Greek μυγίος ‘countless’, Hittite mūrī-‘bunch (of fruit)’

In the long history of Greek etymology no satisfactory explanation has ever been offered for Greek μυγίος ‘countless,’ μυριο ‘ten thousand.’¹) suggest that μυγίος is cognate with Hittite mūrī- ‘a cluster or bunch of grapes or other fruit,’ and that both μυγίος and mūrī- are derivatives of a PIE root *meuḥ₁/₃- ‘abundant, reproductively powerful,’ which also has probable reflexes in Italic and Celtic.²)

Hittite mūrī- and its Anatolian relatives

The connection between mūrī- and μυγίος may not have previously been made because of some uncertainty about the exact meaning of mūrī-. There is indeed some disagreement in the literature over whether mūrī- is properly translated as ‘grape’ or ‘cluster.’³) But an examination of the relevant loci shows that the primary meaning was clearly ‘cluster.’ Consider, e.g., KUB 43.23, a blessing for Labarna in Old Hittite script:

köll/a/ż ŠA KIRI₆ G[EŠTIN] 1-aš/a GIŠmählaš
ŠAH-aš iwar mu-u-ri-uš mekkuš [h]ašiddu
Let every single (vine)branch of this vineyard, like the sow, bear many (grape) clusters.⁴)

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¹) I would like to thank Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert, and Alan Nussbaum for much helpful advice and criticism. Naturally, I alone am responsible for all errors of fact or opinion.

²) See Chantraine (1968) 723, and Frisk (1970) 2.271 for the present state of the question. I will return below in note 29 to the possible Old Irish cognate mūr ‘abundance,’ suggested by Stokes (1907) 249, still considered possible by Frisk, and firmly rejected by Chantraine.

³) On the etymological possibilities thus far suggested for Hittite mūrī- see Tischler (1977) 233.


⁴) This and all other Hittite passages translated by the CHD.
The relationship between the māḥlaš of a vineyard and mūriš mekkus must be parallel to that between a sow and her offspring. Ehelolf suggests and rejects the translations Traube and Beere for māḥlaš and mūriš respectively, since clusters do not produce (ḥaškiddu) grape-bberries but rather consist of them. Further, the meaning ‘vine-branch’ has been determined for māḥlaš from such unambiguous contexts as KUB 29.1, a site for the foundation of a palace:

GIšGEŠTIN-wa maḥhan katta šurkuš šarā/maw GIšmaḥluš šiyażzi
Just as the vine sends down roots and sends up branches ...

If māḥlaš means ‘branch’ this leaves only two possible glosses for mūri-: ‘grape’ or ‘cluster’. Against the translation ‘grape,’ one may argue that mūri- only occurs in the meaning ‘grape’ with further specification. So, in the first passage cited, the text makes it clear that the mūriš are the products of the vineyard. In a Neo-Hittite ritual text for the storm god of Nerik (a Neo-Hittite text) the phrase used is GEŠTIN-aš muriš ‘clusters of the vineyard.’ Further, whether or not the noun GIš ippiya-/ippiya- is correctly interpreted as equivalent to GIšGEŠTIN, KBo 11.32 obv. 21, a ritual (?) OH/NS nevertheless provides another example of the specification of mūri- by the name of the plant that produces it:

DUMU É.GAL-kan GIštepaza GIšippiaš mū-ri-in ŠĀ I. DÙG. GA šunnizi
The palace servant throws clusters of the ippiya-tree with a ladle (?) into the aromatic oil.

Cf. also Bo 884 ii 8, ippiyaš mū-u-rī-iš."

This pattern indicates that mūri- cannot mean specifically ‘grape’ since the constant specification by GIšGEŠTIN vel sim. would be superfluous. Compare the situation in Latin, where uva means specifically ‘grape’ or ‘grape-cluster.’ Although uva can be used metaphorically of other grape-like clusters, e.g., amomi uva (Plin. H. N. 12.48), one never finds, to my knowledge, the expression *uva vitis in all Latin literature up to Vergil. Additional evidence against the translation ‘grape’ is provided by KUB 39.7 i 11-12:

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3) Ehelolf (1933) 5.
4) As evidence that a vine may be said to produce clusters, cf. Od. 5.69: ἠμερίς ἵβώωσα τεθήκει δὲ σταφυλῖα.
namma/an İSTU GİŞGEŞTÜN GİŞINB[1] mu-u-ri-ni-it
Şİgiyatnaš mu-u-ri-ni-it unuwanzı

They adorn it (a grapevine wrapped in ŞÀ KA.DU cloth) with a
cluster of the fruit of the vine and with a cluster of iyatar-wool.

