

PIANTOIA – A MIXED SALAD

1. *a-pu₂* in the Pylian kingdom

On the phonetic interpretation of the place-name *a-pu₂* in the Linear B texts from Pylos there is no consensus. The attested forms are *a-pu₂-we* (dat.-loc., An 427. 1, etc.) and *a-pu₂-de* (acc. + illative *de*, Vn 20. 7). The old interpretation *Aipu* has long since been abandoned: initial *ai-* is regularly spelled with sign *43 *a₃*, and sign *29 *pu₂* = *phu* (*/bu*), never *pu* (for which the general syllabogram *50 *pu* is used). Amongst other interpretations we find *Aphu* (related to Ἄφουτις, and perhaps ἀφύη ‘anchovy’¹). Now thinking of the river Ἄλφειός, I wonder if we may connect *a-pu₂* with that name and interpret the place-name as *Alphus* (or neuter *Alphu*), ‘Whitetown’.² The feasibility of my proposal is, perhaps, subject to two questions: (1) How far northward did the Pylian kingdom extend?, and (2) Where approximately are we to locate *a-pu₂*?

2. *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* in the Pylian coast-guard tablets

Initially, the name *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, of a group mentioned in the *o-ka* tablets from Pylos (An 427, etc.) was interpreted as Ἰλυμπιαῖοι; this interpretation of the name has been abandoned, it seems, in favour of Φρυπιαῖοι. Aura Jorro remarks: “Debe rechazarse por razones fonéticas la antigua interpr. Ἰλυμπιαῖος ... de H. Mühlestein, *Olympia in Pylos* 69; ...”.³ I do not agree with the “razones fonéticas”: a form Ἰλυμπος (-ίᾱ, etc.) may well be at the basis of Ἰλυμπος (etc.), with dissimilation *u-u* > *o-u*; I believe that we can explain κοτύλη ‘cup’ in the same way: < *κυτύλᾱ, cp. κύτος ‘hollow’ (which means that κοτύλη is not related to Skt. *catvāla-* ‘pit’, or Lat. *catīnus* ‘cup’).

3. Women at *ke-e* in the Pylos tablets

For the place-name *ke-e* (dat.-loc., Aa 93, Ad 295), the interpretation Κῆηει, locative of *Κῆηος, has found much favour (*DMic.* I); cp. *di-da-ka-re*

¹ F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario micénico* [further *DMic*] I: A–N (Madrid 1985) s. v. *a-pu₂-de*.

² For further Greek words with ἄλφ- ‘white’, see, e. g., HJ. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. ἄλφος.

³ *DMic* II: O–*89 (Madrid 1993) s. v.

διδάσκαλει ‘at school’ from διδάσκαλος (?). Now seeing that several Pre-Greek words have been thematicized in Greek (cp. Κόρινθο-ς, ἀσάμινθο-ς *versus* πείρινς, gen. -ινθ-ος, Τίρυνς, gen. -υνθ-ος), *Κῆθος (> Κέως) may be a thematicized form of an older *Κῆς (**Kēh?*), and *Κῆθει the dat.-loc. of this athematic form.

4. ζῶον < *ζῳῖον or *ζῳῖον?

As a rule, neuters in -C-ιον with a *dactylic stem* are paroxytone: θηρίον, παιδίον, φορτίον, etc.; an exception is ποιμνιον. An *apparent* exception, ζῳῖον, is to be explained by its former shape ζῳῖδιον (stem-form –υυυ, quadrisyllabic).

For ζῶον, the lexica give “ζῳῖον Semon. 13”. The actual form in Semonides is the gen. plur. ζῳῖων, if we follow Bekker’s correction:

τὸ δ’ ἡμιν ἐρπετὸν παρέπτατο
τὸ ζῳῖων κάκιστον ἔκτηται βιον.⁴

Ζῳῖον is ambiguous in respect of stem-accent: it may belong to either *ζῳῖον or *ζῳῖον, the latter having the advantage of conforming to the general rule stated above. When scholiasts or lexicographers distract ζῶον, they may easily be led to come up with ζῳῖον. However, *if* the Attic form ζῶον derives from *ζω(φ)ιον, with the expected paroxytone accentuation – the option I prefer –, it must even so have become properispomenon after the contraction ωῖ > ω, as a consequence of the properispomenon-rule (cp., e. g., ἔστα(φ)ότες > ἔστώ-τες > ἔστῶτες).⁵

