Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective 3 (GLIEP 3)

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Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective 3 (GLIEP 3)

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Contents

Myc. *wo-si-jo-ne* as a τερψίμβροτος-compound*

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1. Introduction

The Mycenaean Greek hapax legomenon *wo-si-jo-ne* (KN B 1055.3) is most probably to be interpreted as a proper name. It is the name of one of the Knossian /^{h}ek^{u}etai/ and is standing in nom. sing. as *pi-sa-wa-ta* in line 2, which is to be taken as /Pisu̯ātās/.[1] According to John Killen, *wo-si-jo-ne* is *"apparently non-Greek"*, basically because for him it cannot readily be explained in terms of Greek.[2] Although the non-Greek origin as a possibility cannot be excluded altogether, I shall argue in this paper that *wo-si-jo-ne* may in fact be explained in terms of Greek and therefore we need not have recourse to taking it as a non-Greek name.[3] Since *wo-si-jo-ne* is a nom. sing. form, its final syllabogramm most probably has the value

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[1]   Earlier suggestions concerning *wo-si-jo-ne* are documented by *DMic.* II: 448. For the text and the possible interpretation of the entire tablet KN B 1055 see Deger-Jalkotzy (1978: 11, 94–97).

[2]   Killen (2004: 233, 217).

[3]   The name *pi-sa-wa-ta* /Pisu̯ātās/ also has a Greek (Indo-European) etymology. The underlying toponym */Pĭsu̯ā/ (> Πίσᾱ, Πῖσα) is, according to Peters (1999: 448) with n. 7–9, from */Pĭdsu̯ā(-)/ < */piHds-u̯o-/, which is related, e.g., to πῖδαξ 'spring, fountain'. According to Leukart (1994: 112 n. 224) */Pĭsu̯ā/ < */pítu̯ā/, allegro form of */pítu̯ā/, the collective to πίτυς 'pine', which is perhaps also Indo-European (cf. *EWAia* I: 137).

/ˈnēs/.[4] Gyula Mayer (p. c.) suggested that *wo-si-jo-ne* might be a nominal compound having the second member /ˈonēs/ < *°h₃enēs, the cognate of lat. *onus* 'burden, load', which has hitherto been considered as unattested in Greek. Building upon this observation, I shall offer a new Greek etymology of the name.

2. The Greek interpretation of *wo-si-jo-ne*

I consider [i̯] in *jo* as a phonologically irrelevant glide after /i/ to avoid hiatus between the two members of the compound. Taking into account that in this way the first member (*wo-si°*) ends in /sĭ/, the most obvious idea is to regard the word as a τερψίμβροτος-compound with assibilated *ti* > /sĭ/ in its first member and with the initial syllabogramm *wo* containing some form of a verbal root. This syllabogramm can theoretically have the values /u̯⁽ʰ⁾o(R)/, where R = /r/, /l/, /n/ (/n/ either from *n or from *m through assimilation to the following sibilant /s/).[5] Since Mycenaean and alphabetic Greek τερψίμβροτος-compounds have zero grade or full grade of a verbal root in their first member and never an o-grade, the first syllable of our compound can only contain a zero-grade root, i.e. /u̯⁽ʰ⁾o/ < *(s)u̯N̥- or /u̯⁽ʰ⁾oL/ < *(s)u̯L̥-[6] from full-grade *(s)u̯eN or *(s)u̯eL (*N = *n,

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[4]   The other possibility would be that °*jo-ne* = /ˈ(i̯)ŏn/ with a kind of "plene" writing. This phenomenon, although extremely rare, is not without parallels in linear B. See *wi-ja-wo-ne* /ˈā̯u̯ōn/ KN Wm 1707.c (Chadwick 1987: 80, esp. n. 10 [following J. T. Killen]; Palaima 1987: 259 and n. 44; 1998–1999: 215 n. 41) and probably *e-ke-ra₂-wo-ne* /ˈu̯ōn/ PY An 724.5 (Chadwick 1987: 80; but see also orthographically regular *e-ke-ra₂-wo* PY Un 718.2).

[5]   The diphthongs /u̯⁽ʰ⁾oi/ and /u̯⁽ʰ⁾ou/ are also theoretically possible, but /ou/ is regularly written in linear B and also internal /oi/ is not infrequently written in Knossos. See Risch & Hajnal (2006: 45–46). An initial cluster /su̯/ would not be impossible orthographically either (cf., e.g., *pe-ma* /sperma/; cf. Risch & Hajnal 2006: 47), but this would rule out any Indo-European etymology, since PIE *su̯ had become *hu̯ already in Proto-Greek.

[6]   The interconsonantal syllabic sonorants here have a reflex with labial /o/ because of the preceding labial /u̯/. See Risch & Hajnal (2006: 212–213) (on the syllabic nasals) and (208) (on the syllabic liquids). Since the first syllable of the compound was probably unaccented (cf. below), we would expect /u̯⁽ʰ⁾Lo/ instead of /u̯⁽ʰ⁾oL/. I take /u̯⁽ʰ⁾oL/ either as a result of liquid metathesis or, more probably, as analogical

*m, *L = *r, *l). Some of the roots that conform to one of these shapes (i.e. *u̯em-, *u̯en-, *su̯em-, *su̯en-, *u̯er-, *u̯el-, *su̯er-, *su̯el-) can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. Of these the semantically most suitable in this compound seems to me to be the root *u̯el- 'to roll, to turn; drehen, wälzen',[7] which is well attested in Greek in both verbal and nominal derivatives: e.g., εἰλέω (Aeol. ἐλλέω) 'to wind, to turn round, to roll'; εἰλύομαι 'to crawl, to wriggle along'; ἴλλω 'to roll'; ἕλιξ 'winding, coil'; ὅλμος 'rolling-stone, mortar'.[8] Accordingly, I suggest that the proper name has to be read as /U̯olsiōnēs/ [U̯olsii̯ōnēs], earlier *u̯l̥ti-onēs, with the original meaning *'who rolls the burden'.[9]

3. The first member /u̯olsi°/ < *u̯l̥ti°

3.1 The zero-grade of the root and the assibilated suffix in the first member of the compound and the glide preventing hiatus at the *Kompositionsfuge* all have parallels in other Mycenaean τερψίμβροτος-compounds. All three phenomena occur together in the personal name *qi-si-ja-ko* /Kʷi̯siarkʰos/ PY Jn 706.6 '*who honors the leader(s)', in which *qi-si̯* /Kʷi̯sī/ < *kʷi̯i(h₂)ti° from the root *kʷei̯(h₂)- 'to honor' (cf. Gk. τίω 'to honour' and the proper names Τείσαρχος, Τεισίαρχος, Τιμήσαρχος).[10] For the zero grade root see also PN *e-ti-ra-wo* /Ertilāu̯os/

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after the full grade form of a root ending in *eL. Cf. Risch & Hajnal (2006: 103 n. 185); García Ramón (1985).

[7] *LIV*: 675 s.v. 2. *u̯el-.

[8] On these words see *LIV*: 675; *LSJ*: 487; *DELG*: 304–305; *GEW* I: 457–458; Vine (1999: 563 and 585 n. 40); *GED* I: 384–385, II: 1070. Not quite clear *GED* I: 411 on ἕλιξ (*"P[re]G[reek]?"*, but at the same time *"probably from a noun, which was perhaps derived from εἰλέω […] 'turn, wind'"*). On the difficulties (sometimes impossibility) of separating the derivatives of 1. *u̯el- 'to enclose, to envelop' and 2. *u̯el- 'to roll, to turn' in the daughter languages (especially in Vedic and Greek) see *LIV*: 674 n. 1–3, 5a, 675 n. 1; *GED* I: 384–385.

[9] Is PN *wo-ti-jo* PY An 340.8; Jn 832.5 (]*wo-ti-jo* KN Dv 5302?) a shortened name from */U̯oltiōnēs/ with still unassibilated /ti/ (i.e. /U̯oltiōn/, /U̯oltios/)? Other (perhaps more plausible) suggestions in *DMic.* II: 448–449 (/U̯ortʰios/).

[10] On Myc. *qi-si-ja-ko* see especially Vegas Sansalvador (1999) and cf. also Meissner & Tribulato (2002: 306); García Ramón (2000–2001: 471; 2002: 187 n. 18); Vine (2005: 260 n. 48); Risch & Hajnal (2006: 244).

