posit that they come from separate roots.

Bakchylides' ἀβροβάτας und die Iranier-Namen mit Anlaut *ABPA/O-*

Von Rüdiger Schmitt, Saarbrücken

In seinem Lied auf den olympischen Viergespann-Sieg des Hieron von Syrakus im Jahre 468 v. Chr. (Epin. 3) schildert Bakchylides auch die Eroberung von Sardes durch die Perser und den Entschluß des Lyderkönigs Kroisos zum freiwilligen Tod auf dem Scheiter-

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[37]) See J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern 1959, s.v. *au-, au̯-es, au-s-*.

[38]) See E. Schwyzer and A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik* II, Munich 1950, 76.

[39]) Chantraine (note 10 above) s.v. ἀωτέω.

[40]) See Buttmann (note 6 above), 188.

[41]) On the relationship between all these forms, see W. Schulze *Quaestiones Epicae*, Guetersloh 1892, 71–3. On ἰαύω see F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer*, Halle/Saale 1914 (= Hildesheim 1964), 170–1. On all these forms cf. also Chantraine and Frisk s.vv.

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[37]) See J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern 1959, s.v. *au-, au̯-es, au-s-*.

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haufen (V. 23ff.). Nach einem Gebet an den delphischen Apollon gibt er selbst den Befehl zum Anzünden (V. 48f.):

τόσ' εἶπε, καὶ ἁβ[ρο]βάταν κ[έλε]υσεν
ἅπτειν ξύλινον δόμον . . .[1])

„So sprach er, und den leise gehenden Diener hieß er den Holzbau entzünden"[2]).

Hierzu findet sich im kritischen Apparat der Snellschen Ausgabe (s. Anm. 1) seit der 5. Auflage von 1934 eine Erklärung des Wortes ἁβροβάτᾱς, die auf eine briefliche Auskunft Manu Leumanns zurückgeht. Dieser hält ἁβροβάτᾱς für das Produkt einer volksetymologischen Umdeutung eines persischen „**awra-pāta-, *a(h)ura-pāta-* 'ab Ahura (Mazda) protectus'" und vergleicht dazu den xenophontischen Namen Ἀβραδάτας, den er auf „*A(h)ura-dāta- 'ab Ahura donatus'" zurückführt. Leumanns Vermutung („conicias") hat in der neueren Bakchylides-Forschung teilweise Zustimmung gefunden. Die folgende neuerliche Überprüfung des Problems wurde ausgelöst durch eine briefliche Anfrage Herwig Maehlers (Berlin), der an einem Kommentar zu den Gedichten des Bakchylides arbeitet.

Die Kernfrage, um die es in diesem Zusammenhang geht, ist die, ob im altiranischen Bereich tatsächlich ein Name bezeugt ist, der als das Vorbild von ἁβροβάτᾱς in Frage käme; im speziellen Fall — das meint: unter Anerkennung (argumenti causa) des Leumannschen Ansatzes — wäre also zu fragen, ob irgendwo in altiranischen Originalquellen oder in der sog. 'Nebenüberlieferung' des Altiranischen ein Eigenname **Ahura-pāta-* (altpers. **Aura-pāta-*) „von Ahura (Mazdā) beschützt" begegnet, ein Name, den man sich vor dem Hintergrund der in den altpersischen Königsinschriften häufig bezeugten Wendung (*mām* „mich" oder *imām dahyāum* „dieses Land" o.ä.) *Auramazdā pātuv* „möge Ahura Mazdā schützen" ja gut vorzustellen vermöchte. Die Antwort auf diese Frage ist negativ; wenngleich ein argumentum e silentio (dem allerdings angesichts der mehreren tausend bezeugten altiranischen Namen einiges Gewicht zukommt), so schwächt dies doch bereits entscheidend die Leumannsche Position.

Fragen wir weiter nach den Voraussetzungen von Leumanns Rekonstruktionsansatz **Ahura-pāta-* im phonemisch-graphemischen

[1]) Text nach der maßgebenden Ausgabe: Bacchylidis Carmina cum fragmentis, post Brunonem Snell edidit Hervicus Maehler, Leipzig 1970.

[2]) Übersetzung nach: Bakchylides. Lieder und Fragmente, griechisch und deutsch von Herwig Maehler, Berlin 1968.

Bereich: Unproblematisch sind sowohl die Umformung von altiran. **-pāta-* zu griech. *-βάτης* (hier dor. *-βάτᾱς*) durch Anschluß an die Sippe von *βαίνειν* — wofür es zahlreiche Beispiele gibt; allein Herodot liefert *Ἄρτα-βάτης* = **Ṛta-pāta-*, *Μεγα-βάτης* = **Baga-pāta-*, *Μιτρο-βάτης* = **Miθra-pāta-*[3]) — als auch der griechische Fugenvokal *-o-*; doch wer sich der griechischen Namensform des Ahura Mazdā/*Ὡρομάζης* erinnert, wird ob des Anlautes *ἁβρο-* stutzig werden. Es stellt sich also insbesondere die Frage, ob der Diphthong iran. /au/ — denn von einer solchen durch den typisch altpersischen Lautwandel /hu/ > /u/ charakterisierten Form ist auszugehen, um gleichermaßen zu griech. ⟨αβ⟩ wie ⟨ω⟩ zu gelangen — überhaupt durch griech. ⟨αβ⟩ wiedergegeben werden kann.

Wie also bezeichnen griechische Autoren des 5. Jahrhunderts iran. /au/? Zu beschränken haben wir uns dabei selbstverständtat-auf gesicherte, d.h. solche Belege, deren iranisches Äquivalent lich sächlich auch in epichorischer Überlieferung bezeugt ist: Herodot, dessen Werk etwa drei bis vier Jahrzehnte nach dem Bakchylides-Gedicht entstanden ist, bietet nur einen einzigen solchen 'sicheren' Beleg in der Gleichung *Γωβρύης* = altpers. *Gaub(a)ruva* und somit für iran. /au/ = griech. ⟨ω⟩[4]). Von den Historikern der auf ihn folgenden Jahrzehnte bietet allein Ktesias (im Photios-Exzerpt; FGrHist 688 F 15–16 elfmal) eine Form, die wiederum in die gleiche Richtung weist: *Ὦχος* = altiran. *Vahuka*[5]). Am nächsten an Bakchylides' Hieron-Lied würden die 'Persai' des Aischylos vom Jahr 472 heranführen, doch findet sich unter den problemreichen Iranier-Namen dieses Stückes keiner, der ein Original mit /au/ widerspiegelt.

Scheint sich auch die Waagschale mit Leumanns Argumenten für **A(h)ura-* als zu leicht immer mehr nach oben zu heben, so erscheint es mir doch nötig, das Problem von *ἁβροβάτᾱς* in den größeren Zusammenhang derjenigen Iranier-Namen hineinzustellen, die mit *Ἄβρα-/Ἄβρο-/Ἁβρο-* anlauten. Solcher Namen kenne ich

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[3]) Zu dieser Frage vgl. meinen Aufsatz „Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot", ZDMG 117, 1967, 119–145, v.a. S. 142f. sowie S. 129f. (samt Anmerkungen) zu den einzelnen Namen (S. 130 verrät sich der Druckfehler *Μεγαπάτης* schon durch den gestörten ordo alphabeticus).

[4]) Vgl. neben dem in Anm. 3 genannten Aufsatz (S. 128) zuletzt „Deiokes", AÖAW 110, 1973, 137–147, v.a. S. 142f. mit Anm. 31, 32.

[5]) Zu den Fragen um diesen altpersischen Namen vgl. zuletzt „Neue Wege zum Altpersischen", GGA 226, 1974, 95–113, v.a. S. 105 und „Einige iranische Namen auf Inschriften oder Papyri", ZPE 17, 1975, 23f. mit Anm. 42.

(1) *Ἀβραδάτᾱς*, König von Susa zur Zeit Kyros' des Großen, Xen. Cyr. 5,1,2 u.ö., Luc. Im., Philostr. Im., Tz.; Eustath. Phil. 7,14,2 = Hercher, Erot. Script. Gr. II 233, 21[6]);

(2) *Ἀβροκόμᾱς/-ης*, Sohn des Dareios I. bzw. Satrap unter Artaxerxes II., Hdt. 7,224,2 bzw. Xen. An. 1,3,20 u.ö., Diod. Sic., Isoc. usw.; zu unterscheiden von dem griechischen Namen *Ἀβρο-κόμης* (auch appellativisch *ἁβρο-κόμης*);

(3) *Ἄβραγος/Ἀβροαγος* mehrfach auf Inschriften des 2. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. aus Olbia, IPE I² 80, 15; 82, 5; 91, 9. 9f.; 98, 9f.; 100, 8; 266, 3; 686, 5f. bzw. 116, 4; dazu jetzt IOlb[7]) 94, 4 bzw. 79, 10 ('join' von IPE I² 116 mit einem Neufund).

Anzuschließen ist diesem 'Corpus' wohl der auf einer ephesischen Inschrift[8]) aus christlicher Zeit bezeugte und, wie Ladislav Zgusta[9]) meinte, „ohne Zweifel . . . persische" Name *Ἀβραδᾶς*, dessen Träger *Φλ(άβιος) Ἀβραδᾶς ὁ καὶ Λ[έων] ἀργυροφύλαξ Ἐφέσιος* nicht als Iranier gelten darf. Die Einbeziehung basiert also nicht auf sachlichen, sondern auf rein sprachlichen Gründen: Zgusta, a.a.O. hält den Namen für eine „Kurzform zu *Ἀβραδάτας*", für dessen Deutung er sich auf das „Iranische Namenbuch" von Justi (s. Anm. 6) beruft (vgl. unten).

Für die Deutung all dieser Namen kommt man über Vermutungen vorerst nicht hinaus, da keiner von ihnen ein genaues Gegenstück in genuin altiranischen Quellen oder in einem anderen Zweig der 'Nebenüberlieferung' (Elamisch, Akkadisch, Aramäisch usw.) hat und einzig der erste allenfalls mit einem Kompositum des appellativischen Wortschatzes identifiziert werden könnte:

(1) *Ἀβραδάτᾱς* wurde zuerst von A. F. Pott[10]) mit dem im Avesta bezeugten *ahura-dāta-* „von Ahura Mazdā geschaffen" (Beiwort von

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[6]) Hier ist übrigens — entgegen den Angaben bei Ferdinand Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg 1895 (Nachdruck Hildesheim 1963), S. 2a, die nach meinen Ermittlungen jeglicher Grundlage in der Textüberlieferung entbehren — nur *Ἀβραδάτας*, nicht auch *Ἀὐραδάτας* überliefert!

[7]) Nadpisi Ol'vii (1917–1965)/Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917–1965), Leningrad 1968.

[8]) JÖAI 24, 1929, Beiblatt, S. 17 = SEG IV 105 Nr. 542.

[9]) Ladislav Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, Prag 1964, S. 46[21].

[10]) A. F. Pott, „Ueber altpersische Eigennamen", ZDMG 13, 1859, 359–444, v.a. S. 423; ihm schlossen sich u.a. an: Justi, a.a.O., S. 2a (mit Zweifeln auf S. 491; vgl. unten Anm. 14); Alvin H. M. Stonecipher, Graeco-Persian Names, New York usw. 1918, S. 15; O. G. von Wesendonk, „Zu alt-

vərəθraγna- „Sieg(esgott)" und *zam-* „Erde"[11]) verglichen, dessen Gebrauch aber nicht gerade die engsten Beziehungen zu onomastischer Verwendung aufweist. Die Vermutung Émile Benvenistes[12]), der einen solchen Namen **A(h)ura-dāta-* in elam. *Urdadda* wiederfinden wollte, scheitert schon an der Schreibung — im Gegensatz zu dem Gottesnamen ⟨*U-ra-(maš-da)*⟩ wird dieser Name nämlich ⟨*Ú-ir-(da-ad-da)*⟩ geschrieben — und gilt heute als „unglaubhaft"[13]). Auch zeitlich kann es mit Potts Deutung eine andere aufnehmen, nämlich die als **Abra-dāta-*, die als Vorderglied das Wort avest. *aβra-* (traditionell *awra-*) „Wolke" annimmt: Sie stammt von Hitzig[14]) und hat gegenüber jener den Vorteil, mit den gesicherten iranisch-griechischen Lautentsprechungen in vollem Einklang zu stehen.

(2) Ἀβροκόμᾱς/-ης wurde ebenfalls zuerst von Pott[15]) als „den Ahura (Ormuzd) liebend" bzw. „vom Ahura geliebt" gedeutet, was eine Originalform altpers. **Aura-kāma-* (mit altpers. *kāma-* „Wunsch, Wille") meint; dabei macht er für das *-o-* in *-κόμης* volksetymologischen Einfluß des griechischen Namens Ἄβρο-κόμης („der mit üppigen/weichen Haaren") verantwortlich. Dieser führte A. Fick[16]) sogar zu der Annahme, daß auch der Name der verschiedenen

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persisch Auramazda", ZII 7, 1929, 189–193, v.a. S. 192; zuletzt Ronald Zwanziger, Studien zur Nebenüberlieferung iranischer Personennamen in den griechischen Inschriften Kleinasiens, masch. Diss. Wien 1973, S. 33 § 2.1.

[11]) Die Belege bei Christian Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Straßburg 1904 (Berlin [2]1961), Sp. 293f.

[12]) Émile Benveniste, Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien, Paris 1966, S. 95.

[13]) So Manfred Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, Wien 1973, S. 248 § 8. 1760.

[14]) [?] Hitzig, „Studien", ZDMG 9, 1855, 731–779, v.a. S. 760; ihm folgten u.a.: Ferdinand Justi, Handbuch der Zendsprache. Altbactrisches Woerterbuch, Leipzig 1864, S. 35b; Theodor Nöldeke, „Persische Studien", SbÖAW 116, 1888, 387–423, v.a. S. 422 („der von der Wolke Gegebene"); Justi, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), S. 491 (zögernd „vom Himmel gegeben" — die Bedeutung „Himmel" ist für dieses Wort erst in neuiranischem Material gesichert —; vgl. oben Anm. 10). [Ebenso jetzt auch Walther Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen, Wiesbaden 1975, S. 20.]

[15]) Pott, a.a.O., S. 440; ihm schlossen sich zögernd an: Justi, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), S. 499 („vgl. kāma?"); Stonecipher, a.a.O., S. 15 („perhaps ... *kāma*"). Aber z.B. bei Wilhelm Gemoll, Griechisch-deutsches Schul- und Handwörterbuch, München [5]1954, S. 2a wird der Vergleich mit altpers. *kāma-* schon ohne Einschränkung irgendwelcher Art vertreten.

[16]) A. Fick, Anzeige von Justi, BB 24, 1899, 305–316, v.a. S. 311.

Iranier griechisch sein könnte; mag dies wohl auch etwas zu weit gehen, so ist aber jedenfalls die Vermutung nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß der volksetymologische Einfluß tiefer eingedrungen ist und die iranische Originalform weiter von der griechischen Gestalt des Namens abstand, als allgemein angenommen wird[17]). Die wiederum von Benveniste[18]) vermutete Parallele in der elamischen Überlieferung (⟨*Ú-ra-ka-ma*⟩) muß aus den gleichen Gründen wie bei dem angeblichen **A(h)ura-dāta-* fernbleiben.

(3) Die sarmatischen Namen Ἄβραγος und Ἄβροαγος werden wegen ihres gegenseitigen Anklanges oft als zusammengehörig angesehen; sichern läßt sich ein solcher Zusammenhang bislang nicht. Den ersten Namen zumindest hat V. I. Abaev[19]) mit dem schon für Ἀβραδάτᾱς erwogenen avest. *aβra-* „Wolke", osset. *arv* „Himmel" verknüpft; für den zweiten Namen — der ein einziges Mal bezeugt ist — erwog Zgusta[20]) eine Verbindung mit der Sippe von avest. *auruua-* (traditionell *aurva-*) „schnell, tapfer"; in beiden Fällen würde es sich um Hypokoristika mit dem Kosenamensuffix iran. **-aka-* handeln. Daß diese beiden Namen mit dem des Gottes Ahura Mazdā etwas zu tun haben könnten, war bisher nicht vermutet worden; es ist im Gegensatz zu den angenommenen Perser-Namen **A(h)ura-dāta-* und **A(h)ura-kāma-* für das (nordiranische)

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[17]) So im Prinzip schon Schmitt, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), S. 133[98]. [Erst während der Drucklegung dieses Aufsatzes werde ich durch Jacques A. Delauney, „L'araméen d'empire et les débuts de l'écriture en Asie centrale", in: Commémoration Cyrus. Hommage universel. II (= Acta Iranica 2), Leiden/Téhéran/Liège 1974, S. 219—236, v. a. Tafel IV, Abb. 4 auf eine Münze (Hemistater) eines Satrapen von Sinope um 360 v.Chr. aufmerksam, der (in aramäischen Lettern) 'BRKMW = *Abrakomas* heißt: Münzen, die dieser schlagen ließ, gibt es eine ganze Reihe; vgl. Ernest Babelon, Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines. Deuxième partie, tome II, Paris 1910, Sp. 423—432 (v. a. auch zur Lesung); W. H. Waddington/E. Babelon/Th. Reinach, Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure. Tome I, premier fasc., Paris 1925, S. 197**f. Die aramäische Schreibung 'BR- schließt eine etymologische Verknüpfung dieses Namens mit dem des Auramazdā aus. — Hinz, a. a. O., S. 20 erwägt fragend (und wenig überzeugend) eine Interpretation „'Wolken-Wunsch'?".]

[18]) Benveniste, a.a.O., S. 95. Dagegen vgl. Mayrhofer, a.a.O., S. 248 § 8. 1756.

[19]) V. I. Abaev, Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor. I, Moskva/Leningrad 1949, S. 152; ihm scheint sich Ladislav Zgusta, Die Personennamen der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste, Praha 1955, S. 432 (Nachtrag zu § 40) anzuschließen. [Ebenso jetzt auch Hinz, a.a.O., S. 20.]

[20]) Zgusta, a.a.O. (Anm. 19), S. 61 § 41.

Sarmatische aus lauthistorischen Gründen auch wenig wahrscheinlich. Eine Entscheidung darüber, ob sich dahinter nun iran. **Abra-k-a-*, **Arva-k-a-* oder etwas anderes verberge, läßt sich vorderhand nicht treffen.

(4) Der ephesische Name Ἀβραδᾶς wurde von Zgusta wegen seines Anklanges an Ἀβραδάτᾱς für iranisch gehalten und als Kurzform zu jenem interpretiert[21]), und Zwanziger[22]), der dessen Deutung offenbar unabhängig davon wiedergefunden hat, rechnet den daraus gewonnenen zweistämmigen Kosenamen iran. **Ahura-d-a-* sogar zuversichtlich unter die „Namen, die mit Sicherheit rekonstruiert werden können". Da sich der Rekonstruktionsansatz aber nicht zwingend aus der (einzigen) tatsächlich bezeugten Form ergibt — für das hier diskutierte lautliche Problem steht der Name in Zwanzigers Corpus vereinzelt! — und von anderer Seite keinerlei Stütze erhält, vermag ich diese Zuversicht nicht zu teilen.

Als Fazit bleibt festzuhalten, daß all die griechischen Iranier-Namen mit Anlaut *ABPA/O-* zur Lösung des Problems ἁβροβάτᾱς nichts beisteuern, da sie ihrerseits mit allzuviel Unsicherheiten verschiedenster Art belastet sind. Beiläufig muß aber noch ein Punkt kurz angesprochen werden, der seinerseits nicht unumstritten ist: Daß griech. ⟨αβ-⟩ in diesen Fällen den iranischen Diphthong /au-/ wiedergebe, geht selbstverständlich (meist unausgesprochen) von der Annahme aus, daß griech. ⟨β⟩ iran. /v/ widerspiegeln kann. Ich habe selbst[23]) diese Meinung verfochten (v.a. angesichts der zahlreichen Namen auf *-βαζος*, die wegen der meist jüngeren Nebenformen auf *-ουασδης* mit iran. **vazdah-* verbunden werden müssen) und halte an ihr auch durchaus fest. Aber solche Beispiele, wo griech. ⟨β⟩ im Silbenanlaut iran. /v/ wiedergibt, können nichts beweisen für die postvokalische Stellung, genauer: die Position unmittelbar nach dem Silbengipfel. Wenn man, wie es etwa Zwanziger[24]) ausdrücklich tut, mit einer „Konsonantisierung des zweiten Diphthongbestandteiles" rechnen will — er setzt für Ἀβραδᾶς folgende Vorstufen an: „/*Aura-d-a-/ > /*Aṷra-d-a-/ > /*Avra-d-a-/" —, dann müßte man zuerst einmal klarlegen, warum

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[21]) Zgusta, a.a.O. (Anm. 9), S. 46[21].

[22]) Zwanziger, a.a.O., S. 33 § 2.1.

[23]) Vgl. a.a.O. (Anm. 3), S. 132[26].

[24]) Zwanziger, a.a.O., S. 125[693] im Rahmen der phonemisch-graphemischen Auswertung des von ihm untersuchten Namenmaterials.

hier nicht, wie sonst gewöhnlich, der Diphthong als solcher erhalten geblieben ist. Die Hilfsannahme dieser vermuteten 'Konsonantisierung' wirkt so jedenfalls wie ein ad hoc gefertigter Krückstock, an dem **Ahura-dāta-* und seine *χωλοὶ ἑταῖροι* laufen lernen sollen.

*

Zurückkehrend zu dem Ausgangspunkt, Bakchylides' *ἁβροβάτᾱς*, müssen wir feststellen, daß eine Herleitung des Wortes aus einem iranischen Original mit anlautendem **A(h)ura-* am Lautlichen scheitert. Leumann, a.a.O. umgeht denn auch die lautlichen Schwierigkeiten durch die Annahme, daß *ἁβροβάτᾱς* „etymologia q.d. populari immutatum esse". Das (gut griechisch wirkende) Appellativum sei also durch die Verballhornung eines fremden Eigennamens zustandegekommen. War Leumann vielleicht, als er sich diese Entstehungsgeschichte von *ἁβροβάτᾱς* zurechtlegte, noch von *Ἀβροβάτᾱς* als Eigennamen im Bakchylides-Text ausgegangen, wie es einige ältere Interpreten vorgeschlagen hatten? Jedenfalls sieht Leumann darüber völlig hinweg, daß ebendieses *ἁβροβάτᾱς* noch ein zweites Mal in der griechischen Literatur bezeugt ist, und zwar genau vier Jahre vor dem bakchylideischen Hieron-Lied: in der Schlußszene der aischyleischen 'Persai' vom Jahre 472. Dort sagt Xerxes zum Chor der Greise (V. 1073): *γοᾶσθ' ἁβροβάται* „Klagt, weich dahinschreitend!". Daß Bakchylides nicht, zufällig und ganz unabhängig, die gleiche Form ein zweites Mal geschaffen, sondern daß er vielmehr diese Prägung des Aischylos aufgenommen hat, daß also seinerzeit schon Richard C. Jebb[25]) hierin zu Recht einen Fall von „influence of Aeschylus on the diction of Bacchylides" gesehen hat, läßt sich, so meine ich, durch folgenden Hinweis erhärten: Durch die überlieferte Aischylos-Vita und weitere Zeugnisse ist uns bekannt, daß die 'Persai' auf Wunsch des Hieron (dessen olympischen Sieg Bakchylides besingt!) von Aischylos in Syrakus wiederaufgeführt wurden, wahrscheinlich zwischen 472 und 469 während seines ersten sizilischen Aufenthaltes[26]).

Damit, so scheint mir, verschiebt sich die Problematik entscheidend und endgültig von Bakchylides hin zu Aischylos. Zwar meint

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[25]) Bacchylides. The poems and fragments. Edited by Richard C. Jebb, Cambridge 1905 (Nachdruck Hildesheim 1967), S. 67.

[26]) Vgl. Raffaele Cantarella, „Aristophanes' 'Plutos' 422–425 und die Wiederaufführungen aischyleischer Werke", in: Wege zu Aischylos. Herausgegeben von Hildebrecht Hommel, Band I, Darmstadt 1974, S. 405–435, v.a. S. 413f. mit Anm. 11, 12.

Regula Schweizer-Keller in ihrer Dissertation „Vom Umgang des Aischylos mit der Sprache"[27]) zu ἁβροβάται: „Das klingt hier fast wie ein Name, — vielleicht ein persischer Name in griechischer und somit verständlicher Gestalt?", wobei übrigens der Schwierigkeit, die durch die Übertragung der Leumannschen Erklärung auf die Aischylos-Stelle durch den Numerusunterschied (Plural ἁβροβάται) entsteht, mit keinem Wort gedacht wird. Aber hat man die 'Persai'-Stelle schon einmal als das Vorbild des Bakchylides erkannt, dann sollte man auch konsequenterweise danach fragen, welchen Platz das Wort ἁβροβάτᾱς in diesem Stück einnimmt. Und da fällt doch unschwer auf, daß Aischylos dem Wort ἁβρός offenbar einige Bedeutung zumißt für die Charakterisierung der Völker des Perserreiches: In der Parodos, bei der Aufzählung des persischen Heeres, heißt es V. 41f.

ἁβροδιαίτων δ' ἕπεται Λυδῶν
ὄχλος ...

„Es folgt die Schar der üppig lebenden Lyder"; die Klage des Chors schildert die daheim zurückgebliebenen Perserfrauen (V. 541ff.):

αἱ δ' ἁβρόγοοι Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν
ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν,
λέκτρων εὐνὰς ἁβροχίτωνας,
χλιδανῆς ἥβης τέρψιν, ἀφεῖσαι,
πενθοῦσι γόοις ἀκορεστοτάτοις

„Die weibisch klagenden Perserfrauen aber, sich sehnend, die eben vermählten Männer zu sehen, beraubt des Beilagers auf üppig gepolstertem Bett, der Lust der blühenden Jugend, jammern in unstillbarer Klage".

Viermal insgesamt schlägt Aischylos dieses Thema an; die ἁβρότης, die orientalische Verweichlichung, wird ganz offenkundig von ihm besonders hervorgehoben: "it is thoroughly Aeschylean to lay the colours on thickly in drawing his picture of the 'refinements' of Oriental ways (...), and there are numerous references in this play to the Persian ἁβρότης", wie H. D. Broadhead[28]) ausdrücklich

[27]) Diss. Zürich, Aarau 1972, S. 61; auch Dietmar Korzeniewski, „Studien zu den Persern des Aischylos. II", Helikon 7, 1967, 27–62, v.a. S. 61f. will darin eine der „von Aischylos geschätzten etymologischen Andeutungen" sehen.

[28]) The Persae of Aeschylus. Edited by H. D. Broadhead, Cambridge 1960, S. 145.

betont. Hält man sich dies vor Augen, dann wird man *ἁβροβάτᾱς* nicht aus diesem Konnex herauszureißen wagen. Man braucht nicht lange nach fremder Herkunft und volksetymologischer Eindeutung zu suchen, es gilt hier nur *Αἰσχύλον ἐξ Αἰσχύλου σαφηνίζειν.*

Final Clause Optatives in Primary Sequence

By John W. Vaughn, Rome

The manuscript L at S. *OT.* 1011 reads *ταρβῶ γε μή μοι Φοῖβος ἐξέλθοι σαφής.* The reading *ἐξέλθῃ*, a correction by a later hand, was adopted by Jebb without comment. At S. *Aj.* 278f. (*ξύμφημι δή σοι, καὶ δέδοικα, μὴ 'κ θεοῦ|πλημμή τις ἥκοι*), *ἥκοι* is the common reading. Jebb[1]) claims that it is impossible and reads *ἥκῃ* subjunctive.

And yet substantial evidence from the poetry and prose of all periods attests to the validity of the construction, especially following verbs of fearing (cf. *ταρβῶ* and *δέδοικα* in the preceding examples) by which the optative can stand in final clauses following verbs in primary sequence.[2]) So, for example, *Il.* 9.244f. *δέδοικα ... μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς / ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἶσιμον εἴη*; Aristoph. *V.* 109f., *ψήφου δὲ δείσας μὴ δεηθείη πότε / ἵν' ἔχοι δικάζειν, αἰγιαλὸν ἔνδον τρέφει*; Plut. *Cic.* 27.1, *ὀρθῶς φοβεῖσθε, εἶπε, μή μοι γένοιτο χαλεπὸς ὁ τιμητὴς ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνω.* The examples are numerous in Lucian (see Madvig, *Adversaria* I, 682), *e.g. Lex.* 20, *δέδοικα μὴ γένοιτό μοι.*

Gow[3]) admits the construction after final conjunctions as at A.R. 1.659, 797, 1005, 4.365, 400; Theoc. 10.45, 24.100, but doubts whether the liberty can be extended to clauses introduced by *μή*. And yet there are at least two significant examples from the poetry of the Hellenistic period. The unanimous reading of the manuscripts at Mosch. 4.92f. ("Megara") is *... δειμαίνω δὲ παλίγκοτον ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα / ἐκπάγλως μή μοί τι τέκνοις ἀποθύμιον ἔρδοι.* *ἔρδοι* was emended to *ἔρδῃ* by Legrand, *ἔρδῃ* by Schaefer, and *ἔρπῃ* by Hermann, all

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[1] R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles: the Plays and Fragments, Part VII, the Ajax.* Repr. 1962, Amsterdam, p. 52.

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subjunctives. At A. R. 3.481 where the manuscripts commonly read *δείδω μή πως οὔ μοι ὑποσταίη τόγε μήτηρ*, Fränkel, following Mooney, emends *ὑποστήῃ* and states in the apparatus, "collato subiunctivo in exemplari Il. 10.38f."[4]) This reasoning neglects the possibility that Apollonius may be using syntactical *variatio* here. But more importantly, there is a reverse application in the "Megara" passage cited above. The Homeric *sedes* (*Il.* 14.261, *ἄζετο γὰρ μὴ Νυκτὶ θοῇ ἀποθύμια ἔρδοι*) has the optative *ἔρδοι* in normal secondary sequence. The poet of the "Megara" has not changed the mood, but has changed the sequence of the verb to the primary.

The Conditional Nature of ἕως-Clauses in Attic Prose of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries

By C. W. Wooten, Chapel Hill

Many temporal clauses in Greek actually limit the main clause with which they are construed in almost exactly the same way that a conditional clause limits a main clause; and these sentences, therefore, almost invariably follow the patterns of conditional sentences. The standard grammars often, however, have too limited a view of what a condition is. One must realize, nevertheless, that any subordinate clause which states a circumstance that is essential to the appearance or occurence of the action in the main clause is conditional in nature. With many temporal clauses, however, which do in fact limit and restrict the main clause like a conditon, the standard grammars either do not point out the conditional nature of the clause at all or do not explain clearly enough or precisely enough why or how the clause conditions the main clause.

I have tried elsewhere to point out more clearly the conditional nature of certain *πρίν* clauses.[1]) I would like to try to do the same for *ἕως* clauses.

The standard grammars state that *ἕως* takes the indicative when it refers to a definite past action, the subjunctive when the action in the main clause lies in the future or states a general truth in the present, and the optative, either by attraction to another op-

[4]) H. Fränkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (O.C.T.), Oxford 1961.

[1]) "The Conditional Nature of *πρίν* Clauses in Attic Prose of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries," *Glotta*, XLVIII (1970), 81–88.

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tative or when the main clause states a past repeated or customary action.[2])

Now, the basic meaning of ἕως is "so long as" or "while."[3]) A ἕως clause can be either purely temporal or temporal and conditional. When it is purely temporal, it simply adds some additional information and is non-restrictive in nature. When it is restrictive, however, it limits the main clause just as a condition does. In other words, the clause may simply state that two actions were going on at the same time, with no causal connection between the two, or it may imply that the action in the ἕως clause was a pre-requisite to the fulfillment of the action in the main clause, that is, that the action in the main clause continues only so long as the action in the ἕως clause does. The clause states the chronological limits of the duration of the action in the main clause and in so doing also lays down a condition which must be fulfilled before that action can take place. Let me take a few examples. In the following sentence:

> τὰ μὲν δὴ πραχθέντα τούτοις πρὸς αὐτούς, ἕως ἀπεδήμουν ἐγώ, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμ' εἰπεῖν. Demosthenes 37,6.

the ἕως clause simply adds additional information and is not absolutely necessary to the sense of the sentence; it is purely temporal in nature. In the following sentence, however, the ἕως clause, here meaning "as long as" is restrictive and limits and conditions the main clause like a pure condition:

> τὰ γὰρ ἀδικήματα, ἕως μὲν ἂν (= ἐάν) ᾖ ἄκριτα, παρὰ τοῖς πράξασίν ἐστιν. Lycurgus 146.

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[2]) Raphael Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, rev. by Bernhard Gerth (Hannover: Hahnsche, 1955), II, pp. 445–447, 449–450, 452–453; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, rev. by A. Debrunner (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953), II, pp. 640, 650–652; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), secs. 1943, 2383, 2418–2421, 2422–2429; W.W. Goodwin, *The Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1889), secs. 611, 613, 620, 698, 702; W. W. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, rev. by C. B. Gulick (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1930), secs. 1478–1483, 1439, 1517. Only Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* (612) and Goodwin and Gulick's *Greek Grammar* (1480) point out clearly the conditional nature of these clauses, buth they stress it only when ἕως means "until." The most recent discussion of ἕως, Pierre Monteil, *La Phrase Relative en Grec Ancien* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963), 299–308, does not make any mention of the conditional nature of certain ἕως clauses.

[3]) Richard John Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London: Blackie and Son Ltd., 1924), s.v. ὅος; Monteil, 299–302.

In this sentence the ἕως clause limits the duration of positive action in the main clause; the action in the main clause lasts only so long as the action in the subordinate clause does.[4]) The ἕως clause sets up a cause and effect relationship between the two clauses very much like a pure condition.

Now, the conditional aspect is clear when ἕως means "so long as" and is restrictive in nature. When ἕως means "until", it limits the duration of positive action in the same way that a negative condition does.[5]) That is, the beginning of the action in the subordinate clause marks the end of the action in the main clause. In other words, the non-fulfillment of the action in the subordinate clause is a pre-requisite to the occurrence of the action in the main clause. This action is, consequently, conditioned by the non-occurrence of the action in the subordinate clause. For example, in the sentence:

> ἃ δ' ἂν ἀσύνταχτα ᾖ, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἀεὶ πράγματα παρέχειν, ἕως ἂν χώραν λάβῃ. Xenophon, *Cyropaideia* 4, 5, 37.

the ἕως clause meaning "until" limits the main clause just as a negative ἕως clause meaning "so long as" or a negative condition would. What this sentence means is that things which are unorganized cause trouble *until* they are organized or *so long as* they are not organized:

> ἕως (until) ἂν λάβῃ = ἕως (so long as) ἂν μὴ λαμβάνῃ = ἐὰν μὴ λαμβάνῃ.

