Erotica: On the Prehistory of Greek Desire

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EROTICA: ON THE PREHISTORY
OF GREEK DESIRE *

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A MONG other wonders, the temple of Aphrodite at Megara
housed a triad of statues depicting ἔρως, πόθος, and ἵμερος, the
work of the fourth-century sculptor Scopas. About these images Pausa-
nias comments skeptically (1.43.6): εἰ δὴ διάφορά ἐστι κατὰ ταὐτὸ
τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι. In other words, Pausanias seems to
doubt that the concepts expressed by ἔρως, πόθος, and ἵμερος, the
basic triplet of Greek terms describing desire, were distinct enough to
allow three different and recognizable personifications.[1] This is a very
astute observation on Pausanias' part in two ways. For, on the one hand,
there indeed is, or appears to be, a high degree of synonymy between at

[1] Cf. the note of F. Chamoux, *Pausanias, description de la grèce* (Paris 1992) 267:
"entre lesquelles P. doute qu'on puisse distinguer vraiment." Gerrit Kloss's important
work *Untersuchungen zum Wortfeld "Verlangen/Begehren" im frühgriechischen Epos*
(Göttingen 1994) only became available to me at the proof stage and consequently, I have
not been able to incorporate a systematic comparison with his book into my paper.
Koss's book focuses more on the synchronic system of meaning and less on the prehis-
tory of words for 'desire.' His conclusions about the distinction between ἔρως and
ἵμερος are, I am happy to say, similar to my own (155): "῾Ίμερος/ἱμείρειν und
ἔρος/ἔρως/ἔρασθαι bezeichnen zwei verschiedene Aspekte des einen Phänomens 'Ver-
langen': das Verlangen als Faszination, als Inanspruchnahme der geistig-seelischen Funk-
tionen durch einen von aussen herantretenden Reiz (ἵμερος) und das Verlangen als Trieb,
als Grundkonstante des menschlichen Innenlebens (ἔρος)." He takes no position on the
etymology of ἔρως, and follows the standard etymologies of πόθος from PIE *gʷhedh-
and ἵμερος from PIE *smer-.

least ἔρως and ἵμερος—the specific distinctions made in Plato's *Craty-lus* 420 being largely inspired by fanciful folk etymology. On the other hand, the very existence of three different words does suggest, at least at some very early date, three specific and distinct referents.

I propose here to examine this family of terms, to study what semantic distribution they originally may have had, and to suggest etymologies for two of the three terms, namely ἔρως and ἵμερος which do not as yet possess convincing historical explanations.

PART ONE: πόθος

To begin with the strongest leg of the tripod, neither the specific meaning nor the etymology of πόθος is in doubt. πόθος, the least sexualized of the words in question, means a "desire for something not at hand," as was noted already by Plato (*Cratylus* 420): καὶ μὴν πόθος αὖ καλεῖται σημαίνων οὐ τοῦ παρόντος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἄλλοθί <u>που</u> <u>ὄντος</u> καὶ <u>ἀπόντος</u>.That this definition is not merely folk-etymological fantasy is proved by a survey of some passages from Homer: *Od.* 4.596 (Telemachus to Menelaus) οὐδέ με οἴκου ἕλοι πόθος οὐδὲ τοκήων; *Od.* 11.202 (Odysseus' mother to Odysseus) ἀλλά με σός τε πόθος . . . θυμὸν ἀπηύρα; *Od.* 14.144 (Eumelos to disguised Odysseus) ἀλλά μ' Ὀδυσσῆος πόθος αἴνυται. Notice that πόθος refers regularly in the Homeric poems to the feelings that Odysseus' friends and family have for him during his wanderings. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* πόθος describes the feeling Demeter has for her kidnapped daughter (201, 304): πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός. It is interesting, but perhaps not significant, that the noun πόθος which gives the name to a quintessentially Odyssean feeling does not occur in the *Iliad*. The feminine ποθή does, however, occur there, typically describing the longing that the Achaians or Trojans have for a warrior during his temporary or permanent absence from battle, e.g., 6.362: (Hector to Helen) ἐμεῖο ποθὴν <u>ἀπεόντος</u> ἔχουσιν. Cf. also 11.471 (of Odysseus), 17.690 (of Patroclus), 1.240 (of Achilles).[2]

In fact, there is not one example of πόθος/ποθή which requires the translation "sexual desire" in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. This sexual meaning, it seems, does not appear before the pseudo-Hesiodic *Scu-*

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[2] J. Gagnepain, *Les noms grec en -os et en -a* (Paris 1959) 69–70 discerns a difference in the meaning of πόθος and ποθή which, I admit, escapes me.

tum 41 and the notably late *Homeric Hymn to Pan* (33–34): θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν/νύμφῃ ἐϋπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος φιλότητι μιγῆναι.[3] That πόθος means "desire for that which is not at hand" is perfectly in keeping with its etymology. As Bezzenberger saw more than a century ago,[4] πόθος is a direct descendant of *g^whódhos* the thematic, *o*-grade, barytone derivative of the Proto-Indo-European root *g^whedh-* "pray." The verbal derivatives of this root survive in Greek in the *s*-aorist θέσσασθαι, θεσσάμενος (Hes. +) "prayed" < *g^whedh-s-* and in the present θέσσεσθαι which Hesychius glosses αἰτεῖν, ἱκετεύειν. This present stem can only derive from earlier PIE *g^whedh-ye-,* formed by adding the present-forming suffix *-ye-* to the root. The antiquity of this present stem is confirmed by the precise agreement of Old Irish *guidid* "pray" and Old Persian *jadiya-* "pray," both going back to PIE *g^whedh-ye-.*[5] For the derivation of a noun like *g^whódhos* from a verbal root like *g^whedh-* compare λόγος from λέγω or φόνος from ἔπεφνον.[6] The development of sounds, though at first sight somewhat obscure, is in fact perfectly regular. In the case of πόθος from *g^whódhos* the developments were as summarized below:

$$*g^w\text{hódhos} > *k^w\text{hóthos} > *k^w\text{óthos} > πόθος$$

That is to say, *g^whódhos* became *k^whóthos* by the devoicing of voiced aspirates. Next, *k^whóthos* became *k^wóthos* by Grassmann's law of the dissimilation of aspirates. Finally, *k^wóthos* became πόθος by the development of labiovelars into labials before back vowels.[7]

On the other hand, the pre-history of the *s*-aorist of this verb was as summarized below:

$$*g^w\text{hedh-s-} > *g^w\text{het-s-} > *k^w\text{het-s-} > θεσσ-}$$

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[3] See T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, E. E. Sykes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1963) 402 and R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982) 198.

[4] See *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 21 (1898) 297.

[5] See P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (henceforth = *DELG*) (Paris 1968–1980) 922. But his reference to Old Irish *guidid* should be modified in the light of Warren Cowgill, "The Etymology of Irish *guidid* and the Outcome of g^{w}h- in Celtic," in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie,* ed. M. Mayrhofer, M. Peters, and O. E. Pfeiffer (Wiesbaden 1980) 49–78.

[6] See P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris 1933) 10.

[7] See M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien* (Paris 1972) 30, 47, 56 for these developments. The ordering of the last two steps is not entirely certain.

First *g^whedh-s-* became *g^whet-s-* because the voiced aspirate *dh* lost both its aspiration and voicing before *-s-*. Next *g^whet-s-* became *k^whet-s-* by the devoicing of voiced aspirates, but Grassmann's law did not apply because the second aspirate of the stem had already been lost so there were not two aspirates to dissimilate. Finally, *k^whet-s-* became θεσσ- because the labiovelars *k^wh-* before *e* became *th-* in all dialects except the Aeolic ones and *-ts-* assimilated to *-ss-*.[8]

Verbal nouns of the λόγος/φόνος type are often *nomina actionis*. φόνος, for example, is "the act of slaying," i.e., "murder." Thus πόθος must originally have meant "the act of praying, prayer." The semantic connection between "prayer" and "desire" is obvious enough. But why should "the act of praying" take on the specific meaning "desire for that which is not at hand"? A moment's reflection shows that implicit in the concept of prayer is not only "desire" but also a realization that that which one desires is not obtainable through one's own efforts alone, but only with the assistance of another, sometimes divine, being. If I am in the Sahara desert, I might pray for a drink. But if I feel thirsty at home, I just turn on the tap.

This twofold nature of prayer is, of course, true in general and also in the particular case of θέσσασθαι. To cite just one example, the subjects in Archilochus *IEG* 8 are praying for their νόστος (θεσσάμενοι γλυκερὸν νόστον), something which is notoriously subject to the whims of the gods and the seas.

From this it follows that the nominalization of a verb meaning "pray" should contain within it both the idea of desire and the idea that the fulfillment of that desire is contingent upon the will or action of some other entity. πόθος would therefore have meant in the first instance "desire for that which is not easily obtained by the subject's actions alone." Practically speaking, this means in most cases "desire for that which is not at hand." Eventually this semantic limitation was eroded and we find πόθος in the simple sense of "desire," sometimes sexual, which led Pausanias to make his doubting comment.

One more possible trace of the root *g^whedh-* in Greek may be found in the name of the Thessalians: Θεσσαλοί, Θετταλοί, Φετταλός, Φετθαλοί. A possible explanation for the name and its surprising variants is offered in the appendix.

[8] See Lejeune, *Phonétique*, 72, 74, 103 for these developments.

PART TWO: ἔρως

Ἔρως, one may be surprised to learn, is a word without a past. No plausible etymology has ever been suggested for this word and its family. Frisk in his etymological dictionary says simply "ohne Etymologie." Chantraine reaches the same conclusion in his dictionary.[9] Now some words do not deserve etymologies—for example, onomatopoetic words and *Lallwörter*—and some words, though deserving, can clearly not be etymologized within the framework of Proto-Indo-European. But ἔρως and its relatives are not those kinds of words. The simple facts of their morphology guarantee an Indo-European origin. We have just not yet looked in the right place. First let us review the forms in question to see which way they point.

In the early Greek epic we find the following indubitable representatives of the root *ἐρ(α)- "love":

Verbs	1.	a)	ἔραμαι with the thematic variant ἐράομαι
		b)	ἐρατίζω "be greedy for meat," only in the present participle
Nouns	2.	a)	ἔρος, -ου "love," a thematic noun
		b)	ἔρως, -ωτος "love," a *t*-stem
Adjectives	3.	a)	ἐραννός, -ή, -όν "lovely"
		b)	ἐρατός, -ή, -όν "lovely" and the compounds ἐπήρατος "delightsome" and πολυήρατος "much-loved"
		c)	ἐρατεινός, -ή, -όν "lovely"
		d)	ἐρόεις, -εσσα, -εν "charming"
Name	4.		Ἐρατώ

Somewhat later forms of interest are compounds with first member in ἐρασι-, e.g., ἐρασί-μολπος (Pind. *Ol.* 14.15), the adjective ἐράσμιος (Anacreon +), and the noun ἐραστής (Soph. +). The interrelationship of these forms can be schematized as in the figure below.