‘Cluster’ or ‘bunch’ is the obvious translation in this passage.³) 

Finally, the denominative verb müriya-¹⁰) makes better sense as a
derivative of a word meaning ‘cluster’ than as a derivative of a word
meaning ‘grape’ (KBo 25.72/KBo 20.83 i 9–10):

1 LÜHÜB. BI mu-u-ri-at-ta t/as ḫapšalli k[īša]]

One acrobat crouches down (i.e., bunches up) and becomes a stool.

The bulk of the evidence favors the translation ‘cluster.’ But even if
this were not the case, it would hardly be unreasonable to derive a
word meaning ‘grape’ from a word meaning ‘cluster.’ For example,
French raisin derives from Latin racemus ‘bunch of grapes’; Romanian
strugur means ‘grape’ but in Old Romanian simply meant ‘cluster’
and could be used of other fruits, e.g., strugur de puama ‘bunch of
apples’.¹¹)

The Morphology of müri-

The following forms of müri- are attested in the various stages of
Hittite:

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<th>OH</th>
<th>OH/NS</th>
<th>MH/NS</th>
<th>NS</th>
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<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>müriš</td>
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<td>AS</td>
<td>murin</td>
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<td>NP</td>
<td>mūriuš</td>
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<td>AP</td>
<td>mūriuš</td>
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Old Hittite attests only an i-stem, and the contrast of OH müriuš
vs. MH/NS mūrianuš is revealing. The n-stem forms must be second-
ary, just as they are for another word in the same semantic
sphere, i.e. OH alkišta- vs. NH alkištan- ‘branch’, ḫurpašta- vs. ḫur-

³) Puhvel (1984) 351 still prefers the translation ‘grape’ so that iyatnas müri-
ure false grapes made from wool. It cannot be denied that iyatar wool was
used to construct other dummy ritual objects like the lehansa birds of KUB 39
7 i 10–11.

¹⁰) In form parallel to ürkiya- ‘to trail’ from ürki- ‘trail’. See Oettinger (1977)
³⁵⁵.

paštan- 'leaf'.12) Fairly consistent plene spelling of ū and the absence of any evidence for plene spelling of the i vowel indicate a barytone accent.13)

Since *meu(h₁/₃)r-/*mu(h₁/₃)r- is not a possible PIE root shape, mu-ri- must be the preferred morphological analysis. But what is the status of this apparent suffix -ri- in Hittite and PIE? The answer to this question requires a brief survey of the Hittite and PIE evidence.14)

Of the Hittite i-stems ending in -ri-, many have no good etymology or are loanwords.15) Of the words with reasonably secure etymologies, kari- 'thanks', peri- 'bird', and warri- 'helping' are i-stems to roots in final r or *rH.16) On the other hand, there are several words which are properly segmented ROOT + -ri-, and it is among these words that comparanda for mūri- are to be sought. The most plausible cases of this analysis are:

12) Oettinger (1980) 53. The priority of the -i-stem is also supported by the derivative mūriyala- 'grape-shaped bread'. H. Craig Melchert (Comparative Grammar of Anatolian, Fall, 1995, at the University of North Carolina) has suggested that the -n-stem extension in this case is to be identified with the PIE individualizing suffix *(h₁)o/en-.

13) Whatever the ultimate origin of the ū vowel in mūri-, whether it derives from a Proto-Anatolian short or long ū or is the result of a monophthongized ew diphthong, the plene spelling must reflect a Hittite long vowel resulting from tonic lengthening in open syllables or a Proto-Anatolian long-vowel preserved in tonic position. See Melchert, (1994) 104, 131.

14) The reconstruction of a laryngeal at the end of the root *meu(h₁/₃)- is, on the evidence of mūri- alone, optional. The evidence of cognates to be cited below point conclusively to the existence of a final laryngeal in this root. The Hittite evidence itself excludes the reconstruction of *h₂ which would not be assimilated or lost in this position. Cf. muhrai- 'fibula'? For these reasons we have adopted there construction *meu(h₁/₃)-.

15) For example ahrbur- 'incense holder' of Hurrian origin, see Friedrich-Kammenhuber (1975–1984) p. 46.

16) Kari- occurs only in the phrase kari tiya- ‘willfahren’ and could be the d.l. of an i-stem or an a-stem. If the former, then it is to be compared directly with Greek χάρα. If the latter, then it should go with Av. zar- ‘grace’. In either case, it is a derivative of the root *gher- seen in Greek χαρα. OLatin horiar. See Tischler (1977) 503. Peri- goes with Vedic parpa. See Zucha (1988) 314. Warri- ‘helping’ is an adj. derived from the root or thematic noun seen in wa-ar-a-i g.s. 'help' cited by Watkins (1975) 97. This is cognate with Greek ἥχα as in the Homeric formula ἐκι ἡχα ἀφεσαι. The root is *werh₁- according to Melchert (1994) 78, but the identity of the root final laryngeal is not absolutely certain.
Greek μυρίος 'countless', Hittite műri- 'bunch (of fruit)'

1. auri- c. 'lookout'. This has been connected with the verb au/nu- 'see' since Pedersen. The -ri- suffix appears to make a deverbial abstract which subsequently acquired concrete meaning.