Of the approximately 260 ἕως clauses which I have examined in Greek prose-writers of the fifth and fourth centuries[6]) 34 are simply

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[4]) The basic difference between a conditional ἕως clause and a pure condition or a conditional relative (ἃ ἂν ᾖ ἄχριτα or ὅταν ᾖ ἄχριτα) is one of aspect. A ἕως clause emphasizes the durative nature of the condition. It defines the temporal relationship more clearly and more definitely than a pure condition and emphasizes a different temporal aspect (duration rather than occurrence) from that which a conditional relative with ὅτε defines. The relative pronoun (ἃ ἄν) would condition the nature of the antecedent, like a relative clause of characteristic in Latin.

[5]) In general, the sense "so long as," given the nature of the Greek aspect system, is followed by the progressive (present or imperfect) forms, to denote duration of action, and the sense "until" is followed by the aorist, to denote simple occurrence. See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, sec. 613 and Monteil, p. 305.

[6]) Aeschines (Budé, ed. Martin and Budé); Andocides, Lycurgus, Dinarchus (Loeb, ed. Maidment); Antiphon (Loeb, ed. Maidment); Demosthenes (OCT, ed. Butcher); Hypereides (OCT, ed. Kenyon); Isaeus (Loeb, ed.

non-restrictive temporal clauses or do not follow the pattern of conditional sentences.[7]) The others are restrictive and follow these patterns.

There are 96 present or past particular conditions.[8]) I give 2 examples:

παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πεντακισχιλία τάλαντα, ἕως κατέλυσεν ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν. Antocides III, 29.

ἕως μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, πιστὸν ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχεν. Lysias XII, 66.

Now, the grammars do not analyse these clauses with the indicative as particular conditions. However, there is a cause and effect relationship between the two clauses which is just as clear as that which is seen in particular conditions, and they should be analysed as such. These sentences are really saying: "if this was true, then that was true."

There are 66 examples of future more vivid conditions.[9]) I give one example:

ἀναβήσονται καὶ λέξουσιν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἂν ἀκροᾶσθαι βούλησθε. Andocides I, 69.

Forster); Isocrates (Loeb, ed. Norlin); Lysias (Loeb, ed. Lamb); Plato (OCT, ed. Burnet); Thucydides (OCT, ed. Jones and Powell); Xenophon (OCT, ed. Marchant).

[7]) Plato *Phaedo* 89C, *Parm.* 135D, *Gorg.* 505B, *Phil.* 55C, *Ion* 541E, *Rep.* X, 600E. Lys. XIX, 46; XX, 24; XXXIII, 8. Thuc. I, 78, 2; III, 70, 35; 95, 4; IV, 67, 19; V, 9, 19; VI, 17, 25; 47, 1; 49, 15, 20; 77, 17; VIII, 40, 21; 84, 18. Dem. 6, 35; 9, 13, 64, 70; 19, 262; 35, 24; 37, 6. Xen. *Cyr.* 6, 2, 29; 7, 2, 22; *Hell.* 4, 4, 9; 4, 7, 3. Aesch. III, 177.

[8]) Xen. *Ana.* 1, 3, 11; 2, 6, 2; 3, 4, 49; 4, 8, 8; *Cyr.* 1, 3, 7; 7, 5, 6; 8, 2, 2; 8, 3, 38; *Hell.* 3, 1, 10; 4, 5, 2; 7, 2, 23. Aesch. I, 95; I, 103; III, 104. Dem. 4, 1; 8, 59; 10, 61; 18, 30, 48; 48, 295, 303; 19, 286; 24, 135, 136; 26, 6; 27, 13; 32, 25; 33, 8; 39, 13; 43, 13; 44, 24, 27; 47, 59, 61; 48, 35; 50, 19, 30, 52; 54, 3, 44; 55, 23; 58, 8, 29; 59, 43; 60, 11. Andoc. I, 134; III, 29. Ant. IVa 6; V, 33. Isoc. *Eu.* 15; *Panath.* 17, 46, 166; *Aeg.* 10; *Trap.* 12. Lys. I, 15; V, 1; XII, 66, 71; XVII, 3, 5; XX, 33; XXII, 12; XXV, 26; XXXII, 9; f. 16, 2; f. 29. Hyp. f. 134. Isaeus VI, 9; VII, 14; VIII, 37. Thuc. II, 19, 27; 81, 30; III, 93, 34; V, 60, 10; 75, 28; 82, 8; VI, 44, 10; 62, 28; VII, 19, 16; 26, 21; 35, 1; 63, 31; 71, 2; 81, 25; VIII, 78, 10. Plato *Apol.* 39E; *Critias* 115D; *Charm.* 155C; *Laches* 183E.

[9]) Aesch. II, 82. Andoc. I, 69, 81. Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 24; 1, 3, 9; 3, 4, 5; 3, 4, 26; 4, 6, 13; *Cyr.* 1, 6, 10; 3, 3, 46; 4, 5, 36; 5, 2, 11; 7, 5, 3; 7, 5, 39; *Mem.* 3, 11, 14; *Ana.* 2, 1, 2; 5, 1, 11; 6, 3, 14; 6, 5, 25. Dem. 2, 31; 9, 10; 18, 32; 19, 14, 50; 20, 64, 167; 21, 130; 23, 72; 27, 5; 35, 37; 43, 28; 47, 29,

There are 5 examples of future less vivid conditions.[10]) I give one:

ὡσαύτως ἄν διδοίης . . . ἕως ἐπί τι ἱκανὸν ἔλθοις. Plato, *Phaedo* 101 E.

There are 56 examples of present general conditions[11]) and 4 of past general conditions.[12]) I give an example of each:

τὰ γὰρ ἀδικήματα, ἕως μὲν ἂν ᾖ ἄκριτα, παρὰ τοῖς πράξασίν ἐστιν. Lycurgus 146.

περιεμένομεν οὖν ἑκάστοτε, ἕως (= until) *ἀνοιχθείη τὸ δεσμωτήριον.* Plato, *Phaedo* 59 D.

There are no examples of present contrary-to-fact conditions and 6 such conditions in the past.[13]) I give one example:

ἡδέως μὲν ἄν . . . διελεγόμην, ἕως αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἀπέδωκα ῥῆσιν ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ Ζήθου. Plato, *Gorgias* 506 B.

It is the duty of the grammarian to try to simplify and synthesize wherever possible. The analysis of these clauses would be greatly

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50; 48, 21; 49, 14, 50; 54, 25; 56, 15; 58, 15. Isoc. *Phil.* 24; *Ar.* 74; *Pg.* 272; *Against Lach.* 13; *Trap.* 15. Lys. XIII, 25; XXIX, 10. Isaeus I, 10. Thuc. I, 28, 17; 29, 6; 58, 30; 90, 10; II, 7, 10; 72, 8; III, 97, 2; IV, 30, 8; VII, 16, 22; VIII, 11, 8; 29, 19; 81, 21. Plato *Phaedo* 59E, 85B; *Soph.* 239C; *Conv.* 192E; *Crat.* 390A; *Prot.* 311A; *Pol.* 260A. At Xenophon *Cyr.* 3, 3, 46, since the ἕως clause does impose a condition on the main clause I would read the present subjunctive rather than the present indicative. In many of the examples above a subjunctive has chenged to an optative after a secondary tense in indirect discourse or implied indirect discourse; see Goodwin and Gulick, sec. 1517.

[10]) Xen. *Cyr.* 1, 3, 11; Plato *Theat.* 155A; *Legg.* 752C; *Phaedo* 101E; *Rep.* VI, 501C.

[11]) Aesch. III, 21, 165. Lyc. 146. Andoc. III, 15. Din. 90. Ant. IIa 3. Isoc. *Pg.* 6, 165. Lys. XII, 37; XXXIII, 8. Xen. *Cyr.* 2, 3, 22; 3, 3, 18; 8, 5, 26; *Mem.* 2, 1, 13; 4, 5, 9; *Ana.* 1, 4, 8; 3, 1, 43; *R. Lac.* 12, 5. Dem. 2, 21; 8, 41; 9, 17, 69; 10, 13; 11, 14; 14, 30; 17, 25; 23, 83, 117; 24, 131; 33, 1; 35, 24; 37, 34. Plato *Phaedo* 74C, 81D, 108C; *Phaedrus* 246C, 252D, 259C; *Conv.* 187B, 207D; *Tim.* 57A; *Rep.* I, 345D (Negative ἕως clauses are rare, but in this one example the negative used is μή, indicating that the clause has conditional force; see Smyth, sec. 2397), III, 411B; *Legg.* VI, 755A; IX, 857A; *Prot.* 319C; *Crat.* 389E, 393D, E; *Theat.* 153D, 157C; *Eryx.* 392C. Thuc. III, 82, 25.

[12]) Isaeus VII, 8. Plato *Phaedo* 59D. Dem. 35, 25. Thuc. III, 102, 32; V, 35, 27.

[13]) Lys. XV, 6. Plato *Crat.* 396C; *Gorg.* 506B. Dem. 49, 35; 52, 31. Isoc. *de Biga* 12. It should be noted that this type of sentence is not found in the other so-called "conditional-relative" clauses.

simplified by the realization that ἕως and ἐάν (εἰ μή) are functional equivalents when the ἕως clause is restrictive, that is, when it is not purely temporal. There seem to be no formal rules which can be used in determining whether a ἕως clause is purely temporal or whether it also has conditional force. If the clause logically conditions or restricts the action in the main clause, rather than simply defining more closely the time of the action in that clause, then it will follow the patterns of conditional sentences as they have been outlined above.[14])

The οὖλος / ἴουλος Song

Carm. Pop. 3 (= no. 849) *PMG* Page*

By J. W. Fitton (†), Oxford

According to the usual interpretation, which is that of antiquity, the *οὖλος/ἴουλος* song was concerned with the binding of the sheaves at harvest time and also wool-working, including spinning. As will be seen from section one, there is ample evidence for this. I first discuss (pp. 223 ff.) the occasions on which the songs were sung and the deities to which they were sacred. There is little unexpected here except that the song was sacred to Artemis, who is usually concerned with the plants and animals of the wild and the young of both sexes rather than the cultivated fields and spinning. In the second section (pp. 226 f.) a difference of meaning emerges between

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*) *Revisers' note.* — This essay was not complete at the time of the author's sudden and much lamented death at the early age of 38 at Exeter, where he had held a University Lectureship in Classics (*Altphilologie*) for some years. His research pupil, Mr. John Cowell, has taken infinite pains to reduce the MS-draft to publishable form, in the light of recollections of discussions he had had with Mr. Fitton. Some additional material amassed after 1967, when the draft assumed its definitive form, could not be worked in without far- reaching changes, and there is certainly room for further investigation by others. A few additions by Mr. Cowell or myself (Mr. Fitton had been my pupil when he was an undergraduate) have been indicated as such by being placed in sqare brackets. [John G. Griffith (Fellow and Tutor in Classics, Jesus College, Oxford)].

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οὖλος and *ἴουλος* although they are both derived from the same root. *οὖλος* describes curly hair on the head and sheaves, while *ἴουλος* is applied mainly to the first growth of beard on a male adolescent. In fact etymology allows a closer definition. *ἴουλος* was not the first light-coloured down on the face but the dark-coloured beard after it had been growing for some time. As it was the custom on Delos for adolescents to dedicate the *θέρος* of their *ἴουλοι*, the relationship between *ἴουλος* and initiation rites is explored. *θέρος* suggests a correlation between the grain harvest and the occasion when the human *ἴουλοι* were cut, but an examination (in the concluding section, pp. 231 f.) of some puberty initiation rites suggests no general correlation and even on Delos the two events did not coincide in time. The point of connection is that on Delos the beard was offered wound round a piece of green stuff and this made it look like a corn sheaf. The *ἴουλος*-song was also sung in honour of the pair Demeter and Persephone who through their equivalence to Damia and Auxesia (see n. 47 below) are connected with hair-clipping rites. There is a possibility that these hair clipping rites may be oriental, more specifically Carian, in origin. But before discussing this, it is convenient to set out the text and introduction to the work-song[1]):

Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Παιάνων φησί· τὰ δράγματα τῶν κριθῶν αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ προσηγόρευον ἀμάλας, συναθροισθέντα δὲ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μίαν γενόμενα δέσμην οὔλους καὶ ἰούλους· καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα ὁτὲ μὲν Χλόην, ὁτὲ δὲ Ἰουλώ· ἀπὸ τῶν οὖν τῆς Δήμητρος εὑρημάτων τοὺς τε καρποὺς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν οὔλους καλοῦσι καὶ ἰούλους· δημήτρουλοι καὶ καλλίουλοι· καὶ

πλεῖστον οὖλον ἴει, ἴουλον ἴει.

ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ἐριουργῶν εἶναι τὴν ᾠδήν.

1. *The Work Song*

Semus of Delos is telling us that both *οὖλος* and *ἴουλος* were the names for (1) handfuls of barley bound into one bundle and (2) a hymn to Demeter who was known by the cult title *Ἰουλώ*. Semus also mentions *δημήτρουλοι* and *καλλίουλοι*, presumably having a similar meaning, and quotes a line of song:

πλεῖστον οὖλον ἴει, ἴουλον ἴει.

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[1]) *FGrH* 396 F 23 = Athen. XIV, 618 D.

Eustathius (p. 1162, 42) also quotes the line and calls it an *ἐπιφώνημα ἐμμελές*, probably a refrain sung by all the harvesters in response to the song of their leader (see LSJ[9] s.v. *ἐπιφωνέω* and *ἐπιφώνημα*, where the use of *ἐπιφωνέω* in the Septuagint to mean "'respond', in ritual" is recorded).

Didymus (*ap.* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 972) says the *ἴουλος* was a hymn to Demeter like the *οὔπιγγος* to Artemis among the Trozenians. The scholiast who quotes Didymus adds that *ἴουλος* and *οὖλος* were words for the sheaf combined from handfuls, and that *Οὐλώ* was a cult-title of Demeter. It is difficult to decide from this whether the parallel between *ἴουλος* and *οὔπιγγος* made by Didymus was pointed or random, but Didymus was learned even if silly, and we shall see that it was probably pointed. Besides Demeter, *ἴουλοι* also belonged to Persephone (Athen. 14, 619B).

We also read that Eratosthenes in his *Hermes* (fr. 10 Powell) thought *ἴουλος* the name of the song of *ἔριθοι*, and two lines of the song are quoted:

ἦν χερνῆτις ἔριθος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ πετεῶνος
δενδαλίδας τεύχουσα καλοὺς ἤειδεν ἰούλους.

The fragment also occurs with certain textual variations in Tzetzes' commentary on Lycophron (on line 23):

ἡ χερνῆτις ἔριθος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ πυλεῶνος
Δανδαῖτις στείχουσα καλὰς ἤειδον ἰούλους.

Another version, metrically inferior, is recorded in the Etymologicum Magnum (p. 472, 36):

ἡ χερνῆτις θεὸς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἑλεῶνος
Δανδαῖτις στείχουσα, καλὰς δ' ἤειδεν ἰούλους.

The better looking text is still odd. *πετεῶνος* is meaningless, and a gatehouse, even if *ἐφ'* is altered to *ὑφ'*,[2]) is an odd place for a work song. Also a *δενδαλίς* was a barley-cake (Nicopho fr. 15, Kock I p. 778), and a hireling spinning-woman has no business making barley-cakes.[3]) Eratosthenes clearly had in mind some kind of

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[2]) J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, III (Loeb 1940), 506.

[3]) T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970), 60, thinks the woman was making cakes to put on the high wreath (*πυλεῶν*) to be offered to Demeter, and that she is rehearsing the song to be sung then. Unfortunately he does not explain how he obtains this sense from the fragment.

wool-worker; otherwise it would be a tautology have both χερνῆτις and ἔριθος. I suggest that the text might be emended to:

ἡ χερνῆτις ἔριθος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἑλικῶνος
δαιδάλλει στείχουσα, καλὰς δ' ἤειδεν (or -ον?) ἰούλους.

ἑλίκων is found in Hesychius who glosses ἑλίκων ἀπὸ χειρός· νημάτων φερομένων ἐν τῷ ἀτράκτῳ. This describes the thread spun from distaff to spindle. Though the word is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in this sense, there is no reason to doubt its meaning since it is obviously connected with ἑλίσσω, a *vox propria* for spinning, i.e. twirling the thread with the right hand while the left holds the distaff and wool. ὑψηλοῦ will refer to the right hand held high to grasp the thread just below the distaff.[4]) For the hiatus at this point in the line, before ἑλικῶνος, there is a parallel in Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 46 ἀνηναμένη ἅλος ὕδωρ). In the second line ΔΑΝ-ΔΑΙ-ΤΙΣ arose by metathesis from ΔΑΙ-ΔΑΛΛ-ΕΙ. It refers to the deft movements of the spinner's fingers as she twists the yarn below the distaff. The number of singers is not certain. Perhaps ἤειδον (3rd person plural) in Tzetzes is correct and we have a group which accompanied the solo spinner. ἤειδεν will have then arisen from a false agreement with the presumed subject. We may translate, and slightly paraphrase, the fragment:

'The hireling wool-worker wrought cunning work on the thread held high as she walked, and they sang fair ἴουλοι in accompaniment'.[5])

In addition to the mention of ἐριουργῶν by Athenaeus (*loc. cit.*), further support for Eratosthenes' interpretation comes a few lines later (XIV, 618E) where it is said that some thought the ἴουλος the song of wool workers (ἱστουργοί). More specifically it was the

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[4]) Such an attitude appears in vase paintings. See R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, IV (Leiden 1956), 162–3.

[5]) For spinning and walking see Herodotus 5, 12, 2–4, and a fragment of an Attic white-ground alabastron attributed to the Two-Row Painter in the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter (80/1931). I owe these references to David Harvey. [I have left the text of Eratosthenes as emended by J. W. F., but I have altered and rearranged some of the arguments he used to justify it. More important, perhaps, is that I have omitted his self-rejected suggestion that Eratosthenes had in mind weaving not spinning. I have misgivings about δαιδάλλει, but can think of no alternative. It is also uncertain whether the first word of the fragment should be ᾗ, ἡ or ἦν (see Powell's app. crit.). — John Cowell]

song of spinners (*ταλασιουργοί*).[6]) Pollux (4, 53) lists as kinds of song *ἴουλοι*, *οὐλαμοί*, *οὔπιγγοι*, Linus, the Song at the Mill, Himaios and Himalis. They are songs of diverse origin, but the juxtaposition of *ἴουλοι* and *οὐλαμοί* is interesting for the etymology of the songs we are about to discuss.

Photius (I. 295 N) and the Suda (s.v. *ἴουλος*) have *ᾠδῆς τι γένος ἴουλος καὶ ὁ προσφιλὴς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι*, 'a genre of song and the one pleasing to Artemis'. After Demeter and Persephone, Artemis is something of a surprise, but perhaps Didymus' comparison of *ἴουλος* with *οὔπιγγος* had some point, The question is who or what was pleasing to Artemis. If it were the song, we expect *προσφιλές* after *γένος*. It seems to mean 'the beloved of Artemis'. This implies that *ἴουλος* like Linus meant both the song and the mythical person that the song was about, and the name Ioulos occurs in a list of mythical *personae* including Linus (Apollodorus, FGrH 224 F 149).

2. *οὖλος* and *ἴουλος*

The sources of the work-song identify *οὖλος* and *ἴουλος* in the sense of "sheaf", but a study of their uses outside the context of work-song shows significant differences.

The adjective *οὖλος* seems to mean 'thick', 'close-packed', and is applied to objects made of woven material (*τάπητες*, *Iliad* 16, 224; *χλαῖναι*, *Odyssey* 4, 50; *χλανίδες*, Hermippus fr. 47 K). It also describes thick hair, especially that of negroes (*οὖλοι κόμαι*, *Odyssey* 6, 231; 23, 158; *βόστρυχος οὖλος*, *Anth. Pal.* 6, 201; *οὐλότατον τρίχωμα*, of a negro's hair, Herodotus 7, 70).[7]) Perhaps because of this and because it was used for plants with curly, hair-like tendrils (Stesichorus fr. 10 = *PMG* Page, no. 187 line 3; Simonides fr. 125 D, line 2), it acquired the secondary sense 'curly' which comes to the fore in certain compounds (e.g. *οὐλοκέρως*, *οὐλόφυλλος*, *οὐλοποίησις*). The basic meaning suggests a derivation from *εἰ(ε)λίσσω*, 'pack closely together', from the root *ϝελ-*. Hesychius (s.v. *οὖλοι*) says that *οὖλος* as a noun means handfuls of corn. The only objection to this is that according to Eustathius (*Iliad* p. 1162, 33) *οὐλοδέτης* also meant

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[6]) Athen. XIV, 618 D and Eust. 18, 570, p. 1164, 10. According to Edmonds' translation of Athenaeus, *Lyra Graeca*, III, 495, the *ἴουλος* of the *ταλασιουργοί* was the same as the *αἴλινος* of the *ἱστουργοί*. But this is not so, according to editors of Athenaeus who read *ἡ δὲ*, not *ἥδε*, in XIV, 618 D.

[7]) For *οὖλος* of negroes' hair see in general F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970), p. 6, with references.

'sheaf', but this may be a reformulation derived from οὐλαί to which we shall turn presently. A word meaning 'bundle' could well be connected with οὖλος, 'close-packed'. Thus στοιβή, which in the Septuagint means a sheaf of corn (see LSJ[9]), is derived from στοιβάζω, 'pack together'. The connection is also illustrated by a rare word from the same root as οὖλος. An ἐλάνη was a bundle of reeds (Nicander fr. 89, Schneider) and also a torch made from such a bundle (Athen. XV, 699 D and 701 A). Similarly δεταί (so Hesych. s.v.) is glossed by both by λαμπάδες and τὰ δράγματα. The οὐλαμός song (see p. 226) is a parallel because in Homer (e. g. *Ilias* 4, 251), who does not use it of song, it means a throng of warriors, so called presumably because they seemed to be packed closely together.

If this derivation of οὖλος, 'sheaf', is unacceptable, we can turn to οὐλαί, barley-corns or groats. Semus specified barley in his discussion of οὖλος. The difficulty is that οὐλαί does not mean barley in general but the barley-corns sprinkled on the head of a victim before the sacrifice (see LSJ[9]). There is no connection with sheaves. However in spite of this we appear to be on firmer ground, for there is a word ὄλινος which Hesychius glosses κριθῆς δεσμός, λῖνος. LSJ[9] translate 'sheaf of barley' (for ὀλ- as the equivalent of οὐλ- cf. ὀλαί Attic for οὐλαί), but δεσμή, not δεσμός, is the usual word for sheaf. It is much more likely that Hesychius would use δεσμός in its normal meaning of 'bond', 'binding', and his definition 'a binding for barley, thread (λῖνος)' makes admirable sense with reference to thread used to bind the sheaves.

As οὐλαί and οὖλος appear to come from different roots (ὀλϝ- and ϝελ-) there is probably no connection between them, but if there is, the development of meaning seems to be from bundle to bundle of barley, thence to barley and so to barley-corns. The third meaning is unattested. Whether this development is right or not, the activity lying behind the οὖλος song is the making of sheaves at harvest time. This means it was a harvest song. The line Athenaeus preserves—πλεῖστον οὖλον ἴει, ἴουλον ἴει—suggests not so much a rejoicing at what has already come but rather an anticipation. Edmonds[8]) and Gulick[9]) translate ἴει 'send forth' as though the song were addressed to Demeter as Mother Earth before the grain had sprouted. But though ἀνίημι is used of the earth sending up produce (e.g. Homeric

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[8]) *Lyra Graeca*, III, 533.

[9]) Athenaeus, VI (Loeb 1950), 333.

Hymn to Demeter 333; Aesch. *Suppl.* 266) *ἵημι* is not used in this way. *πλεῖστον οὖλον ἵει* means rather 'let go a very large sheaf', and is addressed to Demeter when the grain is being reaped. The line of song may not be from the *οὖλος* song proper, but even if it is not, the occasion of the *οὖλος* song can hardly have differed.

As already noted, the *ἴουλος* was the song of wool spinners. To connect this with the harvest song, the obvious thing is to compare the sheaf with the ball of wool from which thread is spun, but the exact occasion of the song does not permit it. It was sung when the grain was reaped before sheaves were made. A spinning song was sung after the ball of wool had been formed. The song's anticipatory nature surely implies that it is the spinner's prayer to ensure that a good, strong thread is made. In other words, the thread is analogous to the sheaf. This is not unreasonable. There is a gloss in Hesychius *γέλιν· ὁρμιάν. ὁρμιά* was a fishing line made of horse hair, i.e. something very like a thread. *γέλιν*, like certain other words beginning with the same syllable, comes from the root *Fελ-*, like *οὖλος*. Other examples are *γελίκη* glossed by Hesychius *ἕλιξ* and *γελλίξαι* glossed *συνειλῆσαι*. In these glosses we have the two main ideas associated with the adjective *οὖλος*, curliness and packing together.[10])

Except in discussions of the work-song, *ἴουλος* is not an agricultural word.[11]) Its most frequent application is to the sprouting facial hair of adolescents. It is the 'first blooming and outgrowth of hairs on the chin' (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 972). The *ἴουλοι* grow under the temples (*Odyssey* 11, 319), from the temples (Theocr. 15, 85), in front of the ears (Xen. *Symp.* 4, 23; Poll. 2, 10), down from the temples (Peek, no. 1991)[12]) and are cut under the temples (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 198). Thus they seem to be wisps of hair rather than beard (so Eustathius, *Odyssey*, p. 1688, 23–5, distinguishes between *ἴουλοι* on the side of the face and *λάχνη* on the chin), but *ἰουλόφορος γένυς* (Peek, no. 385) and such phrases as *ἴουλος διὰ παρηίδων* (Aesch. *Sept.* 534) and *ἰούλοις πλῆσαι παρείας* (Peek, no. 657) do not allow a general distinction between wisps of hair and beard.

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[10]) I have expanded this paragraph to explain the connection between the harvester's and spinner's song. J. W. F. had doubts about the exact relationship between the two. [John Cowell]

[11]) The only possible exception is Hesych. s.v. *ἴουλος* which is not independent of the tradition about the work song since it connects *οὖλος* and *ἴουλος*.

[12]) Peek = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin 1955).

In the references quoted ἴουλος is applied to the first growth of hair on an adolescent's face. This was the critical time between the first signs of ἥβη and the period of mature adult strength. It came between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one in Solon's scheme (fr. 19 D, 5–6), an it is the period when secondary sexual characteristics become apparent. It is a young man at this stage of development—Parthenopaeus—to whom Aechylus applies the adjective ἀνδρόπαις in the passage just quote.d.

Although ἴουλος was especially connected with human beings there seems to be some image or metaphor involved. Thus in Aechylus' description of Parthenopaeus we have μητρὸς ἐξ ὀρεσκόου βλάστημα (*Sept.* 532–3). Apollonius Rhodius (2, 43–4) writes χνοάοντας ἰούλους/ ἀντέλλων and Oppian (*Cyneg.* 4, 347) also has the same phrase. We also find χνοάοντος ἰούλου (Peek, no. 569) and ἀμφὶ γένυν χνοάων πρῶτον ἰουλόφορον (Peek, no. 385). χνοάω, χνοάζω (much rarer), and χνόος, used of the first growth of the beard (see LSJ[9]), are connected by sense if not by etymology with χλοάζω and χλόη which are usually applied to grain, flowers, and similar things as they are just sprouting above the ground but can describe the first growth of beard. There is a flower-image in ἀνθῆσαι ἰούλους (*Odyssey* 11, 319), as also in τυτθὸν δ' ἀνθήσαντας ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἴουλον (Peek, no. 1555, line 3), ἴουλον ἀνθῶν πρῶτον (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 381), τοὺς ἰούλους ἄρτι ἀνθοῦντες (Philo, *De vit. contempl.* 52), νεανίσκος ἤνθει τὸν ἴουλον (Eumath. 4, 12), γενύων . . . κούριμον ἄνθος (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 334), παῖς ἐπανθῶν τὸ τῆς ἥβης ἄνθος (Callist. *Ecphras.* 6, 1),[13]) πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι . . . ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἴουλον (Peek, no. 653), ἀνθήσαντας ἰούλους (*ib.* no. 780), ἄνθος . . . νέων ἰούλων (no. 1047), ἐπήνθει παῦρον ἴουλον, and ἄρτι παρείων ἄνθος ἄμωμον ἔχων (*ib.* no. 1997).[14]) The comparison with flowers is explicit in Callimachus who compares Aegeus' λεπτὸς ἴουλος to an ἄνθος ἑλίχρυσος (fr. 274, Pf.). Theocritus' picture of Adonis, combining adolescence and vegetation, is an admirable example of the type (*Idyll* 15, 129). He was eighteen or nineteen years old.

[13]) Most of these examples were collected by Walter Headlam, in his edition of Herodas (reprinted 1966), 38, on I. 52. It is only fair to point out that some would take ἄνθος to mean no more than growth in this connection. See J. M. Aitchison, *Glotta* 41, 1963, 271–8.

[14]) These examples have been collected by E. Griessmar, *Das Motiv der mors immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften* [Comm. Aenipontanae XVII, Innsbruck 1966] p. 62, n.1. I have not indicated restorations since these consist only of short additions where the stones have been damaged.

ἴονθος, used by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* 655 B 29; cf. *Probl.* 963 B 40) for the eruption accompanying the first growth of the beard seems exactly parallel to *ἴουλος*. If the word is rightly derived from *ἰ-* and *-ονθος*, in *-ονθος* there is probably some connection with flowers (for the confusion between *ονθ* and *ανθ* compare *μηλολόνθη* and *μηλολάνθη*). *ἴουλος* is also used of a kind of flower (Theophrast., *Hist. Pl.* 3, 5, 5). The *-ονθος* termination appears again in *ὄλονθος* which designates, *inter alia*, the fruit of the fig-tree (see LSJ[9]). The first vowel of *ἴονθος* may be derived from *ἴον*, a violet, just as *ἰάνθινος* is a compound of *ἴον* and *ἄνθος* (see LSJ[9]). Violets were black or dark blue (*μέλαν*, Theocr. 10, 28; *κυάναυγες*, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 73). *πυῤῥός* the adjective the Greeks used for the colour of the first beard when it was just sprouting (Eur. *Phoen.* 32; Aristot. *GA* 785 A 19; Theocr. 6, 3; 15, 130), indicates a yellowish-red colour, and is therefore more akin to *ξανθός* than *μέλας* or *κυάνεος*.[15]) But according to Aristotle (*de Color.* 797 B 30) and Galen (I, 619 Kuhn) the colour of the first beard soon became black.[16])

This derivation surely explains the iota of *ἴουλος* which has always perplexed scholars. H. W. Smyth thought it was a prothetic addition,[17]) but if this is so there should be no difference in the basic sense of *ἴουλος* and *οὖλος*. We have seen that there is a difference. *ἴουλος* was the dark coloured beard after it had been growing for some time. The objection to this is that *ἴουλος* meant the *first* growth of the beard according to the general opinion of antiquity (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 972; Suid. s.v. *ἴουλος*; Eust. *Odyssey*, p. 1688, 15; Hesych. s.v. *ἴουλοι*; Phot. s.v. *ἴουλος*; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5, 6 (10)), and sometimes the colour of the *ἴουλος* was golden rather than black (Call. fr. 274, Pf.; Nonn. *Dion.* 10, 179). On the other hand *ἴουλος* is often accompanied by some word meaning 'recent' or 'first' (for example, *πρᾶτον* Theocr. 15, 85; *ἄρτι* Aesch. *Sept.* 534; Peek, no. 1991; *ἁρμοῖ* Call. fr. 274, Pf.), and this suggests that *ἴουλος* itself did not describe the first sprouting of the beard. There is certainly some confusion, but I think it can be explained. The point is that the first growth of the beard remains the first growth until it is cut off. In other words, the colour of the first beard changes from yellowish-red to black. The derivation of *ἴουλος*

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[15]) For the meaning of *πυῤῥός* and *ξανθός* see A. E. Kober, *The Use of Color Terms in the Greek Poets*, 1932, 82–4.

[16]) For the blackness of the first beard see Pind. *Ol.* I, 68, Call. *Hymn* 5, 76–7 with the scholiast, and *Anth. Pal.* 11, 36.

[17]) *Greek Melic Poets*, 1906, p. 498.

shows that it was strictly applied to the beard when it became black, and to make it refer to the first sprouting required some qualifying word. Occasionally this was forgotten and it was used on its own for the beard when it first appeared (the second element of ἴουλος has, of course, the same derivation as οὖλος). Thus Parthenopaeus, whose ἴουλοι are just appearing (Aesch. *Sept.* 534), has an οἰνωπὸς γένυς (Eur. *Phoen.* 1160) which a scholiast interprets to mean he had a πυῤῥός-coloured beard, i.e. yellowish-red rather than black.[18])

3. *Ἴουλος and Initiation Rites*

We have seen that, on Semus' evidence, both οὖλος and ἴουλος meant sheaf and both were applied to the work-song. It is hardly possible to doubt this, but our survey of the meanings of ἴουλος has revealed no example where it means 'sheaf' independent of the tradition derived from the work-song. It is possible, therefore, that ἴουλος became the name of a song not concerned with the grain harvest and was transferred to the agricultural sphere because of symbolic similarities.

The natural assumption is that the developing hair on a male adolescent's face was equated with the sprouting crops in the fields. On the other hand it was a widespread custom to clip off the first growth of beard and offer it to a deity, and the grain was of coures cut at harvest time. In fact analogies between hair and cereals need not, and cannot always be, completely logical. There are three possible sources for an analogy between hair and cereals. Firstly, the grain as σπέρμα was removed from underground silos in which it had been stored during the summer and sown in the autumn. Secondly, the grain as χλόη was sprouting just like the beard on a man's face. And thirdly, the grain as καρπός was ready for cutting like an adolescent's beard. The first seems inappropriate because there is no notion of newness or cutting, though it is worth remembering that the story of Persephone is derived from the practice of storing the grain underground before sowing and a feature of the initiation of girls who have arrived at puberty.[19]) On reaching puberty, and before they were married, girls made an

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[18]) Cf. the scholiast to 1159 who thinks the hair was ξανθός, but this is probably a confusion between the beard and the hair on the head.

