

THE ORIGINS OF THE GREEK LEXICON: *EX ORIENTE LUX*

*To the memory of my
teacher and friend*

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1. For more than two thousand years research into the origins of the Greek lexicon had been understood and carried on in the spirit exemplified but also mocked in the Platonic *Kratylos*.¹ The revolutionary change came in the early nineteenth century when after many inspired guesses Franz Bopp (1791–1867) finally and definitively proved in 1816 that Greek, in company with many European languages, derived, like Indian and Iranian, from one prehistoric ancestor, the whole family being dubbed *Indo-European* by the well-known physician and physicist, Dr Thomas Young, in 1813, three years before the publication of Bopp's work.² But the first true etymologist was August Friedrich Pott (1802–87) who with the two volumes of his *Etymologische Forschungen*, published in 1833 and 1836 respectively, laid the foundations of Indo-European, and therewith also Greek, etymology.³

Throughout the nineteenth century, and even down to our own days, the main emphasis has been on the IE origins of the Greek vocabulary. This part of the Greek lexicon consists (1) of the inherited IE stock, e.g. *πατήρ, μάτηρ; ἄγω, φέρω; ἀπό, περί*, etc.; (2) of derivatives produced with IE means, i.e. with suffixes, e.g. *πάτρ-ιο-ς δώ-τωρ δο-τήρ*; (3) compounds, e.g., *θυμο-βόρος* 'eating the heart'; *ἀπο-φέρω* 'take away'.

This part of the lexicon has been well tilled. Small wonder that this sector of the field holds no great promise. But it would be rash to assert that it is exhausted, that new results can no longer be obtained. It is perhaps permitted to quote a few cases which have been clarified quite recently.

The adjective *διῦπετής* accompanies, in Homer and even later, words for stream, e.g. Il. 16, 174:

υἱὸς Σπερχειοῖο, διῦπετέος ποταμοῖο.

Following the ancients, LSJ interpret it as 'fallen from Zeus, i.e. from heaven, fed or swollen by rain'. Here the ablative function of the first part is unexpected in a compound, and the form *διῦ*, which could only be a locative or (as *διει*) a dative, is also at variance with the function postulated. The compositional type (*bahuvrīhi*) demands an adjective. There can be little doubt that the correct solution has been found by H. Humbach:⁴ *διῦ-*

¹ On etymology in antiquity see W. Krause, *Problemkreise der antiken Grammatik* (Serta Philologica Aenipontana ed. R. Muth, 1962, 215–37) 226; the excellent survey of pagan and Christian representatives and doctrines by I. Opelt, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum VI*, 1966, 797–844; Ferrante, 'Le etimologie nei dialoghi di Platone', *RIL* 98, 1964, 162–70; *id.*, 'Le etimologie nella storiografia attica e nella poesia ellenistica', *RIL* 100, 1966, 473–506; Leroy, 'Étymologie et linguistique chez Platon', *Bulletin Acad. Belg.* 54, 1968, 121–52; G. de Poerck, 'Étymologia et origo à travers la tradition latine', in: *Anamnesis—Gedenkboek E. A. Leemans*, 1970, 191–228.

² In his review of Adelung–Vater, *Mithridates*, in:

Quarterly Review (London) X/2 (no. 19), 255. On the whole problem see Norman, *MLR* 24, 1929, 317; Siegert, *Wörter und Sachen* 22, 1942, 75 f.

³ On Pott's significance see Delbrück, *Einleitung in das Studium der idg. Sprachen*,⁴ 1904, 82–3; Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*⁸, 1937, 462; Pedersen, *The discovery of language*, 1962, 262–4. Note that the second edition of Pott's work was published 1859–76 in ten volumes!

⁴ Humbach, *KZ* 81, 1968, 279. This does not mean, of course, that Alcman's *ἀστήρ ὠρανῶ διαπυτής* must be the same thing. Cf. also Heubeck, *GGA* 218, 1966, 219; R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in idg. Zeit*, 1967, 368 s.vv.

has nothing to do with *Zeús/Diós* but is the compositional form, the so-called Caland-form, of the adjective *διερός* 'speedy' connected with *δίεμαι* 'speed, hasten'. The meaning of the compound was originally 'of speedy rush', 'speedy', and there is no need to interpret *οἰωνούς τε διυπετέας* in *Hymn. Ven. 4* as 'hovering in the sky' (LSJ) and not 'quick'. But later 'heaven' was felt in it, and it came to mean 'divine' in general.

The name of Dionysus which occurs in several variants—epic *Διώνυσος*, Thess. Cret. *Διόνυσος*, Lesb. *Ζόννυσος*, and as the earliest form Myc. *Diwonusojo*—is, as Frisk rightly says, to be interpreted as *ΔιΦος-νυσος*, but it seems rather peculiar to see in *ΔιΦος* a Thracian, not a Greek form, and therefore regard *νυσος* as a Thracian word for 'son'. That the name must mean 'son of Zeus' is obvious. But since the IE word for 'son' was **sūnus* (cf. Skt. *sūnus*, Gothic *sunus*), it is also clear that we have to start from *Diwos-sūnus* which by metathesis became *Diwosnūsus*, and by dissimilation of *u-u* to *u-o*, gave *Diwosnūsos*, the form which underlies all historical forms.⁵

Greek *βαλανεῖον* 'bath, bathing room'—which via Lat. *bal(i)neum* survives in the Romance languages, cf. Ital. *bagno*, French *bain*—is not attested before Aristophanes, and is the prose word for the poetic *λουτρά*. The recently ventured suggestion⁶ that it is derived from *βάλανος* in the meaning 'plug of the bath-tub', is quite impossible, not least because *βάλανος* is not attested in this meaning, and there are no bath-tubs with out-flow arrangements. The fact that in early days, as we now know already in Mycenaean times, the bath-tub was called *ἀσάμινθος*, an obvious loanword, does not mean that *βαλανεῖον* also must be a loanword—on the contrary. Its source is either the trade-name *βαλανεύς* or, of both, the verb *βαλανεύω*; in either case ultimately a noun **βαλανο-* or **βαλανᾶ*. The existence of Mycenaean *qerana*,⁷ the name of a jug or ewer, suggests the explanation. Hot or cold water was poured over the bathers from a ewer or ewers, later called *ἀρύταινα*; for this process either the verb *καταντλέω* was available or, in earlier times, *βαλανεύω* from *βαλανᾶ*, assimilated from the Mycenaean **g^welanā*. Those who handled these vessels were the *βαλανῆες*, and the place the *βαλανεῖον*.⁸

The post-Homeric verb *βλέπω* alternates with Alcman's *ποτιγλέπω*; the alternation *β/γ* points to an IE labiovelar *g^w-*, so that the verb represents an early **g^wlepō*, or even **g^wlek^wō*. Although the verb first appears in Alcman, its earlier existence seems vouchsafed by Homer's *παραβλώπες* 'looking askance, squinting': the relation of *βλώψι:βλέπω* seems to be the same as that of say *κλώψι:κλέπω* (replaced by *κλέπτω* but cf. Lat. *clepō*, Goth. *hlifan* 'steal'). But precisely because the pattern is familiar, it may well be that it is not the adjective that is derived from the verb but the verb which was abstracted from the pre-existent adjective, i.e. that *βλέπω* is a so-called retrograde formation. If this line of thought is pursued to the

⁵ See Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 1972, 665. Dery invents for *νυσος* an etymon *νυκ-γος* (~*νύσσω*), i.e. 'pointe, pic—rejeton, fils' (*Onomata* (Athens), 4, 1972, 3–11). On the presence of Dionysus in early Greek religion see Privitera, *1st Myc. Congress*, 1968, 1027 f.; 'Dioniso in Omero e nella poesia greca arcaica', 1970 (known to me from *RPh* 46, 1972, 286–7).

⁶ Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (=Frisk) I 213 (*βάλανος* = 'bolt-pin', and so *βαλανεῖον* 'verschlossener Raum') is hardly worth recalling. For the suggestion mentioned in the text see Chantraine, *Linguistique balkanique* 6, 1962, 16; *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (=Chantraine) I 159 f.

⁷ For *qerana* 'ewer, jug' see Ventris-Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 1956, 327 (where IE **k^wer-* is considered); L. R. Palmer, *The interpretation*

of Mycenaean Greek texts, 1963, 341, 353; Ruijgh, *Studia Mycenaea*, Brno 1968, 99³ ('vase à eau chaude' IE **g^wher-* 'warm', after Kamerbeek). I learn from J. Chadwick (letter of 19.3.1973) that he has been using the interpretation suggested by me for a long time. My explanation was first published in *Gn.* 43, 659, where I also referred to Petruševski, *ŽA* 15, 1965, 60, who however merely states the connexion between *qerana* and *βαλανεύω* without trying to explain their relation; more explicit is now Perpillou, *Les substantifs grecs en -eus*, 1973, 313–14.

