RAIMO ANTTILA

Nature and nurture in driven
CULTURAL VOCABULARY

—and the glory of Greek [1]

Three decades ago I analyzed ἀγών as an original neuter plural, quite in harmony with the meaning 'games'. Finding its putative singular came —easily enough it would seem — through the proportion:

$$\frac{\chi\varepsilon\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu}{\chi\varepsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha} = \frac{\dot{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu}{X}$$

The proportion yields *ἄγα, and this is exactly what we have in the enhancing particle/prefix = ἀγα- 'very, much'.

The typical formation with this prefix would be ἀγακλυτός 'very famous'. Epiphenomenal meaning seepage in compounds like this is well known. English *pitch-black* is not only 'black as pitch', but also 'very black', a reading that surfaces in *pitch-white* 'very white' and *pitch-red* 'stark red'; and further, e.g., Swedish *jättestor* 'giant big' is of course 'very big', leading to *jätteliten* 'very small'. Similarly German *eiskalt* 'ice cold' led to *eiswarm* 'very warm' and *steinhart* 'stone hard' to *steinreich* 'very rich'. These formations give bleached nouns as enhancing prefixes. Furthermore, the accent of ἀγακλυτός points to an original noun as an accusative of respect: *ἄγα κλυτός 'famous with respect to the *aga*, the games'. In pre-TV culture this was indeed a central source of fame. The other old formations with ἀγα- agree quite well with this analysis.

It is quite likely that Pre-Greek *ἄγα- was both 'a drive' and 'a (driven) group of people (*oikos*-size)'. An ἀγός was a leader of a tribe, or an *oikos*-size unit (see Finley 1959), and thus it makes sense that *ἄγα also meant 'driving unit, drove' and not just 'drive > contest' (cf. Swedish *åk* 'run [in contest]' < *agom). A perfect parallel for this is

Germanic *drift*; and note that other Greek herd-terms developed mea-
nings of human groups (ποίμνα, ἀγέλη, βοῦα and later πῶϋ '(sheep)herd'
[and even ἄγημα]). Leaving out names like 'Αγαμέμνων (? simply 'con-
test-enduring', i.e., 'standing fast in contest'; and battle of course can
always be implied, or is in fact the same thing) we get new possibilities
for ἀγαθός and ἀγαπητός. When we write ἀγαθός in its Proto-Indo-Euro-
pean shape and probable meaning, we get *aǵn-dhǝ-o-s (of course it
could have been just a later *aga-, etc., and the fact that the adjective
is a Pre-Greek [and not a PIE] formation does not seem to require
the -s-). Its meaning should now be something like 'supporting the *aga*,
upholding the (social) unit' (with active reading of the verb). This
gives the best concrete starting point for the contextual readings of
ἀγαθός one finds in Homer. The ἀγαθοί pertained to the leading fami-
lies (the drivers, the active ones, the achievers, or the like), and this
is in full agreement with what we know about heroic societies from
elsewhere in Indo-European with the importance they put on cattle
raiding and the like. The best Indo-European parallel might be Ireland
and the Scottish Highlands with its Táin culture that lasted until
comparatively recently. Social action was *aga* action and the *agathoi*
controlled it. *Aga* gentry was also landed gentry by entailment. Note
that the glory of the raiding action produced a meaning 'fame, repute'
for Irish *táin* (< *to-agni-* from *to-agnā* 'drive') *'driven cattle, herd,
flock' (> Modern Irish 'crowd [of people], throng'), which comes rather
close to ἀγα- and its starting point suggested here.