PY Cn 131.10+ '*who sets the people in motion' (< *h_1rti˚) and PN *o-ti-na-wo* /Ortināṷos/ PY Cn 285.14 '*who drives on the ship' (< *h_3rti˚),[11] for the glide PN *ne-ti-ja-no* /Nestiānōr/ PY Cn 599.1+ '*who brings his men home' and PN *me-ti-ja-no* /Mēstiānōr/ PY Ub 1318.3+ '*who is mindful of / cares about his men'.[12]

3.2   It has to be noted that full-grade root, unassibilated suffix and elision between the two members are also attested in Mycenaean τερψίμβροτος-compounds. For instance, the proper name *ta-ti-qo-we-u* /Stātigʷoṷeus/ PY An 724.8+ '*who sets up / arranges the cows' has a full-grade root in its first member (/Stātī˚/ < *$steh_2tī$ from the root *$steh_2$- 'to stand').[13] However, as B. Vine pointed out,[14] the distribution of full grades in old τερψίμβροτος-compounds (and *-ti-stems in general) is strongly dependent on root structure and roots of the shape *CeL- (in our case *ṷel-) do not fall into the categories that favour the full grade in such environment.

     The unassibilated form of the suffix of the first member (*-ti-), which is attested, among others, in *e-ti-ra-wo* /Ertilāṷos/ and *o-ti-na-wo* /Ortināṷos/, has to be considered as an archaic feature retained in proper names beside innovative assibilated forms.[15]

     An elided final vowel of the first member is attested, e.g., in PN *ta-ta-ke-u* /Stātarkʰēus/ PY Cn 655.20 '*who sets up / establishes the rule / of-

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[11] Vine (2005: 280–281); on the latter see in particular García Ramón (2002).

[12] Cf. Vine (2005: 279, 280 n. 95).

[13] Meissner & Tribulato (2002: 306); Vine (2004: 368 n. 26, 2005: 277). An alternative etymology of this PN has been proposed by Plath (1999: 511–519), who has derived the first member of the compound from the full grade of the root *teh_2- 'to steal' (*LIV*: 616): /Tātigʷoṷeus/ 'who steals the cows'.

[14] Fundamental Vine (2004); cf. Vine (2005: 278–280).

[15] Meissner & Tribulato (2002: 306). See also the archaic unassibilated forms in Homer: e.g., βωτιάνειρα 'man-feeding' *Il.* 1, 155; *Od.* 19, 408; PN Ὀρτίλοχος *Il.* 5, 546+ '*der die Männer, die einen Hinterhalt bilden, sich aufheben läßt' (García Ramón 2002: 190–192; cf. the assibilated variant Ὀρσίλοχος *Il.* 5, 542+, the name of the grandson of the previous person; see Risch 1974: 191–192; Vine 2005: 277 and n. 85). According to Dunkel (1992: 222) the two variants (i.e. Ὀρτίλοχος and Ὀρσίλοχος) have different origins, which does not seem to be probable.

fice' (< *°*ti-ark*^{hr}).[16] The distribution of elision versus glide insertion is apparently not phonologically conditioned, but the reason behind it is not clear. The above examples testify to all three of the following sequences: [˚*tii̯V*] (cf. *ne-ti-ja-no*), [˚*sii̯V*] (cf. *qi-si-ja-ko*), [˚*t'V*] (cf. *ta-ta-ke-u*).[17] The absence of [˚*s'V*] in Mycenaean documents is probably just due to chance (cf., e.g., Gk. Τείσαρχος, Στήσιππος).

3.3 Although the development of intervocalic liquid plus *s clusters (*VLsV, where *L = *r, *l) in Mycenaean[18] is not unproblematic, it seems to be clear that secondary *Ls clusters (*CVLsV < **CL̥sV*) and *Ls clusters at a morpheme boundary (*VL-sV) were not assimilated or simplified with compensatory lengthening, but remained intact: e.g., dat.-loc. plur. *tu-ka-ṭa-ṣi* /*t*^{h}*ugatarsi*/ MY Oe 112.2 < *-*ṭr̥-si* (cf. Gk. θυγάτηρ 'daughter', dat. plur. θυγατράσι); PN *to-si-ta* /*T*^{h}*orsītās*/ PY Cn 719.2 ← *d^h*r̥s-i̯-* (cf. Gk. Θερσίτης, θάρσος 'courage', from PIE *d^h*ers-* 'to take courage').[19] Although (apart from our compound) no words with secondary intervocalic /*CVlsV*/ cluster (< **Cl̥sV*) are attested in Mycenaean Greek,[20] the fact that secondary /*VrsV*/ clusters remained intact is a sufficient reason for assuming the same development for them as well.

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[16]   García Ramón (2000–2001: 471), already (1985: 202–203); Vine (2005: 260 n. 48). But cf. Risch & Hajnal (2006: 208), according to whom the name is not a τερψίμβροτος-compound, but has to be read as /*Startāgēus*/ and connected with Gk. Στράταγος.

[17]   Note that the second members of the proper names *qi-si-ja-ko* /*K*^{u}*ı̆siark*^{h}*os*/ and *ta-ta-ke-u* /*Stātark*^{h}*ēus*/ are even etymologically connected.

[18]   See Risch & Hajnal (2006: 288–291) for details on Mycenaean.

[19]   Note that the Mycenaean (and alphabetic Greek dialectal) assimilation (and alphabetic Greek dialectal compensatory lengthening) in sigmatic aorists from roots ending in liquids (e.g., aor. part. *a-ke-ra₂-te* PY V 493.1 /*agerrantes*/ < **ager-sant-*, cf. Gk. ἀγείρω, ἀγέρρω 'to collect') is probably analogical after roots ending in other sonorants (Miller 1976: 165–170; Lejeune 1972: 125–126).

[20]   Of old /*VlsV*/ clusters there might be two cases: PN *pi-ra-me-no* PY Jn 389.2, perhaps originally the aorist participle *b^h*il-sameno-* and therefore /*P*^{h}*illamenos*/ (cf. Hom. aor. φίλατο from φιλέω 'to love'), and PN *pi-ro-qa-wo* KN As 609, which, according to Leukart, can be /*P*^{h}*illok*^{u}*āu̯ōn*/ < *b^h*il-sok*^{u}*āu̯ōn*. See Risch & Hajnal (2006: 290). According to what has been said above on /*Ls*/ clusters at morpheme boundary (with the exception of the sigmatic aorists), the latter interpretation seems to be problematic.

Since on the basis of the alphabetic Greek evidence (e.g., κάθαρσις 'cleansing, purification', ἄλσις 'leaping') the same developments occurred in uncompounded -*si*-stems and τερψίμβροτος first members as well, which also have secondary intervocalic *Ls clusters (*VLsi from earlier *VLti through assibilation of the suffix), it follows that /u̯olsî/ with retained secondary consonantal /l/ and /s/ at a morpheme boundary (instead of assimilated †/u̯ollî/ or †/u̯ōlî/ with compensatory lengthening, both to be written as †*wo-ri* in linear B) is the completely regular Mycenaean outcome of an earlier form **u̯l̥tî*.

4. The second member /°onēs/

As far as the second member of the compound, /°onēs/ is concerned, the nominative singular ending /°ēs/ is regular in Greek animate *s*-stem compounds of the τερψίμβροτος-type (cf. Hom. λυσιμελής 'limb-relaxing', ἀρτιεπής 'ready of speech,*composing words') and *s*-stem possessive compounds in general (cf. type δυσμενής 'hostile, having ill-will'). Thus it is only the vocalism of the first syllable (i.e. /o/) that has to be clarified.

5. Lat. *onus* and Ved. *ánas-*

The PIE ancestor of the cognates Latin *onus* 'burden' and Vedic *ánas-* 'cart'[21] has recently been reconstructed in basically two different ways.

5.1   Since the normal type of deverbal neuter *s*-stems in PIE had the full grade of the verbal root, A. Lubotsky has posited **h₃én-es/os-* on the basis of the vocalism of Lat. *onus* and argued that, in contrast to ablauting *o, *h₃e was not subject to Brugmann's Law in Proto-Indo-Iranian and therefore Vedic *ánas-* (instead of †*ā́nas-*) is regular as well.[22] His reasoning implies either that *e had not yet been coloured by *h₃ by the time when Brugmann's Law operated in Proto-Indo-Iranian or that, at least, it remained somehow different from original ablauting *o and had not yet

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[21]   Cf., e.g., Scheller (1976).