⁸ For details of Greek bathing habits see Becker, *Charicles*, London 1854, 146 f., where a vase-painting plainly shows the 'pouring' (p. 148). See also R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutiké: Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris 1962, and note the 'bath-pourers' (Iewotro-khowo) at Pylos.

end, we realise that the basic form $*g^w l \acute{o}k^w s$ is a compound 'he who casts an eye' consisting of $*g^w l$ -, full-grade $*g^w el$ - 'throw', and $*ok^w$ - 'eye'. For the semantics compare, e.g., Engl. *cast a glance*, Germ. *einen Blick werfen*, Span. *lancemos una ojeada*, Hungarian *szemet vet* (casts an eye), etc. The first forms were probably prepositional compounds such as Homer's *παρα-βλ-ῶψ* or Alcman's *ποτι-γλέπω*, from which a simplex *βλέπω* was restored. Notice that similar phrases are not uncommon in Greek itself, cf. *βάλλειν ὄμμα, ὀπωπᾶς, ἀγῶς*.⁹

In the sequence of Spartan age-groups¹⁰ *ατροπαμπαῖς* is the boy in the fifth year of his state education, at the age of 11; see LSJ Suppl. 26B, 112–13. Since in the preceding year the boy is called *πρατοπαμπαῖς* (LSJ Suppl. 124B, 126B), there can be no doubt that the *ατροπαμπαῖς* is not so called because he is *ἄδρός* 'fully grown' but because he is no longer *πρατός*, he is now *ατρός*. In other words, *ατρο-* is syncopated from *άτερο-*, and *άτροπαμπαῖς* is the boy in the second year of the *παμπαιδες* age-group. For the syncope in question see my *Syncope* 271, for *ἄτερος* = *δεύτερος*, see *Od.* 10, 352 f., and cf. LSJ *ἔτερος* 4a.

In some cases the new evidence of Mycenaean is of decisive importance. Thus, e.g., *γλυκύς* 'sweet' has, on account of its meaning, often been connected with Lat. *dulcis*; this is only possible if *dl* developed in Greek to *gl* but for this change there is no other example. For that reason Frisk (s.v.) remained sceptical and regarded the noun *γλεῦκος* as a late innovation. But what is late here? The noun itself is not attested before the fourth century (Aristotle), but *γλευκ-αγωγός* 'for carrying new wine' is used by Pherecrates, a representative of Old Comedy in the second half of the fifth century, and the recently published archaic Cretan inscription dated around 500 B.C. brings *κλεῦκος* three times.¹¹ What is more, Mycenaean had, as was persuasively argued by Dr Chadwick, the noun *dereuko* = *δλεῦκος* 'must'.¹²

The historical noun *δεσπότης* 'master' has a clear IE ancestry although it presents two unexpected features. First, the word is a compound whose second member is IE $*potis$, Gk. *πόσις*. Secondly, the first member seems to be $*de(m)s$ - 'house' although in a monosyllable one would expect $*dom$, that is to say $*domspot$ -. The Mycenaean inscriptions have produced a form *dopota* (PY Tn 316), 'the name [in the dative] of the recipient of a gold cup, prob. a deity'. John Chadwick and Lydia Baumbach add the comment: 'if correctly interpreted, this shows a different vowel gradation in the first syllable'.¹³ But we might also ask whether there might have occurred a change in the vocalism between Mycenaean and historical Greek. I have pointed to such forms as Lesb. *τέουτος* contrasting with Attic *τοιούτος*, *Διενυσ-* and *Διεσκουρ-* in Amorgos from *Διονυσ-* and *Διοσκουρ-*, and have suggested that the sequence *o-o* (*o-u*) was dissimilated to *e-o* (*e-u*) as, e.g., in Spanish *hermoso* from Latin *formosus*, Portuguese *pesponto* 'back-stitch' from *postpon(c)um* (-*punctum*), etc. This allows us to regard as normal the development from Mycenaean *dospotās* to Attic *δεσπότης*.¹⁴

2. But, as has been said above, the IE component of the Greek lexicon is not overabundant in future promise. On the other hand, like any other language, Greek also has a *large number of loan-words*. Some of these may come from the North or from the West but in the absence of early records in these areas it will in all probability always remain impossible to prove any assumption of this kind.

Far more promising is *a priori* the East and the South-east. There literary records antedate even the earliest Greek documents by several centuries if not a millennium.

⁹ This explanation was first given in *Studia A. Pagliaro oblata* 3, 1969, 236–8.

¹⁰ For this question see R. Meister's excellent paper 'Die spartanischen Altersklassen vom Standpunkt der Entwicklungspsychologie betrachtet', *SbÖAW* 241/5, 1963, 3–24. Note that according to Meister the ages are 11 and 12. My view, reached independently, had been current before Kretschmer, see *Glotta* 18, 1929, 211.

¹¹ L. H. Jeffery and A. Morpurgo-Davies, *Kadmos* 9, 1970, 118–54, esp. 122 (date) and 136 (our word).

¹² See *Minos* 9, 1969, 192–7, and cf. Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 662.

¹³ *Glotta* 41, 1963, 183.

¹⁴ Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European*, Naples 1964, 377¹, 410. A gen. $*dem-s$ is again regarded as original by Schindler, *BSL* 67, 1973, 32.

I shall not go into the question of Egyptian borrowings both because my acquaintance is second-hand and because the material seems static; it seem unlikely that many more lexical items should turn out to have come from that quarter.¹⁵ In what follows I should like to take up three different points of radiation: *Semitic*, *Anatolian*, and *Iranian*.

3. Since Western scholars had been familiar with Hebrew and to a lesser extent with other Semitic languages for centuries, it is natural that Semitic loanwords should have been discovered fairly early. But the systematic study of this problem started only about a century ago. In 1877 A. Müller scrutinised the Semitic loanwords of Ancient Greek, and found that their number was around one hundred.^{15a} In 1890 E. Ries examined in his Breslau dissertation *Quae res et quae vocabula a gentibus Semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint*. In 1892 W. Muss-Arnolt of Johns Hopkins University published a lengthy study *On Semitic words in Greek and Latin* (*TAPA* 23, 35–156) and in 1895 Heinrich Lewy followed with a book-size monograph on *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (repr. 1970). While Lewy merely spreads out his material, Muss-Arnolt gives a still valuable historical survey of these studies (35–44) and a brief conspectus of the correspondences between the Semitic and Greek sounds (47–50); he also gives some figures. His study examines, he says (45), some four hundred Greek and Latin words for which a Semitic, Egyptian, or some other Eastern source had been suggested. More than half of these must in his view be rejected ‘because they are either genuine Indo-European, or, at least, cannot be traced to an Eastern home’. This means that *nearly 200 words* must be recognised as having a valid claim.¹⁶ In Lewy’s book well *over 300 words* are claimed for Semitic.

Much of the material collected was of course uncertain or downright improbable. No wonder that the Greek philologists found these claims vastly exaggerated. As against Lewy, Boisacq thought in his *Etymological Dictionary* that only ‘quelques termes commerciaux en nombre vraiment restreint’ could be regarded as of Semitic provenance.¹⁷ The famous French linguist, Antoine Meillet, went even further: ‘Ce n’est pas la civilisation phénicienne qui a servi de modèle aux Grecs venus du Nord; l’archéologie en a fourni la preuve, et l’on n’est pas surpris de ne trouver en grec qu’un nombre infime de mots empruntés au phénicien’. Greek certainly shares with Phoenician such words as *σάκκος κάδος μῶα χρυσός χιτών μύρα*, but even assuming that all these are really Semitic and the Phoenicians did not borrow them from a third party, ‘le nombre des anciens emprunts certains du grec au phénicien n’atteint sans doute pas la dizaine’.¹⁸ And this minimalist view is not confined to the French school. The Swiss Hellenist Albert Debrunner has also affirmed that the number of proven Semitic loanwords in Ancient Greek was ‘ganz verschwindend gering’.¹⁹

¹⁵ Note all the same the following: Erman, *BB* 7, 1883, 336–8; Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter, welche von klassischen Autoren umschrieben oder übersetzt worden sind*, Leipzig 1883; Spiegelberg, *KZ* 41, 1907, 127–32; *Hermes* 56, 1921, 332–3; Debrunner, in: *Ebert’s Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* IV/2, 1926, 518; D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *JEA* 14, 1928, 23–33, and in: *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London, 1932, 249–53; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I/1, 1934, 64, 152, 154 f.; Janssen, *Le Muséon* 59, 1946, 233–40; Jernstedt, *Egipetskije zaimstvovanija v grečeskom jazyke*, Moscow–Leningrad 1953; ‘Iz oblasti drevnejšix egipctizmov grečeskogo jazyka’, *Palestinskij Sbornik* 2 (64–5), 1956, 12–30; 3 (66), 1958, 29–40; C. Daniel, ‘Des emprunts égyptiens dans le grec ancien’, *Studia et Acta Orientalia* (Bucarest), 4, 1962, 13–23; Hemmerdinger, ‘Noms communs grecs d’origine égyptienne’, *Glotta* 46, 1969, 238–47; McGready, ‘Egyptian words in the Greek vocabu-

lary’, *ibid.* 247–54; finally the very critical paper by R. H. Pierce, *Symb. Osl.* 46, 1971, 96–107.