[19]) G. Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society, The Prehistoric Aegean* (1949) I, pp. 231–7, partially following F. M. Cornford.

offering of hair.[20]) For the second possible analogy there is the comparison between the first growth of the grain and the sprouting of the beard, and also perhaps the general plausibility of an equivalence between a young man and the new growing grain. Semus mentions Demeter *Χλόη* in his discussion of the *οὖλος* song. But the etymology of *ἴουλος* (basically *dark*-coloured beard) is against this. As for the third analogy, Callimachus with reference to the Hyperborean offerings on the island of Delos says that boys on reaching puberty made an offering of *θέρος τὸ πρῶτον ἰούλων* (*Hymn IV*, 298–9), and since the Hyperborean offerings involved handfuls of grain (*ἱερὰ δράγματα . . . ἀσταχύων*, *ibid.* 283–4), we have a cult in which both grain and hair offerrings had a part. They are linked in the sense that both were considered first-fruits (*ibid.* 278 and 299): similarly *ἀπαρχαί* and its verbal cognate *ἀπάρχομαι* are connected with hair and grain (see LSJ[9] s.v.). On the basis of this we may infer that the connection between *ἴουλος*, adolescent's hair, and *ἴουλος*, sheaf, was derived from ritual. If this was indeed the connection, then we should take especial note of *θέρος* and suppose that the *ἴουλοι*, at least by the clipping stage, were thought to be analogous to the grain when it was ready for reaping.[21]) This was not necessarily when the grain was ripe, for it was the custom in some parts of the ancient world to cut the grain before it was ripe and then let it ripen on the ground.[22]) Callimachus' use of *θέρος* suggests a synchronisation between the time of cutting the grain and the occasion of puberty rites. We must therefore enquire whether the season of reaping coincided with the time of puberty initiation rites.

The connection between the seasons and human beings is well-known. For the Athenians the ephebes were the spring.[23]) It was not a particularly Greek idea. We read that 'on the good fields of Shumer grain, the green maiden, lifts her head in the furrow'.[24]) In one sense at least the connection is practical, since almost everyone feels a renewal of life and vitality with the return of

[20]) Eur. *Hipp.* 1425–6; other examples are quoted by Barrett in his edition of the play, p. 4. See also Plut. *Lyc.* 15, 3 and Lucian, *Fugit.* 27.

[21]) *θέρος*, though often translated vaguely 'harvest', is connected with the early part of summer, i.e. the season of reaping rather than threshing or winnowing. See LSJ[9].

[22]) A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* (1950) II, p. 205

[23]) J. E. Harrison, *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*[2] (1922), p. 503, quoting the Attic orator Demades *ap.* Athen, III, 99 D.

[24]) Henri Frankfort and others, *Before Philosophy* (Penguin 1949), p. 158.

spring. That fertility rites are correlated with seasonal changes is a truism which needs no illustration. Not so frequently realised, perhaps, is that initiation ceremonies, particularly puberty rites, are often geared to seasonal rites. We have already seen this with Persephone; she died and was reborn like the seed corn and a maiden at puberty.

A widespread puberty rite is the dedication of a lock of hair. For girls the state of *παρθένος* was associated with free-flowing hair[25]) which was cut off immediately before marriage (see above, p. 231). The clipping of hair may thus not simply be a *rite de passage* but a symbol of the end of pre-marital freedom. For a girl the ideal scheme of development is as follows: she is a girl, then a *παρθένος* with a distinctive hair style, and finally a married woman with a hair-cut different from that she had while a *παρθένος*.

The boys' scheme of development is best illustrated from Gortyn in Crete. At the age of seventeen a boy entered the *agela*, and when he emerged from it at about the age of twenty he was considered a full adult and had to marry.[26]) There are two transitions, one at the age of puberty and one some years later. For Gortyn there is no evidence about hair offerings, but other evidence shows that Greek boys made such offerings when they reached puberty.[27]) The Cretan *agela* corresponds to the Athenian ephebic organisation. Athenian boys when they were about to become ephebes made a hair offering to Heracles Alexikakos (Hesych. and Photius s.v. *οἰνιστήρια*). This was concerned with entry into the phratries which took place at the age of sixteen, i.e. on the arrival at puberty, during the Apaturia.[28]) The Apaturia took place in October so that

[25]) Eur. *IT* 1144–51; Call. *Hymn.* 6, 5 *ἃ κατεχεύατο χαίταν*; vf. the scholiast *ἥτις ἄγαμός ἐστι*; Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1267. Apparently it was sometimes not cut but bound up with an *ἀναδεσμή*. See *Anth. Pal.* 5, 276 and 6, 276. Cf. Hesych. s.v. *ἀναδεσμή*.

[26]) R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London 1955) 7ff. The age of entry into the *agela* is given on p. 14 and emergence on p. 12.

[27]) At the age of sixteen Theseus left Trozen and made an offering of hair at Delphi (Paus. 1, 27, 8; Plut. *Thes.* 5, 1). Aeschylus mentions Orestes' hair offering to the river Inachus (*Cho.* 6–7). It meant that he had become an ephebe (G. Thomson, *The Oresteia*[2] (1966) II, 125).

[28]) Poll. 3, 52 and 6, 22 records that the *οἰνιστήρια* formed a preliminary to entry into the phratries. The age concerned is sixteen, not eighteen. Jean Labarbe ('L'âge correspondant au sacrifice du *κούρειον* et les données historiques du sixième discours d'Isée', *Bull. Acad. Roy. Belg. Cl. Lettres* 39, 1953, 358–94) has shown that there were two ephebic organisations at Athens. In the civil sense a young man became an ephebe when he was eighteen,

in Athens autumn was the season in which the boys' arrival at adolescence was celebrated and marked by a hair offering.

Bearing in mind the stated aim of discovering whether the θέρος of hair was offered at the same time as the θέρος of grain took place, we must examine the season at which other festivals of puberty initiation took place to determine whether the Apaturia is an exception to the general rule. θέρος occurs twice again in connection with offerings of hair at puberty, In the first example it describes hair on the head, cut off on the arrival at puberty (Philostratus, *Letter* 16 (26)) but there is no indication of the season at which the offering was made. In the other, a Roman epigram from the Palatine Anthology, Apollonides bids young Gaius, the son of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, cut his παρειάων πρῶτον θέρος and γενύων ἠϊθέους ἕλικας (*Anth. Pal.* 10, 19). Then his father will take in his hand the ἴουλος he has prayed for.[29]) Here we are in the Roman world. In Italy corn was reaped at midsummer according to Vergil (*Georg.* 1, 197) and Varro (*R. R.* 1, 32, 1), but there is no evidence for Roman ritual hair-clipping at this season. It is likely that it often took place when a youth assumed the *toga virilis*, and the traditional date for this was March 17.[30]) A correlation between the hair cutting and the seasons in Italy ought therefore to speak of spring rather than summer, and this is what we find in an epigram by Crinagoras, another Roman poet of the Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 244). I know of no other examples describing this puberty offering in terms of the seasons,[31]) and from these two it does not appear that there was a general correlation between the

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but there was an older organisation concerned with entry into the phratries and becoming an ephebe in the sense of arriving at puberty which took place at the age of sixteen.

[29]) The ἴουλος includes the πρῶτον θέρος παρειάων and ἕλικες. Since the latter means curls, it shows that the hair was cut when the hair had grown to some length and not when it was just sprouting.

[30]) Thus Caligula made a hair offering when he assumed the *toga virilis*; see Duff on Juv. 8, 166. For the date see Ovid *Fasti* 3, 771 and Cic. *Ad Att.* 6, 1, 12.

[31]) [For completeness I note Nonnus *Dion.* 3, 344–7, where Electra says that her son Dardanus went to Troy ὅτε γνόον ἔσχεν ἰούλων and dedicated his θαλύσια κομάων to the River Simoeis. θαλύσια are generally thought to be offerings made in the month Thargelion (May/June) (see J. E. Harrison, *Prolegema to the Study of Greek Religion*[3] (1922) pp. 78–9) and therefore even if the hair was offered at the same time (there is no evidence for this) it was after the θέρος). — John Cowell]

ceremony and any one season. However they are Roman and date from the first century B.C., and we should not expect the authors to use language with the precision of Callimachus who was intensely interested in antiquarian lore. We have to look at Greek festivals of puberty initiation, but there is a difficulty, since, though hair offerings at these were widespread, evidence to connecte the custom with specific festivals is very scanty. Yet at least it is possible to see whether the festivals took place at a given season.

Well-known from Cretan religion are the Curetes. Jane Harrison showed that they were a group of young initiates and that the myth of Zeus' birth and his protection by them from his father Cronus reflects a pattern of initiation.[32]) Connected with them, and forming the basis of Miss Harrison's work, is the famous Hymn of the Curetes.[33]) It invokes 'The Greatest Kouros, son of Kronos' who must be Cretan Zeus. According to Hesychius (s.v. *Γ(= Ϝ)ελχάνος*) the Cretans called Zeus *Ϝελχάνος* and there is evidence for his worship under this name in classical times at Cnossus, Lyttus, and Gortyn.[34]) His festival at Lyttus took place on the Kalends of May (*ibid.*). This festival, connected with initiation, was held at about the time when the corn was being reaped. Unfortunately the association is not general. The Spartan Carneia was a festival of the phratries (Demetrius of Scepsis *ap.* Athen. 4, 141E), and was held from the seventh to the sixteenth of the month Carneius (August-September).[35]) During it there took place the race of the *σταφυλοδρόμοι* (Bekker, *Anecd.* I, 305). Now in Crete a *δρομεύς*, i.e. someone who had taken part in the public foot races, was an adult man with full political rights.[36]) Thus at Lato in Crete *ἐγδραμεῖν*, 'to take part in the foot races', meant to leave the *agela* (*Inscr. Cret.* I, xvi, 5, 21). Similarly the Athenian ephebes were called *ἀπόδρομοι* because they did not take part in the public races (Eust. *Odyssey*, p. 1592, 58). The Carneia, then, was partly concerned with the emergence of young men as full adults. So the *σταφυλοδρόμοι* are called *νέοι* (Bekker, *Anecd.* I, 305), and a young man became a *νέος*

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[32]) *Themis: A Study in the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (first edition, Cambridge 1912).

[33]) Most recently edited with commentary by M. L. West, *JHS* 85 (1965) 149–59.

[34]) A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 2 (1925) 948.

[35]) L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1907) IV, 259; B. D. Meritt, *Class. Phil.* 26 (1931) 70–84, esp. 78–81.

[36]) Willets, *op. cit.*, *supra*, n. 4.

after he was an ephebe. Since, as shown above, the *Carneia* was an autumn festival, it did not coincide with the θέρος of the corn.

At Delphi there was a festival of the Apellaia which has been compared to the Athenian Apaturia.[37]) The ἀπελλαῖα were offerings made at puberty initiation. The festival was named after the Dorian month Apellaios which is equivalent to Attic Hecatombaeon (July/August).[38]) Again like the Carneia, this festival did not coincide with the reaping of the corn. Festivals concerned with puberty-initiation could take place at different seasons, and we thus cannot conclude that in general the harvests of hair and grain were cut at the same time.[39]) But it is still possible that they coincided at the Delian festival which Callimachus describes in his fourth hymn, and that this made him mention the θέρος ἰούλων (line 298).

In fact scholars have disagreed about the date of the Delian festival, but for our purposes the details of the argument are unimportant.[40]) It involved the Hyperborean offerings of first-fruits which must have arrived in Delos long after the reaping on the island was completed. For, it should be remembered, they came from the north, and the further north a place was located the later the grain harvest. Hence, the most reasonable view is that the Delian festival took place sometime in July or August, a view to which Farnell inclines. Even on Delos a young man did not cut his beard at the same time as the crops were reaped.

The hair offered is defined as beard because it was from the beard that the ἴουλοι which Callimachus specifies were cut. However

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[37]) M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig 1906) 464–5.

[38]) See Harrison, *Themis*, 439–41.

[39]) [At this point J. W. F. referred to the Trozenian festival at which girls and boys made hair offerings on reaching puberty (see below, p. 238) and for which he thought the Hippolytus story the *aition*. He believed it to be a festival of late summer partly because the festival of St. Hippolytus was on August 13 (*Acta Sanctorum Augusti*, III, 4ff.) and partly because of the comparison with the myth of Baal from Ras Shamra. The victory of Baal, the bringer of rain, over Yam, who sent flooding from the sea at the end of summer, naturally suggests a festival at the same time (T. H. Gaster, *Thespis*[2] (New York 1961), 129, 'There is every reason for seeing in the Canaanite Poem of Baal a seasonal myth based on the traditional ritual drama of the autumn festival'), but it is possible that Baal's victory was celebrated in spring (L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson, *JNES* 28 (1969) 166). Because of this difficulty I have omitted the evidence of the Trozenian festival. — John Cowell].

[40]) See Farnell, *Cults* . . ., IV, 290–1, and W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos* (Oxford 1933), 46–7.

Herodotus (4, 34) thinks that the hair came from the head and not the beard. It looks as though details of the ritual changed over the centuries, as is to be expected,[41]) but there is no reason for doubting that in Callimachus' time it was still the custom to wind the hair *περὶ χλόην τινά*. This goes some way to confirm that the analogy was between hair and ripe corn, and not corn just sprouting above the ground, because the hair had to be long and not just sprouting on the face. It also supports the derivation I have proposed for *ἴουλος* since the beard would by this stage in the Greek scheme of things be black and not reddish. The hair (*ἴουλος* according to Callimachus) wound round some green matter is exactly like the *δράγματα* of corn concealing the secret offerings brought from the Hyperboreans. It was on Delos that the meaning of *ἴουλος* could easily be extended from the human to cereal spheres: Semus was a Delian.

The Hyperborean offerings were mythically connected with Apollo and Artemis,[42]) and so too was the Delian festival. I have already noted that Ioulos, the mythical personification of *ἴουλος*, was loved by Artemis. In spite of the parallels between *ἴουλος* and *οὖλος*, there appears to be no connection between *οὖλος* and Artemis. Sometimes instead of maidens youths are mentioned, and Callimachus (*Hymn* IV, 298) says that girls dedicated their hair to the maidens and boys to the youths, but both boys and girls were making their dedications to Artemis' agents and thus to her. Her sphere of influence was not the grain and cultivated land but the wild vegetation and the wild animals which lurked in the forests.[43]) On the human level she was concerned with girls as *παρθένοι* rather than married women. On the male side we should not forget that Athenian ephebes offered the *κούρειον* to her (Hesych. s.v. *κουρεῶτις*). It is unlikely that the *ἴουλος*/Artemis association referred originally to the grain crop at any stage since it would not be in keeping with Artemis' functions. But it could, and I believe did, belong to her functions concerned with the young of both sexes. The connection of *ἴουλος* with both Artemis and Demeter, who was closely connected with the corn,[44]) is explained if we assume that the word was transferred from the human to cereal spheres on

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[41]) See G. van Hoorn, *De vita atque cultu puerorum monumentis antiquis explanato* (1909), p. 38. Books and articles dealing with hair offerings, while mentioning the Delian rites, do not investigate the symbolism behind *ἴουλος*.

[42]) Farnell, *Cults* . . ., II, (1896) 465.

[43]) Farnell, *Cults* . . ., II, 427ff.

[44]) Farnell, *Cults* . . ., III (Oxford) 1907, 34ff.

Delos because of the similarity and simultaneity of offerings at the summer festival of Apollo and Artemis.[45])

Of the goddesses associated by ancient authors with the ἴουλος song we have so far not explored the relationship with Persephone. As with Artemis only ἴουλοι, not οὖλοι, are connected with her. The interpretation of the Persephone-story in terms of female initiation at puberty has already been noticed. In this story Demeter played a vital part. Equivalent names for Demeter and Persephone were Damia and Auxesia,[46]) who had cults in Epidaurus, Aegina, Tarentum, Thera, Laconia, and Trozen. The Trozenians worshipped them in Hippolytus' sanctuary (Paus. 2, 32, 2).

The Trozenian girls' custom of dedicating hair to Hippolytus has already been noticed. Such offerings at Trozen were not restricted to girls. Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 60) reports that the young men made offerings of hair from their heads combined with the first clippings from their beards. The offerings were, at least indirectly, connected with Damia and Auxesia.

Lucian also says that the Trozenian rites were exactly like those in the Hierapolitan cult of the Syrian Goddess in which he had taken part himself. It was their custom to put the hair in a silver or gold vessel and place it in the temple with the dedicant's name inscribed upon it. The same custom was observed in Caria in honour of Zeus Panamaros, where it was usual for a man to dedicate a lock of hair in a stone vessel bearing his name. The vessel was then preserved in the temple.[47]) According to Aristotle (*ap.* Strabo 8, 6, 15) the Carians settled in Argolis, especially Epidaurus and Hermione, before the Return of the Heracleidai. Trozen is situated in the same area. Likewise there was a Carian cultural substratum on Delos.[48]) It is not impossible that the ethnic provenance of the hair clipping rites we have been discussing was Carian.

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[45]) On Delos Demeter was connected with the Hyperboreans, if Farnell rightly identified the mysterious Achaiia, celebrated in a Delian hymn attributed to Olen, with Demeter Achaia (*Cults* . . ., III, 71–2).

[46]) Farnell, *Cults* . . ., III, 113. [47]) Cook, *Zeus*, I (1914), 23–5.

[48]) Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, 23ff. [But see now A. M. Snodgrass in *JHS* 84 (1964) 113.]

An apparent Case of μρ at Megara Hyblaia

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A

In an article that appeared in Glotta in 1967[1]) A. S. McDevitt pointed out that there are two examples in Thessalian inscriptions of the survival of IE *mr*, before the insertion of a *β* glide and subsequent loss of initial *m*. Both are in personal names, one in initial the other in intervocalic position.

On reading McDevitt's comments I immerdialtey drew his attention to the inscription on a bronze tablet newly discovered in Southern Italy some nine miles north-west of the ancient mouth of the river Krathis in the neighbourhood of Francavilla Marittima. The plaque dates from the middle of the sixth century, records a dedication to Athena by an Olympic victor, and is inscribed retrograde. The text runs as follows:

ΔΟ[2]) ΚΛΕΟΜΡΟΤΟΣ
Ο ΔΕΞΙΛΑΓΟ ΑΝΕΘΕΚ
ΟΛΥΝΠΙΑΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΣ
ΓΙΣΟ ΜΑΚΟΣ ΤΕ ΠΑΧΟΣ ΤΕ
ΤΑΘΑΝΑΙ ΑΓΕΘΛΟΝ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ[3])

This inscription was discussed by McDevitt in a further article published in Glotta in the following year.[4]) While it is engraved in Achaian script and the dialect is also apparently Achaian, McDevitt observed, the presence of *μρ* provides a clear linguistic link with the language of Thessaly. Why? He went on to consider three possible explanations.

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[1]) "A Phonological Note on Two Inscriptions from Thessally", Glotta XLV. Band 1967, Heft 3/4, p. 161–163.

[2]) Most probably a phratry designation. Alternatively, Kleomrotos may have won in the dolichos event.

[3]) For the editio princeps, see M. W. Stoop and G. Pugliese Caratelli in "Atti e Memorie della Societa Magna Grecia", n.s. VI–VII. 1965–1966, p. 14–21.

[4]) "A Thessalian in Magna Graecia?", Glotta XLVI. Band 1968, Heft 3/4, p. 254–256.

1. Although it has always been assumed that the insertion of a a β glide between μ and ϱ was an early development, completed before the differentiation of the major dialect groups, it might be suggested that this is untrue and that IE *mr* survived in Greek well into the Geometric period.

2. It is possible that Thessalian and Achaian alone of the Greek dialects retained IE *mr* until a very late date.

3. The inscription could have a much more direct connection with Thessaly, namely that Kleomrotos son of Dexilaos was himself a Thessalian, or at least of immediate Thessalian descent.

The first hypothesis McDevitt regarded as inherently unlikely, since, if it were true, we should expect to find examples of $\mu\varrho$ in archaic inscriptions from all parts of Greece; such examples were not in evidence. As to the second, this too is inherently unlikely, for there are no other clearly established isoglosses exclusive to Achaian and Thessalian. McDevitt therefore preferred the third alternative and argued that there was no real difficulty in the supposition that an immigrant dedicator, although prepared to entrust a draft of his text to the script and dialect of a local engraver, should take care to ensure that his name was correctly spelt.

B

Retrograde inscripton on the right thigh of a marble kouros erected over a physician's grave. From the necropolis of Megara Hyblaia. Circa 550 B.C. Now in the Archeological Museum at Syracuse.

ΣΟΜΡΟΤΙΔΑ: ΤΟ ΗΙΑΤΡΟ: ΤΟ ΜΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ

As Caratelli has pointed out,[5]) McDevitt overlooked this inscription when writing his article on the Francavilla dedication. At the time I was in similar ignorance, despite the fact that it had been published, by Caratelli,[6]) as early as the late 1940's. It would appear that we have another example of the survival of $\mu\varrho$ in intervocalic position in a personal name, this time from Dorian Megara Hyblaia in an inscription in the local script whose dialect

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[5]) See La Parola del Passato XXIV. 1969, p. 461–462.

[6]) See Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene, n.s. XXIV–XXVI. 1946–1948, p. 66–68.

is duly Doric. In Caratelli's view it would be straining the imagination to suppose that Somrotidas was another Thessalian in the west, all the more so given that the name of his father, Mandrokles, suggests an Anatolian origin.[7])

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Although the second hypothesis advanced by McDevitt as a possible explanation of μρ in the Francavilla Marittima inscription can be reformulated to embrace the fresh example, it remains just as implausible for similar reasons. Must we then fall back on the first hypothesis in order to cope adequately with all instances of the phenomenon? Perhaps, yet the awkward fact remains that we do not possess specimens of μρ in archaic inscriptions from all parts of Greece. Until such are to hand, I suggest, a quite different approach is at least worth considering.

Conspicously absent from the text of the Francavilla dedication are unparalleled features so anomalous that one is forced to consider the possibility of an error. The article is regularly psilotic in early Achaian inscriptions of Magna Graecia (one may compare, for instance, the five examples in the text of the mid-sixth century treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi[8]), and, as is explained by McDevitt,[9]) ΓΙΣΟ for ΓΙΣΟΝ in line 4 is due to assimilation of final *nu* to initial *mu* and simplification of the resulting double consonant.

There would seem, on the other hand, to be no chance of a natural explanation of the puzzling heta prefixed to ΗΑΤΡΟ in the Megara Hyblaia inscription. I have encountered no indication elsewhere of an irregular or secondary form of *ἰατρός* with the asper and there is no question here of metathesis of aspiration. Almost certainly the mason blundered. As to aetiology, we might hazard the guess that, not unnaturally given the role of the priests of Asklepios, *ἰατρός* and *ἰαρεύς* were associated in the mind of the mason[10]) who inattentively began to cut the latter word instead of the former. Having become conscious of his aberration after

[7]) See, for example, the article Mandros in Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, XIV. Band. 2, cols. 1042–1043.

[8]) See, for example, R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C., (Oxford, 1969), p. 18–19, n. 10.

[9]) See "A Thessalian in Magna Graecia?", p. 255 note 2.

[10]) Alternatively, or in addition, the mason may have often, and possibly just before he tackled the Sombrotidas kouros, cut inscriptions in memory of priests and priestesses.

incising heta, he chose to leave the redundant letter in situ rather than risk marring the thigh of the marble kouros with an unsightly erasure.

An engraver so careless and scrupulous, might well leave more than one mistake and I would submit that there is more than a strong chance that ΣOMPOTIΔA is a letter short rather than the habitation of a linguistic coelacanth. The most straightforward explanation of this error is a lapsus oculi triggered by the structural similarity of a local freak beta[11]) in the mason's draft to the mu that followed it.

If, after all, the μρ from Megara Hyblaia is unintentional, so that the Francavilla example remains the only probably authentic specimen outside Thessally, the conclusions of McDevitt's second article, it can be argued, continue to carry provisional conviction.

Textkritisches zur sechsten Homilie des Asterius von Amasea

Von G. J. M. Bartelink, Nymegen

1. *Hom.* VI 1,2 (Ausg. C. Datema, Leiden 1970, S. 59, 7–10) *Οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλείπει τὸ ῥεῖθρον αὐτῇ* (sc. *τῇ χάριτι*) *καθάπερ ἐκείνοις* (nl. die irdischen Ströme) *ἐνίοτε, οὐδ' ἀναβάσεις καὶ ὑποβάσεις ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ἐπιδέχεται, οὐδὲ τὸ καὶ τὸ μέρος κατὰ τούτους περιλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει ἀεὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀρκεῖ.*

Es handelt sich um einen Vergleich zwischen dem Strom der Gnade des Geistes (*τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ χάρις*) und den irdischen Strömen. In dem *Index verborum* der genannten Ausgabe (S. 334) wird *πλήθει* als Form des Substantivs *πλῆθος* aufgeführt, während es hier jedoch

[11]) For the morphology (Ⲙ), see, for example, Jeffery, Local Scripts, p. 262. While it is true that no actual example has as yet turned up ar Megara Hyblaia, it is in evidence at Selinous (see IG XIV 268), which can only have acquired it from her metropolis. It is hard to decide whether Jeffery, p. 276 no. 29, a sepulchral inscription from the necropolis of Megara Hyblaia, implies that she had ceased to use the freak beta by the beginning of the fifth century (well before its disappearance at Selinous), or was not cut in the local script at all. I find it difficult to believe with Jeffery (op. cit. p. 270) that what is naturally taken for the bottom of the stone is really the top, so that instead of - - -] OIKYBOI [- - - left to right, we read - - -] OIKΛEOI [- - - retrograde, in Megarian script with freak eta.

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aufzufassen ist als Form des Verbums *πλήθειν*, das in den Texten öfters mit *ποταμός* oder dessen Synonymen verbunden wird (*πλήθων ποταμός* u.a.; seit Homer): auf diese Weise wird der Sinn besser verständlich und entsteht außerdem eine evidente Parallele mit den anderen Prädsentien *ἐπιλείπει, ἐπιδέχεται, περιλαμβάνει* und *ἀρκεῖ*. Übersetzung: „er (sc. der Strom der Gnade) füllt nicht nur den einen oder den andern Teil seines Flußbettes wie die andern, sondern er ist immer voll und genügt allen“[1]).

2. *Hom.* VI 1,4 (*ibid.*, S. 59, 20–22) *ὃς* (sc. Daniel) *εἰ καὶ τῆς βαρείας ἐκείνης ἔργον ἐγεγόνει αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης* (sc. *γῆς*) *εἶχε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.*

Die von Datema vorgeschlagene Deutung von *εἶχε* (*ibid.*, S. 233: „come to, reach“) bleibt insbesondere wegen des Genetivs *τῆς ἐνεγκούσης* (als separativus aufgefaßt?) problematisch. Ich ziehe es vor, *ἔχειν* hier aufzufassen als „bewohnen“. Die auch in diesem Fall bestehende Schwierigkeit hinsichtlich der Genetivkonstruktion könnte man durch die Annahme, daß schon früh in den Handschriften *ἀντὶ* nach *καὶ* ausgefallen sei[2]) beheben. Es dürfte sich um einen in paläographischer Hinsicht leicht zu erklärenden, öfters vorkommenden Kopistenfehler handeln: das Überspringen vom einen Wortende zum andern bei Homoioteleuta. Somit möchten

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[1]) Ähnlich *ἀφῆκεν* in *Hom.* II 3, 3 (*ibid.*, S. 18, 19). Im Index ist es (S. 272) unter *ἀφίημι* aufgeführt worden, während es sich doch wohl um eine Form von *ἀφήκειν* handelt („er zog ab“). Es wird beschrieben, wie ein Reisender sich unter einem schattenreichen Baum aufhält, und, während er weiterzieht, ein anderer seinen Platz übernimmt: *Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἴχετο τῆς ἀνακλίσεως, σὺ δὲ τοῦ περιπάτου. Ἐτέρφθη κἀκεῖνος, εἶτα ἀφῆκεν.*

[2]) Einen den Handschriften gemeinsamen Fehler finden wir z.B. auch in *Hom.* VI 5,1 (*ibid.*, S. 61, 36) wo Datema mittels einer vorzüglichen Emendation *κατέπτηξαν* in *κατέπληξαν* geändert hat. Es kommt mir vor, daß wir auch in *Hom.* V 7,6 (Datema, S. 49, 30) mit einem gemeinsamen Fehler rechnen müssen: *ἀκρωτηριάσομεν* verdient hier den Vorzug vor *ἀκρωτηριάσωμεν*. Der Fehler läßt sich leicht erklären. Im Vorhergehenden finden sich zweimal adhortative Konjunktivi Aoristi am Satzende: *Ἐπεγένετο φλύκταινα τῇ χειρί, ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὴν θεραπεύσομεν· φλεγμονὴ τὴν πόδα διώχλησεν, φαρμάκῳ τὴν ἐξοίδησιν καταστείλωμεν.* Der nächste Satz geht jedoch in eine konditionelle Konstruktion über; die Verbalform am Satzende ist ein Futurum: *Εἰ δὲ παρέντες τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐπίσκεψιν περὶ τὴν τομὴν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἀσχοληθείημεν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν λυπούντων, οὐδὲ μικρὸν τῆς ζωῆς διαγενόμενοι χρόνον πᾶσι τοῖς μέλεσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀκρωτηριάσομεν.* Man vergleiche für eine ähnliche Konstruktion *Hom.* V 11,1 (*ibid.*, p. 51, 12ff.): *Ἂν δέ που μοιχείας αἰτίαν προβάληται καὶ τοιαύτην παράσχοι τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, εὐθὺς τὴν συνηγορίαν μεταθήσομαι τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος.*

wir vorschlagen: *καὶ ‹ἀντὶ› τῆς ἐνεγκούσης εἶχε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα*, „und (auch wenn er) statt in seiner Heimat in Babylon wohnte".

3. *Hom.* VI 6,3 (*ibid.*, S. 63, 2–3) *Χώρησον σοφῶς τοὺς ψευδωνύμους κριτάς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ταῖς σαῖς ἐρωτήσεσι συμφώνως ἐπιπήδωσι ὡς ἐν παραδείσῳ τῇ γυναικί.*

Χώρησον (von *χωρεῖν*: *Index verborum*, S. 363) soll geändert werden in *χώρισον* (von *χωρίζειν*). *Χωρεῖν* findet sich bei Asterius dreimal anderswo, jedoch nur in der Bedeutung „gehen", die aber in *Hom.* VI 6,3 keinen Sinn gibt. Nimmt man aber an, daß hier eine in den Handschriften auf Grund des Iotacismus sehr frequente Verwechslung von *ι* und *η* vorliegt — deren Beibehaltung jedoch bei dem eine rhetorische attizistische Prosa schreibenden Asterius keinen Zweck hat[3]) —, so ergibt sich durch eine leichte Änderung die notwendige Korrektur. Eine Bestätigung gibt außerdem der LXX-Text *Susanna* 51: *Διαχωρίσατε αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων*. In einer Apostrophe fordert Asterius ferner in seiner Homilie Daniel auf, die lügenhaften Richter voneinander zu trennen (siehe auch *Hom.* VI 6,6, S. 63,16 *καὶ τὴν πεῖραν τῆς ἐρωτήσεως κεχωρισμένοις προσάγει*).

ΔΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΝ bei antiken Dichtern

Von Gregor Maurach, Pretoria

Als Deucalion am Parnass anlegte, betete er, wie Ovid met. 1,320 zu berichten weiß, zu Nymphen und Themis, denn

non illo melior quisquam nec amantior aequi
vir fuit aut illa metuentior ulla deorum.

„Die Regel der Schulgrammatik, daß im allgemeinen *quisquam* substantivisch und *ullus* adjektivisch verwendet wird, ist gleich zweimal durchbrochen."[1]) In einer derart gedrängt gebauten Fermate dürfte die Wiederholung kein Zufall sein, zumal es nicht

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[3]) So würde ich in Asterius' von A. Bretz (TU 41,1, Leipzig 1914, S. 111,32) herausgegebenen Homilie *εἰς τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς παρὰ τῷ Λουκᾷ* nicht *αἴδεσμα*, sondern *ἔδεσμα* schreiben (Verwechslung von *αι* und *ε* in den Handschriften).

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schwer scheint, noch weitere Verdoppelungen dieser Art bei Ovid zu finden[2]). Sie hat auch Vergil verwendet: in Aen. 6, 839–843 wiederholt er nicht nur das archaisch und feierlich klingende Wort *genus* für „Abkomme" (E. Norden zu 792), sondern auch die (an Lucr. 3, 1034) erinnernde Appositionsform *fulmina belli* (842) in 843: *cladem Libyae*. Vergil wiederholt auch die seltsame Verkehrung der natürlichen Verhältnisse in Aen. 6, 537 (*trahere tempus* und *ducere horas*, s. Conington) und in 539, er wagt auch die Anwendung des „falschen" Ausdrucks für eine sinnliche Wahrnehmung in Aen. 12, 591f. gleich zweimal (*ater odor* und *murmur caecum*, s. Norden S. 205 Mitte) und einen doppelten Gräzismus in 6, 411; gleich zweifach ersetzt Properz in 1, 10, 25f. ein farbloses Allerweltswort durch eine raffinierte Junktur (*irritata venit* für *erit*; *meminit* für *potest*[3])), Lucan verwendet das seltenste *optimus* mit PPP in 1, 425f. zwiefach, Statius setzt Theb. 1, 531 und 536 *pudor* gleich zweimal für „Mädchen", schwächt Ausdrücke des Brennens gleich zweimal in 1, 631 und 634 ab zum Begriff „heiß" (*incendere* und *ignis*), überträgt Theb. 2, 400f. Ausdrücke für den Jahresablauf auf den des Tages doppelt und braucht den Kniff, einen Menschen für sein Tun zu setzen in Ach. 1,4 und in 1,7 gleich wieder. Valerius Flaccus läßt 1,51 eine Form von *esse*, in 1,74 ein *verbum dicendi* gleich zweimal aus und wagt in 1,99 die Ellipse von *gestae* nach *res*, was er gleich darauf wiederholt.

Geht man in die Zeit vor Vergil zurück, so findet man z.B. bei Horaz (c. 1,8,4 und 12) eine derartige Wiederholung: in 4 ist *patiens* prägnant verwendet („though hitherto ...", Nisbet-Hubbard) und in 12 (vor der Schluß-Strophe, also wohl um den Kreis zu schließen) dieselbe Raffinierung des Adjektivs (*nobilis*: „wo er doch bekannt ist dafür, daß ..."); Catull verwendet den Kunstgriff der „Konkretisierung" in c. 35,4 gleich doppelt: *Comi moenia* statt simpel: *Comum* und *Larium litus*[4]), in 64, 240 den Kniff der prägnanten Adjektive: *aerium* = in die Luft *ragend*, *nivei* = schnee*bedeckt*, in 68, 97f. die Raffinesse des „Adjektiv für Genetiv": *nota* = *notorum*, *cognatos* = *cognatorum* (so auch Kroll).

