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The Origin of the Greek ϰ-perfect[1])

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Pre-Homeric Greek may have had two sets of alphathematic endings in complementary distribution: post-consonantal -α, -ας, -ε in the σ-aorist and consonant-stem perfect (e.g. λέλοιπ-α, -ας, -ε) beside post-vocalic -ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε in the ϰ-aorist (e.g. ἔθη-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε) and long-vowel perfect (e.g. *ἕστᾱ-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε). This distribution probably originated in the paradigm of ἔθηϰα where -ϰ-, an inherited root-extension, was reanalysed as belonging to the endings through pressure from *ἔθην < IE *e-dheh₁-m̥. Once the aorist had adopted 3 sg. -ε and the perfect 2 sg. -ας, consonant-stem aorists and perfects had identical singular endings; subsequently, the perfect adopted the allomorphy of the aorist, generalizing ϰ-endings after long vowels.

Several explanations have been given for the origin of the Greek ϰ-perfect, but none is entirely satisfactory.[2]) A view commonly adopted in handbooks is that the -ϰ- is somehow from the aorists ἔθηϰα, ἧϰα, and ἔδωϰα (or at least that it is somehow related to the stem-final -ϰ of these verbs) and that it was adopted as a hiatus-filler in perfects with singular stems ending in long vowels to prevent homophony of the first and third persons singular: e.g. 1 sg. *ἕστᾱ-α > *ἕστᾱ; 3 sg. *ἕστᾱ-ε > *ἕστᾱ. This view does account for the original restriction of the -ϰ- to the indicative singular of perfects and pluperfects with singular stems in final long vowels or diphthongs; but it fails to explain how the -ϰ- was transferred from aorist to perfect.

Historically, the -ϰ- of the aorists seems to have been a root extension.[3]) Although its original function is obscure, it was undoubtedly

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[2]) For previous views see Schwyzer 1939: 775–6 to which can be added Sturtevant 1940, Rix 1976: 222, Markey 1980 and Perotti 1984. Schwyzer himself was skeptical of the connection between perfect and aorist.

[3]) For the -ϰ- of the aorists as a root extension see Schwyzer 1939: 741–2 with refs.

inherited in ἔϑηκα beside Italic *fac-, *fēc- (in e.g. Lat. *faciō, fēcī,* Osc. *factud* "facitō", Umb. *façiu* "facere") and Phrygian 3 sg. pres. act. αδδακετ, midd. αδδακετορ and most likely in ἧκα beside Latin *iēcī.*[4] Ἔδωκα is presumably modeled after the other two aorists – compare the root aorist attested in Sanskrit *adāt* and Armenian *et.*[5])

The Common Greek precursor of the x-aorist seems to have been a root aorist from the extended stem *dheh₁k-:

1 sg. *ἔ-ϑηκ-m̥
2 sg. *ἔ-ϑηκ-ς
3 sg *ἔ-ϑηκ-τ

A root extension -x- should have occurred in the plural of the aorists as well as in the singular – compare Latin *fēcērunt* and *iēcērunt.* The paradigm of ἔϑηκα can, however, be explained as suppletive, a conflation of the root aorist of the extended stem *dheh₁k- in the singular and, elsewhere in the paradigm, the weak stem *dhh₁- of the root aorist *dheh₁-t seen in Sanskrit *adhāt,* Armenian *ed* and (indirectly) in Hittite *tēmi* "I say".[6]) There is no evidence for an inherited root aorist *Hyeh₁-t beside ἧκα, but its weak stem CGk. εἱ- < *ε-hε- can have been remodeled after that of ἔϑηκα.

It is generally accepted that the -x- of the perfects was originally confined to the indicative singular of perfects with stems ending in long vowels, and it is clear from examples like ἑστήκει : ἔστασαν that its distribution in the pluperfect paralleled its distribution in the perfect. In the classical period, the -x- was extended throughout the paradigm of most perfects with stems ending in vowels, liquids or nasals, but the original distribution is maintained in a few archaic ablauting verbs like ἔστηκα : ἑστᾶσι : ἑστώς.

The original distribution was also maintained in Boiotian for a surprisingly long time – at least through the third century and perhaps into the second, although material from the latter period is sparse. Several singular forms with -x- are found in Boiotian inscrip-

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[4]) The IE root appears to have been *Hyeh₁(-k)-; see Peters 1976.

[5]) And perhaps indirectly in Hitt. *dāhhi, dāi* "take".

[6]) For Hitt. *tēmi* as an original root aorist see Eichner 1975: 93. See Schwyzer loc. cit. n. 2 for the suppletive paradigm. Boiotian apparently retained the singular of *dheh₁-t until the 4th century B.C., since a third person singular ἀνεϑἒ occurs in Theban dedicatory inscriptions. For a discussion see Dubois 1986: 99–100. Since there are four clear attestations of ἀνεϑἒ Forssman's 1968 reservations do not apply.

tions, but unlike what happened in Attic and elsewhere, the -ϰ- seems not to have penetrated into the plural or participle, although Boiotian had lost intervocalic digamma by the 4th century and the -ϰ- might have been useful as a hiatus-breaker in the participle. Although one periphrastic subjunctive occurs, inflected subjunctives do not:[7])

4th c.

ptcp. *καταβεβάων* 7.3055.5/SEG 25.561.5

3rd c.

3 pl. *ἀποδεδόανθι* 7.3171.35

ptcp. *κα[ταβε]βλειωσας* SEG 3.342.30–1/SEG 22.407.30–1
δεδωῶση DGE 462.A.27 *ϝεϝυκονομειόντων* 7.3172.125
πεπιτευόντεσσι DGE 485.7 *πεποιόντεισσι* DGE 485.7
(–)]*δεδοτ*[(–) SEG 25.556.19

periphrastic subj. *δεδωῶσα ἴη* DGE. 462.A30

2nd c.

3 pl. ? *ἐπιδεδ[όαν]θι* SEG 22.432.13–14
ἀπ[ειλυ]θέοντες 7.1756.2–3
ἀπειλθείοντες 7.1748.3; 1.1749.2 *ἀφειώσας* SEG.
22.432.12

There is one example of a plural with -ϰ-, 3.pl. *ἐκτεθήκανθι*, which occurs once in a third century inscription (7.207.6) but it is likely to show Doric Koiné influence.[8])

In Homeric Greek, the -ϰ- is basically still restricted to the indicative singular of perfects and pluperfects of ablauting verbs with stem-final long vowel or diphthong, but there are also forms in which the -ϰ- appears outside of the indicative singular. In these, the -ϰ- always follows a long vowel. Although the examples are all very recent, and some have been considered doubtful, they may well reflect a genuine intermediate stage in the extension of -ϰ- throughout the paradigm.

The -ϰ- is found in several third person plurals: *τεθαρσήκασι* (I 420, 687) from a non-ablauting verb, *κατατεθνήκασι* (O 664) with

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[7]) Forms are given by Ringe 1984: 172–87. Singular forms that occur are: 4th c. *ἀντέθειϰε* 7.3055.5 = SEG 25.561.5 3rd c. *διεσσείλθειϰε* DGE 485.2 *παρϰέϰλειϰε* 7.2406.12 2nd c. [*ἐπ*]*ομώμοϰε* BCH. 25.1.12.

[8]) Note Doric *ἐϰ-* for Boiotian *ἐσ-* and the spelling *η* (= Boiotian *ει* for CGk. *η*) and see Ringe 181.

the vocalism of the singular, beside τεθνᾶσι, πεφύκασι (η 114) with ῡ beside πεφυᾶσι with υ.[9]) It is also found in the singular and plural subjunctive forms: βεβήκῃ, (Π 54, δ 400), ἑστήκῃ (P 435, χ 469), ἱλήκῃσι (φ 365) and in ἑστήκωσιν (Δ 434), a variant reading for indicative ἑστήκασιν.[10]) The -κ- also shows up in the optative βεβλή-κοι (Θ 270) from a non-ablauting verb – compare ἀφεσταίη (ψ 101, 169) and τετλαίη (I 373) with ablaut.[11]) There are even Homeric participles from non-ablauting verbs that belong to the latest synchronic layer when the suffix no longer had underlying digamma in which the stem ends in long vowel plus -κ-: δεδαηκότες (β 61 cf. δεδαώς ϱ 519), τετυχηκώς (P 748), ἀδηκότες (K 98, 312 etc.), βεβρωκώς (X 94, χ 403). In Homer then, the distribution of the -κ- seems entirely mechanical: it simply occurs after a long vowel and before an ending or suffix that begins with a vowel.

The distribution of the -κ- in the aorists parallels the distribution of the -κ- in the perfects, and this provides the best argument for connecting the two. In the earliest texts it is basically confined to the indicative singular active of the aorists. However, from the Homeric period onward, Ionic, and later Attic, show a gradual extension of the full-grade singular stem – including the -κ- – throughout the rest of the paradigm. Homer has active plural forms and one middle with it: ἔθηκαν (Z 300 etc.; 11 ex.), θῆκαν (Ω 795, α 223), θήκατο (K 31, Ξ 187): ἐνήκαμεν (μ 401), ἧκαν (O 458), ἔδωκαν (N 303, χ 379 etc.; 6 ex.). Ἐνήκαμεν in μ 401 seems to be the earliest example of the -κ- in a first person plural in either the aorists or the perfects.

Most previous explanations of the connection between the -κ-perfect and -κ-aorists take one of two approaches: the -κ- is either derived from the same IE formant, inherited separately in both per-

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[9]) In Δ 483 all mss have ppf. πεφύκει, and in P 435 subj. ἑστήκῃ for ppf. ἑστήκει occurs in only one ms, but both forms appear in comparisons and could be in the subjunctive (see Chantraine 1942: 460 and 1963: 245).

[10]) See Chantraine 1942: 427.

[11]) The optative βεβλήκοι occurs as a variant reading in Θ 270, but some manuscripts have ppf. βεβλήκει. However, the form occurs alongside iterative preterits in -σκ- and an "iterative" optative (on which see Chantraine 1963: 244–5) is possible, especially if ὄλεσσεν in the same line is read as ὄλεσκεν as in some manuscripts, Θ 268–270:

·αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἥρως
παπτήνας, ἐπεὶ ἄρ τιν' ὀϊστεύσας ἐν ὁμίλῳ
βεβλήκοι, ὁ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσκεν.

The optative ἱλήκοι of H. Apoll. 165 looks like a substitute for a metrically impossible imperative; see Kimball 1988: 253.

fect and aorist, or the -x- of the perfect is viewed as having somehow been extracted from one or more of the aorists. Johansson (1890) and Markey (1980/1), who viewed the -x- as an original deictic particle and derived the perfects and aorists from an ancestral -x-preterit, took the first approach.

But there is no evidence for an Indo-European -x-preterit, and even if there were, the early Greek perfect was not a preterit. There is also nothing in the meaning of the perfects or aorists that indicates that the -x- was originally a deictic particle. More importantly, as Brugman (1881: 212) pointed out more than a hundred years ago, the -x-perfect is clearly a Greek innovation; no other Indo-European language has anything quite like it, and any explanation for it must be found within Greek itself.

The alternative is that the -x- of the perfects was extracted from one or more of the aorists within early Greek. In principle, there are two possibilities: either it was reanalysed as a morpheme belonging to or especially appropriate to the perfect, or a long vowel perfect was remodeled after one of the aorists. Brugman (1881: 212–24), Walker (1891: 446–51), Meister (1921: 116–26) and Perotti (1984) took the first approach. But their explanations run into problems. The evidence does not support the idea that the -x- functioned as a perfect morpheme. It is not distributed throughout the paradigm as a morpheme marking some sort of perfect should be. If it had been a perfect morpheme, it should have had some sort of meaning, either as the marker of a semantically characterized class of perfects or as a marker of the perfect itself; but it seems entirely devoid of meaning in Homer. As a group, -x-perfects do not seem to have had a meaning distinct from that of any other active perfects. Where non-singular forms without the -x- can be contrasted with forms with it, there is no contrast in meaning. So, for example, both πεφύασι and πεφύκασι can be used of trees, and both simply can be translated as "grow":

ι 141 ... περὶ δ'αἴγειροι πεφύασιν
"... and poplars grow around it."
η 114 ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθόωντα
"and there great flourishing trees grow."

Except in the participles, which are in any event recent, the form with the -x- just provides a convenient metrical variant.

Remodeling is also unlikely. In Homeric Greek, perfects are not formed from aorist stems; there are no examples comparable to, for

example, προβέβουλα (A 113) from present βούλομαι,[12]) and throughout the history of early Greek, perfects and aorists did not usually influence each other, which is not surprising, since the inherited perfect was presential.

But even if the adoption of the -κ- in the perfect did result from an exceptional remodeling of a perfect after one of the aorists, no starting point is readily discernible; early Greek does not seem to have had the right perfects. Although the aorists ἔθηκα, ἔδωκα, and perhaps ἧκα are found as early as Mycenaean,[13]) the perfects τέθηκα and δέδωκα, as Wackernagel (1904: 3–4) pointed out, are resultative, clearly recent, and found only in the classical period. Conversely, ἔστηκα is intransitive and stative, and it should represent a remodeled version of an inherited *ἔστω- < *sestoh₂- (see below) but there is no trace of a corresponding -κ-aorist **ἔστακα.

Evidence for an early perfect beside ἧκα is better. In addition to the resultative ἀφεῖκα, formed from the middle εἷμαι, which occurs in classical Attic, an active ἀφέωκα is also found. Although ἀφέωκα is attested late, and occurs only in a third century B.C. papyrus (PCairo. Zen. 59502, 4–5) where it is transitive,[14]) and in Herodian,[15]) it may in fact reflect a more archaic form. There is no synchronic motivation for creating an active perfect *ἕω or *ἕωκα beside ἵημι and ἧκα, because models for the η : ω ablaut are not especially salient. Evidence for an active *ἕω or *ἕωκα is also provided by a few sporadic middles with a stem ἐω- in Herodotus (ἀνέωνται 2.165), in Heraclean (ἀνhεῶσθαι Tab. Heracl. I, 153), in Arcadian (ἀφεῶσθαι SIG. 306.19–4ᵗʰc.; ἀφεώσθω IG⁵ (2).6.15), and late, in the New Testament (ἀφεώνται John 20:23, Luke 5:23). The ω of these middles can only have come from an active *ἕω[κα], since ω < *oh₁ would have been regular nowhere else in the original paradigm. Note that a parallel for the extension of the o-vocalism of the active to the middle can be found in Hesychian ἄνωκται · κελεύεται beside ἄνωγα. Since it is unlikely that Ionic, Doric and Arcadian independently created an active *ἕω[κα] and then independently created middles with its vocalism, it is likely that Common Greek

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[12]) On which see Chantraine 1942: 426.

[13]) Forms that occur are all 3 sg. indic.: te-ke = θῆκε (Morpurgo 1963: 321), do-ke, o-do-ke = (ὡς) δῶκε (ib.71), a-pu-do-ke = ἀπύδωκε (ib.30), a-pe-do-ke = ἀπέδωκε (ib.25). In PY Un 2.2 the reading a-pi-o-ke = ἀμφίηκε? (ib.27) is uncertain.

[14]) Edgar 1971 no.59502.

[15]) See Lentz 1965: 236.

had an active that remained at least long enough for the middle *ἕωμαι to have been created.[16]) Third century ἀφέωϰα could suggest that the active hung on, at least marginally, in non-literary Doric, but it could also be a late back-formation from the middle, created long after the original active had disappeared.

But even if ἵημι did have an active perfect in Common Greek, there is no direct evidence for a Common Greek -ϰ-perfect, and even if it is assumed that an early *ἕω => *ἕωϰα beside the aorist ἧϰα was a possible starting point for the -ϰ-perfect, there is still no explanation for how *ἕωϰα got the -ϰ-. Since the aorist and perfect did not usually influence each other, the replacement of *ἕω by *ἕωϰα would have had to have involved more than a simple remodeling of the o-grade perfect after the e-grade aorist.

The idea that the -ϰ- served as a hiatus-filler also deserves reexamination. It is unlikely that when confronted by an awkward hiatus and/or homophony of the first and third persons singular of the perfect, Greek speakers reached out in desperation, extracted a consonant from the aorists and shoved it into the breach. Speakers of Common Greek may not have been desperate for a hiatus-filler anyway.

Perfects with stems in final long vowels were never very numerous, and most of the -ϰ-perfects that occur in Homer are not very old. Only ἕστηϰα, τέτληϰα, βέβρωϰα and πέφῡϰα have cognates that point to Indo-European perfects, and all except πέφῡϰα are likely to have undergone extensive remodeling. Ἕστηϰα (< CGk. *ἕστᾱϰα) is likely to have replaced an inherited *ἕστω- < *sestoh₂-,[17]) while τέτληϰα and βέβρωϰα may have replaced *τέτολα < *tetolh₂- (cf. Latin tetulī) and *βέβορα < *gʷegʷorh₃- (cf. Sanskrit jagāra) with state I full-grades.[18]) Ἴληϰα and δείδω/δείδοιϰα also appear to continue inherited perfects, but ἴληϰα has a generalized zero-grade like τέτληϰα and is probably a replacement for an inherited *ἕολα < *sesolh₂-,[19]) while δείδοιϰα < *δεδϝοι- had a stem-final glide in Common Greek. In view of Vedic babhūva, the zero-grade of πέφῡϰα may have been inherited,[20]) but since the sequences ῠα and

[16]) See also Wackernagel 1904: 21–2.
[17]) See Cowgill 1965: 145–6 and Kimball 1988: 247–8. Skt. tasthāu and Lat. stetī also underwent remodeling.
[18]) Francis 1970: 53–7, 61.
[19]) See Klingenschmitt 1970 on ἴληϰα and related forms.
[20]) See Strunk 1972: 21–7 and Kimball 1988: 248.

ὔε have always been tolerated in Greek, its inherited first and third persons singular *πέφυα and *πέφυε (< *bhe-bhuH-) would not have been homophonous, and the -κ- cannot have been acting as a hiatus filler here.

It is not at all certain that homophony would have been much of a problem in the few long-vowel perfects that may have existed in Common Greek. Most contractions were, after all, not Common Greek, and it is at least conceivable that hiatus might have been tolerated in long-vowel perfects in the very earliest Greek. At worst, perhaps, the first person singular of a stem in -ā like *ἕστᾱ-α (if this perfect had been remodeled before the -κ-perfect came into being) might have been awkward, or might have tended to undergo contraction. But even if early contraction can be assumed, homophony of the first and third persons singular need not have presented an especially formidable barrier to communication. A comparable situation existed, after all, for some Vedic perfects (e.g. 1 and 3 sg. *bubodha,* 1 and 3 sg. *nināya,* 1 and 3 sg. *cakāra*) but nothing suggests that it caused speakers any special inconvenience; in fact, the extension of the long *ā* of the third person in perfects like *cakāra* and *nināya* (for *cakăra, nināya*) suggests otherwise.

It seems clear that any explanation for the origin of the -κ-perfect must address three points: it should explain it in Greek terms as a Greek innovation; it should provide a reason why -κ-perfects in Homer do not seem to share a meaning that distinguishes them from other active perfects; and it should explain why the distribution of the -κ- in the perfect parallels the distribution of the -κ- in the aorists, even though perfects and aorists did not usually influence each other.

There is, of course, one point of contact between the perfect and the aorist: the alphathematic endings -α, -ας, -ε, shared by the active perfect, the sigmatic aorist and the κ-aorist. This suggests that the κ-perfect may have arisen through the reinterpretation of the -κ- of the aorists as part of the endings while alphathematic inflection was being established.

If we consider the original distribution of the -κ-, ignoring its origin as a root extension or its convenience as a hiatus-filler, it almost looks as though pre-Homeric Greek and Boiotian had a series of singular alphathematic κ-endings: -κα, -κας, -κε in perfects with stems in final long vowels and in the three aorists; these κ-endings would have been the post-vocalic allomorphs of -α, -ας, -ε:

	consonant stems	vowel stems
aorist	ἔδειξ-α, -ας, -ε	ἔθη-κα, -κας, -κε
perfect	λέλοιπ-α, -ας -ε	*ἔστᾱ-κα, -κας, -κε

Alphathematic inflection had its origin in changes in the inflection of the sigmatic aorist that were triggered by the vocalization of syllabic nasals[21]) and the loss of final stops. Since the sigmatic aorist was very productive, however, innovations in its inflection can be assumed to have spread fairly quickly to the more marginal x-aorist. Vocalization of *$ṃ$ and *$ṇ$, the loss of final $τ$ and the analogical replacement of the inherited second person singular and third person plural endings would have left the sigmatic aorist with an active paradigm like the following:[22])

singular	*plural*
1. ἔ-δεικ-σ-α	1. *ἐ-δείκ-σα-με
2. ἔ-δεικ-σ-ας	2. ἐ-δείκ-σα-τε
3. *ἔ-δεικ-σ-∅	3. ἔ-δεικ-σ-αν

The third person singular may have had a zero-ending for a considerable period of time within Common Greek. Third person singular forms with bare stem plus zero-ending are often found in the world's languages, and there would have been little reason to replace

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[21]) Lille's claim (1986) that the o of Arc. δέκο "10" < IE *dekṃ shows that vocalization of syllabic nasals was not CGk. and did not occur in Arcado-Cypriot until after the raising of inherited final *-o to -υ cannot be right. The Arc. 1sg. opt. ἐξελαύνοια (IG V. II. 343. 90), a morphologically isolated form, with -οια (for *-οα after 2sg. -οις, 3sg. *-οι(τ)) < CGk. *-οιμ̥ shows that the regular reflex of final *-m̥ was -α in Arc. as elsewhere; the -o of δέκο should, then, be analogical (cf. δεκότᾱν, and ἑκοτόν). Other evidence also points to an early date for vocalization of syllabic nasals. Not only was vocalization the starting point for the alphathematic sigmatic aorist (found already in Mycenaean; cf. de-ka-sa-to = δέξατο, Morpurgo 1963: 61), but it furnished environments for two CGk. sound changes: the weakening of intervocalic *s to *h (e.g. CGk. acc. sg. *ἀιδόοṃ > *αιδόσα > *αιδόha > αιδόα > αιδῶ) and the loss of intervocalic *i̯ (e.g. IE *ḱey-ṇtoi > *ḱέi̯ατοι > Hmc κέαται (with replacement of inherited *-τοι by -ται).

[22]) Cf. Risch 1956 and Berg 1977: 233–9. The remodeling of the second person singular ending to -ας may have happened very early. As Berg (233) notes, the principle that consonant stems are not followed by single consonant endings is central in Greek verb inflection, and it probably goes back a long time. There must also have been considerable pressure for replacement, since the inherited suffix plus ending *-σ-ς should have been realized as *-ς with simplification of the geminate. Not only would this have been synchronically opaque, but its zero-ending would not have been found in any other Greek second person singular.

a zero-ending until the second person singular ending -ας had been adopted in the perfect system, leaving the aorist and perfect singular endings identical except in the third person. A sigmatic aorist third person singular with zero-ending would also have had considerable support, since, as Berg (1977: 234) points out, the loss of final *-τ left the third person singular ending as zero in all paradigms with secondary endings; cf. impf. e. g. *ἔλειπε-∅, root aor. e. g. *ἔστᾱ-∅, them. aor. e. g. *ἔλιπε-∅.

Berg's idea that the pluperfect, which he reconstructs (225–6, 232) as a paradigm with perfect endings, originally differing from the perfect only in its preterit value and its ability to take the augment, was the locus for the introduction and spread of alphathematic inflection in the perfect system is very plausible. The key development here was the introduction of the second person singular ending -ας from the aorists, an innovation that is easily explained as the introduction of a preterit ending into the preterit of the perfect. The eventual extension of -ας to the perfect itself was apparently a process that took considerable time and no doubt involved extensive competition between -ας and the inherited ending -θα.[23])

Presumably the spread of alphathematic inflection in the root aorist from the extended stem *dheh₁k- paralleled its spread in the sigmatic aorist. With the vocalization of the original first person singular *-m̥, loss of final stops, and the eventual introduction of the second person singular ending -ας from the sigmatic aorist, the aorist of the stem θηκ- and the inherited root aorist *θη- would have shared a third person singular with zero ending:

	„κ-aorist"		root aorist
1 sg.	ἔ-θηκ-α		*ἔ-θη-ν
2 sg.	ἔ-θηκ-ας		*ἔ-θη-ς
3. sg		*ἔ-θη-0	

The stem of the root aorist was clearly analysable as *θη-, and since the third person singular of the κ-aorist was now *ἔθη-∅, its stem was also analysable as *θη-. In the first and second persons singular of the κ-aorist, -α and -ας clearly belonged to the endings; the

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[23]) The poetic 2 sg. ending -σθα in e. g. pres. εἶσθα (K 450), impf. ἔφησθα (A 397), subj. ἐθέλῃσθα (A 554 etc.) and opt. βάλοισθα (Ο 571) (on which see Chantraine 1961: 293) suggests that the perf. ending -θα remained at least as a variant for some time after the CGk. period. Compare the competition between 3 sg. pres. -eth and -s in Early Modern English for a parallel.

-ϰ- had to belong to something, and reanalysis of the first and second persons singular as stem *ϑη- plus endings -ϰα, -ϰας must have been virtually inevitable:[24]

$$\text{ἔϑηϰ-α, ἔϑηϰ-ας, *ἔϑη-Ø} \Rightarrow \text{ἔϑη-ϰα, ἔϑη-ϰας, *ἔϑη-Ø}$$

Reanalysis of a stem final consonant as part of an ending does have parallels in later Greek. Compare Ionic middle perfects with the third person plural endings -δαται and -δατο (e.g. ἐληλά-δατο, η 86: ἐλαύνω)[25]) or the spread of the third person plural secondary ending -σαν from the sigmatic aorist in Attic and post-Homeric Ionic.[26]

It can be assumed that once the s-aorist had adopted the third person singular ending -ε,[27]) the formation of a third person singular x-ending -ϰε was straightforward:

$$\text{ἔδειξ-α, -ας : ἔδειξ-ε = ἔϑη-ϰα, -ϰας : x; x = ἔϑη-ϰε}$$

Now the endings of the aorist singular were in complementary distribution; stems in final consonants took the endings -α, -ας, -ε:

sigmatic aorist ἔδειξ-α, -ας, -ε,

while stems in final vowels had -ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε:[28])

ἔϑη-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε
ἧ-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε.

Once the second person singular ending -ας had been adopted by at least a few perfects, the endings of consonant stem perfects were identical with those of consonant stem aorists. The adoption of -ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε by those long vowel perfects that existed at this time would have been a matter of adopting the pattern of allomorphy shown by the aorist:

consonant stem: λέλοιπ-α, -ας, -ε
vowel stem:[29])   πέφῡ-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε
               ἔω-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε (?).

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[24]) Presumably ἧϰ-α, ἧϰ-ας, *ἧ-Ø was also reanalysed to ἧ-ϰα, ἧ-ϰας, *ἧ-Ø.
[25]) Schwyzer 1939: 672; Chantraine 1961: 196.
[26]) Schwyzer 1939: 665–6; Chantraine 1961: 304–5.
[27]) Berg 1977: 237 argues convincingly for deriving the aorist ending -ε from the perfect via the pluperfect.
[28]) And perhaps already ἔδω-ϰα, -ϰας, -ϰε after the other two aorists.
[29]) And eventually e.g. *ἔστᾱ-ϰα, ϰας, -ϰε with analogical ᾱ.

In the Homeric -*x*-aorists and some -*x*-perfects with -*x*- outside of the indicative singular and long vowel stems, the -*x*- seems to have functioned as part of the stem (i. e. ἔθηκ-αν, but ἔθε-σαν and πεφύκ-ασι beside πεφύ-ασι). In forms with alternating long and short vowel stems then, it has apparently suffered another reanalysis. However, indeterminacy is common in metanalysis, and the synchronic status of the *x*-perfect would be comparable to that of secondary tenses with the third person plural ending -σαν. Here the σ was part of the ending in root aorists, imperfects and pluperfects (e.g. in aor. ἔθε-σαν, impf. ἐτίθε-σαν, or Hmc. impf. ζεύγνυ-σαν and ppf. βέβα-σαν) but it was still analysable as part of the suffix in the sigmatic aorist (i.e. ἔδειχ-σ-αν, ἔλυ-σ-αν).

But the perfect type with -V̄-*xα* beside -V̄- quickly became marginal, and already in Homer there are *x*-perfects which may be analysed as having invariant long vowel stems and *x*-endings (e.g. *τεθάρση-*xε : τεθαρσή-*x*ασι from an enlarged stem in -η-). It is possible that the classical *x*-perfect resulted from a series of generalizations of alphathematic *x*-endings (including in post-Homeric times first and second person plural endings) to invariant stems in diphthongs and then to stems in short vowels or resonants, but that is another story.

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The Distribution of Aorist and Present Tense Stem Forms in Greek, Especially in the Imperative*)

(Part II)

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Aspect choice in the imperative

Considerations of reference naturally affect the choice of an aspect form in the *imperative* less often than they do in the indicative. That they do come into play is seen in

(61) σὺ ὧν νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε· φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὕρῃς ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον (…) τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε (…). ἤν τε μὴ ἐναλλὰξ ἤδη τὠπὸ τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῇσι πάθῃσι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ <u>ἀκέο</u>. (Hdt. 3.40,4)

Here PS appears to have been chosen because AS would imply an advice, inconceivable in the context, to accomplish the terminative action in the full sense that an actual cure is the result; hence the obvious interpretation is conative 'Try –', or 'Keep trying (to remedy the situation in the way I have recommended)'. The continuation of the story shows that this effort is doomed to failure.

Still, it is not impossible to use the aorist imperative for denoting terminative actions whose completion is not, strictly speaking, under the control of the person addressed as witness

(62) (…) ὅμως ἐμέ γε οὐ πείθει ὡς ἔστι (sc. ἀδικία) τῆς δικαιοσύνης κερδαλεώτερον. ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἕτερος ἴσως τις ἡμῶν πέπονθεν, οὐ μόνος ἐγώ· <u>πεῖσον</u> οὖν, ὦ μακάριε, ἱκανῶς ἡμᾶς ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευόμεθα δικαιοσύνην ἀδικίας περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενοι.

-Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, σὲ πείσω; εἰ γὰρ οἷς νυνδὴ ἔλεγον μὴ πέπεισαι, τί σοι ἔτι ποιήσω; ἢ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φέρων ἐνθῶ τὸν λόγον; (Pl. *Resp.* 345 a 6 vv.): here πεῖσον conveys an appeal to convince the company effectively after some fruitless attempts, and this is how the sequel shows it to be interpreted by Thrasymachus: 'How can I *succeed* in

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convincing you if I have not done so by my former argument? Should I fetch it and put it into your *ψυχή*?'.

Aspect choice and relations between imperatives

Imperatives, unlike indicatives, do not as a rule come in series. This explains why considerations regarding the structure of the utterance are less decisive in the case of the imperative. That they may be operative all the same is shown, e.g., by

(63) οἱ γὰρ τόκοι χωροῦσιν. ἅπτε παῖ λύχνον
κἄκφερε τὸ γραμματεῖον, ἵν' ἀναγνῶ λαβὼν
ὁπόσοις ὀφείλω καὶ λογίσωμαι τοὺς τόκους. (Ar. *Nub.*

18-20): here the reason why PS is chosen for Strepsiades' injunctions to light up and to bring his cash-book is that these injunctions do not matter so much in themselves, but the execution of them will enable Strepsiades to keep accounts. *ἅπτε* and *ἔκφερε* raise the question what purpose these actions might serve; within the compound sentence consisting of main and subordinate clause it is the final clause which has focus function. Compare

(64) νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι,
ἀπικνέο¹) μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι. τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι
πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος
γενέσθαι ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. (Hdt. 5. 24,2).

It is instructive to compare

(65) ἀλλά μοι ἀμφίπολοι λύχνον ἄψατε | κάλπισί τ' ἐκ ποταμῶν
δρόσον ἄρατε, θέρμετε δ'ὕδωρ | ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀπολύσω (Ar.
Ran. 1338-40) with (63): in (65) the servants are to light up, draw water and heat this in order that their mistress may as it were wash away her nightmare. If the same sequence of actions were predicated of one constant subject in a narrative context, the actions of lighting up and drawing water would presumably be expressed either hypotactically by aorist participles or paratactically by aorist indicatives, and that of heating the water in an imperfect indicative, thus: 'she lit up (AS) and drew water (AS), and heated this (PS) in order to cleanse herself of her had dream'. It is instructive to compare

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¹) The variant *ἀπίκεο* transmitted by a is clearly, for this punctual action, a *lectio facilior*.

(66) δεῦρο, γύναι, φέρε χηλὸν ἀριπρεπέ, ᾗ τις ἀρίστη·
    ἐν δ' αὐτῇ θὲς φᾶρος ἐυπλυνὲς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα
    ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἰήνατε, <u>θέρμετε²</u>)δ' ὕδωρ,
    ὄφρα λοεσσάμενός τε ἰδών τ' εὖ κείμενα πάντα,
    δῶρα τά οἱ Φαίηκες ἀμύμονες ἐνθάδ' ἔνεικαν,
    δαιτί τε τέρπηται καὶ ἀοιδῆς ὕμνον ἀκούων. (θ 424-9).