^{15a} A. Müller, ‘Die semitischen Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch’, *BB* 1, 1877, 273–301.

¹⁶ It is perhaps of interest in this context that according to Muss-Arnolt, who merely echoes Wharton on this point, the percentage of borrowed words in Greek is about 2.5. If we take the Classical vocabulary, down to about 300 B.C., to have 40,000 words, then the number of loanwords must lie around 1,000!

¹⁷ Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 1907–16, pp. VII–VIII.

¹⁸ Meillet, *Aperçu d’une histoire de la langue grecque*, 4^e 1935, 56 = 7^e 1965, 59. In both quotations the Italics are mine.

¹⁹ See Hoffmann–Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache I*, 3^e 1953, 18 (cf. also Debrunner, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* IV/2, 1926, 517). It is interesting

But the power of facts is irresistible. A renewed critical examination of the problem has led the French scholar Émilie Masson to quite different results: in her monograph of 1967 some 60 words are discussed, of which 37 are regarded as of proven Semitic origin, 12 as possible, 10 as improbable.²⁰ In my review of this excellent new beginning I have emphasised that 'there are many more [Semitic] loanwords to be discovered and to be evaluated in a rigorous fashion'.²¹ I should now like to discuss some instances to substantiate this claim.

In the sphere of material culture vessels and their names travel far, and at the end of the journey the names become unintelligible. Many Greek vessel-names are of obscure origin. Thus, e.g., *κάνθαρος* 'a drinking cup (with large handles)'²² is, according to the etymological dictionaries, a metaphorical usage of *κάνθαρος* 'dung-beetle, a scarab'—a clear case of *lucus a non lucendo*. Since Akkadian has *kandaru* (and *kanduru*) in the meaning 'vessel', it seems clear that *κάνθαρος* is a loanword from the Near East. This word joins then the company of *κάδος*, *γαυλός*, *κακκάβη*.²³

Articles of apparel also make their way across frontiers; for well-known Semitic loanwords in Greek it is enough to recall *χιτών* and *σινδών*. But there are more. The word *κίπασσις* denotes a 'linen tunic, which reached to mid-thigh, but normally probably lower, and was worn by man or woman'; it first appears in a well-known fragment of Alcaeus.²⁴ That the word is foreign, has been noticed by Page (*l.c.*). But it has not been noticed so far that its model is attested in Middle Babylonian *kibsu* 'garment', and, better still, Late Babylonian *kibasū*.²⁵

No less interesting and significant is the case of *χλαμύς* 'a short mantle (Sappho), a military cloak (Aristoph.); a civilian's mantle (third century B.C.)' which, together with *χλαίνα* 'cloak, wrapper' (Hom.), *χλανίδιον* (Hdt.) (Ion. *χλάνδιον*), and *χλανίς* 'upper garment' (Simon.), is rightly thought to be a foreign word. In view of the identity of meaning, all must be traced to a common source which appears in *χλαμ-ύς*. The form *χλαίνα* is regularly developed from **χλαμ-γα*, and gave rise to **χλανίδιον* which was dissimilated to *χλανίδιον*; on this by retrograde formation a new basic word *χλανίς* was built. The ultimate source is Semitic *glm* from which come Hebrew *g'lōm* 'mantle, cloak', Aramaic *g'līmā*, *g'laimā*; from these is also borrowed Late Babylonian *gulēnu*, *gulēnu* 'upper garment'. The Semitic original must have been *gilamu* (type *qital*) which gave the u-stem *χλαμύς*, *-ύν*; the general δ-stem *χλαμυδ-* is a Greek innovation on the basis of the ambiguous nominative.²⁶

that the corresponding passage in the fourth edition by A. Scherer (1969, p. 26) is quite differently phrased.

²⁰ É. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967.

²¹ Szemerényi, *IF* 73, 1968, 197. Of more recent work I should like to mention the following: M. L. Mayer, 'Gli imprestiti semitici in greco', *RIL* 94, 1960, 311–51; 'Ricerche sul problema dei rapporti fra lingue indoeuropee e lingue semitiche', *Acme* 13, 1960, 77–100; 'Note etimologiche III', *Acme* 17, 1964, 223–9; M. L. Mayer Modena, 'Note etimologiche IV', *Acme* 20, 1967, 287–91; John Pairman Brown, 'Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 10, 1965, 197–219; 'Literary contexts of the common Hebrew–Greek vocabulary', *ibid.* 13, 1968, 163–91; 'The Mediterranean vocabulary of the vine', *Vetus Testamentum* 19, 1969, 146–70. On M. C. Astour's *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1965, 415 pp.) Mme Masson has a brief comment (*o.c.*, 18). On *temenos* see J. Manessy-Guitton, *BSL* 67, 1973, 90–1. Cf. also n. 46 below, and on 'Homer and the Phoeni-

cians', J. D. Muhly, *Berytus* 19, 1970, 19–64, as also Walcot, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 4, 1973, 129–32. A quite recent addition is J. E. Dugand, *Chypre et Canaan*, Nice 1973.

²² For shape and size see, e.g., Baumgarten–Poland–Wagner, *Die hellenistische Kultur*, 1913, 113 (Fig. 129), 158 (Fig. 172).

²³ See É. Masson 39 f., and for the last term Szemerényi, *IF* 73, 1968, 194 f. For 'Termes grecs pour désigner les vases . . .' see Bănăţeanu, *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 14, 1969, 205–19.

²⁴ See Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 1955, 221 f.

²⁵ See von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* I, 1959–65, 472A.

²⁶ On the internal Greek relations see Szemerényi, *Syncope* 42, 49; Frisk II 1102. For the Semitic data cf. v. Soden I 296; *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (=CAD) 5, 1956, 127. Further research will have to decide how far, if at all, Middle Babylonian *hulānu* 'blanket, wrap' (v. Soden I 354; CAD 6, 1956, 229) played a role in the history of our group.

To this semantic sphere belongs κίδαρις, κίτ(τ)αρις 'head-dress, turban' which is borrowed from the Semitic word represented by Hebrew *keter* (*malkūt*) '(regal) head-dress, diadem' (of Persian king, Esther 6,8; of queen, *ibid.* 1, 11; 2, 17), and Aramaic *kitrā*.²⁷

The material civilisation is in a different sphere represented by ἀσάμινθος, now also attested in Mycenaean. The source is, as I suggested recently, seen in Akkadian *namasītu* 'wash-basin, tub', which became *namasittu*. In the Greek form we see metathesis of *-amas-* to *-asam-*, the familiar resolution of *-ittu* to *-intu*, and deglutination of the initial *n-* as part of a demonstrative: το νασαμινθον became τὸν ἀσαμινθον.²⁸

The important building material πλίνθος 'brick' is from the widely attested Semitic *libintu* 'brick', cf. Akkadian *libittu*, Hebrew *l'bēnāh*, Targum *l'bintā*; note also Ugaritic *bt lbnt* 'house of bricks'. I noted this derivation some fifteen years ago, and I am glad to see that this relation has also been discovered by J. P. Brown.²⁹ Here again a metathesis led from *libint-* to *pilinth*, syncopated πλινθ; for the ending note also ἀσάμινθος.

It may be added here that the Semitic words for 'axe', Akkadian *hasīnu*, Aramaic *h^ašīnā*, etc., are so close to the Greek ἀξίνη that the assumption of loan-relation can hardly be avoided.³⁰

The important fishing term σᾶγήνη 'large drag-net', which in the derivative σαγηνεύω already appears in Herodotus, and through the Latin loanword *sagēna* survives down to our own day in, e.g., French *seine*, Engl. *seine*, is so far unexplained, although foreign origin has been suspected. Its source can now be identified as the Semitic word which appears in Akkadian *šikinnu* 'large net with floats and weights'.³¹ The Cyprian *ayana*, if identical with our word, points to an early form **sagānā*, i.e. a Semitic prototype **šakānu*.