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[2]) In met. 1, 257f. ist das PPP gleich zweimal in derselben Weise verfeinert, nämlich durch den proleptischen Gebrauch, vgl. auch Bömer zu 1, 371, S. 124.

[3]) So Mulder zu Stat. Theb. 2, 321; Shackleton Bailey, Propertiana², 31 verfeinert seine Ansicht, ohne sie zu widerlegen.

[4]) Eine Sammlung solcher Konkretisierungen bei Geographica bietet Hor. c. 1, 7, 1–12, z.B. *bimaris Corinthi moenia*.

Naturgemäß kommt diese Technik aus dem Griechischen: Sophokles verwendet in den Versen, welche die vergebliche Mühe des Bauern beschreiben, der sich abmüht, ohne je die Erde „ermüden" zu können[5]), die *circumlocutio* von der Form *genus hominum* gleich zweimal (Ant. 338ff.): *ἱππείῳ γένει* und *φῦλον ὀρνίθων*, und gebraucht die gerade in diesem Liede so gut passende Form des Oxymoron doppelt: *παντοπόρος/ἄπορος* (360) entspricht *ὑψίπολις/ἄπολις* (370) genau. — Ganz gleich, wo man die Ursache für diese Verdoppelungen suchen mag[6]), sie scheinen bewußt verwendet zu sein und gehören darum in den Katalog der poetischen Mittel der Antike[7]).

Rhotacisme Synchronique du latin classique et Rhotacisme Diachronique

Par Christian Touratier, Paris

Résumé: Der historische Lautwandel, den man üblicherweise 'Rhotazismus' nennt, hat im phonologischen System des klassischen Lateins lebendige Spuren hinterlassen: Das Phonem /s/ realisiert sich zwischen Vokalen und in Berührung mit einer Morphemgrenze als Variante [r]. Wenn man diesen Tatbestand mit den distinktiven Merkmalen N. Chomskys und M. Halles beschreibt, so sieht man deutlich, daß der Rhotazismus nur ein Assimilationsvorgang ist, den eine vokalische Umgebung auf einen Zischlaut ausübt. Diese Erkenntnis erlaubt es, die Assimilation von *ferret* und *vellet* mit dem Rhotazismus zu verknüpfen und die beiden Arten von Lautphänomenen unter ein und dasselbe phonologische Gesetz zu subsumieren.

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[5]) Vgl. G. Müllers Kommentar S. 84 oben und E.-R. Schwinge, Gymnas. 78, 1971, 305.

[6]) Eine ganz besonders gedrängte Form ist Ov. met. 1, 479, wo in *impatiens expersque viri* gleich zwei Adjektive, die sonst nicht mit lebendigen Objekten, sondern mit Sachobjekten verbunden sind, auf dieselbe Weise verfeinert werden.

[7]) Ein solcher erscheint in ANRW, Bd. 3 unter dem Titel „Ein System der lateinischen Dichtersprache".

[1]) Je tiens à remercier amicalement Heinz Happ pour tous les conseils qu'il a bien voulu me donner. Je remercie aussi M. R. Gsell pour ses nombreux encouragements et ses nombreuses observations, en m'excusant toutefois de n'avoir pu retenir les critiques empiriques et théoriques qu'il faisait au système de traits de N. Chomsky et M. Halle.

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[7]) Ein solcher erscheint in ANRW, Bd. 3 unter dem Titel „Ein System der lateinischen Dichtersprache".

[1]) Je tiens à remercier amicalement Heinz Happ pour tous les conseils qu'il a bien voulu me donner. Je remercie aussi M. R. Gsell pour ses nombreux encouragements et ses nombreuses observations, en m'excusant toutefois de n'avoir pu retenir les critiques empiriques et théoriques qu'il faisait au système de traits de N. Chomsky et M. Halle.

Le rhotacisme dont parlent les manuels de phonétique latine est un fait historique que les locuteurs latins, excepté quelques personnes cultivées ou curieuses en matière de langage[2]), ignoraient à l'époque classique et qu'ils n'avaient du reste absolument pas besoin de connaître pour manier correctement leur langue. Par contre, tout locuteur latin, pour qui le latin classique était par lui-même et sans le secours d'explications historiques un système, disposait de certaines règles d'alternance entre *r* et *s* qui étaient indispensables au bon fonctionnement de sa langue. Nous appellerons rhotacisme synchronique ces règles d'alternance du latin classique et nous désignerons par rhotacisme diachronique la "loi" historique que les manuels de phonétique latine, faute souvent de soupçonner la dignité de la synchronie à côté de la diachronie, appellent simplement le rhotacisme.

Le rhotacisme synchronique est incontestablement la conséquence en latin classique du rhotacisme diachronique; mais cette dépendance génétique ne l'empêche pas d'être "un fait dans son ordre"[3]) et par conséquent un fait qui ne doit pas être confondu avec ce qu'est le rhotacisme traditionnel dans l'ordre diachronique. Il risque même d'être plus utile au latiniste non grammairien que le rhotacisme diachronique, dans la mesure où il fallait, entre autres choses, en avoir acquis les mécanismes pour pouvoir parler latin. Nous nous intéresserons donc au rhotacisme du latin classique en tant que fait en soi et non pas seulement en tant que résultat d'une évolution, afin de dégager ce que de Saussure appellerait sa "vérité synchronique" et de voir dans quelle mesure cette "vérité synchronique concorde (. . .) avec la vérité diachronique"[4]).

Quand on décrit le latin classique pour lui-même, en oubliant toute préoccupation historique, on est amené à postuler des faits de rhotacisme. Des alternances comme[5])

[*u*:*s*+t+us] "ayant été brûlé" ~ [*u*:*r*+o:] "je brûle"
[*es*+t] "il est" ~ [*er*+a+t] "il était"

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[2]) Cf. le chapitre que J. Safarewicz consacre aux "témoignages antiques" sur le rhotacisme et notamment à la lettre où Cicéron (*Fam.*, 9, 21, 2) rappelle que les Papirius s'appelaient autrefois Papisius (J. Safarewicz, *Le rhotacisme latin*, Wilno, 1932, p. 3–8).

[3]) F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Paris, Payot, 1967, p. 137.

[4]) F. de Saussure, *C.L.G.*, p. 136.

[5]) Selon une tradition maintenant bien établie, ce qui est mis entre crochets note une réalisation phonétique, c'est-à-dire la façon dont est prononcée une séquence phonique; ce qui est mis entre barres obliques note une séquence phonématique, c'est-à-dire la suite d'unités minimales de seconde articulation qui correspond à une réalisation phonétique donnée (cf. A. Marti-

[ama:+*wis*+tis] "vous avez aimé" ~ [ama:+*wer*+a+tis] "vous aviez aimé"
[*tempus*] "le temps (nom. et acc.)" ~ [*tempor*+is] "le temps (gén.)"

montrent en effet que le phonème /s/ présente, entre voyelles et devant une frontière de morphème, une variante combinatoire qui se réalise sous la forme du son [r]. Des alternances du type

[ama:+*re*] "aimer" ~ [es+*se*] "être" ou [ama:+wis+*se*] "avoir aimé"
[ama:+*re*:+s] "que tu aimasses" ~ [es+*se*:+s] ou [ama:+wis+*se*:+s]

établissent que cette variante de /s/ intervocalique apparaît aussi après une frontière de morphème. Ceci ne veut en aucune façon dire que tout son [r] intervocalique est, au contact d'une frontière de morphème, une variante du phonème /s/, car le phonème /r/ peut fort bien se trouver dans certains des environnements où le phonème /s/ se réalise [r], comme le prouvent [fer+o:] "je porte" et [ser+o:] "je tresse". La vibrante intervocalique de ces deux verbes ne peut pas en effet être autre chose qu'une réalisation du phonème /r/, puisque le radical de ces verbes ne présente aucune alternance comparable à celle de [es] ~ [er] "être", [u:s] ~ [u:r] "brûler" ou [ges] ~ [ger] "accomplir": on a [fer+t] en face de [es+t] et [ser+t+us] en face de [ges+t+us].

Le rhotacisme synchronique défini par ces deux règles de variation phonologique s'accommode assez bien des exceptions apparentes que les historiens ont relevées à propos du rhotacisme diachronique. Le premier groupe de ces exceptions, dont certaines n'ont d'ailleurs pas encore été expliquées d'une façon vraiment satisfaisante[6]), ne constitue nullement une exception, même apparente, du point de vue synchronique; ce sont les mots comme

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net, *Eléments de linguistique générale*[2], Paris, A. Colin, 1967, p. 38: 2–12). Nous utiliserons le code de transcription de l'Association de Phonétique Internationale; c'est ainsi que la longueur des voyelles sera indiquée par deux points (:) dans les transcriptions phonétiques ou phonématiques. Nous emploierons en outre le signe + pour les frontières de morphèmes ou "jonctures internes" (A. Martinet, *Eléments*, p. 65–66: 3–6) et le signe ≠ pour les frontières de mot ou "pauses virtuelles" (A. Martinet, *Eléments*, p. 64–65: 3–5).

[6]) Cf. J. Safarewicz, *Rhotacisme*, p. 36 et 88–94; L. Michel, *Etude du son s en latin et en roman*, Paris, P.U.F., 1955, p. 110.

Caesar, asinus, miser, faenisex: "le faucheur", etc., où le phonème /s/ ne se trouve pas en contact avec une frontière de morphème et où par conséquent le rhotacisme synchronique ne saurait intervenir.

Le deuxième groupe d'exceptions apparentes ne gêne ni le diachronicien ni le synchronicien, ce sont les mots du type *causa, cāsus, dīuīsiōnes* où, comme nous l'apprend Quintilien[7]), la lettre *s* du latin impérial correspondait, en latin classique, à une prononciation [ss] et par conséquent à un groupe biphonématique, ce qui exclut toute application du rhotacisme synchronique et diachronique, puisque la sifflante n'est pas en position intervocalique.

Les choses se compliquent un peu avec les mots d'origine étrangère: des mots grecs comme *basis*: "piédestal, base" (cf. *βάσις*), *pausa*: "cessation" (cf. *παῦσις* ou plutôt, comme l'a suggéré. Ernout[8]), l'impératif *παῦσαι*), *Mūsae*: "les muses" (cf. *Μοῦσαι*) ou des mots celtiques comme *gaesum*: "javelot gaulois". Ces mots sont de toute évidence des emprunts, et il est parfois possible de dater avec précision leur entrée dans la langue latine; c'est par exemple au temps d'Ennius que les *Mūsae* grecques supplantent les *Camenae* latines. Comme le rappelle en effet J. Heurgon, alors que Livius Andronicus transcrivait littéralement l'invocation à la *Μοῦσα* du premier vers de l'Odyssée par

Virum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum

Ennius commença ses Annales par:

Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum

en précisant même:

Musas quas memorant, nosce nos esse Camenas[9]). Si de tels emprunts sont postérieurs à 390, date présumée de la fin du rhotacisme diachronique d'après J. Safarewicz[10]), ils ne gênent nullement le diachronicien; mais ils ne gênent pas non plus le synchronicien, si

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[7]) Quintilien, *Inst. or.*, I, 7,20; cf. l'exégèse pertinente qu'en donne M. Niedermann, *Phonétique historique du latin*[3], p. 121, note 1.

[8]) A. Ernout, *B.S.L.* 30 (1929) p. xxiv.

[9]) Cf. J. Heurgon, *Ennius: I Les annales*, Paris, C.D.U., 1958, p. 14–15. Fort judicieusement l'auteur rappelle, à la suite de P. Boyancé (cf. *R. Ph.*, 1955, p. 172 sq.), que M. Fulvius Nobilior, protecteur d'Ennius, fut à l'origine de la fusion du culte des Camènes et du culte des Muses, ce qui confirme bien la période à laquelle *Musae* entra dans la langue latine.

[10]) J. Safarewicz, *Rhotacisme*, p. 14.

celui-ci tient compte de la place importante qu'occupent dans la description linguistique les faits d'emprunt, et s'il se rappelle que les langues peuvent fort bien emprunter des particularités phonétiques, et par conséquent aussi phonologiques, à l'occasion d'emprunt d'unités lexicales[11]). Il n'est alors pas choquant de trouver des particularités phonétiques incompatibles avec le système phonologique d'une langue donnée, dans la mesure où elles sont empruntées; et l'on peut dire que, pour les latins, les mots comme *basis*, *mūsae*, etc., étaient phonologiquement marqués comme des emprunts, précisément parce qu'ils ne se conformaient pas au rhotacisme synchronique. Il est d'ailleurs possible d'imaginer que le latin classique, comme cela arrive assez souvent en pareil cas, a essayé d'intégrer à son système phonologique cette petite anomalie, en assimilant plus ou moins ce son [s] devant une frontière de morphème à la réalisation phonétique de la géminée /ss/, qui, elle, ne subissait aucune variation au contact d'une frontière de morphème, faute d'être en position intervocalique[12]).

La dernière série d'exceptions apparentes est encore, semble-t-il, beaucoup plus intéressante; il s'agit des verbes comme *re+seru+ō*, *dē+sin+ō*, *prae+sum*, des conjonctions *nisi*, *quasi* et de l'adverbe *dē+super*. Ces exceptions peuvent facilement être éliminées si l'on suppose d'abord que les synthèmes ont au point de vue du signifiant les mêmes propriétés que les syntagmes, c'est-à-dire que *nisi* est au niveau du signifié un seul monème et au niveau du signifiant la séquence *ni+si*; et si l'on suppose en outre que la variation de /s/ intervocalique en [r] après une frontière de morphème n'a lieu que lorsque la sifflante appartient à un morphème ou, si l'on veut, fait partie du signifiant d'un monème qui ne ressortit pas au lexique. Cette restriction s'explique d'une façon tout à fait comparable à l'explication diachronique qu'a proposée L. Michel: "Quand l'*s*, écrit-il[13]), se trouvait à l'interieur d'un mot et à l'initiale du second terme d'un mot composé, le sentiment de la composition l'a préservé de toute altération ..... cf. en français *parasol*, *préséance*, *pré-*

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[11]) Cf. A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, Paris, Champion, 1958, p. 84–87.

[12]) Cette hypothèse a déjà été faite par M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*[2], München, Beck, 1963, p. 141, § 128d. Elle explique peut-être la leçon *paussam* que donne l'Ambrosianus pour Pl., *Poen.* 459 et que suivent les éditeurs modernes, ainsi que la graphie *bassim* de C.I.L. I[2] 1549 et XI[2] 6224.

[13]) L. Michel, *Son s*, p. 110.

supposer, aérosol"[14]); de même, au plan synchronique, c'est le sentiment de la composition qui empêche la variation de /s/ en [r]. Mais c'est surtout par ses conséquences théoriques qu'une telle restriction est intéressante; elle justifie en effet concrètement le rejet de ce qu'on appelle parfois l'autonomie du niveau phonologique: non seulement la seconde articulation n'est pas totalement indépendante de la première articulation, puisque l'analyse phonologique est amenée à tenir compte des frontières de mot et des frontières de morphème, mais le niveau phonologique serait encore plus ou moins tributaire d'informations de type syntaxique, puisque pour donner une description phonologique cohérente de *amāret* et *dēsinō*, on est obligé de s'appuyer sur la distinction entre morphèmes (c'est-à-dire monèmes grammaticaux) et lexèmes (c'est-à-dire monèmes lexicaux). Le rhotacisme en effet ne s'applique pas à /de:+sin+o:/, parce que la sifflante intervocalique appartient au signifiant d'un lexème, ou plutôt au signifiant d'un monème dont l'initiale peut être précédée d'une frontière de mot, si l'on accepte pas de voir dans *si* ou *super* un lexème. Par contre, dans /ama:+se:+t/, la sifflante présente la variation en [r], parce qu'elle appartient à un morphème qui n'est jamais précédé d'une frontière de mot.

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Une fois reconnue l'existence du rhotacisme synchronique que nous venons de postuler, on peut essayer d'en saisir toute l'originalité en le comparant au rhotacisme diachronique. Ce dernier se distingue nettement du rhotacisme synchronique en ce que, au début du 4ème siècle av. J.-C. ou plutôt au 5ème siècle, d'après J. Safarewicz[15]), c'est toute sifflante intervocalique qui est devenue [r], et non pas seulement les [s] intervocaliques au contact d'une frontière de morphème. Le génitif pluriel *-ārum* < **-āsōm* (cf. gr. *-ῶν* < hom. *-άων*, skr. *tāsām* "de celles-ci", *yāsām* "desquelles") ne le prouve pas nécessairement, car le lexème des noms de la première

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[14]) On notera que si *présupposer* contient peut-être trois monèmes, à savoir /pRe+sypoz+e/, *préséance* par contre est en français moderne un synthème (cf. A. Martinet, *Eléments*, p. 133–134: 4–35), ce qui n'empêche pas le sentiment de composition de jouer, puisque l'on dit [pReseãs] et non [pRezeãs].

[15]) Cf. M. Niedermann, *Phon. hist.*, p. 95; J. Safarewicz, *Rhotacisme*, p. 23.

déclinaison avait peut-être encore un signifiant /fa:bula:/, et non /fa:bul/ comme en latin classique, avec un nominatif ∅, un abl. sing. **fabulād* (cf. *sententiad* dans le Sénatusconsulte des Bacchanales) et un abl. plur. **fabuleis* (cf. *soueis aastutieis* pour *suis astutiis* dans C.I.L. I², 364). Mais un mot comme *aurōra* < **āwsōsā* (cf. "gr.:éol. *αὔως*, hom. *ἠώς*, att. *ἕως*"[16]) de la racine **āw-* suivie du suffixe *-e/os-*) le montre certainement, car il n'est guère possible d'imaginer qu'au moment du rhotacisme diachronique, il était formé de deux monèmes et correspondait à /a:w+so:sa:/.

Phonétiquement, c'est-à-dire au niveau superficiel et concret de la réalisation phonétique, l'effet du rhotacisme diachronique est donc assez simple à formuler, si l'on comprend bien que toutes les prétendues exceptions ou bien n'existaient pas à cette époque ou bien étaient dans un contexte qui entraînait un autre changement que le rhotacisme, voire aucun changement. Quand on admet que des mots comme *mūsa*, *poesis* ou *philosophia* n'étaient pas encore entrés dans la langue latine à l'époque du rhotacisme et que les verbes du type de *dēsinō* ne présentaient pas de *s* intervocalique, le préverbe étant alors indépendant du verbe, ce que prouvent les formules *ob uōs sacrō*, *sub uōs placō* ou *trānsque datō* citées par Festus comme l'équivalent archaïque de *obsecrō uōs*, *supplicō uōs* ou *trāditōque*[17]), il est alors évident que le rhotacisme diachronique a eu pour conséquence phonétique de faire disparaître toutes les sifflantes intervocaliques et de les remplacer finalement par le son [r].

Mais phonologiquement, c'est-à-dire au niveau abstrait ou sous-jacent, les choses sont plus complexes, car le son [r] qui résulte du rhotacisme ne devient pas nécessairement une occurrence du phonème /r/: il peut en raison de la situation syntagmatique et paradigmatique dans laquelle il se trouve rester un représentant du phonème /s/ et correspondre alors à une variante combinatoire de /s/. Pour essayer de montrer clairement ces faits, employons les tableaux à double entrée qu'a utilisés H. Hoenigswald[18]) dans ses descriptions de changement morphologique ou phonologique: sur l'axe horizontal est portée la synchronie la plus ancienne, c'est-à-dire le latin avant le rhotacisme, et sur l'axe vertical la ou les synchronies postérieures, à savoir le latin après le rhotacisme; les

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[16]) A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dict. étymol. de la langue latine*³, p. 107.

[17]) M. Niedermann, *Phon. hist.*, p. 130–131.

[18]) Henry M. Hoenigswald, *Language change and linguistic reconstruction*⁵, Chicago, Phoenix books, 1965, p. 27 sqq. et 86 sqq.

chiffres indiquent les environnements utiles dans lesquels paraissent les phonèmes étudiés, par exemple

1 : position initiale # — V[19]), dans *sinō* "je permets", *rogō* "je demande";

1′: position initiale V # — V, pour les verbes à préverbe indépendant du type *dē* . . . *sinō* "je cesse", *dē* . . . *rogō* "j'abroge";

2 : devant occlusive avec éventuellement une frontière de morphème: — (+) Occl., dans *es+t* "il est", *fest+us* "de fête", *fer+t* "il porte", *hortā+tur* "il exhorte";

3 : après occlusive et éventuellement une frontière de morphème: Occl. (+) —, dans *uexa+t* "il malmène", *scrip+s+ī* "j'ai écrit", *patr+em* "père (acc.)";

4 : *s* (+) — V, dans *mis+s+us* "envoyé", *caussa* "la cause";

5 : *r* — V, dans **tersa* "la terre", *narr+ō* "je raconte";

5′: *r* + — V, dans **fer+se* "porter";

6 : *l* — V, dans **colsom* "le cou";

6′: *l* + — V, dans **uel+se* "vouloir";

7 : V + — V, dans **amā+se* "aimer";

8 : V — + V, dans *Lās+es* "les Lares", **ūs+ō* "je brûle", *fer+ō* "je porte";

8′: V *s* + V, dans les emprunts postérieurs au rhotacisme comme *mūs+a* "la muse";

9 : V — V, dans **ausōsa* "l'aurore", *para+t* "il prépare";

9′: V *s* V, dans les emprunts postérieurs au rhotacisme du type *philosophi+a* "la philosophie".

Dans l'intersection entre les deux axes, on porte les changements phonologiques qui font passer d'une synchronie à l'autre. Un tel

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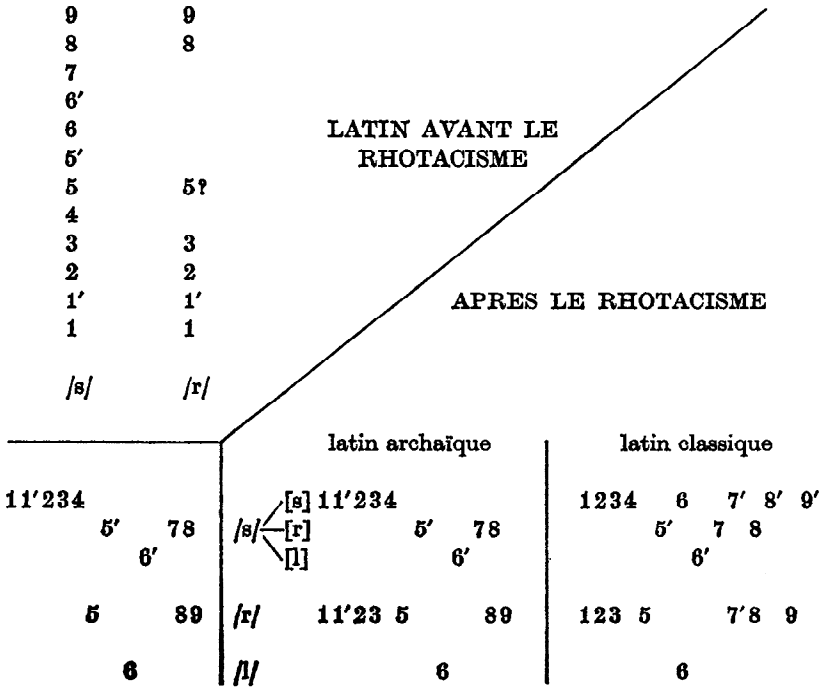
[19]) Dans ces notations, le tiret (—) indique la place du phonème envisagé, ce qui précède le tiret, le contexte antérieur du phonème, et ce qui suit le tiret, le contexte postérieur du phonème. La croix (+) signale une frontière de morphème, le signe d'égalité doublement barré (#) une frontière de mot et la double parenthèse un élément facultatif. La lettre V enfin est l'abréviation de: Voyelle.

tableau nous montre que l'inventaire des unités phonologiques n'a pas diminué: les phonèmes /s/ et /r/ existent dans les trois synchronies, mais



après le rhotacisme le phonème /s/ présente des variantes combinatoires qu'il n'avait pas auparavant. En ce qui concerne l'inventaire des groupes de phonèmes, on constate que /s/ perd les contextes 5, 6 et 9, où, en l'absence de toute frontière de morphème, aucune alternance ne peut permettre de rattacher encore au phonème /s/ les sons [r] et [l] que le rhotacisme a fait apparaître dans *terra* < **tersa*, *collum* < **kolsom* ou *aurōra* < **awsōsa*; /s/ perd aussi une partie de ses représentants dans le contexte 8, car, malgré la présence d'une frontière de morphème, aucune alternance du type *ūr+ō* (< **ūs+ō*) ~ *us+t+us*, ne permet de voir dans le [r] de *lār+es* (< *lās+es*) une réalisation phonétique du phonème /s/. On remarque ainsi que la présence d'une frontière de morphème est la condition nécessaire mais non suffisante pour que le statut phonologique de la synchronie ancienne subsiste, après et malgré un changement phonétique, dans la synchronie récente et pour qu'un fait latin donné tombe sous le coup à la fois du rhotacisme diachronique et du

rhotacisme synchronique. Consécutivement à la disparition ou à l'appauvrissement de certaines distributions de /s/, le phonème /r/ ne gagne aucune distribution nouvelle, sauf si l'on pense que la gémination expressive d'origine populaire que l'on a dans *narrō*: "je raconte" ou *Varro*[20]) ne s'était pas encore produite au moment du rhotacisme, auquel cas /r/ se serait enrichi du contexte 5; mais en admettant que /r/ ait autant de distributions après qu'avant le rhotacisme, il n'en reste pas moins que le rhotacisme a augmenté sa fréquence dans les contextes 8 et 9, où l'on trouve alors aussi bien *fer+ō, para+t* que *lār+es* (< *lās+es*), *aurōra* (< **awsōsa*).

Si l'on veut maintenant comparer le latin d'avant le rhotacisme avec le latin classique, il faut changer le contexte 1′ en 7′, car les préverbes ont perdu leur indépendance d'antan et un verbe comme *dē+sin+ō* s'est rapproché, en ce qui concerne la position de la sifflante, du contexte 7 de /ama:+se/ par exemple; il faut aussi ajouter les contextes 8′ et 9′ qui sont dus aux emprunts, et le contexte 6 qui, par suite de la disparition du sentiment étymologique, reparaît dans l'adjectif *fals+us*: "faux", lequel remonte pourtant à un **fals+s+us* (< **fald+t+os*[21])). On constate alors qu'en latin classique le phonème /s/ a retrouvé presque tous ses contextes d'avant le rhotacisme diachronique et que tout semble donc se passer comme si la langue latine tendait à faire disparaître les effets du changement phonétique historique de [s] en [r]. La réinterprétation de l'adjectif *falsus*: "faux" en /fals+us/ et les emprunts du type *Caesar, philosophia* ont en effet permis à /s/ de récupérer les contextes 6 et 9, sans que cela gêne le moins du monde la variation que nous avons appelée rhotacisme synchronique. La récupération du contexte 8 grâce aux emprunts de 8′ risque par contre d'être plus dangereuse pour cette variation synchronique: tant que les mots du type *mūs+a, poes+is, paus+a, bas+is*, etc., sont sentis comme des emprunts, leur statut d'étrangers au système phonologique proprement latin ne nuit nullement à la règle phonologique de variation de /s/ intervocalique en [r], au contact d'une frontière de monème; telle est, supposons-nous, la situation en latin classique. Mais il est évident qu'il n'en sera plus de même quand ces mots auront été entièrement naturalisés latins; et ce sera le cas pour certains d'entre eux, comme *mūsa, pausa*, lorsque la sifflante géminée se sera simplifiée après voyelle longue, *caussa* étant devenu *causa*, c'est-à-

[20]) Cf. A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*[6], Paris, Hachette, 1952, p. 168; A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Diction. étymol.*[3], p. 496.

[21]) A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Diction. étymol.*[3], p. 381.

dire à l'époque de Quintilien si l'on se fie à *Inst. or.*, I, 7, 20. A ce moment-là, des mots authentiquement latins comme *causa*: "la cause" ou *cāsus*: "le hasard", qui en latin classique correspondaient à /kauss+a/ ou /ka:ss+us/, ne pourront plus être analysés autrement qu'en /kaus+a/ ou /ka:s+us/, et la variation de /s/ en [r] ne sera plus alors, après voyelle longue et diphtongue, qu'une variation morphologique. Certes, après voyelle brève, elle restera une variation phonologique, et des mots comme *basis*: "le piédestal", *casa*: "la cabane", *rosa*: "la rose" seront probablement encore sentis comme quelque peu étrangers au latin. Mais dès que, pour une raison ou pour une autre, il n'en sera plus rien, ce qui a bien dû se produire un jour, le rhotacisme synchronique aura alors vécu en tant que règle phonologique: les seules traces qui en subsisteront seront des variations morphologiques qui concerneront quelques morphèmes verbaux (le morphème de subjonctif prétérit, le morphème d'infinitif et le morphème de *perfectum*), quelques lexèmes verbaux de la troisième et de la quatrième conjugaison comme *ūrō* (participe *ustus*) ou *hauriō* "puiser" (participe *haustus*) et quelques lexèmes nominaux de la troisième déclinaison comme *tempus* "le temps" (génitif *tempor+is*) ou *genus* "le genre" (génitif *gener+is*). Le latin aura ainsi complètement éliminé de son système phonologique les contraintes entraînées par le rhotacisme diachronique; seuls quelques fossiles rappelleront encore, dans sa morphologie, mais plus dans sa phonologie, l'existence de ce changement phonétique prélittéraire.

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Essayons maintenant de donner une formulation générative au rhotacisme synchronique. Une telle entreprise peut paraître scandaleuse ou inconséquente après tout ce que nous venons de dire, qui semblait fortement marqué par la phonologie d'origine pragoise; et pourtant nous croyons que rien de ce que nous avons dit expressément n'est incompatible avec les théories fondamentales de la phonologie générative. Parler du phonème /s/ et de la réalisation phonétique [r] est une façon de parler commode qui n'implique pas nécessairement une séparation radicale entre un niveau phonologique et un niveau phonétique, séparation radicale que du reste ni Troubetzkoy ni R. Jakobson ni A. Martinet n'ont postulée; ils l'ont même, semble-t-il, assez nettement repoussée[22]). On peut en

[22]) Cf. par exemple N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Principes de phonologie*, trad. par J. Cantineau, Paris, Klincksieck, 1967, p. 15; R. Jakobson, *Essais de lin-*

effet fort bien penser que le terme de réalisation phonétique désigne tout ce qui est à la sortie du composant phonologique de la grammaire générative, c'est-à-dire "le niveau dérivé ou concret, qui est celui de la spécification phonétique", pour reprendre ce que dit S. A. Schane[23]), et que le terme de phonème désigne tout ce qui se trouve entre l'entrée du composant phonologique et cette représentation phonétique terminale, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui est "abstrait ou sous-jacent"[23]) par rapport à la spécification phonétique, et celas ans entrer dans des controverses plus ou moins passionnées pour savoir si, dans ce qui est abstrait chez les génératives, les phonèmes des pragois correspondent à un niveau bien particulier ou si la commutation est un moyen heuristique efficace pour isoler et analyser les phonèmes. Certes ces questions théoriques ne manquent pas d'intérêt, mais il faut peut-être attendre encore un peu pour pouvoir les aborder sereinement.

Avant de décrire le rhotacisme synchronique du latin classique à l'aide du système de formalisation qu'est la phonologie générative, il importe de préciser par quels traits nous allons caractériser *r* et l'opposer à *l*. Il est unanimement reconnu que le [r] latin est un *r* roulé ou apicoalvéolaire, comme le [r] italien[24]). La phonétique traditionnelle voit dans ce son une constrictive vibrante apicoalvéolaire sonore; et c'est son caractère vibrant qui le distingue de [l], lequel est en effet une constrictive latérale apicoalvéolaire sonore. Une telle description a l'inconvénient de mesurer, si l'on peut dire, [r] et [l] au moyen d'étalons qu'on n'utilise pour aucune autre consonne. Unifiant leur système de description, R. Jakobson et M. Halle distinguent /l/ de /r/ grâce à l'opposition continu ~ discontinu, qui leur sert par ailleurs à distinguer les constrictives des occlusives; N. Chomsky et M. Halle, d'un autre côté, attribuent à *r* et *l* le même trait continu, mais les distinguent en considérant que *l* est antérieur et *r* non antérieur, traits qu'ils emploient aussi bien

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guistique générale, trad. par N. Ruwet, Paris, 1963, p. 89–90; A. Martinet, *La linguistique synchronique*, Paris, 1968, p. 39–40, 49; etc.

[23]) S. A. Schane, *Introduction* dans *Langages* 8 (déc. 1967): *La phonologie générative*, p. 11.

[24]) Cf. A. C. Juret, *Manuel de phonétique latine*, Paris, 1921, p. 30: "L'*r* latine était produite par les vibrations de la pointe de la langue s'avançant vers les alvéoles" ou R. G. Kent, *The sounds of Latin*, Language Monograph n° XII (sept. 1932) p. 59: "R was a voiced liquid, trilled with the tip of the tongue behind the teeth, while the sides of the tongue touched the palate" et notamment les arguments philologiques ou les témoignages de grammairiens latins utilisés par ces auteurs.

pour les consonnes que pour les voyelles[25]). Il est certain que la notion de discontinuité rend assez bien compte du ou des battements du [r] roulé; mais l'analyse de R. Jakobson ne revient-elle pas à nier de deux façons différentes la continuité? Il y a en effet la discontinuité de l'occlusive, qui est à proprement parler une absence de continuité, et la discontinuité de /r/, qui, elle, correspond à une ou à des interruptions dans la continuité et est donc à la fois continuité et discontinuité. Ces deux sortes de négation ne gênent nullement R. Jakobson, dans la mesure où il cherche des traits distinctifs universels et où la non continuité et la discontinuité, étant en distribution complémentaire dans les langues, peuvent être considérées comme deux manifestations différentes d'un seul et même trait distinctif; mais cette simplification ne donnera pas satisfaction à ceux qui ont une conception moins formelle et plus substantialiste des traits. Si donc, pour éviter l'ambivalence du trait discontinu de R. Jakobson, on assimile l'opposition continu ~ discontinu à l'opposition que les phonéticiens de langue française font entre les consonnes continues et les consonnes momentanées[26]), on est amené à dire que *r* est une continue. Une consonne continue en effet "peut être prolongée à volonté tant que la provision de souffle du sujet parlant n'est pas épuisée"[27]); et tel est bien le cas du [r] roulé. Dans ces conditions, plutôt que d'opposer *r* à *l* par le trait [— continu] en face du trait [+ continu], comme le voudrait R. Jakobson, nous préférerons la solution de N. Chomsky et M. Halle qui attribuent à *r* et à *l* le même trait [+ continu].