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[9] H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960–1972) 547. Chantraine, *DELG* 364.

ἔρα-μαι

ἔρος

ἐρόεις

ἐρατό-   *ἔρας

Ἐρατώ ἐρατίζω ἐρασι- ἐρατεινός ἐραστής ἐραννός ἔρως ἐράσμιος
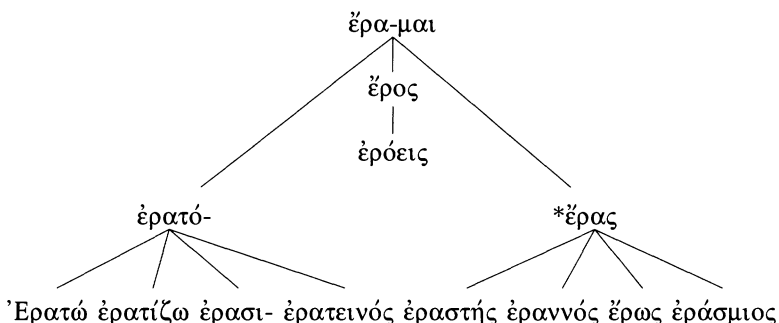
To put this chart into words: we start with the verbal root ἔρα-μαι. From this is derived the verbal adjective ἐρατός from which, in turn, are derived the personal name Ἐρατώ, the adjective ἐρατεινός apparently built under the influence of the adjectives in -εινός like ἀλγεινός, ποθεινός, etc., the denominal verb ἐρατίζω, and probably the first part of τερψίμβροτος-type compounds such as ἐρασίμολπος from earlier *ἐρατι-.

In addition, ἐρα- made a neuter *s*-stem of the κρέας type which, although it is not attested, can be inferred with certainty from the Pre-Aeolic *erasnós* which became Aeolic ἐραννός, as well as from ἐράσ-μιος and ἐρασ-τής. It is also probable that ἔρως was originally an animate amphikinetic *s*-stem of the αἰδώς, αἰδοῦς type where the genitive is from *aidósos*.[10] This is likely for two reasons. First, the derivation of an animate *s*-stem with *o*-grade suffix from a neuter proterokinetic *s*-stem like *ἔρας is a well paralleled Indo-European morphological pattern. Compare, for example, Greek κρέ(ϝ)ας n. = Skt. *kravís* (< Proto-Indo-European *kréwh₂s*) beside Latin *cruor* m. < *kr(é)wh₂ōs*. Second, the replacement of an original *s*-stem by a *t*-stem is exactly paralleled by the cases of ἱδρώς, ἱδρῶτος which has replaced an earlier ἱδρώς, *ἱδροῦς (cf. Latin *sūdor* < *sweidōs*) and γέλως, γέλωτος which has replaced an earlier γέλως, *γέλους (cf. Armenian *catr*, gen. *catu* < *ĝelōs*). Finally, one might note that there are no *t*-stem forms of ἔρως in the *Iliad, Odyssey,* or Hesiod. The *t*-stem first appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 449.

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[10] I follow the terminology laid out by J. Schindler in "Zum Ablaut der neutralen s-Stämme der indogermanischen," in *Flexion und Wortbildung,* ed. H. Rix (Wiesbaden 1975) 262–264, except that I use 'amphikinetic' instead of 'holokinetic.'

As for the apparent thematic stem ἔρος, a number of possibilities might be entertained. On the one hand, one might simply say that ἔρος is a barytone λόγος-type verbal abstract which, instead of showing the expected *o*-grade of the root, has copied the apparent *e* vowel of the verbal root ἐρα-. Although surprisingly few exact parallels can be found in the early period, cf. τάφος not *τόμφος "funeral rites" < θάπτω. This would mean—and nothing obvious is against this claim— that thematic ἔρος is of no great antiquity. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that the original neuter *s*-stem *ἔρας has been replaced by a more regular looking *ἔρος, a neuter *s*-stem like γένος which has been derailed and diverted into the second declension and the masculine gender. Nothing in particular—except perhaps the semi-parallels of Latin *Venus* and *Cerus*, both originally neuter *s*-stems—speaks in favor of this hypothesis and it is, on the whole, rather more complicated than the first hypothesis given above. In any case, nothing crucial turns on the correct historical interpretation of the thematic ἔρος.

The family tree sketched out above makes it clear enough that the verb ἔραμαι is at the morphological heart of this system, and it is from this verb that we must start our investigation into the prehistory of this word family. A consideration of the forms of this verb attested in early Greek epic reveals the following points:

a. The verb is, at this early stage, middle only. There is no active form in Homer, Hesiod, or the Homeric Hymns. Active forms do not appear in Greek before Archilochus.[11]

b. The verb is athematic. The one example of thematic inflection in Homer, ἐράασθε with diectasis from ἐράεσθε at *Iliad* 16.208, is a metrically determined *Streckform*: φυλόπιδος μέγα ἔργον, ἕης τὸ πρίν γ' ἐράασθε. This line starts off with a well defined formula which extends from the beginning of the line to the feminine caesura. Cf. *Iliad* 20.286 Αἰνείας, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν; 10.282 ῥέξαντας μέγα ἔργον, ὅ κε Τρώεσσι μελήσῃ; 5.303 Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν, etc.

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[11] *IEG* 19.3, 125.2. Another peculiarity of the Archilochean passages is the apparent shift of the verb ἐράω to ἐρέω. This form is also found in the editions of Anacreon (*PMG* 359.1, 428.1) In all these cases a contracted ἐρῶ would scan and is in fact transmitted by the codd. at all the *loci* except *IEG* 125.2. As Alan Nussbaum has demonstrated in a lecture delivered at the 1990 East Coast Indo-European Conference, these forms are not the result of sound change, but rather hyper-Ionisms created on the analogy Attic καλῶ: Ionic καλέω :: ἐρῶ : X, X = ἐρέω.

The normal conclusion for lines which begin with this formula is a relative clause defining the μέγα ἔργον as in the three examples just cited. The composer of this line, wanting to stick close to this tradition and wanting also to express the central idea "which you formerly loved," found that the strictly expected *ἧς τὸ πρίν γ' ἔρασθε failed to scan and chose to use two artificial forms to fill out the line. For ἕης can have little claim to linguistic reality and is obviously created on the model οὗ : ὅου :: ἧς: X where X = ἕης.[12] ἐράασθε on the other hand, may best be explained as a replacement, under dire metrical necessity, of the athematic ἔρασθε of the traditional diction by a thematic ἐράεσθε > ἐράασθε which may have already existed in the composer's everyday speech. This innovative thematic form is also used once by Hesiod fr. 30 line 32

c. The verb did not begin with digamma which would have been incompatible with the scansion found at *Iliad* 16. 208, Hes. fr. 185 line 14 and fr. 30 line 32. Furthermore the augmented forms in eta, e.g., ἤρατο, are incompatible with the prior existence of an initial digamma. If digamma had existed in this verb, then the augmented forms would have been *εἴρατο like, for example, εἴρυσα the aorist of ἐρύω "dig" from ϝερύω (ϝερυσάτω Delphi, iv B.C.E.) Finally Cypriote *e-re-ra-me-na* ἐραρᾱμένα (*ICS* 264.2) in an inscription preserving initial digamma argues conclusively against an initial digamma for the root of ἔραμαι.

d. The verb belonged to that subclass of verbs which did not show lengthening of the final stem vowel before the *s* of the *s*-aorist. For example, the first alpha of ἠρασάμην scans unambiguously short at *Iliad* 14.317 οὐδ' ὁπότ' ἠρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο and *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 57. In this regard ἠρᾰσάμην is exactly parallel to ἐπέρᾰσα, ἐκέρᾰσα, etc. Verbs of this sort, it is generally agreed, owe the final *a* vowel of their stems to the prior existence of the second laryngeal. Cf., for example, the περᾰ of ἐπέρᾰσα and the κερᾰ of ἐκέρᾰσα which go back to PIE *$perh_2$- and $\hat{k}erh_2$- respectively.[13]

And finally one observation pertaining to semantics:

e. The verb is not exclusively sexual. Thus the objects of ἔραμαι include war (πόλεμος *Il.* 9.64, φύλοπις *Il.* 16.208) and food (*H. Dem.* 129 δόρπον, *H. Herm.* 130 κρέας). Note also that the derived verb ἐρατίζω always has meat (κρέας) as its object.

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[12] See P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* (Paris 1973) 1.83.
[13] Chantraine, *DELG* 517.

On the basis of the five insights that can be gleaned from the early Greek data we may venture an internal reconstruction, as yet purely hypothetical and relying on no external comparative evidence. That is, Greek ἔρα-μαι must reflect a Proto-Indo-European root *h_1erh_2-.[14] It is noteworthy that this is not one out of many possible reconstructions but the sole possibility that can account for the Greek facts. Once we have

[14] One further detail needs to be addressed. The case has just been made that the root *era- can only go back to *$h_1(e)rh_2$- and that, as is shown by the aorist stem *eras- the final a of the root is the reflex of the second laryngeal. On anyone's theory a vocalic $r̥$ could not account for the root shape *era-. For *$h_1r̥C$- could only give er according to Rix's law (H. Rix, "Anlautender Laryngal vor Liquida oder Nasalis Sonans im Griechischen," *MSS* 27 (1969) 79–110) and #$r̥C$- —assuming that PIE had any r- initial roots, which is uncertain—could only have given #arC-. An apparent difficulty for this account is presented by the Boeotian and Thessalian ἐροτο-, inferable from personal names like Boet. Ἐροτίων, Ἔροττις and Thess. Ἐροτοκλίας (Matropolis), F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* (Berlin 1921) 1.147, 243. It is clear that the Thessalian and Boeotian form ἐροτο- belongs to that class of forms which have an Aeolic (and sometimes Arcado-Cypriot and Mycenaean) oρ/ρο corresponding to Attic-Ionic and West Greek αρ/ρα, e.g., Lesbian βρόχυς vs. βραχύς. See Lejeune, *Phonétique* 197. In most cases, it is clear that "Aeolic" oρ/ρο corresponding to West Greek/Attic-Ionic αρ/ρα reflects Proto-Greek *$r̥$. How then should the ρο of ἐροτο- be explained? Of course, it is logically possible that *$r̥$ became ar/ra in Proto-Greek, and that "Aeolic" changed a of whatever origin to o in the vicinity of r. This view, put foward by W. Porzig ("Sprachgeographische Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Dialekten," *IF* 61 [1954] 161) among others, even finds a specious support in Mycenaean pa-ro, Aeolic πάρο, i.e., πάρεστι (Alc. 130 a,12 Voigt) = Attic-Ionic παρά where the second a is the result of *h_2e, the allative case marker. For a discussion of the reconstruction of the allative see my paper, "Life Everlasting . . ." in *MSS* 55 (1996) n. 44. For a different view of the directive/allative case see G. E. Dunkel, "The I.E. Directive" in *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch*, ed. G. E. Dunkel et al. (Wiesbaden 1994) 17–36. However, πάρο can simply be analogical to ὑπό. And Porzig's view is refuted by clear cases of α, whether from PIE *a or *h_2, in the vicinity of ρ which show up unchanged in Aeolic, e.g., ἀρτίως (S. 98a10; 123 Voigt) from the root *$(h_1)ar$- "be fitting" with PIE *a, cf. Hittite āra "(what is) fitting." A further argument against the view that αρ > oρ in "Aeolic" is provided by the fact that initial Attic-Ionic/West Greek αρ- never corresponds to Aeolic oρ- —ὄρχαμος contra P. Kretschmer, "Etymologisches," *ZvS* 36 (1900) 268 (and Myc. o-ka if really equivalent to *ὀρχά, cf. πλόκαμος ~ πλοκή. See F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico* [Madrid 1993] 2.19) is not Aeolic for *ἄρχαμος, but from an o-grade *h_2orgh-. We are led then to the conclusion that ἐροτο- cannot be phonological. As per Peters, "Ein weiteres Fall des Rixisches Gesetz," in *Indogermanica et Italica* ed. G. Meiser (Innsbruck 1993) 380, n. 34, it is most likely that ἐροτο- is a hyper-Aeolism on the basis of the clear pattern West Greek αρ/ρα ~ Aeolic oρ/ρο. In any case, the expected α of Aeolic ἐρα- is well attested, e.g., Boeot. Ἐράτων (Tanagra, in a pre-Ionic alphabet *SGDI* 914 III,7), ἔρατος (Alc. 296b12 Voigt); ἐπήρατος (Sapph. 44.32 Voigt).