[22]   Lubotsky (1990) (but not excluding the possibility of **h₃énH-es/os-*, either; cf. Olsen's reconstruction mentioned in n. 27). Cf. Schrijver (1991: 49–50); *EDL*: 428.

merged with it into a single phoneme. This assumption was later vehemently criticized by other scholars.[23]

However, A. Kloekhorst has recently presented some possible Anatolian evidence in favour of the assumption that ablauting *o behaved in some respect differently from the PIE sequence *h_3e > *h_3o. He argues that PIE accented short *$ó$ caused lenition of a following fortis consonant in Proto-Anatolian (probably because it had been lengthened), while the PIE sequence *$h_3é$ > *$h_3ó$ did not (because it had remained short): see, e.g., PIE *$sók^u̯o$- > Hitt. *šākuwa*-, CL *tāu̯a/i*-, Lyc. *tewe/i*- 'eye'; PIE *$nóh_2ei$ > Hitt. *nāḫi* 'fears'; but PIE *$h_3épr̥$ > Hitt. *ḫāppar*- 'business, trade'.[24]

But even if Lubotsky's restriction to Brugmann's Law is not accepted, Vedic *ánas*- might still be considered as the reflex of PIE *$h_3én-es/os$-, viz. on the analogy of the other *s*-stems derived from roots of the shape *Can*[(i)]-, i.e. *cánas*- 'delight', *jánas*- 'race', *mánas*- 'mind', *vánas*- 'desire',[25] all of which are morphologically transparent and also synchronically connected to verbal roots. It would not be very surprising, if a supposed Pre-Vedic *$ā́nas$*- (from *$h_3én-es/os$- > *$h_3ón-es/os$- via Brugmann's Law), which was totally isolated within the language, had been adjusted to the shape of this particular group of *s*-stems.[26]

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[23] E.g., Hajnal (1994: 196 n. 8); Janda (1999: 188 n. 22); Mayrhofer (2004: 9 n. 16).

[24] Kloekhorst (2006 [2008] : 132; 2008: 65, 98) (cf. also 2008: 704–706 and 591–592).

[25] There are two more examples of *s*-stems of this shape, but both are irrelevant in this context. The second member (°*hanas*-) of the strangely accentuated compound *āhanás*- 'abounding, fat' is quite isolated within Vedic (perhaps related to *ghaná*- 'thick, compact; m. compact mass' and further, e.g., to Gk. εὐθενής· εὐπαθοῦσα, ἰσχυρά Hsch., cf. *EWAia* I: 184; Meissner 2005: 200), while the instr. sing. *tánasā* (in spite of the existence of Lat. *tenus* 'a kind of snare') is just a nonce-formation (RV V 70, 4c) instead of the regular instr. sing. *tánā* of the root noun *tán*- 'continuation, offspring' (cf. Schindler 1972: 22; *EWAia* I: 620 with refs.).

[26] Since there are a considerable number of neuter *s*-stems in Indo-Iranian with long vowel in the root syllable (either continuing a lengthened grade *$ē$ as perhaps, e.g., *vā́sas*- 'cloth, garment', or full grade *eH as, e.g., *pā́jas*- 'Fläche?, Erscheinungsform?' *EWAia* II: 116), it is not very attractive to explain the short vowel of *ánas*- as analogical after the normal type of the *s*-stems *in general*, as done, e.g., by Hoffmann–Forssman (2004: 62) (rightly criticised by Stüber 2002: 110–111).

Kloekhorst has also argued that the alleged verbal root *h_3en- is surviving in some Anatolian verbs continuing the PIE thematic present *h_3n-$i\acute{e}$/$\acute{o}$- (Hitt. *aniye/a*- 'to work, to carry out', Pal. *aniye/a*- 'to do, to work', CL *ānni*- 'to carry out, to treat').[27]

5.2   The other possibility, proposed by M. Janda,[28] is to reconstruct the root as PIE *h_1enh_3- 'to move (a load); eine Last bewegen'. This suggestion has the possible advantage of being able to establish an etymological connection between Latin *onus*, Vedic *ánas*- on the one hand (< *$h_1\acute{e}nh_3$-es/os- 'load; [bewegte] Last') and a few semantically related Greek words on the other:[29]

• ὄνος, Myc. *o-no* /onos/ 'ass' ← *h_1onh_3-ó- 'moving (a load); (eine Last) bewegend' (originally an adjectival nomen agentis; the paroxytonesis of ὄνος is due to the retraction of the accent to the first syllable to mark substantivization);[30]

• ἔνοσις 'shaking, quake' (cf. ἐνοσίχθων 'Earth-shaker; Erderschütterer' and Myc. *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* KN M 719.2 /Enesidā^{h}ōnei/ with analogical /e/ in its second syllable) < *$h_1\acute{e}nh_3$-ti- or *$h_1\acute{n}h_3$-ti- 'id.';[31]

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27   Kloekhorst (2006: 88; 2008: 179–181); see already Oettinger (2002: 345). — It has to be added that some scholars connect the Hoffmann-suffix with this root (e.g., Dunkel 2001: 12; Olsen 2004; 2009: 189 with n. 20; cf. *NIL*: 284 n. 23). Although this connection is not totally unconcievable, it is possible only if the suffix too really had an initial *h_3 (cf., however, Meier-Brügger 2002: 118–119 with refs.: *"nicht zwingend *-h_3on-"*). Olsen (e.g., 2004: 236–237) reconstructs the root (and the suffix) as *h_3enh_2- 'load, charge' referring also to Hitt. *ḫann(a)*- 'to sue, to judge', Gk. ὄνομαι 'to charge, to blame' and some other words of the same semantic field, but these probably have a different etymon (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 282–285 PIE *h_3neh_3-; *LIV*: 282 PIE *h_2neh_3-).

28   Janda (1999); Mayrhofer (2005: 12) (cf. *EWAia* I: 71: *[h_1]énos*)

29   The etymology of ἔνος· ἐνιαυτός Hsch. as a root noun *$h_1\acute{e}nh_3$-s 'was sich kontinuierlich bewegt' proposed by Janda (1999: 201–202) is semantically rather problematic from a transitive (!) root *h_1enh_3- and therefore it has to be abandoned. Cf. Stüber (2002: 89 n. 49).

30   According to *GED* II: 1086 it is probably a Pre-Greek word (and not related to Lat. *onus*), but the doubtful explanation of Brugmann mentioned there (i.e. *osonos* > *ohonos* > *hoonos*, reinterpreted as ὁ ὄνος) is simply incredible.

31   *GED* I: 430 rejects Janda's derivation as incorrect with reference to the works of Lubotsky and Kloekhorst mentioned above, but finally concludes that ἔνοσις and

- ἦνις '<epithet of cows>' < *$h_1 \acute{\bar{e}}nh_3$-i- 'moving of the load; das Bewegen der Last' (originally nomen actionis).[32]

Janda derives the above mentioned Anatolian verbs (Hitt. *aniye/a-*; Pal. *aniye/a-*; CL *ānni-*) from a causative-iterative *h_1onh_3-*éi̯e/o-* or a denominative *h_1onh_3-e-i̯é/ó-*, but both of these suggestions can be rejected because of the absence of the gemination of the nasal in Hitt. and Pal. *aniye/a-*.[33] If we still want to connect the Anatolian verbs with the root *h_1enh_3-*, we should rather derive them from a *-i̯e/o-* present (*$h_1\acute{e}nh_3$-i̯e/o- or *$h_1\mathring{n}h_3i̯é/ó-$). However, this assumption is not without problems either, since the plene (and occasional hyperplene!) writing of the initial vowel of CL *ānni-*[34] seems to speak for a full-grade *$h_1\acute{e}nh_3i̯e/o-$ > *$h_1\acute{e}ni̯e/o-$,[35] while the complete absence of plene writing of the initial *a-* in Hittite *aniye/a-*,[36] especially in view of its numerous attestations, rather seems to support the second possibility with zero-grade root (*$h_1\mathring{n}h_3i̯é/ó-$ → *$h_1\mathring{n}i̯é/ó-$[37]).[38]

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[32]   its family *"remain without etymology"* (cf. also *DELG*: 335). For an alternative suggestion see Olsen (2009: 189 n. 20).

[32]   *GED* I: 521 regards Wackernagel's earlier suggestion of linking this epithet with a word for 'year' seen in ἐνιαυτός as *"not very probable"*, but does not offer an alternative etymology (and does not even mention the proposal of Janda).

[33]   On PIE *VNHV > PAnat. *VNNV: Melchert (1994: 79, 83); Kimball (1999: 416); Kloekhorst (2008: 81). For a possible explanation of the almost consistently written geminate nasal of the imperfective *anniške/a-* see Kloekhorst (2008: 181). The gemination in CL *ānni-* remains problematic.