5. ἔρᾱται (Sappho 16. 4 LP/Voigt)

Οἴ μὲν ἰππῶν στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων,
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ’ ἐπ[ι] γᾶν μέλαιναν
ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν’ ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται·

According to the manuals, the subjunctive-form ἔρᾱται in Sappho is analogical: λέγεται : λέγηται = ἔρᾱται : x; x = ἔρᾱται. Of course, this is an unobjectionable explanation, examples of such analogy are to be found in other dialects as well. Nevertheless, one might at least *consider* another

⁴ ζῳῖον κάκιστον in the *Etymologica*, ζῶον κάκιστον in *Schol. T Hom. Il.* 18. 407 – see M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* II, p. 105.

⁵ Cp.: Ch. Bally, *Manuel d’accentuation grecque* (Berne 1945) 22–23 (*Loi σω-τῆρα*).

route for the development of this form: *ἐρά-ε-ται (athematic tense-stem ἐρᾶ- or ἐρᾱ- + short thematic vowel, cp. Homeric and dialectal forms like subj. aor. δείξομεν = Ion.-Att. δείξωμεν, or *ἐρά-η-ται, with analogical long thematic vowel; cp. Thessalian δυνάεται *IG IX 2, 1226₉*) > *ἐρᾶται > ἔρᾶται. That Aeolic barytonesis is relatively recent, and posterior to contractions, may be inferred from genitives plural in -ᾶν type παίσᾶν = Att. πᾶσῶν. To be sure, there is no consensus regarding the result of contraction of ᾶ + ε/η (> ᾱ or η?); why? – there are no unequivocal data, it would seem. Instances of *crasis*, with η like κῆπειτα for καὶ ἔπειτα etc., are not decisive: the initial *e*-vowel of the second word may have influenced the result, cp. Attic χῆ for καὶ ἦ instead of *χᾶ, and ᾶνῆρ for ὁ ἀνῆρ instead of ὠνῆρ (as in Ionic).⁶

6. εὐρεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐρεῖν λέγουσιν (Photius)

“La forme à voyelle ‘prothétique’ pourrait provenir d’une comédie antérieure à l’époque d’Aristophane. Elle confirme l’étymologie de οὐρέω ‘uriner’, verbe bâti sur la racine ἐ(Ὶ)ερσ- < **h₁wers*- ‘laisser tomber goutte à goutte’; cf. ἔερση ‘goutte, rosée’ et skr. *várṣati* ‘il pleut’. On peut conclure que εὐρέω est issu de ἐφορσέγω, verbe du type φορέω : φέρω. La perte de ἐ- se laisse expliquer par la réinterprétation de ἐ(Ὶ)οὔρεον, forme sans augment, comme ἐ-(Ὶ)οὔρεον, forme à augment. De la même façon, ion. ἔργω a perdu la voyelle ‘prothétique’ qui survit dans hom. ἐ(Ὶ)έργω > att. εἶργω (racine **h₁werg-*)”. Thus C. J. Ruijgh.⁷

Unaugmented preterites are not unusual in Ionic (they are found not only in Homer, but also, e. g., in Herodotus; and frequentative preterites with morpheme -σκ-, which are Ionic but not Attic, never take the augment), whereas in Attic they are not at home. As stated in Ruijgh’s comment quoted above, ἔργω, the result of metanalysis, is Ionic, as against Attic εἶργω. Therefore, I prefer a different explanation of Attic οὐρεῖν for older εὐρεῖν.

Considering that vowel assimilation is found in several (*i. a.* Attic) words, like Ἀκάδημος replacing older Ἐκάδημος, ἀκόλουθος for *ἀκέλουθος (**sm-k₁lh₁owt^h-*, with *o*-grade of **kl₁h₁ewt^h-*), ὄροφος, ὄροφή for

⁶ Cp. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago – London 1955) 37. 80. 120. Δύνῃμαι ὤ-- at line-end (Sappho 4. 3 LP/Voigt) may (i) be analogical for *δύνῃμαι, created once the contracted forms δύνῃ, δύνῃται had come about, or (ii) derive from *δυνᾶομαι or *δυνᾶωμαι; likewise δύνᾶνται *IG XII 2, 526 b₃₂*.

⁷ C. J. Ruijgh, Rev.: Chr. Theodoridis (ed.), *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon II: E–M* (Berlin – New York 1998), *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003) 91–97 (οὐρεῖν p. 95).