established this internal reconstruction, the task now becomes to anchor it in the comparative evidence. But if there were obvious reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *h_1erh_2-meaning "love" in other Indo-European traditions we could be sure that scholars would have pointed them out a long time ago. This must mean either that there are no such reflexes or that the meaning of these reflexes must be sufficiently different to have precluded comparison. First we must turn our attention to semantics.

Where do words for "love" come from? There is, of course, no one semantic source. But consider some selected examples. In Latin, *diligo,* Cicero claims, expresses a milder emotion than *amo* (Cicero *ad Brut.* 1.1.1): *diligit vel, ut* ἐμφατικώτερον *dicam, valde me amat.* But still this word often occurs simply in the sense "love," e.g., (Plautus *Amph.* 509 [Juppiter to Alcumena]): *Satin habes, si feminarum nulla est quam aeque diligam? Diligo* is, of course, quite clearly a compound of the preverb *dis-* and *lego, legere,* and should therefore mean as the sum of its parts "to take or choose apart." A close relative of this more con- crete meaning is apparently preserved in two passages quoted by Non- ius 290: Plautus *Curc.* 424: *clupeatus elephantum machaera diligit* (codd. *dissicit*); Tit. *Com.* 84: *pernam totam diligit.* Compare our own colloquial "to take someone apart," meaning "to tear to pieces."

The semantic evolution must then have been "takes apart (for one- self)" > "enjoys" > "loves." Traces of an earlier sense may perhaps be felt in examples like Plautus *Bacch.* 817–818: *quem di diligunt, adulescens moritur.* A very similar development may be seen in San- skrit. There one finds the root *bhaj-,* the exact cognate of Greek φαγεῖν "eat." In the active *bhajati* this verb means "divides," but in the middle *bhajate* it means "divides for oneself, uses, enjoys, loves" as in this example from Nala: *yadi tvaṃ **bhajamānāṃ** māṃ pratyākhyāsyasi mānada / viṣam agniṃ jalaṃ rajjum āsthāsye tava kāraṇāt* "If you will reject me who loves (you) I'll kill myself on your account."[15] Thus in the case of both *diligo* and *bhajate,* we find the same semantic develop- ment from "divides for oneself" to "loves."

Upon closer inspection this change of meaning would appear to be a two-step one. First, "divides for oneself, takes one's share" leads to

[15] Literally: I will resort to poison, fire, water, rope on your account. Another partial semantic parallel may be provided by Latin *amāre,* if this verb is indeed from the PIE root *h_2emh_3-* 'seize' (Skt. *(abhi) am^i* etc.) as O. Hackstein has suggested, *Unter- suchungen zu den sigmatischen Präsenstammbildungen des Tocharischen* (Göttingen 1995) 66.

"enjoys." This kind of development is very common and finds parallels within the classical languages. For example, Greek ἀπολαύω "have enjoyment of" is related to ληΐζομαι "carry off as booty" and Old Church Slavonic *loviti* "capture."[16]

The second part of the change from "enjoyment" to "love" may be seen in several ways. For example, "I enjoy ping-pong" hardly differs from "I love ping-pong." Consider also the case of Greek χράομαι. In the perfect, when used with a genitive, this verb means "desires," e.g., *Odyssey* 1.13 (Odysseus): νόστου κεχρημένον ἠδὲ γυναικός. Cf. Euripides *Ph.* 359 πατρίδος ἐρᾶν. But when used with a dative it means "enjoy the use of," e.g., *Odyssey* 14.420–421: οὐδὲ συβώτης / λήθετ' ἄρ' ἀθανάτων· φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῆσιν. But perhaps we may be more specific. In Modern German *gebrauchen* means "to use" but *brauchen* means "to want, or need." Thus we see from this example that the meanings "use" and "want" are distinguished formally merely by the presence or absence of the aspectual particle *ge-* which at one time had perfectivizing force.

In the light of these observations, we might imagine the following hypothetical semantic prehistory for our root $*h_1erh_2$-. Let us begin by assigning an original meaning "divide" to the root $*h_1erh_2$-. Let us suppose that this root made a middle root-aorist $*(é-)h_1\underset{\circ}{r}h_2$-*to* which, as an indirect reflexive middle, meant "divided for oneself" and then "enjoyed" (recall the cases of Skt. *bhajate* and ἀπολαύω). By regular sound change this would have become Greek augmented *ἤρᾱτο, unaugmented *ἔρᾱτο. The athematic middle root present was a Narten present $*h_1érh_2$-*toi*.[17] This present form, being naturally imperfective or

[16] Chantraine, *DELG* 98. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Munich 1959) 655.

[17] A Narten present is an athematic present which shows lenghtened *ē*-grade of the root where a regular athematic present has the *e*-grade and which shows an *e*-grade of the root where the regular athematic has zero-grade. See most recently Kim McCone, "OIr. *-Ic* 'Reaches,' *Ithid* 'Eats,' *Rigid* 'Stretches, Directs, Rules' and the PIE 'Narten' Present in Celtic," *Ériu* 42 (1991) 1–2. For the co-occurrence of a "regularly" ablauting root-aorist beside a Narten present, cf. σεῦται Soph. *Tr.* 645 < *kyeu-toi* vs. ἔσσυτο < *e-kyu-to;* πέτομαι ~ ἔπτατο. See M. Peters "Altpersiches *ašiyava*," *Sprache* 21 (1975) 37–42. Similarly J. L. García-Ramón, "Indogermanische Wurzelpräsentia und innere Rekonstruktion" in *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch*, ed. G. E. Dunkel et al. (Wiesbaden 1994) 71–72. The active of the root aorist $*(é-)h_1erh_2t$ / $(é-)h_1\underset{\circ}{r}h_2$-*ent* is probably inferable from Lithuanian *ìrti, iriù* "to tear open," (said of an anchor tearing the ground, and of a mole). See A. Kurschat *Litauisches-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. W. Wissmann and E. Hofmann (Göttingen 1970) 2.752 and *Lietuvių Kalbos Žodynas*, ed. Z. Jonikaite et al.

incompletive aspectually, took on the meaning "to seek to enjoy," and hence "to desire sexually or otherwise." This hypothesized development of the present stem is closely parallel to, if not identical with, the well known phenomenon of the conative present and imperfect. Consider, for instance, this example from Isocrates (6.12): ταυτὴν [τὴν δόξαν] πείθουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν "They **seek to** persuade us to get rid of that glory." Or consider the familiar case of the verb ὠνέομαι "to buy," which regularly means "to seek to buy" in the present and imperfect. Next we may suppose that as soon as the meaning of the present was no longer decomposable as "seek to enjoy," but simply meant "desire," a new *s*-aorist was created replacing the old root-aorist in order to carry the new meaning "desire" into the aorist stem.[18]

This hypothesis, to my mind plausible enough in view of the parallels, will, of course, convince no one in the abstract. What one wants is to be able to point clearly to the other members of the family of *h_1erh_2-* "divide" both in other Indo-European languages and, crucially, within Greek itself.

Outside of Greek, the language which provides the most information about laryngeals is, of course, Hittite. If our hypothetical root *h_1erh_2-*

(Vilna 1957) 4.142 *irti* 3, definition 3. For the derivation of a *-ye-/-yo-* present from a root aorist in Lithuanian, cf. *diriù* "flay" vs. Sanskrit *ádar* < **(é-)der-t*. See C. Stang, *Vergleichende Grammatik der baltischen Sprachen* (Oslo 1966) 355. Derivatives of the transitive *iriù* by means of the productive Baltic intransitive-present-forming nasal infix and the intransitive-present-forming suffix *-st-* are seen in *ìrti*, present *inrù, įrù, irnù*, and *irtstù* "dissolve," "fall to pieces." See Stang, 342.

The present ἔραμαι must be reconstructed with a full grade since *$h_1r̥h_2C$-* would have given Proto-Greek *ἐρᾱ- as Paul Wilson has shown, *A Linguistic and Philological Study of Selected Greek Verb Forms*, diss. Cornell University (1993) 11.