Reste alors à savoir si l'opposition que N. Chomsky et M. Halle font entre la non antériorité de *r* et l'antériorité de *l* suffit à distinguer ces deux continues l'une de l'autre, ou plutôt si elle rend à peu près compte de la différence phonétique qu'il y a entre ces deux sons. Il semble incontestable que la latéralité de [l] est bien rendue par les trois traits [+ consonantique], [+ antérieur] et [+ continu]: [l] est consonantique dans la mesure où il y a une obstruction caractérisée, c'est-à-dire une fermeture complète ou presque complète,

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[25]) R. Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale*, p. 129; N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *The sound pattern of English*, New York, Harper & Row, 1968, p. 177, 302–303, 307, 318.

[26]) M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique*[9], Paris, Delagrave, 1971, p. 59; B. Malmberg, *La phonétique*, Paris, P.U.F., Que sais-je? 1954, p. 47; A. Martinet, *Eléments de linguistique générale*[2], Paris, A. Colin, 1967, p. 46: 2–24; etc.

[27]) M. Grammont, *Traité*, p. 59.

sur la ligne médiane de la cavité buccale[28]), et il est antérieur dans la mesure où l'obstruction a lieu "en avant de la région palato-alvéolaire", c'est-à-dire avant la région "où est articulé le [š] anglais"[29]). Ces deux traits correspondent fort bien à la description que Grammont donne du [l] alvéolaire: "en français, écrit-il[30]), la pointe de la langue fait un barrage contre les alvéoles des incisives supérieures, les côtés de la langue touchent les alvéoles des dernières molaires". Mais l'obstruction apicoalvéolaire n'entraîne aucunement un arrêt du passage de l'air (ce qui correspond au trait [+ continu]), car l'air expiré contourne l'obstacle et "s'échappe sur les côtés de la langue"[31]), d'où l'appellation de "latérale". La description que N. Chomsky et M. Halle donnent de [l] est donc parfaitement conforme à la réalité phonétique, mais en est-il de même pour [r]? Ce son est effectivement [+ consonantique], puisqu'il présente une obstruction sur la ligne médiane de la cavité buccale que Grammont décrit en ces termes: "La langue se retire un peu en arrière et s'élève vers le palais; les bords latéraux y touchent légèrement; la pointe reste entièrement libre, suspendue à une très faible distance des alvéoles des incisives supérieures, jusqu'au moment où le souffle, passant par-dessus, la met en vibration. Ce mouvement vibratoire l'amène par intervalles en contact avec le palais"[32]). [r] est aussi [+ continu] pour les raisons que nous avons signalées précédemment; mais pourquoi est-il qualifié de [— antérieur]? Sur ce point N. Chomsky et M. Halle ne semblent suggérer aucune explication. Selon la définition générale de l'antériorité, un son [— antérieur] est dépourvu d'obstruction entre les lèvres et la région palato-alvéolaire. Or il est impossible que la localisation inhérente à ce trait soit en cause à propos de [r], car le point d'articulation de [r] roulé se situe entre les lèvres et la région palato-alvéolaire, puisqu'il s'agit d'une apicoalvéolaire. Dira-t-on alors que [r] est non antérieur parce qu'il ne présente aucune obstruction, en quelque point de la bouche que ce soit, de même que "les voyelles qui sont formées sans constrictions dans la cavité orale sont toujours non antérieures"[33])?

[28]) Cf. N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 302.

[29]) N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 304.

[30]) M. Grammont, *Traité*, p. 72.

[31]) M. Grammont, *Traité*, p. 71; cf. P. Fouché, *Phonétique historique du français, Introduction*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1952, p. 28: "Entre les deux zones de soulèvement lingual il y a, de chaque côté de la bouche ou parfois d'un seul côté, un espace libre qui permet à l'air de s'échapper".

[32]) M. Grammont, *Traité*, p. 73.

[33]) N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 304.

Si oui, comment cela est-il compatible avec le trait [+ consonantique], qui, lui, suppose une obstruction? A notre avis, la seule explication possible pour qu'il n'y ait pas contradiction consiste à dire que ces deux traits ne sont pas entièrement concomitants dans la réalisation phonétique, mais doivent se suivre l'un l'autre une ou plusieurs fois pendant la tenue du son [r], ce qui est, après tout, une façon assez exacte d'indiquer les vibrations du [r] roulé. Une telle explication est plus, nous semble-t-il, qu'une simple vue de l'esprit, car elle rejoint d'assez près la description que B. Malmberg donne des vibrantes: "les consonnes vibrantes, écrit-il[34]), sont articulées de telle façon que l'organe articulant — qui est dans ce cas soit la pointe de la langue, soit la luette — forme une série d'occlusions très brèves, séparés par de petits éléments vocaliques". Il apparaît donc que les traits [— antérieur] et [+ antérieur] décrivent respectivement [r] et [l] de façon acceptable et permettent en outre de les opposer clairement l'un à l'autre. Cela admis, il ne nous reste plus qu'à formuler l'ensemble des traits non redondants et redondants des différents sons dont nous avons besoin pour décrire le rhotacisme synchronique du latin classique.

Les matrices phonologiques simplifiées, c'est-à-dire ne contenant aucun trait redondant, sont pour *r* et *l* les suivantes:

$$\mathrm{r} = \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ consonantique} \\ - \text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \mathrm{l} = \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ consonantique} \\ + \text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix}$$

Tels sont en effet les seuls traits que le lexique doive spécifier pour indiquer qu'une unité lexicale donnée contient dans son signifiant un /r/ ou un /l/[35]). Mais conformément à l'hypothèse de R. Stanley que

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[34]) B. Malmberg, *La phonétique*, p. 54.

[35]) Il nous semble que les matrices simplifiées correspondent exactement à des phonèmes, au sens que les phonologues pragois donnent à ce mot, c'est-à-dire à des faisceaux de traits pertinents ou phonologiques ou distinctifs, selon les auteurs. Pourtant ce qu'on pourrait appeler le niveau des matrices simplifiées n'est pas absolument identique au niveau phonologique des pragois, car, entre autres différences, ce prétendu niveau peut fort bien pour un mot donné présenter moins de matrices simplifiées que les phonologues pragois n'identifieraient de phonèmes. Par exemple *legit*: "il lit", qui en vertu des paires minimales suivantes: *legit* ~ *legis*: "tu lis", *legit* ~ *legat*: "qu'il lise", *legat* ~ *leuat*: "il allège", *legit* ~ *lēgit*: "il a lu" et *legit* ~ *regit*: "il dirige" serait analysé comme une séquence de cinq phonèmes, contiendrait dans la forme sous-jacente la plus éloignée de la spécification phonétique seulement quatre unités phoniques: trois pour le lexème /leg/ et une pour le

N. Chomsky et M. Halle ont acceptée[36]), une des premières tâches du composant phonologique est de compléter ces matrices simplifiées et d'introduire par des règles dites de redondance les autres traits qui permettent de caractériser utilement et d'une façon plus précise les sons de la langue étudiée; ces traits, qui bien entendu sont redondants, peuvent être prédits en fonction des traits auxquels ils sont associés dans une même unité phonique minimale, et en fonction des unités phoniques minimales dans le contexte desquelles ils se trouvent. Les matrices simplifiées de *r* et *l* seront donc complétées par les règles de redondance suivantes:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ fermé} \\ - \text{ postérieur} \\ - \text{ ouvert} \\ + \text{ coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

règle qui concerne à la fois *r* et *l*,

$$[+ \text{ vocalique}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voisé} \\ + \text{ continu} \\ - \text{ nasal} \\ - \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix}$$

règle qui s'applique non seulement à *r* et à *l*, mais aussi à toutes les voyelles, car toutes les voyelles sont sonores, continues, non stridentes et, au moins en latin, non nasales[37]).

Pour caractériser sans ambiguité possible un /s/ latin, il suffit de la matrice suivante:

$$\text{s} = \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ coronal} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix}$$

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morphème personnel /t/, cf. notre article, *Morphophonologie du verbe latin* — *B.S.L.* 67 (1972) p. 149–150.

[36]) R. Stanley, *Redundancy rules in phonology* — *Language* 43 (1967) p. 393–436; N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 382 sqq.

[37]) Pour dégager les traits non redondants des traits redondants, il faut déjà disposer d'une description en termes de traits de tous les sons latins. Plutôt que de se lancer dans une telle entreprise descriptive, on peut provisoirement partir des tableaux que N. Chomsky et M. Halle donnent aux pages 176 et 177 de leur ouvrage et où ils indiquent les traits utiles pour une description phonologique de l'anglais; on se contentera, dans une première approximation, de supprimer les sons anglais que le latin ignore et d'ajouter les sons latins que l'anglais ne connaît pas.

car le latin ne possède que deux stridentes, *s* et *f*, cette dernière ayant, du fait de son caractère labiodental, le trait [— coronal]. Une telle matrice simplifiée est complétée par la règle de redondance qui introduit tous les traits communs aux seules stridentes

$$[+\text{strident}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{vocalique} \\ +\text{consonantique} \\ +\text{antérieur} \\ -\text{voisé} \\ +\text{continu} \\ -\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

et par la règle de redondance qui concerne aussi bien les labiales que les dentales

$$[+\text{antérieur}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{fermé} \\ -\text{postérieur} \\ -\text{ouvert} \end{bmatrix}$$

Une fois que toutes les matrices simplifiées sont ainsi complétées, les règles proprement phonologiques, c'est-à-dire les règles qui introduisent une modification des matrices phonologiques[38]), peuvent intervenir. C'est une de ces règles qu'il nous faut maintenant formuler, si nous voulons rendre compte de ce que nous avons appelé le rhotacisme synchronique.

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Pour ce faire, on pense d'abord à une description en deux temps qui permettrait de rattacher le rhotacisme au traitement de /s/ devant consonne sonore dans /dis+du:k+o:/ "séparer", /dis+mitt+o:/ "disperser" ou /dis+uell+o:/ "mettre en pièces", etc., lesquels ont respectivement la réalisation phonétique [di:du:ko:], [di:mitto:] et [di:wello:]. Dans les deux cas il y aurait d'abord une sonorisation de la sifflante; mais cette sifflante sonore aboutirait ensuite à des réalisations phonétiques différentes selon les contextes: entre voyelles, elle prendrait l'apparence d'un [r], et, devant consonne, elle se réaliserait sous la forme d'un allongement de la voyelle précédente. Une telle description synchronique, qui calque en quelque sorte l'explication traditionelle du rhotacisme diachronique, aurait incontestablement l'avantage de ne pas isoler dans le système phono-

[38]) Cf. R. Stanley, *Redundancy*, p. 398: "The P (= phonological) rules may change feature values (that is, change a minus to a plus or a plus to a minus), they may add or delete whole segments, and they may permute segments."

logique latin le phénomène du rhotacisme; mais il faudrait la formuler d'une façon explicite pour pouvoir l'apprécier avec exactitude.

Si donc on commence par décrire la sonorisation de la sifflante pour elle même, on obtient en ce qui concerne les sifflantes intervocaliques la règle[39]):

$$(1)\quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ coronal} \\ +\text{ strident}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{ voisé}] \,/\, \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique}\end{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} + - \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ +\text{ morphème}\end{bmatrix} \\ - + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique}\end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

et en ce qui concerne les sifflantes devant consonnes sonores la règle[40]):

$$(2)\quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ coronal} \\ +\text{ strident}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{ voisé}] \,/\, \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique}\end{bmatrix} - \left[\begin{matrix} \begin{Bmatrix} +\text{ consonantique} \\ -\text{ vocalique}\end{Bmatrix} \\ +\text{ voisé}\end{matrix} \right]$$

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[39]) Cette formule signifie, selon les conventions d'écriture habituelles, que les deux traits concomitants [+ coronal] et [+ strident] se réécrivent [+ voisé], c'est-à-dire que le trait [+ voisé] s'ajoute aux traits qui sont à gauche de la flèche; la barre oblique (/) peut se lire: "dans le contexte", ce qui est devant le tiret (—) indiquant le contexte qui précède les deux traits concomitants concernés par la règle, et ce qui est après le tiret, le contexte qui les suit. Les deux contextes indiqués ici correspondent aux deux types de rhotacisme synchronique que nous avons relevés; dans le cas où la sifflante suit la frontière de morphème, il faut préciser [+ morphème], pour que la règle s'applique à des mots comme /ama:+se:+s/, mais non comme /de:+sin+o:/. Le second contexte, avec la spécification [+ vocalique], [— consonantique], exclut les mots du type de /dis+lab+or/, /dis+rapi+o:/, qui traditionnellement ne ressortissent pas au rhotacisme; mais comme ces mots présentent néanmoins une sonorisation de la sifflante, on voit le danger qu'il y a à décrire le rhotacisme pour lui-même, c'est-à-dire en dehors de toute référence aux autres particularités phonologiques du latin.

[40]) Dans cette règle, il n'est pas utile de spécifier que la sifflante précède une frontière de morphème, car d'une part lorsque la frontière de morphème n'est pas expressément indiquée dans la formulation d'une règle, une convention stipule que la dite règle peut aussi s'appliquer s'il y a des frontières de morphème (cf. N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 364); d'autre part le latin classique ne possède de sifflante devant une sonore que si une frontière de morphème sépare cette sifflante de la sonore; l'indication de la frontière de morphème serait donc redondante. Le premier contexte postérieur désigne les occlusives sonores et aussi les liquides *l* et *r*; le second contexte postérieur désigne les glides sonores, à savoir *w* et *j*, et exclut *h*, qui est sourd; mais il met aussi en cause les occlusives sonores, qui sont par conséquent mentionnées de deux façons différentes dans cette règle, sans qu'il soit possible d'éviter cette redondance. Signalons au passage que le fait d'exclure *h* pose un petit problème non au synchronicien, mais au diachronicien, car le verbe *dirībeō*: "je trie, je compte", qui en latin classique ne

On voit tout de suite que cette deuxième règle peut être reformulée plus simplement en englobant le second contexte de la règle (1) postulé pour le seul rhotacisme[41]):

$$(2') \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ coronal} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ voisé}] / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ - \text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} - + [+ \text{ voisé}]$$

Dans ces conditions la règle de sonorisation propre au rhotacisme se réduit à:

$$(1') \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ coronal} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ voisé}] / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ - \text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} + - \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ morphème} \end{bmatrix}$$

Et pour rendre compte entièrement du rhotacisme, il ne reste plus qu'à changer en vibrantes toutes les sifflantes sonores en position intervocalique, grâce à la règle[42]):

$$(3) \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ strident} \\ + \text{ voisé} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ - \text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ - \text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ - \text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix}$$

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pouvait correspondre qu'à /diribe:+o:/, remonte à un ancien **dishabeō* et a donc subi le rhotacisme diachronique. Ce problème est facile à résoudre, car, en latin ancien, il ne devait pas y avoir d'aspirée à l'intérieur d'un mot, sauf au contact d'une occlusive non nasale (cf. *pulcher*, *Gracchī*, *amphora*, *triumphus*, *Cethēgus*, *Carthāgo*, etc.), où du reste elle devait être, comme le dit M. Niedermann (*Phon. hist.*, p. 99), "presque imperceptible". Ainsi, lorsque la composition fait apparaître une aspirée en dehors de ce cas, le diachronicien doit l'éliminer soit par une règle phonologique spéciale soit plutôt par une réutilisation des règles de redondance concernant l'aspiration en latin; ceci permet alors à **disabeō* < **dishabeō* de subir le rhotacisme diachronique ou à **neemo* < **nehemo* de se contracter en *nēmo*. Le cas de *ahēnus* pour *aēnus* n'est pas un contre-exemple, car, comme le dit M. Niedermann (*Phon. hist.*, p. 99), "*h*, sans valeur étymologique, servait simplement à prévenir l'épel dissyllabique *aenus*, autrement dit à marquer l'hiatus (comme en français dans *cahier*, *trahison*, *envahir*)" (cf. M. Leumann, *Lat. Laut.*, p. 139).

[41]) On réintroduit ici la mention de la frontière de morphème, qui, avons-nous vu, était redondante pour /dis+du:k+o:/, /dis+lab+or/ ou /dis+rapi+o:/, afin de mettre hors d'atteinte la sifflante de *Caesar* ou de *miser*, qui, si elle suit une voyelle et précède un son voisé, n'est pas séparée de ce dernier par une frontière de morphème. Il faut en outre mentionner dans le contexte antérieur à la fois [+ vocalique] et [— consonantique], car [+ vocalique] seul entraînerait une modification abusive de /fals+us/ par exemple, les liquides ayant comme les voyelles le trait [+ vocalique]. Remarquons que la belle simplicité de la règle (2') serait impossible, si les règles de redondance n'avaient pas attribué le trait [+ voisé] à toutes les voyelles avant que n'interviennent les règles phonologiques proprement dites, c'est-à-dire si l'on devait décrire les faits phonologiques en ne tenant compte que des traits dits pertinents ou distinctifs par les phonologues pragois.

[42]) Nous voyons ici l'intérêt de la convention en vertu de laquelle une règle où n'est mentionnée aucune frontière de morphème, peut s'appliquer

Une telle formulation du rhotacisme, qui, apparemment, se contente de reprendre l'explication traditionnelle du phénomène, a en fait, grâce non pas tant à la mise en formules explicites qu'au système de traits utilisé, un pouvoir explicatif plus grand que la théorie traditionnelle qu'elle est sensée formaliser. Les règles de sonorisation notent un fait d'assimilation; elles indiquent même expressément ce qui dans l'environnement phonique agit sur la sifflante. Le contexte, dont dépend l'application de ces règles, contient en effet soit le trait [+ voisé] soit le trait [+ vocalique], qui suppose le voisement puisque le trait [+ voisé] fait, comme nous l'avons signalé à propos de *r* et de *l*, partie des traits redondants de [+ vocalique][43]). Il s'agit donc d'une assimilation à la fois régressive et progressive de sonorité, comme le disent les manuels de phonétique historique. Si maintenant on examine la règle (3), on constate qu'il s'agit encore d'une assimilation, mais d'une assimilation qui,

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aussi aux séquences qui présentent de telles frontières. La règle (3) concerne en effet aussi bien **ūz+ō* de /u:s+o:/ "brûler" que **amā+ze* de /ama:+se/ "aimer". Par contre elle ne s'applique pas à *Caesar*, *miser*, puisque ces mots, ne subissant pas les règles de sonorisation précédemment établies, ne contiennent pas de sifflante sonore. Elle ne s'applique pas non plus à **diz+duc+ō*, **diz+lab+or*, etc., car si la sifflante sonore suit une voyelle, elle n'est pas suivie par une autre voyelle. Il n'est pas utile d'ajouter à droite de la flèche que la sifflante sonore devient aussi [— strident], car il y a deux règles de redondance qui peuvent faire apparaître ce trait, d'une part

$$[+\text{ vocalique}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voisé} \\ + \text{ continu} \\ - \text{ nasal} \\ - \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix}$$

dont nous avons déjà parlé à propos de *r* et de *l*, d'autre part

$$[- \text{ antérieur}] \rightarrow [- \text{ strident}]$$

dont il n'a pas encore été question. On observe alors que, si les règles de redondance sont appliquées dès le début afin de compléter les matrices phonologiques du lexique, on doit pouvoir les réutiliser par la suite, quand une règle phonologique fait apparaître un trait qui a été l'objet d'une règle de redondance; d'ailleurs on ne voit pas pourquoi on considérerait que le trait [+ vocalique] par exemple entraîne quatre traits redondants uniquement au début du composant phonologique et non pas partout où il apparaît, ce qui serait, il faut bien l'avouer, une façon fort artificielle de concevoir la redondance.

[43]) Cf. "Les sons vocaliques sont articulés avec une cavité buccale où la constriction la plus nette ne dépasse pas celle des voyelles fermées [i] et [u], et avec les cordes vocales dans une position susceptible d'entraîner une sonorisation spontanée", d'après N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 302.

à notre connaissance, n'est pas tellement mentionnée dans l'explication traditionnelle du rhotacisme[44]). D'après notre formule, en effet, la sifflante sonore prend cette fois le trait [+ vocalique] lui-même aux voyelles qui l'entourent; on peut même dire que la vocalisation de *z* va encore plus loin: toutes les voyelles et, d'une façon générale, tous les sons [— consonantique] étant nécessairement [— antérieur], le voisinage du trait [— consonantique] et par conséquent de son trait redondant [— antérieur] fait perdre à la sifflante sonore vocalisée son caractère [+ antérieur] et la rend ainsi identique à un [r][45]). Dans ces conditions, tout dans le rhotacisme et non pas seulement la sonorisation de la sifflante se ramène à une assimilation exercée par les deux traits [+ vocalique] et [— consonantique] de l'entourage phonique, c'est-à-dire par la nature même de voyelle des deux sons qui entourent la sifflante.

La mise en œuvre des formules proposées montre toutefois que cette description contient une complication inutile: elle introduit spécialement par la règle ($_1$) le trait [+ voisé], alors qu'en vertu de la règle de redondance déjà citée

$$[+\text{ vocalique}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ voisé} \\ +\text{ continu} \\ -\text{ nasal} \\ -\text{ strident} \end{bmatrix}$$

ce trait apparaîtra automatiquement une fois que la règle (3) aura introduit le trait [+ vocalique]. On peut donc imaginer que, synchroniquement, cette règle de redondance suffit à assurer la présence

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[44]) A. Meillet toutefois a dit quelque chose de semblable, mais sans donner beaucoup de précisions; il a écrit dans son *Esquisse*, p. 142: "En latin — comme du reste aussi en ombrien — ce *z* a passé à *-r-*, se rapprochant ainsi davantage encore des voyelles environnantes". Ordinairement, on se contente d'explications qui, probablement exactes, paraissent cependant moins riches; on dit par exemple avec L. Michel, *Son s*, p. 109: "L'*s* intervocalique, sonorisé par les voyelles qui l'entourent, est devenu un *z* alvéolaire (Grammont, *Traité* 206) qui, rare ou difficile à prononcer, est remplacé par le son le plus voisin, l'*r* alvéolaire".

[45]) Cette assimilation au point de vue de l'antériorité montre pratiquement l'intérêt qu'il y a à considérer avec N. Chomsky et M. Halle que [r] est non antérieur: on obtient ainsi une description où tout s'explique. Par contre, si on suivait l'idée de R. Jakobson, en voyant dans la vibrante une discontinue, il faut avouer que le passage du trait continu de la sifflante au trait discontinu de la vibrante serait apparemment assez peu motivé, puisque les voyelles, dans le contexte desquelles a lieu ce changement, sont des continues.

des traits [+ voisé] et [— strident], qui, avec les traits [+ vocalique] et [— antérieur] sont tout ce qui distingue [r] de [s]. Si le rhotacisme historique a bien présenté les deux étapes qui correspondent à la règle ($_1$) et à la règle (3), il nous semble cependant que le rhotacisme synchronique du latin classique relève d'une description moins redondante. Au lieu des deux règles de sonorisation et de la règle de rhotacisme de *z*, on postulera directement les deux seules règles de rhotacisme suivantes[46]):

$$(4a)\quad \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ coronal}\\+\text{ strident}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ antérieur}\end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ consonantique}\end{bmatrix} + - \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\+\text{ morphème}\end{bmatrix}$$

pour le rhotacisme du type *amā+re*, *amā+rē+s*, et

$$(4b)\quad \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ coronal}\\+\text{ strident}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ antérieur}\end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ consonantique}\end{bmatrix} - + [+\text{ vocalique}]$$

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[46]) S'il est indispensable d'indiquer le trait [— consonantique] dans le contexte antérieur de la règle (4b) afin de préserver par exemple l'adjectif *fals+us*, il serait par contre inutile d'ajouter dans son contexte postérieur le trait [— consonantique], car après une voyelle, une sifflante, puis une frontière de morphème, les voyelles sont les seuls sons avec le trait [+ vocalique] que puisse présenter le latin classique. Cette règle (4b) toutefois peut être plus compliquée, suivant la façon dont on traite les diphtongues, car le rhotacisme a bien entendu lieu après les diphtongues, comme le montrent *quaerō*: "je cherche" en face du parfait *quaesīuī*, c'est-à-dire [kwajssi:wi:] "j'ai cherché" et le génitif dissylabique *aeris*: "du bronze" en face du nominatif monosyllabique *aes*. Si l'on considère que la diphtongue n'est qu'une voyelle complexe et ne correspond qu'à un seul segment, la règle (4b), telle qu'elle a été formulée, convient. Mais si l'on pense, conformément à l'analyse fort probable de R. A. Zirin (R. A. Zirin, *The phonological basis of Latin prosody*, 1970, Mouton, The Hague, p. 26 et p. 81–87), qu'une diphtongue comme *au* ou *ae* correspond, au niveau sous-jacent, à une suite de deux voyelles, à savoir /au/ ou /ai/, deux éventualité s'offrent à nous: ou l'on estime que la règle qui change *au* en *aw* intervient assez tard et notamment après les règles de rhotacisme, et la règle (4b) est encore acceptable; ou l'on fait intervenir cette règle-là avant les règles de rhotacisme et la règle (4b) doit être reformulée de la façon suivante:

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ coronal}\\+\text{ strident}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ antérieur}\end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ consonantique}\end{bmatrix} \left(\begin{bmatrix}-\text{ vocalique}\\-\text{ consonantique}\\+\text{ voisé}\end{bmatrix} \right) - + [+\text{ vocalique}]$$

S'il en est ainsi, on comprend assez bien que les glides sonores ne puissent pas entraver l'action assimilatrice des traits [+ vocalique] et [— consonantique]; mais nous ne pouvons pas assurer qu'il faille retenir cette reformulation, faute d'avoir procédé à une description complète des diphtongues latines. En ce qui concerne la règle (4a), on peut penser que le problème ne se pose pas, car, à notre connaissance, les mots qui subissent la règle (4a) ne présentent pas de diphtongue avant la frontière de morphème et la sifflante. On

pour le rhotacisme du type *ūr+ō*[47]), *er+a+t*. Cette nouvelle description a évidemment le même pouvoir explicatif que la description

aura néanmoins une situation comparable, si on admet, avec R. A. Zirin, qu'une voyelle longue comme *î* correspond à une suite de deux voyelles, à savoir /ii/, (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 26) dont le deuxième segment est automatiquement changé en une semi-voyelle ou plutôt en un glide, à savoir [ij] (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 2).

[47]) Le lexème des verbes comme *ūrō* pose toutefois un petit problème, si on segmente *legis* et *legere* en [legi+s] et [lege+re], ainsi que nous l'avons proposé dans notre *Essai de morphologie synchronique du verbe latin*, *R.E.L.* 49 (1971) p. 335–337, 339–340 et 348–350; dans /u:si+s/ en effet la sifflante ne se trouvera pas au voisinage immédiat d'une frontière de morphème et il sera par conséquent impossible d'appliquer le rhotacisme synchronique pour obtenir [u:ris]. Si, afin de remédier à cette difficulté, on abandonne notre analyse de la troisième conjugaison et que l'on segmente *ūris* en [u:r+is], on parviendra fort bien à en rendre compte à partir de /u:s+is/, mais on sera dans une impasse avec /u:s+ise/, qui ne pourra devenir que **ūrise*. Vu les avantages pour l'ensemble de la conjugaison latine des segmentations [legi+s], [lege+re] (cf. *R.E.L.* 49 (1971) p. 349–350 et 357), il nous semble préférable d'admettre /u:si+s/ et /u:si+se/ et de dire que les lexèmes du type de /u:s/ présentent, à côté de la variation phonologique qui entraîne [u:r] dans *ūrō*, *ūrunt*, *ūrēbam*, *ūram*, etc., une variation morphologique [u:ri] dans *ūris*, *ūrit*, etc., ce qui peut être formalisé par la règle suivante:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ coronal} \\ +\text{ strident} \\ +\text{ Verbe} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} _ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} +$$

Cette règle est la même que celle qui permet de justifier la variante morphologique du lexème dans [hawri+o:] "je puise" en face du parfait [haws+s+i:] ou dans [majre+o:] "je suis triste" en face de l'adjectif [majs+t+us] "triste". Et le fait que l'on puisse réutiliser cette dernière règle de variation morphologique pour justifier *ūris* et *ūrere* à partir de /u:si+s/ et de /u:si+se/, alors qu'il faudrait ajouter la règle

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ coronal} \\ +\text{ strident} \\ \begin{pmatrix} +\text{ Inf.} \\ +\text{ Subj.} \end{pmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix} / + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} _ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix}$$

pour rendre compte de la seconde vibrante de *ūrere* à partir de /u:s+ise/ est, nous semble-t-il, un argument de plus pour préférer la segmentation *ūri+s*, *legi+s* à la segmentation *ūr+is*, *leg+is*. Si dans une description synchronique du latin classique le nom *fēriae*: "les jours de fête" est à considérer comme la séquence phonématique /fe:si+ai/ à cause de l'adjectif *festus*: "de fête", il faudra postuler que la variation morphologique n'a pas seulement lieu pour les sifflantes intervocaliques des lexèmes verbaux, mais aussi pour celles des lexèmes nominaux; par contre si *herī*: "hier" présente une variante à côté de l'adjectif *hesternus*: "d'hier", il s'agira d'une variation phonologique, *herī* correspondant alors à /hes+i:/, comme *uesperī*: "au soir" à /uesper+i:/.

précédente, puisqu'elle montre aussi que le rhotacisme est une assimilation exercée par les traits [+ vocalique] et [— consonantique] du contexte phonique; elle est aussi simple que l'autre, du moins en ce qui concerne le seul rhotacisme, puisque, comme elle, elle postule deux règles, qui du reste sont d'un coût identique et ne servent qu'à décrire le rhotacisme. Mais elle a, nous semble-t-il, un avantage théorique sur la première description, dans la mesure où elle n'utilise pas un son intermédiaire *z* qui, en latin classique, ne laisserait aucune trace au niveau de la réalisation phonétique et serait par conséquent purement et simplement "abstrait ou sous-jacent"[48]). Cet argument théorique ou méthodologique suffirait-il toutefois à imposer la seconde description, s'il était nécessaire de postuler un *z* sous-jacent pour expliquer la réalisation phonétique [di:du:ko:] de /dis+du:k+o:/? La question est délicate à trancher, mais, par chance, elle ne se pose pas dans le cas qui nous occupe. Nous n'avons en effet absolument pas besoin d'imaginer un intermédiaire **dizdūcō* entre /dis+du:k+o:/ et [di:du:ko:], sauf si par un apriorisme injustifié on prétendait que la description synchronique d'un phénomène doit nécessairement être identique à sa description diachronique; car si nous postulions l'intermédiaire avec *z*, nous compliquerions sans intérêt apparent la description, puisqu'il faudrait poser trois règles pour rendre compte du phénomène, alors que deux suffisent[49]). N'ayant aucune raison d'ordre synchronique

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[48]) Une telle critique concerne uniquement la première description synchronique du rhotacisme que nous avons proposée, mais n'atteint nullement la description diachronique dont elle s'inspirait, puisque l'on a des traces dialectales de la sonore *z* reconstruite comme une étape de l'évolution phonétique. De fait, ainsi que le rappellent A. Meillet et J. Vendryes (*Traité de gram. comp. des langues classiques*[2], p. 74), "en osque, *s* intervocalique, devenue sonore, est demeurée telle. Cette *s* sonore est notée *s* dans l'alphabet indigène (parce que *z* y servait à noter *ts*); elle est au contraire notée *z* dans les textes en alphabet latin". Cf. par exemple le gén. pl. en *-arum*, osq. *-azum*, ombr. *-aru*, ou l'inf. *esse*, osq. *ezum*, ombr. *erum*.

[49]) Diachroniquement le passage de **disducō* à *dīducō* est décrit par les trois règles suivantes, qui correspondent probablement à trois étapes successives dans l'évolution phonétique:

$$\text{(a)}\quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ coronal} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ voisé}] \,/\, [+ \text{ vocalique}] — \left[\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ consonantique} \\ — \text{ vocalique} \end{bmatrix} \; + \text{ voisé}\right]$$

pour la sonorisation devant consonne ou glide sonore,

$$\text{(b)}\quad [+ \text{ vocalique}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ tendu}] \,/\, — \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ strident} \\ + \text{ voisé} \end{bmatrix} \left[\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ consonantique} \\ — \text{ vocalique} \end{bmatrix}\right]$$

pour préférer la description qui recourt à un *z* intermédiaire, nous retiendrons la solution la plus simple en ce qui concerne les sifflantes devant consonne sonore et par conséquent la formulation directe des règles (4a) et (4b) en ce qui concerne le rhotacisme. Nous constatons ainsi qu'une description synchronique ne reproduit pas forcément, sous une forme en quelque sorte accélérée, l'évolution historique, mais peut fort bien être une réinterprétation et une resystématisation originales de l'héritage historique. De Saussure l'avait déjà observé, lorsqu'il signalait que, dans certains cas, "la vérité synchronique paraît être la négation de la vérité diachronique"[50]) et lorsqu'il risquait cette remarque pleine de sagesse: "à voir les choses superficiellement, on s'imagine qu'il faut choisir; en fait ce n'est pas nécessaire; l'une des vérités n'exclut pas l'autre"[50]).

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Le rhotacisme étant une assimilation exercée sur une sifflante par un environnement vocalique, on en vient à se demander si les assimilations diachroniques qui font évoluer **ferse* et **uelse* en *ferre* et *uelle*, et les variations synchroniques qui attribuent à /fer+se/ ou /uel+se/ les réalisations phonétiques [ferre] ou [welle], ne relèvent pas du même phénomène et s'il ne faut pas, dans ces conditions, donner aux règles de rhotacisme que nous venons de proposer une formulation plus générale. Phonétiquement, cette généralisation du

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pour l'allongement de la voyelle qui précède *z*, et

$$(c)\quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ strident} \\ + \text{ voisé} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ tendu} \end{bmatrix} — \left[\begin{Bmatrix} + \text{ consonantique} \\ — \text{ vocalique} \end{Bmatrix} \right]$$

pour la chute de *z* devant consonne ou glide. Mais synchroniquement il suffit des deux règles

$$(\alpha)\quad [+ \text{ vocalique}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ tendu}] \,/\, — \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ coronal} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix} \left[\begin{Bmatrix} + \text{ consonantique} \\ — \text{ vocalique} \end{Bmatrix} \right]$$

pour l'allongement de la voyelle qui précède un *s* suivi d'une consonne sonore ou d'un glide sonore, et

$$(\beta)\quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ coronal} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ tendu} \end{bmatrix} — \left[\begin{Bmatrix} + \text{ consonantique} \\ — \text{ vocalique} \end{Bmatrix} \right]$$

pour l'effacement de la sifflante après voyelle longue et devant consonne ou glide sonore. On voit tout de suite que cette seconde règle du latin classique fera aisément système, en latin impérial, avec la règle d'effacement de la sifflante après une voyelle longue ou une diphtongue et devant une autre sifflante (type *caussa* devenant *causa*).