2. ēdri- n. 'food'. This is obviously a derivative of the root ed- 'eat'. Again, the -ri- suffix originally must have made a deverbial abstract which has been concretized.

3. kišri- c. 'carding'. This is a -ri- derivative of the verbal root seen in kišai- 'comb'. Outside of Hittite, an r suffix is found to the same root in Old Irish cír f. 'comb' (< *kesre₂₂).

4. *misri- 'shining'. This noun can be inferred on the basis of the adjective misriwont- 'shining'. Cf. šamankurwont- 'bearded' derived from zamankur beard. Neumann connects *misri- with Sanskrit mīṣati 'opens the eyes'. A -ro- stem adjective *mistro- is found in the HLVuvian personal name Mi-za-ra/i-mu-wa/i- and Lycian Mizre-tiye-.
5. **lūrī-** c./n. ‘loss of honor’, ‘financial loss’. This word is best etymologized as an abstract in -*ri-* to the verbal root *leu(h₃)*- ‘abschneiden’ (Pk. 681) seen in Latin *luo*, Greek *λύω*. For the semantic development, cf. Modern English *loss* < OE *lōs* n. ‘destruction’ < PIE *h₁isom* also from the root *leu(h₃)*.-

6. **ΣIG antari-** ‘a kind of wool’. Besides the adjective **antara-** ‘blue’ < *mdhro-. Cf. Czech *modř*, ‘blue’, ON *madra* ‘galium boreale’. In all probability, the Germanic and Slavic forms reflect a color adjective built with the suffix -*ro-* to a root *m(o)dh-* ‘(be) blue’. Cf. for the suffix **ruber** < *h₁rudh-ro-.*

7. **ē الصحة (sa)ri-** n. ‘image, statue’; c. ‘fleece’. Certainly a derivative of the root **ē**- < *h₁es-** ‘be’, the original meaning of which must have been ‘essence’.

These examples make it clear that Hittite possessed a small class of, with the exception of **ΣIG antar-**, deverbal nouns in -*ri-*. All of these nouns except **luri-** and **kišri-** have been concretized. If we look elsewhere for parallel -*ri-* suffix formations, our attention is drawn to a number of apparent -*ri-* derivatives in Sanskrit and Greek. Many of these forms occur beside thematic adjectives in -*ro-*, and it is reasonable to assume that the forms in -*ri-* are, in fact, substantivizations of these adjectives and not directly built to roots. For example, AV **vāṅkri** f. ‘rib’ belongs most immediately with *vakrā* ‘bent’ and is not directly built to the verb *vaṅc* ‘go crookedly’. In Greek, in addition to the well-known case of οὐρας vs. ὀφθαλμός we find another apparent deverbal noun in -*ri-* is (.executeQuery) άφθαλμος ‘rainbow’ derived from the root

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obvious counter-example, and it seems impossible to order this rule before the change of *rH* to *rā*, which is common to Italic and Celtic. In any case, this rule would not help to explain **mīrus**, if the connection with Skt. *miśati* is correct. Another possible explanation is to regard **hīr** as a borrowing from Grk. ἴσιος or as a creation of the grammarians – the word is, in any case, of very tenuous attestation see Walde-Hoffmann (1938) 649 – and to postulate a dissimilatory reversion of β, the voiced bilabial fricative resulting from *s* in the cluster -*sr-*, to *z* when the preceding syllable began with a labial. This *z* then shared the fate of other *z’s before resonants and was lost with compensatory lengthening. This could explain **vēr** and **mīrus**.

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23) Latin *luo* os culle i vel etiam utris (Paul. Fest. p120 M) might belong here.

24) For the comparison with Czech see Puhvel (1984) 78. For the Germanic forms see Pokorny (1959) 747.

25) For the forms see Friedrich-Kammenhuber (1988) 124, 127 and Puhvel (1984) 313–315. For the neuter gender of **ēri (sa)ri-** see above note 19. One more possible example may be found in **puri-** c. ‘lip’. According to Neumann, this is a -*ri-* derivative of the PIE root *pu-* (Pk. 847) ‘aufblasen’. Cf. Polish *pysk* ‘snout’.
In Germanic and Celtic, however, there is a thematic adjective *wi-ro- or *weiro- reflected by OE *wir m. 'wire' and OIr. *fiar 'crooked'. This suggests the following deverbal chain for (F) *weih- 'bend' → *weih-ro- 'bending' → *weih-ri- 'bending' substantive → 'rainbow'.