[18] For the extension or replacement of a root-aorist by an *s*-aorist form, cf. γέλαν (Alc. 349c Voigt) "they broke into laughter" > ἐγέλασαν. See F. Specht, "Griechische Miszellen," *ZvS* 62 (1936) 222. A very similar set of developments may be seen in the case of the verb(s) ἔχρα(ϝ)ον "attacked" and χραύω "graze," Cypr. χραύομαι "touch upon." In this case, it seems we must start with the aorist ἔχρα(ϝ)ον. Cf. Latin *ingruo, ingrui* "fall upon" < **en-ghraw-*. The present stem built to this root by means of the *-ye-/-yo-* suffix was χρα(ϝ)-ye-. For a *-ye-/-yo-* present beside a thematic aorist cf. δαίω < **dawye-* "to set on fire" ~ aor. δα(ϝ)o- inferable from the Homeric subjunctive δάηται. The present had imperfective meaning, e.g, "attack incompletely" whence "graze." Once this meaning was no longer analyzable as derived, the present χρα(ϝ)-ye- was cut loose and formed a new *s*-aorist, after which, in turn, the expected phonological outcome of the present stem, viz. *χραίω, was remodelled to χραύω. In this case, in contrast to the hypothesized case of ἔραμαι, the original athematic aorist survived side by side with the new *s*-aorist.

were to turn up in Hittite in the zero-grade, i.e., $*h_{1}\mathring{r}h_{2}$-, it would come out as *arḫ*-. The preconsonantal *e*-grade, i.e., $*h_{1}erh_{2}C$-, following the phonology of Melchert, would also come out as $*arḫ$-*C*. Cf. *walḫzi* "strikes" $< *welh_{2}$-*ti*.[19]

Now it so happens that in Old Hittite we find a noun *arḫāš*[20] (common gender) which means "border" (= Cuneiform Luvian *irḫa*-, Hieroglyphic Luvian *irha*-) and is replaced in Later Hittite by *irḫa*-. This noun belongs to the Hittite equivalent of the thematic declension, but derivatives like *araḫziya*- "external, foreign" and *araḫzena*- (same meaning) suggest that *arḫāš* was originally an athematic root noun.[21] The derivation of a word for "border" from a verbal root meaning "divide" is self-evident and well-paralleled. To cite a well known example, Old Irish *crích* "boundary" is a derivative of the root seen in Greek κρίνω and Latin *cerno*.[22] Latin, as has been known now for some time, has a close relative of Hittite *arḫāš* in *ōra* "border, seacoast."[23] *Ōra* has, in fact, nothing to do with *ōs, ōris* "mouth", and *cōram* < $*ko$-*ōr*-*am* "face to face," which has been supposed to support the existence of an *a*-stem derivative of *ōs*, simply owes its -*am* to the very nearly synonymous *palam* "openly."[24] Instead *ōra* can best be understood as a *vṛddhi* derivative of the *o*-grade of the Italic descendant of

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[19] For the elimination of the possibility that the final *ḫ* of Anatolian *arḫ*- is from h_3, see H. Craig Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam 1994) 72–73. For the pre-Proto-Anatolian change of *e* to *a* before Rh_xC-, see Melchert, *Anatolian* 83–84. The phonological development of *arḫ* and its congeners is dealt with on p. 84. Sara Kimball, on the other hand, who kindly sent me a pre-print version of her paper "The Phonological Pre-history of Some Hittite *mi*-conjugation Verbs," *MSS* 53 (1994) 89, prefers to explain the non-assimilation of the laryngeal from a zero-grade $*h_{1}\mathring{r}h_{2/3}$-. As for the problematic vocalism of *irḫa-/irha/*, Melchert believes that the vocalism is derived from the denominative verb *irḫā(i)*- "make a circuit" < $*erh_{2}\acute{a}Hye/o$- which requires that the change of pre-tonic *e* to *i* be Proto-Anatolian. Kimball, on the other hand, argues that *irḫa*- may in fact be phonologized as */ĕrha/*, and that this form, together with Hieroglyphic Luvian *irḫa*-, points to a Proto-Anatolian *vṛddhi* derivative $*h_{1}\bar{e}rh_{2/3}\acute{o}$-. I leave it to the experts to decide between these two alternative hypotheses. In any case, either reconstruction is perfectly compatible with our extra-Anatolian hypotheses.

[20] Plene spelling of the stem vowel in *er-ḫa-a-aš* KUB XIX 37 II 23 (Neo-Hittite).

[21] See Melchert, *Studies in Historical Hittite Phonology* (Göttingen 1984) 137.

[22] See Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (henceforth = *LEIA*), C, ed. E. Bachellery and P.-Y. Lambert (Paris 1987) C.234–235.

[23] E. Laroche, "Correspondances lexicales hittites latines et grecques," *RPh* 42/2 (1968) 246–247.

[24] See A. Walde and J. B. Hoffmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1938) 272.

the PIE root-noun which is also reflected by Hittite *arḫāš*. We may therefore reconstruct an original root-noun nominative $*h_1orh_2s$ which ablauted with *e*-grade $*h_1erh_2$- in the oblique cases. Nouns of this sort are regularly feminine result-nouns of the verbs from which they are derived.[25] Our root-noun would then have meant in the first instance "that which results from a division" and therefore "border." Hittite appears to have a thematized derivative of this root-noun, whereas Latin has used the *o*-grade as the basis for a *v̥ddhi* derivative $*h_1orh_2o$- "pertaining to the border" which was then substantivized as $*h_1ōrh_2eh_2 >$ *ōra* with originally collective force.[26] For the survival of *v̥ddhi* in Italic as a productive process one may compare *sacrum* ~ *sācer*, *i*-stem (Pl. *Men.* 290 etc.) = Umbrian *saakri*- < $*sākri$- as in *porci sacres* "pigs which belong to the *sacrum*, 'the sacred rite'." For the substantivization of a *v̥ddhi* adjective as a feminine *a*-stem, cf. Grk. ᾦα[27] "sheepskin" < $*ōwi$-*o*- derived from ὄϝις.[28]

[25] J. Schindler, "L'apophonie des noms-racines," *BSL* 67 (1972) 36.

[26] For the ablaut grade of the Hittite, see above n. 19. For the collective force of *v̥ddhi* derivatives, cf. Skt. *párśu*- "rib" ~ *pārśvá*- "rib cage." See A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* (Göttingen 1954) 2.2.105.

[27] This accentuation is given in Theognostus, but the word is attested from the fifth-century comic poet Hermippus.

[28] Another probable example of an Italic or Latin *v̥ddhi* derivative is *hīra* "intestine" pl. "guts" with a dialectal *i* in place of a Roman Latin *ē*. See F. Solmsen, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache," *ZvS* 34 (1897) 2. This word belongs to the same family as the first part of *haru-spex*. Latin *haru*- Skt. *híra*- m. "band," *hirā* f. "vein," and Greek χορδή, etc. (see Walde-Hoffmann [above, n. 24] 635, 649.) all point to a root of the shape $*ĝherh_x$- with the Greek form exhibiting de Saussure's law of non-vocalization of a laryngeal in the vicinity of a resonant and an *o*-grade (see M. Peters, *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* (Vienna 1980) 95). Since we are dealing with an indubitable short-vowel seṭ root, $*hēra$ can only be explained as a *v̥ddhi* derivative of $*ĝherh_x$-, perhaps with originally collective meaning. This *v̥ddhi* derivative does not seem to have any parallels outside of Latin. Albanian *zorrë* "intestines," contra Solmsen, is probably from $*g^werh_3neh_2$ and not $*ĝherh_xneh_2$. See Martin Huld, *Basic Albanian Etymologies* (1983) 54.

Latin has one other piece of evidence that seems to me to confirm the idea that Latin *ōra* "border" and therefore Hittite *arḫāš* are, in fact, derived from a verbal root meaning "divide." This is the word *ora₂* which is traditionally glossed as "rope." Making a connection between the meaning of *ora₁* and *ora₂* has always been difficult. But consider the attestation of *ora₂*:

> Liv. 22.19.10 *alii* **resolutis oris** *in ancoras evehuntur, alii ancoralia incidunt*
> Liv. 28.36.11 **oras**que *et ancoras* **praecidunt**
> Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.41 *sublatae sunt ancorae* **solvimus oras**
> Quint.*Inst.* Praef. 3 **oram solventibus** *bene precemur*

It is also probable that Celtic preserves a member of the family of *h_1erh_2-* in Old Irish *or* m. "border," Welsh *or* f. "border," *eirion-yn,* Old Breton *orion,* Mod. Bret. *erien* with internal *i*-affection from **oryono-.*[29] These forms, although mentioned in this connection before,[30] have not been seriously considered, presumably because of the belief that the Celtic words were somehow borrowings either from Latin *ōra,* as Thurneysen suggested, or from OE *or* or *ora,* as Pokorny believed.[31] Neither of these theories is very compelling. As for the idea that Celtic *or* is from Latin *ōra,* one may note that Latin *ō* is normally represented as *úa/ó* in Irish and as *u* in Welsh. cf. *(h)ōra* ~ OIr. *úar,* older *ór* (f. *a*-stem) "time" ; Latin *scōpa* > OIr. *scúap* f., Welsh *ysgub* f. Even in the peculiar case of the learned borrowing of Latin *ōrdō* as OIr. *ord,* Welsh accurately reflects the length of the Latin *ō* in *urdd.* There is, to my knowledge, no case where an accented Latin *ō* is borrowed as a short *o* in all the Celtic languages. Another argument against a Latin origin is provided by the masculine inflection of *or* in Irish. Of course, the real motivation for Thurneysen's loanword theory is the erroneous belief that Latin *ōra* is from **ōsa.* Turning to the supposed Old English

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Notice that an *ora* is not just any rope but specifically a ship's release rope. Starting from the historically attested meaning of *ora₁* it is hard to arrive at this very specific meaning of *ora₂*. But if we start from a verbal root *h_1erh_2-* "divide, cut apart" we may suppose that the *ora* was the rope that was cut apart or untied in order to release the ship. Cf. for the semantic development from "cut" to "untie" Skt. *lunáti* "cut" vs. Latin *solvo,* Grk. λύω (Pokorny, *Indogermanisches* 681). Note that in all four attestations of this word it is governed by a verb meaning 'release' or 'cut.' There is no mention of tying up the *orae* as one might have expected if *ora* meant simply rope for the tying up of a ship at dock. As for the morphology of *ora₂,* it is worth pointing out that, although the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1262 marks the *o* of the first syllable as long, we have no real evidence that this is the case. The word is not attested in poetry, does not survive in the Romance languages, and does not occur in any compounds which would not show vowel weakening if the first vowel were long. Nothing but the idea that this word is somehow an extended use of *ora₁* requires us to assume a long initial vowel. Since this is the case, we are free to assume that the first syllable of *ora₂* is short. The morphological analysis of *ora₂* would then be clear, i.e, it would be an *o*-grade deverbal noun from the verb *h_1erh_2-* "that which is cut" with secondary concretization. This is the well known τομή-type. Admittedly, the semantic development from "that which is cut/untied" to "release rope" is highly peculiar, and would probably be beyond plausibility, if not for the striking unanimity of the contexts. Perhaps this sense of *ora* is a feature of sailor's slang.

[29] J. Vendryes, *LEIA* (Paris 1960) O.26 with refs.

[30] Laroche does mention the Irish form.

[31] Pokorny, *Indogermanisches* 784.

source, we may note that OE *or* n., which also has a long vowel, means not "border" but "beginning," glossing Latin *initium*.[32] *Ora,* a masculine *n*-stem, on the other hand, does mean "border" and translates Latin *ōra* from which it is clearly a relatively late borrowing. For the transfer of a Latin *a*-stem feminine to the masculine *n*-stem declension, cf. OE *gloria -an* m. < Latin *gloria*.[33] Thus the loan hypotheses for Irish *or* are rather unlikely. It is much simpler to say that OIr. *or* m. is from < *h_1orh_2os* "divider."

We find other probable members of the family of *h_1erh_2-* in Lithuanian *ìrti, inrù* "dissolve oneself" < "divide oneself up," and *ìrti, iriù* "tear open" the accents of which point to a root-final laryngeal.[34]

Let me summarize the argument so far: on internal grounds alone, the Greek root ἐρα- must go back to PIE *h_1erh_2-*. On the basis of parallel semantic developments, it has been shown that verbal roots meaning "divide, cut for oneself" can develop to "enjoy" and finally "seek to enjoy, love." Hittite *arḫāš* "border," Latin *ōra,* and Old Irish *or* can all be taken as nominal reflexes of a root *h_1erh_2-* "divide" of which Lithuanian *ìrti* preserves a primary-looking verbal form.