[50]) F. de Saussure, *C.L.G.*, p. 135.

rhotacisme est tout à fait pensable, puisque *l* et *r*, comme l'ont notés les phonéticiens et même les acousticiens[51]), ressemblent beaucoup aux voyelles et qu'ils partagent avec elles le trait [+ vocalique], selon les analyses de R. Jakobson ou de N. Chomsky et M. Halle; mais certains faits de phonétique latine semblent s'opposer à une telle généralisation.

On pourrait par exemple objecter que, d'après les tableaux de W. Brandenstein[52]), les groupes *rs* et *ls* sont bien attestés en position intérieure, comme le montrent les parfaits: *arsī* de *ardeō*: "je brûle", *farsī* de *farciō*: "je bourre", *torsī* de *torqueō*: "je brandis", *fulsī* de *fulgeō*: "je brille", *fulsī* de *fulciō*: "j'étaie", *mulsī* (ou *mulxī*) de *mulgeō*: "je trais" ou *mulsī* de *mulceō*: "je caresse", etc. Mais il apparaît immédiatement qu'il ne s'agit pas en fait d'obstacles à la généralisation du rhotacisme, car, dans ces parfaits, les séquences phoniques [rs] et [ls] sont évidemment la réalisation non des groupes biphonématiques /r+s/ et /l+s/, mais de groupes triphonématiques où /s/ suit une consonne qui a le trait [— vocalique], s'il précède une frontière de morphème et une voyelle. La sifflante ne remplit donc pas dans ces mots les conditions nécessaires au rhotacisme synchronique; et n'étant pas en position intervocalique elle ne peut pas non plus avoir été affectée par le rhotacisme diachronique.

Les groupes *rs* et *ls* des participes *cursus* de *currō*: "je cours", *falsus* de *fallō*: "je trompe", *pulsus* de *pellō*: "je pousse", etc., présentent un cas particulier. Diachroniquement, il s'agit de groupes triconsonantiques, que le morphème de participe soit une extension analogique comme dans *cursus* < **curr+sos*, *falsus* < **fall+sos* ou qu'il soit étymologique comme dans *pulsus* < **peld+tos*[53]); synchroniquement, les séquences *rs* et *ls* de ces participes doivent être la réalisation phonétique des groupes triphonématiques /rr+s/ et /ll+s/, comme on peut facilement le supposer à partir du signifiant à liquide géminée que présentent les lexèmes en question à l'*infectum*

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[51]) Cf. par exemple B. Malmberg, *La phonétique*, p. 21; R. Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale*, p. 140.

[52]) W. Brandenstein, *Kurze Phonologie des Lateinischen*, en appendice dans F. Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Literatur*, Frankfurt am Main, V. Klostermann, 1951, p. 491 et 492.

[53]) Cf. A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dict. étym.*, p. 875. Chez M. Niedermann (*Phon. hist.*, p. 141) et M. Leumann (*Lat. Laut.*, p. 341) *pulsus* est aussi une création analogique, mais nous rémène encore à un groupe triconsonantique, puisque ces deux auteurs font venir *pellō* de **pelnō* (cf. p. 141 pour M. Niedermann et p. 166 pour M. Leumann).

et au *perfectum*, quand ce dernier n'est pas sigmatique[54]). Mais, bien que présentant des groupes triconsonantiques, tant au point de vue synchronique qu'au point de vue diachronique, ces participes soulèvent une difficulté que ne présentaient pas les mots du type de *arsī* ou *mulsī*, car la sifflante s'y trouve entre deux sons qui ont le trait [+ vocalique], à savoir la liquide précédente et la voyelle subséquente. Cette difficulté disparaît, si on se contente de généraliser d'une façon conditionnelle la règle (4a): au lieu de supprimer purement et simplement le trait [— consonantique] du contexte antérieur, on le remplace par [α consonantique] et l'on ajoute que le son précédent, s'il y en a un, doit avoir le trait [—α consonantique], ce qui correspond à la formulation suivante[55]):

$$(4a') \begin{bmatrix} + \text{coronal} \\ + \text{strident} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{vocalique} \\ - \text{antérieur} \end{bmatrix} / ([- \alpha \text{ consonantiq.}]) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{vocalique} \\ \alpha \text{ consonantiq.} \end{bmatrix} + - \begin{bmatrix} + \text{vocalique} \\ + \text{morphème} \end{bmatrix}$$

Une telle règle signifie que la présence de la caractéristique [+ consonantique] n'entrave pas l'action assimilatrice des caractéristiques [+ vocalique] environnantes, à condition bien sûr que cette caractéristique ne se manifeste pas trop massivement, ce qui serait le cas si la liquide était précédée d'un élément [+ consonantique], celui-ci fût-il une autre liquide. Diachroniquement, la solution serait la même, à cela près que l'indication de la frontière de morphème y serait évidemment superflue.

Un dernier groupe de mots doit être examiné, c'est celui des ad-

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[54]) Cf. *currō*, *cucurrī*; *fallō*, *fefellī*; *uello*: "épiler", *uulsī* et *uellī*, *uulsum*; *sallō*: "saler", *salsurus*; *pellō*, mais *pepulī* et non **pepullī*; cette particularité se comprend assez bien, lorsqu'on se rappelle que le timbre *u* de la voyelle du radical exclut la possibilité d'une gémination de *l*, car le groupe *ll* est palatal (cf. M. Niedermann, *Phon. hist.*, p. 9; M. Leumann, *Lat. Laut.*, p. 117) et le timbre de la voyelle suppose qu'elle est suivie d'un *l* vélaire. Il reste toutefois que cet *l* vélaire ne semble pas s'expliquer au point de vue synchronique.

[55]) Si *s* est précédé d'une liquide, il ne peut s'agir d'un groupe initial, car le latin n'a pas de mots qui commencent par *rs-* ou par *ls-*, comme l'indiquent bien les tableaux de W. Brandenstein; la liquide sera donc précédée d'au moins un son. Si ce dernier est [+ consonantique], comme dans /kurr+s+us/, la règle de rhotacisme ne peut pas s'appliquer, puisque le son qui précède immédiatement la liquide finale du lexème est aussi [+ consonantique]; la règle ne concernera par conséquent que les mots du type de /fer+se/, où la liquide est précédée d'une voyelle. Si le segment que suit la sifflante est (— consonantique], il est alors possible que cette voyelle soit à l'initiale comme dans /i:+se/, qui se réalise sous la forme [i:re]: "aller"; voilà pourquoi l'élément [— α consonantique] doit être donné comme facultatif.

jectifs comme *falsus*: "faux" ou *celsus*: "élevé"[56]). Au point de vue diachronique, ces adjectifs ne présentant pas de difficulté particulière, car ils se ramènent au cas précédent; mais il n'en va pas de même au point de vue synchronique. Seule l'étymologie peut encore rattacher l'adjectif *falsus* au participe du verbe *fallō*; en latin classique, en effet, *falsus*: "faux" n'a plus rien à voir avec *falsus*: "trompé" et ne peut donc être segmenté autrement qu'en /fals+us/. Le cas de *celsus* est encore plus net, car il n'existe plus de verbe **cellō*, si le verbe *excellō*: "l'emporter sur" subsiste à côté de *excelsus*: "élevé". Voilà qui pourrait s'opposer à ce que l'on généralise le rhotacisme aux sifflantes qui suivent une seule liquide; mais cette difficulté s'évanouit dès que l'on remarque que /fer+se/ et /fals+us/ ne relèvent pas de la même règle de rhotacisme. Si donc on se contente de généraliser (4a) comme nous l'avons fait, sans toucher à (4b) la sifflante de /fals+us/ ne sera pas concernée par le rhotacisme synchronique.

Quel est l'intérêt de cette généralisation du rhotacisme? Il ne faudrait pas croire qu'elle a pour seul but de rendre compte de *ferre*, *ferrem*, *uelle*, *uellem*, en en faisant respectivement la réalisation phonétique de /fer+se/, /fer+se:+m/, /uel+se/, /uel+se:+m/. Elle s'applique aussi à tous les superlatifs en *-illimus* et en *-errimus*, car *facillimus*, *simillimus*, *humillimus*, *acerrimus*, *miserrimus*, *pauperrimus* peuvent fort bien être considérés comme la réalisation phonétique de respectivement /fakil+sim+us/, /simil+sim+us/, /humil+sim+us/, /aker+sim+us/, /miser+sim+us/, /pauper+sim+us/, avec la variante /sim/ du morphème /issim/ de superlatif, variante que l'on retrouve dans *maximus*, superlatif de *magnus*. Le domaine d'application de la généralisation du rhotacisme n'est donc pas limité à deux verbes irréguliers; il est toutefois plus restreint en latin classique qu'il ne l'a été au cours de l'histoire; car dans *torreō*: "je fais sécher" $<$ **torseō* (cf. hom. *τέρσεται*: "il se dessèche", skr. *tṛṣyati*: "il a soif"), *terra*: "la terre" $<$ **tersa*[57]), *errō*: "je vais à l'aventure"

[56]) Dans cette classe de mots, il n'y a probablement pas de représentants du groupe *rs*, sauf si l'on estime que la forme dialectale *Marsī*: "les Marses" (cf. M. Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 127) est entièrement assimilée en latin classique, ce qui est probable, et que le substantif *cursus*: "la course" correspond en latin classique à /kurs+us/ et non plus à /kurr+s+us/, ce qui nous semble plus douteux vu le nombre de dérivés verbaux où l'élément /s/, variante de /t/, a tout l'air de fonctionner comme un morphème de nom d'action (cf. A. Meillet et J. Vendryes, *Traité de gram. comp.*, p. 370).

[57]) Cf. respectivement A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dict. étym.*[3], p. 1215, 359, 236, et 1259.

< **ersō*[57]), *collum*: "le cou" < **colsom*[57]), *uallum*: "la palissade" < **walsom*[57]), la sifflante a cessé, après le rhotacisme diachronique, d'être une occurrence du phonème /s/ faute d'alternances morphologiques et le second *r* ou *l* n'est plus dans ces mots en latin classique qu'une occurrence du phonème /r/ ou /l/ suivant le cas et ne ressortit donc plus au rhotacisme.

La généralisation du rhotacisme a encore l'avantage de faire disparaître la difficulté que pourrait soulever l'existence de *fers*: "tu portes". Certains ont été amenés à dire que l'assimilation progressive de **ferse* devenant *ferre* n'a pas lieu dans le cas de *fers* pour éviter **ferr* "qui paraîtrait ne point comporter de désinence, et serait homophone de l'impératif"[58]). Avec notre hypothèse, il n'est pas besoin de recourir à l'analogie pour expliquer *fers*, il suffit de remarquer que le *s* n'est pas en position intervocalique ou plutôt que, s'il est précédé d'un son [+ vocalique], il est suivi d'une frontière de mot et non d'une voyelle. On a donc tout à gagner à considérer que l'assimilation de *rs* en *rr* n'est pas un exemple d'assimilation progressive, phénomène du reste assez peu représenté en latin, comme le note justement P. Monteil[59]), mais un cas particulier de l'assimilation à la fois progressive et régressive qu'est le rhotacisme intervocalique.

Pour donner une formulation complète du rhotacisme synchronique, il faut ajouter aux règles (4a′) et (4b) une règle qui, dans le cas où la sifflante soumise au rhotacisme se trouve après la liquide *l*, fasse apparaître le trait [+ antérieur] et engendre ainsi un *l* au lieu d'un *r*. Pour ce faire, on pourrait imaginer une règle qui suivrait (4a′) et changerait un **uelre* obtenu par application de (4a′) en *uelle*. Mais outre qu'on postulerait ainsi une forme sous-jacente qui ne laisse aucune trace en surface, cette solution a l'inconvénient d'être inutilement coûteuse et compliquée: plutôt que de remplacer grâce à la règle (4a′) le trait [+ antérieur] de la sifflante par [— antérieur], puis de remplacer ce trait [— antérieur] par [+ antérieur] après la liquide *l*, il est plus simple de dire que le trait [+ antérieur] de la sifflante n'est pas modifié par le rhotacisme, lorsque cette sifflante se trouve après un *l*, ce qui est d'ailleurs plus satisfaisant au point de vue de l'explication phonétique. Si en effet l'apparition du trait [— antérieur] est dû au contexte dans lequel se trouve la

[58]) P. Monteil, *Eléments de phonétique et de morphologie du latin*, Paris, Nathan, 1970, p. 79; c'est aussi l'opinion de M. Niedermann, *Phon. hist.*, p. 140.

[59]) Cf. P. Monteil, *Eléments*, p. 78–79.

sifflante, il est normal que le contexte, lorsqu'il présente le trait [+ antérieur] maintienne au contraire la caractéristique [+ antérieur] originelle. L'ensemble ordonné des trois règles du rhotacisme synchronique peut être regroupé dans la formule suivante, où l'ordre de parution correspond à l'ordre d'application[60]):

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{coronal}\\+\text{strident}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\text{vocalique}] \;/\; [-\text{consonantique}] \begin{bmatrix}+\text{vocalique}\\+\text{antérieur}\end{bmatrix} + - [+\text{vocalique}] \\ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{vocalique}\\-\text{antérieur}\end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ([-\alpha\ \text{consonantique}]) \begin{bmatrix}+\text{vocalique}\\ \alpha\ \text{consonantiq.}\end{bmatrix} + - \begin{bmatrix}+\text{vocalique}\\+\text{morphème}\end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{vocalique}\\-\text{consonantique}\end{bmatrix} - + [+\text{vocalique}] \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$$

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Il serait intéressant de terminer en formulant rapidement les règles qui rendent compte de la genèse du rhotacisme, et en les comparant avec celles que nous venons de proposer pour le rhotacisme synchronique du latin classique. Pour ce faire, nous suivrons les grandes lignes de la chronologie que J. Untermann a esquissée pour tout ce qui concerne la délimitation du mot italique[61]), mais nous les modifierons un peu conformément à la proposition de E. P. Hamp[62]).

Cela admis, la première étape de l'histoire du rhotacisme sera la sonorisation de *s* entre un segment [+ vocalique], c'est-à-dire aussi bien une liquide qu'une voyelle, et un segment sonore, c'est-à-dire aussi bien une consonne sonore qu'une voyelle ou une liquide; **ferse* passera alors à **ferze*, **torseō* à **torzeō*, **uelse* à **uelze*, **colsom* à **colzom*, **isdem* à **izdem*, **amāse* à **amāze*, **ūsō* à **ūzō*, **ausōsa* à **auzōza*, **muliesris* à **muliezris* et **preslom* à **prezlom*. Si l'on suppose qu'à ce moment-là les préverbes étaient autonomes et ne se soudaient donc pas encore aux radicaux verbaux, les formes du type de *dē . . . sinō*, *dis . . . dūcō*, *dis . . . habeō* ne seront pas concernées par ce changement, puisqu'elles présentent une sifflante initiale ou finale et non une sifflante intérieure. Et comme **fallsus*, c'est-à-dire aussi bien le participe de *fallō* que l'adjectif signifiant "faux", ne subit aucune modification, on formulera la sonorisation des sifflantes par la règle

$$[+\text{strident}] \rightarrow [+\text{voisé}] \,/\, ([-\alpha\ \text{consonantique}]) \begin{bmatrix}+\text{vocalique}\\ \alpha\ \text{consonantique}\end{bmatrix} - [+\text{voisé}]$$

[60]) Il faut, à la première ligne, mentionner [— consonantique] dans le contexte antérieur, pour préserver le participe /fall+s+us/ de *fallō*.

[61]) Cf. J. Untermann, *Merkmale der Wortgrenze in den altitalischen Sprachen*, in: *Mélanges A. Martinet*: *Word* 24 (1968) p. 482–487.

[62]) Eric P. Hamp, *On medial s in Italic* — *Glotta* 50 (1972) p. 290–291.

La deuxième étape modifie les sifflantes sonores ou sourdes qui se trouvent devant un *r*: leur caractère strident est, comme l'a suggéré E. P. Hamp, neutralisé en vertu de la règle[63])

$$[+\text{ strident}] \rightarrow [-\text{ strident}] / - \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ +\text{ consonantique} \\ -\text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix}$$

et **muliezris* devient **mulieðris*, tandis que **srigos* devient **ðrigos*. Ceci veut dire que, devant *r*, les sifflantes rejoignent les fricatives qui continuent, dans les langues italiques, les occlusives aspirées sonores de l'indo-européen, et que par la suite elles se conformeront à l'évolution de ces fricatives[64]). De fait **mulieðris* deviendra *muliebris* quand les fricatives sonores dentales se labialiseront (cf. **werðom* venant de **werdhom*, d'après umbr. *verfale*, got. *waúrd*, all. *Wort*, et devenant lat. *uerbum*), tandis que **ðrigos* deviendra *frigos* losque les fricatives, probablement déjà assourdies à l'initiale, seront remplacées par *f* comme dans *fēcit* venant de **ðēket* (< **ðēket* < **dhēket*, cf. gr. *ἔ-θηκε*). Ce dernier changement correspond à la première étape de la chronologie de J. Untermann.

La troisième étape de l'histoire du rhotacisme a dû se produire en deux temps: d'abord les voyelles ont présenté une variante longue devant une sifflante sonore suivie d'une consonne, ce qui correspond à la règle

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalique} \\ -\text{ consonantique} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{ tendu}] / - \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ strident} \\ +\text{ voisé} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \{ -\text{ vocalique} \\ +\text{ consonantique} \} \end{bmatrix}$$

[63]) La formulation proposée par E. P. Hamp est la suivante:

$$[+\text{ strident}] \rightarrow [-\text{ strident}] / \begin{bmatrix} \overline{\quad} \\ +\text{ obstruent} \\ +\text{ continuant} \end{bmatrix} r$$

mais nous ne voyons pas pourquoi il faudrait indiquer dans le contexte concomitant de [+ strident] les traits [+ obstruent] et [+ continu], car les fricatives stridentes sont nécessairement [+ obstruent], ou ce qui revient au même [— sonorant], en tant que fricatives (cf. N. Chomsky, M. Halle, *Sound pattern*, p. 302), et [+ continu] en tant que fricatives et stridentes.

[64]) Traditionnellement on dit que cette labialisation à l'intervocalique a eu lieu "après *u*, devant *l* et dans le voisinage de *r*" (A. Meillet & J. Vendryes, *Traité de gram. comp. des langues class.*[2], 1927, p. 71, 101, Rem. 2); mais il est peut-être préférable d'accepter l'hypothèse de G. Serbat "selon laquelle **-dh-* > lat. *-b-* entre phonèmes sonores, sauf après *n*, après et devant *i*" (*Indo-européen *-dh-, latin -b-/-d-* — *R. Ph.* 42 (1968) p. 87), lesquelles, étant alvéolaires, auraient empêché la labialisation régulière de la constrictive alvéolaire *ð* < **dh*. Nous préférons pour notre part parler de la constrictive *ð*, en adoptant comme J. Untermann la thèse de Hartmann, plutôt que celle d'Ascoli, pour l'évolution des sonores aspirées indo-européennes.

**izdem* devenant **īzdem* et **prezlom* devenant **prēzlom*. Ultérieurement, la sifflante sonore disparut conformément à la règle

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ strident} \\ + \text{ voisé} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, - \left[\begin{Bmatrix} - \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ consonantique} \end{Bmatrix} \right]$$

ce qui produisit *īdem* et *prēlom*. Il est difficile de dire si le premier temps de cette troisième étape est antérieur ou postérieur au changement de *-ð-* en *-b-* et au remplacement de *ð-* par *f-*, mais il est certain qu'il dut avoir lieu après le premier temps de la deuxième étape, puisque la voyelle qui précède *-b-* est brève dans *muliebris*.

La quatrième étape correspond au rhotacisme proprement dit et suppose la règle diachronique

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voisé} \\ + \text{ strident} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ vocalique}] \,/ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ + \text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix} - [+ \text{ vocalique}] \\ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalique} \\ - \text{ antérieur} \end{bmatrix} \,/\, [+ \text{ vocalique}] - [+ \text{ vocalique}] \end{array} \right\}$$

qui change **uelze* en *uelle*, **colzom* en *collom*, **ferze* en *ferre*, **torzeō* en *torreō*, **amāze* en *amāre*, **ūzō* en *ūrō* et **auzōza* en *aurōra*. Si l'on suppose que les groupes *-zr-* et *-zl-* existaient à cette époque, il serait dans la logique du phénomène qu'ils subissent également le rhotacisme, la sifflante sonore se trouvant, à l'ordre près, dans le même genre de contexte que dans **ferze* et **uelze*, avec en plus la faiblesse inhérente aux consonnes implosives. Comme **muliezris* ne semble pas avoir perdu la caractéristique [— vocalique] de sa sifflante, puisqu'il est devenu *muliebris* et non **mulierris*, il est à peu près certain que le rhotacisme eut lieu après l'apparition de **mulieðris* et de **ðrigos*, voire après celle de *muliebris* et de *frigos*, comme l'admet J. Untermann. Par contre, s'il est difficile que le rhotacisme ait eu lieu en même temps que le passage de **prēzlom* à *prēlom*, car *z* aurait alors probablement connu le même traitement dans les deux cas, la chute de *z* devant consonne peut être ou antérieure ou postérieure au rhotacisme. Si elle est postérieure au rhotacisme, cela signifie que **prēzlom* est devenu **prēllom*, comme **welze* est devenu *uelle*, mais que **prēllom* s'est alors réalisé ou est ultérieurement devenu [pre: lom], suivant que la simplification des géminées non sifflantes s'était déjà ou ne s'était pas encore produite après voyelle longue. Or, si la simplification des géminées après voyelle longue a bien eu lieu à époque prélittéraire pour les occlusives, il semble que, dans la même position, les liquides géminées ont résisté plus longtemps que les sifflantes géminées, lesquelles, comme cela est bien connu, ne se

sont simplifiées que vers la fin du 1er s. ap. J.-C.[65]). Dans ces conditions, il est impossible d'imaginer qu'une forme **prēllom*, due au rhotacisme, a permis le passage de **prēzlom* au *prēlum* du latin classique; et la chute du *z* de **prēzlom* est nécessairement antérieure au rhotacisme. On voit ainsi que l'opération menée par le latin prélittéraire contre la sifflante [z], c'est-à-dire contre l'association concomitante des deux traits [+ strident] et [+ voisé][66]), aurait commencé petitement par la disparition des [z] implosifs, d'abord [z] suivi d'un [r] explosif et ensuite [z] suivi d'un [l] ou d'une autre consonne sonore explosive, puis qu'elle se serait en quelque sorte intensifiée pour s'en prendre, avec le rhotacisme, aux [z] plus résistants, et aussi plus nombreux, qu'étaient les [z] explosifs. Dans la synchronie qui suivit ce dernier changement historique, il y eut bien sûr des règles de rhotacisme synchronique qui permettaient de rattacher à un /s/ sous-jacent les sons [r] qui, au voisinage d'une frontière de morphème, alternaient avec [s]. Il est probable que, dès ce moment, les règles de rhotacisme synchronique n'étaient pas comparables à la somme des règles diachroniques qui expliquent le rhotacisme; car, **funezris* ayant déjà évolué en *funebris* et **prēzlom* en *prēlom*, rien n'attestait plus, à l'intérieur même du latin, l'existence possible d'un *z* sous-jacent. Il semblerait donc que dans aucune synchronie le rhotacisme synchronique ne fut, pour reprendre une expression de Giraudoux dans *La guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*, "la forme accélérée du" rhotacisme diachronique.

La cinquième étape de notre chronologie est l'époque où les préverbes se sont soudés aux verbes et où /dis#em+o:/ et /dis#habe:+o:/ sont devenus /dis+em+o:/ et /dis+habe:+o:/. Ce changement syntagmatique fit entrer ces deux mots dans la classe de ceux qui étaient soumis aux règles de rhotacisme synchronique et leur valut la réalisation phonéque [dirimo:] et [diribeo:], puisque [r] était alors la variante de /s/ au voisinage d'une frontière de morphème. Ceci correspond, en quelque sorte, à une nouvelle vague de rhotacisme, mais cette deuxième vague n'a pas, semble-t-il, les mêmes causes que la première[67]): elle ne suppose pas que, pour une raison

[65]) Cf. S. Kiss, *Les transformations de la structure syllabique en latin tardif*, Debrecen, Université Kossuth, 1972, p. 77.

[66]) L'élimination de l'association concomitante des deux traits [+ strident] et [+ voisé] explique peut-être aussi l'assourdissement des fricatives sonores initiales (cf. *ferō* < **βerō* < **bherō*): si elles sont devenues stridentes, elles ont perdu leur sonorité.

[67]) De la même façon, /dis+du:k+o:/ et /dis+rump+o:/ reçurent la réalisation phonétique [di:du:ko:] et [di:rumpo:], en vertu de la règle syn-

probablement extérieure à la langue, l'association concomitante des traits [+ voisé] et [+ strident] était fragile, comme dans la deuxième et la quatrième étape de notre chronologie; elle suppose simplement que le rhotacisme historique avait laissé derrière lui des traces vivantes dans le système synchronique[68]). En vertu du principe de la régularité des changements phonétiques[69]), il est impossible de ne pas dire que, de la même façon, /de:+sin+o:/ s'est alors réalisé sous la forme de *[de:rino:]; car, si l'analogie est bien, comme on le dit traditionnellement, à l'origine de la réalisation [de:sino:] que ce verbe reçoit en latin classique, il ne faut pas croire que cette analogie a pu le protéger contre un quelconque changement phonétique: l'analogie n'est pas un principe de protection, mais un principe de création ou de recréation[70]). On supposera donc que l'analogie avec les distributions de l'autre stridente latine, qui présentent *dē+ferō*, *prae+ferō*, *re+ferō* à côté de *ferō*, a entraîné, à côté de *sinō*, la création de *dē+sinō*, lequel s'est d'abord trouvé en concurrence avec la forme phonétique normale *[de:rino:], pour ensuite la supplanter entièrement.

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chronique de variation de /s/ qui rendait compte, à l'époque, de [i:dem] pour /is+dem/ ou de [tre:dekim] pour /tres+dekem/. Il s'agissait ici d'une répétition de la troisième étape de l'histoire du rhotacisme, mais d'une répétition à partir des répercussions de cette troisième étape du rhotacisme sur le système synchronique de l'époque. S'il en est bien ainsi, on a peut-être tort de ranger dans la même loi de phonétique historique **preslom* et **disluō*, car il ne s'agit pas vraiment du même fait historique. Par contre, on a raison de parler d'un groupe *-sr-* récent à propos de **disrumpō*; car, même s'il y a là un écho du passé à cause des traces que ce passé a laissé dans le système synchronique, ce n'est nullement un recommencement de l'histoire, puisque *-sr-* dans **disrumpō* ne connaît pas toute l'évolution qu'a jadis subie **muliesris*.

[68]) On remarquera au passage que, si notre explication est exacte, l'existence d'une seconde vague de rhotacisme ou de chute de la sifflante après allongement de la voyelle précédente montre que le niveau sous-jacent ou, en simplifiant beaucoup les choses, le niveau phonématique d'une description phonologique n'est pas seulement une abstraction commode, mais doit avoir une réalité linguistique, puisqu'il peut expliquer l'apparition, après un changement phonétique historique qui a laissé des traces vivantes au plan synchronique, d'une sorte de résurgence de ce changement phonétique.

[69]) Cf. par exemple *La linguistique, guide alphabétique, sous la direction d'André Martinet*, Paris, Denoël, 1969, p. 47.

[70]) Cf. de Saussure, *C.L.G.*, p. 224–226; L. Bloomfield, *Language*, chap. 20.10, p. 341 dans la traduction française de Janick Gazio (Paris, Payot, 1970), où il manque entre *phonétique* et *comme* la traduction de *They were created after the sound change was past.*

Il reste à préciser à quels moments de cette chronologie hypothétique le latin a emprunté des mots avec une sifflante intervocalique. Il a fort bien pu le faire après la première étape, c'est-à-dire après la sonorisation de *s*; mais la sifflante étrangère n'était alors certainement pas assimilée à la forme [z] que prenait la sifflante latine intervocalique: elle était bien plutôt identifiée à la géminée /ss/[71]). Après la quatrième étape par contre, c'est-à-dire après le rhotacisme, le latin eut la possibilité de ne pas ou de ne plus rattacher la sifflante intervocalique des mots empruntés à une géminée /ss/; car quand cette sifflante ne se trouvait pas au voisinage d'une frontière de morphème, elle ne tombait pas sous le coup du rhotacisme synchronique de l'époque. Le latin retrouvait ainsi certaines occurrences de /s/ intervocalique; certes cette sifflante appartenait à des mots étrangers, mais elle avait la possibilité de s'intégrer très vite au système phonologique latin, dans la mesure où elle était tout à fait compatible avec les règles de ce dernier[72]). La cinquième étape ou plus exactement la victoire de [de:sino:] sur *[de:rino:] fut un moment important de la reconquête de *s* intervocalique, puisque le latin présentait alors une sifflante intervocalique d'origine latine et que cette sifflante pouvait suivre une frontière de morphème, frontière qui en l'occurrence marquait le début d'un lexème. Ailleurs, et notamment devant la frontière qui marque le début des

[71]) C'est exactement ce que pense M. Leumann, *Lat. Laut.*, p. 141, 128d).

[72]) Si ces considérations chronologiques ne sont pas entièrement gratuites, elles fournissent une raison supplémentaire de suivre l'hypothèse admise notamment par A. Ernout (*Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin*[2], Paris, 1928, p. 116), A. Meillet (*Esquisse*, p. 85 et 86) et J. Safarewicz (*Rhotacisme*, p. 70–73), selon laquelle *asinus* est un emprunt, tout en étant pas trop gêné par l'objection pertinente que fit L. Michel, lorsqu'il écrivit: "Que l'on examine dans le *Thesaurus* les emplois figurés, les locutions dans lesquelles entre ce mot dès le second siècle. On reconnaîtra aisément que seul un mot très ancien dans la langue a pu être si fécond" (*Son s*, p. 112). Mais, d'après notre chronologie, cet emprunt peut-être relativement très ancien, puisqu'il peut avoir eu lieu juste après la sonorisation des sifflantes, c'est-à-dire avant non seulement le rhotacisme, mais aussi l'apparition de la fricative *f*. Il aurait alors eu la forme /assin+us/, comme le suppose A. Graur (*Les consonnes géminées en latin*, Paris, Champion, 1929, p. 111-112); mais, sous l'influence de *asellus* qui proviendrait de *assellus* (cf. C.I.L. IV 1555) par simplification de la géminée conformément à la loi de *mamilla* (cf. J. Safarewicz, *Rhotacisme*, p. 71–72), il put apparaître une forme [asinus] dès qu'eut lieu le rhotacisme historique. On comprendrait ainsi sans trop de difficultés que ce mot de la langue de tous les jours ait pu pénétrer si avant dans la langue latine, tout en étant bel et bien un emprunt, mais un emprunt à vrai dire relativement très ancien.

morphèmes désinentiels, la sifflante intervocalique restait marquée comme étrangère ou était rattachée à la géminée /ss/. Telle devait être la situation en latin classique, ce qui signifie que la reconquête de la sifflante intervocalique n'y était pas encore entièrement achevée. On remarquera en conclusion que pour reconquérir cette sifflante le latin a eu besoin du concours des langues étrangères, mais qu'il s'est aussi sérieusement aidé lui-même. C'est en effet la conjugaison de causes externes et de causes internes qui a progressivement redonné au latin la sifflante intervocalique que le rhotacisme historique lui avait jadis fait perdre.

The Infinitive in Latin Hexameter Poetry

By E. D. Kollmann, Tel Aviv (Israel)

It is intended to show in this paper, what the examination of the use by Roman poets of infinitive forms can contribute towards understanding the structure of the Latin hexameter. We are not, therefore, concerned with the meaning nor with the syntactical or expressive functions of infinitives, but with their form, prosody, and placement in verse.

The examination of the positions in which infinitive forms tend to occur, led to some conclusions as to reasons for occurrence and avoidance of such forms in certain places in the verse.

The relation between accent and ictus, i.e. between prose- and verse-intonation, which has a certain bearing on the subject, had to be considered as well: There are two possibilities for a word to occur in Latin verse: It may retain its prose accent or the prose accent may be shifted under the influence of the ictus. Words may therefore be either in coincidence or in clash.[1])

Furthermore, the sound structure of infinitive forms is responsible for differences in their usability within a certain metre. In the hexameter, for instance, present active infinitives of the third verbal declension form by far the largest single group. Infinitives of the type ⏑ ⏑ –, *dicere*, while frequent at the beginning and in the interior of the verse, cannot appear at its end; forms of the type – ⏑ –, *legere*, are usable in the hexameter only when followed by

[1]) See my paper 'Remarks on the Structure of the Latin Hexameter', Glotta 46, 1968, 293–316.

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a word starting with a vowel.[2]) Thus the structure of the infinitive form does indeed influence its location in the verse and—indirectly—its syntactical function and its meaning.

Table 1 shows in absolute numbers location and frequency of infinitives in the poems examined, which comprise more than 40.000 hexameters[3]), totalling over 300.000 words. From Table 2 it appears that *the frequency of the various infinitive forms is essentially constant in the poems of various authors; it seems indeed to be practically independent of individual style and subject-matter.*[4])

Table 1: Location of infinitives in verse—Absolute numbers.

Author/Poem	Number of		Location in Verse			Total
	Verses	Words	Beginng.	End	Interior	
Ennius, Ann.	628[5])	3768	5	9	73	87
Catullus, 62, 64	469	3283	3	1	51	55
65–116	644[6])	4508	6	9	120	135
Lucretius, 1–6	7415	51905	336	417	1697	2450
Vergil						
Eclogues, 1–10	829	5803	11	5	95	111
Georgics, 1–4	2188	15316	39	17	244	300
Aeneid, 1–12	9896	69272	154	93	1012	1259
Horace						
Satires 1, 2	2113	14791	54	24	315	393
Epistl. 1, 2	1486	10402	35	30	266	331
Ars poet.	476	3332	17	9	94	120
Ovid, Metam. 1–15	12095	84665	305	227	1205	1737
Statius						
Thebaid 1	720	5040	25	6	82	113
Achilleid	1127	7889	21	15	150	186
Persius, 1–6	550	3850	20	8	121	149
Juvenal, 1–16	3872	27104	56	40	423	519
Total	42508	310928	1087	910	5948	7945

[2]) See Table 7.

[3]) For details see Table 1.