In the case of

(67) (...) ἐγὼ γὰρ βούλομαι σ' <u>εὐεργετεῖν</u>
    <u>λαβεῖν</u> τ' ἐς οἴκους (...) (Eur. *IA* 1412-13) we are dealing not
with imperatives, but with infinitives depending on a *verbum volun-
tatis*: εὐεργετεῖν is PS because what Achilles declares himself willing
to perform are not two distinct actions: λαβεῖν etc. specifies what
the εὐεργετεῖν will consist in. Compare

(68) (...) ὃς σπεύδει μὲν <u>ἀρόμεναι</u> ἠδὲ <u>φυτεύειν</u>
    οἶκόν τ' εὖ <u>θέσθαι</u>· (Hes. *Erg.* 22-23):³) "who exerts himself
to plough and plant and (*thereby*) put his house in good order".

Aspect choice and pragmatic function

With reference to the imperative we may speak of focus function
in proportion as a verb informs the person addressed as to *what* is
expected of him or her,⁴) as in⁵)

(69) <u>ἀκούσαθ'</u> ὡς ἔλεξα τῆς ἐμῆς πέρι
    ψυχῆς· <u>φρονήσατ'</u>, ὦ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί. (Aesch. *Eum.* 114-5)
    and

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²) It will be remembered that the aorist corresponding to θέρμω is that of
θερμαίνω.

³) Cf. (11) above for a comparable relation between actions denoted by PS
and by AS, now in the indicative.

⁴) Cf. the inscription quoted by McKay (57) from R. Meiggs-D. M. Lewis, *A
Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1969, 48: <u>ἀναγράψαι</u> δὲ κα[ὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ] ναῦν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς λευκ[ώματα ...] ... <u>ἀναγράφειν</u> δὲ
νέμοντας κατὰ τάξεις [ε]ἰς διακοσίας ἀ[ν]ὰ ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ <u>ἐπιγράψαι</u> τῇ
τάξει ἑκάστῃ τῆς τριήρους τοὔνομα καὶ τοῦ τριηράρχου, in which ἀναγράψαι is
an instruction which has focus function, ἀναγράφειν is an anaphoric reference
to the same action in the context of specifying *how* it should be executed, and
ἐπιγράψαι expresses another instruction.

⁵) For easier comparison of my view with those of Bakker and of Ruijgh
(1985) I discuss many of their examples below.

(70) ἀλλ᾿ ἄντομαι σε τῆσδε πρὸς γενειάδος
γονάτων τε τῶν σῶν ἱκεσία τε γίγνομαι,
<u>οἴκτιρον οἴκτιρόν</u> με τὴν δυσδαίμονα
καὶ μή μ᾿ ἔρημον ἐκπεσοῦσαν <u>εἰσίδῃς</u>,
<u>δέξαι</u> δὲ χώρᾳ καὶ δόμοις ἐφέστιον. (Eur. Med. 709–13).

In

(71)   (...) ὦ τέκνον, τέκνον,
<u>οἴκτιρε</u> τὴν τεκοῦσαν. -ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐκ σέθεν
ᾦκτίρεθ᾿ οὗτος οὐδ᾿ ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ. (Soph. El. 1410–11) it
is true that the imperative still gives the content of the appeal to the
person addressed, but the urgency of this appeal for compassion is
justified by the fact that it is this person's mother who claims it: here,
then, the imperative has focus function to a lesser degree than τὴν
τεκοῦσαν, as is confirmed both by the repetition of the emotive τέκ-
νον and by Orestes' reply ('you had no compassion[6]) for your son,
nor for his father'). Using AS would have spoilt the rhetoric of Cly-
taemnestra's appeal: what is too shocking to admit to is not just hav-
ing no mercy, but for a *son* to have no mercy upon his *mother*.

In particular, PS is the obvious choice for an imperative when
there can be no doubt as to *what* action the person addressed is sup-
posed to be taking – whether 1) because this action has been men-
tioned or implied earlier or 2) because he is already performing it –
and the imperative serves to ask him or her either to continue or to
stop doing so. Examples of the first situation[7]) are

(72) καὶ λαβομένω τὸ ῥῆμ᾿ ἑκάτερος <u>εἴπατον</u>,
καὶ μὴ <u>μεθῆσθον</u>, πρὶν ἂν ἐγὼ σφῷν κοκκύσω.
- ἐχόμεθα. - τοῦπος νῦν <u>λέγετον</u> ἐς τὸν σταθμόν. (Ar. Ran.
1379–81),

(73) μίαν με μεῖναι τήνδ᾿ <u>ἔασον</u> ἡμέραν (...)
νῦν δ᾿, εἰ μένειν δεῖ, <u>μίμν᾿</u> ἐφ᾿ ἡμέραν μίαν[8]) (Eur. Med. 340,
355),

and

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⁶) PS is also used for Orestes' reply ᾦκτίρεθ᾿, just as was to be expected.
⁷) For instances of the second type see 160 below. Bakker, too, recognizes cases
in which 'an action in progress has to be continued or discontinued' (35 ff.), and
distinguishes, among instances in which the imperative 'orders an action that is
not in progress', between those in which the hearer has been prepared for the
request or command (43 ff.) and those in which he has not (49 ff.).
⁸) The verses 355–6 were deleted by Nauck on grounds of content, but see
Page *ad locum.*

(74) κατθανεῖν ἐρᾶν ἔοικας – κτεῖνε· σύγγονον δὲ σὴν
      οὐ κτενεῖς ἡμῶν ἑκόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμέ· (ὡς) πρὸ δεσποτῶν
      τοῖσι γενναίοισι δούλοις εὐκλεέστατον θανεῖν. (Eur. Hel.
      1639–40).

In (72) the command is defined by means of AS in verse 1379,
after which PS in verse 1381 gives the sign to act on it.[9] The usage
exemplified by (73)[10] and (74) has been termed 'concessive'[11]: here
the speaker conveys that he has no objections to some action con-
templated by his interlocutor and known to him.[12] In

(75) πάριτε δή (...) Φαῖδρον πείθετε ὡς ἐὰν μὴ ἱκανῶς
      φιλοσοφήσῃ, οὐδὲ ἱκανός ποτε λέγειν ἔσται περὶ οὐδενός. ἀποκρι-
      νέσθω δὴ ὁ Φαῖδρος. – Ἐρωτᾶτε. (Pl. Phdr. 261 A 4) all imperatives
are PS, πάριτε because the request to the λόγοι follows from what
precedes, πείθετε because no more than an attempt to persuade can
be enjoined, ἀποκρινέσθω because replying is, in the circumstances,
the obvious thing to do, and it is Phaedrus' name which has focus
function: it is incumbent on *him* to do the replying. Phaedrus, who is

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[9] A subspecies of this type are the instructions, often discussed and exhaus-
tively collected by Amigues (1977), of public speakers to the clerk to read out a
text. In Demosthenes the phrase is λέγε (204 times), ἀνάγνωθι (67 times), or
ἀναγίγνωσκε (20 times). There is no AS alternative to λέγε, since εἰπέ conveys
the injunction to *speak*, therefore all that requires to be explained in the present
connection is the distribution of ἀνάγνωθι and ἀναγίγνωσκε.
The AS form is found in one context with either of the two PS forms at 10
places. Eight of these have the order of AS followed by PS (ἀνάγνωθι followed
by ἀναγίγνωσκε twice, by λέγε six times), which is to be explained by analogy
with (72) above. By contrast λέγε is *followed* by ἀνάγνωθι in 18.305 and 19.70;
in both of these it is preceded by a final clause, so that it does not itself have
focus function, and the following ἀνάγνωθι may be said to contain the actual
injunction, which in both cases is further specified. In 20.70 λέγε is preceded by
a future indicative (ἀναγνώσεται) announcing that the clerk will read a decree,
in 20.92 it is preceded by an AS of a different verb (λαβέ) ordering the clerk, to
take up the relevant scroll; in both of these instances, then, the content of the
injunction may be taken to be known.
[10] Here the action mentioned in PS is known to the person spoken to, and,
not unconnected with this, the adjunct ἐφ᾽ ἡμέραν μίαν has focus function: 'stay
you may, but only for a day'.
[11] Cf. Bakker 47.
[12] An AS specifying the content of a request and a 'concessive' PS are found
in one context in Hdt. 7.38.3 σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἥκοντα οἰκτί-
ρας τῶν μοι παίδων ἕνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατιῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον (...). τοὺς δὲ
τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα σεωυτῷ καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοέεις νοστήσειας ὀπίσω: 'show pity
on me and exempt my eldest son from your service; the other four you can take'.

the subject of the third person imperative ἀποκρινέσθω, by ἐρωτᾶτε
conveys his willingness to cooperate: when Socrates says 'let Phae-
drus answer', he responds by saying 'ask your questions' rather than
'I am prepared'.

In

(76) σὺ μὲν κομίζοις ἂν σεαυτὸν ᾗ θέλεις
       ἔξω βαρείας αἰτίας ἐλεύθερον.
       σὺ δ' εἰπέ μοι μὴ μῆκος, ἀλλὰ σύντομα,
       ᾔδησθα κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε; (Soph. *Ant.* 444-7)

PS gives the guard, who for some time[13]) has had a mind to leave,
Creon's permission to do so, after which AS enjoins Antigone to
answer the following question.[14])

Both Ruijgh and Bakker, each from his own view on aspect, inter-
pret PS in such cases as a sign for the person addressed to *begin* the
action concerned; in the opinion of Ruijgh PS further indicates that
the speaker expects him to begin *soon*. Bakker's comment on the text
cited under (72) is that those addressed 'have already been
acquainted with the nature of the action they are expected to per-
form: they do not need the present λέγετον to make that clear to
them. This is why it should be translated by 'go ahead', 'you may
start'.[15]) In this connection Ruijgh speaks of an 'inceptive' present:
'En disant γράφε le locuteur prie l'interlocuter d'écrire en signalant
qu'il veut que l'action commence *immédiatement* (my italics) après le
moment présent, et qu'il admet qu'un instant après, il pourra consta-
ter la réalisation du commencement de l'action'.[16]) Λέγετον would
then imply: 'I hope I shall observe you in the act of speaking forth-
with', whereas εἴπατον would imply: 'I hope I shall observe that you

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[13]) Cf. 399-400.

[14]) An illuminating comparison is made by McKay (44 f.), whose comments I
quote, between E684-5: Πριαμίδη, μὴ δή με ἕλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἐάσῃς κεῖσθαι, | ἀλλ'
ἐπάμυνον ('Sarpedon, seriously wounded, appeals to Hector, who happens to be
passing in pursuit of the enemy. He needs to divert Hector's attention from his
preoccupation elsewhere') and X339: μή με ἔα παρὰ νηυσὶ κύνας καταδάψαι
Ἀχαιῶν ('Hector, fatally wounded, is appealing to Achilles not to do what he
has just said he will'). Cf. Humbert 180.

[15]) Bakker 44.

[16]) This notion of immediacy is qualified by Ruijgh (1985, 30) himself as fol-
lows: 'Bien entendu, la durée chronologique de cet 'instant' est fort flexible et
dépend de facteurs situationnels, contextuels, sociaux et psychologiques: la
notion d' 'instant' est élastique et 'immédiatement' est un terme à valeur relative'.

have spoken at some time in the future'.[17]) Bakker's statement that in
cases like (72) a speaker may choose PS because the person
addressed knows what action is expected of him is in itself[18]) quite
compatible with the position argued here. An objection against
Ruijgh is that the notion of immediacy in many contexts has no
demonstrable relevance.[19])

This applies *a fortiori* to those imperatives, interpreted as 'contin-
uative' by Ruijgh, which call for the continuation of an action
already in progress, such as

(77)   οἳ δ᾽ ὅτε δὴ φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν,
       οὐδὲ μὲν εὕδοντας φυλάκων ἡγήτορας εὗρον,
       ἀλλ᾽ ἐγρηγορτὶ σὺν τεύχεσιν εἵατο πάντες (...)[20])
       τοὺς δ᾽ ὁ γέρων γήθησεν ἰδών, θάρσυνέ τε μύθῳ·
       [καί σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα]
       οὕτω νῦν, φίλα τέκνα, φυλάσσετε, μηδέ τιν᾽ ὕπνος
       αἱρείτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσι. (K 180-2,
190-93): in each case the choice of PS is accounted for by the facts
that 1) Nestor desires the situation described earlier (οὕτω) to be
continued (the persons addressed should go on waking and watch-
ing), and 2) the main point he has to impart is the motive for doing
so which he is representing to them: it is necessary that you should
stay awake *in order that* the Greeks may not be overpowered by the
Trojans. In

(78)   -μὴ μ᾽ ἐκδίδασκε τοῖς φίλοις εἶναι κακήν.
       -ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διδάσκω· τοῖς κρατοῦσι δ᾽ εἰκαθεῖν (Soph. *El*.
395-6), we have a request to desist from an action supposed to be in
progress ('stop trying to teach me ...'[21]) as is confirmed by the reply
('but that is not what I am trying to teach you'). In

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[17]) It will be clear that the mechanism supposed by Ruijgh to be at work here
is not easily squared with the *actio* of all actions indiscriminately.

[18]) That is to say, as distinct from the *explanation* which his interpretation is
intended to support: 'the imperative derived from the aorist stem expresses an
absolute fact, a mere process', 'the present imperative refers to an action seen in
its perspective, while in addition this action has to coincide with another notion'
(Bakker 31).

[19]) In particular, the distinction made by Ruijgh cannot explain the alternation
between PS and AS in general prescriptions such as (94) to (99) below.

[20]) The intervening lines contain a simile in which the vigilance of the men is
compared with that of watch-dogs alerted by an unfamiliar sound.

[21]) So the choice of PS is doubly motivated.

(79) μὴ μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι <u>δάμνα</u>,
    πότνια, θῦμον,
    ἀλλὰ τυίδ' <u>ἔλθ</u>, (...) (Sapph. 1, 3-5) the speaker prays Aphrodite in PS to *stop* what she is doing, and names the action which she would prefer in AS. Compare

(80) ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, τόδε πέρ μοι <u>ἐπικρήηνον</u> ἐέλδωρ·
    αὐτοὺς δή περ <u>ἔασον</u> ὑπεκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι
    <u>μηδ</u>' οὕτω Τρώεσσιν <u>ἔα</u> δάμνασθαι Ἀχαιούς (Θ 242-4).[22])

The considerations bearing on the choice between AS and PS in the imperative apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to situations in which a speaker states his wish by means of an optative (such as the potential optative in (76)), and to infinitives depending on *verba voluntatis* and *iubendi*, as in

(81) κεῖνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον <u>ἀγορεῦσαι</u> ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται (...) φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἑτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ <u>ἀγορεύειν</u> ἐκέλευον (Hdt. 3. 74, 3-75, 1).[23])

Further consequences

The pragmatic function of an imperative as a motive for aspect choice works out in rather diverse ways, as the following examples will show. In

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[22]) These two examples suggest a more adequate explanation for the comparatively low frequency of PS in prayers to gods than those offered by Bakker (127; cf. 11 ff. for the history of this question) and by Ruijgh (1985, 36: 'le locuteur n'est pas en position de demander que la personne socialement supérieure ou le dieu commence immédiatement l'action en question'): of the three considerations which affect the choice between PS and AS, the first leads to AS because it is presupposed that the godhead is capable of accomplishing whatever it is willing to grant, so that the occasion to ask for a mere attempt simply does not arise; and further the monologue nature of prayer requires the person praying to state expressly which actions he desires the god to perform, so that the imperative nearly always has focus function. The significant exception are precisely those present imperatives which convey a request to desist from an action already in progress, as in the examples above (and cf. Bakker 103). – Incidentally, it is not clear why it should be permissible to ask a god to *stop* doing something 'immediately' if it were not permissible to ask him to *do* something immediately.

[23]) Cf. Ruijgh 1985, 41: 'les infinitifs dépendant de ἐκέλευον répondent à des impératifs du style direct'.

(82) – οὐκοῦν καὶ σὺ κελεύεις σαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν ἑκάστοτε, ὅτι ἄν τις
βούληται, ὡς ἐπιστάμενος ἀποκρίνεσθαι;
– πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
– καὶ νῦν δὴ τούτων ὁπότερον βούλει ποίει, <u>ἐρώτα ἢ ἀποκρί-
νου.</u>
– ἀλλὰ ποιήσω ταῦτα. καί μοι <u>ἀπόκριναι</u>, ὦ Σώκρατες. (Pl.
Gorg. 462 A 8 ff.) it has been made clear in what precedes that Polus
is just as good at answering questions as he is at asking them. The
motives for the choice of PS in ἐρώτα ἢ ἀποκρίνου are the same as
those for μίμνε in (73): Socrates indicates that Polus is free to
choose either alternative as far as he is concerned; ποιήσω ταῦτα
conveys that Polus will in fact use his own discretion, and with ἀπό-
κριναι he makes his choice. In

(83) – ὦ τλάμων, ὅτε νῦν χαλᾷς, αὔδασον, τίς ἔφυς βροτῶν, τίς ὁ
πολύπονος ἄγῃ; τίν' ἄν σοῦ πατρίδ' ἐκπυθοίμαν;
– ὦ ξένοι, ἀπόπτολις· ἀλλὰ μή
– τί τόδ' ἀπεννέπεις, γέρον;
– μὴ μὴ μὴ μ' <u>ἀνέρῃ</u> τίς εἰμι, μηδ' <u>ἐξετάσῃς</u> πέρα ματεύων.
(Soph. *OC.* 203–11) the request to stop asking questions would nor-
mally have led to PS, but AS is motivated both by the intervening
question τί τόδ' ἀπεννέπεις, γέρον; and by the vehemence of Oedi-
pus: 'no, no, no more *questioning*, nor any further *inquiries*'.[24] In

(84) εἰ οὖν ἔχεις ἐναργέστερον ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι ὡς διδακτόν ἐστιν ἡ
ἀρετή, μὴ φθονήσῃς, ἀλλ' ἐπίδειξον.
– ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὐ φθονήσω· ἀλλὰ πότερον ὑμῖν (...)
μῦθον λέγων ἐπιδείξω ἢ λόγῳ διεξελθών, (Pl. *Prot.* 320 B 8 ff.) the
use of PS instead of ἐπίδειξον would have assimilated the request to
the so-called concessive imperatives of (73) and (74), but Socrates
wishes to convey to Protagoras not that he may go ahead, but that
he must not withhold the benefit of his expertise: what he shouldn't
do is φθονῆσαι, what he should do is ἐπιδεῖξαι.

In
(85) ἰδού, τόδ' εἰ μὲν στέρνον, ὦ νεανία,
παίειν προθυμῇ, <u>παῖσον</u>, εἰ δ' ὑπ' αὐχένα
χρῄζεις, πάρεστι λαιμὸς εὐτρεπὴς ὅδε (Eur. *Hec.* 563–5) PS
would again have bestowed a 'concessive' character on the impera-

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[24] Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1275 and 1286, both of which likewise contain the word
πέρα.

tive, whereas AS makes Polyxena's command to the young man to kill her explicitly hers. In

(86) πόσου πρίωμαί σοι τὰ χοιρίδια; λέγε. (Ar. Ach. 812) the inquiry after the price is natural, therefore PS is according to expectation. In

(87) - ὡς εὐτυχῶς ὅτι οὐκ ἐλήφθην ἔνδοθεν

    κλέπτων τὸν οἶνον. - εἰπέ μοι, Παφλαγὼν τί δρᾷ; (Ar. Eq. 101-2) the inquiry is not predictable, therefore PS would have been unusual. A similar relation obtains between

(88) ἔκστρεψον ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπους,

    καὶ μάνθαν᾿ ἐλθὼν ἂν ἐγὼ παραινέσω.

    - λέγε δή, τί κελεύεις; (Ar. Nub. 88-89) and

(89) κῦσόν με καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δὸς τὴν δεξιάν.

    - ἰδού. τί ἔστιν; - εἰπέ μοι, φιλεῖς ἐμέ; (Ar. Nub. 81-82).

Likewise in

(90) - ἀλλ᾿ εἴσιθ᾿ ἵνα μὴ 'κεῖνος ὑμῖν ἐπιτύχῃ.

    - μήπω γε μήπω γ᾿· ἀλλ᾿ ἐπιμεινάντων, ἵνα

    αὐτοῖσι κοινώσω τι πραγμάτιον ἐμόν.

    - ἀλλ᾿ οὐχ οἷόν τ᾿ αὐτοῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα

    ἔξω διατρίβειν πολὺν ἄγαν ἐστὶν χρόνον.

    - πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, τί γὰρ τάδ᾿ ἐστίν; εἰπέ μοι.

    - ἀστρονομία μὲν αὑτή. (Ar. Nub. 195-201) the inquiry is no longer expected by the person it is addressed to, since he has already told his pupils to go in. πρὸς τῶν θεῶν is intended to make ἐπιμεινάντων more urgent, and the inquiry, introduced by γάρ, explains this urgency by Strepsiades' need for an answer to his question.

In view of all this the order of AS and PS in

(91) μαῖα, πάλιν μου κρύψον κεφαλήν,

    αἰδούμεθα γὰρ τὰ λελεγμένα μοι.

    κρύπτε. (Eur. Hipp. 243-5) is normal; by contrast

(92) ἀλλ᾿, ὦ φίλη παῖ, λῆγε μὲν κακῶν φρενῶν.

    λῆξον δ᾿ὑβρίζουσ᾿· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο πλὴν ὕβρις

    τάδ᾿ ἐστί, κρείσσω δαιμόνων εἶναι θέλειν·

    τόλμα δ᾿ ἐρῶσα· θεὸς ἐβουλήθη τάδε. (Eur. Hipp. 473-6) offers an instance in which PS is not preceded by AS as it usually

is.[25]) The first imperative contains the call, which is easily under-
stood and indeed to be expected in the light of what precedes, to
stop this κακῶς φρονεῖν: 'now do as I tell you and stop ...'. The AS
form λῆξον must be accounted for by assuming that Phaedra, in her
dejection, to all appearance remains unresponsive to this call, which
induces the nurse to repeat it expressly: '(do you hear me?) I am ask-
ing you to *stop* your ὑβρίζειν'. This latter qualification of Phaedra's
behaviour, intended to provoke her, brings in a new element which
provides an additional motive for choosing AS.[26])

In the concluding scene of the Acharnians Dicaeopolis and Lama-
chus alternately issue commands to their slaves, the one to bring re-
quisites for a dinner, the other to bring requisites for a battle:

(93) - παῖ παῖ φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο τὸν γυλιὸν ἐμοί.
      - παῖ παῖ φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο τὴν κίστην ἐμοί.
      - ἅλας θυμίτας οἶσε παῖ καὶ κρόμμυα.
      - ἐμοὶ δὲ τεμάχη· κρομμύοις γὰρ ἄχθομαι.   1100
      - θρῖον ταρίχους οἶσε δεῦρο παῖ σαπροῦ.
      - κἀμοὶ σὺ δημοῦ θρῖον· ὀπτήσω δ' ἐκεῖ.
      - ἔνεγκε δεῦρο τὼ πτερὼ τὼ 'κ τοῦ κράνους.
      - ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς φάττας γε φέρε καὶ τὰς κίχλας.
      ....
      - τὸ λοφεῖον ἐξένεγκε τῶν τριῶν λόφων.
      - κἀμοὶ λεκάνιον τῶν λαγῴων δὸς κρεῶν.   1110
      ....
      - παῖ παῖ καθελών μοι τὸ δόρυ δεῦρ' ἔξω φέρε.
      - παῖ παῖ σὺ δ' ἀφελὼν δεῦρο τὴν χορδὴν φέρε.
      - φέρε τοῦ δόρατος ἀφελκύσωμαι τοὔλυτρον.   1120
      ἔχ', ἀντέχου παῖ. - καὶ σὺ παῖ τοῦδ' ἀντέχου.
      - τοὺς κιλλίβαντας οἶσε παῖ τῆς ἀσπίδος.
      - καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοὺς κριβανίτας ἔκφερε.
      - φέρε δεῦρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.
      - κἀμοὶ πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον δὸς κύκλον.   1125
      ....
      - κατάχει σὺ παῖ τοὔλαιον. ἐν τῷ χαλκίῳ
      ἐνορῶ γέροντα δειλίας φευξούμενον.
      - κατάχει σὺ τὸ μέλι. κἀνθάδ' ἔνδηλος γέρων   1130
      κλάειν κελεύων Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου.

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[25]) For earlier discussions of this example see Ruijgh 1985, 32 note 67.

[26]) Thus understood the text offers the actor some clues as to how the poet
intended him at act; to λῆγε he is not expected to show any response at all.

- φέρε δεῦρο παῖ θώρακα πολεμιστήριον.
- ἔξαιρε παῖ θώρακα κἀμοὶ τὸν χοᾶ.
....   1135
- τὰ στρώματ' ὦ παῖ δῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος,
ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ τὸν γυλιὸν οἴσω λαβών.
- τὸ δεῖπνον ὦ παῖ δῆσον ἐκ τῆς κιστίδος,
ἐγὼ δὲ θοἰμάτιον λαβὼν ἐξέρχομαι.
- τὴν ἀσπίδ' αἴρου²⁷) καὶ βάδιζ' ὦ παῖ λαβών.   1140
νείφει. βαβαιάξ· χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα.
- αἴρου τὸ δεῖπνον· συμποτικὰ τὰ πράγματα.

What is remarkable about the distribution of PS and AS is that the
aorists tend to be given to Lamachos (1099, 1101, 1103, 1109, 1122,
1136). Dicaeopolis twice uses δός (1110, 1125) in a situation in
which δίδου would have been unsuitable from considerations of ref-
erence: the point is obviously that the object should be given, and
not just offered, to him.²⁸) Nor is δῆσον (1136, 1138) easily replaced
by PS: in 1136 the topic is Lamachus' blanket, and something curious
is to be done with it: Lamachus wants it to be tied to his shield so
that his slave will carry the heavier part of his pack, therefore δῆσον
has unmistakably focus function. Dicaeopolis retorts with an order
to ... tie his meal to the picnic hamper. And finally, κατάχει in 1128
and in 1130 in effect conveys the demand to perform what is in
effect in this context of ritual a routine action; the point is not that
the terminative action should be completed as such.²⁹)   In the com-
mands   in   which   something   is   to   be   fetched,   Dicaeopolis
invariably uses PS (1098, 1104, 1119, 1123), whereas Lamachos alter-
nates between φέρε (1097, 1118, 1124, 1132), οἶσε (1099, 1101 and
1122) ἔνεγκε (1103) and ἐξένεγκε (1109). The aorist imperative οἶσε
is an epic form whose heroic connotation suits Lamachus. It is pre-
cisely this imperative which appears in those commands (to bring
salt and onions, as well as a mash of rotten fish for a meal) which

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²⁷) Aristophanes has no AS imperative of the middle voice of this verb, and his
only aorist imperative in any voice is ἄρατε in a parody at *Ran.* 1339.
²⁸) It is not implied that δίδου could never express a request to give, rather
than offer, a thing. For the conditions in which it may do so, cf. Pl. *Phaedr.* 257
A: ἀλλὰ (...) εὐμενὴς καὶ ἵλεως τὴν ἐρωτικήν μοι τέχνην ἣν ἔδωκας μήτε ἀφέλῃ
μήτε πηρώσῃς δι' ὀργήν, δίδου τ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς καλοῖς τίμιον εἶναι,
where PS has been chosen because it is the specification following it which has
focus function. Cf. [Pl.] *Alc.* II 143 A.
²⁹) Cf. *Ach.* 1040: κατάχει σὺ τῆς χορδῆς τὸ μέλι, where μέλι has focus function.

highlight the poverty of the soldier's life – doubtless with an intention to parody – and then just once more (the comic poet knows the right dose for comic effect) for Lamachus' ... shield-stand.[30]) Ἔνεγκε and ἐξένεγκε are used for the orders to bring the crest on his helmet and its case, two objects flattering to a soldier's vanity rather than suggestive of his prowess. The fact that Lamachus, in marked contrast to Dicaeopolis, tends to use AS seems to serve the purpose of parody: it is characteristic of Lamachus that precisely these among his orders should be given in the most peremptory way available. An ordinary person placed in a situation which involves fetching things might say φέρε, but a general will shout 'Brring...' (soldier stand to attention) '... the plume-case'. AS gives focus function to his commands as such, and this is what makes it apt to parody the tone of command which is characteristic of the regular officer and which φέρε, common[31]) and unemphatic as it is, can never have.[32])

Aspect choice in general prescriptions

In general precepts, admonitions, etc., whether these are given in the imperative or in an infinitive 'pro imperativo', PS is more frequent than AS, but AS is by no means excluded,[33]) as Bakker and others before him have shown:[34]) it is the context, not the aspect form chosen which has to make it clear that we have a prescription

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[30]) Cf. Starkie ad loc.: 'χιλλίβαντας, 'trestles', 'easels' (...). It was usual to polish one's shield before battle (...)'.

[31]) The reason why ἔνεγκε is so much rarer is that in requests to bring something the question what is to be brought is nearly always more prominent than the act of bringing as such.

[32]) Ruijgh (1985, 38) explains the distribution of PS and AS in this passage as though PS were used for orders to bring ordinary objects, which are therefore capable of being executed at once, and AS for unusual objects which first have to be found. This account, even supposing that it is tenable in itself, does not fit the text at 1103 and 1109: the crest is an obvious and vital part of the soldier's outfit, as witness Ar. Ran. 1037-8, where the civilian betrays himself by his inability to handle the crest on his helmet. The point in 1099 and 1101 of our passage is not that these are unfamiliar objects, it is in the contrast between the scanty and even uneatable provisions of those who go to war and the copious meal Dicaeopolis can sit down to after concluding peace. Nor does the explanation offered by Ruijgh apply to the imperatives in 1110, 1125, 1136, and 1138.

[33]) Statistics in Poutsma (41, note 1).

[34]) Bakker 33ff.

for repeated use rather than an instruction for the occasion. For instance in

(94)   μήποτέ τοι πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χολωθείς

μηδ᾽ ἀχρημοσύνην οὐλομένην <u>πρόφερε</u> (Theogn. 155-6) PS is used because AS does not occur in this metaphoric sense. In

(95)   ἀμφ᾽ ἀρετῇ <u>τρίβου</u> καί τοι τὰ δίκαια φίλ᾽ ἔστω

μηδέ σε <u>νικάτω</u> κέρδος ὅ τ᾽ αἰσχρὸν ἔῃ. (Theogn. 465-6) focus function must be assigned to ἀμφ᾽ ἀρετῇ and to κέρδος ὅ τ᾽ αἰσχρὸν ἔῃ respectively. This is brought out in a slightly exaggerated paraphrase: 'if you exert yourself, let it be to achieve ἀρετή; one thing that must not get the better of you is dishonourable gain'.

Theognis' positive recommendations invariably feature PS; this is explained by the fact that the advice to Cyrnus, as in the example above, is not concerned with *what* he should do, but with the object and various other qualifications of his actions. Compare

(96   καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν <u>πῖνε</u> καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν

ἵζε, καὶ ἄνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις (Theogn. 33-34): 'if the subject is eating and drinking, you should do this in the company of those that have power'; Cyrnus is not directed to eat and to drink etc., but to do so *in the right company*. With a negation we find PS for similar reasons e.g. in

(97)   μηδὲν ἄγαν <u>σπεύδειν</u>· καιρὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος

ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων. (Theogn. 410-2): 'σπεύδειν is right, σπεύδειν ἄγαν is wrong'.

A negative recommendation in AS is e.g.

(98)   μήποτε φεύγοντ᾽ ἄνδρα ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι Κύρνε <u>φιλήσῃς</u>·

οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴκαδε βὰς γίνεται αὐτὸς ἔτι (Theogn. 333-4): here φιλήσῃς has focus function: 'what you must never do is count a fugitive among your φίλοι: once returned home he will prove to be no longer the same person'. In

(99)   δοῦλον δ᾽ ὁ κτείνας ἑαυτοῦ μὲν <u>καθηράσθω</u>, ἐὰν δὲ ἀλλότριον θυμῷ, διπλῇ τὸ βλάβος <u>ἐκτεισάτω</u> τῷ κεκτημένῳ. ὅστις δ᾽ ἂν τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων πάντων μὴ πείθηται τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκάθαρτος ὢν ἀγοράν τε καὶ ἄθλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ μιαίνῃ, ὁ βουλόμενος, τόν τε ἐπιτρέποντα τῶν προσηκόντων τῷ τελευτήσαντι καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἰς δίκην καταστήσας, τὴν διπλασίαν χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων <u>ἀναγκαζέτω</u> πράττειν τε καὶ ἐκτίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἔκτεισμα αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κομιζέσθω κατὰ τὸν νόμον. (...) ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλος τις δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀποκτείνῃ θυμῷ, <u>παραδιδόντων</u> οἱ δεσπόται τὸν δοῦλον

τοῖς προσήκουσι τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν θανατω-
σάντων τὸν δράσαντα (...). ἂν δ' (...) διὰ θυμὸν πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ υὸν
ἢ θυγατέρα (...) κτείνῃ, καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαι-
ρέσθω καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἀπενιαυτεῖν, κατελθόντων δὲ τῶν κτει-
νάντων, ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γυναῖκά τε ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ
γυναικός, καὶ μὴ ποτ' ἔτι κοινῇ παιδοποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ συνέστιον ὧν
ἔκγονον ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἀπεστέρηκε γίγνεσθαί ποτε μηδὲ κοινωνὸν
ἱερῶν (Pl. Leg. 868 a 4-d 3), we have a series of universally binding
commands. The first two of them (καθηράσθω and ἐκτεισάτω) both
have focus function and are therefore expressed in AS. Then follows
(ὅστις ... κατὰ τὸν νόμον) a parenthesis dealing with the question
what happens if the law is broken: in that case the claim for dam-
ages should be made by anyone who cares to (ὁ βουλόμενος) take it
upon him to do so. So the choice of PS for ἀναγκαζέτω and κομι-
ζέσθω is motivated by the fact that it is now the subject (ὁ βουλόμε-
νος) which has focus function. Παραδιδόντων thereupon is PS
because it comprises just the first of the injunction, which is then
completed by θανατωσάντων. For the same reason καθαιρέσθω is
followed by ἀπενιαυτεῖν[35]) and ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, all of them in PS:
the injunction is only completed by παιδοποιήσασθαι in AS.