The root *pā(s)-/*pā(y)-/*pī-, like *ag'-, is a herding term, and
from that a prosperity/fertility term (e.g., perhaps, Πάν), but also
a ruling term, as is clear in Sanskrit, where it develops readings like
'to maintain, observe, keep'; and note patricularly cases like *pātra*
n. 'fit or competent person' and *pātratā* 'merit, fitness, capacity' (cf.
ἀγαθός). The verbal adjective ἀγαπητός seems to be the oldest atte-
sted form (of this verb) in Greek and it matches ἀγακλυτός reasonably
well. The meaning of the total cluster ἀγαπάζω/-πάω/-πητός is the
reverse of ἀγαθός in that it goes toward the single son as heir apparent
of the family. This fits with the *aga* also, since the funeral games re-
presented a social ritual at the crucial link in the generation chain.
They would often celebrate a new leader or head of a family at the
same time, who would also have to do diplomacy toward the other
families, which is exactly what ἀγαπάζω does, 'to receive a guest with
proper social graces' (like ἀσπάζομαι!). 'Αγαπάζω etc. thus designates
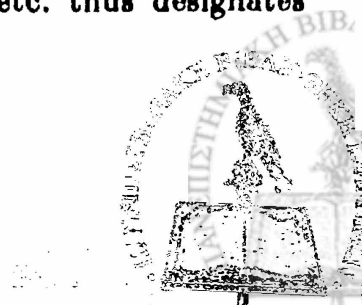
a "high" point within one's own family, care toward the future, for either mortal life or the nether world (which is the same thing, same concern, smooth relation with the gods by the social unit), and a diplomatic attention to other families. This semantic relation is reflected also by κῆδος 'concern' in κήδεα 'funeral rights, family feeling', κηδεύω 'acquire a bride, tend a corpse', κηδεστής 'relation-in-law' (cf. Alexiou 1974 : 10-11).

A great difficulty seems to have been the -π- in the adjective, but today there is consensus that we do have to do with offshoots of πάομαι and ἐμπάζομαι (and Prellwitz did in fact create an ἀγα-π-ό-ς 'beschützend'). Since ἀγαπάω does look like a denominative, and most likely is (τιμή / τιμάω), one might try out a compound parallel to Sanskrit gopā 'herd, protector', i.e., *ἀγάπᾱ, or like gopá (*g^wou-ph_2-o-) 'cowherd, watcher', i.e., *$ag'n$-ph_2-ā like ἑκατόμβη (*-$g^w$$\overset{\circ}{w}$-ā). Is there any evidence for such a noun? Brown & Levin (1986:91) took a name inscription ΑΓΑΠΑ from Woodhead (1963:148) as such evidence (on a 6th cent. B.C. lid of an ashes urn from Pharsalus in Thessaly). Of course it cannot be determined whether the last part here would be 'protection' or 'observance (of social norms)'. Names with the structure GROUP WORD+ PROTECTION WORD are quite common, e.g., German Liut-walt > Leuthold and Dietwald 'ruler of people' (*leudho- and *teutā 'people') give a close match to the Greek, and so do Theutbirc and Old Norse (fem.) pjóo-geror 'people protection'. The compound is structurally quite good, because both parts in it are semantically related (like in Familienähnlichkeit). This basic *ἀγάπᾱ 'observance of the social (group) obligations', or the like, would of course be "totally" different from the later attested ἀγάπη 'love', and the one called upon to serve in the handbooks, abstracted from the verb based on the former ! Certainly this reading gives a natural analysis for ἀγαπήνωρ 'manly, hospitable', because it would fit into the basic obligations of a hero, a man who observes the duties dictated by his position.

Pinault (1991) also came to a strong social-cohesion solution emphasizing quite nicely that it is the social relations — also behind φίλος, ἤπιος, and ἑταῖρος — that have pulled the ἀγαπάω-cluster toward affective meanings, with a "semantic domination of the prefix". I fail to see how the prefix ἀγα- would carry the Epic 'largess and generosity' conceptions (however "big" it is), because that comes from the Heroic socio-cultural contexts, from the expected behavior of an agathos. In connection with a foster child ἀμφ' ἀγαπαζόμενος (Il. 16.192) is rightly

not 'surrounding with tenderness', but need not be Pinault's own 'surrounding with protection' either, because in the case of adoption the social acceptance and behavior is central (and of course protection is part of this). Thus, rather: 'gave [him /τὸν] all around (ἀμφί) the normal social/parental worth, observed the proper parental behavior expected by the society, as if he were his own son', or some such, and de facto such a son is one's own son. Similarly Od. 16.17 [like a father] φίλα φρονέων ἀγαπάζῃ [his child returning after a nine-year absence]. Here again, the tenderness is expressed with a participial phrase next to the finite verb.