[4]) This should, however, not be pressed too far. The data gathered from Lucretius and listed in the various Tables show that there are individual

Table 2: Location of Infinitives in verse—% (Approximate).[7])

Author/Poem	Inf. Forms-% of Word Total	Location in verse		
		Beginning %	End %	Interior %
Ennius, Ann.	2,5	5	9	86
Catullus, 62, 64	1,75	5	2	93
65–116	3	4	7	89
Lucretius, 1–6	4,75	14	17	69
Vergil, Eclogues, 1–10	2	10	4	86
Georgics, 1–4	2	13	6	81
Aeneid, 1–12	2	13	7	80
Horace, Satires 1, 2	3	14	6	80
Epistl. 1, 2	3	11	9	80
Ars poetica	4	14	8	78
Ovid, Metam. 1–15	2	18	12	70
Statius, Thebaid 1	2	22	5	73
Achilleid	2	11	8	81
Persius, 1–6	4	13	4	83
Juvenal, 1–16	2	11	8	81

The percentage of infinitive forms out of the total number of words in the poems examined is 2,3% in the average with minimum values in Catullus' hexameters (1,75%) and a maximum in Lucretius (4,75%), Horace's *Ars poetica* and Persius' *Satires* (4%).

The distribution of infinitive forms among the various positions in the hexameter varies, however, in the various poems, but it should be noted that these divergences are, as a rule, less pronounced in the poems of the same author.[8])

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deviations from the norm, but this norm seems to have been established nevertheless.

[5]) Many of these verses are fragmentary; because of this fact and on account of the comparatively large number of polysyllables in the Annals, the average number of words in the hexameter of Ennius was taken to be 6 and not 7, as in the other poems examined.

[6]) Catullus' Distichs habe been included in order to find out, whether or not there are some differences in the use of infinitives which may be explained by the metre.

[7]) No mathematical accuracy can be achieved here nor can it be demanded in literary research.

[8]) This does not, however, apply to Catullus' hexameters and distichs, a fact which seems to prove that the metre is indeed a factor influencing the choice and placement of infinitive forms.

The bulk of infinitive forms is located in the interior of the hexameter; in the earlier poetry (Ennius, Catullus' Distichs and Lucretius) there are more infinitive forms at the end of the verse than at its beginning, but from Vergil onwards this relation is reversed. It is interesting to note that among all poems examined only *De rerum natura* and the *Metamorphoses* have about 30% infinitives at both ends of the verse, while all others have 20% or less. This seems to mean that in both these poems the infinitive has a larger prominence than in others.

With regard to the beginning of the hexameter line, we encounter a question essentially connected with the intonation structure of the verse. The present examination has shown that the majority of infinitives in this position have a very strong connection with the end of the preceding verse, i.e. there is frequent enjambement.[9])

Table 3: Infinitives at the beginning of the Hexameter.

Author/Poem	Thought and syntactical form of preceding verse		Total	% Enjambement of total of inf. at verse beginning
	continued	not continued		
Ennius	0	5	5	0
Catullus, 62	0	2	2	0[10])
64	1	0	1	100[10])
65–116	5	1	6	83
Lucretius	232	104	336	69
Vergil, Ecl.	7	4	11	63
Georg.	28	11	39	70
Aeneid	107	47	154	70
Horace, Sat.	32	22	54	60
Epistl.	19	16	35	56
Ars poet.	10	7	17	71
Ovid, Metam.	216	89	305	72
Statius, Theb. 1	24	1	25	96
Achill.	20	1	21	96
Persius	16	4	20	78
Juvenal	42	14	56	75

[9]) This term covers various shades of connection between the two components; there is therefore a certain weakness in its use in our examination. One of the certain signs of an enjambement seems to be a pause next to the beginning of the second verse, e.g. *Lavinaque venit/Litora.*// This matter has

It has further been observed that the beginning of such verses is very often in coincidence; thus intonation groups in coincidence are formed consisting of the end of the verse, which is as a rule in coincidence, and the beginning of the following verse.

Table 3 shows the frequency of such verses in enjambement, which are connected in such a manner that the end of one verse and the beginning of the following form a unit in sense, in syntactical structure and—frequently—in intonation.

Except for the *Annals* and Catullus' wedding poem in all other poems examined the majority of infinitive forms at the beginning of the verse continue thought and syntactical form from the preceding verse. Horace's *Epistles* and Vergil's *Eclogues* have the lowest, Statius' epics the highest values.

The next Table shows relations with regard to genera verbi.

Table 4: Infinitives according to Genera Verbi.[11])

Author/Poem	Active			Passive			Total	
	Beg. %	Int. %	End %	Beg. %	Int. %	End %	Act. %	Pass. %
Ennius	4	72	6	1	14	3	82	18
Catullus, 62, 64	5	90	2,5	0	2,5	0	97,5	2,5
65–116	4,5	83	6	0	5,5	1	93,5	6,5
Lucretius	12	59	11	1	11	6	82	18
Vergil, Eclog.	10	80	1	0	5	4	91	9
Georg.	14	75	1,7	0,3	6	3	90,7	9,3
Aeneid	11	72	1,5	2	7	6,5	84,5	15,5
Horace, Sat.	12	72	3	2	7	4	87	13
Epist.	9	72	1,5	2	7,75	7,75	82,5	17,5
Ars poet.	12	69	1	2	10	6	82	18
Ovid, Met.	16,5	59	5	1,5	9	9	80,5	19,5
Statius, Th.	20	70,5	2	2	2,5	3	92,5	7,5
Achill.	10	72	1	1	8	8	83	17
Persius	13	75	1,5	1,5	4,5	4,5	89,5	10,5
Juvenal	10	75	1	2	6	6	86	14
Avrage	11	73	3	1,2	7	5	87	13

been examined in my paper 'Zum Enjembement in der lateinischen Hexameterdichtung' to be published by Rheinisches Museum.

[10]) The small number of occurrences somewhat weakens the force of the statistics in this case.

[11]) The infinitives listed as Passive are not all passive; they include deponent verbs as well.

It can be seen that the majority of active infinitives is located in the interior of the hexameter—about $^3/_4$ of all infinitives in the average; slightly more than $^1/_{10}$ are active infinitives and are located at the beginning of the verse, while only about $^1/_{30}$ of the total are active infinitives at the end of the line. The passive infinitives are distributed in a different way. An average of 5% are located at the end of the line, but only slightly more are in the interior of the hexameter, with only about 1% of the total at the beginning of the verse. The ratio of active to passive infinitives is about 7 : 1. There are of course individual divergences, the most interesting of them being almost an equilibrium of infinitives at beginning and at end in Lucretius.

The following Table shows the number of infinitives per 100 verses, approximately 700 words.

Table 5: Infinitive forms per 100 verses.

Serial Number	Author/Poem	Infinitive located at			Total
		Beginning	End	Other Positions	
1	Lucretius	4,5	5,5	23	33
2	Persius	3,7	1,5	22	27,2
3	Horace, A.P.	3,5	2	20	25,5
4	Horace, Epistl.	2,3	2	18	22,3
5	Catullus, 65–116	0,9	1,5	18	20,4
6	Horace, Sat.	2,6	1	15	18,6
7	Statius, Achill.	1,9	1,3	14	17,2
8	Statius, Theb. 1	3,6	0,9	12	16,5
9	Vergil, Aeneid	1,5	1	12	14,5
10	Ovid, Metam.	2,5	1,9	10	14,4
11	Ennius[12])	0,8	1,4	12	14,2
12	Vergil, Georg.	1,8	0,8	11	13,6
13	Juvenal	1,4	1	11	13,4
14	Vergil, Ecl.	1,3	0,6	11	12,9
15	Catullus, 62, 64	0,6	0,2	11	11,8

Although it seems very difficult to draw conclusions from the data given in Table 5, a few remarks may be given:

(1) It seems that the subject-matter of Lucretius' poem has some relation to his rather extensive use of the infinitive. The frequent use by Lucretius of verba dicendi and sentiendi[13]) and verbs ex-

[12]) About the number of words see Note 5.

[13]) The following are the main syntactical patterns of infinitives. For a complete list see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, Lateinische Grammatik, 2. Bd.,

pressing possibility, which is necessitated by his subject and by his style, may be responsible for the rather high frequency of infinitives, one in every three verses.

(2) Horace's *Epistles* and *Ars poetica* have a similar frequency of infinitives, as have Statius' *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*. It appears that here literary genre and individual style cooperate.

(3) It should be noted that the epic poems (the *Annals*, the *Aeneid*, the *Metamorphoses*) have a similar frequency of infinitives.

The next Table shows the distribution of infinitive forms according to their prosodical structure which overlaps sometimes with the distribution of verbal inflections. A glance at these data allows to understand the usability of the various forms.

Table 6: Distribution of infinitive forms according to conjugation

Author/Poem	Bisyll. %	-are, -ēre, -ire %	-ari, -ēri, -iri %	-ĕre %	-i %	-ier %	pf. act. %	others[14]) %
Ennius	16	40	8	26	6	1	—	3
Catullus 32, 64	8	25	—	57	2	—	6	2
65–116	22	20	2	42	2	1	12	2
Lucretius	13	30	7	36	9	1,5	2,5	1
Vergil, Ecl.	3,5	27	4	55	3,5	—	7	—
Georg.	8	23	4	56	4,7	0,3	4	—
Aeneid	7	24	7	46,7	7	0,3	7	1
Horace, Sat.	13	27	5	43	5	1	6	—
Epistl.	7	33	8	38	7	1	5	1
Ars poet.	12	24	6	38	12	—	6	2
Ovid, Metam.	15	22	7	33	9,6	0,3	13	0,1
Statius, Theb. 1	7	45	3	30	5	—	9	1
Achill.	9	33	6	33	9	—	9	1
Persius	8	22	6	47	3	1	13	—
Juvenal	10	36	8	35	5,4	0,2	5	0,4
Average	11	29	5	41	6	0,5	6,5	1

344–351, München 1965: (a) *Verbs of will, orders* etc. (b) *Verba dicendi.* (c) *Verba sentiendi.* (d) *Verbs expressing sentiments.* (e) *Verbs expressing power, possibility, custom.* (f) *Impersonalia.* It should be borne in mind that these patterns are apt to vary on account of individual style as well as literary genre. It is known, for instance, that Horae in his *Odes* prefers the use of infinitives after adjectives.

Table 6 shows that there are two large groups of infinitive forms which make up for about three quarters of all forms: (a) Verbs of the vocalic conjugations (an average of 29% active and 5% passive). (b) Verbs of the consonant conjugation (41% active and 0,5% passive) The third group comprises bisyllabic infinitives (11% active and 6% passive), while the fourth group is that of active perfect infinitives (about 6,5%).

The strongest—and we may infer—most usable group is that of the consonant conjugation which may occur at the beginning as well as in the interior of the verse. There are of course again individual uses which deserve to be mentioned, such as the high frequency of active perfect infinitives in the *Metamorphoses* (13%)and in Catull's Distichs (12%), which may be somehow understood, but the fact that Persius has 13% of these infinitives, so far defies explanation.

We intend to conclude this study with a survey of prosodical types of infinitives found in the 8 most important poems among the 15 examined.[15])

Table 7: Infinitive forms according to prosodical types.[16]
Beginning of verse.

Type	Sample	Lucr.	Vergil			Horace			Ovid
			Ecl.	Georg	Aen.	Sat.	Epist.	A.P.	Met.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
_'	ess(e)	7	0	5	2	0	0	0	1
_⏑	esse	14	18	15	15	8	31	6	32
_⏑'	cerner(e)	11	0	17,5	5	0	0	0	6
_⏑⏑	cernere	17	35	30	22	37	33,5	52	24
_⏑⏑'	dissorer(e)	18	9	15	13	14	2,5	6	8
__	verti	1	0	0	1	3	2,5	0	0
__'	deber(e)	4	0	0	6	0	2,5	0	2
___	restingui	4	0	0	9	6	14	12	3
___'	appellar(e)	6	0	2,5	4	0	0	6	2
_⏑⏑_	indugredi	3	0	0	0	1	0	6	0
_⏑⏑_'	insinuar(e)	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
_⏑⏑_⏑	suppeditare	3	9	2,5	4	1	0	0	8
_⏑⏑__	insinuari	0,5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
___⏑	apparere	7	28	12,5	18	30	14	12	14
___⏑'	evanescer(e)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
___⏑⏑	evanescere	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
____'	investigar(e)	0,5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

[14]) This column includes passive perfect as well as active future infinitives and nominal infinitives of the type *ratos = ratos esse*.

[15]) The poems selected comprise 36.508 verses out of 42.508 examined; this selection may therefore be considered to be fairly representative.

Table 8: Infinitive forms according to prosodical types.
End of verse.

Type	Sample	Lucr.	Vergil			Horace			Ovid
			Ecl.	Georg	Aen.	Sat.	Epist.	A. P.	Met.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
⏑–	velle	18	0	0	5	14	0	0	9
––	ferri	8	0	21	18	16	15	28	15
––'	debe(e)r (5.849)	0,25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
⏑–⏑	videre	37	20	35	18	35	18	14	28
⏑––	videri	28,25	80	44	59	35	67	58	48
⏑⏑–⏑	superare	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
⏑⏑––	aboriri	1,25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
–⏑⏑–⏑	insinuare	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
–⏑⏑––	insinuari	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
–––⏑	apparere	1,25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Tables 7 and 8 show the following:

(1) Infinitives at the beginning of the hexameter are much more variegated than those occurring at the end of the line. Here is a survey of the different types, excluding those occurring once only:

Number of different prosodical types:

Location in verse:

Beginning:	End:
17 — Lucretius	10 — Lucretius
12 — Verg. Aen.	4 — Verg. Aen., Ov. Metam., Hor. Sat.
10 — Ov. Metam.	3 — Verg. Georg., Hor. Epistl., Ars poet.
8 — Verg. Georg., Hor. Sat.	2 — Verg. Ecl.
7 — Hor. Epistl., Ars poet.	
5 — Verg. Ecl.	

(2) The number of different types varies in the various poems, but no chronological line can be observed. Lucretius has by far the most variations in prosodical types, and next come Vergil's *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*. In general, the order is similar in verse beginning and in verse end. The Eclogues, which have a very small number of infinitives, are also at the bottom of the list of different prosodical types.

(3) With regard to the types occurring at the beginning of the hexameter, it appears that ⏑–⏑ *-dicere*, is the most frequent and

– ⏑ *-esse* comes second, except for the *Metamorphoses*, where this order is reversed. Next comes – – – ⏑ and – ⏑ ⏑' is fourth.
These four types are the only ones represented in all the poems included in this list. (8 out of 8); 2 others are represented in 6, (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, – – –), 1 in 5 (– – –'), 4 types occur in 4 of the poems (–', – ⏑', – –, – –'), 1 in 3 (– ⏑ ⏑ –), 1 in 2 (– ⏑ ⏑ –') and 4 types (– ⏑ ⏑ – –, – – – ⏑', – – – –', – – – ⏑ ⏑) are represented in one poem each.

(4) The position at verse end is as follows:
Two types, ⏑ – ⏑ *-videre* and ⏑ – – *-videri* are represented in all 8 poems; 1 (– –) occurs in 7, 1 (– ⏑) in 4 poems, while 6 types (– –', ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – –, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ – –, – – – ⏑) are found in Lucretius only.

The results of the foregoing examinations may be summarized as follows:

(1) The percentage of infinitives out of the total number of words is fairly constant throughout Latin hexameter poetry and seems to be independent of literary genre and of individual style, with only a few deviations, especially in Lucretius.

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[16]) The list given here comprises only infinitives occurring at the beginning or at the end of the hexameter. The types *dicere verum* (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ×) and *deponere terra* (– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ×) are among the most frequent hexameter endings. Although they are beyond the scope of this research, a few remarks shall be given here. As far as infinitives are concerned, both types occur about equally in the *Annals* and, together with infinitives at the beginning and at the end of the verse, they make up about 40% of the total.

Catullus—in his hexameters—Lucretius, Vergil, Horace (*Satires* only), Ovid, Statius (*Thebaid*) and Juvenal have more infinitives of the type *deponere terra* than *dicere verum*. The type *dicere verum*, on the other hand, is prevalent in Catullus' Distichs, in Horace's *Epistles*, in Persius and in Statius' *Achilleid*.

All 4 types together comprise about 50% of all infinitives in most of the poems examined, more exactly from a maximum of about 60% (Horace's *Epistles*) down to a minimum of 39% (Catullus' Distichs).

These are but some examples of the manifold structures of hexameter endings; their number is rather large, especially when the difference is considered between long and short *vowels* as distinct from *syllables*, a difference clearly felt by the Romans, but not expressed in the traditional metrical analysis. Cp. my Remarks, esp. p. 304 s. The subject is dealt with in more detail in my paper. 'A New Method of Analyzing Latin Hexameter'. Scripta Classica Israelica Vol. 1, 1974, 64-72. An extensive study of hexameter endings would be desirable.

(2) The bulk of infinitive forms is located in the interior of the hexameter, the remainder being made up by slightly more infinitives at the beginning than at the end of the verse.

(3) Enjambement is very frequent as far as infinitives are concerned. Intonation groups in coincidence are also quite frequent consisting of the 5th and 6th feet of one verse and of the 1st and 2nd feet of the following verse.

(4) The majority of active infinitives are located at the beginning of the hexameter (an average of 11% opposed to 3% at its end), while passive infinitives occur at the end of the verse (5% average) with only 1,2% at the beginning.

(5) In the interior of the hexameter 73% of all infinitives are active, 7% only passive. The large majority of infinitive forms (87% average) are active infinitives.

(6) Lucretius' *De rerum natura* has by far the most infinitive forms, a fact which may be connected with subject-matter and style of the poem.

(7) The most frequent prosodical types of infinitive forms are – ⏑ ⏑ at the beginning and ⏑ – – at the end of the hexameter. Lucretius has 17 different types at the beginning and 10 at the end of the hexameter, while the minimum is in the Eclogues: 5 types at the beginning and 2 types at the end of the verse.

(8) The usability of the various infinitive forms in the hexameter depends upon their prosodic structure; to a great extent the place in the verse of an infinitive is fixed by its structure.

Appositio

By Bruce Marshall, Armidale

Lewis and Short, and the editors of the Oxford Latin Dictionary do not seem to have noticed a use of the noun *appositio* which occurs in Asconius (26.9 St. = 24.10–11 C.).[1] The word occurs in a comment on the use of *neque* by Cicero in a passage of the *pro Scauro*; the relevant passage and Asconius' comment are as follows:

> *Ac neque illius Crassi factum superioris isdem honoribus usus,qui fortissimus in bellis fuisset, M'. Aquilius potuit imitari.*
>
> *Haec verba quibus Cicero nunc utitur, ac neque, eam videntur habere naturam ut semel poni non soleant; quia est coniunctio disiunctiva et semper postulat ut rursus inferatur neque, ut cum dicimus neque hoc neque illud. Quo autem casu acciderit quave ratione ut hoc loco Cicero hoc verbo ita usus sit, praesertim cum adiecerit illam appositionem, ut non intulerit postea alterum, neque perspicere potui et attendendum esse valde puto: moveor enim merita viri auctoritate. Neque ignoro aliquando hoc verbum neque vel semel poni, ut in eadem hac oratione ante ipse Cicero posuit: Sic, inquam, se, iudices, res habet; neque hoc a me novum disputatur sed quaesitum ab aliis est. Sed hoc loco et sine praepositione illius verbi videmus esse positum, et tamen quasi secundum aliquid inferri. Nam cum dixerit neque hoc a me novum disputatur, infert sed quaesitum ab aliis est.*

Lewis and Short give the basic meaning of *appositio* as 'a setting before' and provide some examples: *appositio epularum* (Vulg. *Eccli.* xxx. 18); *appositio cucurbitae* ('the (medicinal) application of a gourd': Cael. Aur. *Acut.* iii. 5); *appositio criminis* ('the imputation of a crime': Lamp. *Com.* v). The *O.L.D.* gives only one meaning: 'the action of comparing, a comparison',[2] and provides two in-

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[1] The passage of Asconius in which it occurs has been deleted by Rau and Madvig, but it is included in the editions of Kiessling and Schoell, Stangl, Clark and Giarratano. I have accepted it as part of Asconius' commentary.

[2] *O.L.D.*, fasc. I, p. 153. The other meanings of *appositio* (e.g. those listed in *T.L.L.* and Lewis and Short) derive from later authors who fall outside the scope of the *O.L.D.*, and these other meanings may not have been mentioned for that reason. Asconius does, however, fall within the scope of the *O.L.D.* (provided the passage is accepted—see n. 1).

stances: Quint. v. 11.1,[3]) and Gell. vii. 1.4.[4]) This meaning is not mentioned by Lewis and Short.

The author of the entry on *appositio* in the *T.L.L.* includes the use of that word in the group to which he assigns the meaning *actus addendi*.[5]) This idea of 'addition' seems to be the right one for the word in Asconius. But somewhat strangely, the author of the entry in the *T.L.L.* includes in this group the use of the word meaning 'comparison' in the passages of Quintilian and Aulus Gellius: these uses do not suit the idea of *actus addendi*.

While the meaning of 'comparison' may be possible in the passage of Asconius, since in the lemma of Cicero on which he is commenting a comparison is made between the conduct of M'. Aquilius and an "elder Crassus", it is more likely that the word *appositio* is referring to a grammatical point—the addition of *ac* to *neque*, since the whole of Asconius' comment is devoted to a grammatical discussion of the use of *neque*, and we would expect the point of *appositio* to be grammatical rather than historical. That *appositio* here has the sense of 'addition' seems to be reinforced by the subsequent discussion of another single use of *neque* by Cicero, on this occasion *sine praepositione illius verbi* (presumably meaning this time without the *ac*).

It would seem that the meaning of *appositio* in this passage of Asconius is 'addition', which can, of course, be extracted from the verb from which this noun is derived.[6]) Its use by Asconius should perhaps have received some attention by Lewis and Short, and the editors of the *O.L.D.*

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[3]) ... *παράδειγμα, quo nomine et generaliter usi sunt in omni similium adpositione.*

[4]) *Quid item fortitudo intellegi posset, nisi ex ignaviae adpositione?*

[5]) *T.L.L.*, II. 305.

[6]) Some examples: Plaut. *Mil.* 905 (*ad tua praecepta de meo nihil his novom adposivi*); Cic. *Pis.* 73 (... *Phalarim grammaticum habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum versum sed poetam armis persequare.*); *ad Brut.* ii. 5.4 (*Labeo vero noster nec signum tuum in epistula nec diem adpositum nec te scripsisse ad tuos, ut soleres.*); Quint. i. 7.2 (*ut longis syllabis omnibus apponere apicem ineptissimum est, ...*); Gell. i. 3.13 (*ea verba Ciceronis, si recensere quis vellet, apposui: ...*). For further examples, see *T.L.L.*, II. 302.

Emptio, 'taking'

By Alan Watson (Edinburgh)

According to Festus, "*Emere, quod nunc est mercari, antiqui accipiebant pro sumere*" and modern philologists do accept some such meaning as the original in Latin.[1])

The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*[2]) however, thinks there is no certain example of this sense of *emere* and considers the instances adduced by Skutsch[3]) to be scarcely convincing. I should like to produce for consideration a different instance drawn from the derivative *emptio* or *emptor*. The instance in question may not take us as far back as *emere* = *sumere* but will at least to *emere* = *accipere*.

Roman legal tradition[4]) tells us that the codification of the mid-fifth century B.C.,[5]) the XII Tables, contained a provision on the *statuliber*, that is, a slave ordered to be free under his master's will when a condition was fulfilled. The clause in question seems to have been along the lines that if the slave was to be free when he made a certain payment to the heir then, even if he were transferred by the heir, he obtained his freedom by giving the sum to his purchaser It appears that in this clause either the recipient from the heir was designated as *emptor* or the transaction was called *emptio* or perhaps both these nouns occurred. Thus *Epit. Ulp.* 2.4 has:

> Sub hac condicione liber esse iussus: SI DECEM MILIA HEREDI DEDERIT, etsi ab herede abalienatus sit, emptori dando pecuniam ad libertatem perveniet; idque lex duodecim tabularum iubet.

And more significantly, it is in this context that we find in D.40.1.29.1, "*quoniam lex duodecim tabularum emtionis verbo omnem*

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[1]) Thus, e.g. Ernout & Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologigue de la langue latine*, i 4th edt. (Paris, 1959), p. 195; and Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* i (Paris, 1969), p. 137, who says it means 'prendre' but in the particular sense, 'tirer à soi'.

[2]) V. 511. [3]) *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 145ff., 206.

[4]) *Epit. Ulp.* 2.4; D. 40.1.25 (Modestinus 9 *diff.*); *h.t.* 29.1 (Pomponius 18 *ad Quintum Mucium*).

[5]) Grave doubts have been expressed in the past as to the accuracy of the traditional dating of the XII Tables but see now, above all Wieacker, 'Die XII Tafeln in ihrem Jahrhundert', *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique xiii, Les Origines de la République romaine* (Fondation Hardt, Vandœuvres-Genève, 1967), pp. 293ff.

alienationem complexa videretur".[6]) It cannot reasonably be doubted that in the wording of this provision as it came down to later ages[7]) either *emptio* or *emptor* was to be found; and there is no particular reason to consider that in this respect the wording had undergone alteration.[8])

Thus, we should accept as a working hypothesis that the word *emptio/emptor* existed by the mid-fifth century B.C. and was used in the XII Tables. Yet beyond doubt, the Roman contract of sale, *emptio venditio*, was not then in being[9]) and further, an essential element of the very idea of sale, coined money, was also lacking.[10],[11]) If we wish to give to *emptio* here a meaning akin to that which it had in later times we would have to say that the provision of the XII Tables applied and was intended to apply only when the slave was transferred for a prestation in bronze or silver (if we suppose that these metals had become the standard measures of exchange[12]). On this view the *statuliber* could not get his freedom if he fulfilled the condition after he had been transferred in exchange for other property such as oxen or goats, or had been delivered as a gift, or as dowry on behalf of the heir's daughter, or consequent upon the death of the heir. Yet why should these cases (which would make up a fair proportion of all alienations) have been exluded from the scope of the Code's provision? And if they were at first excluded, what changed circumstances persuaded later jurists that the scope should be wider, that *emptio* should be treated—exceptionally and

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[6]) Though the point is not of importance in the present context this view of Pomponius inverts the situation. *Emptio*, whatever it may mean, is used of a transaction viewed (in its property aspect) from the standpoint of the recipient; *alienatio* from that of the transferor.

[7]) Primarily through the *tripertita* of Sextus Aelius Paetus Catus, consul of 198 B.C.

[8]) See infra, p. 296.

[9]) Sometime in the 3rd century B.C. would seem to be the earliest date which any modern legal scholar would allow for the creation of the contract.

[10]) The introduction of coinage is put very much later than the mid fifth century B.C.: cf. e.g. Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage* (London, 1952), pp. 1ff.; Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, 2nd edit. (London, 1960), pp. 3ff.; Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 3ff., 589f.

[11]) *Emptio venditio* requires that the counter-prestation (or at least part of it) be in coined money, though the Proculians argued that *permutatio* was also *emptio venditio*; e.g. G. 3.141.

[12]) As might be permissible from the reports of the *lex Aternia Tarpeia* and the *lex Menenia Sestia* reputedly of 454 and 452 B.C.: for the sources for these see Rotondi, *Leges publicae populi romani* (Milan, 1912), pp. 200f.

as a deliberate misinterpretation—as including all these other situations? In the absence of a convincing answer to either of these questions we should accept that we have in the XII Tables' provision on the *statuliber* an instance where *emptio/emptor* means "taking/taker" or at least "receiving/recipient". On this view, of course, problems and questions of interpretation would arise only when *emptio* acquired a more restricted meaning.[13])

To return for a moment to the accuracy of the tradition of the wording. If one believes that *emptio/emptor* did not appear in the original but is later, then one must wonder how, when and why the change came about. If the alteration occurred at a time when *emere* meant 'to take' or 'to receive', the basic situation (for us) is unchanged; but if when *emere* meant 'to buy' then how could any verbal change so restricting the scope of the provision prove acceptable? And why ever was it made? There seems to be no answer.[14]) In fact, one might even go so far as to state that the use of *emptio/emptor* with a sense wider than any involved in the context of sale is the strongest evidence of the accuracy of the tradition on the clause's wording.[15],[16])

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[13]) Ironically, the presence of *emptio/emptor* in the tradition has been one factor leading some modern scholars of Roman law to doubt the accuracy of the reports on the provision: Riccobono in *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* i (Florence, 1941), p. 51; Voci, *Diritto ereditario romano* i, 2nd edit. (Milan, 1967), p. 75; Impallomeni, *Le Manomissioni mortis causa* (Padua, 1963), p. 19. The best answer to these doubts is, of course, the evidence provided by philologists that *emere* originally meant 'to take'. See also Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* i, 2nd edit. (Munich, 1971), p. 114.

[14]) The same difficulty would exist if one were to suppose that the whole provision is a later invention.

[15]) It has been suggested that in the wording for *mancipatio*, "mihi emptus esto hoc aere aeneaque libra" refers not to 'purchasing' but to 'taking' [Kaser, *Eigentum und Besitz im älteren römischen Recht*, 2nd edit. (Cologne, Graz, 1956) pp. 108, 117, 135, 141] or to 'receiving' [Prichard, 'Terminology of *mancipatio*', *Law Quarterly Review* lxxvi (1960), pp. 412ff.; cf. Jolowicz and Nicholas, *Historical Introduction to Roman Law* 3rd edit. (Cambridge, 1972), p. 149]. Such a view may well be correct but it cannot help us here, since any such meaning attributed to "emptus esto" in the *mancipatio* derives from external factors. In the context the meaning could easily be "let him have been bought": "hoc aere aeneaque libra" points to a purchase.

[16]) I am grateful to Mr. R. M. Pinkerton for his generous help with this note.

On Epitrochasmos

By M. WINTERBOTTOM, Oxford

epitrochasmus est contram orationis figura, quoniam breuiter et subcincte ea quae sunt dicenda perstringit

Dr. Ulrich Schindel, in his important article 'Textkritisches zu lateinischen Figurenlehren' (*Glotta* 52, 1974, 95–114), proposes (p. 102) to emend this passage of the *Anecdota Parisina Rhetorica* (p. 4 Eckstein = *Rhetores Latini Minores* p. 72, 28 Halm) to 'epitrochasmos est dicti rotatio, figura quae breuiter . . .' Less violently, I propose 'epitrochasmos est contraria iterationi figura, quoniam breuiter . . .' The preceding figure is 'epembasis . . . latine quod iteratio nuncupatur'; cf. Aquila Romanus in *Rhet. Lat. Min.* p. 24, 16 Halm "*Επιτροχασμός*, percursio. Haec rursum figura *differt a coacerua-tione* quod illa res uniuersas pluresue in eundem locum confert, haec distantia plura inter se percurrens uelocitate ipsa circumponit.' For reference back to a preceding figure in the *Anecdota* see 'Anthypophora est fere superiori similis' (p. 7, 3 Eckstein = p. 73, 31 Halm) and '*Έμφασις* est uicina praedictae' (p. 13, 14 Eckstein = Quintilian 8.3.83). For the corruption see p. 7, 1 Eckstein = p. 73, 28 Halm 'contraria inductio', where the manuscript has *contradictio*.

Latin *flēmina* and *f* for *p*

By ERIC P. HAMP, Aberystwyth

In his Etyma latina II[1]) Szemerényi has given an excellent and imaginative account of *fornicātio* > **pornicātio*; he is surely correct, and his meticulous treatment removes from the handbooks a learned conspiracy with folk etymology that stretches back to antiquity. This leads him to mention other words with *f* where *p* might be expected.[2])

flēmina 'swelling of the ankles attended with a discharge of blood' (> *φλεγμονή*), for which the variant *plēmina* is also attested,

[1]) *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* II (1969), 963ff., esp. 963–8.

[2]) It is worth emphasizing that both *golfus* < *κόλπος* and *sulfor* for vulgar *sulpur* show *p* preceded by syllable-final *l* which in turn follows rounded

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has been credited with contamination by *flēre*; Szemerényi cites Walde-Hofmann I 515 for this view. But Szemerényi goes on to say (968) that this "seems to me more than doubtful." He adds (footnote 8): "Influence of *fluere* would seem more intelligible."

Szemerényi's reasoning on this seems to me exactly correct, and susceptible of support in more specific terms. In form, *flēmina* appears to be remodelled exactly on *flūmina*; the vocalisms and consonantisms match precisely. Semantically, the attraction is clear when one fixes upon the discharge of blood accompanying the swelling of *flēmina*. The word *flūmen* was used not just of rivers or of flowing in general, but also of bodily discharges. So we find in Vergil of milk: *pressīs mānābunt flūmina mammīs*.

Hence these stray *f*'s of Latin are seen to have quite diverse, if specific, sources. If my reasoning in note 2 is correct, *golfus* and *sulfur* result from quite mechanical phonetics. But *fornicātio* and *flēmina* surely owe their shapes to semantics coupled with morphological Gestalt.

Violare

Von R. Merkelbach, Köln

Die etymologischen Lexica scheinen sich darin einig zu sein, daß die Etymologie von *violare* in *vis* zu suchen sei. Sicherlich liegt es näher, *violare* von *viola* abzuleiten, „wie ein Veilchen behandeln, pflücken"; in der Mythologie ist das Blumenpflücken immer mit dem Mädchenraub verbunden. Sekundär mag dann der Anklang an *vis* eine Rolle gespielt haben. — Für den Gedankenzusammenhang vgl. Catulls Epithalamion 62, 39–47:

ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis
ignotus pecori, nullo convolsus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,

---

vowel. If the lateral were devoiced in this position, inducing spirancy such as one readily hears today e.g. in Scottish Gaelic and which readily masks the neighbouring obstruent, and if it were markedly lip-rounded between the vowel and the labial stop, such masking could plausibly engender an assimilation to spirancy. That is, in the stable labial state the spirancy was simply spread over two segments.

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multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem
nec pueris iocunda manet, nec cara puellis.

Etruscan Φersu

By Eric P. Hamp, Aberystwyth

Carlo de Simone has provided us with a thoroughly authoritative account of this difficult word, the subject of such recurrent discussion. The earlier bibliography on the subject is very fully set (orth by him Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen I f1968) 139. The word of course has an interest in its own right as a part of the Etruscan lexicon, and particularly with reference to the fit of its phonological chape into the pattern of Etruscan word formation. However, strong interest in this word understandably settles on its possible rôle as an intermediary in a complex set of borrowings from Greek into Latin.