Conclusion

What has gone before proves to my mind that a correct under-
standing of the contrast between AS and PS can be attained only if
the 'monolithic' interpretations maintained so far are replaced by an
approach which allows considerations of a diverse nature, bearing
on the communicative purpose in different ways, to affect the choice
of an aspect form. The aim of the argument is

1) to arrive at the most accurate description of the first two con-
siderations with a minimum of presuppositions, and in particular to

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[35]) Cf. 866 B 7 ff., ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἄκων ξένον κτείνῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπεξίτω μὲν
ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις, μέτοικος δὲ ὢν ἀπενιαυτησάτω, in which
ἐπεξίτω is PS for the same reason which applied to the two PS forms in the par-
enthesis in (99), but ἀπενιαυτησάτω is AS because this action here forms the
substance of an isolated command which has focus function – as ἀπενιαυτεῖν in
(99) does not.

illustrate the consequences of the *actio* of an action for the interpretation of an aspect form, and

2) to demonstrate the relevance, not to my knowledge recognized for Greek before, of the distinction between constituents with and without focus function, or between constituents which have focus function in varying degrees. This second aim has provided one motive for paying special attention to the imperative, in which the distribution of AS and PS has proved hard to account for, precisely because in this mood the informational status of the verb form concerned is particularly important.

The ground for claiming that the approach here offered is preferable to existing ones is that it is capable of assigning a communicative function to the choice of AS or of PS in cases where existing accounts have either resorted to subsidiary hypotheses which at bottom are inconsistent with the value ascribed to the contrast, or sought to find the motive for a speaker's preference in a 'difference of view-point' which by itself does not serve any demonstrable communicative purpose.

The further testing of our hypothesis, necessary in itself, is not served by adducing instances in which some other explanation will *also* do. There are of course many such instances, a number of them among those quoted above. The distinctions between durative and punctual (or between action in progress and action 'pure et simple'), and between completed and not completed, could never have gained and kept their currency if the Greek language did not offer numerous instances in which they may well appear to be applicable. The motive to reopen the investigation is in the observation that there are other instances, likewise numerous, which these distinctions do not help us to account for. A framework has therefore been conceived which might accommodate *both* this latter class *and* those which might seem to have been adequately explained.

The aims of my argument have imposed a conscious limitation on my selection of subjects. I have not dealt with the distribution of AS and PS in subordinate clauses and participles, and have discussed the so-called dynamic infinitive only in so far as it depends on *verba voluntatis* and *iubendi* – and is thereby comparable to the imperative as regards distribution of aspect forms. As for the distribution in (temporal) dependent clauses and participles, this seems to provide one of the principal motives for the popularity of the contrast between completed and not completed, since the instances in which AS in such a clause or participle mentions an action which is prior *in actual fact* to another action mentioned in the context, or PS a (durative) action which is contemporary with such

another one, are obviously legion. It seems to me, however, that this is an *effect* of the considerations which determine the distribution, rather than a motive in its own right. Whether this is correct is one question I hope to come back to; another one is the distribution of AS and PS in dynamic infinitives[36]) depending on other types of verb than *verba voluntatis and iubendi.*[37])

Zu griechisch ὀπηδός

Von Michael Meier-Brügger, Hamburg

Das griech. Substantiv ὀπηδός „Begleiter" ist seit den homer. Hymnen belegt, das dazugehörige Verbum ὀπηδέω „begleiten" bereits seit der Ilias[1]). Im frühep. Textkorpus stehen Substantiv und Verbum am Versende, vgl. für ersteres h. Merc. 450, für letzteres *B* 184, *E* 216, *P* 251, *Ω* 368; *η* 165 = 181, *ϑ* 237, *ι* 271, *τ* 398; Hes. Th. 80, Op. 142. 230. 313. 326, Fr. 372,13; h. Ap. 530, h. Merc. 209, h. 30,12; Panyassis Fr. 13 ii Davies. Die wortbildungsmäßige Zusammengehörigkeit von ὀπηδός mit ὀπάων ist heute unbestritten: Das ep. ὀπάων (seit Ilias) „Begleiter" ist bereits in myken. Zeit (1mal PY) als Personenname o-qa-wo-ni (Dat. Sg.) Hokʷáµoni belegt. Grundlage für die beiden Substantive ὀπάων (bei Herodot ion. ὀπέων) und ὀπηδός (in dor. und hellenist. Texten ὀπᾱδός) ist das griech. nicht direkt belegte kollektive Abstraktum *sokʷā́ „Gefolge" zur ererbten Verbalwurzel *sekʷ- „folgen"[2]). Während die Ableitung von ὀπάων aus *sokʷā́ nach bekanntem Muster mit Suffix -µŏn- erfolgt ist[3]), tappt man bei ὀπηδός im Dunkeln: „présente le plus de difficultés", „may continue *sokʷā-do-, but a suffix -do- is completely unparalleled"[4]). Ich schlage als Ausgangspunkt die denominativen Adverbien auf -δόν vor, die „scharenweise" bedeuten und zu -ā-Stämmen gebildet sein können: Bereits homer. sind die Bei-

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[1]) Zur Beleglage vgl. LSJ (1940) s.v. und P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire (1974) s.v. ὀπάων III.

[2]) Vgl. neben P. Chantraine, Dictionaire (1974) auch H. Frisk, GEW II (1970) s.v. ὀπάων. Zu *sokʷā́ vgl. insbesondere A. Leukart, in: Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Idg. Gesellschaft Wien 1978, Wiesbaden 1980, 243 und Minos 20–22, 1987, 343. Lat. *socius* und ved. *sákhā* „Freund" sind Ableitungen vom fraglichen Grundwort, s. M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen III (1976) 413. Die Psilose von ὀπ- muß äol. oder ostion. Ursprungs sein.

[3]) Vgl. E. Risch, Wortbildung (1974) § 24 c Ende mit Beispielen wie Personenname Μαχάων zu μάχη.

[4]) Die Zitate stammen von P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire (1974) s.v. ὀπάων (Et. 3) und von E. F. Tucker, The Creation of Morphological Regularity: Early Greek Verbs in -έō, -άō, -όō, -úō and -íō, Göttingen 1990, 88. Die in älterer Zeit versuchte Verbindung von ὀπηδός mit hethit. ḫapati- ist aufzugeben, vgl. J. Tischler, Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar I/1 (1977) 163 f. Der Wortausgang -ηδός (mit η/ᾱ) verbietet im übrigen eine direkte Verknüpfung mit ὀπάζω (seit Hom.) „verfolgen" (mit ᾰ).

spiele ἀγεληδόν „herdeweise“, φαλαγγηδόν „reihenweise“ und πυργηδόν „in geschlossener Schar“[5]). Zu *sokʷā́ muß das betreffende Adverb folgerichtig *ὀπᾱδόν „gefolgeweise, im Gefolge“ gelautet haben. Es ist zwar nicht belegt, ich interpretiere aber das Verbum ὀπηδέω als dazugehörige direkte denominative Ableitung im Sinn von „bin im Gefolge“. Am Schluß der Bildekette steht das aus ὀπηδέω gewonnene ὀπηδός. Die frühep. Beleglage mit seltenem Substantiv und häufigem Verbum nehme ich als Hinweis auf die Richtigkeit der Hypothese. Es mag vielleicht erstaunen, daß ein Adverb auf -δόν den Ausgangspunkt für weitere Ableitungen bietet. Hinzuweisen ist daher auf Adjektive wie κατωμάδιος (Ψ 431, poet.) neben κατωμαδόν (Ο 352, Ψ 500, poet.) „über die Schulter“[6]).

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[5]) E. Risch, Wortbildung (1974) § 128 b. Zur Herkunft von -δόν vgl. G. E. Dunkel, in: Gedenkschrift W. Cowgill, Berlin/New York 1987, 30 (Ausgangspunkt ἔνδον, dann βουστροφηδόν u. a. m.; die Adverbien auf -δην sind davon zu trennen). Myken. Zeugnisse für δόν fehlen, und so muß die Entwicklung in die nachmyken. Wanderzeit fallen.

[6]) E. Risch, Wortbildung (1974) § 43 a.

Κάρανος = κύριος[1])

By David Testen, Chicago

Xenophon (*Hellenika* I.iv.1) informs us that when Cyrus, the son of Darius II, was dispatched to Asia Minor as commander-in-chief he bore a letter from his father with the following statement:

καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων (*Hell.* I.iv.3).

Outside this passage, the term κάρανος is attested only in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (378,24 Sturz), where the term Μακκαβαῖος is defined "κατὰ Πέρσας κάρανος, τοῦτ' ἔστι δεσπότης."[2]) Despite its superficial resemblance to κάρανον 'head,'[3]) the fact that it only appears in these foreign contexts suggests that the term is not Greek at all.

For the explanation of the term κάρανον Xenophon provides a parenthetical gloss: τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον (*Hell.* I.iv.4). This is clearly the same office as the one to which Xenophon refers at the opening of the *Anabasis*:

Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται (Anab. I.1.2).

Here στρατηγός corresponds to the κάρανος of the *Hellenika*; the wording of Darius' letter makes it clear that κάρανος also refers to a military office.

The foreign contexts of κάρανος notwithstanding, the standard etymological reference materials have assumed that κάρανος is a masculine correspondent to neuter κάρανον 'head.'[4]) A semantic connection between 'head' and 'lord/general' would not, of course, be surprising, but it is worth noting that Xenophon evidently felt

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[1]) The author is indebted to Tista Bagchi, Nancy L. Dray, Zbigniew Gołąb, Eric P. Hamp, and Klaus Strunk for comments made on an earlier draft.

[2]) Line 3 of Anacreontea 15 is doubtless to be read 'Ροδίης κοίρανε τέχνης (Bergk, *Poetae lyrici graeci* III,303).

[3]) Liddell and Scott cite this word in the form κάρᾱνος; the length of the second alpha is probably to be discarded.

[4]) Cf. the relevant entries in Frisk and Chantraine, as well as Alan J. Nussbaum, *Head and Horn in Indo-European* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1986), p. 166.

that the word would be unknown to his readers and required an explanation.

Under the circumstances, we should observe that κάρανος may be interpreted as a Persian word just as easily as a Greek word. We need only conjecture that it is a derivative in -na- from the well-known Old Persian noun *kāra-* 'people, army' to arrive at a perfectly plausible interpretation which accords well with the context of *Hell.* I.iv.3. Cyrus' title would therefore reflect the fact he has been entrusted with the command of a *kāra-*.

If this analysis of κάρανος is correct, it provides an interesting Iranian parallel to a derivational phenomenon attested elsewhere in Indo-European. A formation **kāra-na-* is distinctly reminiscent of the use of the **-no-*suffix to form the name of an individual at the head of a given social institution. Such forms are particularly well documented for Latin and Germanic – cf. Latin *tribunus* alongside *tribus, dominus* alongside *domus,* Gothic *þiudans*/Old English *þēoden* 'king' alongside *þiuda* bzw. *þēod* 'folk,' Old Norse *drottinn*/Old English *dryhten* (< Germanic **druhtinaz*) 'lord' alongside **druhti-*. In terms of morphology a *kāra-na-* would thus be 'one in charge of a *kāra-*', a meaning which agrees well with the Greek term στρατηγός used in the *Anabasis.*

We should therefore separate Xenophon's κάρανος from Greek κάρανον and provide the former with its own entry in the etymological lexica, identifying κάρανος as a loanword from Old Persian.

Negative *Πρίν* Clauses and the Rhetoric of Achilles

By John R. Wilson, Edmonton (Alberta/Canada)

Summary: A review of *πρίν* clauses dependent on a negative main clause (negative *πρίν* clauses) in the *Iliad* shows a whole series of 18 such clauses that set up the conditions of action or inaction for a hero or a god. These are all directly or indirectly connected with Achilles. In three instances, however, *πρίν* clauses appear even after an absolute negation (9.379ff., 22.262ff., 24.550f.). These 'illogical' *πρίν* clauses are all spoken by Achilles and suit the special character of his rhetoric. Discussion of 22.262ff. includes a study of 8 negative *πρίν* clauses that express a hero's commitment to a life and death combat. The 5 negative *πρίν* clauses that do not belong to the above three groups are briefly listed in a final paragraph.

The rhetoric of Achilles tends to be negative in its formulation. At its most spectacular the negation is absolute: the refusal of Agamemnon's gifts, the refusal to bargain with or about Hector. Often, though, the negation is conditional. Achilles will only reenter the fighting after Hector fires the ships. Conversely he will only stop fighting when he has brought back Hector's corpse. He will only wash after he has performed the burial of of Patroclus. All these conditional negatives are expressed with a *πρίν* clause plus infinitive or subjunctive dependent on a negative main clause.[1]) In fact Achilles accounts for a high proportion of all the negative *πρίν* clauses in the *Iliad* and even for the preponderance of negative over positive *πρίν* clauses in the poem. For though the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have proportionally about the same number of *πρίν* clauses (47 in the *Iliad* and 42 in the *Odyssey*),[2]) over 70% (34 examples) are

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[1]) For the conditional nature of *πρίν* clauses after a negative see D. B. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* (Oxford 1891) 269. In Homer most of the negative *πρίν* clauses (and all the positive *πρίν* clauses) are followed by the infinitive. There are, however, 7 or 8 examples with the subjunctive (there is textual evidence for either the infinitive or the subjunctive at *Il.* 18.334). There is also one example of the optative standing for the subjunctive in secondary sequence. Monro argues that "it is probable that the new construction of *πρίν* with the Subj. was directly modelled on the existing use with the Inf.: that is to say, *πρίν πάθησθα* simply took the place of *πρίν παθεῖν* when a more definite conditional force was wanted."

[2]) *Πρίν* with the infinitive or subjunctive occurs once every 334 lines in the *Iliad* and once every 288 lines in the *Odyssey*.

negative in the *Iliad* while under 50% (20 examples) are negative in the *Odyssey*. If, however, the number of negative πρίν clauses connected with Achilles in the *Iliad* were reduced to the number connected with Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, the proportion of negative and positive clauses would be about the same for both poems.[3])

The wrath of Apollo who sends the plague at the beginning of the *Iliad* brings on the wrath of Achilles. The conditions for the removal of the god's wrath are explained by Calchas in a negative πρίν clause:

οὐδ' ὅ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει,
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι ἑλικώπιδα κούρην
ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον, ἄγειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην
ἐς Χρύσην· τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν.   (1.97 ff.)

The god's wrath is soon appeased, but the wrath of Achilles that follows is relentless. He withdraws from the fighting and, when an embassy is sent to come to terms with him, he refuses any deal and claims he is going home. But very soon he modifies this position, and establishes the conditions of his return to the fighting as follows:

οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος,
πρίν γ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἕκτορα δῖον,
Μυρμιδόνων ἐπί τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἱκέσθαι
κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατά τε σμῦξαι πυρὶ νῆας.   (9.650 ff.)

This is just the first of a number of negative πρίν clauses that trace the limits of a hero's action or inaction. In this case the firing of the ships is to be the limit of inaction for Achilles.[4]) But by the same token it is the limit of action (or at least successful action) for Hector. According to Nestor, Hector is said to have threatened

μὴ πρὶν πὰρ νηῶν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἀπονέεσθαι,
πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.   (14.46 f.)

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[3]) It would therefore be imprudent to use the preponderance of negative πρίν clauses in the *Iliad* as support for Delbrück's theory that the construction developed from an original imperative infinitive after a negative clause. For a different theory of origin see Pierre Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* II, 314–16.

[4]) At 16.61 ff. Achilles refers to this key decision in an even more precise manner: ἤτοι ἔφην γε / οὐ πρὶν μηνιθμὸν καταπαυσέμεν, ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἂν δὴ / νῆας ἐμὰς ἀφίκηται ἀϋτή τε πτόλεμός τε.

Hector's temporary success had in fact already been validated by Zeus:

> οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ,
> πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα ...   (8.473 f.)

This, however, is as much a validation of Achilles' own inaction as it is of Hector's action, and later in the poem Zeus supports Achilles by making his own anger parallel to that of the hero and forbidding any divine interference until Achilles' wish is fulfilled:

> τὸ πρὶν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ παύω χόλον οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον
> ἀθανάτων Δαναοῖσιν ἀμυνέμεν ἐνθάδ' ἐάσω,
> πρίν γε τὸ Πηλεΐδαο τελευτηθῆναι ἐέλδωρ.   (15.72 ff.)

But if both Achilles and Hector have divine backing, this is not true of Agamemnon, not at least in the short term. He is in fact deliberately misled by Zeus, and though he urges that "no one should hasten home until they have slept with a Trojan wife and avenged the rape of Helen" (2.354 ff.) and prays to Zeus that the sun not set until Troy be destroyed and "Hector's tunic slit around his chest" (2.412 ff.), Zeus is not yet ready to oblige.

In Book 16 Achilles sends Patroclus out in his place on a strictly limited mission, but Hector, in a taunting exchange with the dying Patroclus, imagines it differently:

> 'μή μοι πρὶν ἰέναι, Πατρόκλεες ἱπποκέλευθε,
> νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, πρὶν Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
> αἱματόεντα χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐξαι.'   (16.839 ff.)

After Patroclus' death Achilles tends to use negative clauses to define the limits of action rather than of inaction:

> οὔ σε πρὶν κτεριῶ, πρίν γ' Ἕκτορος ἐνθάδ' ἐνεῖκαι
> τεύχεα καὶ κεφαλήν, μεγαθύμου σοῖο φονῆος.   (18.334 f.)

But first there is a period of enforced inactivity enjoined upon him by his mother Thetis, who tells him to wait until she comes back with a replacement suit of armour:

> ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μή πω καταδύσεο μῶλον Ἄρηος,
> πρίν γ' ἐμὲ δεῦρ' ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδηαι.   (18.134 f.)

He dutifully reports his mother's injunction to Iris (18.189 f.); Athena, nevertheless, arranges, for him to make such an effective appearance that he turns back the Trojans even without armour.

After he receives the new armour from Thetis, he must still wait for the right time to reenter the fray. During this continued inactivity the Greek leaders try to "pleasure" him,

οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
τέρπετο, πρὶν πολέμου στόμα δύμεναι αἱματόεντος. (19.312f.)

Finally he starts out in his chariot for battle only to be warned by the horse Xanthos of what awaits him. This gives him an opportunity to reaffirm the limits of his action:

οὐ λήξω πρὶν Τρῶας ἅδην ἐλάσαι πολέμοιο.   (19.423)

Later he is more specific, and distinguishes between the Trojans in general and Hector in particular:

Τρῶας δ' οὐ πρὶν λήξω ὑπερφιάλους ἐναρίζων,
πρὶν ἔλσαι κατὰ ἄστυ καὶ Ἕκτορι πειρηθῆναι
ἀντιβίην, ἤ κέν με δαμάσσεται, ἤ κεν ἐγὼ τόν.   (21.224ff.)

This twin purpose is almost immediately validated by Poseidon in a paraphrase that removes any doubt about who will win in the encounter with Hector:

μὴ πρὶν παύειν χεῖρας ὁμοιίου πολέμοιο,
πρὶν κατὰ Ἰλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι
Τρωϊκόν, ὅς κε φύγῃσι· σὺ δ' Ἕκτορι θυμὸν ἀπούρας
ἂψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἴμεν.   (21.294ff.)

The return of Achilles with the corpse of Hector sets up new conditions. As part of a number of self-denials, Achilles will only wash after the burial of his companion is complete:

οὐ μὰ Ζῆν', ὅς τίς τε θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος,
οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ λοετρὰ καρήατος ἆσσον ἱκέσθαι,
πρίν γ' ἐνὶ Πάτροκλον θέμεναι πυρὶ σῆμά τε χεῦαι
κείρασθαί τε κόμην...   (23.43ff.)

But even after the burial of Patroclus, Achilles continues to violate the corpse of Hector. It takes a council of the gods to start the forces of compromise. As part of a concerted move, Priam is guided by Hermes to the tent of Achilles. Hermes is instructed by Zeus to lead him in such a way

ὡς μήτ' ἄρ τις ἴδῃ μήτ' ἄρ τε νοήσῃ
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν, πρὶν Πηλείωνάδ' ἱκέσθαι.   (24,337f.)

Instructed by Thetis, Achilles is now ready to go back on his
absolute refusal to deal with the corpse of Hector. But after a lim-
ited truce the business of war will continue as usual. The final nega-
tive *πρίν* clause in the poem reports Achilles' intention, in one last
period of inaction, not to harass the Trojans "until the twelfth day"
(24.781). Thus the concluding negative *πρίν* clause with its twelve
day truce balances the first such clause in the poem with its ten day
plague.

The 18 negative *πρίν* clauses discussed so far set up conditions
that either directly or indirectly concern Achilles. But negative *πρίν*
clauses even make their appearance in the absolute negations of
Books 9 and 22 and add a complexity of their own to the depiction
of Achilles' ungovernable hatred.

Rhetorically the most impressive passage in Achilles' major rejec-
tion speech in Book 9 is the negative priamel at 9.379 ff.:[5]

> οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δοίη
> ὅσσα τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα γένοιτο,
> οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας ...
> οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε,
> οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει' Ἀγαμέμνων,
> πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην.

The basic structure is quite simple: two 'not even if' clauses (the
first highly elaborated, the second very simple) capped by 'not even
so'. But what is surprising in the passage is the addition of a *πρίν*
clause at the end, as though the unconditional rejection had sud-
denly become conditional after all. Without the *πρίν* clause the
sense of the passage is: 'Not even if he gives many times more than
he has offered, not even if he gives infinity, not even so could he
persuade me.' Given the escalating series of negatives, elaborated by
a whole series of subsidiary negatives, it is unlikely that the added
πρίν clause, 'not, that is, until he fully pays back to me the painful
outrage,' can represent a real condition. By heroic convention Agam-
emnon's offer already generously pays for the outrage, and indeed in
Book 1 Athena stays Achilles' hand from physical violence against
Agamemnon by promising that "because of this hubris there will be
three times as many gorgeous gifts" (1.213 f.). Since, as the Embassy
scene confirms, Agamemnon has offered full reparation, there is

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[5] For a full discussion of this passage see Ulrich Schmid, *Die Priamel der
Werte im Griechischen von Homer bis Paulus* (Wiesbaden 1964) 7–16.

now no rational place either for rejection or a πρίν clause. Before, it would have been possible to say 'Whatever Agamemnon says or does, I won't be persuaded until he gives full retribution for his outrage.' Now such a statement is unjustified. But, as has been remarked by Adam Parry in his "The language of Achilles",[6]) the hero questions the foundations of the heroic code and in the process strains the conventions of heroic language. Achilles has no intention of ever dealing with Agamemnon again (cf. 1.295 f.). He wants him to suffer without term, and even so this would not be enough to satisfy his feelings of hatred. The frustration of this insatiable desire for vengeance is expressed in the illogic of a condition that can never be met. Later, in response to Ajax, he can only explain his attitude by the overwhelming intensity of his anger (9.644 ff.). At that time, as we have already noted, he introduces a truly conditional πρίν clause that determines his reentry into the fighting not by any indemnity that Agamemnon can pay but by the actions of Hector.

The same pattern of 'not even if' (this time much simplified) followed by 'not even so' and capped with a πρίν clause appears at Od. 22.61 ff.:

"Εὐρύμαχ', οὐδ' εἴ μοι πατρώϊα πάντ' ἀποδοῖτε,
ὅσσα τε νῦν ὕμμ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλ' ἐπιθεῖτε,
οὐδέ κεν ὣς ἔτι χεῖρας ἐμὰς λήξαιμι φόνοιο
πρὶν πᾶσαν μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίην ἀποτῖσαι.

Besides the formal parallels, Od. 22.62 virtually quotes Il. 9.380. But the similarities only underline the difference: in Odysseus' speech the πρίν clause follows logically upon "I would not stop my hands from slaughter" and expresses the self-righteousness of the just avenger.[7])

A second example of a conditional πρίν clause in the context of absolute negation occurs at 22.262 ff. To properly understand that passage one needs to study a series of negative πρίν clauses that express a hero's encounter with the either/or of life or death in com-

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[6]) TAPA 87 (1956) 1–7.

[7]) Schmid (op.cit. n.5, 12) compares 9.379 ff. with 9.574 ff., where the rejected suppliants to Melanger parallel the rejected conditions at 9.379 ff. In both cases the rejection is emphasized by a 'not even so' (οὐδ' ὥς) and followed by a πρίν clause. But at 574 ff. the πρίν clause is factual: nothing persuaded Meleager "until the precise moment when" (πρίν γ' ὅτε) the bedroom door was being battered and the city fired. This is parallel to the logical πρίν at 9.651 and especially its more precise statement at 16.62 (see note 4).

bat. About a quarter of the negative *πρίν* clauses in the *Iliad* (vs. only one example in the *Odyssey*)[8] are concerned with this topic. The hero either advances or awaits another's advance until he can make trial of him and kill or be killed. We have already seen one example of this at *Il.* 21.224 ff., where Achilles wishes to make trial of Hector, "in case he overcomes me or I him." So in Book 12 Polypoites and Leonteus are not willing to leave their position "before killing or being killed" (12.172). In Book 21 Agenor is compared to a desperately bold leopard which "does not cease from its war strength until it joins combat or is vanquished. Thus Agenor ... was not ready to retreat until he should make trial of Achilles" (21.574 ff.). Other examples of the concept are Hector's speech to his half brother Melanippus (15.556 ff.), Automedon's speech to Alkimedon in Book 17.502 ff. and Aeneas' speech to Achilles at Book 20.256 f. Finally, as part of a complex sequence, Aeneas in Book 5 tells a discouraged Pandarus that they must "make trial" of Diomedes in a chariot charge (5.218 ff.). Diomedes, though, has already killed one pair of charioteers, and he now hopes to kill this second pair, or at least one of them, "even if one of the two (*ἕτερός γε*) escapes" (258). When combat is joined, Pandarus fails in his spear throw, and Diomedes can now taunt the pair in an ironic variation of the testing formula. This combat will resolve the issue of life or death not between Diomedes and his opponents but between the two opponents themselves:

> *ἀτὰρ οὐ μὲν σφῶΐ γ' ὀΐω*
> *πρίν γ' ἀποπαύσεσθαι, πρίν γ' ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα*
> *αἵματος ἆσαι Ἄρηα, ταλαύρινον πολεμιστήν.*   (5.287 ff.)

The *πρίν* clause at 5.288 reappears in the first of two grim exchanges between Hector and Achilles. At this point Hector is still untouched and even imagines he has Deiphobus to back him. He suggests to Achilles that they make a compact that the victor respect the corpse of the vanquished. Achilles will have none of this and expresses his hatred with his usual imagination and intensity:

> *ὡς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστά,*
> *οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν,*
> *ἀλλὰ κακὰ φρονέουσι διαμπερὲς ἀλλήλοισιν,*

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[8]) At *Od.* 20.181 Iros, in a parody of heroic encounter, tells his fellow beggar Odysseus that the two of them will not part until they "taste" each other's strength. For *γεύομαι* in such a context (equivalent to *πειρᾶσθαι*) cf. *Il.* 20.258.

ὣς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι, οὐδέ τι νῶϊν
ὅρκια ἔσσονται, πρίν γ' ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα
αἵματος ἆσαι Ἄρηα, ταλαύρινον πολεμιστήν.   (22.262 ff.)

Now with νῶϊ, "the two of us," instead of σφῶϊ, "the two of you," as the subject, the πρίν clause becomes a normal testing formula. But the main clause on which it depends is not at all normal. What the testing formula requires is something like 'I shall not stop until one of us is killed.' What we get instead is: 'There will be no friendship or oaths between us until one of us is killed.' What may be intended is a conflation of two ideas, with the πρίν clause dismissing any idea of an agreement about the treatment of corpses and impatiently moving ahead to the killing itself. As in Book 9, the illogic intensifies the feeling.[9])

Achilles' penchant for illogical πρίν finds its last expression in a negation not of will but of the impossible and in a context not of injured pride or revenge but of consolation. He urges Priam to moderate his grief by accepting the finality of his son's death. At the same time, though, in a πρίν clause he draws Priam's attention to new evils that await him in the future (doubtless the destruction of Troy and Priam's own death):[10])

οὐ γάρ τι πρήξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἷος ἑῆος,
οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις, πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα.   (24.550 f.)

Aristonicus removed the difficulty of the πρίν clause by treating it as an independent main clause in asyndeton, parallel to πρίν with the indicative at Il. 1.29 (τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν ...).[11]) Grammatically, though, 24.551 should be classed with all the other instances of πρίν with the subjunctive after a negative main clause. Formally, the impatient introduction of a second idea (the certainty of future trouble) in the πρίν clause that merges with

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[9]) 22.266-7 and 5.288-9 are discussed by Manu Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950) 197-8. In considering their relationship he notes how 5.288 is prepared by 5.258 but feels that the application of ἕτερόν γε in the formula to one of the enemy pair rather than, as at 22.266, to one of the two opponents is "so künstlich, dass man sie am ungezwungensten als Auswertung der Formulierung von X 267 betrachten kann." He fails, however, to note that at 5.288 the particle γε after ἕτερον is very effective ("at least one of you, if not both"), while at 22.266 it has no particular force.

[10]) See Colin Macleod's edition of Book XXIV (Cambridge 1982) ad loc.

[11]) *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, ed. Hartmut Erbse (Berlin 1977) V, 611.

the negation in the main clause (the impossibility of future resurrection) is totally in accordance with Achilles' use of πρίν clauses at 9. 379 ff. and especially at 22. 262 ff.

The remaining negative πρίν clauses in the *Iliad* are only five in number, and deal with the advantages of eating over fasting (19. 169 f.), the making of libations before drinking (7. 480 f.), the effect of wind on a calm sea (14. 18 f.), Pandarus' need of protection before shooting Menelaus (4. 114 ff.), and last, the spear of Achilles, which, true to its master, "flies straight and does not stop until it passes through human flesh" (20. 99 f.).

Hesiod's Heracles: Theogony 526, 950

By Mark A. Joyal, St. John's/Newfoundland

On the words Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς in *Theogony* 526 (cf. *Th.* 950) West has remarked: "It is unusual in epic for anyone to be specified by giving the name of his mother and not of his father …"[1]). Why is the metronymic employed here? To argue that the four words in 526 and 950 constitute a formula, though undoubtedly correct[2]), evades the issue. But when West (*ad* 1002) suggests a number of reasons to explain why metronymics "are only used of people fathered by gods, nearly always Zeus …"[3]), one explanation which recommends itself by its simplicity is overlooked. In view of the formidable number of children sired by Zeus, the phrase 'son of Zeus' (*vel sim.*) can do little to narrow the field, unless some contextual elaboration and specification is added[4]). The metronymic construction in *Th.* 526 and 950 on the other hand obviates any immediate ambiguity.

There is, however, another purpose behind the use of the metronymic here. The choice of the adjective ἄλκιμος, though entirely appropriate to Heracles, has surely been conditioned by the use of Ἀλκμήνης earlier in the line; and the poet's aim was clearly to achieve a play on words[5]). For Hesiod's fondness for word-play involving a personal name, cf., e.g., his apparent derivation of Προμηθεύς from μήδεα (see West *ad* 510, and cf. 559 Ἰαπετιονίδη, πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς, with West's note); cf. also West's Hesiodic and Homeric examples of "word-play hinting at etymology" (77), to be supplemented now by Verdenius' more extensive

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[1]) M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford, 1966) 315 (hereafter 'West').

[2]) Note also ἄλκιμος υἱός/ἄλκιμον υἱόν in the same *sedes* in Hom. *Il.* 6.437, 10.110, 11.605, 16.307 (and often), *h. Merc.* 101.

[3]) He adds "or of those without fathers", but even so his general rule requires modification; see most recently M. B. Skinner, "Greek Women and the Metronymic: A Note on an Epigram by Nossis," *Ancient History Bulletin* 1 (1987) 39–42, and my "Anacreon fr. 449 (PMG)," *Hermes* 118 (1990) 123 n. 9; also A. S. F. Gow, "Notes on the Fifth Idyll of Theocritus," *CQ* 29 (1935) 65.

[4]) A case in point is *Th.* 316, where Διὸς υἱὸς is at once intelligible because βίη Ἡρακληείη has occurred in the previous line.