This comparative evidence suggests a reinterpretation of the Hittite evidence. Above it was mentioned that at least three Hittite -ri-nouns occur beside thematic form; *kišir- vs. OIr. *cér 'comb' < *kesreh₂, *misir- vs. Lyc. and HLuv. *mizir-, and *antari- vs. the adjective *antara- < *mdhro-. Taking all these facts into consideration, we can now reconstruct the following patterns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*wenk-} & \quad \text{‘bend’} & \quad \text{*wŋk-ró-} & \quad \text{‘bending’} & \quad \text{*wënko-ri-} & \quad \text{‘a bending’} \\
\text{*weih-} & \quad \text{‘twist’} & \quad \text{*wih-ró-} & \quad \text{‘twisting’} & \quad \text{*wih-ri-} & \quad \text{‘a twisting’} \\
\text{*kes-} & \quad \text{‘comb’} & \quad \text{*kes-ró-} & \quad \text{‘combing’} & \quad \text{*kes-ri-} & \quad \text{‘a combing’} \\
\text{*mis-} & \quad \text{‘shine’} & \quad \text{*mis-ró-} & \quad \text{‘shining’} & \quad \text{*mis-ri-} & \quad \text{‘a shining’} \\
\text{*modh-} & \quad \text{‘(be) blue’} & \quad \text{*mdh-ró-} & \quad \text{‘blue’} & \quad \text{*mdh-ri-} & \quad \text{‘blue thing’}
\end{align*}
\]

In other words, the -ri- nouns of Hittite are best analysed from the diachronic point of view as i-stem nominalizations of adjectives in -ro-. This is not to claim that every -ri- once had a -ro- beside it. Hittite may easily have lost the middle step of the derivational chain. Furthermore, there is no special relationship claimed between -ri-nouns and verbal roots, except in so far as the suffix -ro- very frequently formed verbal adjectives. In principle, any -ro- (or for that matter any -o-) whether of Caland, locatival or -r-stem origin could make an abstract in -i-.

Returning to mūri-, we now have evidence that suggests that a putative root *meu(h₁/₃)- ‘be abundant’ could have made a derivative in -ri-, *‘abundance’ > ‘bunch’ possibly via the intermediate step of...

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26) Another Greek example may be hidden in the pair ἰδος/ἴδως. This is traditionally compared with ON *vir g.s. -rs 'wise' to reconstruct a PIE *widris, e.g., by Euler (1979) 137. The Old Norse, however, is ambiguous and could equally well be reconstructed as PGmc. *witr-. From the PIE ancestor of this one could derive a *widris 'knowledge' which could then form a bahuwrthi *gwidris 'without knowledge' > Grk. ἴδως 'ignorant'. From this Greek could have abstracted a primitive adjective ἰδός 'knowing'. For back-formation from compounds cf. ops - opulentius (Paul. Test. p 190 M), an obvious back-formation from inops.

27) See Bechtel (1914) 181.

28) Cf. Hitt. dalugasti- = OCS diļu gosti- 'length' but to diļu gosti- 'long'. Kronasser (1963) 208. For i-abstractions in general see Schindler (1980) 208. This is not to deny that the -ri- suffix seems to have developed something of a predilection for verbal root.
a -ro- adjective. Now as Frisk has pointed out, -ro- adjectives frequently pattern with o-grade thematic nouns. So, for example, Vedic *muṣṭā 'glad' vs. *mōda 'joy'; *vīprā 'inspired' vs. vēpa 'vibrating voice.' Frisk was concerned with establishing this pattern only for Vedic, but examples like Vedic *kṛurā 'bloody' vs. OIr. *cro 'death' < *krowh₂o- show that this is a pattern of Indo-European date.

Therefore from the root *meu(h₁/₃)-, besides *m(e)u(h₁/₃)-ro-, one might expect to find a noun *mōw(h₁/₃)os or *mow(h₁/₃)eh₂ meaning 'abundance' vel sim. Now in Hittite there is a noun mūwa- c., attested only in Neo-Hittite, which is glossed as 'an awe-inspiring quality possessed by kings, deities, the lion, countries, and boundaries.' Its relative antiquity, however, is proved by its occurrence in personal names of the Old and Middle Hittite periods and by its presence in Cuneiform Luwan and Hieroglyphic Luwan. And considerations of phonology show, in fact, that Hittite mūwa- is a Luwanism. For as Melchert has demonstrated, a w after a u would regularly have been dissimilated to m in Hittite, e.g., Hittite dumēni 'we take' < *dumēn, but would have remained unchanged in Luwan, e.g., Luwan aźtēwari 2 pl.med. 'you eat' vs. the Hittite 2 pl.med. ending -duma.