[34]   On CL plene writing see now Simon (2010).

[35]   The root-final *h_3 may have been lost (and not restored) already in Proto-Indo-European (due to the controversial Pinault's Law, i.e. loss of laryngeals in internal syllables before *i̯) or in Proto-Anatolian. On the loss of interconsonantal laryngeals in Anatolian see Kloekhorst (2008: 81).

[36]   There is only one instance of plene written *a-* in the imperfective *anniške/a-* (KBo II 11 Rs. 17; see *HW²*: 88).

[37]   Here the loss of the root-final laryngeal after the syllabic nasal must somehow be analogical.

[38]   According to Adams (1999: 81–82) (following a suggestion of H. C. Melchert) Toch. B *en-* 'to instruct' (Ps. IX. a. /enäsk$^{\ddot{a}}$/$_e$-/) is also related and PToch. *enäsk- *"might be the remade causative of the moneō type"* and *"would represent a virtual *h_1onh_x-eye/o-"*. Note, however, that the geminate *-nn-* in Hittite *"anniya-"* mentioned by Adams does not exist (for the attestations of *aniye/a-* see *HW²*: 81–88; Kloekhorst 2008: 179–180).

5.3   If, following Janda, we start from PIE $*h_1énh_3\text{-}es/os\text{-}$, the initial short vowel of Vedic *ánas-* is completely regular,[39] but the vocalism of Latin *onus* (instead of †*enus* < $*enos$)[40] needs special explanation. A possible reason for the initial *o* of the Latin word might be an umlaut of **e* to *o* before the back vowel of the following syllable (cf. the often cited example Arch. Lat. *duenos* > *duonos*, later *bonus* 'good' in contrast to adv. *bene* 'well' with retained **e* in the first syllable). However, although the exact conditions of the different types of **e* > *o* changes in Latin are somewhat disputed,[41] at least the presence of a following velarized *l* (cf., e.g., $*\underline{u}el\bar{o}$ > *volo* 'I want') or an adjacent (mostly preceding) labial or labiovelar segment (cf., e.g., $*\underline{u}em\bar{o}$ > *vomo* 'I vomit', but also $*glemos$ > *glomus* 'ball-shaped mass' with a following labial *m*) seems to be a necessary, but probably not sufficient, condition for the change.[42] Since Pre-Latin **enos* does not meet these conditions and since the other *s*-stems in which the vowel of the first syllable is followed by an *n* (i.e. *genus* 'birth, offspring, race' and *Venus*, both from seṭ-roots, $*\hat{g}enh_1\text{-}$ and $*\underline{u}enH\text{-}$, like *onus* < $*h_1énh_3\text{-}es/os\text{-}$) do not show the result of the supposed sound

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[39]   Note, however, that in *khé ráthasya khé ánasaḥ* RV VIII 91, 7a the first syllable of the gen. sing. *ánasaḥ* seems to scan as heavy in the iambic cadence of the 8-syllable verse (cf. *"uncommon cadence* ⏑⏑⏑⏓*"* van Nooten–Holland 1994: 644 ad loc.), which might be assumed to reflect an earlier **HánHasas* < PIE *$*h_1énh_3\text{-}es\text{-}os$*, in which the first syllable was heavy due to the postconsonantal laryngeal, which closed the syllable.

[40]   According to Sihler (1995: 43) *onus* > †*unus* would be regular, but note that in the more restricted (and more correct) formulation of the rule (**o* > *u* / __{*ŋ* [!], *m*}: e.g., Meiser 1998: 83; Weiss 2009: 139–140) *onus* is not subject to the change. This problem is of course irrelevant in the present context.

[41]   See the more or less different treatments, e.g., in Leumann (1977: 101); Panagl (1982: 253); Sihler (1995: 40–42); Meiser (1998: 82–83); Janda (1999: 189).

[42]   According to the most recent treatment of the question (Weiss 2009: 138–139) **e* > *o* / __*u̯*; **e* > *o* /*kᵘ*__*kᵘ*; **su̯e* > **su̯o* > *so*; **e* > *o* / _*ḷ*; **e* > *o* /#*(C)u̯*_*NV*[+back] and *"a rather similar rule seems to be required to account for *glemos […] > glomus"* (139 n. 15). Note also that according to Weiss (2009: 132) (following Livingston 2004: 32–35) *nēmō* 'nobody' (traditionally interpreted as from **ne hemō*) and *hemōnem* quoted by Paul.-Fest. 89 L does *not* prove that Lat. *homō* 'man' is from an earlier **hĕmō* by umlaut.

change either,[43] it seems to be clear that *onus* cannot be interpreted as the phonologically regular development of an earlier **enos* simply by umlaut.

5.4   Therefore it can be explained only as an analogical formation on the basis of a lost **-o*-stem with regular o-grade of the root, i.e. Pre-Lat. **ono- < *h₁ónh₃-o-.*[44] Although the latter derivative is not attested, the derivational type itself (**R(ó)-o-*) was productive enough in PIE to be assumed for an earlier phase of Latin. Moreover, the analogical change of an *s*-stem after a synonymous thematic noun has a few plausible parallels in Latin: e.g., **modes/os-* (in *modes-tus* 'restrained' and *moderor* 'to moderate, to guide') probably after *modus, -ī* 'measure' instead of the expected **medes/os-* (cf. Umb. **meřs** 'law'); *pondus, -eris* 'weight' after **pondo-* (cf. *pondō* 'by weight') replacing **pendes/os-* (cf. *pendō* 'to weigh, to pay').[45]

5.5   As we have seen, both of the two competing reconstructions may explain the cognates Ved. *ánas-* and Lat. *onus* (and also the Anatolian verbs mentioned above, though some problems remain). If we start from PIE **h₃én-es/os-*, we have to assume either that the operation of Brugmann's Law in Proto-Indo-Iranian was restricted to PIE ablauting **o*, which is not impossible, or that Ved. *ánas-* is analogical after other *s*-stems of a similar shape (**Cánas-*) with regular short vowel in their first syllable. If we reconstruct PIE **h₁énh₃-es/os-*, it is Lat. *onus* that has to be explained as having an analogical o-grade of the root on the basis of a lost thematic synonym, which process is well paralleled in Latin. In the latter case, Gk. ἔνοσις and ἧνις, which make it impossible to reconstruct an initial **h₃* in

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[43]   The only other exception (i.e. with *o* in the first syllable before *n*) I know of is *honor/honōs* 'honour' and **honus* (in *hones-tus* 'honourable'), but this word is etymologically opaque and isolated (< **gʰ/ĝʰon-es/os-?*; cf. *EDL*: 288) and may have been influenced precisely by *onus* (see their frequent coocurrence mentioned by *ThLL* IX 2, 647, 43–50 and cf. Var. *L.* 5, 73: *honos ab onere: itaque honestum dicitur, quod oneratum, et dictum: "onus est honos, qui sustinet rem publicam"* 'honos 'honour, office' is said from *onus* 'burden', therefore *honestum* 'honourable' is said of that which is *oneratum* 'loaded with burdens'; and it has been said: Full onerous is the honour which maintains the state' [transl. R. G. Kent]).

[44]   This is the *"Alternativerklärung"* of Janda (1999: 189).

[45]   Cf., e.g., Panagl (1982: 253); Janda (1999: 189); Weiss (2009: 292, 226 n. 57).

the root, and ὄνος can also be related, which is semantically appealing (though, of course, not necessary).