But one would like to point to a member of the family of this root *h_1erh_2-* "divide" in Greek which would confirm that this root did, in fact, survive into Greek with the meaning "divide." Such a form does indeed exist. And this is, I believe, ἔρανος "a meal to which each contributed his share." The connection between ἔρανος and ἔραμαι has already been tentatively suggested by Risch, and formally there is not the slightest problem in taking ἔρανος from *h_1erh_2-nos*.[35] But Risch made no attempt to justify the divergence in meaning and since an ἔρανος is clearly not a "love feast," no one seems to have followed him in this interpretation. But if the original meaning of the root *h_1erh_2-* was "divide," then the case of ἔρανος would be exactly paralleled by another Greek banquet name: δαίς which is a derived from the root of δαίομαι "divide, distribute, feast on." An ἔρανος is then the reciprocal mirror image of a δαίς. Whereas in the latter everyone gets his share, in the former everyone gives his share.[36]

[32] See J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford 1882) 763.

[33] See A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford 1959) 219. At *Ps. Spl.* 132.2 *on oran his hrægles* translates *in oram vestimenti*.

[34] See above, n. 17.

[35] E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*[2] (Berlin 1974) 98. For the formation cf. ὦνος < *$wós$-nos* to the verbal root *wos-/wes-* "buy" seen in Hittite *wāš-* "buy."

[36] Another etymology, first suggested by K. Brugmann, "Wortgeschichtliche

Finally, I would tentatively add ἔρις to this family. The personal name Ἀμφήριτος shows that the -*i*-stem accusative ἔριν is older than the -*d*-stem ἔριδα,[37] and nothing formal stands in the way of assuming that ἔρις is from *$h_1érh_2$-is*. The specialization of meaning from "division" to "quarrel" is a very slight change and well-paralleled, for example, by Old Norse *deila* "quarrel" from the verb *deila* "divide, deal."[38] Within Greek itself we find δῆρις "contest, battle" which is a derivative of the verb δέρω "flay." The antipodal ἔρως and ἔρις then, would share a common root in linguistic prehistory, as they do so often in the human psyche.

PART THREE: ἵμερος

Coming to ἵμερος, the third member of Scopas' triad, we would seem to be faced with a non-problem from the point of view of etymology. Chantraine, although somewhat uneasy, is willing to take a chance on the hypothesis of Bally who would take ἵμερος as a back-formation from the verb ἱμείρω which, in turn, Bally derives from *$sismeryō$*, a reduplicated present formation to the root *$smer$*-"think about," cf. Skt. *smárati* "thinks about, lusts." Frisk likes the hypothesis of Curtius, mentioned also by Chantraine, who wanted to derive ἵμερος from the root *h_2is*-"want" found among other places in Skt. *icchǎti* "wishes." But he too eventually decides in favor of Bally's suggestion. So we have here two competing theories each considered plausible enough to be mentioned in each of the two standard etymological dictionaries. But the problem with these two theories is that neither of them can be

Miszellen," *IF* 13 (1902) 155–157, connects ἔρανος with ἧρα "favor" < *$werh_x$-, cf. Hittite *warra*- "help." There is no positive evidence for the prior existence of a digamma in this form, nor, on the other hand, is there any evidence which would conclusively rule out a digamma. In any case, the meaning of ἔρανος with its emphasis on shared contributions is not well explained by this alternative etymology.

[37] Chantraine, *DELG* 372. Another member of the family of *h_1erh_2*- in Greek may be found in ἐρεσχηλεῖν 'to quiz, to talk lightly,' if the original meaning of this verb was originally 'to incite discord' as suggested by J. Wackernagel, "Miszellen zur griechischen Grammatik," *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Göttingen 1953) 736. For a different view on the prehistory of ἔρις see Jean Haudry, "Altinisch *arí*-, griechisch ἔρις," in *Indogermanica et Italica Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Gerhard Meiser (Innsbruck 1993) 169–189.

[38] See Chantraine, *DELG* 364, and J. deVries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden 1961) 75.

correct. The simple argument which applies equally well to both accounts is this: both Bally's derivation of ἵμερος from **sismeros* and Curtius's derivation of ἵμερος from **h₂is-meros* assume the prior existence of an *s* before the *m* in the first syllable of this word. By regular Greek sound law, the sequence -*VsmV*- regularly lost the *s* together with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.[39] For example, Proto-Greek **esmi* (= Sanskrit *ásmi*) became Attic-Ionic εἰμί, Severe Doric ἠμί. But the outcome of sequences like -*VsmV*- was, of course, not the same in all Greek dialects. In Aeolic, sequences of this sort did not undergo compensatory lenghtening, but rather assimilated the *s* to the following *m*, giving -*VmmV*-. For example, Sappho and Alcaeus say ἔμμι.[40] It is clear then that if either of the etymologies which are on the books for ἵμερος was correct, then we would expect to find **ἵμμερος in Sappho and Alcaeus exactly parallel to ἔμμι corresponding to Attic-Ionic εἰμί, Severe Doric ἠμί. No such form occurs. ἵμερος and its derivatives occur frequently in the Lesbian poets: in Sappho ἵμερος 95.11 Voigt (= P. Berol. 9722 fol. 4), 96.16 (P. Berol. 9722 fol. 5), 13 7.3 (P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 10), 78.3, ἰμέρρω 112.4,1.27, ἰμέροεν 31.5, ἰμερόφωνος 136; in Alcaeus ἰμέρρω 73.5 Voigt (= P. Oxy. 1234 fr. 3), 130b3 (= P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. III), 117b5. There is not one trace in all these instances of the spelling **ἵμμερος. It is true that the supporters of the Bally hypothesis could claim that an original Aeolic **ἵμμερος was replaced by Attic ἵμερος in every case, but the cases of Alcaeus 73.5 (= P. Oxy. 1234 fr. 3) and Alcaeus 130b3 (= P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. 3) offer particularly strong arguments against this view. Here

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[39] The forms ἵσμερα · τὰ εἰς τοὺς καθαρμούς (Hsch.); ἰσμέρα · τὸ εἰς τοὺς καθαρμούς (Theognost. *Can.* 14); ἵμερα · τὰ πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμοὺς φερόμενα ἄνθη καὶ στεφανώματα (Hsch.) which have sometimes been cited in support of the derivation of ἵμερος from **ismero*-, e.g., by W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen 1892) 130, are quite irrelevant, not only for semantic reasons, but also for phonetic ones, since no Greek dialect preserves any trace of a sequence of the type -*VsmV*- which is not the result of analogical restoration. These forms are most probably to be explained as loanwords from some Anatolian language. Cf. Hittite *išmeri*- n. "bridle, rein."

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that there is also a near homophone of ἔρως which also has the meaning "wreath" (*EM* 379): Ἔρως· ὁ στέφανος παρὰ Νικαεῦσιν ἐκ πάντων ἀνθέων τοῖς νέκυσι πωλούμενος. As M. Kwintner has suggested to me (p.c.), this form is best taken as a derivative of the verbal root **ser*- "to string" (Grk. εἴρω, Latin *sero*) For the meaning, cf. Latin *serta*.

[40] Sapph. 31.15 Voigt, Alc. 306A Voigt. See Lejeune, *Phonétique* 122.

we are faced with two verbal forms, the infinitive ἰμέρρην (73.5) and the participle ἰμέρρων (117b5), which show the expected Aeolic ρρ from earlier *ry, whereas Attic with metathesis has ἱμείρω. One would have to suppose that the editor had before him an Ur-Aeolic *ἰμμέρρω[41] which he decided to Atticize by changing ἰμμ to ἰμ- but leaving the equally Aeolic ρρ untouched: a very unlikely hypothesis.[42] Furthermore, names derived from the stem ἰμερ- are attested for Lesbian (Ἰμερία, Mytilene, iii B.C.E.; Εἰμερίων, Mytilene ii B.C.) and again no trace of the μμ required for the hypothesis either of Bally or of Curtius is found.[43]

This objection deals a serious blow to all previous accounts.[44] A new theory must begin from the realization that Aeolic has ἵμερος, with one μ, and that the long *i* of the first syllable cannot be of secondary origin and therefore must go back to Proto-Greek. On this basis, one sees that the only possible mechanical reconstruction of ἵμερος is $*sih_xmeros$. We must reconstruct initial *s* to account for the rough breathing, since the other possible source of initial rough breathing, i.e., $*h_xy$-, would produce an unlikely, and probably impossible, Proto-Indo-European root shape. We must reconstruct some laryngeal to account for the Proto-Greek length of the first syllable. And since there are no PIE roots of the shape *siHm-*, a morpheme boundary must lie between the laryngeal and the *m,* and consequently we must recognize that the root of this form must be $*sih_x$-.

Having gotten this far on formal considerations alone, let us turn to the semantics of ἵμερος and its family. There is undoubtedly a fair amount of synonymy between ἵμερος and ἔρος. For example, we find

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[41] The form ἰμέρρω is also quoted by the grammarian Herodian III.2.949 as an example of Aeolic ρρ. He says nothing about the first syllable.

[42] On the contrary, we find in our texts of the Lesbian poets many cases of hyper-Aeolic μμ which have no etymological justification, e.g., νόημμα Sapph. 60.3 Voigt (= P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 44); κλᾶμμα Alc. 119.11 Voigt (= P. Oxy. 1788 fr. 15). See A. Thumb and A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechische Dialekte* (Heidelberg 1959) 2.81.

[43] See R. Hodot, *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie* (Paris 1990) 65 and P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987) 204. It is also noteworthy that Pliny the Elder *N.H.* 5.139 reports that Ἰμερτή was a poetic name for the island of Lesbos. This form, of course, tells us nothing about the correct Aeolic form of the stem in question.

[44] Lejeune, *Phonétique*, has also made precisely the same observation, 122 n. 1: "Les formes lesbiennes ἵμερος ἰμέρρω répondant à hom. ἵμερος ἱμείρω rendent douteuses l' explication par *ismero- et la parenté avec Skt. *iṣmaḥ.*"

ἵμερος γόοιο (*Il.* 23.153) as well as ἔρος γόου *(Il.* 24.227), ἵμερος σίτου (*Il.* 11.89) and ἔρος σίτοιο *(Od.* 24.489). ἱμερτός *(Il.* 2.751) is an adjective describing places just as is ἐρατός (*H. Apoll.* 477). But there is at least within the early Greek epic a crucial difference. Consider the following points:

1. ἵμερος is often said to be stirred up by someone's words (the verb used is ὦρσε, *Od.* 4.113, 4.183; *Il.* 23.14, 23.108, 23.153) or thrown into someone's θυμός by a god (*Il.* 3.139; *H. Aphr.* 45, 53, 73, 143). This is never the case for ἔρος.