The nautical term λέμβος 'a ship's cock-boat (Demosth.); fishing boat (Theocr.); fast-sailing galley, felucca (third century B.C.)' is generally recognised to be of foreign provenance, but the only comparison so far advanced is with a constructed Illyrian **leng^mhos* 'light',³² and it would be interesting to know whether any boat—even a very light one—is anywhere called just 'light'.^{32a} The foreign source seems attested in Akkadian *eleppu* 'river-boat; sea-going vessel; fishing boat' which is already in the Amarna period mentioned as in use in Mediterranean waters, in Ugaritic documents even as coming from Crete.³³ As to the form, *eleppu* was resolved into **elembu* and became, by loss of the initial, **lemb-*. Notice that our next word also occurs in the apocopated form πήνη.

The transport-term ἀπήνη 'four-wheeled wagon' (Hom.); later 'any car or chariot' (Aesch.) is of obscure origin. That it should have anything to do with πῆνος 'web', Lat. *pannus*, is surely incredible. Once again the source is clear in Semitic 'apān-' 'wheel' attested

²⁷ See Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 673.

²⁸ Szemerényi, *ibid.* 657. A different derivation (from Sumer. *asam*) is assumed by Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen*, The Hague 1972, 45–6.

²⁹ *JSemSt* 10, 1965, 203; 13, 1968, 182 f. For the Ugaritic phrase see Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, Berlin 1963, 167. On brick-making and the etymology see now Salonen, *Die Ziegeleien im alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1972, 136 f. The oft-attempted IE interpretation was rightly rejected by Kretschmer, *Glotta* 23, 1934, 12, who emphasised that the word, as a cultural term, was borrowed from a pre-Hellenic stratum; cf. also Lejeune, *REAnc* 49, 1947, 26.

³⁰ See already *Gn.* 43, 656. The equation is of course old. The Greek ξ will be due to an articular *hahšīnā*'.

³¹ See Salonen, *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1970, 67 f. The word is also used in a

military sense which may be significant because of the meaning of *σαγηνεύω*: sweep, catch as in a net, the population of a country (LSJ); cf. E. Salonen, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier*, Helsinki 1965, 98.

³² After Whatmough and Jokl especially Krahe, *Sprache der Illyrier* I, 1955, 114. On Lat. *lembus* see Ornella Castellani-Pollidori, 'I più antichi grecismi nautici in latino' (*Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana* 22, 1957, 183–264) 223.

^{32a} Engl. *lighter* readily comes to mind in this connexion and has indeed been repeatedly brought up in discussion. But a *lighter* is so called because it makes another, bigger, boat light, not because it is light itself.

³³ Cf. v. Soden I 198 f.; A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, 1939, 11 f.; *Ziegeleien* 107; Fronzaroli, *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 8–9, 1966–7, 211 f.; *Oriens Antiquus* 11, 1972, 256.

in Ugaritic *āpn* (dual *āpnm*, fem. pl. *āpnt*), Hebrew *ʾōfān*. For the meaning note that words meaning 'wheel' are frequently used with the sense 'waggon'. Thessalian seems to have had a variant *καπᾶνᾶ*; this could be an articular **hāpānā*. The form *λαμπήνη* used by Sophocles and later writers in the sense 'covered chariot' but at Tegea as the equivalent of *ἀπήνη* cannot be connected with *λάμπειν*—that would again constitute a case of *lūcus a nōn lucendō*. But within the Semitic orbit it is easy to explain: the prefix *ma-* widely used to form nouns of place, time, instrument, etc., could supply **maḥpēn-*. With the dissimilation before a following labial of *m* to *n* (found in Akkadian but in Hebrew, too) this developed into **naḥpēn*, from which through resolution of the geminate **namḥpēn*, and by dissimilation of *n-n* to *l-n* (cf. Bologna, Boulogne from Bononia) **lamḥpēn* arose, the source of *λαμπήνη*.³⁴

Turning to less markedly material fields we can first recall that *γρύψ* as a demon, a griffin, is from Semitic *kʾrūb*, ultimately identical with Engl. *cherub*.³⁵ More important is that *Τηθύς*, wife of Oceanus, daughter of Uranus and Gaia, mother of the river-gods and Oceanides, also bears a Semitic name, and a well-known name at that.³⁶ The name of *Tiamat*, the goddess of primeval waters appears as Old Bab. *Tiʾamtum*, and the Semitic appellative *TIHĀM(AT)-* was the everyday word for 'sea' in Eastern Semitic. As has been pointed out by Fronzaroli recently, sea is in North-west Semitic a different word, *YAMM-*, but that does not mean that *TIHĀM(AT)-* was there unknown. It is present in Ugaritic where it early crystallizes as the term for the primordial abyss in the cosmogony;³⁷ and Hebrew *tʾhōm* also has the meanings 'ocean, sea; gulf, abyss'. In view of these data we could trace *Τηθύς* to *θᾶθυς* from *t(i)hā(m)tu*, i.e. assume that *i* was syncopated and *t-h* gave *θ*, etc. But Ugaritic also has *Tāmtu* 'ocean', and it is perhaps simpler to trace the Greek name to this *Tā(m)tu*.³⁸

More interesting still is the fact that quite a few abstract notions acquired a Semitic name. As I have pointed out recently, the well-known word for 'love', *ἀγάπη*, in Homer represented by the verbs *ἀγαπάω*, *ἀγαπάζω* 'greet, treat with affection; receive with outward signs of love, be fond of', is borrowed from a Semitic word seen in Hebrew *ʾāhab* 'love, be delighted by', noun *ʾahbā* 'love', Ugaritic *ahb*, *ahbt*.³⁹ Similarly, the trade of the interpreter, denoted by the family of *έρμηνεύς*, Doric *έρμᾶνεύς*, was first named by Semitic people: *targumānu*, the ultimate source of English *dragoman*, was borrowed as *θεργ(ν)μᾶν-* from which, with deglutination, *έρ(γ)μᾶν-* developed. From this was formed the verb *έρμᾶνέω*, and, by back-formation, the agent-noun *έρμᾶνεύς*.⁴⁰

The Odyssey twice employs (14, 161; 19, 306) the word *λυκάβας* in the prophesy uttered by Odysseus himself:

τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

That the meaning of the word was 'year' in later antiquity is quite clear. Apollonio Rhodios (1, 198) has

αἰθι μένων λυκάβαντα;

³⁴ Whether Myc. *apenewo* belongs with *ἀπήνη* and thus the second vowel of the word was an original *ē*, cannot be decided. Note that within the IE orbit it is impossible to account for the initial variation *ap-/kap-/lamp-*.

³⁵ Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 663. Cf. also Brown, *JSemSt* 13, 1968, 185.

³⁶ There is no need to argue in detail against the suggestion (reported by Frisk II 890) that *Τηθύς* is a back-formation from *τήθνον* 'sea-squirt'.

³⁷ See Jacobsen, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 108; Fronzaroli, *Bollettino* (see n. 33) 205 f.

³⁸ Cf. Nougayrol, *CRAI* 1957, 83. At *Ugaritica* V 58 a form *tāmatum* is also recorded.

³⁹ Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 650. A loan-relation is now also recognised by S. Levin, *The IE and Semitic languages*, 1971, 283, who however cannot decide on the direction of borrowing. (On this book see my review in *General Linguistics*, 13, 1974, 101-9.)

⁴⁰ Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 668. The deglutination perhaps took place via a neuter *thermāno-* 'interpreting' which was taken to be *το έρμᾶνο-* (cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, 1972, 325).

an epitaph of the second century B.C. has

ἄρτι γὰρ ἐς πέμπτον σε καὶ εἰκοστὸν λυκάβαντα

etc.⁴¹ But that does not, of course, prove that Homer used it in the same sense—whatever the scholiasts and their modern followers might say. E. Maass (*IF* 43, 1926, 259–70) analysed the word as *λύκος* + *ἄβα* ‘running’, i.e. the time when wolves run, the winter, and hence the year; Blumenthal took the first part to be ‘shine’, i.e. sun-wheel and so year (*ZONF* 13, 1937, 157). J. Fraser thought (*Streitberg—Festgabe*, 1924, 93–5) that *λυκάβας* was Apollo as the king of the Lycians and the *Odyssey* used his name metonymically in the sense of festival of Apollo. Leumann takes much the same line (*Homerische Wörter*, 1950, 212⁴, cf. 273), and thinks of the turn of the month; Stanford in his edition of the *Odyssey* (*ad* 14, 161) assumes that ‘the time implied . . . will be a period of several days and not a precise date’. The latest attempt known to me, by D. J. N. Lee,⁴² does not get very far with the idea that *luk-* is ‘mouse’ (=Apollo!) and frankly admits that it ‘cannot pretend to solve this difficulty’ (182).