6. Myc. /°onēs/

6.1   According to my interpretation, the second member of the Mycenaean τερψίμβροτος-compound *wo-si-jo-ne* is /°onēs/, the Greek cognate of Lat. *onus* and Ved. *ánas-*. Its initial /o/ is immediately compatible with Lubotsky's reconstruction, PIE *$h_3$én-os*, *$h_3$én-es-os*, which would regularly lead to PGk. *$*ónos$*, *$*óne^hos$* > Myc. *$*/onos/$*, *$*/one^hos/$*.[46]

However Janda's *$h_1$énh_3-os*, *$h_1$énh_3-es-os* should result in PGk. *$*énos$*, *$*éne^hos$* (from *$*éno^hos$* by trivial analogy of the other *s*-stems, in which the *$*e$* vowel of the suffix had not been coloured by a root-final *$*h_3$*, e.g., PGk. *$*ménos$*, *$*méne^hos$*) > Myc. *$*/enos/$*, *$*/ene^hos/$*. Is it still possible to explain the surprising vocalism of /°onēs/ in our compound?[47]

One could think of a simple vowel assimilation *$*enos$* > *$*onos$* (cf., e.g., the traditional account of Gk. ὄνομα 'name' < *$*enoma$* [in PN Ενυμακρατιδας] < PIE *$h_1$nh_3mn*) followed by an analogical extension to the oblique cases (e.g., *$*one^hos$* ← *$*ene^hos$*). However, L. van Beek has recently argued[48] that vowel assimilations did presumably not operate in Greek and the alleged examples have to be interpreted otherwise.[49] More-

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[46] Olsen (2004: 236) suggests that Gk. ὀνοστός 'to be blamed, blameworthy' is not a verbal adjective with an analogical -σ- (as maintained, e.g., by Schwyzer 1939: 503), but the exact comparandum of Lat. *onustus* (< *$h_3$onh_2os-to-$; on Olsen's reconstruction cf. n. 27). Note, however, the variant ὀνοτός (e.g., Pi. *I.* 3 [4], 68) and the same inetymological -σ- in the aor. pass. ὠνόσθην (subj. κατονοσθῇς Hdt. 2, 136), which rather support the traditional interpretation of the word.

[47] Janda (see n. 29) suggested that Gk. ἔνος 'year' is the reflex of an original root noun *$h_1$énh_3-s*. It could then be argued that the introduction of the o-grade in the *s*-stem was meant to avoid the homonymic clash with the root noun (PGk. *$*enos$*). But, as mentioned above, the etymology of ἔνος given by Janda is problematic and to be rejected.

[48] Van Beek (2011).

[49] E.g., Beekes (1987) (and most recently in *GED* II: 1084–1085) derives Gk. ὄνομα from PIE *$h_3$néh_3-mn*, *$h_3$nh_3-mén-s* with initial *$*h_3$*. Cf. also Kloekhorst (2008: 517–519) on the Anatolian evidence.

over, there are quite a lot of counterexamples precisely among the neuter *s*-stems (e.g., γένος, μένος).

It is theoretically possible that the o-grade of the root syllable was introduced on the analogy of a synonym with regular o-grade of the root, similarly to what probably happened to Latin *onus*. However, such a derivative (i.e. PGk. *$\acute{o}no$-* < *$h_1\acute{o}nh_3$-o-*) is not attested in Greek[50] — nor, for that matter, in Latin. But while the supposed analogical change as a type has some plausible parallels in Latin (cf. above on Lat. **modus* and *pondus*), the only Greek example of an analogical o-grade in an *s*-stem, i.e. Hom. plur. ὄχεα 'chariot' (beside the isolated ἔχεσφιν· ἅρμασιν Hsch.) is probably the result of a post-Mycenaean analogical process in Ionic, as was demonstrated by O. Panagl,[51] and not a Proto-Greek (or at least pre-Mycenaean) phenomenon that could be assumed unhesitatingly for other Proto-Greek or Early Greek *s*-stems, as well.[52]

6.2   The last and most serious possibility is to regard the o-grade as a compositional feature. It has been frequently said that second members of possessive (bahuvrīhi) compounds have o-grade of their ablauting syllable.[53]

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[50] Gk. ὄνος, Myc. *o-no* /onos/ continues the originally oxyton agent noun *h_1onh_3-$\acute{o}$-*, which was *not* synonymous with the *s*-stem derivative, with a retraction of the accent to the initial syllable. On this etymology of Janda cf. above.

[51] Panagl (1982) convincingly argues that Myc. *wo-ka* /$uok^h\bar{a}$/ 'vehicle, chariot' (< PGk. *$uok^h\acute{a}$*), gen. plur. /$uok^h\bar{a}^h\bar{o}n$/ was taken over into Ionic, where the $\bar{a}$-stem gen. plur. regularly became *$ok^h\bar{e}\bar{o}n$* > ὀχέων and existed for some time beside *ἐχέων, the gen. plur. of the *s*-stem *ἔχος (< PGk. *$u\acute{e}k^hos$*; cf. ἔχεσφιν· ἅρμασιν Hsch.). Later an *"Angleichung"* of the two forms took place and ὀχέων was analogically reinterpreted as an *s*-stem gen. plur., which finally resulted in the creation of the nom. plur. ὄχεα (and the whole plural paradigm of the o-grade *s*-stem ὀχεσ-).

[52] Note that, merely on phonological grounds, *$h_1\acute{o}nh_3$-es/os-* (with an analogical [?] o-grade of the root) could theoretically be projected to PIE as well, since it would have regularly lead to Lat. *onus*, Ved. *ánas-* and Myc. */onos/, /ʰonēs/*. But there is no other evidence for PIE *s*-stems with o-grade root.

[53] Cf. Fortson (2004: 123).

This idea was taken up by J. Wackernagel[54] to explain such compounded *s*-stem forms as °*vācas-* (e.g., *suvā́cas-* 'very eloquent; *having good speech') beside simplex *vácas-* 'speech, voice' and °*hāyas-* (e.g., *víhāyas-* 'mighty, strong') via Brugmann's Law (i.e. *vácas-* < *$uék^u$-es/os-, but °*vācas-* < *°uok^u-es/os-). Unfortunately, the uncompounded variant of °*hāyas-* is not attested, so it can contain a lengthened grade following the acrostatic (Narten) type of neuter *s*-stems proposed by J. Schindler,[55] while °*vācas-* can also be interpreted as merely the secondary extension of the root noun °*vāc-* (cf., e.g., *suvā́c-* 'very eloquent, praiseworthy').[56] Therefore these two examples do not necessarily point to an o-grade.

6.3   Nevertheless, some possible traces of the o-grade might still be found in compounded *s*-stems. As already observed by J. Kuryłowicz[57] and later extensively treated by J. Gippert, there are a number of occurrences of *s*-stems in Rigvedic cadences with synchronically light root syllable that still has to be scanned as heavy (°$\breve{V}.CV$° = – x).[58] Some of these metrical irregularities may be explained as being due to an earlier root-final laryngeal that originally made metrical position (°$\breve{V}.CV$° < *°$\breve{V}C.HV$°): e.g., *káran suṣā́hā vithuráṃ ná śávaḥ* I 186, 2d ⏑–⏑–– ' ⏑⏑ | –⏑⏑[(!)] x, where the neuter *s*-stem acc. sing. *śávaḥ* (*śáv.'aḥ*) 'strength' (< PIIr. *$\acute{c}áuHas$ < PIE *$\hat{k}éuh_1os$[59]) scans as – x.[60]

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[54]   *Ai. Gr.* II, 1: 101.

[55]   Schindler (1975: 267); Widmer (2004: 50) (cf., e.g., *vásas-* 'cloth, garment' from the Narten root *vas-* < PIE *ues- 'to wear'). On the possible etymology of °*hāyas-* (perhaps related to *hay-* 'to send forth, impel, incite') see *EWAia* II: 567.

[56]   Nowicki (1976: 115–116). For a parallel *s*-stem extension cf., e.g., *bhā́sas-* 'light' ← *bhā́s-*, but note that *bhā́s-* itself is an *s*-stem (and not a root noun) as witnessed inter alia by its frequent disyllabic scansion *bháas* < *$bháH-as$ (*EWAia* II: 263).

[57]   Kuryłowicz (1927: 241).

[58]   See Gippert (1997: 68–69) (on the triṣṭubh cadences). Cf. Rasmussen (2006: 73–74). – On the problem of laryngeals and Vedic metrics in general see further Gippert (1999) and, more sceptically, Kümmel fthc.

[59]   For the root-final laryngeal cf. Ved. *śū́ra-* 'strong, heroic; m. hero', Gk. κύριος 'having power; m. lord' (< *$\hat{k}uh_1$-r°), for its being *h_1 Gk. κυέω 'to be pregnant' (< *$\hat{k}uh_1$-$éie/o$-; cf. Ved. *śváyati* 'to swell'); *EWAia* II: 623–624, 650–651.

[60]   There are irregular dimeter and jagatī cadences as well in which such a laryngealistic explanation is possible: e.g., gāyatrī *babhráve nú svátavase* IX 11, 4a … | ⏑⏑ [(!)] ⏑ x (°*tavas-*, *távas-* 'power, strength' < *$téuH$-es/os-; cf. *EWAia* I: 638–639 s.v.