*ἔροφος, *ἔροφή (**h₁rop^h-*, *o*-grade of **h₁rep^h-*), it is attractive to explain Attic οὔρειν as the result of contraction of *ὀ(φ)ῶρεν (older *ὀ(φ)ορσέν), with assimilation ε–ο → ο–ο.

7. τυρβασία

τυρβασία: χορῶν ἀγωγή τις διθυραμβικῶν (Hsch. τ 1668); τυρβασίαν δ' ἐκάλουν τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ διθυραμβικόν (Pollux *Onomasticon* 4. 105)

LSJ: τυρβᾶσία, ἦ = τύρβη II, where we find: “ἡ ποιητικὴ τ. the poetic rout, Epicur. Fr. 288; so of a *Bacchic festival and its dance*, Paus. 2. 24. 6: hence, acc. to Suid., = ἀπόλαυσις, *revelry* ... (Cf. Lat. *turba*, ONorse *þyrpask* ‘crowd together’)”.

I wonder whether the Bacchic dance τυρβασία could have been a “four-step” – for τυρ- < **k^wtur-*, cp. Τυρταῖος, derived from *τύρτᾱ ‘the fourth [day]’; for -ασία, cp. βάσις < **g^wm-ti-* or **g^wh₂-ti-*. The verb τυρβάζειν need not contradict this tentative etymology – it may well be a case of back-formation from the noun. On the other hand, the connexion of τυρβασία with τύρβη (and Lat. *turba*) might not be as straightforward as it looks; the two words may be etymologically unrelated. To be sure, the proposed etymology of τυρβασία is speculative; I refrain from speculations on διθύραμβος (and ἴαμβος, θρίαμβος, such as can be found in etymological dictionaries), tempting though they may be.⁸

8. αἶνος – *a-ja-me-no*

a-ja-me-no in the Mycenaean language, a participle perfect, means ‘decorated’, probably more specifically ‘inlaid’ (with mention of *materials* like ivory);⁹ if the root is *ai-*, the form of the participle must read *ayaimenos*. I have since long thought that alphabetic Greek αἶνος ‘tale’, ‘story’, ‘fable’, also ‘praise’, might derive from the same root *ai-*, with suffix *-no-*: “adorned speech”, whence αἰνεῖν ‘praise’, ‘approve’, ‘speak (in adorned manner?)’. I see no strong indication that the neutral meaning ‘tale’ has priority over ‘adorned (embellished) speech’. In Attic prose, αἰνεῖν gave way to the compound ἐπαινεῖν, whence ἔπαινος by way of back-formation.¹⁰

⁸ Cp.: Frisk, *op. cit.*, s. v. τύρβη; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s. v. τύρβη.

⁹ See *DMic* s. v.

¹⁰ For a discussion of *a-ja-me-no* (contexts, possible etymology), cp.: J. L. García-Ramón, “The Word Family of Mycenaean *a-ja-me-no* /*aiāi(s)meno-* / ‘Inlaid, Overlaid’ and IE **sh₂ej-* ‘Bind, Attach’”, *Minos* 29–30 (1994–1995) 335–346.

9. γαλῆν ὄρω

In Euripides' *Orestes* 279 we find γαλῆν' ὄρω 'I see a calm':

(Orestes to his sister) ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὖ γαλῆν' ὄρω.

Actors should not say γαλῆν ὄρω by mistake: comic playwrights are sure to find them out! The mispronunciation by Hegelochus (ἐπιλείψαντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις τὴν γαλῆν δόξει λέγειν τὸ ζῶον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὰ γαληνά, says a scholiast on *Or.*, *ad loc.*), made fun of at Aristophanes' *Frogs* 304 and Strattis fr. 60 Kock, may be funny enough in itself. However, γαλῆ *weasel*, the house-cat of ancient Greece, catching mice and rats, was also a slang term for *girl*. I am rather confident that we may go one step further: could not the name of this furry little animal be used in the same way as English *pussy*, Dutch *poesje*? Aristophanes and his likes may well be credited with jumping upon such double-entendres, and I would not be surprised at all to find in Old Comedy the Maculate Muse on top of phonetics.¹¹

10. *VESUNE* 'to Vessona' and *tefrei* 'to Tefer'¹²

(*Tabulae Iguvinae* IV 3, VI b₂₂)