What emerges is that *λυκάβας* can hardly mean a ‘year’, nor a ‘day’, or a ‘month’, as has been alternatively suggested, not at least in the normal Greek sense since there are good IE words for these; rather is it some period of time of unknown length but surely not a long period. It is also clear that the IE etymologies are pure fancy. In these circumstances some Semitic words seem of especial interest.

Ugaritic texts present the word *nqpt* translated by Aistleitner as ‘Kreislauf (der Feste), Jahr’; Aistleitner suggests that the word belongs with Hebrew *nāqaf* ‘go in circle’.⁴³ Certainly akin is the Hebrew noun *qūfāh* ‘circuit of the sun, course of time, turn of the year; turn of the moon, lunation’.⁴⁴ It is clear that the Semitic words describe a ‘period of time’ in the etymological sense of this term (*περίοδος*), a period which can be almost as long as a year—from a child’s conception to its birth—or as short as a lunation. Since the *Odyssey* passage is followed by a reference to the waxing and waning of the moon, the latter meaning would seem a good fit.

As to the formal relations, Semitic *nqpt* seems to have given *nukabatt*, resolved into *nukabant-*, and then dissimilated to *lukabant-*, cf. *λαμπήνη* from **nampēn* above.

Finally as a sample of a different kind of problem I should like to mention *δρείχαλκος* which makes its first appearance in the seventh century, in the Hymn to Aphrodite (*HH VI* 9), and Hesiod’s *Scutum*;^{44a} it is also known from Stesichorus and Ibycus, and from later authors, not to speak of the borrowing into Latin which often appears, by popular etymology, spelt *aurichalcum*. For a Greek speaker, it is natural to take *δρει-* at face-value, hence the perhaps surprising definition in LSJ: ‘mountain-copper, i.e. (!) yellow copper ore, copper or brass made from it’. But this seems just as much popular etymology as the notion reflected by the Latin spelling *aurichalcum*. The first part is certainly ‘mountain’ in such compounds as *δρει-βάτης* ‘mountain-ranging’, *δρει-δρόμος* ‘running on the hills’, etc., and *δρει* is the normal ‘locative’ (historical dative) as is *δρεσι* in Homeric *δρεσί-τροφος*. But with *χαλκός* we should have the adjective *δρειο-*, as in *δρεο-σέλινον*,⁴⁵ not a case-form.

⁴¹ See L. and J. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique (REG)*, 1958, 348 and cf. 358. A late epicising epigram (of fourth to fifth century A.D.) from Patras, quoted by Bingen, *BCH* 78, 1954, 74 f., uses the word in the same sense.

⁴² *Glotta* 40, 1962, 168–82. Gindin, in: *Etimologija* (1965), 1967, 217 fn., mentions our word but does not bring it nearer a solution. For further suggestions see Frisk II 143, and now Koller, *Glotta* 51, 1973, 29–34, who would analyse *λυκάβαντα* as *λόκα*

βάντα, ‘the vanished light (of the new moon!)’; but surely *λwk-* would be feminine!

⁴³ Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch* 213.

⁴⁴ Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 1958, 1039.

^{44a} For the date of the *Scutum* see Page, *Poetae melici Graeci*, 1962, 133 ad 269; Walcott, *SMEA* 2, 1967, 58.

⁴⁵ This is not, in my view, a ‘thematized’ form of *δρεσ-* as is suggested by, e.g., Frisk II 426 or Risch,

It seems to me that $\delta\rho\epsilon\iota$ (=orē!) is an adaptation of the Semitic word known from Akkadian (w)erū 'copper', so that we have a tautological compound of the foreign and the 'native' word for the same thing.

Enough has been said to show the scope and potentialities of research into Semitic-Greek loan-relations. But I should also stress that the possibilities have lately also increased since at long last we are getting the long-missed and long-wished-for tools which are essential for this kind of research. The two dictionary-projects of Akkadian are approaching completion, for Ugaritic we possess two lexika and an excellent grammar, and for Hebrew we have the *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* by Koehler which almost, though not quite, provides an Etymological Dictionary of the Semitic languages; Salonen's priceless monographs on various semantic fields of Akkadian, and Fronzaroli's studies in various sectors of the Common Semitic vocabulary are also of the greatest importance, and help, for this kind of study.⁴⁶

4. As we have seen above, the Semitic influence was minimalised in the first half of our century, especially by such leading scholars as Meillet and Debrunner. The reason for this was that with the discoveries of Evans a new substratum seemed to have come to life again. This so-called Aegean stratum was held to be the main, if not exclusive, source of all foreign elements in the Greek vocabulary. The main shibboleths of this stratum were the suffixes -σος/-ττος and -νθος which appeared not only in numerous place-names (e.g. Ἰλισσός, Ὑμηττός, Κόρινθος) but also in common nouns, e.g. κυπάρισσος νάρκισσος ἀσάμινθος. Today it seems more likely than not that these formations are in origin Anatolian, i.e. Indo-European,⁴⁷ but even if they and others should contain truly Aegean elements,⁴⁸ we have at present no means of assessing their linguistic structure. We shall therefore by-pass the Aegean problem and turn further East.

5. The influence of Anatolia in matters linguistic is becoming clearer and more impressive every year.⁴⁹ An obvious borrowing, recognised long ago, is κύανος 'dark-blue enamel; lapis

IF 59, 1944, 257. On the meaning of ὀρείχαλκος note Michell, *CR* 69, 1955, 21-2; E. R. Caley, *Orichalcum and related ancient alloys—origin, composition and manufacture with special reference to the coinage of the Roman Empire*, NY 1964 (non vidi).

⁴⁶ For the lexicon of v. Soden and the *CAD* see nn. 25-6. For Ugaritic, note Aistleitner (n. 29), and Gordon's *Ugaritic Textbook*, Rome 1965, which also gives the grammar and the texts; for translations of the latter see Gordon's *Ugarit and Minoan Crete*, NY 1966. For Hebrew we have Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden, 1958. For some of Salonen's monographs see nn. 29, 31, 33. Fronzaroli's studies are currently appearing under the title *Studi sul lessico comune semitico in Rendiconti, Accad. Lincei*; so far parts I-VII have been published (1964-72). For a planned Comp. Dict. of the Semitic languages see *ZDMG* Suppl. I, 1969, 714-17; for a newly published one, see W. v. Soden, *Orientalia* 42, 1973, 142-8.

Contacts of Greece with Mesopotamia have been dramatically illuminated by the cuneiform-inscribed cylinders found a few years ago at Thebes. Just as dramatic, if not even more so, is the appearance of a similar cylinder, dated around 650 B.C., in a tomb near Falerii, see Fronzaroli, *SE* 39, 1972, 14-19.

⁴⁷ Cf. Huxley, *Crete and the Luwians*, 1961, 20 f.; Chantraine, *Linguistique Balkanique* 6, 1962, 14-15; Brandenstein, *In memoriam Bossert*, 1966, 120; A. Lopez Eire, *Zephyros* 18, 1967, 129-35; Palmer, *1st*

Myc. Congress, 1968, 340 f.; Scherer (see n. 19), 1969, 19; Georgiev, *10th Onomastic Congress*, 1969, 26 f.; Carruba, *RFIC* 97, 1969, 9 f.; Crossland, *CAH*³ I/2, 1970, 848 f.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., Schwyzer, *Griech. Gram.* I 59 f.; Meillet, *Aperçu* (see n. 18), 1965, 66 f.; Beattie, 'Aegean languages of the heroic age', in: *A Companion to Homer*, edd. A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, London 1963, 311-24; Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient*, 1967, 12 f.; Chadwick, 'Greek and Pre-Greek' (*TPS* 1969, 80-98) 83 f.; Hester, *Minos* 9, 1969, 220 f.; Kammenhuber, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I/II/1-2, 1969, 260.