However, some other *s*-stems with irregular scansion of the root sylla-ble do not allow for this interpretation. As far as trimeter cadences are concerned, the metrically irregular forms are often second members of possessive compounds. See, e.g., the following triṣṭubh cadences:[61] *suvastí na . índro vṛddháśravāḥ* I 89, 6a … | − − ⏑ (!) − ; *víṣitastukā rodasī nṛmáṇāḥ* I 167, 5b … | −⏑⏑ (!) −; *idám itthā́ raúdaraṃ gūrtávacā[ḥ]* X 61, 1a … | −⏑⏑ (!) −.[62]

Gippert[63] proposes that *"this behaviour might be due to an ablaut dif-ference between -s*-stem simplicia and compounds*"* and that here we are facing regularized saṃhitāpāṭha-forms replacing earlier **vṛddháśrāvāḥ* ('having great fame'), **nṛmā́ṇāḥ* ('mindful to men' or 'mannhaftgesinnt' [Geldner]) and **gūrtávācā[ḥ]* ('speaking agreeably'), which come from o-grade **°k̂lou̯ēs, *°monēs, *°u̯okᵘ̯ēs* (beside the simplicia **k̂léu̯os, *ménos, *u̯ékᵘ̯os*) via Brugmann's Law.[64] In a footnote, he also remarks that the compositional o-grade would fit J. Schindler's theory of paradigm shift in derivation and composition (i.e. the theory of internal derivation). How-

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TAVⁱ); jagatī *índraṃ táṃ śumbha puruhanman ávase* VIII 70, 2a … | −⏑⏑ (!) ⏑ x (*ávas-* 'favour, help' < **h₁éu̯H-es/os-*; cf. *EWAia* I: 132, 134 with **h₂*, but see *LIV*: 244 n.1 for initial **h₁*).

61 These are listed by Gippert (1997: 68–69). Gippert also mentions that according to Chl. H. Werba *gūrtáśravāḥ* 'whose glory is praised' in the metrically irregular triṣṭubh cadence of I 122, 10b is perhaps to be substituted by **gūrtáśavāḥ* 'whose strength is praised', in which case it would belong to the laryngealistic group trea-ted above. The 11-syllable verse *bhareṣujā́ṃ sukṣitíṃ suśrávasam* I 91, 21c is in-terpreted by Gippert as being a "shortened" jagatī verse with an irregular jagatī ca-dence, in which the antepenultimate syllable is irregularly light.

62 Cf. also the following irregular jagatī cadences containing an *s*-stem compound: *vípravacasa[ḥ]* VIII 61, 8c; *dīrgháśravasas pátiḥ* X 23, 3d. In the following trime-ter cadences the metrically irregular forms are *s*-stem simplicia: VII 76, 1d (*uṣás-*); III 2, 5d (*apás-*); VIII 23, 9c; VIII 25, 7c (*námas-*). Irregular dimeter cadences with *s*-stem compounds: I 129, 3e; V 61, 9d; VIII 67, 13b; IX 98, 6a (*°yaśas-*); I 46, 5b (*°vacas-*); VIII 46, 24a (*°śravas-*); VIII 24, 7a; VIII 27, 5a; VIII 31, 5a (*°manas-*). Ir-regular dimeter cadences with *s*-stem simplicia: I 2, 9c (*apás-*); I 44, 1a; X 58, 8a (*uṣás-*); VII 16, 1a (*námas-*); VIII 2, 37b; VIII 26, 25a; VIII 31, 12b; VIII 84, 5a; VIII 102, 22a (*mánas-*).

63 Gippert (1997: 68).

64 Rasmussen (2006) argues, less plausibly in my view, that the suffix itself had an initial laryngeal (**-h₁es-*), which made metrical position after **CeC-* roots (e.g., *°mánāḥ* = − x from **°manHās < *°men-h₁ēs*).

ever, this is far from being self-evident, since proponents of the theory of internal derivation usually assume that neuter *s*-stems, which originally had a proterokinetic inflection (strong stem **R(é)-S(Ø)-D(Ø)*, weak stem **R(Ø)-S(é)-D(Ø)*: e.g., sing. nom. *mén-s-Ø, gen. *mn-és-s[65]), shifted to the hysterokinetic type when used as the second member of possessive compounds (strong stem **R(Ø)-S(é)-D(Ø)*, weak stem **R(Ø)-S(Ø)-D(é)*: masc. sing. nom. *°*mn-és-s* → *°*mnḗs*, gen. *°*mn̥-s-és*)[66] — but as a rule, hysterokinetic stems do not show an o-grade.

6.4   Therefore, within the framework of internal derivation, the o-grade of the root syllable in compounded *s*-stems indicated by the above mentioned Vedic examples[67] either has to be regarded as analogical after

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[65]   This stage can be reached by internal reconstruction (Schindler 1975; cf. Widmer 2004: 52–53). In a later phase, the PIE paradigm had the strong stem **R(é)-S(o)-* and the weak stem **R(é)-S(e)-*: e.g., sing. nom. *mén-os, gen. *mén-es-os > Ved. *mánas*, *mánasas*, Hom. μένος, μένεος.

[66]   See, e.g., Schindler (1975: 263); Widmer (2004: 31, 65–66); Weiss (2009: 258–259). The same is now usually assumed for uncompounded possessive *s*-stem adjectives of the type Gk. ψευδής 'false' (vs. ψεῦδος 'lie'), Ved. *apás-* 'active' (vs. *ápas-* 'work, action'). Cf., e.g., Widmer (2004: 31, 65).

[67]   If this assumption is correct, as I think it is, one may also explain some, but certainly not all, Vedic neuter *s*-stem simplicia with a long vowel (traditionally interpreted as the reflex of the lengthened grade in the acrostatic type) as influenced by the compounded variant with o-grade (or as the result of decomposition) due to their frequent occurrence in possessive compounds. In at least one case, there also seems to be some statistical support for this assumption. The simplex *vā́has-* 'offering' occurs altogether 5x in the whole Rigveda, while in compounds it is attested 36x (with 9 different first members: *yajñă°*, *mr̥ktă°*, *ukthă°*, *stomă°*, *brahmă°*, *vipră°*, *sindhu°*, *nr̥°*, *gir°*). It seems to be possible that the compositional variant °*vā́has-* < *°*u̯oĝʰes-* (which has to be separated from Hom. ὄχεα, which is an inner-Greek innovation, cf. n. 51) had been generalized against the regular simplex **váhas-* < **u̯éĝʰes-*. Against the Narten-character of PIE **u̯eĝʰ-* see Meissner (2005: 97 n. 123) (but cf. Schindler 1994: 398 for it). Other *s*-stems with a long vowel also often occur in possessive compounds in the Rigveda: *anāgás-* 'sinless' 19x beside *ā́gas-* 'sin' 19x; °*vāsas-* 10x beside *vā́sas-* 'garment, cloth' 12x. However, there is quite a strong evidence for the Narten-character of the root *vas-* < PIE **u̯es-* (see Schindler 1994: 398; Malzahn 2002–2003: 217), so the initial syllable of *vā́sas-*/°*vāsas-* may well contain a generalized lengthened grade (**u̯és-es/os-*), while the

such bahuvrīhi final members that had regular o-grade due to their original amphikinetic inflection in composition (type *$ph_2tér$-* 'father' [> Ved. *pitár-*, Gk. πατήρ] ~ *$°ph_2tor$-* [> Ved. TS *tvátpitāraḥ* 'having you as father', Gk. εὐπάτωρ 'having a noble father'][68]), or we could imagine that at the time when the original proterokinetic paradigm of simplex neuter *s*-stems changed to its well known later form (*$mén-s$-*, *$mn-és$- → *$mén-os$-*, *$mén-es$-),[69] the full grade vowel was introduced in the root syllable of compounded hysterokinetic *s*-stems as well, but changed to *o in pretonic position (if this is really the origin of the qualitative ablaut) and the accent was fixed on the suffix (*$°mn-és$-, *$°mn̥-s$-́ → *$°men-és$-, *$°men-és$- > *$°mon-és$-, *$°mon-és$-). Even later, the compounded form was analogically reshaped after the simplex (*$°mon-és$-, *$°mon-és$- → *$°men-és$-, *$°men-és$-), therefore only a handful of compounds in the daughter languages (cf. the Vedic examples mentioned above and Myc. /u̯olsionēs/) have remained that may show the reflex of the earlier o-grade. In Vedic, the accent of *s*-stem compounds was adjusted to the accentuation of other possessive compounds, while in Greek it was preserved on the suffix.