Thus we can reconstruct a Luwan *mūwa- which in turn can come from either *mōw(h₁/₃)os or *mow(h₁/₃)eh₂. The semantic gap between 'abundance' and 'awe-inspiring quality' can easily be bridged. Cf. Latin ops which means both 'wealth' and 'power', and from the same root *h3ep- ON affi- 'power' vs. Skt. āṇas 'property' and Hittite hapmani-. 'wealthy'.

Further Luwan derivatives strengthen the case for the interpretation of mūwa- as 'power which results from or consists in abundance,' and may also allow us to give a more specific meaning to the root

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29) This adjective may be attested in OIr. mūr 'abundance' (a substantivized adjective?) or in RV mūra, Av. mūra- 'silly'. The Old Irish word is, however, considered to be a metaphorical extension of mūr 'wall' (< Latin mūrus) by Vendryes (1960) M-76. The semantic development for the Indo-Iranian word would then be similar to that seen in Modern English cloď 'a clump of earth' and 'a clumsy, foolish person'. Cf. Swiss German mugel 'runder dicker mensch' vs. MHG mocke 'klumpen'. Torp (1909) 325.


34) Melchert (1994) 234. The plene spelling of u, e.g., KUB 16.47.9, is inconclusive for deciding between these two alternative reconstructions, since it could simply be serving to indicate a glide. See Melchert (1994) 27.
*meu(h₁/z₁)-, viz. 'to be reproductively powerful'. First the HLuvian for 'offspring' is nimuwiza- < *ne-muwì(s)ko-, which can plausibly be explained as 'not having mūwa-', i.e., 'lacking reproductive ability' and therefore 'immature'. But a clearer connection of a derivative of mūwa- with the idea of reproduction is in an inscription from Carchemish A 11 c, 4-5:

(i) wa/i-tu VIR-tì-ia-tì-ia-za-ha „CULTER“ pa+ra/i-tù-ni-tù-u
(ii) FEMINA-tì-ia-tì-ia-ha-wa/i-tù-u „CULTER“ pa+ra/i-tù-ni-i-tù
(iii) wa/i-tù- VIR-tì-ia-tì-i-na mu-wa/i-i-ta-na NEG, ta-tì-i
(iv) FEMINA-tì-ia-tì-pa-wa/i-tù 4-ta ni-i ta-tì-i

After Hawkins;³⁶)

(against him may the gods be angry)
and from him may they sever virility
and from her may they sever femininity
and for him may they not take male potency
and for her may they not take female fertility

Here muwita- is an accusative plural noun of the -a- stem declension which quite clearly means specifically 'reproductive power.'

This Luviyan form and the precise meaning it helps establish for the root *meu(h₁/z₁)- can, I think, shed some light on the prehistory of Latin mūtō 'penis'. We find this word precisely three times in all Latinity besides its attestations as a cognomen of the Titi. First in Lucullus 307 laete lacrimas mutoni absterget amica (sc. manus) and then in Horace Satire 1.2.68 in a notable personification huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videnti diceret haec animus, and finally in the gloss (Loewe, Prodr. 304) muto: Priapus. There are also a number of derivatives: mutonium, mutunium mutuniatus, mutinium, Mutinus, Mutunus.³⁷) Although noth-

³⁵) On Hieroglyphic Luviyan nimuwiza-. See CHD s.v. mūwa, 315.
³⁶) Hawkins (1976) 143. 4-ta in line iv is a rebus writing for muwita based on the partial phonetic similarity between muwita and the HLuvian word for four mūwa-.
³⁷) The set of derivatives and variants presents some interesting phonological and morphological questions. First we find variation between muto and muto in the literary attestations. The majority of manuscripts of Horace's Satires offer the spelling mutto at 1.2.68: ULg coir.R φυλPorph.sch. ΓVve according to Bo (1958) and also L and O according to Villeneuve (1958). On the other hand mutto is found in MDE²AU (Villeneuve (1958)). The Lucilius passage, preserved by the by scholiasts to Horace, seems to have only the form mutto. The cognomen Mutto also seems to show some variation in the manuscripts: mutonis in Festus mss. VXZW and Paulus ms. L, but mutonis in Festus ms. L and Paulus ms. P accord-
ing very conclusive can be gleaned from the literary attestations of this word, it seems clear that mutō was the *vox propria for the penis as reproductive organ. For the Romans home-grown fer-