De Simone has lucidly summarized the highly persuasive argument, which we owe to Vetter in its final form, that enables us to derive conclusively the Latin *persōna* from an Etruscan source; for the detail see Entlehnungen II (1970) 297–8. The crucial feature of the analysis lies in the recognition of the value and essentiality of the suffix *-na* within Etruscan. An important point for the syntactic aspect of etymology is made by de Simone when he insists (298) that a base form and its derivative cannot be assigned the same meaning. If the two can in fact be assigned the same meaning then we have the special case often referred to as hypercharacterization or else we have a thoroughly moribund affix; but if such were the case with the Etruscan material in question then we would probably not, in the present state of our knowledge, be able to segment the forms correctly in the first place. The Latin side of *φersu* is now secure, and earlier attempts at competing explanations must take their place in the history of the problem.

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Etruscan Φersu

By Eric P. Hamp, Aberystwyth

Carlo de Simone has provided us with a thoroughly authoritative account of this difficult word, the subject of such recurrent discussion. The earlier bibliography on the subject is very fully set (orth by him Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen I f1968) 139. The word of course has an interest in its own right as a part of the Etruscan lexicon, and particularly with reference to the fit of its phonological chape into the pattern of Etruscan word formation. However, strong interest in this word understandably settles on its possible rôle as an intermediary in a complex set of borrowings from Greek into Latin.

De Simone has lucidly summarized the highly persuasive argument, which we owe to Vetter in its final form, that enables us to derive conclusively the Latin *persōna* from an Etruscan source; for the detail see Entlehnungen II (1970) 297–8. The crucial feature of the analysis lies in the recognition of the value and essentiality of the suffix *-na* within Etruscan. An important point for the syntactic aspect of etymology is made by de Simone when he insists (298) that a base form and its derivative cannot be assigned the same meaning. If the two can in fact be assigned the same meaning then we have the special case often referred to as hypercharacterization or else we have a thoroughly moribund affix; but if such were the case with the Etruscan material in question then we would probably not, in the present state of our knowledge, be able to segment the forms correctly in the first place. The Latin side of *φersu* is now secure, and earlier attempts at competing explanations must take their place in the history of the problem.

De Simone is by no means as satisfied with the Greek side of the borrowing that has been claimed (294–6). In short, there appears to be an excessive loss in the ending between *πρόσωπον* and *φersu*. I think we may be closer to rescuing this than de Simone represents, although I share his doubts regarding the weak points and unattested forms involved in the arguments which he reviews. As an avenue to a solution I call attention to one additional, and partly new, fact of morphology and to an encouraging aspect of one of the observations which did not find favour with de Simone.

The morphological fact resides in the probability that in the Greek that the Etruscans heard the source noun would have occurred largely (or only?) in the plural. De Simone mentions the epic formation *προσώπατα* only to reject it as a likely form of the source noun both on grounds of chronology and of some improbable heteroclitic formations. However, basing myself on observations made long ago by Meillet and adducing further evidence especially from Celtic, I have shown (BSL 68, 1973, 77ff., esp. 81–3, 87) that the etymon 'face' is a plurale tantum from IE times on. It is likely then, that what Etruscan heard was *πρόσωπα*.

Viewed in this light, it seems to me then that the hypothesis mentioned by de Simone and pertaining to *Evru* and *Metus* (op. laud. 294–5) becomes much stronger. Provisionally we may consider that Etruscan dropped the final *-a* when a long vowel occurred in the preceding syllable in the source, thus following Devoto's perceptive suggestion. The resulting **evrup* and **prsup* then lost their final *-p* because in sich forms Etruscan did not phonetactically tolerate a final obstruent other than a sibilant (hence *Metus*); cf. de Simone's tabulation p. 140. No doubt the functional value of the termination *-u* (see 143–4) contributed to the stability of the resulting shapes *Evru* and *φersu*. For these forms I therefore propose a two-stage phonetic loss, by two regular and simple Lautgesetze, plus a reinforcement by the morphological category of *-u*.

I now suggest that we may see within the attested materials assembled and analyzed by de Simone an indirect confirmation both of the foregoing formulation and of the relevance, indeed the descent, of Lat. *persōna*. If we inspect the forms in *-a* (109–10, 145–6) we find that only one sequence with preceding long vowel appears to show a surviving *-a*, namely that with *-na*; cf. *Alcumena*, *Calaina*, *Enuna*. I propose that these either (in principle) lost their *-a* in accordance with the above rule, subsequently "restoring" the suffix *-na*, or else the loss was simply averted by morphological segmenta-

tion of the *-na* (cf. also 83–9)*) with consequent semantic revaluation of the name as a derivative. A similar background with the productive suffix *-va* (110–12) seems to be possible for the names *Latva* and *Metua* and for the Lat. *lārua*. If this is true the last-named noun has an Etruscan suffix, as has been suggested for *Minerva*.

On the above reasoning, *φersu* would come quite regularly from *πρόσωπα*, and although we have only *φersu* directly attested the Etruscan antecedent of *persōna* would be indirectly confirmed by a name such as *Enuna* > *Οἰνώνα*.

The Dialect Geography of Modern Greek oxytone Imperfect

By Brian Newton, Simon Fraser University,
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The Imperfect Active forms of the Greek oxytone (contracted) verbs display in modern dialects a superficially bewildering variety.[1]) Two types have survived—those descending from the ancient *-άω*

*) Lat. *calpar* is certainly a difficult form (see de Simone 133), but in view of the productivity of the suffix *-na* it may be possible to explain the problematic *-r* in the face of Greek *κάλπη* by considering this at bottom a formation identical with that of *cisterna*: *κίστη*. The *-na* would then be removed from *calpar* by misdivision, unless *-rna* is itself originally complex. Note here the good semantic fit between *calpar* and *cisterna*. If that is so, we may remove the sigla from both these items in de Simone's list. In any event, neither *calpar* nor *κάλπη* can be related plausibly to Welsh *celwrn* 'bucket, tub' OBreton *chilorn* gl. urceus Mod. Bret. *kelorn*, on which see L. Fleuriot *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* (Paris 1964) 105. Apart from an internal Celtic problem with the vowel of the first syllable, I have argued elsewhere that the correct reflex in Celtic for **lp* is *ll*. In view of all this we appear to have separate isolated etyma in Greek and in Celtic.

[1]) This paper is based largely on work done on the Greek verb during an eight month's leave in Greece in 1972 which was supported by a Canada Council Research Grant. For the position of the places mentioned see my earlier paper in *Glotta* on the Passive (1972: 265). My data are drawn partly from the numerous available written sources but in most cases have been checked and expanded by consultation of local informants. Points concerning active endings in general such as the differences between 3rd Plural *-an* and *-asin*, 2nd Plural *-ate*, *-ete* are covered in my *The Dialect Geography of Modern Greek Active Inflections* (Glossa 7. 189-230)

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class (Oxytone I) and those which continue the -*έω* class (Oxytone II). The latter type shows a particularly rich proliferation of endings and their areal distribution is summarized in Table I.

TABLE I

OXYTONE II IMPERFECT ACTIVE

IONIAN ISLES						
Corfu	*ˊuna*	*ˊunes*	*ˊune*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
Zakinthos, Kephalonia	*ˊuna*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*ˊyame*	*ˊyate*	*ˊyane* *-úsane*
PELOPONNESE						
Generally	*ˊiya*	*ˊiyes*	*ˊiye*	*-íyame*	*-íyate*	*-íyane*
Laconia	*ˊuna*	*ˊunes*	*ˊune*	*-úname* *-úyame*	*-úate* *-úyate*	*-úane* *-úyane*
Mani	*ˊu*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úma*	*-íta*	*-úsa*
OLD ATHENIAN						
Megara	*ˊya*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
Aegina	*ˊya*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
Kimi	*ˊya* *ˊyona*	*ˊyes* *ˊyena*	*ˊye*	*ˊyame* *-úsame*	*ˊyate* *-úsate*	*-úsan*
CRETE AND CYCLADES						
Crete	*ˊu* *ˊuna* *ˊune*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úsame*	*-úsete* *-íte*	*-úsasi* *-úsane*
Naxos	*ˊu* *ˊumune*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úman*	*-íte*	*-úsa*
Kimolos	*ˊu*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
Santorini	*ˊyu*	*ˊyes*	*ˊye*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
NORTH						
Epirus	*-úsa*	*-úsis*	*-úsi*	*-úsaman*	*-úsatan*	*-úsan*
Germa	*-úsa*	*-úsis*	*-úsi*	*-úsami*	*-úsiti*	*-úsan*
Velvendos, Siatista, Chalkidiki, Thasos, Samothraki	*-úsa*	*-úsis*	*-úsi*	*-úsami*	*-úsati*	*-úsan*
E. Thrace	*-úsa*	*-úses*	*-úse*	*-úsam*	*-úsate*	*-úsana*
Central Greece, N. Euboea	*ˊya*	*ˊyis*	*ˊyi*	*-íyame*	*-íyete* *-íyate*	*ˊyan*
Lesbos	*ˊyum*	*ˊyis*	*ˊyi*	*-úsami*	*-úsati*	*-úsan*

Limnos	*ˈumne*	*ˈyes*	*ˈye*	*-úsam*	*-úste*	*-úsan*
Samos	*ˈya* / *-úsa*	*ˈyis* / *-úsis*	*ˈyi* / *-úsi*	*-úsami*	*-úsati*	*-úsani*

SOUTH EAST

Cyprus	*ˈun*	*ˈes*	*ˈen*	*-úsamen*	*-úsete*	*-úsan* / *-úsasin*
(Less commonly)	*ˈia*	*ˈies*	*ˈien*	*-íamen*	*-íete*	*-ían* / *-íasin*
Rhodes	*ˈyun*	*ˈyes*	*ˈyen*	*-úsamen*	*-úsete*	*ˈusan* / *-úsasin*
Simi	*ˈu*	*ˈes*	*ˈen*	*ˈemen* / *-úsamen*	*ˈete* / *-úsete*	*-úsan*
Astipalea, Karpathos	*ˈun*	*ˈis*	*ˈin*	*-úsamen*	*-úsete*	*-úsan* / *-úsasin*
Ikaria	*ˈun*	*ˈis* / *ˈyes*	*ˈin* / *ˈyen*	*-úmen*	*-íte*	*-úsan* / *ˈun*
Chios	*ˈun*	*ˈes* / *ˈyes*	*ˈen* / *ˈyes*	*ˈume*	*-íte*	*-úsan*

An ancient Oxytone II verb such as *κρατέω* (modern *krató*) would appear nowadays as follows if no changes other than regular phonetic ones had come into play.

Ancient	Modern
ἐκράτουν	*ekrátun*
ἐκράτεις	*ekrátis*
ἐκράτει	*ekráti*
ἐκρατοῦμεν	*ekratúmen*
ἐκρατεῖτε	*ekratíte*
ἐκράτουν	*ekrátun*

This situation still survives in the dialect of Ikaria, albeit in competition with two innovating features, including the replacement of 3rd Plural *ˈun* by *-úsan*, a device for the disambiguation of this from 1st Singular which is of hellenistic origin.

The second innovation is the use of *ˈyes* and *ˈyen* for 2nd and 3rd Singular. The *terminus ante quem* for this development appears to be the 14th century as *-εις* and *-ειν* (presumably *-ies*, *-ien*) occur in the Chronicle of Morea as alternants to inherited *-εις*, *-ει*. It is fairly clear that the general motivation for this replacement was that gradual encroachment of regular barytone endings which went back to the ancient period (c.f. the ousting of athematic forms such as *ζώννυμι* by *ζωννύω*, modern *zóno* 'I gird'). The precise mechanism

is however not obvious. We may assume that the sound changes which had led to *-is*, *-in* had created what was felt to be a morphologically opaque situation. It will be recalled that the original *-ees*, *-een* underwent contraction to *-e:s*, *-e:n*, then long front vowels (*e:*, *ɛ:*) and mid-high round *o-*: were raised, to yield in this instance *-i:s*, *-i:n*, and finally there was a loss of length contrast in vowels. The resultant forms were superficially exceptional in two respects.

(a) While the ancient rule of recessive accentuation resulted in proparoxytone stressing of most verb forms, those in which vowel shortening had affected an originally long final vowel were now stressed on the penultimate syllable (thus *ekrátis* 'you were holding', but *évlepes* 'you were looking'). While in the Present tenses certain barytone endings had been long (e.g. 1st Singular *-ω*, 2nd Singular *-εις*), so that this anomaly was bound to affect the Present in any case (*sikónis* 'you raise'), yet it is still true that except for oxytone verbs a rule of proparoxytone stress still applied in most dialects to Past forms (Active and Passive), as well as to Present Passives.

(b) While 2nd and 3rd Singular of barytones had *-es*, *-en*, the oxytones had *-is*, *-in* (*-as*, *-an* Class I).

From the point of view of modern generative phonology these irregularities might be treated as superficial in so far as it is quite easy to 'account for' them by setting up rules which will essentially recapitulate the sequence of sound changes mentioned above. According to this approach *ekrátis* would have the underlying form /ekratees/, while *esíkones* 'you were raising' would be represented as /esikones/, so that any differences between barytone and oxytone types would merely reflect the action of an ordered set of rules such as Stress Assignment, Contraction, Raising, Shortening.[2]) However, if it is true that the rules converting, say, /ee/ to *i* have some sort of psychological reality (an assumption which must surely underly any attempt to distinguish synchronic phonology from etymology), it is difficult to see why *-is* should have been replaced by *-ies*. The comments of the scholars who have dealt with the issue invariably contain reference to the importation of *-es* from the barytones to remedy what was felt as a lacuna. This can only mean that the rules leading from /ee/ to *i* cannot all correspond

[2]) See, for example, the recent generative description of Adams and Warburton, also my *Cypriot Greek*.

to synchronic reality. In particular we note that where the sequnece *ee* arises in modern dialects through consonant loss the normal outcome is *e*, never *i*, Thus *léγete* yields *léte*; indeed classical contraction processes barely operated after the loss of digamma (*νέϝα* > *νέα*, not *νῆ*).

Accepting that the endings *ˊis*, *ˊin* were replaced because they could not in any realistic sense be linked to *ˊes*, *ˊen*, we must then ask why the restructuring took the particular form it did in the first instance, and why it was subsequently diffused to most dialects. Simply to claim with Chatzidakis (1905:45) that *ˊis*, *ˊin* were perceived as lacking the expected *e* is insufficient as Class II Oxytones continued with *ˊas*, *ˊan* intact.[3]) We may suggest first of all that the reason why *e* was imported only into Oxytone II forms has a straightforward phonological explanation. Ancient contraction affected only non-high vowels (if we treat the changes *ai*, *ov* to *e*, *u* as monophthongizations), so that while classical *ee*, *ae* contracted to *e*:, *a*: and led ultimately to *i*, *a*, thus destroying all trace of original *e*, this did not occur with *ie*, *üe*. Thus stems with final *-ι* or *-υ* continued to have *ˊies*, *ˊien* (*ˊyes*, *ˊyen* after synizesis set in) This means that while the replacement of *ˊis*, *ˊin* by *ˊies*, *ˊien* did not violate existing phonotactic constraints, the parallel shift of *ˊas* and *ˊan* to *ˊaes*, *ˊaen* would have done just this. This suggests that the required mechanism is to be sought in the medieval verbs in *-ío* such as *kilío* 'I flow', *klío* 'I close', *ftío* 'I spit', *meθío* 'I get drunk'. Although classical contraction rules predate digamma loss, sequences of identical vowels continued to contract. In particular *ii* went to *i*:, subsequently *i* (*ταμιεῖον* was frequently contracted to *ταμεῖον* in papyri from the first century B.C., presumably after the raising of *e*: to *i*: (Pernot 1946:309n)). Thus the common medieval paradigm would be illustrated by Present *klío*, *klís*, *klí*, *klíome*, *kliete*, *klíusin*, Imperfect *éklia*, *éklies*, *éklien*, *eklíamen*, *ekliete*, *eklíasin*. The requisite proportion for the creation of *ekrátien* is thus:

klí : *éklien* :: *kratí* : *ekrátien*

This, if correct, implies that just as phonetic *klí* was interpreted as the output of /klíi/, so *kratí* was treated as /kratíi/. The con-

[3]) The much later *ˊayes*, *ˊaye* are probably based on the replacement of 3rd Singular Present *-á* by *-ái*. Thus *ayapái* 'he loves' led to *ayapáo* (1st Singular) and this to *ayápaa* (Imperfect); hiatus-breading *γ* before back *a* gave *ayápaγa* and spread (as *y*) to forms with front vowel (*ayápayes*). See below.

traction of two similar vowels, but not the replacement of /ee/ by *i* was thus a genuine synchronic rule of Greek.[4])

It is worth noting, though, that the restructuring of Imperfect 2nd and 3rd Singular did not necessarily diffuse any further in the Active. Thus in all dialects the Present Active of most Oxytone II verbs has survived unscathed as, e.g. *krató, kratís, kratí, kratúme, kratíte, kratúsin* (or *kratún*). That is, we do not find *kratíete*, or (as synizesis affects virtually all modern dialects) *kratyéte* for 2nd Plural Present Active. We do, it is true, find that Oxytone II Passives have everywhere been restructured in the Present and Imperfect on the basis of *ekráties, ekrátien*. Thus the Present was restructured as *kratíome, kratíese, kratíete* etc. (c.f. *klíome, klíese, klíete*) for inherited *kratúme, kratíse, kratíte*. Indeed these restructured Passives have absorbed the Oxytone I types, except in the case of a small number of deponent verbs such as *θimúme/θimáme* 'I remember', *fovúme/fováme* 'I fear'.[5]) Thus the modern Passive of both Oxytone classes appears with *-yéme, -yése, -yéte* or, where vowel generalization has gone in the other direction, *-yóme, -yóse, -yóte* (e.g. Lesbos); some dialects (Crete, South East) have *-yúme, -yése, -yéte*, presumably through the influence of inherited *-úme*. In the Active generalization of *i* (*y*) is found in certain dialects. Thus Rhodes and Santorini have *ˈyu(n)* for earlier *ˈun*. In Old Athenian dialects we find that the 1st Singular is *ˈya*, the analogical proportion having clearly been again barytone verbs of the *-io* type:

éklies : *éklia* :: *ekráties* : *ekrátia*

In Kimi and the southerly Ionic Isles the Plural has been affected (*ˈyame, ˈyate, ˈyane*). Much more widely we find *ˈiya, ˈiyes, ˈiye, -íyame, -íyate, -íyane* (most of Peloponnese) or the *ˈya, ˈyis, ˈyi* etc. arising from these in northern dialects, which are defined by their rules dropping unstressed high vowels (*i, u*) and raising mid ones (*e, o*). The *ˈya* and *ˈ(i)ya* difference is accounted for if we assume that the initial stage in both cases was *ˈia, ˈies, ˈie, -iame, -iate,*

[4]) The analogies here postulated are not always available to modern dialects; *klío*, for instance, appears as *klíno* on the mainland and various other dialects such as those of Rhodes and Chios apply synizesis to give *klyó*, and in 3rd Singular *klyí* (analogically for earlier *klí*).

[5]) The form *fovúme* (1st Plural *fovúmaste*) is typical of Cretan and south-eastern dialects, as well as most northern ones (E. Thrace and Samo have *-ómeste, -ómasti*). The Ionian Isles, the Peloponnese and Athens have *fováme, fovómaste*. In the Imperfect we have *efovúmun, efovúmaste* or (in *fováme* dialects) *(e)fovómun, (e)fovómaste*.

-íane. In Peloponnesian and northern dialects a hiatus-breaking *γ* was inserted (alternating in the usual way with *y* before front vowels); where this did not happen synizesis occurred, giving *-ya*, *-yes*, *-ye*, *-yáme*, *-yáte*, *-yáne*. The plural stress was then retracted on the model of barytones such as *epíra* 'I took', Plural *pírame*, *pírate*, *pírane*.[6]) This seems easier than to postulate with Chatzidakis (1905: 48) a process of synizesis followed by epenthesis of *i*. He suggests that forms such as *eθórie* 'he was looking', with voiced consonants, developed to *eθórye*, then by the usual rule replacing *y* by a palatal *γ'* after voiced consonants, *eθóry'e*. This triggered the insertion of *i* (and presumably the *γ'* returned to *y*). It is true that *i* appears as a svarabhakti vowel fairly regularly (e.g. *kapinós* for *kapnós* 'tobacco') but not usually before *γ'*; *x'éry'a* 'hands', does not go to **x'eriγ'a*; indeed in the Peloponnese itself, which would be the most likely origin for his postulated epenthesis, we find that triadic clusters such as *kry'*, *pry'* occur freely (*try'á* 'three', elsewhere *tría*). Certainly there appears to be no evidence that epenthetic *i* breaks up sequences of single consonent followed by *γ'*.[7])

While the model of *-ío* verbs affected the Imperfect Active as well as the Present and Imperfect Passive of Oxytone II verbs, the Present Active is in general unaffected. However, in some dialects such as Lesbian and Cretan we find that this tense too is restructured but only for verbs in *-ló*, *-nó*, *-γó*. Thus we find as the Present of *puló* 'I sell', *pul'ó*, *pul'ís*, *pul'í*, *pul'úme*, *pul'íte*, *pul'úne*. It is usually suggested that this development originates in 3rd Singulars such as *pulí*, which palatalize their final consonant and then generalize this. It is true that in all dialects *l* and *n* palatalize to some extent before *i*, but the present hypothesis entails the assumption of as high a degree of palatalization before *i* as occurs before *y*. That is, just as the sequence *lyi* (e.g. *palyí* 'old', masc. nom. pl.) yields *l'i* we are to assume the same output for *li* (i.e. posit the pronunciation of *polí* 'much' as *pol'í*). This neutralization would allow the reinterpretation of *pul'í* as *pulyí*, the stem *puly-* then

[6]) Retraction following on desyllabification of antipenultimate *i* may be illustrated by comparing Prodromic *ἐπιάνα* (i.e. *epyána*) with modern *épyana* 'I was taking'. Synchronically this is equivalent to applying synizesis before assigning stress (/epiana/ > *epyana* > *épyana*).

[7]) His citation of Epirot *kaθáriγos* for *kaθários* 'clean' supports the present hypothesis rather than his; Epirot typically inserted *γ* whenever vowels occured in hiatus according to the anonymous athor of *Γλωσσάριον τῆς Ἠπειρωτικῆς*, *Πανδώρα* 9, 7–8; thus *θεγός* 'God'. This does not necessarily apply to the modern dialect (*ayapáu* 'I love' is usual).

spreading throughout the paradigm. There are two difficulties. One is that *i* does not usually palatalize a preceding *n* or *l* as markedly as does *y* and the other that we do not find this putative process occurring with barytones; the palatalization of *váni* 'he puts' never leads to the restructuring of 1st Singular *váno* as *ván'o*. One wonders whether the phenomenon is not rather to be connected with the interesting relationship which holds between palatalization and synizesis in the dialect of Zakinthos. There stressed *í* is desyllabified before a vowel only when a palatalizing consonant precedes (i.e. a velar consonant, *l* or *n*). Thus *filía* 'kisses' *fil'á*, but *peðía* 'lads' remains. May we suppose that synizesis of stressed *í* occurred at first in all dialects only after palatalizing consonants and that the development of *pul'ó* etc. dates to this stage? Then we had *ékl'e* : *kl'ó* but *éftye* : *ftío*. While *epúl'e* could easily trigger the shift from *puló* to *pul'ó*, the replacement of *krató* by *kratío* was too radical to be sparked off by the similarity of *éftye* and *ekrátye*. For verbs in *-γó* such as *aryó* 'I am late' the traditional explanation works well, for *γ* before front vowel and *y* from *i* yield the same outcome. Thus *ary'í* could quite easily have come from *arlí* by synizesis and consonantalization of *y* to *γ'* rather than from *aryí* by palatalization.

In Cyprus, Simi and parts of Chios we find 2nd and 3rd Plural *ekrátes, ekráten*. The attempt has been made by Chatzidakis to derive these from earlier *ekráties, ekrátien* by a process of synizesis and palatalization, followed by depalatalization (*ekráties* > *ekrátyes* > *ekrát'es* > *ekrátes*, but there is no evidence in these dialects for palatalization of consonants other than the velars, sibilants, *n* and *l*, and none for depalatalization except of the sibilants in Rhodes and Simi (e.g. *nisía* > *nisyá* > *nišá* > *nisá* 'islands'). Again we find that such an account would work for *aryó* (*áryien* > *áryyen* > *ár'y'en*) but it is not clear whether this single item could lead to the general replacement of *ˊien* by *ˊen*.[8]) Perhaps a more likely source for the restructuring would be *ípun* 'I said', which still occurs as such in Cyprus and elsewhere as a unique relic of the old strong aorists in *-ον*. Thus:

ípun : *ípes* :: *ekrátun* : *ekrátes*

[8]) That *ˊes*, *ˊen* represent an alternative to *ˊies*, *ˊien* rather than a subsequent development of them is suggested by chronology. Forms such as *ἄργεν*, *ἐπόνεν* occur in the Assizes of Cyprus (14th century) and Chronicle of Machairas (15th century); *ˊien* forms date to 14th century Chronicle of Morea.

This item *ípun*, as well as the *-un* of Oxytone Imperfect 1st Singular are often incorporated into the commoner barytone class by the addition of *-a*. Thus *ípuna* (Megara), *ekrátuna* (Ionian Isles, Laconia, Crete). Once this development had occurred we had available a second model for the elimination of *-is*, *-in*. Thus, letting *esíkona* 'I was raising' stand for the whole barytone class:

esíkona : *esíkones* :: *ekrátuna* : *ekrátunes*

In Laconia this processes has been carried into the plural (in competition with *-úγame* etc., presumably a blend of *-úname* and *-íγame*).

We have referred to what appear to be the main innovations. The manner of their generalization within the paradigms of individual dialects and of their geographical diffusion can easily be studied in Table I. Basically we note that the general trend towards the absorption of Oxytone II Imperfects into the barytone class has been set in motion at one or more of the following three points:

(a) 3rd Plural. The early replacement of *-un* by *-úsan* has led to the restructuring of 1st Plural (parts of Crete), then 2nd Plural (Aegean), and in Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace, of the Singular. Is is interesting that although this latter degree of generalization is confined to peripheral dialects yet is has been accepted in urban dialects as the standards for Oxytone II. Thus *borúsa* 'I was able' is everywhere heard except in the mouths of obviously dialectal speakers; furthermore *-us-* forms of Oxytone I verbs are very common in urban speech although they by no means oust the *-ay-* forms in the south. Thus while an educated Athenian would never say *éziγa* 'I was living', *ayápayα* would be quite acceptable (but only *ayapúsa* in Saloniki). The key to this adoption of *-us-* forms by the standard dialect must surely lie in the influence of Constantinople (where the surviving Greek community still uses only these forms).

(b) 2nd and 3rd Singular *-is* and *-in* were replaced very widely by *-ies*, *-ien*. These have led to the restructuring of 1st Singular as *-ia*, and rarely of the plural.

(c) Ancient *-un* has occasionally acquired barytone *-a* and triggered restructuring of the singular, rarely plural.

There are various minor details left undiscussed. It is not clear, for instance, how we are to account for the *-yona*, *-yena* in Kimi;

ʿyona looks like a blend of ancient Oxytone I *-ων*, Oxytone II *-y-* and barytone *-a*! Other features such as the use of *ʿumune, ʿumne, ʿγum*, otherwise typical of Passive 1st Singular Imperfect Passive, are discussed by me elsewhere as they are not confined to Oxytones (see note 1).

It remains to comment very briefly on Oxytone I Imperfects, which show less variation than the type we have discussed but to some extent share their development. Typical forms are listed in Table II.

TABLE II

OXYTONE I IMPERFECT ACTIVE

IONIAN ISLES						
Corfu	*ʿuna*	*ʿunes*	*ʿune*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
Zakinthos, Kephalonia	*ʿaa*	*ʿaes*	*ʿae*	*-áame*	*-áate*	*-áane*
PELOPONNESE						
Generally	*ʿaya*	*ʿayes*	*ʿaye*	*-áγame*	*-áγate*	*-áγane*
Mani	*ʿu*	*ʿas*	*ʿa*	*-úma*	*-áta*	*-úsa*
OLD ATHENIAN						
Megara	*ʿaa*	*ʿaes*	*ʿae*	*-áame*	*-áete*	*-áane*
Aegina	*ʿaa* *ʿuna*	*ʿaes*	*ʿae*	*-áme*	*-áte*	*-áne*
Kimi	*ʿaya*	*ʿayes*	*ʿaye*	*-áγame*	*-áγete*	*-áγane*
CRETE AND CYCLADES						
Crete	*ʿuna*	*ʿas*	*ʿa* *ʿane*	*-úsane*	*-áte* *-úsete*	*-úsasi* *-úsane*
Naxos	*ʿu*	*ʿas*	*ʿa*	*-úman*	*-áte*	*-úsa*
Kimolos	*ʿu*	*ʿas*	*ʿa*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
Santorini	*ʿuna*	*ʿas*	*ʿa*	*-úsame*	*-úsate*	*-úsane*
NORTH						
N. Epirus	*ʿaya* *-úsa*	*ʿays* *-úsis*	*ʿay* *-úsi*	*-úsaman*	*-úsatan* *-úsitan*	*-úsan*
S. Epirus, S. Thessaly, Central Greece, N. Euboea	*ʿaya*	*ʿays*	*ʿay*	*-áγami*	*-áγati*	*ʿayan* *-áγan*
Germa	*-úsa*	*-úsis*	*-úsi*	*-úsami*	*-úsiti*	*-úsan*
Velvendos, Chalkidiki, Thasos,	*-úsa*	*-úsis*	*-úsi*	*-úsami*	*-úsati*	*-úsan*

Samothraki						
E. Thrace	*-úsa*	*-úses*	*-úse*	*-úsam*	*-úsate*	*-úsana*
Lesbos	*ˈum*	*ˈas*	*ˈa*	*-úsami*	*-úsati*	*-úsan*
Limnos	*ˈumne*	*ˈas*	*ˈa*	*-úsam*	*-úste*	*-úsan*
Samos	*ˈna* *-úsa*	*ˈais* *-úsis*	*ˈai* *-úsi*	*-úsami*	*-úsati*	*-úsani*
SOUTH EAST						
Cyprus, Rhodes, Astipalea	*ˈun*	*ˈas*	*ˈan*	*-úsamen*	*-úsete*	*-úsan* *-úsasin*
Karpathos	*ˈun*	*ˈas*	*ˈan*	*-úsamen*	*-áte*	*ˈun* *-úsan*
Simi	*ˈu*	*ˈas*	*ˈa*	*-úmen*	*-áte*	*-úsan*
Ikaria	*ˈun*	*ˈas*	*ˈan*	*-úsamen*	*-áte*	*ˈun* *-úsan*
Chios	*ˈun*	*ˈas*	*ˈan*	*-úmen* *-úsamen*	*-áte* *-úsete*	*-úsan*

The most conservative forms are preserved in Ikaria, where we find for *zitó* 'I seek' *ezítun, ezítas, ezíta, ezitúme, ezitáte, ezítun.*[9]) Again we find the replacement of 3rd Plural by *-úsan* (Simi, Karpathos) and the spread of *-us-* to 1st Plural (Ikaria, Crete) and then 2nd Plural (Cyprus, Rhodes, Santorini); Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace again have *-us-* throughout. In Crete, Santorini and Corfu 1st Singular has become *ˈuna* and in Corfu this has spread throughout the Singular. The Peloponnese and Central Greece have *(e)zítaγa, (e)zítayes, (e)zítaye, zitáγame, zitáγate, zitáγane.* It is surely no accident that in all dialects with *ˈaye* we find *-ái* in the present. The adoption of *-ái* for 3rd Singular opened the way to the restructuring of the 1st Singular as *-áo* and then the whole of the Imperfect as *ˈaa, -aes* etc., with subsequent insertion of hiatus-breading *-γ-*. As to *-ái* itself, we may assume the following proportion based on *páo* 'I go', 2nd Singular *pás*, 3rd Singular *pái*:

pás : *pái* :: *zitás* : *zitái*

Another model would be *filáγo* 'I guard', which regularly appears in *-ái* dialects as *filáo, filás, filái.* This sort of account is preferable

[9]) Even here there are two innovations. Oxytone I verbs early replaced classical *-ων* (1st Singular, 3rd Plural) and *-ωμεν* by Oxytone II *-ουν, -ουμεν*. Secondly this item has switched classes according to a trend which reaches its peak in Epirus and Macedonia, where often *θαρρῶ* 'I think', *μπορῶ* 'I can' and *ζῶ* 'I live' are the sole members of class II. One even finds *záo, zás, zái* and I have heard *boráγa* (but never Present *boráo*) at various points in the Peloponnese).

to one which simply appeals to the borrowing of barytone *-i* onto 'anomalous' *-á* as it also explains why Aegean dialects retain *-á*. The forms *pás, filás* derive from earlier *páyis, filáyis* by rules deleting intervocalic *y* before front vowel, desyllabifying the now postvocalic *i* to *y* and finally dropping this before a final consonant (e.g. *páyis* > *páis* > *páys* > *pás*). Aegean dialects do not always possess this last rule (compare Cypriot *páys, léys* 'you say', Peloponnesian *les*), and thus lack the *pás* : *pái* model. Furthermore *filáyo* appears more archaically as *filásso* in the south eastern islands at least.

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Anton Scherer

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Indogermanische Bibliothek

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1975. 292 Seiten. Kartoniert DM 70,—. Leinen DM 90,—.

Im Mittelpunkt dieses Handbuchs der lateinischen Syntax steht ein Versuch, die für das klassische Latein geltenden Satzbaupläne herauszuarbeiten, z.T. im Anschluß an das in den letzten Jahren von J. Erben und P. Grebe für das Deutsche Geleistete, aber wegen der Sonderart beider Sprachen und auch aus methodischen Gründen doch in ziemlich vielen Punkten davon abweichend. In den übrigen Teilen ist die Darstellung überwiegend historisch und enthält trotz aller gebotenen Knappheit vieles Neue, so u.a. in den Abschnitten über Äußerungen ohne Satzform, über Satzarten, über die Parantheses und in dem Versuch über Textsyntax. Besonders wurde auf Dinge geachtet, über die nach der Erfahrung des Verfassers sowohl der Student wie der Lehrer des Lateinischen oft vergebens Aufschluß sucht.

CARL WINTER
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EDITION ALPHA
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Epikur gilt als Vertreter eines radikalen Materialismus. Er scheute sich nicht zu sagen, Ursprung und Wurzel alles Guten sei das Wohlgefühl des Magens, und darauf sei auch das Gescheite und Feinsinnige zurückzuführen. Aber andererseits wissen wir auch, daß er an dem öffentlichen Götterkult teilnahm, die Götterfeste mitfeierte und seine Anhänger ebenfalls dazu anhielt. Wie ist dieser Widerspruch zu erklären?

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