However, T. Meissner[70] has recently made it plausible that the oxytonesis and the use of the zero-grade root, which are the main arguments for the original hysterokinetic inflection of compounded *s*-stems, are in fact the results of inner-Greek developments, the Greek words being mostly late deverbative formations and not the reflexes of an alleged PIE state of affairs. He assumes that, due to the late origin of this type of compounds within Proto-Indo-European, there was no ablaut difference in the root between compounded and simplex neuter *s*-stems and the accentuation of *s*-stem compounds was the same as that of other possessive compounds (type PIE *$mén-es/os$- ~ *$°men-es/os$-; cf. the regular type *mánas-* 'mind' ~ *sumánas-* 'good-minded' in Vedic and the ablaut of most Greek compounds of the type μένος 'spirit, mind' ~ εὐμενής 'good-minded,

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etymology of *ā́gas-* is unclear (*EWAia* I: 159 with refs.), so the question of its root ablaut must remain unsolved.

[68] Cf., e.g., Widmer (2004: 70); Fortson (2004: 123); Weiss (2009: 262).

[69] Schindler (1975).

[70] Meissner (2005) (see especially the chapters 4.9 and 4.11). Cf. also Clackson (2007: 85–86). Note also that, on the contrary to recent scholarship (cf. n. 66 and Widmer 2004: 31 n. 24), Schindler (1975: 263) too thought that *"unkomponierte Adjektiva"* (of the type ψευδής) *"sind sekundär"* (cf. Meissner 2005: 200–201).

well-disposed'). In this case again, the o-grade has to be regarded as ana-
logical.

6.5   If one does not accept the theory of internal derivation, the o-grade
in *s*-stem possessive compounds can, in line with the traditional argumen-
tation mentioned above, simply be interpreted as a compositional feature of
bahuvrīhi final members *in general*.

6.6   According to the convincing theory of J. Schindler, the
τερψίμβροτος-compounds were originally nothing else than a subtype of
the possessive compounds (*"faktitive Doppelpossessiva"*).[71] Therefore
neuter *s*-stems as τερψίμβροτος final members should show the same
behaviour as in other possessive compounds. It cannot thus be excluded
that Myc. *wo-si-jo-ne* contains an o-grade /°onēs/ (< *°$h_1onh_3ēs$), the com-
pounded variant of a not attested simplex *enos (<*$h_1énh_3$-es/os-
'[bewegte] Last').[72]

6.7   To summarize, the interpretation of the Mycenaean Greek proper
name *wo-si-jo-ne* as an original τερψίμβροτος-compound /U̯olsionēs/
[U̯olsii̯onēs] < *u̯l̥ti-onēs '*who rolls the burden' is possible both from the
phonological and the morphological point of view. The only serious objec-
tion might concern the vocalism of its second member /°onēs/, since from
Janda's PIE *$h_1énh_3$-es/os- we would expect *enos in Greek. But as we
have seen, there is an alternative reconstruction of the PIE *s*-stem, i.e.
*$h_3én$-es/os-, which cannot be rejected out of hand either and which would
regularly lead to PGk. and Myc. /o/ in the first syllable. On the other hand,
the Rigvedic evidence makes it possible to assume that the second mem-
bers of at least some *s*-stem possessive compounds (including

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[71]   Schindler (1986, 1997); cf. Janda (1999: 202–203); Vegas Sansalvador (1999:
       551–553). Accordingly, the original meaning of our compound could have been
       '*die Last mit Wälzen versehen machend'.

[72]   It is true that neuter *s*-stems as τερψίμβροτος final members are quite rare (cf.
       Meissner 2005: 168). But since they are attested as early as Hom. (λυσιμελής *Od*
       20, 57; 23, 343 'limb-relaxing', ἀρτιεπής *Il.* 22, 281 'ready of speech;
       *composing words') and Ved. (*vītírādhas*- RV IX 62, 29c 'die Spende genießend'
       [*Ai. Gr.* II, 1: 320], 'der Freigiebigkeit liebt' [Geldner]), the type is probably of
       (at least Late-) PIE age.

τερψίμβροτος-compounds) may have had the o-grade of the verbal root even in the daughter languages, in which case /ˊonēs/ can be regarded as the compounded variant of a not attested simplex *enos (< *h₁énh₃-es/os-).

7. Semantics and phraseology

Finally, I shall specify more precisely the semantics of the compound and see if we can adduce some support for the existence of an Early Greek phrase *onos/enos u̯el- 'to roll the burden'.

7.1   Since *wo-si-jo-ne* was used as a compound full name, it must have had a positive sense, which may have been metaphorical: *'who rolls the burden', i.e. who tackles (and overcomes) the difficulties and troubles (e.g., in battle).

7.2   Due to the later disappearance of *onos/enos, the phrase *onos/enos u̯el- is unfortunately not attested in Homer or other alphabetic Greek sources.[73] The verbs εἰλέω / ἐλλέω and ἴλλω, the continuants of *u̯el- do not occur in similar contexts either. However, the synonymous κυλίνδω (later also κυλίω) 'to roll' is well attested in comparable phrases in both literal and metaphorical usage (for the literal sense see, e.g., Xen. *An*. 4, 2, 4; 4, 2, 20; 4, 7, 4; Arist. *HA* 552a, 17; Theoc. 22, 49; for the metaphorical sense see, e.g., πῆμα θεὸς Δαναοῖσι κυλίνδει *Il*. 17, 688 [cf. *Od*. 2, 163]; Plut. *Pyrrh*. 30, 3; etc.), which means that *u̯el- and its derivatives too may have been used in this way in Early Greek.

7.3   Nevertheless, what probably immediately comes to one's mind when thinking of the suggested meaning of the compound ('*who rolls the burden') is the well known story of Sisyphus' punishment in Hades. It cannot even be excluded that the compound epithet *u̯l̥ti-onēs referred originally to this mythological character and was used as an anthroponym only later, if we bear in mind that Sisyphus as a historical anthroponym is

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[73]   On the methodological possibility of interpreting Mycenaean proper names with the help of Homeric phraseology see García Ramón (2002: 183–184) (following G. Neumann).

attested in alphabetic Greek as early as the 5th c. B.C.[74] and that the name of another famous sufferer of the underworld, namely Tantalus, has already turned up as an anthroponym in Linear B as well (*ta-ta-ro* /*Tantalos*/ [or still */*/*Taltalos*/?[75]] KN As 607.2; possibly KN Xd 8605; PY Eb 874.A / Ep 301.6; PY Eo 224.7).[76]

On the basis of his non-Greek (non-IE) name[77] and the fact that his character is unparalleled in other Indo-European mythological traditions,[78] the figure of Sisyphus in Greek mythology is probably of Pre-Greek origin. This means that if Early Greek *$\u{u}$lti-onēs* referred at first to his character, then the archaic way of the formation of τερψίμβροτος-compounds (i.e. with no connection yet to sigmatic verb stems) must have been still productive at the time when the Greeks, entering Hellas, came into contact with the Pre-Greek population and adopted the figure of Siysphus into their own mythology. This chronology is of course not impossible in itself and we can find a possible parallel as well. Namely, the figure and thus the name of the god Ἐνοσίχθων, Myc. /*Enesidā^hōn*/ 'Earthshaker', a simi-

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[74]   Bechtel (1917: 577); *LGPN* II: 399; IIIA: 397; IIIB: 380; cf. also *LGPN* I: 408.

[75]   On the possibility of relating the name etymologically to *$telh_2$- 'to lift, to bear' see, e.g., *GEW* II: 852.

[76]   *DMic.* II: 320. Tantalus too is attested as a historical anthroponym in the 5th c. B.C. (Bechtel 1917: 577; *LGPN* IIIA: 421; cf. also *LGPN* II: 423).

[77]   On the Pre-Greek origin of Sisyphus' name and its relation to appellatives (σέσυφος· πανοῦργος; αἰσύφιος· δεινὸς, ψευδὴς, ἀπατεών; ἀσύφηλον· ἀπαίδευτον, κακὸν, ἁμαρτωλὸν, ἀδόκιμον, μηδενὸς ἄξιον Hsch.) see Furnée (1972: 354 with n. 54, 357, 369, 373, 378); *DELG*: 972; Beekes (2007: C. 1) (interpreting the first syllable of σέ/ίσυφος as reduplication); *GED* I: 159, II: 1373–1374. However, there have also been attempts to etymologize the name as Indo-European (see the proposals, e.g., in *GEW* II: 711 and *ML* IV: 970). Most recently M. Janda, during the discussion of my paper at the Bratislava conference, suggested to derive the name from a PIE root *tub^h- (~ *$t\u{u}eb^h$- ~ *$t\u{u}ob^h$-) with reduplication, which root could also explain σοφός 'wise' (from o-grade *$t\u{u}ob^h$-ó-), which has often been connected with the name of Sisyphus. But as Janda himself admits (e-mail, 28. 11. 2010), there is no independent evidence for the existence of this root in other Indo-European languages.