⁴⁹ If we omit the exciting controversy of the twenties over the 'Greeks in Hittite texts', the first serious studies of Anatolian influence are due to G. Neumann, *Untersuchungen zum Weiterleben hethitischen und luwischen Sprachgutes in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1961 (and already *8th Congress of Linguists*, 1958, 609-10), who found some fifty words in the spheres of food, savoir vivre, sex, religion, to be of Anatolian origin (cf. ἔπιον 'cake': Hiit. *iduri*), and A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca*, Erlangen 1961. More recent studies are: Gusmani, 'Isoglosse lessicali greco-ittite' (*Studi in onore di V. Pisani*, 1969, 501-14) 508 f.; Lazzeroni, 'Stratificazioni nella lingua poetica greca' (*ibid.* 619-34), esp. 625 f.; Householder and Nagy, *Current Trends in Linguistics* 9, 1972, 774 f.

lazuli; blue copper carbonate' which is connected with Hitt. *kuwannan-* 'lapis lazuli, copper'.⁵⁰ No less instructive is the case of *κύμβαχος*.⁵¹

This word occurs twice in Homer, with a different meaning in each case. At *Il.* 5, 586 it is said that Antilochus wounded the charioteer Mydon, and he fell

κύμβαχος ἐν κονίησιν ἐπὶ βρεχμόν τε καὶ ὤμους.

It is quite clear that *κύμβαχος* means head-foremost, tumbling. But at *Il.* 15, 536, it is reported that Meges struck with his spear the helmet of Dolops:

κύμβαχον ἀκρότατον νύξ' ἔγχεϊ δ'ξυόεντι;

the word here means the helmet or part of it. In the former meaning the word has cognates within Greek and outside; note *κυβιστάω* 'tumble head foremost'. But in the sense 'helmet' it is borrowed from Anatolia where it is represented by Hitt. *kuḫahi-* 'head-dress, cap'; but the military meaning 'helmet' is seen in Hebrew *kōḇā'* which is also borrowed from Anatolia. As to the form, the Hitt. *kuḫbah-* was resolved into *κυμβαχ-*, a phenomenon discussed above in connection with *λέμβος*; we might also mention that Late Greek *καμβειν* 'child, grandchild' is from Hitt. *kaḫḫi-* 'small, young'.

Hesychius' *ἄρσεια · λειμῶνες*, which perhaps reappears in *ἄρσεια* at Delphi, is not from *ἄρδω* 'to water' but reflects the Hitt. *arsi-*, *artsiya-* 'cultivated land'; this is in all probability a Hittite coinage from the verb *ars-* 'flow, water'—as has been suggested by Rosenkranz.⁵²

Homeric *σιγαλόεις*, used primarily of garments, but also of a throne or chamber, is, as I have suggested elsewhere, from Hittite and Luwian *seheli-* 'clean', ultimately, via Hurrian *sihal(a)e-*, from Sumerian *sikil* 'pure'. For the representation of *h* note *Kummuh: Κομμαγήνη*.⁵³

The adjective *ἔσθλος* is often connected with the adjective *εύς*. Thus, e.g., Schwyzer would analyse it⁵⁴ as **es-dhl-o-* 'ἀγαθοεργός' from **es-* in *εύς* and *dhl-o-* from *dh-el-* in Old Church Slavonic *dělo* 'deed'; but he overlooks the fact that *dělo* is IE **dhē-lo-m*, and **es-* can hardly be a basic form of **esus*. Benveniste thought⁵⁵ that *ἔσθ-* was to be identified with Skt. *ēdhatē* 'he prospers' from *es-dh-*,⁵⁶ enlarged from **es-* 'to be', which is again found in *εύς*, Hitt. *assu-* 'good'. These and similar attempts ignore the fact that the original meaning of *ἔσθλος* is irreconcilable with a basic root 'to be'. Arthur W. H. Adkins has shown⁵⁷ that *ἔσθλος*, like *ἀγαθός*, first denotes 'military prowess, and the skills which promote success in war', but also 'high social position', 'the man who possesses the skills and qualities of the warrior-chieftain in war and . . . peace, together with the social advantages which such a chieftain possessed'. The root 'to be' can only lead to 'existing = true' (cf. Skt. *satya-*, Engl. *sooth*) but never to 'brave, excellent'.

The source is rather the Hitt. *hastali-* 'brave, heroic';⁵⁸ cf. in the song of Ullikummi the

⁵⁰ See Laroche, *RHA* 79, 1967, 180 f.; Halleux, *SMEA* 9, 1969, 47–66.

⁵¹ Cf. Szemerényi, *Sprache* 11, 1966, 1–6; *Gn.* 43, 675. A brief suggestion to the same effect was made by Brown, *JSemSt* 10, 1965, 213⁷. See also Milani, *RIL* 104, 1971, 495 f. This explanation is still not noted by J. Borchhardt, *Homerische Helme*, 1972, 9.

⁵² Rosenkranz, *Ex oriente lux* VI, 1966, 502–3. For the derivation from Hittite of the Greek word see Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 657, and Gusmani (n. 49) 512.

⁵³ Szemerényi, *Studia A. Pagliaro oblata* III, 1969, 243–5.

⁵⁴ Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I, 1939, 533⁵.

⁵⁵ Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, 1935, 191.

⁵⁶ Thieme, *Turner Jubilee Volume* (= *Indian Linguistics* 19), 1958, 149, finds that *ēdhatē* is 'glows' from *idh-* 'kindle.' See also K. Hoffmann, *KZ* 79, 1966, 185 f.

⁵⁷ See his *Merit and responsibility—a study in Greek values*, 1960, 32. This statement is not affected by A. A. Long's critique, *JHS* 90, 1970, 121–39.

⁵⁸ This word is usually connected with *hastai-* 'bone' on the assumption that 'bony' was the basic meaning, cf. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, 1966, 336; Gindin, in: *Etimologija* (1965), 1967, 226; Ševoroškin, *ibid.* 230. But in view of Babyl. *gištelu* 'noble' it is not impossible that the word is ultimately of Sumerian origin. Cf. v. Soden I 293; *CAD* vol. 5, 109.

phrase: ^dU-as ^{URU}Kummiyas hastalis hassus 'the Storm-God, the brave king of Kummiya';⁵⁹ this word then gave ἔσθλός 'brave, noble' which also acquired the form ἔσλός.

Another 'moral' term of unknown origin is ὕβρις 'wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion, outrage', ὕβριζω 'treat someone spitefully, outrage, insult, maltreat'.⁶⁰ For one can hardly regard as an explanation an attempt to trace the word to IE *ud* 'up' + *g^wri-* 'heavy'.⁶¹ Hittite again offers a satisfactory solution. The verb *huwap-*, *hup-* means 'maltreat, outrage, harm'; from it there is an adjective *huwappa-* 'evil', and an abstract *huwappanatar* 'being unwell'.⁶² We may assume that from the verb a neuter abstract in *-ar* was formed:⁶³ **huwappar*, and contracted **huppar* 'maltreatment, outrage' gave Gk. ὕβρ-. Since the Western part of Asia Minor was in all likelihood populated by Luwian speakers, it is of interest to note the Luwian tendency to generalise *i*-stems.

The family of σαφής developed, as Jacobsohn has shown, from the adverb σάφα: this was after λίγα/λιγέως, τάχα/ταχέως, ὄκα/ὄκέως etc. first transformed to σαφέως, first attested in the Demeter hymn (149); from this, as Leumann suggested, σαφές and σαφέστερον were formed (already in the hymn to Hermes), and in the fifth century the full adjective σαφής.⁵⁴ The origin of σάφα is, however, unknown.⁶⁵ Hitt. *suppi-* has the meaning 'pure, clear'; the name of King *Suppiluliuma* means 'of Clearwell'. The name becomes in Late Hittite *Sapalulme* with a change *u > a* characteristic of Luwian; note also that the name of Πανύσσις represents *Puna/wassi*.⁶⁶ It should also be noted that the Hittite adverb would be the plural *suppa*, that is late *sappa*, from *suppaya*.

The original meaning of πρόταυς was 'chief magistrate' which metonymically could also be used of the 'ruler, lord' (e.g. Zeus). It is no doubt rightly connected with the Etruscan magistrate's name *purthne, eprthni*. Because of this, and because Aeolic has πρόταυς, Phocian and Cretan βρντ-, it cannot be a native word but must be a borrowing.⁶⁷ Hittite *hupurtanuri-* is an official's title, known from Ugarit. Laroche has interpreted it and the words *tuppalanuri-*, *tuppanuri-* as containing the adjective *uri-* 'great', so that *tuppalan-uri* = 'grand des scribes', *tuppan-uri* = 'grand des tablettes';⁶⁸ this would leave us with a basic **huburtan-* which seems to have been taken over as *οπορταν-/οπροταν-* or *οπυρταν-/οπρυταν-*, and by deglutination of the 'article' gave πρόταυς/πρύταυς.