[5]) Cf. L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*³, II (Berlin, 1875) 176 n. 4; K. Kerényi, *Die Mythologie der Griechen*², II (München, 1988) 107.

observations[6]). Here ἄλκιμος helps to identify Heracles more closely with his mother[7]), perhaps to bring his Boeotian connections into greater prominence, since Thebes, according to established tradition, is where Alcmene gave birth to him (n.b. *Th.* 530 ὄφρ' Ἡρακλῆος θηβαγενέος κλέος εἴη κτλ.). It is interesting also that Hesiod may elsewhere have stressed matrilineal descent through naming: according to a tradition preserved in the D-Scholion on *Il.* I.43, Hesiod associated Apollo's epithet Φοῖβος with the name of his grandmother Φοίβη, perhaps even deriving the former from the latter[8]).

Yet the possibility that the word-play runs deeper than this, that ἄλκιμος was also meant to hark back to Heracles' alternative names, Ἀλκείδης and Ἀλκαῖος, may also be raised. The author of the *Scutum Herculis* knows the patronymic Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης (*Sc.* 459), refers to Heracles' grandfather as Ἀλκαῖος (*Sc.* 26), and applies the patronymic Ἀλκείδης to Amphitryon (*Sc.* 112), but Hesiod himself attests only the name Ἡρακλέης for Alcmene's son. But Ἀλκαῖος was likely accepted in Boeotian tradition as Heracles' original name[9]), and the Theban Pindar (fr.291 Maehler) used Ἀλκείδης of Heracles. Since the earliest extant mention of the alternative name Ἀλκαῖος is D.S. I.24.4, IV.10.1, Hesiod's knowledge of this particular designation would carry direct evidence for the mythological detail back several centuries – though this of course must remain speculative. It is worth noting, however, that ps.-Probus suggests (*ad* Verg. *Ecl.* 7.61) that Heracles was named Alkeides ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλκῆς (cf. ἄλκιμος), and in doing so he was presumably drawing upon an established popular derivation for both Ἀλκείδης and Ἀλκεῖος[10]).

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[6]) *A Commentary on Hesiod, Works and Days, vv. 1–382* (Leiden, 1985) 4 (see also "Index of Subjects", *s.v.* "etymologizing"); Verdenius supplies a useful bibliography, *ibid.,* n.14 (to which add J. Blusch, *Formen und Inhalt von Hesiods individuellem Denken* [Bonn, 1970] 62–4; G.P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its traditional Context* [Oxford, 1971] 105).

[7]) For an example of emphasis on a hero's maternal descent elsewhere in early Greek poetry, see E.I. Robbins, "Nereids with Golden Distaffs: Pindar, *Nem.* 5," *QUCC* n.s. 25 (1987) 30–3.

[8]) For a discussion of the evidence see M. Schmidt, "Hes. fr.363 delendum," *Glotta* 68 (1990) 171–8, esp. 177–8. West has advanced an hypothesis about the historical connection between the two names: "Hesiod's Titans," *JHS* 105 (1985) 174–5.

[9]) See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides Herakles²* (Berlin, 1959) 49; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen²,* I (Berlin, 1963) 123; *RE* I.1498; *OCD²* 498–9.

[10]) See, e.g., Preller, *op. cit.* (n.5) 176 n.4; L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and*

Note, too, that Hesiod (or [Hesiod]) restricts his use of the adjective
ἄλκιμος to Heracles alone, apparently as something of a sobriquet
(Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός: Sc. 320, fr. 35.5, fr. 43 a. 61), even though its util-
ity in hexameter poetry is amply evidenced by its many occurrences
in Homer (cf. n. 2).

One final point may be added. The recognition of word-play in
Th. 526 renders less forceful West's scepticism that in the following
line the phrase κακὴν δ' ἀπὸ νοῦσον ἄλαλκεν could contain, also
through a kind of word-play, an "allusion to Heracles ἀλεξίκακος"[11]).
The earliest reference to Heracles ἀλεξίκακος is otherwise Hel-
lanicus, FGrHist 109. But this cult title must in any event have been
of respectable antiquity[12]).

Ideas of Immortality (Oxford, 1921) 99; OCD² 499; G. S. Kirk, The Nature of
Greek Myths (Harmondsworth, 1974) 183.

[11]) Note also the frequency of α/κ/λ in combination in these two lines: ...
Ἀλκμήνης ... καλλιοφύρου ἄλκιμος .../ Ἡρακλέης ... ἄλαλκεν. The alliteration
indicates, at the least, that Hesiod chose his words here with care.

[12]) See Farnell, op. cit. (n. 10) 95 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der
Hellenen³, II (Basel/Stuttgart, 1959) 23–4; Kern, op. cit. (n. 9) 123, also 54 (on
Heracles καλλίνικος).

Two lexicographical notes on Alexis fr. 189

By W. Geoffrey Arnott, Leeds

Alexis fr. 189 (Meineke, *CGF* 3.472; Kock, *CAF* 2.367; Edmonds, *FAC* 2.466) is cited by Athenaeus 14.655 f. The *codex Marcianus* (A) is our sole witness to its text,[1]) and reads as follows:

τριωβόλου κρείσκον ἀστεῖον πάνυ
ὕειον ὀπτὸν < - ∪ - × - ∪ - >
καὶ θερμὸν ἐγχυλότερον ὅταν ἦι προσφέρων

The citation is incomplete syntactically as well as metrically; it consists of a noun phrase and a subordinate temporal clause without any main verb. Attempts to supply the missing verb or to make conjectures (e.g. in v. 3, deletion of καὶ Casaubon; εὔχυλον, τέρεν Porson, *In Xen. Anab. addenda et corrigenda*, London 1810, xliii) would be better based, however, if two details of some lexicographical importance were first considered.

(1) Lexicographers (e.g. LSJ s.v. κρείσκος; Buck and Petersen, *Reserve Index* 638; Kretschmer-Locker 416 c; Frisk 2.12; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* 1.580), editors and commentators have previously assumed that κρείσκον in v. 1 is the accusative of a masculine form in -ίσκος, but in a first draft of the relevant portion of a forthcoming volume of Kassel and Austin, *PCG*, which Dr. Austin has kindly shown to me, the editors argue that κρείσκον ought rather to be considered as a neuter diminutive in – ίσκον formed from the neuter primitive κρέας in exactly the same way that σφελίσκον (C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1900, 832.50: Samos, 4th century B.C.) is formed from neuter σφέλας. Kassel and Austin do well to draw attention to the existence of σφελίσκον, but the analogy is a less secure argument for a neuter form κρείσκον than at first sight appears. Both κρείσκον (or -ος) at Alexis 189 and σφελίσκον in the Samos inscription are *hapax legomena*,[2]) and no other

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[1]) The fragment is omitted by the epitome (CE).

[2]) It is always possible that κρείσκος/-ον was a nonce coinage by Alexis, designed to illustrate a comic cook's fondness for unusual vocabulary. Cf. e.g. Alexis fr. 124, where the speaker appropriates medical terminology, and Sikon in Menander's *Dyskolos*; H. Dohm, *Mageiros* (Munich 1963) 70, 161 ff., 173 ff., F. H. Sandbach in *Entretiens Hardt* 16 (1970) 111 ff., D. Del Corno, *Studi Classici e*

3rd-declension neuter in -ας is known to have formed a diminutive in -ίσκο-. Although its epigraphical context shows the case of σφελίσκον to be nominative, the absence of any governing, governed or copulative verb with κρείσκον in the Alexis context makes it impossible to decide whether the comic poet intended it to be nominative (and so an -ίσκον neuter) or accusative (and so from either an -ίσκον neuter or an -ίσκος masculine). It is clearly advisable to consider the general relationship in gender of diminutives in -ίσκος/-η/ -ον to their primitives, and such a study reveals some interesting facts.

(i) Masculine formations in -ίσκος (c. 200) heavily predominate over feminines in -ίσκη (c. 40) and neuters in -ίσκον (c. 10); cf. Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index* 638.

(ii) The gender of the diminutive often agrees with that of its primitive, even to the extent that formations from the same stem in both -ίσκος and -ίσκη exist when there are masculine and feminine primitives from that stem: e.g. κοτυλίσκος Ar. fr. 380 Kock = 395 Kassel-Austin, etc., κοτυλίσκη Pherecrates fr. 69 Kock = 75 Kassel–Austin ~ κότυλος, κοτύλη; κυνίσκος Hdt. 6.71, κυνίσκη Ar. *Ran.* 1360 (so RVMUΣ^Ald., against the masculine form in A) ~ ὁ and ἡ κύων; οἰκίσκος Dem. 18.97 etc., οἰκίσκη the mss. of Pollux 9.39 citing Dem. 48.13 (but the Dem. mss. corrupt to οἰκίαν) ~ οἶκος, οἰκία; στεφανίσκος Anacreon 65 Page, etc., στεφανίσκη Theognostus, *Can.* p. 110.5 Cramer ~ στέφανος, στεφάνη.

(iii) Yet there are too many exceptions where diminutive and primitive differ in gender for any prescriptive rule to be formulated. An exemplary list would include the following:

ἀλθίσκον n. ps.-Diocorides 3.146 (CNV) from ἀλθαία f.

ἀσκερίσκον n. Hipponax 32.5 West[3]) from ἀσκέρα f.

ἀσπιδίσκος m. Σ^A H. *Il.* 5.743, Cael. Aur. *TP* 4.3 (by the side of ἀσπιδίσκη f. *Jahresh. d. öst. arch. Inst.* 16 *Beiblatt* 51, Athens 3rd century B.C., etc.) from ἀσπίς f.

καρυίσκος m. LXX *Ex.* 25.33,34 etc. from κάρυον n.

λοπαδίσκος m. Σ^V Ar. *Vesp.* 968 b (but λοπαδίοις in ΓAld. Lh) from λοπάς f.

μυΐσκη f. in Diphilus Siphn. cited by Athenaeus 3.90 d (μυΐσκαι

Orientali 22 (1975) 146 ff., and my own papers in *Greece & Rome* 17 (1970) 32 ff., 22 (1975) 146 ff.
    [3]) LSJ unwarrantably assume that ἀσκερίσκα is a heteroclite plural of ἀσκερίσκος.

Schneider: μῦες καὶ A, CE), Xenocrates in Oribasius 2.58.92 (by the side of μυΐσκος m. Marcellus Sidetes 38 Schneider, Pliny, *HN* 32.149) from μῦς f.

σεληνίσκος m. Lydus, *de Magistr.* 2.13 from σελήνη or σεληνίς f.

φιαλίσκος m. or -ισκον n. virtually certain in a Macedonian inscription, *Annual BSA* 18 (1911–12) 184 (by the side of φιαλίσκη Σ Ar. *Ran.* 1360 Dübner, cf. the Doric form φιαλίσκα in a Gortyn inscription of 5th/4th century B.C., Schwyzer, *Dial. graec. exempla epigraphica potiora*, no. 182a8) from φιάλη f.

Admittedly, several of the diminutives listed here are *hapax legomena* and so the correctness of the given forms in those instances is conditioned somewhat by the vagaries of textual transmission, yet even when allowance is taken for such uncertainties there does seem to be a glimmer of a tendency to prefer forms in -ίσκος to those in -ίσκη and -ίσκον, whatever the gender of the primitive may have been. Neuter diminutives in -ισκον are particularly rare; some of the attested examples are dialectal oddities attested only in Hesychius (e.g. ἀδίσκον, κοβελίσκον), others are of doubtful validity (e.g. μελίσκον may be an error in the transmission of Apollonius Dyscolus, *de pronom.* 118c, 1.93 Schneider, since elsewhere the attested form is μελισκίον, cf. Alcman frs. 113, 36 Page). Against this, however, a warning is needed about the careless habit in lexica such as LSJ of listing under -ίσκος a few rarities (like κρείσκος or κρείσκον here) which are recorded only in the accusative singular, dative plural or genitive dual and so unassignable to a definite nominative form: e.g. the nominative singular of πτερίσκοις at Babrius 118.5 and σκελίσκοιν at Ar. *Eccl.* 1167 could be either πτερίσκον and σκελίσκον (neuter, like their primitives) or πτερίσκος and σκελίσκος.

The evidence is insufficient to determine whether Alexis conceived of κρείσκος or κρείσκον as the nominative form of the word he used at fr. 189, but the balance of probability may tilt towards κρείσκος.

(2) In v. 2 of the Alexis fr. A's very clear ἐγχυλότερον has been misread as εὐχυλότερον by all[4]) editors of Athenaeus and the comic

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[4]) With the possible exception of Corays. In the critical apparatus to his edition of Athenaeus Schweighaeuser notes *ad loc.* 'ἐγχυλότερον corr. Corays.' This note may imply either that Corays had made an intelligent conjecture without having seen the *codex Marcianus* at this point, or that he had correctly observed A's reading and communicated it to Schweighaeuser, who had then misinterpreted the information as a conjecture by Corays.

fragments from Musurus on. In fact ἔγχυλος and εὔχυλος co-exist in Greek as virtual synonyms, but it is worthy of note that ἔγχυλος (not εὔ-) is attested elsewhere for Alexis (fr. 124.12). Both adjectives occur most frequently, as we should expect, in medical (ἔγχυλος: Hippocr. *Vict.* 2.55, *Affect.* 59, *Intern.* 20, -ως Archigenes in Galen 8.931 Kühn; εὔχυλος: Hippocr. *Vict.* 2.45, Diphilus Siph. in Ath. 2.62 c, Hicesius in Ath. 7.282 d, Archig. in Galen 12.460, -ως Hippocr. *Mul.* 1.17) and botanical (ἔγχυλος: Theophr. *HP* 3.7.2, 7.9.5, 8.11.3, *CP* 4.12.11, 13.3, 6.6.4, 17.6; εὔχυλος: *HP* 7.4.4, *CP* 2.6.1, 3.10.2, 4.13.2, 6.10.8, 11.15, 14.1, 8.8: both adjectives predominantly in the comparative form) writers, although Alexis is not the only writer to transfer such adjectives into less specialised domains: Alciphron fr. 5 uses the coinage ἰσχνέγχυλος to describe female beauty, cf. also Agatharchides 40 Müller (ἔγχυλος) and Philodemus, *de Poem.* 3 fr. 11.24 Sbordone (*P. Herc.* 1676), (εὔχυλος). Not surprisingly, the two adjectives have been confused by editors more than once: at Theophr. *HP* 8.11.3 Schneider's ἐγχυλότερα is now generally accepted, but the Aldine and Camotian editions printed εὔχυλ-. The likelihood is that Alexis wrote in v. 3 what the *Marcianus* transmits, καὶ θερμὸν ἐγχυλότερον ὅταν ᾖ προσφέρων, 'and serving (the meat) hot, when it will be more juicy', and that there is no need to tamper with the comparative form, as Porson did so disastrously, introducing with τέρεν a form which is at home in epic, lyric and tragedy, but its only recorded occurence in Attic comedy (Cratinus fr. 302 Kock = 335 Kassel-Austin) belongs to a context where high poetry mingles with obscenity in a way familiar from the Old Comedy of Aristophanes but so far not attested in the fragments of Alexis.

Latin ātrium

By ERIC P. HAMP, Chicago

Even though *ātrium* has been allowed the possibility of an Etruscan origin – the port of last refuge – it has long been suggested that the semantics could be well founded in the notion 'hearth'. I think this must be correct.

The formation has every appearance of being a *-io-* stem derivative of appurtenance to a neuter nomen instrumenti. The source noun would then be **ā-tro-m* 'instrument for burning, a device to make fire on'.

I have explained Albanian Tosk *vatrë*, Geg *voter* 'hearth' as **ātrā,*[1]) which would be an old collective of the same nomen instrumenti. Because of the lack of *h-* in Albanian and of any *ḫ* in Hittite *ā-* 'be hot', participle *ānt-* 'hot' I reconstructed (156) at that time **(H)ah-troN.*

Using first and fourth laryngeals, I would now write ** ˀeh-tr-o-m.*

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[1]) *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12, 1969, 153–6; *Opuscula Slavica et Linguistica: Festschrift für Alexander Issatchenko* (Klagenfurt: Johannes Heyn, 1976) 201–10; *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 26, 1981, 315.

On the Etymology of Latin aqua:
a Methodological Note

By Fredrik Otto Lindeman, Oslo

Hittite phonology and morphology seriously weaken the traditional assumption of an etymological connection of Latin *aqua* with the Hittite verb *ekumi* 'I drink', 3. plural *akuanzi*. As pointed out by J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* p. 267 f., the ablaut pattern[1]) of the Hittite verb in question is exactly like that of e. g. *edmi* 'I eat', 3. plural *adanzi* (from the PIE. root *H_1ed-, seen in Lat. *edo*): *ekumi*, *akuanzi*, to be read /eg^{w}mi/, /ag^{w}antsi/ according to 'Sturtevant's rule',[2]) like Toch. AB *yok-* 'drink', would seem to go back to a normal IE. athematic present formed from an IE. root *H_1eg^{w}h-[3]) (whose phonological structure is similar to that of e. g. *seg'h-*, seen in Gk. *ékhō*). There is good reason to believe that Hittite *eku-* and Toch. AB *yok-* have a close cognate in Latin *ebrius*, see J. Puhvel, op. cit. p. 267 f. with further references. Puhvel argues convincingly that the double spelling *-kk-* found in the Hittite iterative *akkuski-* = /ak^{w}ski-/, "is a mark of morphophonemic unvoicing before *-s-* in a new derivative conjugation stem …" (ibid. p. 267).

Both the phonology and the morphology of Hittite /eg^w/, /ag^w-/ thus constitute valid grounds for questioning a recent, slightly modified version of the traditional view according to which Latin *aqua* is genetically related to Hittite *ekumi*. This 'new' version is formulated as follows: "*aqua* < *$h_1h_1k^w$-; Hitt. *ekuzi* < *$h_1eh_1k^w$-;"[4])

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[1]) See J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, p. 320.

[2]) According to 'Sturtevant's rule' IE. voiceless plosives were written double and IE. voiced plosives single in positions where the Hittite syllabary made that possible, i. e. between (written) vowels.

According to H. Eichner, *MSS*. 31, 1973, p. 82, Hitt. *ekuzi* goes back to a reduplicated present *H_1e-H_1ek^w- > *ēk^w-. However, as such a reduplicated present has left no other vestige anywhere in Indo-European, to posit *H_1e-H_1ek^w- > *ek^w- > Hitt. *eku-* with single spelling of allegedly 'lenited' -k^w- after the postulated long vowel, remains entirely *ad hoc*. It should also be stressed that one would expect a derivative in *-aH_2 from a reduplicated stem *H_1e-H_1(e)k^w- (pace Beekes see fn. 4) to be *H_1e-H_1k^w-aH_2 (with preserved reduplication) > *ēk^{w}ā, cf. e. g. *k^{w}e-k^{w}ló- > Vedic *cakrá-*.

[3]) Whether Cun. Luwian *u-* 'drink?' (cf. *KZ*. 94, p. 106, n. 24) belongs here, is not clear to me.

[4]) R. S. P. Beekes, 'Laryngeal Developments: A Survey' p. 93 in *Die Laryn-*

The implication of this formulaic explanation of Latin *aqua* is that in the sequence $*\#\,h_1h_1k^w$-, allegedly the zero-grade of full-grade $*\#\,h_1eh_1k^w$- $>$ Hitt. *eku-*, it is the second (i.e. internal) 'laryngeal' that was 'vocalized' to *a-*, cf. (schematically) $*\#\,h_1h_1k^wah_2 >$ $*\#\,(h_1)h_1k^wa(h_2) > *\#\,ak^w\bar{a}$.[5])

Methodologically, however, this account of the origin of the initial a- of Latin *aqua* is based on a wholly circular way of reasoning which, obviously, makes it devoid of any probative force. The following exposition reveals the circularity of the reasoning involved here: *aqua* is supposed to come from a (preconsonantal) zero-grade $*\#\,h_1h_1k^w$-, a zero-grade whose only justification is the assumption that *eku-* in Hitt. *eku-mi* represents the corresponding full-grade $*\#\,h_1eh_1k^w$-, an assumption whose only *raison d'être* is the preconceived idea that Latin *aqua* represents nothing but the *zero-grade* $*\#\,h_1h_1k^w$- of the corresponding full-grade $*\#\,h_1eh_1k^w$-, seen in Hitt. *eku-*.

To sum up: the reconstruction of a preform $*\#\,h_1h_1k^wah_2$ for Latin *aqua* does not find any conclusive support – either in 'The Laryngeal Theory' or in any linguistic material in the known Indo-European languages.

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galtheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems, hrsg. von Alfred Bammesberger, 1988.

[5]) As Latin has no 'prothetic' vowels of 'laryngeal' origin, there can be no question of a 'vocalization' of the *initial* 'laryngeal' of $*\#\,h_1h_1k^wah_2$, cf. e.g. Lat. stella vs. Hitt. haster- 'star' = (probably) /hster-/.

'Dexter' et 'sinister' et leurs équivalents

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Ces deux mots paraissent s'opposer simplement. La réalité est plus complexe, car si l'un et l'autre permettent de s'orienter dans l'espace et de distinguer "ce qui est à droite" de "ce qui est à gauche", ils peuvent prendre, l'un et l'autre, les significations contradictoires de "favorable" ou "défavorable", d'"heureux" ou de "malheureux": *dexter* qualifie ce qui est à droite et, donc, ce qui, de ce fait, est tantôt défavorable, tantôt favorable; *sinister* prend, alors, les valeurs opposées correspondantes. Le problème est de savoir s'il y a eu, à un moment quelconque de l'histoire romaine, un changement expliquant cette oscillation de sens: la chose en soi serait très remarquable, car ces mots sont employés dans la langue religieuse, celle des augures; or, d'une façon générale, les pratiques religieuses romaines sont marquées d'un certain conservatisme.

Il est connu que, dans la langue religieuse, *dexter* et *sinister* désignent respectivement ce que l'augure a à sa droite et à sa gauche. Or la personne qui prend les auspices, roi, consul, augure, s'oriente dos au nord, face au midi; nous avons un exemple d'une telle orientation lorsque Tite Live décrit l'inauguration de Numa Pompilius: "Alors, sous la conduite de l'augure ..., Numa se rendit à la citadelle et s'assit sur une pierre face au midi."[1] Il a donc à sa droite l'occident, à sa gauche l'orient[2]. La *sinistra pars*, c'est à dire l'est, est associée au lever du soleil, à la naissance, à la vie, aux commencements: c'est d'elle que viennent les signes favorables; la *dextra pars*, ou l'occident, est associée au coucher du soleil, aux

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[1] Tite Live I, 18, 6: *Inde ab augure ... deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem uersus consedit.* Une formule de prise d'auspices, donnée par Varron, *L. L.*, 7, 8, définit soigneusement les parties droites et gauches, par rapport à l'opérateur: *Olla vera arbos, quirquir est, quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque me esto in sinistrum.* Il a précisé en 7,7, qu'il y a quatre parties dans le *templum* céleste: *sinistra ab oriente, dextra ab occasu, antica ad meridiem, postica ad septentrionem.*

On pourra objecter que, dans l'inauguration de Numa, le technicien, c'est à dire l'augure, est orienté vers l'orient, tournant le dos à l'occident. Il ne s'intéresse qu'à la partie favorable du ciel orienté, se réservant d'en interpréter les signes.

[2] Dans le livre II de Denys d'Halicarnasse, ch. 5, Romulus, prenant les auspices avant de fonder Rome, voit un éclair traversant le ciel de gauche à droite: "Or les Romains considèrent comme favorables les éclairs qui vont de la gauche vers la droite."

choses qui finissent, à la mort. Pour un augure, *dexter* ne peut signifier que: "défavorable"; et *sinister*: "favorable".

Cette orientation est spécifique aux Romains, et même aux augures romains: Des indications très claires nous sont données par les auteurs anciens: Ennius[3]), Varron que nous avons cité *supra*, Festus, qui se réfère expressément d'ailleurs à Varron[4]), mais aussi à Sinnius Capito et à Cincius, Cicéron[5]), qui était lui-même augure. Dans d'autres domaines, celui de l'arpentage, par ex., dont les Romains ont emprunté la technique aux Etrusques, le *gromaticus* se tourne vers l'ouest[6]). De même les architectes orientaient assez fréquemment les temples vers l'ouest[7]). Et les Grecs, qui considéraient le nord et l'est comme des régions favorables, se tournaient vers l'orient.

Certains auteurs en sont venus à penser que, sous l'influence des Grecs, les Romains ont pu modifier leurs habitudes rituelles. Par exemple, nous lisons ceci dans le *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Latine,* d'A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *s. v. sinister:* "C'est le terme usuel pour "gauche", c'est à dire "favorable", ou, au contraire, "sinistre, défavorable" (selon qu'on interprète le présage d'après le rite étrusco-romain, c'est à dire la face tournée vers le Sud, avec l'Est à sa gauche, ou suivant le rite grec, c'est à dire la face tournée vers le Nord, avec l'Est à sa droite." Et on ne s'est pas toujours contenté

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[3]) Ennius, *Ann.,* 527: *Tum tonuit laeuum bene tempestate serena,* cité par Cic., *Div.,* II, 82.

[4]) Festus, 454 *L., s. v. sinistrae aues: "sinistrae aues sinistrumque + est + sinistimum auspicium, id est quod sinat fieri"* (apparaît dans ces derniers mots la définition de *sinister* comme favorable). "Varron dit au livre V des *Epistolicae quaestiones* que quand on regarde vers le midi en tournant le dos au séjour des dieux, la partie orientale du monde est à gauche; la partie occidentale, à droite, de façon qu'on donne plus de valeur aux auspices de gauche qu'à ceux de droite. Sinnius Capito et Cincius sont à peu près du même avis."

[5]) Cic., *Div.,* II, 43: *Itaque comitiorum solum uitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optumum auspicium habemus, si sinistrum fuit.*

[6]) Mais la technique du *groma,* comme son nom l'indique, est d'origine grecque et les Romains le tiennent probablement de leurs voisins étrusques, Hyg. Grom., 131 Th. D'après Frontin, 10 Th. l'arpentage a pour origine l'Etrurie: *Limitum prima origo, sicut Varro descripsit, a disciplina Etrusca; quod aruspices orbem terrarum in duas partes diuiserunt, dextram appellauerunt quae septentrioni subiaceret, sinistram quae a meridiano terrae esset ab oriente ad occasum, quod eo sol et luna spectaret ...*
Voir sur ces questions d'orientation F. Castagnoli, *Ippodamo di Mileto e l'urbanistica a pianta ortogonale,* Rome, 1956, p. 68 sqq.

[7]) Vitruve IV, 5, 1 recommande cette orientation.

d'incriminer l'influence grecque; des savants ont fait intervenir, pour résoudre ce problème qui est loin d'être mineur, l'Orient babylonien ou l'Egypte[8]).

Mais supposer que l'observateur romain puisse changer d'orientation et cesser de respecter la tradition lorsqu'il s'agit de présages, de signes envoyés par les dieux, c'est montrer une méconnaissance complète de l'esprit religieux romain: quelle vraisemblance y a-t-il à ce que les Romains se soient brutalement résolus à considérer comme favorable ce qui leur paraissait auparavant "de mauvais augure"? Pouvait-on, pour se limiter à cet exemple, revenir sur les auspices que Romulus avait pris au moment de la fondation de Rome[9])? Ou annuler rétroactivement toutes les prises d'auspices qui, année après année, avaient précédé la tenue des comices, l'élection des magistrats, leur intronisation, le vote des lois, la levée de troupes? ...[10]) Cette idée ne pouvait pas même les effleurer.

A cet immobilisme de leurs pratiques rituelles concourait le grand prestige des augures. Leur institution est considérée comme contemporaine du passé le plus ancien de Rome. Romulus et Rémus, selon la tradition, étaient augures[11]); en tout cas c'est à eux que l'on

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[8]) St. Weinstock, *Martianus Capella and the Cosmic System of the Etruscans,* in *Jour. Rom. Stud.,* XXXVI, 1946, p. 101 sqq.; F. Castagnoli, *Ippodami di Mileto e l'urbanistica a pianta octogonale,* Rome, 1956, p. 69 et n. 24.

[9]) De nombreux passages montrent l'importance qu'attachent les Anciens aux auspices de Romulus: Cicéron, qui était lui-même augure, y fait souvent allusion: *Romulus qui urbem auspicato condidit* (*De diu.,* II, 33, 70). *Lituus iste uester ... eo Romulus regiones direxit tum cum urbem condidit* (*ibid.,* 1, 17, 30); *Romulus et Remus ambo augures* (*ibid.,* 2, 38, 80). *Principio huius urbis parens Romulus non solum auspicato urbem condidisse, sed ipse etiam optumus augur fuisse traditur* (*ibid.,* 1, 2, 3). Cf. Tite Live V, 52, 2: *Vrbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus;* 28, 28, 11; Properce 4, 6, 43 ...; P. Catalano, *Contributo allo studio del diritto augurale,* Turin, 1960, p. 578 sqq.

[10]) Cicéron, *Div.,* II, 74: *Fulmen sinistrum auspicium optumum habemus ad omnis res praeterquam ad comitia; quod quidem institutum reipublicae causa est, ut comitiorum uel in iudiciis populi uel in iure legum uel in creandis magistratibus principes ciuitatis essent interpretes.*

Cicéron dit *ibid.,* I, 43, 95: *omitto nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine auspicio domi habent.*

[11]) Cicéron fait allusion à cette tradition dans *Div.,* II, 80, lorsqu'il se demande qui est l'*auctor* le plus ancien de cette discipline: "*Nos quem (habemus?) Attumne Nauium? At aliquot annis antiquior Romulus et Remus, ambo augures, ut accepimus.*

fait remonter l'institution de l'augurat[12]). On connaît l'histoire d'Attus Navius qui tint tête à Tarquin l'Ancien[13]) lorsque ce roi voulut donner des noms nouveaux aux centuries de chevaliers. Cicéron était très satisfait d'être augure et fait de nombreuses allusions à la dignité et au rôle important qu'ils doivent, ou qu'ils devraient[14]) jouer dans l'Etat. On ne choisissait pas non plus comme augures des gens inexpérimentés: Tite Live signale comme exceptionnel le fait qu'on ait confié ce sacerdoce à un "tout[15]) jeune homme" comme Tibérius Sempronius Gracchus en 204 av. J.-C. Comme techniciens de l'auspicine[16]), ils peuvent assister les magistrats supérieurs[17]) lorsque ces derniers ne sont pas eux-mêmes augures (ou ne se sentent pas suffisamment compétents) et ont à prendre les auspices; et les occasions de le faire sont particulièrement nombreuses.

Certes la discipline augurale est difficile[18]). Elle est contenue dans des livres aujourd'hui perdus[19]). Mais les augures ne forment pas à

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[12]) Cic., *Rep.*, II, 9: *Nam et ipse, quod principium reipublicae fuit, urbem condidit auspicato, et omnibus publicis rebus instituendis, qui sibi essent in auspiciis, ex singulis tribubus singulos cooptauit augures:* ce passage souligne que l'art augural est le fondement même de l'Etat romain et qu'il est aussi ancien que la cité romaine.

[13]) Tite Live I, 36, 3 sqq.

[14]) Il se plaint que les augures se montrent négligents (*Div.*, I, 15, 28; *De nat. deor.*, II, 3, 9; *De leg.*, II, 13, 33: *Sed dubium non est quin haec disciplina et ars augurum euanuerit iam et uetustate et neglegentia ...*

[15]) Liv. XXIX, 38, 7: *... creati ... augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, admodum adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis sacerdotiis erat.*

[16]) Comme le dit Cicéron (*Phil.*, II, 81): "Nous autres augures, nous avons seulement le droit de déclarer les auspices; les consuls et les autres magistrats ont en outre le droit de les prendre" (*nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem*).

[17]) Cicéron, *Div.*, II, 34, 71: "Q. Fabius, je veux que tu m'assistes dans la prise d'auspices; il répond "j'ai bien entendu" (du temps de nos ancêtres, on faisait appel à un homme expérimenté; maintenant, à n'importe qui."

[18]) Cicéron, *Div.*, 47, 105: *difficultas ... laborque discendi disertam neglegentiam reddidit; malunt enim disserere nihil esse in auspiciis quam quid sit ediscere.* Cicéron donne un exemple de la subtilité que l'on attendait d'un augure compétent, lorsqu'il s'agissait d'interpréter le silence: "Chez les Anciens, il y fallait un homme habile; maintenant c'est n'importe qui; et pourtant on a absolument besoin d'un homme habile pour interpréter le silence, nous voulons parler de ce silence qui est sans faute, lors d'une prise d'auspices; pour l'interpréter il faut un augure très compétent" (*Div.*, 2, 34, 71).

[19]) Sur les *libri augurales*, Varron, *L. L.*, V, 21; Cic., *De nat. deor.*, 2, 4, 11: "Alors Gracchus envoya de sa province, de Sardaigne, une lettre au collège des

Rome une caste sacerdotale jalousement repliée sur elle-même. Leur technique, pour être complexe, n'a rien d'ésotérique. De grands hommes politiques ont été augures: Tibérius Sempronius Gracchus, en 204 av. J.-C., Laelius, Pompée, Cicéron, Marc Antoine[20]) et bien d'autres encore. Et, comme ils n'opéraient pas dans le secret d'un temple, tout le monde pouvait s'instruire sur la façon dont ils s'orientaient. Il n'est certainement pas nécessaire d'être soi-même un expert pour connaître certains principes fondamentaux. C'est ce que nous laisse entendre Cicéron dans ce passage: "J'en viens aux augures, dont je n'ai pas l'intention d'étudier à fond les livres (certains, il est vrai, sont abscons). Je ne me soucie pas de faire une recherche sur le droit augural. Mais je sais ce que j'ai appris en même temps que les citoyens et qui a été solennellement annoncé dans les assemblées ..."[21])

D'autre part, si les augures étaient au service de l'Etat et mettaient leur compétence à la disposition des magistrats, leur art était pratiqué aussi par les simples particuliers, à titre privé. Nigidius Figulus avait même rédigé, à leur intention, un traité en plusieurs livres, *Libri Augurii priuati,* que cite Aulu-Gelle[22]). Mais, même pour de simples particuliers, il n'y a pas de vraisemblance à ce que l'on ait pu modifier les règles générales de l'orientation. C'eût été faire preuve, en un domaine si important et de si lourde conséquence, d'une invraisemblable légèreté.