ing to Lindsay (1913) 492–493. There is no evidence for any thing but Mutto in the mss. of Cicero’s Pro Scauro 23 as far as I can judge from the apparatus of Olechowska (1984). The manuscripts of Priscian 7.58 quoting Cicero’s lost Pro Fundiano appear to preserve only corrupt readings. On the other hand, the two epigraphical attestations of the cognomen are unanimous in offering Mutto (C. I. L. 5.1412, 8473 (both from Aquileia)). This situation is precisely parallel to that of Iuppiter vs. Jupiter, where the latter more archaic form is only rarely attested, e.g., Varro L. 5.62. And, in fact, it is simplest to suppose that *mūtō vs. mutō is just another example of the Iuppiter rule whereby the last mora of a long vowel (usually ı̯ or ʊ̯) is reassigned to the following consonant. A conceivable alternative hypothesis, i.e., that muto is simply a defective and late spelling for mutto, is ruled out by the evidence of the form moetinus (Lucilius 78) where the spelling oe can only be explained as an archaizing allograph for a long ʊ̯. The only form indisputably derived directly from mut(ı̯)o is mutonianum (Lucilius 965) which is simply a nominalization of a genitive -ı̯o-adjective. Another set of forms cluster around the adjective mutinus/ moetinos, which has also been nominalized as the name of a god Mutinus (Mutunus) Titinus. It is conceivable that this form could also be a derivative of the n-stem form with a dissimilatory lose of the first n, i.e., *MVt(V)n-ı̯o-. Cf. Umbrian havapiat (77 1 a 24) ‘agnas’ < *ag*nı̯o-. But it seems more likely that mutı̯nıs- is a parallel derivative from the thematic stem that also underlies mutı̯nıs-. If this is the case, then the thematic stem *mutı̯to- would probably have been a noun since the suffix -ı̯nıs makes denominal adjectives. It would then follow that the -ı̯nıs-suffix in mutı̯nıs- is the denominal Hoffmann suffix and not the deadjectival individualizing suffix (type Catı̯catus). The spelling moetinus at Lucilius 78 is a simple false archaisms for long ʊ̯. Cf., e.g., Lucilius’ spelling seiı̯s for siı̯s at 86. mutinius Priap. 72.2 would appear to be a derivative of Mutinus, exactly parallel to mutonianum from muto. The by-

form Mutunus which occurs in various Christian authors (Tert. Ad Nat. 2.11, Apol 25.3, August. C. D. 4.11) is probably best explained as replacing Mutinus under the influence of other divine names ending in -ımıs, e.g., Neptunus, Portunus. It is also possible that perseverative assimilation from the u of the first syllable may have played a subsidiary role. The form Mutunus must, however, be considerably older than its first textual appearance since it clearly served as the basis for the forms mutunium (C. I. L. 4.1939, 1946 (Pompeii)) and mutunius (Priap. 52.10, Mart. 3.73.1, 11.63.2). The quantity of the first u in all these forms clustering around *mutı̯nıs- is uncertain except in the case of mutunius where the metrical occurrences guarantee a short vowel and in the case of moetinus, which, as noted above, must be a false archaisms for long ʊ̯. This short first u may also be supposed for mutunium and possibly also for Mutunus, although this latter form is regularly given a long vowel, e.g., by the Oxford Latin Dictionary, s.v. The short vowel in mutunius may be explained via the shortening of double consonants before the accent as for example in sacellı̯s = saccus, Thus *mutı̯nıs > *mutı̯nıs- > *mutı̯no → mutunius. On the other hand, the long vowel or double consonants could always have been restored analogically from *muto/*mutto at any time.
tility god whose rites so scandalized the early Christians was known as *Mūtunus Titunus or *Mūtinus Titinus. If one wishes to pursue the Luvian analogy as closely as possible, one may suppose that *mow(h₁/₃)i-to- 'reproductive power' was inherited into Italic. To this noun a Hoffmann suffix was added to give *mowitōn- 'having reproductive power' > mūtōn-, a very apt name for the member in question.

On the other hand, it is equally possible that Latin inherited a -to- verbal adjective to the zero-grade of the root *meuh₁/₃-, muh₁/₃-tó-, which was nominalized as *m(V)uh₁/₃-to- 'reproductive power'. From this, again by the addition of the Hoffmann suffix, mūtōn- 'having reproductive power'. If this latter account is true, then mūtō’s closest analogue would be, as Strachan noted many years ago, Mr. moth • ball ferda. 'male organ'. The latter must be from *muh₁/₃-ō- with laryngeal not lengthening the vowel as in OIr. both f. 'being' < *bhu-ta < *bhuh₃- teh₂. The second hypothesis seems preferable to me since close morphological matches between Italic and Celtic are more probable than close morphological matches between Italic and Luvian.