[78]   But cf. the (not entirely) similar character of Naranath Branthan, "the Madman of Naranam" in Malayalam folklore (Kerala, India): http://www.keralafolklore.com/ Naranath_Bhranthen.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naranath_Bhranthan. Is there any historical connection between the two figures?

larly shaped τερψίμβροτος-compound, may have come into existence at the same time, thanks to the geographical environment in Hellas.[79]

One may object that the earliest passage on Sisyphus in Greek literature describes his labour in a noticeably different way. Homer, in the Odyssey (*Od.* 11, 593–300), speaks namely of Sisyphus' toting (594: λᾶαν ... βαστάζοντα) and pushing (596: λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε, 599: ὤσασκε)[80] of the stone,[81] which might mean that describing the action exactly as rolling (κυλίω, κυλίνδω)[82] is just a later, post-Homeric creation, which appears first in a fragment of the 5th c. B.C. logographer, Pherecydes (<... διὸ αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντα κυλινδεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἅιδης λίθον πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἀποδρᾶναι *FGrH* 3 F 119) and is attested in later texts as well.[83]

However, the iconographic representations of both descriptions are attested as early as the 6th c. B.C. on Attic black-figure vases.[84] This coexis-

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[79] Janda (1999: 183) (*"Sein unruhiger Boden hat Griechenland früh den Gott des Erdbebens beschert."*).

[80] Cf. also ἀνῶσαι … τὴν πέτραν Paus. 10, 31, 10 and the following Latin parallels with *trudere* 'to thrust, to push' and *gestare* 'to carry': *adverso nixantem trudere monte / saxum, quod tamen <e> summo iam vertice rusum / volvitur* Lucr. 3, 1000–1002; *saxum umeris Sisyphi trudi in adversum* Sen. *Ep.* 24, 18; *Sisyphi lapis … gestandus umeris* Sen. *Thy.* 7 (and further *cervice saxum grande Sisyphia sedet* Sen. *Her. F.* 751).

[81] The ancient commentators found themselves in a trouble when trying to reconcile the different semantics of βαστάζω and ὠθέω. Cf., e.g., Eustathius *comm. ad Od. 11, 598*: τὸ δὲ λᾶαν βαστάζειν καὶ τὸ ὠθεῖν ἐοίκασιν ἀντικειμένως ἔχειν. βαστάζεται μὲν γὰρ τὸ φερόμενον, ὠθεῖται δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω βιαζόμενον. πῶς οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον καὶ βαστάζει καὶ ὠθεῖ ὁ Σίσυφος; ἔστι δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἴσως εἰς μὲν τὸν λόφον ὤθει, ὅτε δὲ κατακυλισθεὶς ὁ λίθος ἀπεστράφη πέδονδε, τότε βαστάζων αὐτὸν ἕως τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ λόφου εἶτα πάλιν ὤθει ἄνω.

[82] The Greek derivatives of PIE *u̯el-* (i.e. εἰλέω / ἐλλέω, ἴλλω) are not attested in Greek literature with reference to Sisyphus' work.

[83] E.g., κολάζεται δὲ Σίσυφος ἐν Ἅιδου πέτρον ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κυλίων Apollod. *Bibl.* I 85; cf. also the title of one of Aeschylus' plays (*TGrF* III F 225–234), which probably goes back to the Alexandrian philologists: Σίσυφος πετροκυλιστής. Note that this compound is itself a verbal governing compound and would be practically synonymous with Myc. /u̯olsionēs/.

[84] Iconographic representations similar to Homer's description: e.g., *LIMC* Sisyphos I 5 (Attic black-figure neck-amphora. Munich, Antikenslg. 1494. From Vulci. About 530 B.C.); *LIMC* Sisyphos I 22 (Volute-krater, Apulian rf. Karlsruhe, Bad. Lan-

tence suggests that the different traditions on the minor details of Sisyphus'
punishment could naturally exist in Greek mythology side by side from the
earliest times and thus reconstructing the motive and the phrase 'to roll the
burden' for Early Greek is completely possible.

7.4   As far as non-Greek phraseological parallels are concerned,[85] it
may seem interesting that in Latin, the verb *volvo*, which is the thematiza-
tion of the PIE present stem *$u\acute{e}l$/ul-u- (cf. Arm. *gelowm* 'to turn') of the
root *uel-,[86] is used quite often with reference to Sisyphus' punishment[87]
and in a passage of Propertius (2, 17, 9–10) its frequentative, *voluto* has
precisely *onus* as its object: *vel tu Sisyphios licet admirere labores,* / *diffi-*

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desmus. B 4. About 340 B.C.); *LIMC* Sisyphos I 24 (Volute-krater, Apulian rf.
Munich, Antikenslg. 3297. From Canosa. About 320 B.C.); iconographic represen-
tations showing Sisyphus rolling the round shaped stone: e.g., *LIMC* Sisyphos I 8
(Attic black-figure neck-amphora. Berlin, Staatl Mus. F 1844. From Vulci. About
520–510 B.C.); *LIMC* Sisyphos I 9 (Attic black-figure neck-amphora. Leiden,
Rijksmus. PC 49 [XV i 45]. From Vulci. About 510 B.C.); *LIMC* Sisyphos I 10
(Attic black-figure neck-amphora. London, BM B 261. About 510 B.C.). The arti-
cle on Sisyphus in *LIMC* (VII/1: 781–787) is written by J. H. Oakley; the photos
can be found in VII/2: 564–567.

[85]   For the methodological possibility of taking such data into account in the interpre-
tation of Mycenaean Greek proper names see as an example the interpretation of
Myc. PN *o-ti-na-wo* /*Ortināu̯os*/ '*who drives on the ship' by García Ramón
(2002), who compares the Vedic phrase *íyarti ... nā́vam* RV II 42, 1b; IX 95, 2b
'drives on the ship'. However, this method has its own risks, since the existence of
a particular phrase in a given language at a given point of time does *not* prove in it-
self the existence of that phrase in an earlier period of the same language, nor the
existence of the same phrase in another language, *pace* the formulation of García
Ramón (2002: 183) (*"Ved. íyarti nā́vam [...] bestätigt die Existenz der Junktur
ὄρνυσι / ὦρσε νῆα(ς)"). Since the meaning of *ánas*- shifted to 'cart', Vedic paral-
lels are irrelevant in the present problem, only Latin can be of any help.

[86]   *LIV*: 675 s.v. *uel- with n. 5; Meiser (1998: 93).

[87]   See, e.g., *Sisyphus ... saxum volvensque petensque* Ov. *Ib.* 175; *saxum procul
adverso qui monte revolvit* App. Verg. *Culex* 243; *qui nunc dicitur saxum ... ad-
versus montem ... cervicibus volvere* Hyg. *Fab.* 60; [*aiunt*] *saxum ingens volvere
inefficacibus laboriosisque conatibus vitam terentes* Macr. *comm. in Somn. Scip.* 1,
10, 15; cf. also *Sisyphus versat* / *saxum sudans nitendo neque proficit hilum* Cic.
Tusc. I 5, 10 (author: Ennius? Lucilius?), which is the first mentioning of Sisyphus
in the extant Latin literature.

cile ut toto monte volutet onus.[88] But in this particular case, I would not put much weight on this parallel, since it is obviously an occasional Latin poetic formulation of the stone-rolling motive known from the Greek story of Sisyphus.

However, although Propertius' *volutet onus* does not prove *in itself* the existence of a Pre-Latin (or even earlier) phrase *onos/*enos u̯el-*, it may still show that the semantics of the words PIE *h₃én-es/*os-* or *h₁énh₃-es/*os-* and **u̯el-* were such that their reflexes were compatible later in the daughter languages (i.e. Latin and possibly Greek) with the motive of the rolling of a stone. This motive may have originally referred to the Pre-Greek mythological figure Sisyphus, but could of course have existed earlier and independently.

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[88] The other Latin passage cited by E. Willisch (*ML* IV: 965, 57) in which *onus* refers to the stone of Sisyphus (*non umquam Sisyphum onere relevari* Sen. *Apoc.* 14) is only a later interpolation (cf. Roncali 1990: 33), which is not printed in the critical editions of the Apocolocyntosis (and can be found only in one manuscript, Vat. lat. 4498 from the 15th c., and some older editions).

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