Nous récusons totalement et définitivement l'idée que l'auspicine ait pu changer ses méthodes d'orientation au cours des âges, qu'il s'agît des magistrats ou des *priuati,* même si nous admettons que l'art des augures n'ait plus été pratiqué à la fin de la République, avec la même rigueur que par le passé, comme le déplore Cicéron[23]). Néanmoins, il est certain que les Romains les plus cultivés, Cicéron

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augures, où il disait que, en lisant des livres, il s'était souvenu qu'en prenant les jardins de Scipion comme *tabernaculum* (tente augurale) il avait commis une faute"; le problème est de savoir s'il s'agit ici des *libri augurales.*

[20]) Par ex. Cic., *Phil.,* II, 32, 80: Cicéron fait allusion à l'augurat de Marc Antoine et au sien propre; dans tout ce passage il se montre d'une violence extrême envers Antoine dont il critique l'incompétence et la malhonnêteté; nombreuses autres allusions à l'augurat de Cicéron ...

[21]) *Venio ad augures, quorum ego libros, si qui sunt reconditi, non scrutor; non sum in exquirendo iure augurum curiosus; haec quae una cum populo didici quae saepe in contionibus responsa sunt, noui. Negant fas esse agi cum populo cum de caelo seruatum est* (Cic., *Pro domo,* 15, 39).

[22]) Gell. VII, 6, 10: *Nigidius Figulus in libro primo Augurii priuati ita dicit ...*

[23]) Cic., *De leg.,* II, 13, 33; cité en note 14 *supra.*

par exemple, ont été troublés par la discordance des habitudes grecques et romaines. Cicéron nous dit: L'Ajax d'Homère, se plaignant auprès d'Achille du caractère farouche des Troyens, annonce quelque chose en ces termes: "Jupiter leur promet une issue heureuse en envoyant ses foudres sur la droite". Ce qui est le plus favorable, c'est pour nous ce qui est *sinistrum*; pour les Grecs et les barbares, ce qui est *dextrum*. Et pourtant je sais bien que nous disons *sinistra,* même pour des choses qui sont *dextra,* si elles sont bonnes (Cicéron définit ainsi ce que nous appelons "le sens figuré" du mot). En tout cas les Romains désignent comme *sinistrum* et les étrangers, comme *dextrum* ce qui leur paraissait généralement le plus favorable.[24])

Il nous faut chercher ailleurs que dans l'auspicine l'explication du double sens que prennent les adjectifs d'orientation du type *dexter/sinister,* puisque, lorsqu'il s'agit de religion à proprement parler, *dexter,* associé à l'occident, ne peut signifier que "défavorable"; et *sinister,* associé à l'orient, "favorable", selon les lois d'une orientation en direction du sud qui n'a jamais été modifiée pour ce qui concerne la technique augurale.

Or l'être humain n'a pas en permanence besoin de s'orienter, cette exigence étant réservée à certaines pratiques religieuses; mais il est "latéralisé" comme dit le jargon moderne. Quelle que soit sa situation dans l'espace, il distingue son côté droit de son côté gauche; et l'expérience quotidienne nous apprend que, pour la majorité des êtres humains, qui sont "droitiers", le côté droit est plus fort, plus habile que l'autre. D'où une foule d'expressions, de proverbes, que l'on trouve dans toutes les langues, même les langues modernes[25]). Nous connaissons, par Pline l'Ancien principalement, nombre de superstitions et dictons où le droit correspond à ce qui est

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[24]) Cicéron, *Div.,* II, 82: *Homericus Aiax ... hoc modo nuntiat: "Prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit". Ita nobis sinistra uidentur, Graiis et barbaris dextra meliora. Quamquam haud ignoro, quae bona sint, sinistra nos dicere; sed certe nostri sinistrum nominauerunt externique dextrum quia plerumque id melius uidebatur.* Arnobe, *Adv. Nat.,* IV, 5.

[25]) Nous disons "se lever du pied gauche", ce qui signifie "être de mauvaise humeur dès le lever"; "avoir deux mains gauches", donc être particulièrement "maladroit" etc ... Notons que les Romains étaient malchanceux eux aussi s'ils "partaient du pied gauche": Apulée, *Mét.,* I, 5, 5: *sed ut fieri adsolet sinistro pede profectum me spes compendii frustrata est.* Comme le constate Pline: ... *obseruatum est, sicuti uires dextra parte maiores, quibusdam aequas utraque, aliquis laeua manu praecipuas ...* (*N.H.,* 7, 77).

heureux, où le gauche qualifie ce qui est défavorable, ce qui n'est pas bon ...

Ainsi, l'on doit entrer dans la salle à manger du pied droit[26]), aborder la première marche d'un escalier et arriver sur la dernière avec le pied droit[27]); il faut que les soldats se mettent en route du pied droit[28]); les femmes qui ont une double canine au maxillaire supérieur droit sont favorisées de la chance, comme ce fut le cas d'Agrippine, mère de Néron[29]). Un grand nombre de remèdes, d'amulettes sont fabriqués avec des membres ou des organes provenant du côté droit de divers animaux: pattes antérieures droites, canines, yeux, mamelles, épaules, testicules ...[30]) La patte gauche d'une hyène, placée au-dessus d'une parturiente entrave la naissance de l'enfant, tandis que la patte droite facilite la délivrance[31]). Les épileptiques guérissent grâce au pouce droit d'une vierge[32]) ... Et sur certains objets de culte, sur les statues de bronze en particulier, la dévotion des fidèles se marque par l'usure accentuée des mains droites[33]).

Se sont donc superposés, dans ces adjectifs, deux sens: l'un, qui est le sens propre, indique la place, dans l'espace ou dans un ensemble quelconque, de l'objet ainsi qualifié: il y a ce qui est à droite ou à gauche par rapport à celui qui observe ou qui est concerné. L'autre sens est figuré: il est une interprétation de cette place. L'objet, l'être qualifié de *sinister* ou de *dexter* porte avec lui un présage de chance ou de malchance. S'il y a orientation dans l'espace, l'idée de chance s'associe à l'est, c'est à dire à la gauche de l'observateur (*sinister*): c'est un emploi technique, qui appartient en propre à la langue de l'auspicine, un emploi objectif, qui suppose l'activité d'un observateur

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[26]) Petron., *Sat.*, 30, 6: *Cum conaremur in triclinium intrare, exclamauit unus ex pueris ... dextro pede.*

[27]) Vitr. III, 4, 4: *cum dextro pede primus gradus ascendatur, item in summo templo primus erit ponendus.*

[28]) Veg., *Mil.*, I, 20: *dextros pedes in ante milites habere debent.*

[29]) Pline, *N.H.*, VII, 71: ... *quibus (feminis) in dextra parte gemini (dentes) superne e canibus cognominati, fortunae blandimenta pollicentur, sicut in Agrippina Domiti Neronis matre; contra in laeua.*

[30]) Hyènes, caméléons, loups, boeufs, crocodiles, vautours, ânes ... Pline, *N.H.*, livre 11: 166; livre XXVIII: 38; 43; 96; 100; 103; 107; 114; 116; 168; 261; livre 30: 141.

[31]) Pline, *N.H.*, 28, 103.

[32]) Pline, *N.H.*, 28, 43.

[33]) Lucrèce, *Nat. rerum*, I, 317: *Tum portas propter aena signa manus dextras ostendunt adtenuari saepe salutantum tactu praeterque meantum.*

différent de l'objet qualifié. A défaut d'une orientation dans l'espace, d'une opération quasi scientifique, régie en tout cas par des règles rigoureuses, *dexter* et *sinister* ne reflètent plus qu'une appréciation subjective, donnent une valeur "heureuse" à la partie du corps que l'expérience quotidienne privilégie habituellement.

Il nous paraît nécessaire de renoncer, en conséquence, aux spéculations, si savantes et si séduisantes qu'elles soient, sur l'influence des Grecs, de Babylone ou de l'Egypte. L'ambiguïté de ces adjectifs ne résulte que de la rencontre entre un usage savant et un emploi populaire.

Three Sabine nomina: *Clausus, Cōnsus, *Fisus*

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Summary: The nomen and obscure history of Clausus, historical founder of the *gens Claudia,* is known from citations by Tacitus, Livy, Suetonius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others. The nomen shares with the nomina of two Italic gods, *Consus,* to whom the festivities of the *Consualia* are dedicated, and Umbrian **Fisus,* to whom offerings are mandated in the *Tabulae Iguvinae,* the Sabine sound change **dy > z,* suggesting Sabine origins for the three.

The *gens Claudia* was, according to ancient tradition,[1]) founded at Rome by the Sabine warrior Attus Clausus after his migration with five thousand family members and clients from Regillum. The name of Clausus and the circumstances and date of his migration have been variously explained.[2]) Livy (2.16.4), who cites a praenomen *Attius,* states that he fled to Rome in 504 BC; Suetonius (*Tib.* 1), conceding that the date accepted by Livy *magis constat,* includes another version of the story, namely that "Atta Claudius" migrated in the time of the king Titus Tatius.[3]) Appius Claudius M. f. Sabinus Inregillensis, consul for 495 BC, is by common consent identical to this Attus Clausus.[4])

Two questions about the name of Clausus should be examined. First is the "Romanization"[5]) of the name *Attus Clausus* to *Appius Claudius,* which has never been satisfactorily explained. Second is the recent suggestion,[6]) based on the discovery of the name *clavtie* on a tomb from Cerveteri[7]) (betraying possible Etruscan origins for

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¹) The better-known sources are Tacitus, who cites the praenomen *Attus,* *Annals* 4.9, 11.24, 12.25, Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2.16.4 and 10.8.6, Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1, Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.706–709, and Plutarch (who cites for Κλαῦσος the praenomen Ἄππιος), *Poplicola* 21.4–10.

²) Wiseman 59–65.

³) Ogilvie (273) notes that the Claudii "were a patrician *gens* and, as such, their roots in Rome must go back to the monarchy. ... The version which dated [the migration] to 504 ... was in part influenced by the certain fact that the *tribus Claudia* was organized in 495."

⁴) Wiseman 60.

⁵) Corsaro 995, Wiseman 65, Holleman 1986: 378.

⁶) Holleman 1984: 504–505, 1986: 377–378.

⁷) The inscription reads (Pallottino 79):
laris • avle • larisal • clenar sval • cn • suθi ceriχunce
apac • atic sanisva (•) θui • cesu
clavtieθurasi

Pallottino (84) proposes the following translation:

the *gens*), that the time-honored Sabine ancestry of the Claudians may have been a fraudulent claim. It is profitable to address first the question of Clausus' Sabinity; then we can direct our attention to the problem of fabricating a credible ancestry.

As we lack archaeological data of the Sabines,[8] all that is left to us of the warrior Attus Clausus is his name as transmitted by the historians. In order to determine that the name and the person of Clausus are indeed Sabine, we must first consider the Sabine dialect, the derivation of Italic nomina, including *Clausus* and *Claudius,* and the Romanization of non-Latin names. In the process, we will discover that the sound change at work in the etymology of the name *Clausus* is not restricted to this form but is present in two other Sabine nomina, one of which has been accepted as Umbrian. We will see that any "coining" of the nomen *Clausus* reflects great ingenuity on the part of the supposed hoaxers.

The remains of the Sabine dialect (listed by Vetter 362–378, Conway 352–359, and von Planta II.591–594) consist of Latinized glosses.[9] Conway classifies the dialect as Latinian, presumably on historical grounds (he notes that the Romans subjugated the Sabine territory in 290 BC and subsequently assimilated it). In their recent discussions of Sabine, Wallace (14–15, 70–74) and Coleman (103–104, 114–117) conclude, primarily because of the lack of good evidence, that the dialect, while Italic, cannot be easily classified as either Latin-Faliscan or Oscan-Umbrian.[10]

"Laris (e) Avle figli di Laris viventi questa tomba hanno fatto.

Il padre e la madre defunti (?) qui giacciono.

Dei (o ai) Clavtie."

The nomen *Klavtie* is also inscribed on a Corsican red-figure vase. See Corsaro 1007–1008 for further discussion.

[8] Poucet 64 ff., especially 81–85.

[9] The epigraphic evidence is negligible, as opinions are divided about the Sabinity of Vetter no.227, an inscription from Scoppito, and Vetter no.512, an inscription from Tibur (Vetter 160–161, 356–358, Wallace 72–73, Coleman 114–115).

[10] Oscan-Umbrian and Latin-Faliscan are the two major divisions of the Indo-European subgroup Italic. Three alphabets are used for Oscan inscriptions, depending on region: in the north, the Latin alphabet (borrowed from the Romans: for this paper, transcribed in italics), in the central region, the so-called native alphabet (adapted from an Etruscan-Chalcidian Greek model: transcribed in boldface), and in the south, the Greek alphabet. Most of the extant Oscan material is written in either the native or Greek alphabet. The major exception is the *Tabula Bantina* (Vetter no.2), inscribed in the Latin alphabet, although found in a southern location. The orthography of this inscription is most likely

It may simply have been a Latin hill dialect, or, as Coleman (114) has suggested, "an important linguistic bridge between Umbrian and Oscan."

The following examples illustrate the difficulties in assigning Sabine a position within Italic. For instance, S. *fedus* (< **ghaidos* > L. *haedus*) demonstrates a monophthongization of **ai* > *e* which is shared by Umbrian and Faliscan (Coleman 115–116), but not by Latin or Oscan, which retain the diphthong. Within the same word, **f* < **gh* may also be a feature of an early Latin dialect: *faedum antiqui dicebant pro haedo, folus pro holere, fostim pro hoste, fostiam pro hostia* (Paul. *ex* Fest. 74, 9–10 L.). Regularly, however, **gh* became *h* in Latin and Oscan-Umbrian. Another example is the nomen *Nero*, which, according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 1), *significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus* (thereby reinforcing the Claudians' claims of Sabine descent). The form shares the root **ə₂nér* with Sabine *nerio* ("manliness"),[11] Umbrian *nerf* ("elders"), and Oscan *niir* ("man", "magistrate"); **ə₂nér* does not have a reflex in Latin.[12] This discovery

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due to the fact that a Latin document (*CIL* I². 582) "quite independent of the Oscan and somewhat earlier" (Buck 235) is inscribed on the other side. Umbrian documents are inscribed in either the Latin or a native alphabet; the latter, which differs from the Oscan, is also derived from an Etruscan-Greek prototype.

[11]) Ogilvie notes (74) that in a "moment of crisis Hersilia [Romulus' Sabine wife] prayed to Nerio Martis ... [which] probably denoted the strength of Mars". In his *Attic Nights*, Aulus Gellius notes that prayers to *Nerio Martis* were among those which *expositae sunt in libris sacerdotum populi Romani et in plerisque antiquis orationibus* (13.23.1) and gives a full account of the dubious etymologies of the form *Nerio* (13.23.2–10). He suggests with reason (13.23.11–16) that Hersilia made her appeal not to the strength, but to the *consort* of Mars (perhaps as a mortal warrior's wife to a divine warrior's wife?); *Nerio* is the wife/attendent of the god Mars in Plautus, *Truculentus* 515 and Ennius, *Annals* 99. See O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford, 1985) 247–248. – Gellius also comments on a possible confusion based on a discrepancy between "*Nerio*" and "*Neria*", the form of the name cited by Cn. Gellius (*Annals*, Bk. 3). If there had been a native Sabine alphabet, comparable to those used for Umbrian and Oscan, where -**a* was often transcribed in the Latin alphabet as -*o*, perhaps a first-conjugation **ner-ia* < **ə₂nér-ya* could have been reinterpreted in Latin, on the basis of an ending in -*o*, as a third-declension noun. Buck (27) observes that, among others, there is a "variation between o und u (in the native alphabets only; in the Latin alphabet always o) for the rounded *a* ... coming from final -*ā*."

[12]) Of the IE protoforms meaning "man", two, **ə₂nér*, gen. sg. **ə₂nrós*, nom. pl. **ə₂néres* ("man") and **wiə₁rós* ("young [man]"), have a varied history in the Western families. In Italic, there is a split: in addition to the examples above, Latin preserves only the latter form (*vir*, "man"), while Umbrian preserves both

could tend to emphasize further an early Sabine-Oscan-Umbrian linguistic alliance, although a shared retention such as this could reasonably be attributed to chance. Unfortunately, the only firm conclusion to be drawn about Sabine is – as stated at the outset – that it is a (central) Italic dialect, sharing features with its surrounding dialects; we cannot categorize further.[13])

Despite the uncertainties, we may presume that, as Sabine is Italic, formation of the majority of Sabine *nomina* (of which, understandably, there are few examples) follows the pattern regularly observed in other Italic dialects, that is, the addition of the adjectival suffix -*(i)yo-s* to a root from one of four general lexical classifications.[14]) A typical example of this type in Latin is *Claudius,* derived from the protoform **klaud-yos* (the **klaud-* is the root of the verb *claudere*), where the *y* is regularly vocalized to *i* and the *o* is raised to *u.* A common praenomen, *Lucius,* is derived in a similar fashion from **leuk-yos,* where the medial **-eu- > -ou- > -ū-* and again the **y > i* and **o > u.*

Characteristic of Oscan (where ninety-nine percent of the nomina are formed by root + -*(i)yo-s*; Lejeune 1976: 113) is the syncope of short *o, e,* and *i* before final *s*; consequently, praenomina and nomina formed with -**yos* end in *-IS,* *-IS,* *-ις,* and nomina formed with -**iyos* generally end in *-IES,* *-IIS/IIS,* *-ιες.*[15]) We can therefore expect **klaudis < *klaud-yos* in Oscan, and κλαϝδις[16]) is attested in

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(*veiro,* "men", and *nerf*). Gothic and Lithuanian preserve the latter (Gothic *wair,* Lithuanian *vyras* "man"), while Old Irish (*fer,* "man", and the derivative *nert* [nom. sg. neut.], "strength"), and perhaps Greek (ἀνήρ, "man", beside Homeric Ἴρος and ἆιρος) preserve both. For this last, see G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore and London, 1979), 229–230.

[13]) A final note: Wallace (71) comments that "it is perfectly possible that the features characteristic of the glosses are not Sabine features at all but features of the Latin dialects spoken in Sabine territory."

[14]) Lejeune 1976: 67–69. These classifications cover items derived from numbers (O. UHTAVIS, L. *Octavius*), places (O. Kamp[aniis, U. *Voisienier* [gen. sg.]), names of divinities (O. μαμερεκιες), and adjectives/substantives (O. flaviies, RUFRIIS, L. *Flavius, Rubrius*). For the first and last of the non-Latin forms, see Vetter no. 5 C; for the others, see Vetter nos. 18, 236, 109 and 118.

The Sabine praenomen *Talus* (Paul. *ex* Fest. 492, 11, L., 493, 5 L.) is evidently a formation **tal-os* or **tal-yos,* where the **y* was assimilated to the preceding liquid. (See below on *Attius.*) Sabine *Nero* seems to be an anomalous formation, as it is, in Latin at least, a third-declension form.

[15]) Lejeune 1976: 75–76.

[16]) For Κλαϝδις see Vetter no. 197. Greek F (digamma) < IE **w >* Latin *u, v.*

a southern inscription. In Oscan, *leuk-yos occurs as **Luvkis** (Vetter no. 4) and λωϝϰις (Lejeune 1971: 66, nos. RV-17, RV-18) where syncope of *o* has occurred and **uv** and ωϝ represent *ou*, the intermediate stage in the development *ū* < *ou* < *eu*.

In Umbrian, where syncope of short vowels before final *s* is also a feature, *leuk-yos* became **Vuvcis** (*Iguvine Tables* Ib 45), where again **uv** represents *ou*, **c** represents the palatalization[17]) of **k* before *i*, and initial **l*- became v-.[18])

While *Clausus* does not exhibit the characteristics of a Roman or Oscan-Umbrian nomen, it is also derived from *klaud-yos*.[19]) In Sabine, the -*dy*- has developed to -[d']- > -[dz]- > -[z]-[20]) (or the like). By the time the name appeared in the literature, this [z] was represented as *s* and the *o* raised to *u*. This sound change as such[21]) has not until now been recognized as specifically Sabine, especially as it has been observed in Paelignian[22]) and Southern Oscan;[23]) it is evidence of a parallel development in the three dialects, not a link between the three.[24])

The argument that Sabine -*dy*- became -[z]- is supported not

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[17]) Poultney 29, 62; Coleman 104.

[18]) Although this sound change is disputed, Poultney (71) lists two other solid examples of v-/*v*- < **l*-: **vapere** (abl. sg., "stone seat", "seat" [*I. T.* III 7]) and *vapeře* (acc. pl. [VI a 10, VI b 51]) (cf. Latin *lapide*), and **vutu** (imperative, "wash" [II a 39]) < **low(i)tōd* (cf. Latin *lavare*).

[19]) The adjective *clausus* ("lame") < *claussos* < *klaud-tos*, as attested in the *TLL* (v. 3, col. 1312. 38–1313. 19), is not, nor apparently ever was, used as a nickname or cognomen by any Claudians, Sabine or Roman. According to the *TLL Onomasticon* (v. 3, C, col. 481.63–5), the *nōmen Clausus* is elsewhere attested only as the nomen *barbarum* of a Rufus Clausus of Dalmatia (*CIL* III. 14322.[12]) The "Romanized" form, *Clausia*, is found in Histria: *CIL* V. 317.

[20]) [ ] indicate approximate phonetic notation.

[21]) Coleman (116) views this change as *[dj] < [di], which he deems a Sabine palatalization, but he identifies *Clausus* as equivalent to *Claudius* (104, 106).

[22]) Wallace 82–83, 93, 99, 133–134 and Coleman 104.

[23]) It is noted by Bottiglioni (58), Buck (66–67, 84), Coleman (104, 116), Vetter (26) and von Planta (I. 166, 412). For a general discussion of the development of *dy* in Oscan, see Greco 248–249, Lejeune 1970: 313–315 and 1972: 11–12, and Coleman 103–104. In his discussion of Oscan *dy* (I. 412) von Planta, who includes *Clausus* in his list of Sabine glosses, identifies the form as equivalent to *Claudius*.

[24]) Coleman (117) suggests the opposite, arguing that the change establishes a link between Bantian Oscan, Sabine and Paelignian; but see also Wallace 133–134, and Ogilvie (274), who comments that Clausus is "derived [from Claudius] by the regular assimilation of dentals before consonant *i* in almost all the non-Latin dialects of Italy" (Conway ad loc.)."

only by *Clausus,* but also by two other nomina, *Cōnsus* and **Fisus.* Although these nomina have not previously been characterized as Sabine, evidence beyond the sound change exists to indicate their possible Sabinity.

Cōnsus was a god, linked variously with the underworld, counsel-giving, and vegetation,[25]) whose great festivals, the *Cōnsualia,* were celebrated on August 21 and December 15.[26]) His nomen, associated with the verb *condere,*[27]) is, I would argue, a formation from **cond-yos* < **kom-d-yo-s* (where -**dy-* > -[z]-), even though *Cōnsus* is usually seen as derived from **cond-tos* < **kom-d-to-s* (Pokorny 236; -**to-s* is the suffix used to create past participles).[28]) If this suggestion is viable, and *Cōnsus* is (by virtue of the sound change) an originally Sabine god, the connections made by Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy of the founding of the *Cōnsualia* and the abduction of the Sabine women[29]) might not be as obscure as previ-

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[25]) Piganiol 1–14, Humphrey 61–62, 158–159. For the most recent bibliography on *Cōnsus,* see P. Pouthier, *Ops et la conception divine de l'abondance dans la religion jusqu'à la mort d'Auguste, BEFAR* 242 (1981), p. 61 n. 21.

[26]) Scullard 177–178, 205.

[27]) Walde-Hofmann s. v. *Cōnsus* (266), Ernout-Meillet s. v. *Cōnsus* (249), Ogilvie 66, Scullard 163.

[28]) If we can accept *Cōnsus* as a formation in -**(i)yos,* we must examine the question of a possible **cōnsus, -ūs,* for as Ernout-Meillet comment (249), the derivative *Cōnsualia* "suppose une ancienne flexion *cōnsus, -ūs* d'un thème en -*u-*". Walde-Hofmann (266) propose a fluctuating suffix -**to-/-*tu-* is at work in a protoform **kom-d-tos;* this suffix is in fact at work in L. *senatus* < **sen-a-tu-s* and O. *senateis* < **sen-a-to-s.* (Sommer, however, notes [403] a number of *u* -stem nouns in -*tus* which are attested with the *o*-stem genitive singular ending -*i- exerciti, quaesti, tumulti,* and *senati.* I propose that the heteroclitic endings of *senatus* may have spread to the other forms cited by Sommer.) As for *Cōnsus,* stem-vowel confusion may have resulted when the nomen was borrowed – a comparable situation may have occured in Umbrian with **Fisus* (see note 31). Otherwise, it appears that fourth-declension nouns are given second-declension endings, not *vice versa.* See also Schulze 474, n. 5.

[29]) Varro, *LL* 6. 20: *Cōnsualia dicta a Conso, quod tum feriae publicae ei deo et in Circo ad aram eius ab sacerdotibus ludi illi, quibus virgines Sabinae raptae.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2. 30. 3–2. 31. 2) notes that Romulus prayed to the god of good counsel (subsequently identified as *Cōnsus*) directly before conducting the first *Cōnsualia* and inviting the neighboring Sabines. Scullard 178: "[o]nce horse-racing had been added to the festival a link was established with the Greek Poseidon, the god of horses (Hippios), and the Cōnsualia were wrongly considered to honour Neptune Equestris"; Livy follows this tradition (1. 9. 6–7): *Romulus ... parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes: Cōnsualia vocat,* to which *Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit.*

ously thought.[30]) Vaniček (128) also proposes that *Consu-s* is <
*Cond-iu-s, and cites as an analogy Umbrian *Fiso.*

*Fisus Sancius (the name is attested in the dative singular, **Fise
Saci,** *I. T.* I a 15, and *Fiso Sansie, I. T.* VI b 3)[31]) was a god whose wor-
ship is described in the *Iguvine Tables.* **Fisus* is usually seen as a
derivative of **fid-tos* < **bheidh-to-s*[32]) (whence the Latin past par-
ticiple *fisus*), but Vaniček (128) and von Planta (I. 412) interpret the
formation as derived from **fid-yo-.*[33]) As the regular outcome of
medial *-*dh-* in both Oscan and Umbrian is *-f-,* but in Latin (when
not preceded by *r* or *u* or followed by *r* or *l*) is *-d-,* **Fisus* <
*bheidh-/bhidh- + *-yos*[34]) cannot be Umbrian in origin and must
represent a borrowing.

I propose that this borrowing is from Sabine for the following
reasons.

First, **Fisus,* if from < **fid-yos* (> L. *Fidius,* epithet of the
Roman god *Dius Fidius*), would be a third instance of Sabine *-*dy-*
> *-*[z]*-.* In this case, **fid-* is a loan from Latin or an example of a
parallel deaspiration of *-*dh-* in Sabine.

Furthermore, the epithet **Sancius*[35]) is an Umbrian adjectival for-
mation (< **Sanc-yos*) traditionally connected with the Sabine god
Sancus and Latin *sancio, sancire.*[36]) It is plausible that the worship of
*Fisus and *Sancus* was borrowed by the Umbrians from the Sabines,

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[30]) Scullard 178: "... why *Cōnsus* should have been connected with the Sabine
women remains unexplained."

[31]) See Poultney 252–253, and his note that *Fiso* and another nomen, *Trebo*
"... (both dat. sg.) must be regarded as *u*-stems, but both have in the earlier
tables dat. sg. forms **Fise, Trebe** of the *o*-stem type" (93).

[32]) See Poultney 60–61, who notes that this particular etymology involves "the
analogical reintroduction of *t*"; regularly in Umbrian **dht* became *st,* as in *hos-
tatu,* "armed" (acc. pl. [*I. T.* VI b 5]). See also Devoto 216.

[33]) Buck, in fact, translates *"Fiso"* as *"Fidio"* (335).

[34]) **i* remains *i* in Latin, Oscan (i) and Umbrian (i or e).

[35]) **Sancius* is a Latin or Romanized form; the expected Umbrian form would
be **Sacis* or **Sansi(e)s.* The native form **Saci** is the result of a "weakening" of
medial *n* when "preceded by a vowel and followed by a stop or by c *s* < *k* or by
s" so that it is "frequently, but uniformly, omitted in writing" (Poultney 69). In
the *Iguvine Tables,* **Sancius* is also attributed to the gods **Fisovius* (e.g., *I. T.*
VI b 5, 6, 10, 15), *Juppiter* (e.g., *I. T.* II b 24), and **Vesticius* (*I. T.* II a 4), and
once stands alone (*I. T.* II b 10).

[36]) Kretschmer 155–156, Walde-Hofmann s.v. *Sancus* (474), Ernout-Meillet
s.v. *sancio* (1035–1037).

their neighbors and kinsmen,[37]) expecially as the divinities are later at Rome seemingly quite closely linked – "*Sancus, qui deus dius fidius vocatur*" (Paul. *ex* Fest. 276, 11 L.).[38])

Thirdly, a Romanized (see below) form of a presumably Sabine *Fisus* is the nomen of the suffect consul in AD 83, C. Fisus Sabinus.[39])

When borrowed into neighboring dialects, the form *Fisus* has proven to be very productive. In Umbrian are formed a theonym, *Fisuvis/*Fisovius (*I. T.* Ia 17, VIb 5, 15, etc.), and two adjectives, *Fisovina* (abl. sg. f. [*I. T.* VIb 9, 14] and *Fisier* (gen. sg. [*I. T.* VIa 30, 32, 39, etc.]). In Central Oscan, we have Fiisiais (dat. pl. fem. [Vetter no. 85]), where -s- represents -[z]- (these last two derivatives from *fis-yo.*[40])

Also in Central Oscan, the epithet Piistiai on the Tablet of Agnone (Vetter no. 147), translated by Buck (254–255) as "Fidiae", is identified as a form borrowed from the Greek Πίστιος. (Also see Dion. Hal. 4.58.2, who translates *Juppiter Fidius* as Ζεὺς Πίστιος ... ὄν Ῥωμαῖοι Σάγκον καλοῦσιν.)

The argument to reconstruct the nomina *Cōnsus* and *Fisus* as derivatives in -*yos* (rather than -*tos*) is strengthened by the fact that most nomina are formed in -*(i)yos*. The fact that the three nomina under discussion are formed from stems in *-d-* suggests that the reported Sabine sound change *d* > *l*[41]) occurred after the change *dy* > [z].

Of the nomina *Clausus, Cōnsus,* and *Fisus, Clausus* is the only one said to have been Romanized (to *Claudius*). Two questions

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[37]) The Sabines were said by the historian Zenodotus of Troezen to be descendants of a migratory race of Umbrians, according to Dion. Hal. (2.49.1).

[38]) See Scullard's discussion of the relations between *Semo Sancus, Dius Fidius* and "*Fisius Sansios*" (146–147), and Poultney's comments on *Fisus Sancius* (252). See also Devoto's notes and *testimonia* on *Sancus* and the Sabines (357).

[39]) *L'Année Epigraphique* 1969.7 (no. 6). The inscription, found on a *tessera nummularia*, reads in part: *C(aio) Fisio Sabin(o) M(arco) Annio Messal(a)* [*co (n)s(ulibus)*]. For further attestations of *Fisius* (one from 106 BC), see *L'Année Epigraphique* 1969.7, and for commentary on the nomina *Fisus* and *Sancius* and related forms, see Schulze 473, 475-6.

[40]) See Schulze 475; even if *fid-* were borrowed from Latin, *fid-yos* in Umbrian would probably result in *firis/firsis. (See Poultney 58–59 on Umbrian *d* > r; see also Wallace 130–133 on this sound change in other Italic dialects.)

[41]) See Wallace 74, Coleman 115 for the most recent statements of this characteristic. If the deaspiration of the *dh* in *Fisus* < *fid-yos* < *bh(e)idh-yo-s* is in fact Sabine, it clearly pre-dates the sound change *dy* > [z].

might arise then: how and why was this form Romanized (since the other two were adopted by the Roman citizenry without any apparent radical changes)?

There were two types of Romanization of dialectal names in the ancient world. The first involved an adaptation of the names to the Latin paradigmatic structure – specifically, the second declension.[42])

We can see that when a nomen such as Oscan πωμπονις (Lejeune 1972: 6–7, no. RV-28) was transformed to *Pomponius,* the Romanization involved the reintroduction of the syncopated vowel -*o-*[43]) in the ending as its regular Latin outcome -*u-.*[44]) In other words, the disyllabic Latin -*ius* was substituted for nominal endings in -*IS/*-IS/ -*ις* and -*IES/*-IIS/-*ιες.* This was the way dialectal praenomina and nomina could be preserved as nomina in the Roman world; even so, Lejeune (1976: 131–132) notes, there was an "abandon des prénoms proprement indigènes."