(a) The goddess whose name appears in the dative in Table IV 3 (and in two inscriptions from Central Italy¹³) shows the suffix *-ōna* which is also known from Latin names like Bellona, Pomona. "The root cannot be determined with certainty".¹⁴ Absence of rhotacism suggests geminate *-ss-*, which precludes connection with names like Vesta or Vesuvius, as has been proposed – unless the goddess is a stranger in Umbria. I believe that Vessona could be the goddess of the *yearly* cycle: **wet-s-* (cp. Greek *φέτος* 'year', Latin *vetus* → adj. 'old'), or the goddess of *vegetation*: **h₂weks-* (**h₂weg-* + *-s-*; cp. Lat. *vegēre*, → *vegetus*, *vegetāre*, Gr. ἀφέξειν, beside **h₂ewg-*, **h₂wek-s-* in Lat. *augēre*, Gr. αὐξ-εἶν, αὐξ-ἀνεῖν), both **ts* and **ks* yielding *ss* in Umbrian.¹⁵

(b) The god's name Tefer, occurring in the dative (*TEFRE*, *TEFRI*, *tefrei*), accusative (*tefro*), and vocative (*tefre*) in the Tables (dative in Table VI b 22), is connected in scholarship on the Tables with Umbrian *tefra* '(place of)

¹¹ Cp.: J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven – London 1975) 197.

¹² {*AB*}: Umbrian alphabet; {*ab*}: Latin alphabet.

¹³ See: J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium* (Baltimore 1959) 210.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

¹⁵ Cp.: Poultney, *op. cit.*, 331; A. Ernout, *Le dialecte ombrien* (Paris 1961) 74; W. A. Borgeaud, *Fasti Umbrici* (Ottawa 1982) 158 (**h₂weg-*).

burnt-offering(s)’ (root **tep-* ‘warm’); this may of course be correct. However, I wonder whether Tefer could not be the river-god *Tiber* (nom. **tiferis* > *teferz* > *tefer*, etc., with subsequent transfer to the 2nd declension).¹⁶

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Вниманию читателей предлагается ряд наблюдений автора из области греческой и латинской исторической грамматики, этимологии и лексикологии. (1) За микенским топонимом *a-pi*, может скрываться название города *Alphus* или *Alphu* (“Белгород”). (2) При интерпретации слова *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* стоит вернуться к варианту Ὑλυπλιαῖοι. (3) Dat.-loc. топонима *ke-e* может восходить не к *Κῆθος (> Κέως), а к атематической форме *Κής. (4) Слитная форма ζῶον, возможно, образована не от *ζώιον, а от *ζω(φ)ιον. (5) Форма *coni*. ἔρᾱται с долгим *ā* (Sappho 16. 4 LP/Voigt), которую обычно объясняют аналогическим воздействием, может быть результатом слияния *ἐρά-ε-ται или *ἐρά-η-ται > *ἐράται > ἔρᾱται. (6) Аттическая форма οὐρεῖν вместо εὐρεῖν – это, скорее всего, результат ассимиляции гласных и контракции: *ἐ(φ)ορσῆν > *ὀ(φ)ορσῆν > *ὀ(φ)ῶρῆν > οὐρῆν. (7) Название вакхической пляски τυρβάσια, возможно, обозначает “четыре шага” (‘four-step’), если принять этимологию τυρ- < **k^w*tur- и -βασία (ср. βάσις). (8) αἶνος, возможно, содержит тот же самый корень *ai-* со значением ‘украшать’, что и микенское *part. pf. a-ja-me-no* ‘украшенный’, и имеет, таким образом, этимологическое значение ‘украшенная речь’. (9) Знаменитая оговорка актера Гегелоха γαλήν ὀρώ вместо γαλήν’ ὀρώ, высмеянная Аристофаном (*Ran.* 304), могла звучать особенно комично, если название этого зверька употреблялось в обценном значении, так же как англ. *pussy*, голл. *poesje*, рус. *куска*. (10) Умбрская богиня Вессона – возможно, божество годового цикла (ср. греч. *φέτος*, лат. *vetus*) или плодородия (ср. лат. *vegēre*, → *vegetus*, *vegetāre*, греч. ἄφῆξειν, наряду с лат. *augēre*, греч. ἀύξει-εἶν, ἀύξει-άνειν), а Тефер – бог реки Тибр (**tiferis* > *teferz* > *tefer*).

¹⁶ Ср.: Poultney, *op. cit.*, 327; Ernout, *op. cit.*, 73.