On an earlier occasion it was shown that the name of the Ionians, originally 'IāFoves, which came from Southern Asia Minor or even Cyprus, was of Anatolian, more precisely Luwian, origin in its second part: *-wana-* forms ethnic names from place-names or words describing places (e.g. citadel, temple, etc.), so that *Iā-wana-* meant 'inhabitant of Iā'. I have suggested that *Ia-* might represent the early name of (part of?) Cyprus, so that *Iāwana-* 'the inhabitant of Ia' originally described the inhabitants of Cyprus. Later it was adopted by the Mycenaean settlers and spread to the Greeks of South-west Asia Minor.⁶⁹

Discussing the name of 'Αθηνᾶ, early 'Αθᾶνᾶ, Debrunner showed that it was the name of

⁵⁹ See Güterbock, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 5, 1951, 153, line 32. Güterbock prints *hastalius* but since the verb *hastales-* and the abstract *hastaliyatar* both lack a stem-vowel *u*, we must assume that *-li-us* on the tablet is merely a misspelling for *-li-is*, by omission of a second vertical wedge at the end.

⁶⁰ I have not seen Doyle's work on this and other words in *Traditio* 26, 1970, 215-303.

⁶¹ Pokorny, *Idg. etym. Wb.* I, 1949-59, 477. Arena, *Helikon* 6, 1966, 145 f. substitutes for βρι- 'heavy' the stem βρω-, and imagines that the basic meaning was 'eat excessively'.

⁶² See Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 1952, 79; 1st Supplement, 1957, 7. Watkins, *Geschichte der idg. Verbalflexion*, 1969, 30, connects *huwap-* with Gothic *abilis* 'evil'.

⁶³ See Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* I, 1966, 271.

⁶⁴ Jacobsohn, *Philologus* 67, 1908, 494; Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, 1950, 112 fn. 77.

⁶⁵ See Frisk II 684.

⁶⁶ Cf. Neumann, *Weiterleben* (see n. 49) 18; Caruba, *Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wisurijanza*, 1966, 17 f.

⁶⁷ See the good summing-up at Frisk II 607.

⁶⁸ Laroche, *RHA* 76, 1966, 37; cf. Imparati, *Studi Meriggi*, 1969, 154-9.

⁶⁹ Szemerényi, *Gedenkschrift für W. Brandenstein*, 1968, 155-7.

the old patron-goddess of Athens who as *θυγάτηρ Διός* succeeded the IE goddess 'Hώς 'Dawn' (called 'daughter of Zeus' in the Rigveda) in this function; he also pointed out that the name was formed with the same suffix *-ānā* as place-names like *Μυκᾶναι* etc.⁷⁰ If this analysis is correct, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *Aθ-* represents Hitt. *atta-* 'father'; the meaning of the derivative, 'belonging to the father', may have triggered off the myth⁷¹ that Athene sprang from the head of Zeus.⁷²

The name of the healer god *Ἀσκληπιός* has prompted various explanations—none very convincing, some most perplexing.⁷³ Thus the latest attempt would turn the hero-god, who makes his *début* in the Iliad, into a mole-god; the connection with *ἀσπάλαξ, σκάλοψ* 'mole' mainly rests on the similarity between the architecture of the tholos at Epidauros and the mole's underground tunnels. One thing is, however, tolerably certain: the variations in the form, especially in the ending (*Ἀσκληπιός: Αἰσχλαβίος*), point to borrowing from a pre-Greek language.⁷⁴ The variation in *-πιός/-βίος* is well known from names in Asia Minor,⁷⁵ cf. *Armaḫias, Arsap̄is* v. *Tarkum-bios, Rōnd-biēs, Moa-bis*. It is established that these names contain the verb *ḫiya-* 'to give' found in both Hittite and Luwian and that these names correspond to the Greek types *Θεόδοτος, Θεόδωρος*. If thus the name of our god seems to contain an Anatolian second part, it is justified to ask whether the first part can also be an Anatolian element. It seems to me that Hitt. *assul(a)-* 'well-being' provides a good fit: *ass(u)lāḫiya* is the 'health-giver'.

6. It is of course difficult to establish in every case whether a word came directly from the source-language, or was transmitted by some intermediary. But in some cases we seem to have the good fortune of being able to decide the question.

The family of *κίβδηλος* is attested from Theognis on. The adjective means 'fraudulent, dishonest, deceitful; adulterated, base'. Beside it *κίβδης · κακοῦργος* is also attested in Hesychius. The etymological dictionaries reveal complete bafflement when they admit that there is no etymology in sight, yet assert that our word, which basically denotes the fraudulent and deceitful, is connected with *κίβδωνες* 'miners', and *κίβδος* 'dross or alloy of gold'. Yet the truth was perceived by de Lagarde over a century ago when he compared Aramaic *kdb* 'lie, deceive', noun *kidbāh* 'lie, lying word' (identical with Hebr. *kzḇ* 'lie, deceive').⁷⁶ Muss-Arnolt rejected this derivation because the adjective seemed to be 'a good IE word' (146), which however is not the case; Lewy proposed connection with Hebrew *ḫbt* 'beat off, beat out' which is quite impossible.

Connection with the Semitic group is confirmed not only by *κίβδης* but also by *κίδαφος · δόλιος* 'deceitful', *κίδαφεύω · πανουργέω*, which presents the original sequence of the consonants (kdb) while in *κίβδης* (and *κίβδηλος*) the original consonant cluster *db* was interverted to *bd* just as original *tk* was interverted to *kt* in *τίκτω*.

Returning now to *κίβδηλος*, early *κίβδᾶλος*, we first notice that a Greek derivation with a

⁷⁰ Debrunner, in: Hoffmann-Debrunner (see n. 19) 17. Cf. also Scherer (see n. 19) 24. Gansiniec's view, *Eranos* 57, 1959, 56-68 ('maiden of Athens') is incompatible with the facts.

⁷¹ On this see Brown, 'The birth of Athena', *TAPA* 83, 1952, 130-43.

⁷² I may be permitted to recall here that Athena's other name, *Pallas*, was interpreted by me as a Semitic loanword, *ba'lat* 'lady', see *Minutes of the London Mycenaean Seminar of November 7, 1956*. The same explanation was subsequently advanced by Carruba, *1st Mycenaean Congress*, 1968, 939.

⁷³ See Frisk I 164; Chantraine I 124. The view of Grégoire, outlined in the text, has now been adopted by Toporov, see *Konferencija po sravnitel'no-*

istoričeskoj grammatike ie.jazykov—Predvaritel'nyje materialy, Moscow 1972, 81.

⁷⁴ Cf. Ammann, *Glotta* 25, 1936, 5-6.

⁷⁵ See Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian population groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera*, 1965, 175-77; Zgusta, *Anatolische Personennamensippen I*, 1964, 93-102; Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, 1966, 317-19. My interpretation of the second part was also found by Grindin (cf. *1st Congress of Balkan Studies VI*, 1968, 835), but he takes the first part quite differently.

⁷⁶ For Semitic *d/d* in NWSemitic see Moscati, *An introduction to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages*, 1969, 28 f.

rare suffix is hardly likely since there is no Greek base-word from which it could be formed.⁷⁷ This means that *κίβδαλος* must have been borrowed wholesale, although its basic shape *κίβδᾶ* is the Semitic *kidbā*. In these circumstances Hittite seems the only possible intermediary: it possesses the very productive suffix *-al(l)a-*, *-al(l)i-*, cf. *attal(l)a-* 'fatherly', *huhadalla-* 'grandfatherly'.⁷⁸

It seems then that NWSemitic *kdb* was borrowed directly from *kidab* and *kidbā* as *κίδαφος* and *κίβδης*, and indirectly, via an enlarged Hittite form, as *κίβδαλος*.⁷⁹

The same intermediary will account for the form of *σεμίδαλις* 'the finest wheaten flour'. It is well known, and recorded in LSJ, that its ultimate source is the Semitic word seen in Akkadian *samīdu*, and Syriac *s'mīdā*. But here again the ending has so far been a puzzle, mostly ignored by the etymologists. It is now clear that it is the same extension as we have seen in *κίβδαλος*.⁸⁰

7. The Iranian loanwords in Greek have been surveyed recently by Benveniste,⁸¹ and it will suffice to adduce some not mentioned by him.