The second type of Romanization was the adoption of the already-existing Latin nomen which corresponded to the dialectal name[45]) (for instance, *Lucius* for Luvkis/Vuvcis). This is what, evidently, Clausus did; his nomen was not Romanized in the "textbook" manner (nor, for that matter, were *Cōnsus* or **Fisus* at that time,[46]) but was assimilated to the local variant of the name, *Claudius.* What this implies, of course, is that *Claudius* and other nomina derived from the protoform **klaud-yos* were in use perhaps from earliest times,[47]) and that Attus Clausus was probably not the first Claudian to set foot in the environs of Rome. With this proposal we

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[42]) See Lejeune's full discussion of the Romanization of the Oscan onomastic system and forms (1976: 123–145).

[43]) Lejeune 1976: 127–128.

[44]) The same procedure is used for other non-Roman nomina: for instance, Oscan Τρεβις (Vetter no. 191) and [N]IUMSIS (< **numas-yos* > L. *Numerius;* Vetter no. 115) were Romanized to *Trebius* and *Numisius;* so too could Paelignian *nounis* and *ponties,* Vestinian *Ebdies,* and Volscian *tafanies* be transformed to *Nonius, Pontius, Epidius,* and *Tafanius.*

[45]) See, for instance, Lejeune 1976: 145, "la romanisation des gentilices osques se soit faite, dans tel cas … par coalescence avec un gentilice latin préexistant."

[46]) The names *Cōnsus* and **Fisus* were accepted by the Romans without any modification to their endings, perhaps because as theonyms, they could be regarded as fixed and thus might not be subject to the same immediate pressure to be Romanized as the names of ordinary mortals.

[47]) That the nomen *Claudius* (and, less frequently, *Clodius*) was widespread throughout Italy is clear (although how many bearers of the name were clients of patron Claudii is unclear); see Lejeune 1976: 145, Conway's lists of *gentes* at the end of each dialectal discussion, and Corsaro 1003–1013.

may conjecture the reasons for Romanization: could there have been
a desire on Clausus' part to shed his foreign ties and to ally himself
with Roman Claudii, or was adoption (where possible) of the equi-
valent Latin name a customary aspect of migration at that time? The
question is, unfortunately, unanswerable.

This last has no effect on the presumed Sabinity of Clausus, but it
does suggest to us that the *gens Claudia* may have included not only
Sabine Clausi but also native Roman Claudii.

Any later Claudians who, "after the establishment of the Roman
Republic",[48]) wished to devise an authentic Sabine name for an
"ancestor" would have had to have been clever or learned enough to
notice the correlation between Latin -*di*- and Sabine -[z]-. We
should note that where *Cōnsus* exists, there is no Latin equivalent
Condius; where the Latin divine epithet *Fidius* and p.p. *fīsus* exist,
the *nomen* *Fisus* is better known as that of an Umbrian god. The
only comparable pair of reflexes is *Clausus/Claudius*. We may con-
clude , then, that the invention of *Clausus* as a nomen is highly
unlikely.

In addition, we should not assume that Clausus' name "must have
been written *Klaudios*"[49]) at the time of his migration, especially
when we are faced with the corroborative orthographic evidence of
Fisus and *Cōnsus*.

If we are willing to grant that the *nomen Clausus* is Sabine, what
can we say of Etruscan *clavtie*? Holleman (1984: 504) argues that the
existence of *clavtie* denies the possibility of any true Sabine ancestry
for the *gens*. Pallottino[50]) and Corsaro,[51]) however, view it as evi-

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[48]) Holleman's date (1984: 507, 1986: 377).

[49]) "[W]hence its Latin form": Coleman 116.
The Latin form is attested in an *elogium* to Clausus (*Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.67),
set up in the temple of Bellona built by Appius Claudius Caecus.

<div align="center">

AP • CLAVDIVS

Q • VRB • COS • CVM

P • SERVILIO • PR[isco]

</div>

The inscription, first cited in the codex Redianus (f.26), cannot be used with
confidence to prove or disprove the spelling of the nomen at the time of Clausus'
migration.

[50]) Pallottino 84–85: "[l]a presenza di una famiglia Claudia, salvo diverse e più
complicate spiegazioni, lascia d'altra parte pensare a legami stabili con Roma tali
da consentire lo stabilirsi di elementi romani a Caere, cioè più probabilmente agli
ultimi decenni del IV secolo o ai primordi del III." See also his note 19, p.85.

[51]) Corsaro 1007: "[è] evidente che i Claudii si erano creati legami probabil-
mente di tipo clientelare con la città etrusca, la quale godeva della *civitas sine suf-
fragio* e possedeva una flotta di prim'ordine ... il ramo etrusco-latino della *gens*

dence of successful Roman-Etruscan relations. Allow me to add my voice to theirs: although the possibility exists that the nomen could be a local formation of *klaud- + ie, it is a very slim one,[52]) and the name is almost undoubtedly, as originally seen, a transliteration of the name Claudius-indeed, the adaptation of the nomen to the local paradigmatic structure. The inscription, dated to a period long after the consulship of Appius Claudius, indicates the undeniable presence, but certainly not the origins, of Claudians in Etruria.

A note on Clausus' praenomen: a proposal has been made that "Appius must be the Sabinized form (with -p-) of an Etruscan name rendered by Livy as Attius".[53]) This cannot be so.

*Atta and *appa are both ancient "nursery words" for "Papa".[54]) Note that in the Suetonius passage Atta[55]) (which may simply be an honorific) is undeclined, which indicates that it is a fixed, extra-paradigmatic form. If Atta were, somehow, the original form of Clausus' praenomen, it could have easily been "regularized", i.e. brought into the paradigm, by addition of the masculine suffixes -us < -*os or -ius < -*yos to a stem *Att-.[56])

Appius can be derived directly from *appa or, for that matter, Etruscan apa "father". It is not a "Sabinized form", for Italic *p must derive from an IE -*kʷ- or -*p-, not -*t-.

Claudia si sarebbe stabilito a Cere già nel V. sec. a.C. Avremmo, quindi, a che fare con una famiglia d'origine romana, ormai etruschizzata, impegnata probabilmente in attività commerciali o marittime."

[52]) See Bonfante 42, 65, 72. The Etruscans, who had no voiced stops (i.e. g, d, b), but only voiceless ones (k, t, p), changed "g, d, and b whenever these appeared in foreign words–Greek, Latin or Umbrian–to k, t, and p" (65). See Pfiffig 37, who offers inscriptional examples in which the D of the Latin alphabet represents Etruscan t/ϑ, e.g. CIE 3858f. 3860 clante/i = CLANDIVS 4188. As for the formation of nomina, "the family name in Etruscan usually has the adjectival suffix -na (under Italic influence, also -ie from -ios/-ius)" (Bonfante 72). See also Pfiffig on Familiennamen, 180–183.

[53]) Holleman 1986: 377.

[54]) The forms are widespread: compare Latin atta, Greek ἄττα and ἄππα, Gothic atta (Pokorny 52, 71), Tocharian A ap ("father"), and Tocharian B appakke ("daddy"), appa (voc., "father").

[55]) This form is also a cognomen, borne by a Roman writer of togatae, T. Quinctius Atta (d. 77 BC).

[56]) Ogilvie (274) states that Attus is a Sabine praenomen (compare Livy's discussion of the Sabine augur Attus Navius [1.36.3-6], and CIL XI.6706.2, At. Fertrio[s]) but that Livy, "who writes Attius, may have misunderstood it as a nomen for there was a gens Attia." If so, then perhaps as *att-yos > L. Attius as well as a Sabine Attus (with another assimilation of *y to a preceding consonant?), but this does not account for Atta.

As *Attus* and *Appius* can be seen as derivatives of semantically equivalent protoforms, perhaps the latter name was here, too, adopted as the "local variant" of the former.

The nomen *Clausus* is, with the reinterpreted *Cōnsus* and **Fisus*, confirmation of the Sabinity of the traditional founder of the powerful Roman *gens* as well as evidence of a previously little-discussed Sabine sound change. Although the disparity between the names *Clausus* and *Claudius* casts doubt on the already-disputed origins of the family,[57] it can at least be said that if the Claudians were in fact not of Sabine descent but Romanized Etruscans who faked such an ancestry, they showed a remarkable degree of linguistic sophistication in their choice of *Clausus* as the name of their progenitor.[58]

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[57] For that matter, Furneaux notes, although "[t]radition had always given a Sabine origin to the Claudian gens ... Vergil (Aen. 7, 706, sqq.) follows a version making them part of the original 'Quirites' supposed to come from Cures" (503).

[58] I would like to thank D. A. Ringe of the University of Pennsylvania for his great help in the preparation of this paper.

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Eitam: Faliscan or Etruscan?

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A possible parallel for the hitherto unexplained *eitam CIE* 8301 (from Civita Castellana) may now be found in two Etruscan inscriptions from Pontecagnano. Accordingly, there is reason to assume that the inscription is Etruscan rather than Faliscan.

During the excavation, in 1890, of tomb LVII of the C8-7 Montarano necropolis at Civita Castellana (VT), a vase was found that is described as an "olla sferoidale a copertura rossa con due rozzi cavalli graffiti" (Villa Giulia inv., quoted by Herbig *CIE* p. 6) and as an "olla rudis (m. 0,185 a. × 0,115 diam.) ex argilla rubra" (Herbig *CIE* p. 6). Under one of the horses is written from left to right:

eitam.[1]

R. Giacomelli's proposal to equate *eitam* with Oscan *eitiuvam* 'money' (1978: 78–81) is entirely unconvincing. The only other attempt to explain this word is made by Vetter (1953: 289), who points to Oscan *tecliiam* V. 120 (Nola; Etr. alphabet with syllabic interpunction) and *spuriieis culcfnam* 'Spurii culignam' V. 131 (Moiano; Osc. alphabet with *c* and syllabic interpunction), where he explained the forms in *-am* as Italic a-stem accusatives. Although it is difficult to account for the use of the accusative in these texts,[2] this interpretation may well be correct. *Eitam* could be explained in the same way, in which case it would be the oldest known Italic form.

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[1] Herbig & Nogara *CIE* 8301 (drawing; provenance given as tomb LVI), Vetter 1953 no. 250, Giacomelli 1963 no. 22; *uidi* 27. V. 1990, Museo arch. dell'agro falisco, Civita Castellana (provenance given as tomb LVII). The form of the *t,* Ɏ, although normal in later sinistroverse inscriptions, does not seem to occur in the Etruscan and Faliscan alphabets of this period (cf. Cristofani 1978: 407, Giacomelli 1963: 35–6).

[2] Hiersche (1965: 111[7]), adducing Latin *uenos diouem prosepnai CIL* 1². 558 (Praeneste, late C4) and *mirqurios alixentrom CIL* 1². 553 (Praeneste, C3), ascribes it to influence from Etruscan, "wo Nom. und Akk. formal nicht geschieden sind" (an idea going back to Pisani 1933: 139), but that does not explain why someone accustomed to Etruscan should use the marked accusative instead of the unmarked nominative when writing Latin or Oscan (cf. Wachter 1987: 111). Altheim's attempt (1951: 396–7) to present the Latin forms as early instances of the (postclassical) tendency to substitute the accusative for the nominative is unconvincing, and would in any case not explain the Oscan forms.

Even assuming that *eitam* contains an Italic ending, the stem of the word cannot convincingly be connected to any Italic, Etruscan, Greek, or Punic form. Comparing *culcfnam* = 'culignam', Vetter (1953: 95) proposed an interpretation 'type of vase' for *tecliiam*, and one could consider doing the same for *eitam*. In both cases, however, the absence of context makes such an interpretation less plausible: writing 'vase' on an object immediately recognizable as one seems a waste of effort, and one would rather expect the inscription to give an attribute of the vase that is not at first sight apparent.[3])

A similar word now occurs in two Etruscan inscriptions first published in Spadea 1972. Among the funeral gifts found in tomb 908 at Pontecagnano (SA), dated to the last quarter of C4, were two small (3,5×7,5 cm) saucers, described as "ciotolina senza anse a vernice nera [...]. Argilla rosata, vasca poco profonda; orlo a carena; piede pieno" (Spadea 1972: 448). Under the foot of each is written from right to left:

eitmaḷeicunas.[4])

Both Spadea (1972: 450) and De Simone (1975: 177) can find no parallel for *eiṭma,* but consider the possibility that it is a noun denoting a type of vase. One would then have 'Leicuna's [vase]', a fairly common type of 'possessor-inscription' on pottery.

Although there are no arguments on which to connect *eiṭma* and *eitam* beyond their first-sight resemblance, it is worthwhile to consider the implications of the assumption that these forms are connected.

First, since neither in Italic nor in Etruscan *eiṭma* and *eitam* can belong to one paradigm, it would have to be assumed that one of the forms contains an error. As *eiṭma* is found twice in obviously connected inscriptions, it would probably be *eitam* that is misspelled, either for *eit‹ma›,* in which case the Italic accusative *eitam* is non-existent and the text can be considered Etruscan, or for **eit‹m›am,*

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[3]) Lazzarini (1973) discusses c. 38 Greek inscriptions containing vase-names: of these, only one (no. 33, κοθον) consists of the vase-name by itself; more than 30 give the vase-name accompanied by the name of the owner and/or attributes of the vase. *Eitam* could be an adjective (for the feminine cf. *sacra* G. 17, on a votive cup from Civita Castellana).

[4]) Drawings in Spadea 1972: 449. The 3rd letter, Ɣ, could be an *i* were it not that **eiíma* would be awkward; the 6th, Ͷ, could be a *p*, but Spadea (1973) points to such names as *leiχunia* and *leiχu*. The inscriptions seem to be by the same hand.

in which case the interpretation of *eitam* as an Italic accusative could perhaps be maintained, although not without difficulty.[5]) Second, the interpretation 'type of vase' would have to be reconsidered: since, apart from the objection raised above against such an interpretation, the vases on which the words occur are entirely different. One could of course assume that an Etrurian *eitma* differed from a Campanian one, or a C7 *eitma* from a C4 one, but it would seem more likely that the word denoted an attribute or a quality of the vase, whose meaning can only be guessed at.

If *eitam* and *eiṭma* are unconnected, both remain uninterpreted, and the form from Civita Castellana could be a (contextless) accusative. If they are connected, there is a good chance that *eitam* is a (misspelled) Etruscan form, in which case the inscription from Civita Castellana can be discarded from the Faliscan corpus, in which it has until now been included; however, having to assume a misspelling in order to be able to connect both forms is not a very attractive solution.

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[5]) The omission of the first *m* would then have to be explained as due either to an error or to an adaptation of the non-Italic cluster /tm/ or /dm/ (although in that case one would perhaps rather expect **eima*).

Giuseppina Spadea (1972): "Ager Picentinus: Pontecagnano", in: "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca", *SE* 40 (1972), pp. 397–474 (pp. 448–450).
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Notes on the Corcolle Altar Fragments
(CIL I²(4) 2833a)

By Brent Vine, Princeton

1. Several fragments of an altar came to light in Corcolle (near Tivoli) in 1975, with an archaic Latin inscription containing about 60 legible characters, first published in 1978.[1]) These fragments can be dated to about 500 B.C.: approximately the same era as the far better-known (although shorter) "Lapis Satricanus" (CIL I²(4) 2832a). While the Satrican inscription set off a storm of publications that continues unabated after more than ten years, the Corcolle altar fragments have gone almost entirely unstudied since Prosdocimi's 1979 article-length description and discussion.[2])

Several obvious factors help account for this neglect. Although the Corcolle altar preserves more legible characters than the Lapis Satricanus, no single complete word can be read with absolute certainty, in contrast with the four clear words **Popliosio, Valesiosio, suodales** and **Mamartei.** Moreover, the Lapis Satricanus preserves several striking items with evident linguistic interest (such as the genitives in -osio, or the spelling of *suodales* with -u-), while the Corcolle fragments seem to offer rather slim pickings, beyond the peculiar (and, as always, incomplete) form **muliar[.** Nevertheless, the corpus of 6th- and 5th-century Latin inscriptions remains pitifully small, and any scraps of knowledge we can glean from them become correspondingly precious. Prosdocimi's preliminary treatment of these fragments was remarkably rich and full, considering the unpromising nature of the material. But there is room for further discussion of some points, which may eventually shed light on a variety of early Latin paleographical and linguistic problems.

The scholarly bibliography for the Corcolle fragments is not large. The initial publication by Morandi (with inaccurate and incomplete transcription, and very little commentary) was superseded by Prosdocimi's detailed study (see footnotes 1 and 2), and the fragments now appear (with facsimiles and commentary) in the 1986

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[1]) A. Morandi, in *Archeologia laziale* 1 (Rome 1978) 89–91 (with photos, tab. 33).

[2]) L. Prosdocimi, *SE* 47 (1979) 197–216 (including facsimiles; photos: tab. 49–51). Photos 50b and 50c are mislabeled (their order is reversed), as is 1a, which represents frag. C, not B.

supplement to CIL I². ³) Unfortunately, with a handful of exceptions, the CIL annotations merely reproduce Prosdocimi's findings and conjectures, and add nothing new to the discussion. In the "editio princeps" of the Satrican inscription, Colonna briefly compared its letter-forms with those of the Corcolle fragments (in many ways very similar), in an attempt to establish the approximate date of these more or less contemporary inscriptions.⁴) Most recently, Wachter has provided a transcription, together with several brief remarks, in his recent study of Archaic Latin inscriptions.⁵)

   The following transcription of the three fragments ("A", "B" and "C") is essentially that of Prosdocimi (followed in CIL, with an important exception to be noted below):⁶)

	A	B	C
		uọ[	
1	]i:popl[	]ụoụoi?[	]i̭--se [?
2	]-:iouos-[	]-od:oraṭ[	]os:[mụ]li[
3	]os:fra[	]m:muliar[	]d:a[−]ḷo[
4	]os:uid[	]ioụeia̭i:ne[	]ṭod

   2. Before taking up individual forms, I wish to comment briefly on the paleography of these fragments, the nature and interest of which have been misrepresented in Wachter's recent treatment.

   According to Wachter (following Colonna), the only paleographical fact of any interest is that the archaic "P" (= R, but without the "new" diagonal stroke) appears side by side with the more modern four-stroke M (as opposed to the older five-stroke version); the same collocation appears in the Lapis Satricanus, which Wachter takes to be the inscription paleographically most similar to the Corcolle fragments (apart from certain gross but fundamentally less significant differences, such as the relative neatness of the Satrican inscription vs. the sloppy appearance of the Corcolle characters, or the different styles of word-division). But there are several other features that

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³) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* I², fasc. 4 (Berlin 1986), ed. A. Degrassi, J. Krummrey; no. 2833 a (pp. 858-9).

   ⁴) G. Colonna, in C. M. Stibbe et al., *Lapis Satricanus* (The Hague 1980) 45-8.

   ⁵) R. Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften* (Bern/Frankfurt am Main/New York/Paris 1987) § 37 (pp. 93-4). See also the "Korrekturnachtrag".

   ⁶) Some deficiencies in Wachter's transcription will also be noted at various points below.

render the paleographical profile of the Corcolle fragments more complex and interesting than Wachter makes out.

Two important facts (not mentioned by Wachter) had already been discussed at some length by Prosdocimi (200), namely the upside-down form of the first V of B 1]:u̯ou̯oi?[(Λ), and the probable upside-down L (Γ) in C 3. Precisely these two features are found, moreover, in the somewhat earlier Tibur pedestal inscription (CIL I² 2658): Λ = V (kauios) and ꓤ = L (fileod, written right-to-left, but otherwise identical to the left-to-right Γ of Corcolle C 3). Thus the correspondence of these two unusual letter-forms in virtually the same area at much the same time may well point to a close paleographical connection between the Corcolle fragments and the Tibur pedestal – a connection surely as significant as the R/M parallel with the Lapis Satricanus noted by Colonna and Wachter. Wachter's observation (in his discussion of the Tibur pedestal, AI § 31 b) that "Die auffälligen kopfstehenden Buchstabenformen, nämlich das L... und das V..., die beide in der Gegend von Latium sonst nicht bezeugt sind, ..." is therefore incorrect. Indeed, the probable recurrence of both letter-forms in the Corcolle inscription undermines Wachter's essentially ad hoc explanation for their appearance in the Tibur pedestal.[7]

Several additional paleographical points will emerge in connection with the restoration of C 1 proposed in § 6 below.

3. As for the relationship of the fragments to one another, and their general purport: Prosdocimi has argued convincingly for the order B + C, given the large space at the end of C 4 (apparently the absolute end of the inscription), together with the negative ne[at the end of B 4, preceding the final imperative]tod of C 4. These, together with B 3 muliar[, would seem to suggest a sacral prohibition along the lines of the famous injunction *Pelex aram Iunonis ne tangito* (P. F. 248.5 L, cf. Gell. 4.3.3 (*Paelex; aedem*); see Palmer *RRRE* 35 ff. for discussion). But the position of fragment A is less clear (cf. Prosdocimi's diagrams, p. 207): although it seems to precede B and C, it remains uncertain whether it precedes them *directly*, a point to which I return below (§ 7).

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[7] For the Corcolle fragments, Morandi (n. 1 above) observes (p. 90): "sembra che ci siano lettere rovesciate forse per un lontano influsso della scrittura bustrofedica"; such a background is still clearer in the partly-serpentine Tibur pedestal, and the problem deserves further investigation in this light.

4. B 1]:ṷoṷo:?[.[8]) The query after the second word-divider (as in the transcriptions by Prosdocimi and in CIL) points to a serious indeterminacy neither indicated in Wachter's transcription nor mentioned in his commentary: according to Prosdocimi, who has viewed the stone himself, the extent and nature of the deterioration make it unclear whether the two marks here represent a word-divider (which is what they appear to be in the photographs) or chance abrasions. But Prosdocimi's profession of uncertainty may be somewhat overstated, perhaps motivated in part by the problem of explaining the admittedly difficult form :ṷoṷo: as a single word. Thus Prosdocimi's conjecture ṷoṷo[tom 'votum' virtually entails the assumption that there is no word-divider, since his alternative suggestion of an abbreviation ṷoṷo:[for ṷoṷo(tom):[must be considered only a remote possibility, such an abbreviation in this period (and in such an inscription) being exceedingly unlikely.[9]) Moreover, Prosdocimi's preform *ṷogʷheto-, although morphologically possible, will not produce Lat. vōtum directly;[10]) nor does U. vufetes (II a 31, IV 25), despite Prosdocimi, support his analysis, since the word's etymology is uncertain (cf. Poultney *BT* 184 f., Meiser *Umbr.* 156).

There are other possibilities that deserve consideration, one of which Prosdocimi explicitly rejects: he asserts (214) that an *o*-stem substantive *ṷoṷo- (< *ṷogʷho-) is excluded, on the grounds that such a form is otherwise unknown (apart from the imperfect parallel Gk. εὐχή). But Ved. vāghát- 'sacrificer' (almost certainly < *ṷogʷho-t-, cf. sravát- 'stream' : srávati 'flows') presupposes just such a formation (although there is no other evidence for the existence of such a form in Latin).

It may be more promising to explore whether]:ṷoṷo:?[can represent a finite form of *voveō*. In view of the plain thematic present

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[8]) Wachter erroneously transcribes]i:ṷoṷo:[, perhaps after Prosdocimi's transcription]i:ṷoṷo:?[(208, clearly a typographical error for]:ṷoṷo:?[, correctly transcribed on p. 204, and evident from the facsimiles on p. 203).

[9]) The same point applies to Prosdocimi's suggestion that A 1 popl[might also be an abbreviation, although here the issue is complicated by what appears to be a (single) dot after the -l. (This and several other minor problems not treated here are discussed in the commentary to this inscription in my forthcoming handbook of Archaic Latin inscriptions.)

[10]) For the phonological problem with the treatment of *-oṷe-/*-oṷi- (and probably also *-oṷo-) see e.g. Leumann *LLuF* 133 f., Radke *AL* 33 ff., Parker *Rel. Chronol.* 198 ff.; vōtum is most likely an analogical replacement for *vūtum (see Parker 203–4, 206–8).

*(h₁)eug⁽ʷ⁾h-e/o- attested in Gk. (εὔχομαι), Lat. *voveō* – although usually taken at face value as an iterative *ʷogʷh-éi̯e/o- – might in theory replace a thematic u̯egʷh-e/o-, as in *misceō* for thematic *miĝ/ ḱ-ske/o-,[11]) Class. Lat. *fulgeō* vs. OLat. *fulgō* (cf. Gk. φλέγω, Toch. B. *pälketär*), etc.[12]) In this case, a thematic u̯ou̯o:?[could represent either a 3 pl. u̯ou̯o[nt (without word-divider), presumably impersonal (cf. XII Tab. I. 6 *Rem ubi pacunt, orato*), or a 1 sg. u̯ou̯o:[(with word-divider). For the latter, compare the dedicatory altar inscriptions CIL XII 4333 (11–13 A.D.) and CIL III 1933 (137 A.D.), both of which (despite their relative lateness and their geographical separation) preserve much the same archaic phraseology and structuration (see esp. Palmer *RRRE* ch. 2), including identical first-person formulations (*hanc aram dabo dedicaboque; ... hanc tibi aram ... do dico dedicoque*).

5. B (upper edge) u̯o[. Prosdocimi (203 f. with facsimile) has shown that the upper edge of B contains at least the two letters u̯o[, oriented vertically above the second u̯o of B 1]:u̯ou̯o:?[.[13]) In view of the difficulties with B 1]:u̯ou̯o:?[(§ 4 above), these letters are surely of interest, although their interpretation remains uncertain. Prosdocimi tentatively suggests that this u̯o[was a preparatory sketch for the second -u̯o of B 1]:u̯ou̯o:?[, intended to be scratched out later. But it is perhaps equally likely that this additional u̯o[(with normal V) was added as a corrected or modernized substitute for the original *initial* syllable]:u̯o- of B 1]:u̯ou̯o:?[, because of the latter's unusual upside-down V. Alternatively, u̯o[may begin a short word (such as u̯o[tom) inadvertently omitted (perhaps haplologically, in view of B 1]:u̯ou̯o:?[) from the original inscription; cf. the "sacral" *figura etymologica votum/vota voveo* (e. g. Plt. *Amph.* 947, Cato *Agr.*

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[11]) Note Leumann's interesting suggestion (*LLuF* 535) that CIL I² 560 misc (Praen.) may reflect *miscĕ* (not *miscē*), although this is far from certain; cf. Praen. Orcvio, Orcvius CIL I² 288, 231 etc. = *Orcēvius*, later *Orcīvius* (probably from an original *Orcei-*, see Wachter *AI* § 84 b).

[12]) For *u̯eu̯e/o- > *u̯ou̯e/o- (*o > e* in initial syllable between labials), cf. perhaps *vomō* (vs. Gk. ἐμέω), whose o-vocalism is difficult to explain (despite Leumann *LLuF* 101) on purely morphological grounds – i. e., as resulting from an athematic formation (cf. Ved. *vámiti*). (For the replacement of a thematic *u̯eu̯ō (or *u̯ou̯ō) by an iterative *voveō*, compare, in the same semantic field, Lat. *spondeō* vs. Gk. σπένδω). The descriptive Schwebeablaut in *u̯egʷh-e/o- vs. (h₁)eug⁽ʷ⁾h-e/o- remains problematic, but cf. Ved. *vāghát-* vs. *óhate*.

[13]) The CIL annotation is unduly skeptical about the existence of these letters, and fails even to record Prosdocimi's reading of them. Wachter omits mention of them altogether.

83, cf. *preces precor, venerem veneror,* U. *subocau suboco* (VI a 22) etc.; Ernout *Phil.* 2.109).

6. C 1]ị—se [?.[14] Of the first letter, the lower half of a vertical stroke is visible, consistent in theory with I, T, F, P, R or (upside-down) L. But Prosdocimi persuasively argues in favor of I on the basis of the second character's traces, which allow for only two possibilities, namely a reversed S or an angled C: thus sequences TS/TC, FS/FC, etc., are for the most part excluded, while IS/IC are distinctly possible. As regards the choice between reversed S and angled C: a reversed S seems only remotely possible in view of the -se (with normal S) almost immediately following (despite B 1]:ụoụo:(?)[, with both reversed and normal V), and would not be expected, in any case, outside of a clear boustrophedon or serpentine context: angled C, in contrast, is perfectly acceptable paleographically. The most probable initial sequence, then, is]ịc̣- (and not]ịṣ-). Since the traces of the third letter point either to A or upside-down V, we must therefore choose between restorations]ị[c̣a]se or]ị[c̣ụ]se. The latter yields nothing promising, even if a few forms like *augur, robur* etc. were originally *s*-stems. A form]ị[c̣a]se, however, is immediately recognizable either as a present active infinitive, or a (so-called) "contracted" perfect (or "aorist") active infinitive, thus e.g. (ded)]ị[c̣a]se = 'dedicare' or 'dedicasse' (or (uind)]ị[c̣a]se, (abd)]ị[c̣a]se, (aidif)]ị[c̣a]se, etc.). In either case, the form would have considerable linguistic interest. An unrhotacized pres. infin. -ase, which is to be expected for this period (cf. Leumann *LLuF* 580), has so far remained unexampled, apart from the problematic gloss *dasi "dari"* (P.F. 60.9 L). If, on the other hand,]ị[c̣a]se is perfect, it would antedate by several centuries the hitherto earliest-attested form (**coniourase** CIL I² 581.13, cf. **superases** CIL I² 10.5).[15])

Several paleographical consequences of this restoration are worth noting. For the C (one of the alphabetic gaps in the Satrican inscription): the angled C would be virtually identical (apart from the difference in orientation) to the (right-to-left) angled C of **Castorei** in the slightly earlier Castor-Pollux dedication (CIL I² (4) 2833; Lavi-

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[14]) See especially Prosdocimi's facsimiles, p. 205.

[15]) To the extent that one can base a decision on the preceding "context" (such as it is), the present infinitive seems the more likely possibility; in connection with B 1]:ụoụo:[, note the idiomatic use of *voveo* as a *verbum declarandi* followed by present infinitive with future meaning (Bennett *SEL* 1.372, 427, e.g. Plt. *Curc.* 72 *me inferre Veneri vovi iaientaculum*).

nium, 6th c.) – one of the several letter-forms of this inscription labeled "noteworthy" by Gordon (*Lat. Epigr.* 76). The use of CA (and not "KA"), moreover, would document the (expected) loss of the older C/K spelling convention (see Wachter's discussion and table, *AI* § 39 d, with gaps, for this feature, for both the Lapis Satricanus and the Corcolle fragments). For the A: to judge from the trace, this must be either an A with ascending cross-stroke (**A**), an open A with ascending cross-stroke (**Λ**), or conceivably a closed A with angled cross-strokes (**A**); the same sort of formation is still clearer in the A of B 4]ioụeiại (see Prosdocimi's facsimiles, pp. 203–4), as against the other A's, all with clear descending cross-stroke (**A**).[16] Colonna's observation (*Lap. Satr.* 45) that the A's of the Corcolle fragments are all of the triangular type with descending cross-stroke, exactly as in the Lapis Satricanus, is therefore inaccurate. The Corcolle fragments in fact show a co-occurrence of both **A** and **A** (or **Λ**, or **A**),[17] a new datum that calls for further study, together with the other paleographical features already mentioned in § 2.

7. A 2 **iouos-[** + B 2 **]-od:**. To begin with B 2]-od (see Prosdocimi's facsimiles, pp. 203–4), the traces of the first character are difficult to interpret, since the lowermost diagonal stroke may be a chance abrasion. If not, it would most resemble]ạod, which seems morphologically impossible (unless one admits an error for]a(t)od – a methodologically difficult assumption, as Prosdocimi notes).[18] If, on the other hand, the apparent diagonal is a chance abrasion, the most likely reading is]ṃod.

Since Prosdocimi, without explanation, sees no "syntactic justification" for a nominal]mod (e. g. optu]mod), he takes]ṃod to be an imperative, but of a hitherto unattested sort in Latin: it is a "middle imperative" in *-mōd* of the same type as U. *persnimu* 'pray'. But there are already two well-attested patterns for Archaic Latin deponent imperatives, i. e. (a) the type *-(n)tō* (*obsequitō, ūtuntō* etc.), and (b) the type (2/3 sg.) *-minō* (*antestāminō, praefāminō* etc.), of which the second is particularly charateristic of archaic legal and religious

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[16]) For the A of B 4]ioụeiại (and perhaps]ị[çạ]se[), cf. the open A's with ascending cross-stroke (**A**) in the archaic (5th/4th c.) fragment CIL I² 361 reverse (facsimile in Wachter *AI* § 213).

[17]) Cf. Wachter's discussion of open vs. closed A's in the Praenestine bronzes, *AI* § 72 a.

[18]) Given the almost vertical stroke that is actually visible, we might also reckon with the possibility of a]ṇod, and perhaps also a]ụod, if the lowermost diagonal is real.

language. Thus we need not gratuitously postulate an "Umbroid" middle imperative in -*mōd* (no matter how plausible an analogical scenario one can fashion to explain the creation of such a form in Latin), especially if]ṇod is paleographically possible (cf. n.18), in which case we are free to set up an imperative -**mi**]ṇod – that is, if we judge an imperative to be desirable. In fact, consideration of A2 **iouos-[** may suggest that Prosdocimi was hasty in rejecting a nominal interpretation like **optu]ṃod**.