2. When an attack of ἔρος is over, the formulaic way to express this is: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο (*Il.* 1.469 etc.). But when ἵμερος is over, it is not expelled but rather leaves of its own accord, e.g., *Il.* 24.514: καί οἱ ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἵμερος ἠδ' ἀπὸ γυίων.

N. van der Ben has recently argued, to my mind persuasively, that ἵμερος differs from ἔρος in that the former usually requires immediate satisfaction and cannot be refused.[45] So for example in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the feeling of ἔρος takes hold of Anchises at line 91 after seeing the goddess (Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἷλεν). But then after line 143 when Aphrodite puts ἵμερος in his θυμός by means of her speech (ὣς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ), he proclaims that he must sleep with her immediatedly and will not be prevented by any god or mortal (149–151): οὔ τις ἔπειτα θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων / ἐνθάδε με σχήσει πρὶν σῇ φιλότητι μιγῆναι / αὐτίκα νῦν.

What these points boil down to is this: ἔρος is desire conceived of as subject-internal in its origin and its end. ἵμερος, on the other hand, is a compulsive desire of external origin.

This compulsive and external character of ἵμερος fits well with its use in contexts of love magic. The most famous example occurs in *Iliad* 14, the Διὸς ἀπάτη, where Hera goes to Aphrodite and asks for her magical girdle in which ἵμερος abides (*Il.* 14.216 ἐν δ' ἵμερος). And when Zeus expresses his feelings for the magically enhanced Hera he says (328): (never have I loved any woman) ὡς σέο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ. The contrast here between the middle subject-oriented ἔραμαι and the use of ἵμερος as the subject of an active verb nicely contrasts the essential difference between the two words, but

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[45] N. van der Ben, "*Hymn to Aphrodite* 36–291. Notes on the *Pars Epica* of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*," *Mn* 39 (1986) 10–11.

naturally, given the early epic overdetermined way of thinking about causation, the feelings of ἵμερος and ἔρος were not mutually exclusive.

Another example is probably to be seen on the famous Nestor cup:

Νέστορος ἐ[στ]ὶ εὔποτον ποτέριον
hὸς δ' ἂν τόδε π[ίε]σι ποτερίō αὐτίκα κῆνον
Ηίμερ[ος haιρ]έσει καλλιστεφάνō Ἀφροδίτēν

The contents of the cup, it seems, were imagined as a love potion which gripped whoever drank from it with a compulsive desire.[46]

In the light of these formal and semantic arguments about ἵμερος, the root $*sih_x$-, which internal reconstruction alone has led us to, must be identified with the PIE root $*seh_2i$-/$*sih_2$- "to bind" (Sanskrit *ásāt* "bound," Hittite *išḫāi, išḫiyanz*i "binds," etc.). The reasons for this are as follows:

1. The magical power of binding is very well established for the ancient world—and for the modern world as well if we just think about our own idiom *spellbind* and *spellbound*. In Greek δέω "bind," κατα-δέω "bind down" frequently mean "cast a spell" in *defixiones* which are, of course, known as κατάδεσμοι (Artem. 1.77) in Greek. Particularly noteworthy is the occurrence of this metaphor in magical aphrodisiac contexts, e.g., *Papyri Graecae Magicae* XV:[47] Ἐπιδήσω σε Νῖλε. . . . ἀλλὰ φιλήσεις με Καπετωλίναν. And, this is also very familiar from Virgil's *Eclogue* 8.78: *necte Amarylli, modo et "Veneris" dic "vincula necto."* The image of the bond of love is also found outside of explicitly magical contexts, e.g., in Anacreon fr. 346 P with the restoration of Lobel, δεσμ[ῶν τῶν] χαλεπῶν δι' Ἀφροδίτη[ν and many other Greek poets.

2. The root $*seh_2i$-/$*sih_2$- does have other representatives in Greek—namely, the family of ἱμάς "strap, lash" and its derivatives, ἱμονιά "well rope," ἱμάσσω, and ἱμάσκω "lash." ἱμάς is from $*sih_2$-$mn̥$-, a nearly exact cognate of Hittite *išḫiman-* "rope." But, more

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[46] On the form of this "curse" and the necessity of taking this text as a magical aphrodisiacal spell, see Christopher A. Faraone, "Taking the 'Nestor's Cup Inscription' Seriously: Erotic magic and Conditional Curses in the Earliest Inscribed Hexameters," forthcoming in *Classical Antiquity*. Many thanks to Professsor Faraone, who was kind enough to send me a manuscript version of this paper. Thanks also to Andrew Garrett and Leslie Kurke for bringing this valuable work to my attention.

[47] On this text, see Christopher A. Faraone, "The 'Performative Future' in Three Hellenistic Incantations and Theocritus' Second Idyll," *CP* 90 (1995) 10.

than the bare fact of the existence of this root in Greek, it is interesting to note that the connections of this root with magic and, indeed, erotic magic can be clearly shown. Part of the evidence comes from a well known sixth-century inscription in the Elean dialect (Buck no. 61).[48] The inscription regulates the exaction of penalties and the officials in charge of exacting them. Towards the end of this inscription we find the curious provision: αἰ ζέ τις τὸν αἰτιαθέντα ζικαίōν ἰμάσκοι, ἐν ταῖ ζεκαμναίαι κ' ἐνέχο[ιτ]ο, αἰ ϝειζὸς ἰμάσκοι "If anyone *imask-s* someone accused in a matter of fines, let him be held to a fine of ten minas, if he *imask-s* knowingly." These lines have proved problematical, since the limitation αἰ ϝειζὸς ἰμάσκοι must mean that the punishable action in question could be committed unwittingly. For example, in a fifth-century inscription from Teos those who wittingly shelter pirates are punished by death (ληιστὰς ὑποδέχοιτο εἰδώς).[49] It is easy enough to see how one could unwittingly shelter pirates, but how could one unwittingly flog someone, to follow LSJ's translation of *imaskei*? On the other hand, we know from Demosthenes' speech against Aristogeiton (26.80) that at least some forms of magic were prohibited by law, in fact, punishable by death.[50] Furthermore, we know that one of the commonest sorts of *defixiones* was one intended to cast a spell on one's legal opponent. So the use of magic against an αἰτιαθέντα would hardly be surprising. And finally, we know from Plutarch's little essay Περὶ τῶν καταβασκαίνειν λεγομένων that it was entirely possible for some people to cast an evil eye despite their best intentions. Thus fathers could unwittingly give their children the evil eye, and Eutelidas is said to have cast a spell on himself. As Plutarch says, κινούμενοι δ' οὕτως ὃ πεφύκασιν οὐχ ὃ βούλονται ποιοῦσιν. In the light of these observations it seems probable that the relevant lines of the Elean inscription should be translated: "if anyone 'spellbinds' someone in a matter of fines, let him be held to a fine of ten minas, if he 'spellbinds' knowingly."

  This example proves the relevance of the root **sih₂-* to magical contexts in Greek, but another, much better known passage demonstrates

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[48] C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955) 260.

[49] Buck, *Greek Dialects* 187.

[50] τὴν φαρμακίδα καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γένος πᾶν ἀπεκτείνατε. Note that the phrasing is clearly drawn from a law. Cf. the punishment of those who make φάρμακα δηλητήρια in a Teian law: κῆνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κῆνō. Buck, *Greek Dialects* 186.

the specifically love-magical use of the same root. For ἱμάς is precisely the *vox propria* for the magical garment of Aphrodite which Hera borrows in Book 14 of the *Iliad* in order to seduce Zeus (14.214–217):

> Ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν <u>ἱμάντα</u>
> ποικίλον, ἔνθα τε οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
> ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' <u>ἵμερος</u>, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
> πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

Further considerations of morphology lead us to another previously unidentified member of the family of **seih₂-/*sih₂-* in Greek. As I noted above, **sih₂-mero-*, the ancestor of ἵμερος, must have a morpheme boundary between *sih₂-* and *-mero-*. But this observation naturally leads to the question what is *-mero-*? Now there is no identifiable simple suffix *-mero-* in Greek or elsewhere, and this leads us to the possibility that *-mero-* is a thematic derivative of an originally athematic suffix **-mer-*. This athematic suffix **-mer-* could be compared with the suffix -μαρ from **-mr̥* seen in τέκμαρ. τέκμαρ, though it is indeclinable in Greek, once belonged to *-r/-n*-stems. Cf. also ἦ-μαρ, -ατος, Armenian *awr* "day" < **āmōr*.[51] ἦ-μαρ, -ατος is clearly a **-mr̥/-men*-stem to the root **h₂eh₁/₃-* seen in Palaic *ḫāri* "is warm."[52] For the semantics, cf. Germanic **dagaz* "day" ~ Skt. *dáhati* "burns."[53] Nouns with complex *-r/-n-* suffixes inflect proterokinetically.[54] In our particular case then, the *-r/-n*-stem ancestor of ἵμερος must have looked like this:

> nom. acc. *séh₂i-mr̥*
> gen. *sih₂-mén-s*[55]

and would have been a verbal abstract meaning "magical binding." A particularly interesting and close parallel to our reconstructed *-mr̥/-men*-stem from a "long diphthong"/*i*-present root meaning "bind" would be Hittite *tiyam(m)ar* "rope" from the root **deh₁(i)-* if this is not

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[51] See Chantraine, *DELG* 412.

[52] The evidence for this root and form is presented by H. Craig Melchert, "Notes on Palaic," *ZvS* 97 (1984) 42–44.

[53] deVries, *Altnordisches* 72.

[54] J. Schindler, "L'apophonie des thèmes indo-européens en *-r/n*," *BSL* 70 (1975) 9–10.

[55] For the laryngeal metathesis, see W. Winter, "Tocharian Evidence," *Evidence for Laryngeals*, ed. W. Winter (The Hague 1965) 191–192.

merely an inner-Hittite replacement of an original neuter -*men* stem as Melchert has suggested.[56] From an -*r*/-*n*-stem like the one we have reconstructed there are two ways of making a derivative meaning "spellbinding" (adjective). First, one may add the thematic vowel -*o*- to the *r* variant of the stem.[57] Examples of this sort are very commonly, but not exclusively, found in compounds, e.g., *wédōr "water" > *udró- "having the water" (Skt. *udrá*-, "aquatic animal," Mod. Eng. *otter*). From the -*mr̥*/-*men*-stem above one gets by this process and with generalization of the zero-grade of the root *sih₂meró- "attractive" or "spellbinding," then by substantivization with accent shift ἵμερος "spellbinding (force)."[58] For the full grade of the suffix combined with the *r* variant in a derivative of an -*r*-/-*n*-stem, cf. ἡμέρα ← ἦμαρ. For the accent shift with substantivization compare λεῦκος "white fish" vs. λευκός "white," and to demonstrate that the nominalizing accent shift could move the accent from the last syllable to the first syllable of a three syllable word, cf. δολιχός "long" vs. δόλιχος "the long course."