As I have pointed out recently, the gloss *ἀγγοπήνια · τὰ τῶν μελισσῶν κηρία* has nothing to do with *ἄγγος* vessel but is the Iranian word *angurēn* 'honey'.⁸² The Persian for mercenaries, *κάρδακες*, recorded by several Greek authors, is now known in its Middle Persian form, *kārdāg*.⁸³ The late Greek *κλιβανάριος* 'armoured cavalryman' is borrowed from Latin *clibanarius* but this is not from Greek *κλιβανος*, *κρίβανος* 'oven', allegedly used metaphorically: it is simply derived from the Middle Persian *grībān* 'coat of mail' (originally *grīva-pāna-* 'neck-protector', cf. *hauberk* 'coat of mail' from Old High German *halsberg* 'neck-cover').⁸⁴

The heart of every true Grecian will beat faster on learning of the following instance. The word *κανδύτᾶνες*, formerly known from lexicographers who also utilised Diphilus and Menander, has now reappeared in the fragments of Menander's *Σικυώνιος*: *τοὺς κανδύτᾶνας*. But the word is not a clothes-press (LSJ), rather is it a clothes-bag or basket which could be carried.⁸⁵ The first part of this long word has been known from Xenophon and others: *κάνδυσ* was the Median double or upper garment with sleeves. But the second part, that is to say the whole word, was also Iranian as was guessed by Pollux (10, 137). It is the well-known term *dāna* 'receptacle', *kandu-dāna-* was a 'holder for kandus'.

8. Before concluding, I should like to draw attention to one further mode of foreign linguistic influence, especially well known from modern languages. This is the so-called *loan-translation*, *calque linguistique*. I have recently called attention to Gordon's excellent idea that *κεφάλαιον* in the sense of 'capital—as distinct from the interest' is a rendering by Greek means of the Babylonian *qaqqadum* 'head and capital'.⁸⁶ I have also pointed out that *χειρῶναξ* 'handicraftsman', which makes its appearance in the fifth century B.C., cannot be a truly Greek coinage, it would be the only appellative formed with the archaic and/or aristocratic *ἄναξ*; it is an imitation of the Akkadian *bēl qāti* 'craftsman', literally 'lord of the

⁷⁷ Schwyzer, *Griech. Gram.* I 484, mentions *κίβδα* but this is nonexistent.

⁷⁸ See Kronasser, *Etymologie* (see n. 63) 171 f., 211 f.

⁷⁹ Since etymologists—obviously led by mere assonance—continue connecting with our word the terms *κίβδος* 'dross' and *κίβδωνες · μεταλλεῖς*, I should, without going into details, mention as possible sources Hebrew *kōbed* 'heavy mass' on the one hand, and *kibšān* 'kiln' on the other.

⁸⁰ On *ā* see Schwyzer I 190. On the route Mesopotamia—Anatolia—Greece versus Mesopotamia—Phoenicia—Greece, see now, in connection with the 'Kingship in Heaven' theme, C. Scott Littleton, in: *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans* (ed. J. Puhvel, Los Angeles, 1970) 102.

⁸¹ Benveniste, 'Relations lexicales entre la Perse et la Grèce ancienne', in: *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, Rome 1966, 479–85. Note also Pagliaro's comments *ibid.* 486, and R. Schmitt, '“Méconnaissance” altiranischen Sprachgutes im Griechischen', *Glotta* 49, 1971, 95–110; for Greek *κόλλιξ* note Belardi, *Studi Meriggi*, 1969, 25–9; for *μανιάκης*, *id.*, *Studia Pagliaro* I, 1969, 189–211.

⁸² Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 650.

⁸³ Szemerényi, *ibid.* 672.

⁸⁴ Rundgren's discovery, see Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 674.

⁸⁵ Cf. Handley, *BICS* 12, 1965, 57; Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 672.

⁸⁶ Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 647, 673.

hand'.⁸⁷ The same phenomenon is seen in *χαμαιλέον*, an imitation of *nēš qaqqari* or *nēšu ša qaqqari* 'lion of the earth = chamaeleon'.⁸⁸ That *πύργος* in later times acquires an unmilitary sense, 'out-buildings, huts, even the women's quarter' (e.g. in Demosthenes) is probably also not unconnected with the fact that Akkadian *dimtu* 'tower' at Nuzi developed similar meanings.⁸⁹

These instances are fairly late, from the second half of the first millennium B.C. But the same linguistic forces must have been at work earlier also, even in the Mycenaean age. One of the puzzling features of the Mycenaean lists is the frequent appearance of 'sons of tradesmen', e.g.

lewotrokhowōn korwoi MEN 22 ko-wo 11 (PY Ad 676).

Usually this is taken to mean: 22 sons of the bath-attendants, 11 boys. But is it not possible that it means: bath-attendants 33—grown up 22, boys 11? A justification for such an interpretation can be seen in the widespread use of Akkadian *māru* 'son' in trade-names. Thus, e.g., *bārū* is the sacrificial priest, but in Late Babylonian can be replaced by *mār bārī*; *habbātu* is 'robber', so is *mār habbāti*; *ikkāru* is 'farmer', *mār ikkāri* is the same.⁹⁰

9. Finally, there are the varied agreements in literary subjects and topoi.⁹¹ Thus, e.g., in a Hittite hymn to the sun, *weritema* and *nahsaratt*, fear and terror, walk beside the divine chariot, not unlike *Δεῖμος* and *Φόβος* accompanying Ares.⁹² The familiar Homeric expression for an internal dialogue (*ἔδὼν πρὸς θυμὸν ἔειπε* sim.) is matched—again surely not by chance—by Hebrew *dibber* 'al *libbō* 'he spoke to his heart', *m'dabberet* 'al *libbāh* 'she was speaking in her heart', and by Hittite *Kumarbis-tsa istantsani-si piran memiskiwan dais* 'Kumarbi to his own mind began to speak'. Kronasser pointed to the similarity between the Greek *ἀνέλων* used of Pythia or the oracle when they give an oracle, 'bring up' the answer to a query, and the Hittite SAL.ŠU.GI ME-aš (=da-aš 'took') 'the Old Woman took up'.⁹³

10. Our survey has ranged far and wide. In some cases, I hope, a definitive solution has been reached. But the main purpose of this paper has been to show how much still has to be done and how many new openings there are for those who would take *ΚΑΙΡΟΣ* by the forelock.⁹⁴

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⁸⁷ Szemerényi, *Gn.* 43, 647.

⁸⁸ See v. Soden II 783. This explanation was, as I now see, also found by E. Lewy, *KZ* 58, 1931, 33.

⁸⁹ See v. Soden s.v.

⁹⁰ Cf. v. Soden II 615 s. *māru* 6c. For the Mycenaean texts see Ventris-Chadwick, *Documents* 155 f.; Chadwick, *The decipherment of Linear B*, 1958, 141. Note that this solution effectively counters W. Ekschmitt's critique at *Die Kontroverse um Linear B*, Munich 1969, 67.

⁹¹ Note, e.g., H. Hein, *Hesiod's Theogonie als phoinikische Kosmologie*, Heidelberg 1950; Lesky, 'Zum hethitischen und griechischen Mythos', *Eranos* 52, 1954, 8-17; Walcot, 'Hesiod's Theogony and the Hittite epic of Kumarbi', *CQ* 6, 1956, 198-206; v. Soden, *Orientalia* 25, 1956, 141 f., esp. 143 (Anum dashes his wicked daughter to Earth—cf. Hephaistos' story); Barnett, 'Ancient oriental influences on Archaic Greece', *Studies Hetty Goldmann*, 1956, 212-38; I. McNeill, 'The metre of the Hittite Epic', *Anatolian Studies* 13, 1963, 237-42; Haag, 'Der gegenwärtige

Stand der Erforschung der Beziehungen zwischen Homer und dem Alten Testament', *Ex oriente lux* VI, 1966, 508-18; Horon, 'Canaan and the Aegaeon Sea: Greco-Phoenician origins reviewed', *Diogenes* 58, 1967, 37-61 (on Gordon, non vidi); Steiner, 'Die Unterweltsbeschwörung des Odysseus im Lichte hethitischer Texte', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3, 1972, 265-83 (but see also Walcot, *ibid.* 1, 114). Note also Lambert and Walcot, 'A new Babylonian Theogony and Hesiod', *Kadmos* 4, 1965, 64-72.

⁹² Cf. Friedrich, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17, 1956, 148; Laroche, *BSL* 52, 1957, 74.

⁹³ Kronasser, *Festschrift W. Krause*, 1960, 60 f.

⁹⁴ I am greatly obliged to the Classics Board of London University, and to my very good friends Dr John Chadwick and Prof. Ian Campbell to whose courtesy I owe the privilege of having been able to present these views in London, Cambridge, and Edinburgh (February 21 and 27, March 2, 1973).