The remaining bottom half of a vertical stroke in the last character of **iouos-[** is consistent with I, T, F, N, P, R, or (upside-down) L, but after "**iouos**" only I or T are probable. Prosdocimi favors **iouosṭ[**, citing the well-known form **iouestod** of the Forum Inscription (CIL I² 1); but he also admits the possibility of a gen. sg. **iouosị[o** 'Iovis' (cf. the probable nom. sg. **Iouos** CIL I² 563), or an abl. sg. **iouosị[d** 'iure'. Of these, a gen. sg. **iouosị[o** is most unlikely: despite Prosdocimi, **Diouos-[** would surely be expected for this period (cf. **Diouis** CIL I² 361, **Diuei** = [Dịuụei] 39, **Diouo** 60, **Diouem** 558), and the isolation of the Praenestine **Iouos** (even if, as seems probable, the form is nom. sg.)[19] considerably weakens any support the form may provide for an early *o*-stem variant **Diovo-* beside consonant-stem **Diov-*. As for Prosdocimi's **iouosṭ[**: although an early form of the type *onustus, venustus* etc., is perhaps conceivable, the actually-attested form **iouestod** gives us no reason to expect a **iouosṭ[**, and thus renders an abl. **iouosị[d** the more likely restoration,[20] despite the difficulty in explaining its second -*o*-.[21]

Now in a document of this sort, an abl. **iouosị[d** might well be used as part of a fixed expression. If we examine the evidence for fixed locutions with Lat. *iure*, especially those with a following con-

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[19] For discussion see Wachter *AI* § 55 c.

[20] An early consonant-stem abl. in -īd is, if anything, to be expected, given the frequency of this particular *i*-stem intrusion in second-century (and perhaps earlier) documents (e.g. CIL I² 366 **bovid**, 581 **coventionid**, 36 [no]**minid**, 364 **opid**) and the subsequent retreat of this feature (see esp. Blümel *Untersuch.* 67, Risch *CFS* 31 [1977] 239 = *Kl. Schr.* 609, Wachter *AI* § 122 d).

[21] Beside the expected weak stem **ioues-** (CIL I² 1 **iouestod**, 4 **iouesat**), the sequence **iouos-** results either from an analogical extension of the nominative stem (typologically similar to the post-vowel-weakening type *tempus/temporis*), or from a phonetic assimilation ***iouesīd** > **iouosīd** (cf. **oppodum** CIL I² 585.81, **Modoratus** CIL VIII 10798 etc., Leumann *LLuF* 100, Sommer-Pfister *Hdbch.* 93); compare also *e...e...ī* (for **e...i...ī*) in *genetīvus, sepelīre* etc. (Leumann 84, Sommer-Pfister 84, 89).

joined or agreeing ablative (which might be reflected in B 2]mod),[22]) we find that, despite Prosdocimi's claim that (e.g.) **optu]mod** has no "syntactic justification", precisely the reverse is true: the fixed phrase *iure optimo* is in fact the *only* attested phraseological unit for *iure* plus adjective.[23]) Finally, note that the restoration A 2 + B 2 **iou-osi[d:optu]mod**, if accepted, would provide evidence in favor of assuming that fragment A *directly* precedes fragment B, which was hitherto uncertain (cf. § 3 above), as well as a rough indication of the number of characters to be restored in the other lacunae between fragments A and B.[24])

8. B 2 **orat[.** This form is assumed both by Prosdocimi and in CIL, probably correctly, to be based on *ōrāre* (e.g. imperative **orat[od]**, or a form of *orator*, or perhaps of *oratio* in the sense 'actio sacra'). It may be worth noting, however, that the "dialectal" monophthongization **au* > **o** (attested relatively early, although inconsistently, in Pisaurum: CIL I² 379 **Pola** vs. 378 **Pisaurese**) is also found in Latium (e.g. CIL I² 483 **Lornti** [Rome], cf. also various *cippi Praenestini*, e.g. CIL I² 83 **Polia** vs. 2456 **Paula**).[25]) Indeed, a "rustic" **oratus* (= *auratus*) is actually attested (in the form *orata*), although the word has no direct semantic bearing on the present document.[26])

If, however, **orat[** is based on *ōrāre* (as seems most likely), the form would have several linguistic consequences. Since a rhotacized -r- is excluded for this period (see further § 9 below for more on rhotacism), **orat[** would eliminate once and for all the traditional Roman etymology in terms of a denominative **ōsā-* based on *ōs* 'mouth' (Varro *LL* 6.76), still argued against explicitly, for example, in both Ernout-Meillet *DELL* and Walde-Hofmann *LEW*. Consequently, the idea that Osc. **urust** 'oraverit' (Ve 2.14, cf. also **urinss** 'orationes' Ve 3) is a borrowing from Latin (because of its -r-), which

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[22]) For such a sequence cf. CIL I² 1 **iouestod loiuquiod.**

[23]) See *TLL* 7.699.30ff. The legal (or at any rate technical) nuance of this phrase can be sensed from usages like *mihi consuli ... senatus iure optimo vim et manus intulisset* (Cic. *Cat.* 1.21), *(libertatem) iure optimo consecuti* (Papin. *Dig.* 4.4.31); with a "sacral" reference (but again in a legal context) e.g. CIL I² 594.I.4.36 *(pontifices auguresque) optima lege, optumo iure.*

[24]) Cf. Prosdocimi's tentative restoration A 3 + B 3 **fra[tro]m:muliar[es,** which would thus be several characters too short (not to speak of the improbable genitive phrase itself). Contra *Lornti*: O. Salomies, *Arctos* 22 (1988) 223.

[25]) See Leumann, *LLuF* 72, and more recently Wachter *AI* §§ 78a, 99a, 112e, 216i, 218c.

[26]) Festus 196.26 L: *Orata genus piscis appellatur a colore auri, quod rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas, oriculas.*

was never compelling (cf. Ernout-Meillet), becomes entirely super-
fluous. Morphologically, *ōrāre* appears to continue a primary leng-
thened *ō*-grade "iterative-intensive" *ōrā̯e/o-* (cf. Lat. *sōlor, cōnor*),
although the prehistory of this formation in Latin, not to mention its
relationship with possible comparanda elsewhere (cf. the Greek type
πωτάομαι), remains unclear.

The etymological background of *ōrāre* is likewise murky, but can
perhaps be somewhat clarified. Among the standard comparanda,
Hitt. *ariya-* 'use divination' can probably be removed, since Kim-
ball[27]) has argued persuasively in favor of connecting *ariya-* rather
with Gk. ἐρέω 'inquire, interrogate' (but cf. n. 29); and the rare Ved.
áryati (RV only 8. 16. 6, 10. 48.3), traditionally said to mean 'praise',
may be interpreted in other ways (see Mayrhofer *EWA* 172, s. v.
ĀR), and is therefore not usable as evidence. If we provisionally
eliminate also Gk. ἀρνέομαι 'deny' and Arm. *uranam* 'id'. on seman-
tic grounds (although a root-connection is perhaps ultimately not
excluded), we are left with Gk. ἀράομαι 'pray' (cf. Ion. ἀρή 'prayer',
Arc. ϰαταρϝός 'curse'), and perhaps Russ. *orát'* 'yell' (cf. SCr. òriti se
'resound').[28]) Insofar as IE alternations *a* (: *o*) : *ō* are rare to the
point of non-existence, it is preferable to reconcile the stems " *ar-* "
(Gk., Sl.) and " *ōr-* " (Lat., Osc.) via an *e*-grade *$h_2$er-* and a leng-
thened *ō*-grade *h_2ōr-*.[29])

9. B3 muliar[. The -r[, whether word-final or intervocalic, pres-
ents an apparent conundrum: the adjective *muliebris* seems to show
that the -r- of *mulier* reflects a rhotacized *-s- (cf. *fūnus/fūnebris*);

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[27]) S. Kimball, "Hittite *ariya-*", in *Carter Festschrift* [in press].

[28]) Gamkrelidze and Ivanov *IJ* 802 f. arbitrarily distinguish between two roots
" *ar̥-* " (ἀράομαι) and " *or-* " (ōrāre), which merely compounds the confusion.
Moreover, their citation of U. (abl. pl.) **arves** with a gloss 'precibus' (as a cognate
of Gk. ἀράομαι) may not be correct: U. **ar(u)via/arviu/** *aruio* (acc. pl.), **arves/
arvis** (abl. pl.) may refer to an actual offering, although its precise nature is
uncertain (traditionally 'exta', but perhaps rather grain-offerings, cf. U.
arvam(-en) 'field', as discussed by Poultney *BT* ad I a 3, II a 18; cf. Meiser *Umbr.*
193 ff.).

[29]) Other theoretically possible methods of accounting for Lat./Osc. *ōr-* (e. g.
o-grade *(*H*)oHr-*, *e*-grade *(*H*)eh₃r-*, etc.) have as yet no particular etymologi-
cal justification; a perf. *h_2e-$h_2$or- > *h_2o-$h_2$or-* could perhaps be supported
morphologically if Pisani's (*Gramm.* 230) perfect-based explanation for the
vocalism of the type *sēdāre* (: *sēdī*, cf. *sōlor* if < *sōdā̯e/o-*) is correct, although
more recently he takes *sōlor* as ultimately denominative (*IF* 88 [1983] 96). If,
finally, the original meaning of *ōrāre* is judged to be closer to Hitt. *ariya-* and
Gk. ἐρέω than to Gk. ἀράομαι etc. (see esp. Benveniste, *RPhil.* 22 [1948] 120–2
= Strunk *Probleme* 162–4 on *ōrāculum*), then we would have an *ō*-grade *h_1ōr-*.

but rhotacism cannot have taken place by the time of **muliar[** (cf. **Valesiosio** in the Lapis Satricanus, and perhaps **]i̯[ca]se**, § 6 above).[30])

Neither do the -u- nor the -a- square well with the standard etymology in terms of a *$ml̥$-i̯es-ih₂*, thought to be related to comparative formations like *melior* (cf. Leumann *LLuF* 58, 497).[31]) Thus it may be advisable to revive, with Prosdocimi, the connection of *mulier* with some marginal Greek vocabulary ultimately related to *$mel(h_1)$-* 'grind',[32]) e.g. μύλλω βινέω᾿ (Theoc.), Sicil. μυλλοί 'pudenda muliebria'. Morphologically, Prosdocimi interprets **muliar[** in terms of a stem *$muliăr(i)$-* (beside a parallel *s*-stem in *mulier/muliebris*), invoking *procus : procērēs* (allegedly < *$proc$-ărī-*) and *lūcus : Lūcĕrēs* (to which Prosdocimi compares CIL I² 401 **loucarid** [Luceria, 3rd/2nd c.], cf. CIL I² 1730 **[l]ucar**). But even if these paired items are in both cases etymologically related to each other (which is not at all certain), the comparison with **loucarid** is specious: the form is attested too late[33]) to contain a short -ă- unaffected by medial vowel-weakening, and therefore must reflect **loucārid**; thus it may be preferable to assume rather a "non-Latin" stem **muliār[** of the type **loucār-**: that is, *$mulio$-* [Gk. μυλλο-] : *$muli$-ār-,* like *lūcus* : **loucār-**, and perhaps also *cānus* : Osc./Pael. *casnar* 'senex'. But the derivational relationship between this *r*-stem and the Lat. *s*-stem *mulier/muliebris* remains unclear.

10. C 2 **]os:[mu̯]li[**.[34]) Prosdocimi takes **]os** as a genitive singular (of the type **senatuos, Cererus, nationu** etc.; Leumann *LLuF* 435)

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[30]) Wachter (*AI* § 37 a, n. 234) hypothesizes that the traditional date for the adoption of rhotacized spellings (second half of the fourth century) might post-date the rhotacism process itself by about a century, implying that **muliar[** may actually reflect a rhotacized form, with an unusually early rhotacized spelling. While this scenario is "not impossible" (to borrow Wachter's phrase), the burden of proof rests on the "precocious rhotacists", especially in view of the official nature of this document.

[31]) Wachter points out that an original stem *$muliăr$-* will also yield Lat. *mulier*-; note that this would deprive the form of a morphological analysis via comparative *-i̯es-* (cf. also the traditional Roman interpretation *mulier* < "*mollior*"), which was problematic in any case.

[32]) Similarly Gamkrelidze and Ivanov *IJ* 693, with discussion of cultural implications.

[33]) The traditional late-fourth-century dating may well be too old by a century or more (see Wachter *AI* § 196 b).

[34]) Wachter transcribes conservatively **]os:[- -]li[**, but Prosdocimi (followed in CIL) convincingly restores **]os:[mu̯]li[** on the basis of the traces (and comparing B 3 **]m:muliar[**).

depending on [mu]li[("la 'mulier' di un []*os*"; similarly A3]os and
A4]os, see §§11 and 12); but this is far from certain. A nominative
singular may be supported on the basis of an important text not pre-
viously cited in connection with the Corcolle fragments, namely the
sacral prohibition partly involving *mulieres* recorded by Festus s.v.
exesto (the unique attestation of "*exsum*"): *Exesto, extra esto. Sic enim
lictor in quibusdam sacris clamitabat: "hostis, vinctus, mulier, virgo
exesto"; scilicet interesse prohibebatur.* (P.F. 72.10 L; see §11 below
for another sacral prohibition). In theory, then, one might just as
easily conjecture a sequence like (uinct)]os:[mu]li[, or even (taking
A2 + B2 + C2 as part of the same sequence, cf. §7 end) roughly
(e.g. flamen[35]) iouosi[d optu]mod orat[od: "hostis, uinct]os, muli[ar
…".[36])

11. A4]os:uid[. According to Prosdocimi, we have here a phrase
"*vid[ua]* di qualcuno", with]os again a consonant-stem genitive sin-
gular, more specifically "genitivo della persona (giuridica) di cui la
vid[ua] ne[ ]tod" (208). But this is unlikely. Early Lat. *vidua*
'widowed/divorced/separated woman' is generally used as an abso-
lute designation of status, without further specification; similarly
Skt. *vidhávā-*, ORuss. *vьdova* etc., perhaps reflecting IE usage.[37])
Thus if uid[= *vidua,*]os is more likely nom. sg., e.g. in a series (A4
+ B4 + C4) [..., X-]os, uid[ua ...] ne[-n]tod. Note further that uid[
almost certainly cannot be masculine (thus e.g. X-]os:uid[uos), since
viduus (both 'widower' and adj.) appears only after Plautus (with the
pointed exception of *Merc.* 829 *plures viri sint vidui quam nunc muli-
eres,* clearly based on *vidua*), and probably developed relatively late
within Latin.[38]) Since, moreover, *viduus* adj. is generally construed

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[35]) E.g. flamen (not lictor), since the trace of the first character of A2 (i.e. the
last letter of the word directly preceding iouoi[d) is a diagonal stroke consistent
with u, n or (less likely) a five-stroke m.

[36]) Similarly, in view of Prosdocimi's attractive suggestion (211) a[b/f]lo[ucod
(or lo[cod) for C3, one could conjecture, for B3 + C3, e.g.
muliar[:exesto]d:a[b/f]lo[ucod. But it should also be noted, in passing, that *muli-
eres* might have been mentioned for purposes of *inclusion,* and not just exclu-
sion: cf., for example, the entry *Mutini Titini sacellum Romae fuit. Cui mulieres
velatae togis praetextatis solebant sacrificare* (P.F. 143.10 L), discussed by Palmer
RRRE 195 f.; on the divinity and his rites see now also Radke *Gottesvorstellung*
221, 270.

[37]) Typically e.g. RV 10.40.2cd *kó vām śayutrá vidháveva deváram / ... kṛṇute*
"Who takes you to bed, as the widow [takes] her brother-in-law?"

[38]) This last point would render unlikely a reference to the divinity *Viduus*
("*qui animam corpore viduet*", Tert. *Nat.* 2.15.2; cf. Radke *Götter* 337 f.).

with the ablative (genitive only Ovid +), a phrase]os (gen.) + uid[ua/-os 'deprived of/bereft of X' (vel sim.) is excluded.

But it is unnecessary to operate exclusively with *vidua* or *viduus,* since **uid[** may well be a form of *video.* Among the few recorded sacral prohibitions concerning women (cf. § 10), the one mentioned by Cato in the context of a vow (*Agr.* 83, "*votum pro bubus*") specifies precisely: ***Mulier ad eam rem divinam ne adsit neve videat.***[39])

12. A3]os:fra[. Prosdocimi takes]os: once more as genitive singular (cf. §§ 10 and 11), and fra[is "definitely" a form of *frater,* perhaps in a usage like Lat. *fratres Arvales* 'Arval (religious) brethren'. This may well be correct; but in a document with legal or quasi-legal overtones (cf. B4 + C4 ne[ ]tod), it may not be wise to exclude the possibility that **fra[** is rather **fra[us/d-**; indeed, apart from the divinity *Fraus* (e.g. Cic. *ND* 3.17.44, although not listed in Radke *Götter*), a series of actually-attested phraseological patterns with *fraus* and *fraudāre,* some demonstrably traditional, can account directly for a sequence]os:fra[, and in no case is]os: to be taken as genitive:

(a) A traditional collocation of *scelus* and *fraus* can be justified on the basis of the correlated phrases *ne fraus esto, ... ne populo scelus esto* in the ancient *ver sacrum* formula (Liv. 22.10.5), together with collocations like *scelus fraudemque* (Cic. *De Or.* 1.46.202), *fraudis, sceleris, parricidi, peiiuri plenissumus* (Plt. *Rud.* 651), hence in theory **scel]os:fra[usque** (or **fra[udemque**).

(b) For a conditional clause like **sei X-]os:fra[udem fac-**, cf. XII Tab. 8,21 *Patronus si clienti fraudem faxit, sacer esto,* CIL I² 590.30 ... *quo hoic legi fraudem f(aceret),* etc.

(c) If **fra[** is a form of *fraudāre,* a masc. acc. pl. direct object (i.e. **]ōs:fra[udā-**) would be syntactically trivial (Cic. passim etc.), while a preceding nom. sg. (i.e. **]ŏs:fra[udā-**) might belong with a formulaic expression like *uti ne ... captus fraudatusve siem* (Cic. *Off.* 3.17.70).

(d) Given the evidence for an archaic deponent *frausus est,*[40]) one could imagine a participial phrase **fraus]os:fra[udem,** with deponent participle, referring to someone 'having committed an act of deception'.

While none of these possibilities is necessarily correct, together

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[39]) For sacral prohibitions concerning women and others, see in general Appel *Prec.* 82 f. and Norden *AP* 263 (with Greek parallels).

[40]) Cf. *metuo ... ne quam fraudem frausu' sit* (Plt. *As.* 286), *frausus erit: fraudem commiserit* (P. F. 81.2 L).

they indicate that Prosdocimi's certitude about *frater* or *fratres* is inappropriate.

13. B4]ioụeịai:. Given the presumed nature of the document, together with the apparent prohibition B4 + C4 **ne[**]ṭod directly following]ioụeịai: (cf. § 3 above), Prosdocimi surmises that someone is here being asked not to do something "at (or to) the altar of Jupiter". Comparing further U. *asa deueia* (VI a 9, 10), he therefore restores **[asai:d]ioụeịai:**, which he regards as "certain". But note first that the Umbrian phrase is not analogous, since it means 'ara divina/ Ara Divina', not 'ara Iovia'. Secondly, for an expression like "the altar of Jupiter", the adjectival usage is unexpected (as opposed to an adnominal genitive **"asai Diovis"**, cf. *Iovis aram* Enn. scen. 93 V³, *aram Iunonis* (§ 3 above), **ara Salutus** CIL I² 62 etc.; see also Wachter *AI* § 86 j). Indeed, the adjective *Iovius* is virtually unattested in Latin until quite late,[41] although well-attested elsewhere in Italic. Most germane is the "patronymic" usage (cf. Leumann *LLuF* 288), attested for both male and female divinities, as in Osc. *Διωϝιιας Διομανα*[ς] (Pocc 168) etc., U. *Tursa Iouia* etc., Pael. *Iouiois puclois* (Ve 202), Marruc. *Tarincris Iouias* (Ve 218.7), *Cerie Iouia* (Ve 218.10), and dialectal Lat. (**[I]ouies puclẹ[s]** [Ve 244 + Pocc 222], **Herclo Iouio** [CIL I² 394 = Ve 220]), cf. Lat. **Venerus Iouiae** (CIL I² 675, 676; Capua, 108 B.C.). Thus, if Prosdocimi's interpretation of the form is correct, what is most striking about **d]ioụeịai:** (whether one assumes **[asai]** or a female divinity, cf. **Venerus Iouiae** etc.) is precisely its "non-Latin" character (in this respect cf. § 8 **oṛat[** for *aụṛat[(??, cf. Lat. *orata* etc.), § 9 **muliăr[** (?, cf. *loucār-*, Osc./Pael. *casnar*)), in terms of syntax and phraseology.[42]

To borrow Meillet's ubiquitous phrase (in *DELL*): "Tout est en l'air", I have tried, nevertheless, to point out a number of interesting possibilities and pertinent textual parallels that deserve to be noted in connection with this fascinating, if frustrating, document.[43]

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[41] For discussion and references see Radke *Gottesvorstellung* 239 f. with n. 397.

[42] Also worth noting is Osc. **diuvia[is]** 'Ioviis (feriis)' (Ve 76 a, b), **iụviaṣs** 'Iovias (ferias)' (Ve 86), although this usage is restricted to the plural (cf. Lat. *feriae*).

[43] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Ninth East Coast Indo-European Conference (University of Pennsylvania; June, 1990). I am grateful to the participants of the conference for their helpful comments.

Korrekturnachtrag

The present article was written during 1989–1990, without knowledge of A. Morandi's important contribution, "L'ara inscritta di Corcolle. Aspetti monumentali ed epigrafici", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 65.1 (1987) 97–112, which became available to me only during proofreading. Although I disagree with some of Morandi's findings, I am happy to report the independent convergence of our restorations of the interesting new verb form C 1]i̯[ça]se (§ 6 above) and]xicase (Morandi, pp. 108 f., 111). Further discussion occasioned by Morandi's treatment will be found in my forthcoming monograph, *Studies in Archaic Latin Inscriptions*.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Appel: *Prec.* G. A., *De Romanorum precationibus* (Gießen 1909).

Bennett: *SEL* 1. C. E. B., *Syntax of Early Latin*, vol. 1: "The Verb" (Boston 1910).

Blümel: *Untersuch.* W. B., *Untersuchungen zu Lautsystem und Morphologie des vorklassischen Lateins* (Munich 1972).

Ernout: *Phil.* 2. A. E., *Philologica*, vol. 2 (Paris 1957).

Ernout-Meillet: *DELL.* A. E. and A. M., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*⁴ (Paris 1959).

Gamkrelidze and Ivanov: *IJ.* T. G. and V. I., *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy* (Tbilisi 1984).

Gordon: *Lat. Epigr.* A. E. G., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1983).

Lap. Satr. C. M. Stibbe et al., *Lapis Satricanus* (The Hague 1980).

Leumann: *LLuF.* M. L., *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (Munich 1977).

Mayrhofer: *EWA.* M. M., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (Heidelberg 1986–).

Meiser: *Umbr.* G. M., *Lautgeschichte der umbrischen Sprache* (Innsbruck 1986).

Norden: *AP.* E. N., *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (Lund 1939).

Palmer: *RRRE.* R. E. A. P., *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (Philadelphia 1974).

Parker: *Rel. Chronol.* H. P., *The Relative Chronology of Some Major Latin Sound Changes* (Yale Univ. diss. 1986).

Pisani: *Gramm.* V. P., *Grammatica latina storica e comparativa*² (Turin 1952).

Pocc.: P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici* (Pisa 1979).

Poultney: *BT.* J. W. P., *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium* (Baltimore 1959).

Radke: *AL.* G. R., *Archaisches Latein* (Darmstadt 1981).

Radke: *Götter.* G. R., *Die Götter Altitaliens*² (Münster 1979).

Radke: *Gottesvorstellung.* G. R., *Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom* (Darmstadt 1987).

Risch: *Kl. Schr.* E. R., *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin/New York 1981).

Sommer-Pfister: *Hdbch.* F. S. and R. P., *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, Bd. I: Lautlehre (Heidelberg 1977).

Strunk: *Probleme.* K.S., *Probleme der lateinischen Grammatik* (Darmstadt 1973).

Ve: E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg 1953).

Wachter: *AI.* R.W., *Altlateinische Inschriften* (Bern/Frankfurt am Main/New York /Paris 1987).

Walde-Hofmann: *LEW.* A.W. and J.B.H., *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1938–1954).

CIL I²(4) 2876.3]aiva

By Brent Vine, Princeton

The 3rd-century B.C. Latin inscription from Calabria CIL I²(4) 2876 (=
ILLRP 54, Wachter § 197 c; photo Degrassi, *Imag* 29) has been read [–]POLO |
MENERVA | [–]AIVA (CIL, Wachter) or [–]RAIVA (*ILLRP*, after Ribezzo's
[G]RAIVA). The mysterious third line should be restored either as [DI]ANA, or
more likely [I]ANA (given space considerations); the latter form would docu-
ment epigraphically the "rustic" variant *Iana* for *Diana*, hitherto only weakly
attested in literary sources (Varro, Nigidius Figulus, Tertullian). An Appendix
discusses textual problems in the Tertullian passage (*Nat.* 2.15.3).

The inscribed cippus CIL I²(4) 2876 (= *ILLRP* 54, Wachter
§ 197 c) was discovered in 1940 in the vicinity of Manduria, in
ancient Calabria.[1] The Latin inscription must be later than the col-
onization of Brundisium (244 B.C.), but perhaps not much later: the
style and letter-forms are consistent with a late third-century dating.
The published transcriptions are as follows:

Wachter	Degrassi *ILLRP*/CIL	Ribezzo
[–]polo	Apolo(ne) / [A]polo(ni)	Apol(l)o
Menerva	Menerva / Menerva	Menerva
[–]aiva	[–]raiva / [Gr?]aiva	[G]raiva

The first letter is impossible to discern from the photograph, but
the restoration [A] is of course assured. The L of the first line is
clear, but unusually formed: the vertical leans leftward, and the right
stroke is nearly horizontal, forming thereby an obtuse angle in stark
contrast to the acute-angled L most typical of this period.[2] The
space to the right of [–]polo led Degrassi to interpret the form as a

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[1]) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* I², fasc.4 (Berlin 1986), ed. A.Degrassi,
no.2876 (p.883); A.Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae*, vol.I
(Florence 1965), no.54 (photograph: *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae:
Imagines* [Berlin 1965] 29); R.Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften* (Bern/Frankfurt
am Main/New York/Paris 1987) § 197 c (pp.423–4). Initial publication and
description (with photograph): F.Ribezzo, *Nuove ricerche per il Corpus Inscrip-
tionum Messapicarum* (Rome 1944) 106–8.

[2]) The L is well described by Wachter, except for his statement that the right
stroke is "horizontal": close inspection reveals a slight degree of curvature at
both ends; the overall impression, however, is certainly "horizontal". There is in
fact a second horizontal stroke directly above the lower one; Ribezzo may be
correct in conjecturing that this was added later as a way of notating a geminate
"LL", after the geminate spelling was common.

dative **Apolo(ne)** or **[A]polo(ni)**, with lines 2 and 3 assumed to be
datives in -*a*; this is possible, but unnecessary, and will not concern
us further.

The most serious problem is the mysterious [–]**aiva** or [–]**raiva** of
line 3. Degrassi's initial transcription [–]**raiva** (*ILLRP*) followed Rib-
ezzo's interpretation [G]**raiva**, which Ribezzo took to be a "cogno-
men" of Minerva (i.e. 'Graiva' = 'Graeca'), borrowed from local
Messapic Athena-cults. But there is no other evidence that this
epithet (cf. Messapic *graivaihi*) was so used.[3]) Moreover, neither
photograph shows anything like an R.[4]) It is hardly surprising, then,
that Degrassi's CIL transcription (as compared with his earlier
ILLRP version) removes this R into the square brackets. Note also
that considerations of spacing effectively exclude a [Gr]**aiva**: the first
A of [–]**aiva** lies beneath the right half of the M of **Menerva**, and this
M is itself aligned precisely beneath the presumed [A] of [–]**polo**; all
three words begin at the extreme left edge of the stone.[5]) We must
conclude, then, that there is (and was) insufficient space to the left of
[–]**aiva** for an initial [Gr]: indeed, a restoration with two letters (as
opposed to a single letter) appears highly unlikely, unless one of
them is a narrow letter (e.g. I) and they are both fairly compressed.[6])
Note finally that in terms of phraseology, a third divinity is rather
more likely than an additional designation for the second, as
Degrassi himself already saw (cf. his note ad loc.: "... id consideran-
dum num in verbo quoddam numen loci lateat").

A satisfactory solution emerges if we make the paleographically
easy assumption that what appears to be a sequence "IV" in line 3
actually stands for a somewhat badly-formed "N", with a small

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³) Ribezzo is able to adduce only the imperfect parallel *AΘA[NAI*] ... |
ΓΡΑΙCA[*Γ*] (*CIM* 69,5th c.)

⁴) Ribezzo claimed to have seen "la parte destra e superficialissima di un R";
but in view of the monument's poor state of preservation, the small depression
Ribezzo appears to be referring to (directly beneath the middle of the M of the
preceding line) can be interpreted in other ways.

⁵) The left edge, although worn, is apparently intact: see Ribezzo's description
and Degrassi's photograph. (Ribezzo's photograph is oddly cut off at the left
edge, at a point slightly farther to the right than Degrassi's photograph.)

⁶) Since [Gr]**aiva** is excluded on paleographical grounds, the question of
whether Lat. *Graius* actually derives from a **Graiu̯os* (pro: G.R.Solta, *Zur Stel-
lung der lateinischen Sprache* [Vienna 1974] 59; contra: M.Leumann, *Lateinische
Laut- und Formenlehre*² [Munich 1977] 127) is moot. Needless to say, no sense
can be extracted from a reading [R]**aiva** (or similarly [B]**aiva**, [C]**aiva**, etc., or
even the possible word [L]**aiva**). ·

space at the top of the two left strokes; we may thus read [–]aṇa.
Several internal facts support this conclusion: (1) the V of the
alleged "IV" is identical to the corresponding portion of the N in
Menerva; (2) close inspection of the photograph shows that the ver-
tical of "IV" actually shows a slight rightward slant, which is espe-
cially marked in its upper portion; and (3) the highly unusual L of
[–]polo (cf. above), not to mention the stone-cutter's somewhat
uneven technique otherwise, renders plausible a second deviant let-
ter-form in this inscription.⁷) Similar N's, although rare, can also be
found elsewhere, in both earlier and later texts: earlier examples
include the N of ne[in fragment B (line 4) of the Corcolle altar frag-
ments (c. 500 B.C.),⁸) and the doṇolm (sometimes actually read doi-
volm) in lines 6–7 of the Caso Cantovios bronze (CIL I² 5; 4th c.);⁹)
for a later example, note the N of coronaries in line 4 of CIL I² 980
(2nd c.; see Degrassi's photograph, *Imagines* 44).

   According to this solution, the resulting]aṇa would somehow rep-
resent the name "Diana".¹⁰) But a restoration [Di]aṇa, while perhaps
marginally possible, remains unlikely, given the space considerations
discussed above. There is, nevertheless, an attractive *lectio difficilior,*
namely [I]aṇa: compare the by-form *Iana* (= *Diana*), hitherto only
weakly attested in literary sources.¹¹) Interestingly enough, Varro
specifies that the form can be heard *rure*, which is certainly appropri-
ate for Manduria. The manner of Varro's citation, moreover, seems
to indicate that the form was not uncommon (*Tremelius, "Numquam*

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   ⁷) An actual engraving error "IV" for the N of the copy text would be a more
remote possibility.
   ⁸) CIL I²(4) 2833a; see the facsimile of this line provided by L. Prosdocimi,
SE 47 (1979) 204, with his comment "non esclusi *ive*[o *aie*[", and compare A.
Morandi's earlier reading **ve** (*Archeologia laziale* 1 [Rome 1978] 90).
   ⁹) The extremely tilted N's otherwise found in this inscription may indicate
that in this case the "IV" of "DOIVOlM" results from an engraving error (for
the DONOlM of the copy text), as opposed to a faultily produced "N".
   ¹⁰) Note the same order ...Apolo...Menerva...Diama [sic] ... in an approxi-
mately contemporaneous Praenestine list of divinities, CIL I² 563.
   ¹¹) Varro, *RR* 1.37.3; Nigidius Figulus fr.73 (ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.9.6ff.); Ter-
tullian, *Nat.* 2.15.3 = fr.195 in B. Cardauns, *M. Terentius Varro Antiquitates
Rerum Divinarum* (Wiesbaden 1976) 84–5, 218. (For *Iana* = *Diana*, see esp. J.
Heurgon, *REL* 25 (1947) 237–8). The entry accorded *Iana* in G. Radke, *Die
Götter Altitaliens*² (Münster 1979) 146 ("sehr unzuverlässig bei Tertull. ad nat. II
15 überlieferter Name einer unbekannten Göttin") is thus both inaccurate and
incomplete. Compare Cardauns' conclusion (op.cit. 218): "An der Existenz der
Göttin ist trotz der schwachen Bezeugung kaum zu zweifeln."

rure audisti," inquit, *"octavo Ianam lunam ...?"*); even so, it would no
doubt have been ousted (at least in public documents) by the normal
urban form relatively soon after the area was colonized. Thus, if this
restoration is correct, it would serve to support the late third-century
dating of the inscription.[12])

The difficulty remains of how reconcile the forms *Iana* and
Diana. Diana, whatever its etymology, shows a metrically guaran-
teed long -*ī*-;[13]) but this scansion was largely superseded by the form
with -*ĭ*- introduced at hexameter-end, first attested in Lucilius.[14])
Thus an otherwise plausible development *Dīāna* > *Dĭāna* >
*Dįāna (via desyllabification of the -*ĭ*-) > *Iāna* is excluded on the
basis of chronology and usage. In principle, *Iana* may be a phonologi-
cally regular reflex of a name other than that of Diana, which later
came to be associated with Diana secondarily; but such accounts
would be purely speculative.[15]) Alternatively, *Iana* may be a second-
ary deformation of *Diana* after the name of some other divinity, for
which the obvious candidate would be *Ianus.* Whether for this rea-
son, or simply because of the similarity between the two names, two
of the ancient testimonies about *Iana* (see the references in n. 11)
associate her explicitly with Janus: thus according to Nigidius Fig-
ulus, there is a tradition according to which the name "Janus" actu-
ally stands for a combined *numen* consisting of a nexus of both
Apollo and Diana; this is then supported by the fact that both
Apollo and Diana are typically worshipped at Janus-like locations,
such as doorways and crossroads. In similar fashion, the Tertullian
passage (ultimately derived from Varro) discusses three divinities
associated with locations, of which the first two are *Ianus pater* and
Iana. We must also reckon with a reverse analogy associating Janus
with Diana, as shown by the form **Dianó** 'Iano' in a votive inscription

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[12]) The only other inscriptional mention of Diana from this area, to my
knowledge, occurs in a somewhat later (2nd c.) monument from Tarentum, also
with broken initial (CIL I² 1696; cf. Degrassi, *Imagines* 38):
A[.]Titin[ius.A.f.D]ianae | aidicolam.votum | dedit.meretod. By this date, a resto-
ration]ịanae would be rather less likely than the conventionally-assumed
D]ianae.