Several supposed derivatives of mūri- remain to be discussed.

1. Muranza- which describes a ritual to prevent plague in the army is probably a Luvian word. Laroche has suggested a connection with mūri-, presumably because the rite is called for when the army is dying KALAG.GAza, i.e., 'in great numbers'. But KALAG.GAza might equally well be translated 'terribly'. The connection is hardly compelling.

2. Murassiya-, (Μουρισιας in Greek inscriptions) a place-name in Lycaonia, has been connected with mūri- by Laroche. But, since

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39) This analysis, of course, requires the presence of a final laryngeal in this root. Therefore I will subsequently leave out the parentheses around the laryngeal which I have thus far been using to indicate the indeterminacy of this part of the reconstruction. Further proof of the existence of the final laryngeal in the root *meuh₁/₃- is provided below by the comparison of Greek μυγιος

40) See Strachan (1895) 304.
41) On this phenomenon see Joseph (1980) 306, 307. Whether the failure of the laryngeal to cause lengthening in these forms is due ultimately to phonological or unanalytical causes is immaterial for our purposes.

43) CHD (1986) 332.
mūri- is a real -i-stem and not simply a Luvian -i-motion, we would expect the genitival adjective to be *muriyassa-, just as Luv. hawi- ‘sheep’ (cf. Lat. ovis) makes hauiyassa-. On the other hand immari- ‘field’, which corresponds to Hittite gimmara-, makes the genitival adjective immarassi-.45)

3. Mūriyala-, an Old Hittite bread name, has been connected with mūri- by Otten and Souček. It is translated by them as ‘trauben-förmig’.46) Its formation is like ariyala- ‘warder’ to auri- ‘watch-tower’. A priori, it is possible to imagine bread from or with grapes (cf. raisin bread) or made in the shape of a cluster of fruit.47) We have demonstrated above, however, that the meaning of mūri- was originally ‘bunch.’ If our conclusions are correct, then the latter translation of mūriyala- is to be preferred. Furthermore, the most characteristic use for mūriyala- bread is for it to be hung from an animal’s horns, for example, Bo. 2689. ii. 9-12:

nu mu-ú-ri-ia-lu-uš GUID. HÍ. A-an karaunišmi [katta] ganganzi
On the horns of the oxen they hang the mūriyala- bread.

This practice strongly supports the idea that mūriyala- bread is bunch-shaped.

The question arises whether Latin muriola ‘a kind of wine’ can be borrowed from Hittite mūriyala-. It seems that this cannot be the case. First of all, the word mūriyala- is attested only in Old and Middle Hittite. Therefore, it is somewhat unlikely that it survived nearly unchanged into the Anatolian languages of the Roman period. Second, as we have suggested above, mūriyala- does not mean ‘grape-bread,’ and although a semantic development from ‘grape-matter’ to, on the one hand, ‘grape-bread’ and on the other, ‘grape-drink’ is conceivable, a development from ‘bunched matter’ to ‘grapeduct’ is not. Etruscan could have served as the link between Latin and Hittite, but the word has no earmarks of Etruscan transmission.

It remains therefore to consider whether there might be a genetic relation between mūriyala- and muriola. A Pre-Latin *mūri- ‘bunch’ could have developed the meaning ‘grape.’ To this could have been built an adjective *mūrio- ‘of grapes’ which subsequently could have

47) For breads named after their shapes cf. Hittite purpur- ‘a ball’ ~ NINDApurpur- ‘ball bread’ and NINDAininiyami- a Luvian passive participle to nāi- ‘lead’
been substantivized as *mūria 'grape'. A diminutive to this, *mūrielo-'grapish', itself in turn substantivized as *mūriela 'grapish drink', could have given Lat. muriola. The proposed derivation is too complicated to be convincing. Furthermore, muriola could easily be derived from mūria 'brine' since Cato De Agri Cultura 105 testifies to the use of brine in making wine. The similarity of mūriyala- and muriola is, therefore, merely coincidental.

Greek μυρίος

Greek μυρίος is attested since Homer in the meaning 'countless.' The meaning 'ten thousand' first occurs at Hes. Op. 252.\(^48\) All the etymologies previously suggested are in one way or another lacking.\(^49\) The first fact we may note about this word is its peculiar accent. Most adjectives in -ιος have recessive accent, e.g. ἡγιος 'holy', ἀγιος 'wild', etc. There are, however, some other adjectives in -ιος with oxytone accent, e.g. βαλιος 'spotted', δεξιος 'on the right', λαλιος 'talkative', μονιος 'solitary', πελιος 'livid', πολιος 'grey', φαλιος 'with a white spot', σκολιος 'bent'.\(^50\) A probable sub-class of these are the dactylic words with paroxytone accent, such as ἄντιος 'set against' and πλησιος 'near'.\(^51\) These are obvious cases of Wheeler's Law and it is to that class that μυρίος belongs. We can then posit a pre-form *mūriōs.