If the adjective which I have reconstructed had survived into the historical period as *ίμερός "spellbinding, attractive," it would have undergone Wheeler's law of accent retraction whereby oxytone words of dactylic shape shift the accent one syllable to the left.[59] Thus *ίμερός would have become *ίμέρος.[60] Compare μυρίος < *μυριός (cf. Hittite *mūri*- "bunch").[61] The accent of the feminine, following the

[56] "A 'New' PIE *men Suffix," *Sprache* 29.1 (1983) 15. Cf. *KUB* IX 28 III 15 which uses the two roots *seh₂i- and *deh₁i- in the same sentence: *tuḫḫueššar tiiammanda išḫiian*, "the purifying substance bound with a cord." See E. Neu, "Hethitisch /r/ im Wortauslaut," *Serta Indogermanica* (Innsbruck 1982) 218–219.

[57] I have discussed the evidence for this claim in detail in M. Weiss, "On the Nonverbal Origin of the Greek Verb νήφειν 'to be sober'," *HS* 107.1 (1994) 95.

[58] As for the semantic change from "external attraction" to "internal desire," which one can observe taking place within the documented history of Greek, cf. OE *fār* "danger" ~ Modern English *fear*; Latin *poena* "punishment" > English *pain*; Latin *odium* "hatred," but originally "repugnance" as Franz Skutsch showed "*Odium* und Verwandtes," *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin 1914) 389–405.

[59] In fact, this adjective does seem to have survived into Greek to judge from the Hesychian gloss ἵμεροι · ποθεινοί κτλ. Unfortunately the accent of the adjective has been contaminated with that of the noun.

[60] See, E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich 1939) 379.

[61] See M. Weiss, "Greek μυρίος countless, Hittite *mūri*- 'bunch (of fruit)'," *HS* 109.2 (1996) 199–214. It is interesting to note that adjectives in -ιος are normally recessive. When such an adjective is not recessive, i.e., when it is oxytone or paroxytone by Wheeler's Law, it is invariably a sign that there is a morpheme boundary between the ι and the ος, e.g., δεξιός, < δεξι-ϝός (Myc. *de-ki-si-wo* KN C 908).

accent of the masculine, would have been *ἱμέρα and this, in my opin-
ion, has been substantivized as Ἱμέρα, the name of the Sicilian city
founded in Greek colonial times. The length of the first syllable of the
place name is established by two dactylo-epitrite passages in Pindar
(*Ol.* 12.2, *Py.* 1.79).[62]

But one may also make an internal derivative of an -*r*/-*n*-stem by
switching from the proterokinetic to the amphikinetic pattern. When an
amphikinetic derivative was made from an -*r*/-*n*-stem, it was often the
-*n*-stem form which was generalized. This seems especially to be the
case when the internal derivative has adjectival force, e.g., πῖαρ > πίων.
Therefore from the noun *séh₂i-mr̥*, gen. *sih₂-mén-s* reconstructed above
an internal derivative would have had the shape *séh₂imōn*, which
would by regular Greek sound law give αἵμων.[63] And this word is pre-
cisely what we have at *Il.* 5.49–51:

> υἱὸν δὲ Στροφίοιο Σκαμάνδριον, <u>αἵμονα</u> θήρης
> Ἀτρείδης Μενέλαος ἕλ' ἔγχεϊ ὀξυόεντι,
> ἐσθλὸν θηρητῆρα.

> Menelaos, Atreus' son, took with his sharp spear Scamandrios, the
> son of Strophios, who was **eager** for the hunt, the good hunter.

Formally the word is exactly what we have just predicted and the mean-
ing too is an admirable match to our theory.[64] The meaning
"(spell)binding, attractive," which the possessive internal derivation
would lead us to predict for this form, has undergone the same internal-
ization that has been noted in the development of the closely related
ἵμερος.[65] This interpretation of αἵμων is bolstered by several other
pieces of data. As was seen already by Güntert, αἵμων stands in the
same relationship to αἱμύλος / αἱμύλιος as ἀγκών does to ἀγκύλος.[66]

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[62] It is true that the naming of a city and a river from the same stem, as in the case of
Ἱμέρα and Ἱμέρας, is a well etablished Italic practice, but it is also found in Greece, e.g.,
Πίσα and Πίσας (Xenoph. frg. 2B); Τευθέα and Τευθέας (Strab. 8.3.11 p. 342). See
Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1964) 538.

[63] Again see Weiss (above, n. 57) 95.

[64] The LSJ gives the sense "eager." The explanation of the Grammarians as = δαίμων
for δαήμων is clearly just a folk-etymological guess. Chantraine, *DELG* 35 is skeptical of
all interpretations of αἵμων.

[65] See above, n. 56.

[66] H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle 1921) 103. Güntert
rightly rejects the putative connection of αἱμύλος with OHG *seim* < Proto-Indo-European
*soh₂imo- "thick, liquid honey" since the original meaning of the ancestor of *seim* was

αἱμύλος is an adjective used to describe the "spellbinding" words by which one gets someone to do something he/she doesn't or shouldn't want to do. A particularly fine example of this is *Od.* 1.56: αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῖσι καὶ <u>αἱμυλίοισι</u> λόγοισι / θέλγει. Compare this with the formula *H. Aphr.* 143: ὣς <u>εἰποῦσα</u> θεὰ γλυκὺν <u>ἵμερον</u> ἔμβαλε θυμῷ.

Αἵμων, of course, also occurs as a proper name, the most noted Αἵμων being the son of Creon of Thebes. In Sophocles, of course, he meets a tragic end at his own hand. But in the pre-Sophoclean *Oedipodia* he had an equally unhappy fate in the jaws of the Sphinx. All that is known about this earlier Αἵμων is what the poet tells us: ἀλλ' ἔτι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ <u>ἱμεροέστατον</u> ἄλλων | παῖδα φίλον Κρέοντος ἀμύμονος <u>Αἵμονα</u> δῖον. Is the use of the epithet ἱμερόεις, only rarely used of persons in early epic,[67] to qualify Αἵμων merely a coincidence or does it preserve a memory of long obscured etymological connection?

APPENDIX: THE NAME OF THE THESSALIANS

The name of the Thessalians shows an interesting variety of forms in the Greek dialects. In Ionic and Doric the form is Θεσσαλοί (Hom. +). In Attic the form is, as one would expect, Θετταλοί.[68] But in Boeotian, the form, attested as a personal name, is Φετταλός (*IG* 7.2430.8).[69] Now the correspondence between Θ in Doric and Attic-Ionic and Φ in Boeotian, an Aeolic dialect, can only be explained as variant dialectical outcomes of a Proto-Indo-European $*g^wh$-, i.e., a voiced aspirated labiovelar which, as is customary for labiovelars before *e,* has ended up as a dental Θ in the non-Aeolic dialects, but has become a labial Φ in

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not "sweet stuff" but rather "thickish liquid" as is shown by the cognates Welsh *hufen* "cream" < $*soh_2imeno$- and Greek αἷμα "blood" < $*seh_2im(e)n$-.

[67] There are two other instances of ἱμερόεις as an epithet of persons in early epic: Hes. *Th.* 359 of Καλυψώ and Hes. fr. 291.3 of Φαίω. Usually ἱμερόεις is an epithet of song or marriage.

[68] For the evidence see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin 1980) 538. It is worth noting that θετταλός is an apparent exception to Wheeler's Law whereby dactylic oxytones retract their accent to the penultimate syllable. Perhaps one may suppose that in an ethnic name the nominative plural θετταλοί, which was not a dactyl, was the *forme de fondation*. Of course, exceptions to Wheeler's law—of various analogical explanations—are by no means uncommon, e.g., ὀμφαλός, δεξιός etc.

[69] Otherwise the Attic or Atticized form θετταλοί is used.

the Aeolic dialects (Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian).[70] For another example of this distribution, compare Ionic Ἑρμόθεστος (Colophon) "prayed for from Hermes" vs. Boeotian Θιόφε(ι)στος "prayed for from a god" both from the very root *g^whedh- "pray" which we have just been discussing.[71] The contrast between σσ for Ionic and Doric and ττ for Attic and Boeotian would seem to point to an earlier sequence of voiceless dental plus *y*.[72] Compare Attic μέλιττα, Ionic μέλισσα "bee" both from *melitya,* and for Boeotian χαρίϝεττα < *khariwetya* which = Ionic χαρίεσσα.[73] Thus by comparison of the Attic, Ionic, and Boeotian forms we are led back to the reconstruction of a proto-form *$k^whethyalo$- from earlier *$g^whedh-yalo$-. Now this form, as has long been seen, may be explained as derived from the present stem *$g^whedh-ye$- of the verbal root *g^whedh- "pray" with the addition of the suffix *-alo-*.[74] Normally, of course, this suffix is added not to the present stem of a verb but rather to its root. But there are some examples of the suffix *-alo-* being added to a characterized present stem, e.g., Ionic and Doric πάσσαλος (*Od.* +), Attic πάτταλος "peg" which must be derived from *pakyalo-* built to *pakye-* a characterized present stem

[70] Lejeune, *Phonétique* 47–48.

[71] See F. Bechtel and A. Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen*[2] (Göttingen 1894) 112, 143, 145.

[72] There are, in fact, five theoretical Proto-Greek reconstructions which could lead to Att. θεττ-, Ion. θεσσ-, and Boeotian φεττ-. These possibilities are 1) *k^whethy-, 2) *k^whety-, 3) *k^whetw-, 4) *k^wheky-, 5) *k^wekhy-. The initial aspirated labiovelar makes it highly likely that we are dealing with an Indo-European root. For, although it seems clear that one (or more) of the Pre-Greek languages had labiovelars or labiovelar-like stops (see Ph. M. Freeman, "New Evidence for the Pre-Greek Labiovelars," *JIES* 17 [1989] 171–176; K. T. Witczak, "Notes on Cretan Place-names in the Linear B Tablets," *Kadmos* 31 [1992] 161–163.) no evidence, to my knowledge, has been presented for Pre-Greek *aspirated* labiovelars. Possibilities 2, 3, and 4 can therefore be eliminated, because the Proto-Indo-European preforms for these [2] *g^whet-, 3) *g^whet-, 4) *g^whek-] would violate the well known root-structure constraint noted by A. Meillet, *Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (Paris 1934) 174, which prohibits roots from containing both a voiced aspirated and a voiceless stop. Possibility 5 from a PIE *g^wegh- is not ruled out by this criterion. But there is, to my knowledge, no such root. This leaves *k^whethy- as the only plausible Proto-Greek reconstruction.

[73] Lejeune, *Phonétique* 104.