[13]) E. g. Ennius *Ann.* 240 Sk, Plautus *Bacch.* 312, and retained in later poets
(Virgil, Horace, Ovid, etc.) as an archaism.

[14]) Fr. 106 Kr (... *templa Dianae.**); on this and similar metrically-induced
shortenings, see Leumann (above, n. 6) 106, 116.

[15]) One could imagine, for example, a **Dịeh₂-neh₂* > **Diāna* > *Iāna,* cf.
Hom. δέατο 'seemed' (< ***'shone'? cf. "*Iana luna*") if based on a root **deịh₂*-.

from Aquileia (CIL V 783). But the task of disentangling this web of names and partly folk-etymological associations (in which – to muddy the waters still further – Dea Dia also plays a part) I leave to historians of Roman religion.

Appendix: Tertullian, Nat. 2.15.3

Tertullian's Varro-inspired reference to *Iana* (*Nat.* 2.15.3) occurs in a phrase printed either *et diva Arquis est Iana*[16]) or *et diva arquis est Iana* (Oehler, Cardauns). Cardauns (following *TLL* 2.475.70) takes *arquis* as a dat./abl. pl., citing *o*-stem forms like nom. pl. *arci* (Varro ap. Non. 108.10 L = 77 M; similarly gen. sg. *arqui* Lucr. 6.525, cf. *TLL* 2.475.80 ff.). But no matter how plausible an *o*-stem dat./abl. pl. *arquis* may be morphologically, such a form poses insuperable syntactic and semantic difficulties in context: the bizarre phrase *diva arquis* 'divine with respect to / on account of (her) bows' (vel sim.) cannot be reconciled with normal usages of *divus,* and the plural 'bows' is decidedly odd. Positing an otherwise unknown deity *Arquis* (Borleffs, similarly *TLL* 2.631.72) is merely an *ultimum refugium,* and Radke[17]) is surely correct in suspecting an error in the textual transmission. A simple expedient would be to read *arques* 'archer(ess)', on the basis of the gloss *arquites.*[18]) But this section of the surviving manuscript[19]) reads so unsatisfactorily that we must begin by trying to ascertain the probable content of the archetype.

It will be convenient to take the standard text of Borleffs (here provided with an abbreviated apparatus) as a point of departure:

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[16]) J. G. P. Borleffs (ed.), *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Ad Nationes Libri Duo* (Leiden 1929) 72 (= *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera* [Turnhout 1954] 1.70).

[17]) *Götter* (above, n. 11) 72, s. v. *Arquis.*

[18]) "*Arquites arcu proeliantes, qui nunc dicuntur sagittarii*", P. F. 19.10 L; see also *TLL* 2.631.60 ff. for additional material from glosses. For an *arques* f. 'archeress', compare *eques* f. in Christian authors, e.g. Iul. Val. 3.46 (*strenuas quasque equites* [i.e. *Amazonas*]), Prud. *Psych.* 270 (*eques illa* [i.e. *Superbia*]).

[19]) "A" (Agobardinus) = Codex Parisinus Latinus 1622, saec. IX; see Borleffs' extensive discussion of the MS (including its deteriorated condition, whence numerous lacunae, some with illegible letter-traces), in the preface to his 1929 critical edition (above, n. 16).

Ut cetera transvolem, etiam locorum urbis ve⟨l⟩ loca deos ⟨arbi-
tramini⟩, ar⟨cuum Ianum⟩ patrem (et diva Arquis *est* Iana), et mon-
tium septe⟨m⟩ Monti⟨n⟩um.

urbis ve⟨l⟩: urbisve A   ar⟨cuum Ianum⟩: ar⟨...[c. 8] ...⟩ A   est: & (= et)
A   Iana: Iana A   septe⟨m⟩ Monti⟨n⟩um: septemontium A

The most serious difficulties concern the sequence from *ar⟨......⟩
patrem* to *Iana*. These may be partially resolved by considering the
surrounding material, as well as the sense and structure of the pas-
sage as a whole. In general, the passage belongs to the Varronian
topos of "Ortsgottheiten", in which specialized divinities associated
with locations are enumerated, usually displaying an overt etymolog-
ical connection between the god's name and the location: thus *Car-
dea* (*a cardinibus*), *Forculus* (*a foribus*), *Limentinus* (*a limine*),[20] *Por-
tunus* (*deus port[uum porta]rumque praeses*),[21] et al. Here Tertullian
clearly wishes to enumerate a series of three divinities associated
with particular locales that are at least partly "urban". The third
deity in the sequence is *Montinus,* whose existence as such (unlike
that of *Arquis*) is independently confirmed by Arnobius (*Nat.* 4.9),
on whom Tertullian may have been drawing.[22] This third divinity is
listed, as we would expect, in the accusative, as is the first (⟨... ⟩
patrem); the god's name is preceded, moreover, by a genitive *mon-
tium* specifying his particular locale: "Montinus, (god) of the seven
hills [*montes*] (of Rome)".[23] As often, the juxtaposition *montium ...
Montinum* has an implied *etymological* association, which serves to
emphasize the connection of the deity with his location.

While *⟨... Ianum⟩ patrem* is extremely attractive in view of the use
of *patrem* and the probable association of Ianus with the following
Iana (as already discussed), the above considerations suggest that the
ar⟨cuum of the conventional restoration *ar⟨cuum Ianum⟩ patrem* is
nonsensical, and cannot be maintained.[24] Oehler's *ar⟨bitramini,
Ianum ⟩ patrem* accounts for the transmitted *ar⟨* more satisfactorily;
but the context also requires a genitive preceding *Ianum* which

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[20]) Tert. *Idol.* 15.5 = Cardauns (above, n. 11) fr. 200.

[21]) Schol. Veron. Virg. *A.* 5.241 = Cardauns, fr. 202.

[22]) Cf. Cardauns, fr. 196, with commentary (p. 218); Radke (above, n. 11) 224
(*s. v. Montinus*) cites only the Arnobius passage.

[23]) For the pattern, cf. Arn. *Nat.* 4.7 *deus nemorum Nemestrinus est* (for which
Cardauns (p. 218) again conjectures a Varronian source).

[24]) Cardauns (p. 85) appears to accept this interpretation, although he wrongly
prints *arc[uum Ianum] patrem* for *ar[cuum.*

would specify a locale with which the god is associated, perhaps also etymologically. The most likely solution, then, is *ar(bitramini, Ianiculi Ianum) patrem* 'Father Janus, (eponymous god) of the Ianiculum', which is then exactly parallel to the concluding *montium septe(m) Monti(n)um.*[25])

The intervening phrase *et diva arquis et Iana* (A) is more difficult, although *Iana* for *Iana* seems assured.[26]) The phrase is generally taken to be parenthetical (whence the nominative); note, however, that this requires either emending the second *et* to *est* (Oehler), or reading *(est) et diva arquis Iana* (Gothofroedus). A parenthetical afterthought linking Iana with the preceding Ianus is surely possible; but the archetype may instead have had a second divinity in the accusative, parallel to the other two, which was then recast as a nominative as a result of later distortions in its transmission. In either case – whether parenthetical nominative, or second in a series of three accusatives – the phrase is defective: it lacks the specification of the divinity's *locus,* without which the goddess' mention makes no sense whatsoever in Tertullian's context. For this reason, the semantically empty phrase-initial epithet *diva* is perhaps unsound, and may conceal just such a specification. In view of the locational attributes of Diana/Iana,[27]) I suggest that she is here referred to not vacuously as *diva,* but more pointedly with her "spatial" epithet *(Tr)iv(i)a* 'Crossroads-goddess',[28]) or (if one prefers to restore an accusative phrase) *(tr)iv(ii) ... Iana(m)* 'Iana, (goddess) of the crossroads', parallel to *(Ianiculi Ianum) patrem* and *montium septe(m) Monti(n)um* (but without the etymological association present in the other two phrases).

We may now return to the form *arquis.* In addition to *et (Tr)iv(i)a arqu(e)s e(s)t Iana* (or *et (tr)iv(ii) arqui(tem) Iana(m)*), there is an alternative to relying on the gloss *arquites*: the *arquis & (= arquis et)* of the MS may instead conceal the otherwise well-attested epithet of

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[25]) For the (folk-)etymological connection of the *Ianiculum* with *Ianus*: e.g. Virg. *A.* 8.357-8, Ov. *F.* 1.245-6. Alternatively: e.g. *(... Portae Ianulis Ianum) patrem,* 'Father Janus, (eponymous god) of the Porta Ianualis', cf. Varro, *LL* 5.165 "... *Ianualis, dicta ab Iano ...*".

[26]) Similarly *Iana* (MSS) for *Iana* at Varro, *RR* 1.37.3 (cf. n.11 above).

[27]) Cf. Nigidius Figulus (above, n.11): *Dianae vero ut Triviae viarum omnium tribuunt potestatem.*

[28]) E.g. Lucr. 1.84 (*triviai virginis aram*), Cat. 34.15 (*tu potens Trivia*), Virg. *A.* 10.537 (*Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos*), CIL X.3795 (DIANAE|TIFATINAE|TRIVIAE|SACRUM), etc.

Diana (and Apollo) *arquitenens* (or accusative *arquitenentem*),[29]) which was in fact used by Arnobius (*Nat.* 1.36 *arquitenentes Diana et Apollo,* cf. 4.22 *arquitenens Delius et silvarum agitatrix Diana*); sequences like *-tenens* or (especially) *-tenente-* would have been ripe for (essentially haplological) omissions and distortions, which may in turn help account for the troubled state of the phrase as we find it in A.

The essential structure of the archetype, then, may perhaps be reconstructed somewhat as follows:

Ut cetera transvolem, etiam locorum urbis vel loca deos arbitramini, Ianiculi[30]*) Ianum patrem (est et "Trivia", arquitenens*[31]*) Iana*[32]*)) et montium septem Montinum.*[33]*)

Mots fragmentés chez Ennius

Par Michèle Fruyt, Sorbonne/Paris

On rencontre chez Ennius quelques formes surprenantes. A côté
d'abréviations, où des mots sont réduits à leur séquence initiale (*gau,
do, cael* pour *gaudium, domum, caelum: Ann.* 574, 575, 576 V =
Spuria? 33, 34, 35 W), on trouve des fragmentations de mots en deux
parties, séparées par l'intercalation d'un ou plusieurs autres mots.
Ces dernières formes sont citées par certains grammairiens latins au
titre de la tmèse, aux côtés du *septem ... trioni* de Virgile (pour
Septemtrioni: G. 3, 381) et reprises par M. Leumann (1977, p. 271,
§ 261). Il s'agit de: – *cere ... brum* dans:

> *saxo cere comminuit brum*

(*Ann.* 609 V = *Spuria?* 13 W; Donat, *GLK* IV, 401, ligne 16;
Sergius, *Explanat. in Donatum lib. II, GLK* IV, 565; Pompeius *GLK*
V, 310, ligne 5),
   – et *Massili ... tanas* dans:

> *Massili portabant iuuenes ad litora tanas*

(*Ann.* 610 V = *Spuria?* 44 W; Donat *GLK* IV, 401, ligne 17;
Pompeius *GLK* V, 310, ligne 3–4: *id est Massilitanas lagonas
portabant iuuenes ad litora*).
   Le *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* d'A. Ernout –
A. Meillet parle pour *gau, do* et *cael*[1]), s. u. *gaudium*, de „barbarisme
artificiel", mais A. Cordier (1940, 95)[2]) voit dans ces exemples
d'abréviation et de coupure non des barbarismes, mais des procédés
artificiels de diction propres au style épique et leur trouve dans la
Poétique d'Aristote des justifications théoriques: ces hardiesses de
langage lui paraissent conformes aux commentaires des théoriciens,
chaque genre littéraire ayant une langue qui lui est propre: "le
traitement de *cere ... brum, Massili ... tanas,* tout étrange qu'il paraît,
tout maladroit qu'il peut être, relève des mêmes enseignements".
A. Cordier (1940, 94) montre en outre que la fragmentation de ces
mots en morceaux constitue une représentation iconique de la réalité
extralinguistique dénotée, puisque les vers concernés décrivent des

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[1]) En rappelant p. 268 que l'authenticité de *gau* est du reste contestée.
   [2]) Nous remercions M. le Professeur P. Flobert de cette indication
bibliographique.

entités effectivement brisées (dans le premier cas une tête, dans le second des flacons). Mais s'il met ainsi en valeur la raison **stylistique** de ces coupures de mots, il estime que la place à laquelle intervient cette coupure dans le mot est "**fantaisiste,** et encore plus fantaisiste que pour *do, gau, cael*".

Nous souhaiterions montrer, au contraire, que la place de la coupure, loin d'être fortuite, répond à un principe linguistique simple. De même que Virgile (*G.* 3, 381) coupe *septem .. triōnī* à la frontière de morphème, située ici – puisqu'il s'agit d'un composé – entre le premier et le second terme du composé, de même notre poète a-t-il coupé deux mots suffixés à la frontière de morphème, c'est-à-dire après la base de dérivation et avant le suffixe. Nous entendons, biens sûr, ici par „suffixe" non ce qui est aujourd'hui pour nous un suffixe si nous nous plaçons du point de vue de l'histoire de la langue latine et de la grammaire comparée, mais ce qui était perçu **synchroniquement** par le sujet parlant comme un suffixe au moment de la rédaction du texte.

Il existe en latin, dès l'époque archaïque, un suffixe *-brum* formant, entre autres, des noms d'instrument. Ennius lui associait facilement l'élément final – *brum* de *cere-brum*, puisque ce suffixe, apparaissant dans un grand nombre de mots, était clairement reconnu par le sujet parlant[3]) – même si la productivité de ce suffixe hérité est éteinte en latin dès le début de la tradition[4]). Le fait que, d'un point de vue diachronique, nous prêtions aujourd'hui à *cerebrum* une autre origine (Ernout-Meillet 115: **keres-ro-* ou **kerəs-ro*) n'est pas contradictoire avec le fait qu' Ennius ait pu y voir synchroniquement l'association d'un élément *-brum,* qu'il reconnaissait pour l'avoir déjà rencontré dans d'autres mots, et d'un élément *cere-*, qu'il ne reconnaissait pas et qui demeurait isolé[5]).

Dans *Massili .. tānās,* le sujet parlant pouvait percevoir le suffixe *-tānus* (presque toujours précédé de la voyelle *i*: J. Wackernagel 1906, 16). Il sert à former des ethniques ou des noms d'habitants de villes sur la base du nom de la ville, et les mots ainsi formés jouent aussi le rôle de ktétique (J. Wackernagel 1906, 13). Ce suffixe, bien étudié (M. Leumann 1977, p. 324, § 295; J. Wackernagel 1906, 13–23; E. Seyfried 1951, 62–67; M. Faust 1966, 81 et 109), pose quelques

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[3]) G. Serbat, 1975, 90–91: à époque ancienne, par ex.: *candēlābrum, crībrum, dēlūbrum, dolābra, ēlecebra, lābrum,* etc.

[4]) G. Serbat, 1975, par ex. p. 125.

[5]) C'était donc une formation semi-motivée: cf. M. Fruyt 1986, 10.

problèmes d'origine. Selon J. Wackernagel (1906), il existe, pour des villes situées en Sicile et en Italie, un suffixe *-tānus* ou *-itānus* attesté à partir de Cicéron, rendant le suffixe grec – *της* auquel fut ajouté le suffixe latin *-ānus: Ancōnitānus* à côté de gr. Ἀγκωνίτης (J. Wackernagel 1906, 13). A l'époque d'Auguste ce suffixe s'est étendu à d'autres aires géographiques: *Hadrānītānus*, gr. Ἀδρανίτης (J. Wackernagel 1906, 15). Mais il existait déjà avant Cicéron un suffixe *-tānus, -itānus* d'ethniques ou d'habitants pour des villes situées en Espagne et en Afrique (J. Wackernagel 1906, 18: *Gādītānus* sur *Gādēs, Ilurgitānus* sur *Ilurgis* ...), mais aussi en Aquitaine, aux Baléares, en Sardaigne, Lybie, ...

Les mots de cette formation posent quelques problèmes pour ce qui est de la longueur de la voyelle *i* précédant le *t*. Si L. Müller (1894, 457) et J. Wackernagel (1906, 18) le disent toujours long, d'autres posent selon les cas tantôt une longue, tantôt une brève (cf. les dictionnaires et E. Seyfried 1951, 62–27). Le fait que *Massili* .. *tānās* ait dans notre passage un i̲ bref (si le vers est bien un hexamètre dactylique) alors qu'on attend un i̲ long, attesté pour ce mot chez Martial (3, 82, 23), fait écrire à L. Müller (1894, 457, suivi par J. Wackernagel 1906, 19, et J. Perin 1920, 226) que le vers n'est pas d'Ennius et que cette erreur de longueur dénonce une rédaction beaucoup plus tardive (IIIème ou IV ème siècle p. C.). Contentons-nous de remarquer que si *Massili* .. *tānās* avait eu ici un premier i̲ bref et un second i̲ long, il n'aurait pu entrer dans l'hexamètre.

Quelle que soit l'importance qu'il faut accorder à cet avis de L. Müller, et que le passage soit ou non d'Ennius, la raison pour laquelle le poète a coupé *Massili* .. *tānās* (après le second *i* et avant le *t*) et non, par exemple, *Massil* .. *itānās* est claire: le mot étant pour lui tout à fait analysable et motivé, aussi bien pour le suffixe que pour la base de dérivation, il l'a fragmenté à l'endroit où il percevait la frontière entre les deux unités linguistiques qui le constituaient.

Le segment de base du dérivé est, en effet, la partie commune au dérivé et au lexème associé: il inclut donc la voyelle *i*. Cette frontière est d'ailleurs située ici à la même place que dans les autres ethniques dérivés de *Massilia* "Marseille": *Massili-ēnsis* (fait avec le suffixe latin *-ēnsis*), *Massiliōticus* (probablement emprunté au grec).

La place de la fracture n'est donc pas „fantaisiste": elle répond à un critère morphologique ou morphématique reflétant la perception

que le locuteur a de la constitution du mot[6]). La frontière intérieure
au "mot" (au sens d'unité syntaxique minimale) a été traitée comme
une frontière extérieure entre deux "mots", et les deux morceaux
résultant de la coupure ont acquis l'une des propriétés des unités
syntaxiques minimales: la possibilité de disjonction dans la phrase.
On a, en somme, promu des morphèmes liés au rang de morphèmes
libres.

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    1969, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1322–1345).

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[6]) Pour l'usage des termes *mot, unité morphologique, unité morphématique, unité
syntaxique minimale:* M. Fruyt et M.-J. Reichler-Béguelin 1990; M. Fruyt, Aussois
1989.

Metrik und literarische Konkurrenz

Von Rudolf Führer, Hamburg

Bereits aus A. Siedows[1]) Statistik für Elision vor Monosyllabon[2]) im 3. longum des Hexameters bei *Ovid*[3]) springt die einsame Häufigkeitsspitze von met. XIII in die Augen: 9× gegenüber sonst höchstens 4× (met. I[4]). XIV[5])) oder 3× (epist., met. VII), meist aber weniger (0–2×). Von diesen 9× gehen 7[6]) auf das Konto von Elision vor *ĕt*[7]), und mit Recht vermerkt Michael Schmidt[8]) zu met. XIII 6. 41. 74. 79. 122: „sunt hi quinque versus ex oratione Aiacis arma Achillis sibi vindicantis"; met. XIII 277 nimmt Odysseus darauf Bezug, und met. XIII 728[9]) (<Verg. Aen. X 687[10])) *Teucri ĕt*[11]) gehört ebenso wie

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[1]) De elisionis aphaeresis hiatus usu in hexametris Latinis ab Ennii usque ad Ovidii tempora, Diss. Greifswald 1911, 50 f. (tab. VI).

[2]) „sub littera *a*" (aaO. 10). Aphärese ist korrekterweise getrennt erfaßt (tab. VII); vgl. dazu R. G. Kent, TAPhA 54, 1923, 92: im Gegensatz zu Ovid „Vergil always disliked T" (scil. „the so-called ‚enclisis' of *est* and of *es*", ebd. 86), s. die jeweiligen Gesamtsummen für [3] von 42× (Vergil) bzw. 446× (Ovid) bei Siedow 28. 51.

[3]) Insgesamt nur 43× gegenüber 545× bei Vergil, s. Siedow 58 (tab. XII) und kontrastiere o. Anm. 2.

[4]) 78. 166. 591. 720 laut Braum (s. u. Anm. 17) 42.

[5]) 103. 114. 227. 462, sämtlich innerhalb von Ovids ‚Aeneis' bzw. ‚Odyssee' (s. u.).

[6]) Aufgelistet in F. Bömers Kommentar zu met. XII–XIII, Heidelberg 1982, 27 (wo in der 4. Zeile statt „Pent-" Trithemimeres zu lesen ist).

[7]) Wie alle Belege in met. II. IV. V. VI. XV, vgl. Braum (s. u. Anm. 17) 42.

[8]) De Ovidii versibus hexametris, Programm Gymnasium Cleve 1856, 7 Anm. 2.

[9]) Fehlt bei Schmidt aaO. wegen textlicher Abhängigkeit von der Vulgata, der auch die überschüssigen Belegstellen VII 639 (gegen die Textgestaltung von Anderson, obendrein ohne Herkunftsangabe für *et*, s. Bömer z. St.), IX 211, XIV 274 geschuldet sind, „quibus accedit III, 670" (lies: 672) „nisi magis placet … scribere …" (einziger Hinweis auf Textvarianten). – met. VIII 304 ist nicht *Thestiadae <ĕt>* (von Bömer z. St. für „nicht unmöglich" erklärt, zu IX 20 als v. l. zitiert, doch s. u. Anm. 17 am Ende), sondern *Th. proles⟨que⟩ Aphareia* zu lesen, in ‚Responsion' mit *iaculoque insignis* 306, vgl. *et* 303 ~ 304 ~ 305 und 305 ~ 307 ~ 308, *-que* 306 ~ 307 ~ 308 und 302 ~ 307, d. h. sämtliche Belege innerhalb des Abschnitts 301–308:

vgl.
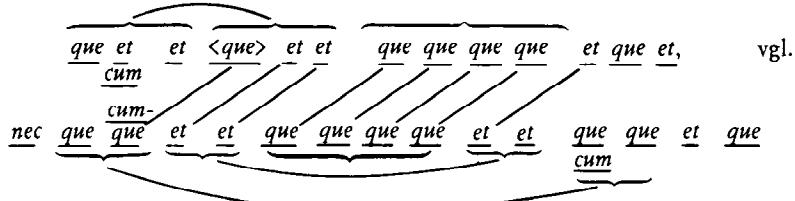
XIV 103 (<Verg. Aen. I 51) *tumulum ĕt*[12]) und 227[13]) (<x 28 f.) zur ‚Aeneis' (bzw. ‚Odyssee'[14])) innerhalb der Metamorphosen, während es XV 763 um Caesars Ermordung als Thema einer sich unmittelbar anschließenden Venus-Rede geht. Nimmt man noch die deutlichen Vergil-Anspielungen met. I 591 <georg. III 520 (Aen. XI 545), met. VI 555[15]) <Aen. VIII 649 und met. IX 20[16]) <Aen. IV 267 (V 714) hinzu, so erweisen sich bereits 65%[17]) aller met.-Belege für Elision vor *ĕt* als (homerisierend-) vergilisierend.

In der Tat stellt Elision vor *ĕt* eine höchst charakteristische Entwicklung[18]) von *Vergils* Stil dar und findet sich beispielsweise in den 22 Versen der (umstrittenen, aber jedenfalls vergilisch gefärbten)

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im folgenden Abschnitt 309–317. (Anders gliedert J. Gaßner, Kataloge im römischen Epos, Diss. München 1972, 84.)

[10]) *aestuque secundo* (wie sonst noch met. XIII 630).

[11]) Vgl. *Teucri ăc* (bzw. *ĕt*) Verg. Aen. IX 34.510 (V 181.450).

[12]) Vgl. *tumulum* (bzw. -*o*) *ĕt* Verg. Aen. VI 380 (III 40, V 93). Nach elidiertem anapästischem Wort ist *ĕt* mit 34× von 188 das häufigste Folgewort bei Vergil, s. H. Cancik u. a., Glotta 50, 1972, 105. Vgl. noch met. I 166 (*animo ĕt*). 591 (*nemorum ĕt*), V 134 (*animam ĕt*).

[13]) Mit Homoioteleuton (vgl. u. Anm. 15) *isse/aspexisse*; 226 *flatuque secundo* (wie noch met. XIII 418), vgl. o. Anm. 10.

[14]) Vgl. J. D. Ellsworth, Mnemosyne IV 41, 1988, 333 ff.

[15]) *ille indignantem et nomen patris usque vocantem / luctantemque loqui ...* Zum verbalen Homoioteleuton vgl. außer Verg. Aen. VIII 649 noch IV 390, X 554, XI 697 und s. met. V 134 u. Anm. 17.

[16]) IX 19 „ist eine deutliche Anspielung auf die Gestalt des Aeneas bei Vergil" (Bömer z. St.).

[17]) 13 von 20; es verbleiben met. I 166 (*ingentes animo et dignas Iove concipit iras*), II 314, IV 319, V 134 (*singultantem animam et versantem lumina vidit*, vgl. Verg. Aen. IX 333. 349). 670 (*conantesque loqui et ...*, vgl. o. Anm. 15; 678 Buchende), VII 583, X 738 (739 Buchende), s. Schmidt aaO. (der außer den o. Anm. 9 genannten Stellen noch met. I 587 und XII 161 für Elision vor *ătque* sowie met. X 590 als einzige Ausnahme ohne Elision vor *ĕt* anführt). O. Braum in seiner „sorgfältigen Monographie" (B. Axelson, Eranos 43, 1945, 28) De monosyllabis ante caesuras hexametri latini collocatis, Diss. Marburg 1906, 42 „confirms this for the first six books" (J. A. Richmond, Hermes 96, 1968, 343 Anm. 4) und vervollständigt 43 die (auch für met. lückenhafte) Belegsammlung epist. 19, 29, fast. III 585, Pont. II 6, 23 von Guilelmus Schulte, De Ovidiano synaloepharum usu, Diss. Münster 1909, 27 f. um fast. VI 443 wie M. Platnauer, Latin Elegiac Verse, Cambridge 1951, 83 Anm. 2 um trist. IV 2, 55. Elidiert wird -(*a/e/u*)*m* 13× (über die Hälfte), -*ī* 5×, -*ō* 4×, -*ē* 2× (epist. 19, 29 und Aiax-Rede met. XIII 79), -*ŭ* 1× (Aiax-Rede met. XIII 74). Laut R. G. Kent, TAPhA 54, 1923, 92 „Ovid disliked M and L" (scil. „the elision of a vowel followed by a final *m*" bzw. „the elision of a long vowel or of a diphthong", ebd. 86).

[18]) Vgl. J. Hellegouarc'h, REL 40, 1962, 240.

Helena-Episode[19]) nicht weniger als 6×[20]). Angesichts der sonstigen Seltenheit der Erscheinung bei Ovid sei die Frage erlaubt, ob sich hinter dem fünfmaligen Vorkommen in der Aiax-Rede über Ethopoiie hinaus nicht noch eine literarkritische Pointe verbirgt[21]): So wie der raffinierte Rhetoriker Odysseus über den geradlinigen Haudegen Aiax triumphiert, so möchte ovidische Eleganz[22]) vergilische Schlichtheit überstrahlen[23]).

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[19]) Vgl. dazu S. Timpanaro, Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica, Roma 1986, 17 Anm. 4.

[20]) Aen. II 572. 573. 576. 580. 587. 588. Vgl. dazu einerseits R. G. Austin, CQ 55 = n.s. 11, 1961, 187 Anm. 8, andrerseits C. E. Murgia, CSCA 4, 1971, 214 f.

[21]) Vgl. grundsätzlich Kj. Matthiessen, GB 15, 1988, 35 (zu ϑ 75): „Es mag sich" hinter dem Konkurrenzverhältnis zwischen Odysseus und Achilleus „sogar ein Konkurrenzverhältnis zweier Dichter verbergen" (ähnlich U. Hölscher, Die Odyssee, München 1988, 308 zu ω 36.192 ff.), und s. speziell J. Latacz, WJA N. F. 5, 1979, 155: „Am Waffenstreit zwischen Ajas und Odysseus, aber auch an der ganzen Rezeption der vergilischen Aeneis und schließlich an der schillernden Darstellung der römischen Ap⟨o⟩theosen von Romulus bis Caesar und Augustus ließe sich deutlich machen, wie Ovid mit seinem großen Spiel die ganze pathetische Kulisse einer Tradition des heroischen, nationalen und imperialen Weltgefühls ironisch demontiert".

[22]) „Für die steigende Abneigung gegen Synaloephen" vgl. E. Norden zu Verg. Aen. VI, Leipzig/Berlin ²1916, 458 Anm. 5.

[23]) Vgl. auch Ph. Hardie, Ovid's Theban History: The First ‚Anti-*Aeneid*'?, CQ 84 = n.s. 40, 1990, 224 ff.; B. Weiden Boyd, ‚*Non hortamine longo*': An Ovidian ‚Correction' of Virgil, AJPh 111, 1990, 82 ff.

Renata von Scheliha: Vom Wettkampf der Dichter
Der musische Agon bei den Griechen

Nietzsche und Jacob Burckhardt haben vor mehr als einem Jahrhundert auf die vom Wettkampf bestimmte Lebensweise der Griechen hingewiesen. Burckhardt kennzeichnet in seiner *Griechischen Kulturgeschichte* die Zeit nach dem Abschluss der dorischen Wanderung als *die Zeit des agonalen Menschen*. Der Agon ist 'das allgemeine Gärungselement', das, 'sobald die nötige Freiheit da ist', unser Wollen, wie auch unser Können, steigert. Die Agonalität, das Sichmessen unter seinesgleichen, steht im Gegensatz zu Despotismus und Kastenwesen. Es steht aber auch in einem Spannungsverhältnis zur Demokratie. Die Wissenschaft hat sich bisher nur der Erforschung gymnischer und hippischer Wettkämpfe zugewandt. Burckhardts und Nietzsches Entdeckung des Agonalen als Grundmacht des gesamten griechischen Lebens wird von Renata von Scheliha hier erstmals wissenschaftlich ausgebaut. Die Verfasserin wahrt die Distanz zu unseren modernen Wertungen: es geht ihr um die Einwirkung des Musischen in Leben und Erziehung. – Vor aller Augen erreicht der Sieger im Wettlauf als erster das Ziel. Wieviel schwerer ist es, Dichtungen zu beurteilen! Wer waren die Preisrichter? Wie wurde entschieden? Waren politische Umstände, gesellschaftliche Bedingtheiten ausschlaggebend? Der *musische* Agon ist ohne seine staatlichen und politischen Bezüge nicht richtig zu verstehen.

Das Thema ist komplex, es umfasst mehrere Disziplinen: Geschichte, Heortologie, Religionswissenschaft, die Geschichte der Gymnastik und ihrer Spiele, Musik- und Theaterwissenschaft, Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte.

Renata von Scheliha wurde mit ihrem Homer-Buch *Patroklos* (Basel 1943) bekannt. Sie starb 1967 in New York. Von ihrer umfassenden Einsicht zeugen auch die jetzt aus dem Nachlass herausgegebenen Studien zum Wettkampf der Dichter.

Aus dem Inhalt: Zum Ursprung der musischen Agone. – Rhapsoden-Agone. – Skenische Agone: Tragödien. – Skenische Agone: Komödien.

Günter Kopcke · Handel

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