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\(^{48}\) The accent of μύριον in the sense 'ten-thousand' is clearly secondary and contrastive in origin.

\(^{49}\) For example, Ebeling (1885) 1126, lists the following impossible cognates:
1. Skt. bhūri- 'many', but bh cannot correspond to Grk μυρίς 'ant'. 2. Grk. μύρις 'ant'. 3. Lat. multe but i cannot correspond to Grk μυρίς. Thinkable is Schwizer's connection with ἀλμυρής 'flowing to the sea', and ἄλμυρής 'flood-tide';" Schwizer (1959) 593. But μυραῖος has a short /u/ in Homer, e.g., Od. 9. 486 πλησιος ἐν πόντοιο. Cf. Schulze (1892) 9 and Becktel (1914) 278-279. ἀλμυρής is built directly to μῦρασι 'flow' esp. of tears. Cf. Risch (1974) 154. Therefore, the basic meaning of the root μυ- (or μυρ- if from *mūr + ye-) must be 'flow', and although the derivation of the name of a high number from the name of the sea is paralleled (cf. Skt. samudrā-'ocean' and '100,000,000,000,000',) the derivation of such a word from a verb meaning 'flow' or even from a noun 'river' is not. For Old Irish mūr 'abundance' see note 29 above.

\(^{50}\) For these see Chandler (1881) 116.

\(^{51}\) δεξιος does not undergo Wheeler's Law due to the analogy of its antonyms λαλιος and σκιαος.
Now it is an interesting fact that oxtone adjectives in -ιός (or the Wheeler's law variants -ιός which have good etymologies invariably have a morpheme boundary between the ι and the ο. For example, δεξιός is from *deksiwós as is proved by the Pamphylian personal name Δεξιός (= Mycenaean de-ki-si-wo) and by Gaulish Dexiwa. πολιός is from *poliwós as Mycenaean po-ri-wa shows. ἀντίος is clearly from *anti-ός and πληνιός < *plēti-ός.52) These complex suffixes *-iwó- and -ið- may legitimately be further analyzed as *-i-wó- and *-i-ð- respectively. This is clear from the co-occurrence of other extensions of -i- beside forms in *-iwó- or *-i-ó-. For example, from the -i-extended form of the root *pel- 'grey' are built in addition to πελιός and πολιός, Vedic palitá- 'gray' < *peli-tó-, Greek πελι-τός 'livid' and Armenian alík 'gray beard' < *pl-ð-o-; from the extended root *dekśi- are built Vedic dakṣi-ná- 'south' and Greek δεξι-τερός 'right hand of two'.

This segmentation makes possible the comparison of these -wó- and -ó-suffixes with the possessive suffixes *-wó- (Vedic -vá-, e.g., anjívá- 'salved' from anjí 'salve';53) Old Church Slavonic -vú-, e.g., milostivú 'mild' from milosť 'mildness'54) and *-ó- (-a- in vatsá- 'calf' < *wets-ó- 'having a year'. Now it is not unlikely that the -i-extended forms seen before the suffix *-(w)ó- are in origin -i-stem nouns. This is suggested by the evidence of acrostatic ablaut (πολιός vs. πελιός) and by the actual existence in some cases of an -i-stem noun from which a -(w)ó- stem possessive adjective has been made, e.g., φάλις 'hemp' (< *whiteness) beside φαλιός 'white'.55)

The PIE root *meuh₃/₃- seen in Hittite müri- and Luv. múw-w-, and Latin múdō must have meant something like 'abundant/reproductively powerful,' and we have sketched out above how müri- can be derived via a well-established derivational process (*meuh₃/₃- > *muh₃/₃-ro- > *muh₃/₃-ri-). If a PIE *muh₃/₃-ri- survived into Pre-Greek, either in abstract or concrete meaning, a possessive adjective *muh₃/₃-ri-(w)ó- 'having abundance' or 'having bunches' could have been built to it, and this by regular sound change would yield Greek μυρίος. The semantic development from 'having bunches' to 'countless' is easily

54) Meillet (1961) 368.
paralleled, e.g., by the lyrics of a popular American blues tune of the 1930s:

blues for breakfast/blues for lunch/
blues by the dozen/blues by the bunch/

(= Homer's μοριά ἔλγεα (II. 1.2)

I've got too many blues ...

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