[74] F. Bechtel, *griechischen Dialekte* 1.154 has made the connection with the root of θεσσ-. He, however, suggests that the name derives from the aorist stem. But the Attic and Ionic forms present difficulties for this account, since *-t-s-* should give *s* in both Attic and Ionic. In order to uphold this account, one would have to assume a complicated loan hypothesis. See Lejeune, *Phonétique* 106.

of the root **pak-* "fix."[75] Since πάσσαλος can plausibly be taken to mean "fixed (thing)," one can infer that **gʷhedh-yalo-* meant at first "prayerfully desired" and **gʷhedh-yalia* "prayerfully desired land." For the semantics one might simply compare the clearly archaic Homeric and Hesiodic adjective ἐραννός "lovely" which is used exclusively as an epithet of land, e.g., *Il.* 9.531 Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς, *Il.* 9.577 πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς, *Od.* 7.18 πόλιν . . . ἐραννήν; Hes. fr. 70 line 37 γαῖαν ἐραννήν, fr. 10 a 3 ῎Αργος ἐραννόν. Note that the double νν from **sn* of this adjective points to its Aeolic origin and therefore to the existence and appropriateness of the idiom "desired land" in these dialects.

But there is a small problem with this explanation in that the most straightforward interpretation of the name of Θεσσαλία is as the "land of the Θεσσαλοί," and if it is the name of the tribe that we must start from, then the parallel of ῎Αργος ἐραννόν is really not apposite. There would be various ways out of this bind, if this proved to be the only available theory, but a real monkey wrench is thrown into this account by the name that the Thessalians called themselves. For since Thessalian is a dialect which *normally* shows -σσ- for forms having -ττ- in Attic and Boeotian, e.g., πρασσέμεν (Schwyzer 590 l. 17 Larissa) = Attic πράττειν, the form we would hope to find in conformity with our theory would be **Φεσσαλοί. Alas, no such form exists. What we find instead is Πετθαλοί (*IG* IX 2.258.1 [Kierion], etc.) and on coins from the towns of Pherai, Skotoussa, and Methylion the abbreviations ΦΕΘΑ, ΦΕΤΑ, ΦΕ which obviously stand for Φετθαλοί.[76] The peculiar

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[75] This present stem has not otherwise survived in Greek; cf., however, Latin *paciscor* (Plt. +) "agree to" built to **pacio* as *nanciscor* (Plaut. +) "acquire" ← *nancio* (XII) (same meaning). Another example of an *-alo-* derivative from a characterized present stem is διδάσκαλος, (*H.Herm.* +) "teacher" from διδάσκω "teach" (*Il.* +). It is quite likely that the spread of this suffix to characterized present stems was the result of analogy, e.g., αἴθω : αἴθαλος :: διδάσκω : X, X = διδάσκαλος. These *-alo-* forms were originally quasi-participial adjectives with either active or passive diathesis. Many of these originally adjectival forms were then substantivized.

[76] A. Heubeck has dealt with these problems in "Zum Volksnamen der Thessaler" in *Studia Ling. in hon. V. I. Georgiev* (Sofia 1980) 301–309, reprinted in *Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Sprache und Literatur*, ed. by B. Forssman, S. Koster, and E. Pöhlmann (Erlangen 1984) 306–314. He argues that one must start from the autochthonous form of the name, i.e., Φετθαλο- (307). This form he interprets as deriving from **kʷhethalo-* with the gemination of stops found in proper names. (Although he admits that this kind of gemination is most commonly found in hypocoristics, cf. ᾽Ατθίς if from ᾽Αθῆναι). **kʷhethalo-* is then interpreted as a *-lo-* derivative of the state I full-grade of the root *kʷhetha-* from a putative PIE **gʷhedhh₂-* which otherwise appears as the state II

jumping around of aspiration is not problematic. Compare Ionic ἄχαν-τος = ἄκανθος and for assimilation of aspirates compare Thess. Φερσεφόνα = Περσεφόνη.[77] Thus we are justified in assuming that *Φετταλό- became Φετθαλό- which became Πετθαλό-. But the problem of ττ for expected σσ remains. There are, as I see it, two ways out of this difficulty.

First, I was careful to say above that Attic and Boeotian ττ **normally** correspond to Thessalian σσ. In fact, there are several noteworthy exceptions where Thessalian also has ττ. The best known example is Thessalian πέτταρας "four" (*SEG* 13.394.4 +) = Attic τέτταρας. Furthermore the ancient grammarians also claim that Thessalian had some cases of ττ for σσ.[78] In the light of this evidence one may simply claim

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*k^whthā- < *g^whdheh₂- > aor. ἔ-φθη-ν, pres. φθάνω "anticipate." This interpretation would make the Thessalians into a bronze-age version of the Oklahoma Sooners. But I find his account unconvincing for a number of reasons. First, it is by no means a given that the autochthonous form in any given case is *ipso facto* the most archaic. One need only think of Finnish *kuningas* "king," a loan word from Proto-Germanic, which preserves a more archaic form than even the oldest Germanic languages. Second, it is typically the *last* consonant of the stem that is geminated in a hypocoristic; cf., e.g., the Thessalian personal name Πεταλλίς ← πέταλον. Third, the *ss* forms of the name of the Thessalians, which are well anchored in both the earliest Ionic (*Il.* 2.679) and Doric (Pindar *Ol.* 13.35 as a personal name), must be explained as the result of a hyper-Ionic or hyper-Doric version of an Attic or Boeotian *k^wettalo-. Fourth, there is no real evidence for a state I full-grade to the root *φθη-. All other forms point clearly to *g^whdheh₂-. Nor is there any reason to suppose that -*lo*-derivatives require the "schwebeablauting" form; cf. ζῆλος < *dyeh₂-los ~ δίζημαι not *deih₂-los. Fifth, there is no evidence that the root of φθάνω was ever part of the Greek onomastic lexicon. There are no names recorded in the classical period containing this root. For all these reasons, I am not inclined to believe Heubeck's account, ingenious though it may be.

[77] Buck *Greek Dialects* 60 and *SGDI* 1132, 33. The same metathesis of aspiration is seen in Thessalian and Boeotian *ἔνθι < *henti "they are" which probably lies at the source of the Thessalian and Boeotian 3rd pl. ending -νθι. Bechtel, *griechischen Dialekte* 1.162. The alternative explanation of the verbal endings in -νθ- offered by M. Peters in his review of W. Blümel, *Die aiolischen Dialekte, Sprache* 30.1 (1984) 85, i.e., that these forms are hypercorrections resulting from the dialect mixture of a West Greek dialect in which *th* was deaspirated after *t* or *n* (Bechtel, *griechischen Dialekte* 2.79, 841) with Aeolic, would be more convincing if one could point to hypercorrect -νθ- outside the third plural of finite verbs. The present participles, for example, in both Boeotian and Thessalian are stems in -ντ-, e.g., from Larissa [Ταγ]ευόντουν in Buck, no. 32, line 1, p. 220 in an inscription which also has νθ, e.g., ἐγένονθο, line 12, and from Thebes Buck, no. 40, p. 229, ἄρχοντος l.17 vs. [συνεβάλ]ονθο line 21. Note also ὀγδοέκοντα in line 10 of the same inscription.

[78] R. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte* (Göttingen 1882) 265, n. 1 quotes Aelius

that some sub-dialect or adstratum of Thessalian was of the ττ type, and
that it is from this particular sub-dialect that the Thessalians took their
name.

But one more possibility comes to mind. The form Φετταλοί is, in
fact, entirely appropriate to one and only one dialect, and that is, as we
have already seen, Boeotian where labiovelars become labials before *e*
and which also has ττ.[79] Furthermore recall, as we have said above, that
the root *g^whedh-* which lies at the base of our account of the name of
Thessaly means not simply "desire" but "pray," i.e., "to desire that
which can be obtained only by the action or permission of someone
else," and that the verbal noun derived from this root *$g^whodhos$* >
πόθος came to mean "desire for that which is not at hand." Thus the
derivative *$g^wedhyalo$-* would not mean simply "desired," as I have
glossed it above, but rather "prayed for" or "desired in absentia." But
what sense would it make for the Thessalians to call themselves "the
people desired in absence" and their land "the land of the people
desired in absence" or perhaps "the land desired in absence"?

With these two observations we can combine a third. In Book 1.12
Thucydides relates the following story:

> Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἐξ
> Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν,
> πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν
> καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον
> ἐστράτευσαν).

Now on the archaeological evidence which could be mustered either for
or against the historical reality of this account, I am unqualified to pass
judgment. But from the linguistic point of view it has some inherent
plausibility, because Boeotian and Thessalian are, in fact, closely

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Dionysius *apud* Eustathius 813.48: Θετταλοὶ καὶ Κιτιεῖς . . . θάλατταν ἔλεγον καὶ πίτ-
ταν . . . ὅσα οὐδαμοῦ Ἀττικὰ νομίζονται ἀλλὰ τῶν γειτόνων, φησί, Βοιωτῶν.

[79] M. Peters, *Sprache* 30.1 (1984) 84, following F. Solmsen, "Thessaliotis und Pelasgi-
otis," *RhM* 58 (1903) 612, has suggested that the source of the ττ treatment in Aeolic,
Thessalian, and Boeotian is to be sought in Northwest Greek. However, the evidence for
the ττ treatment in Northwest Greek is slight, basically reducing to the Aetolian toponym
Βο(υ)ττος and the ethnic adjectives Βουττιος, Σπαττιος, and Ερματτιος. See J. Mendez
Dosuna, *Los dialectos dorios del nordeste* (Salamanca 1985) 128–129. In any case, the
ultimate origin of the ττ treatment is irrelevant for my claim that the ττ forms of Thes-
salian derive most immediately from the ancestor of Boeotian.

related dialects and they could not always have been separated by the West-Greek-speaking Phocians and Locrians who separated the two groups in Classical times.[80] Furthermore there are some notable examples of cults which are found in both Thessaly and Boeotia, e.g., the cult of Itonian Athena and of Homoloian Zeus.[81]

By reference to this story we can, I think, offer a plausible account of the name of the Thessalians. For it is precisely from the point of view of the exiled Boeotians that the name of the Thessalians makes sense. Perhaps, one may suppose that the first ἀποδασμός of the Boeotian diaspora coined the name Φετταλοί to refer to their longed-for brethren who remained in their original homeland. These in turn transmitted this name to their successors in Thessaly, i.e., the Thessalians of the Classical period, as well as the few other ττ forms which are found in that dialect.[82] This second account is, to my mind, more compelling, since the arguments drawn from linguistics and from early Greek lore seem to complement each other well.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

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[80] Cf. the common and exclusive innovation γίνυμαι. See Bechtel, *griechischen Dialekte* 186–187 and also n. 76 above.

[81] For a discussion of this evidence see R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton 1979) 75, 82, who finds the ancient accounts plausible. On the other hand, S. E. Bakhuizen, "The Ethos of the Boeotians," in *Boiotika*, ed. H. Beister and J. Buckler (Munich 1989) 65–72, is skeptical.

[82] For the transfer of an ethnic name from an original group of inhabitants to a group of newcomers, one might compare the history of the word *Yankee*, which originates in the Dutch diminutive *Janke* "Johnny." This name originally applied to the Dutch colonists of New York and subsequently to their English-speaking successors. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. by J. A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weisner (Oxford 1989) 20.692.

LINKED CITATIONS

- Page 1 of 1 -

[Footnotes]

[47] **The "Performative Future" in Three Hellenistic Incantations and Theocritus' Second Idyll**
Christopher A. Faraone
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