We find that (Od. 7.33) the Phaeacians do not ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ[ι] those who come from elsewhere. The Phaeacians are diplomats par excellence since they are the only ones who mediate between men and gods. Hospitality is a social obligation (1991:204). Whether the finite verb is 'love' or 'treat as one's own', ἀγαπαζόμενοι is 'receiving with proper social graces', and similarly Od. 14.381 ἐγὼ δέ μιν ἀμφ' ἀγάπαζον 'I treated him all around with proper behavior, I received him (as expected) according to the social norms'. When Odysseus is recognized "dans cette atmosphère d'effusion, comportant des embrassements, des baisers, des pleurs de joie, l'élément ἀγα- donne certainement une plus grande force: «accueillir largement, manifester la grandeur de sa joie à recevoir», ce que nous pouvons rendre plus simplement par «faire fête» (1991:205): κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμενοι 'lui faisant fête, ils lui baisaient'". This goes the right way, away from 'tenderly', but all that the participle might say is that the kissing went according to the observance of social norms in such a situation, on such an occasion. Penelope tells Odysseus that he should not blame her, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, ὧδ' ἀγάπησα (Od. 23.214) 'after seeing [him] she received/greeted [him] thus'. She welcomed him as a guest and not as a husband. The proper behavior for the two cases is of course different. One need not read in a big feast or celebration (large accueil), although it is not ruled out either, but Homer does not mention it.

Even when protection is there in these examples, it is not "great" as such. Pinault agrees that in the aristocratic hospitality code the action is between equals (1991:206-207). Too much bounty one way would be bad indeed — it would work against social cohesion. The agathos was expected to be dedicated to his oikos and tribe, and one concern in this was the succession of an only son. There is greatness in this only in terms of the Heroic context. In short, where Pinault

has *aga-pānōr [big man-protector], I suggést *agapā-(a)nōr [tribal-care man]. This *agapā is already faded into a social concept, and from this *agapāto- 'revered by the oikos, needed by the oikos, maintained by family care', and the like, comes naturally. The denominatives *agapā-o- and *agapa-ζo- are matter of course, 'assign social worth', and the adjoining "love"-words and contexts pulled the ἀγα-πα- items into the affectionate domain.

Greek ἡγεμών gives a social-unit parallel — it derives from an older hunting-culture root *sāg-/*sǝg- 'track'. We get the Germanic seek/Sache cluster from this, but particularly 'a group of people' in Scandinavian: Old Icelandic sókn, Swedish socken 'parish', and English (church-)soken (also 'attack, assault') and soak/soke (PGmc *sāknā). The suffix here is the same expanded -n- as in Old Irish áin (*agni- from *agnā) 'driving, game', itself significant support for an older verbal noun *ag'-n. There might be more: A direct possibility of *až - as a reflex of *ag'- is given by the Lithuanian adj. āžnas 1. 'own, peculiar', 2. 'real, right, true, valid', a word without an etymology until now. Its form is canonic Indo-European, which is also true of its Lithuanian glosses: 'tikras, ynas, gūdnas', or even 'grynas'. This analysis would seem to give an incredibly old starting point *ag'-n-o-s for āžnas. The meaning here would have been something like 'belonging to one's own group', parallel to *swe-dhh₁-os> ἔθος 'custom' (and ἔθνος 'troup, tribe') in Greek. Being born within the social limits gives one one's reality, worth, rights, etc. *Agno- is in fact Stokes' reconstruction for OIr án/ áine 'noble, pure, elegant', and it agrees perfectly with āžnas. A social-cohesion parallel would be *wēr- (ἦρα φέρειν 'do a favor'), *wērā (Old Church Slavic věra 'truth') 'trust, loyalty, agreement with something', which in Latin, Celtic, and Germanic gave an adj. *wēros 'true. Social life is sustained by deeds of men, ἔργα ἀνθρώπων, and here a cognate of ἔργον, work, gives German wirklich, from which Wirklichkeit. On the Latin side ἔργον is matched by rēs 'wealth, concrete facts of the natural world', but also res humanae and acta rerum, as well as bene et recte facta (*ag'-and *dhē -side by side). Thus rēs provides us 'an actual thing, reality, verity (particularly with ipsa: truth, fact)'.

Important for its *ag-no-/nā-shapes is Irish (án 'fast' as *agno-; Stokes, see Révue Celtique 24.217 [1903], as we saw above, but the handbooks do list a Greek driving verd ἀγνέω in Aetolian ἀγνηκώς, ἀγνηκότας, Laconian ἄγνηκε, διεξαγνηκέναι, and ἀγνεῖν· ἄγειν. Κρῆτες (Hsch.). It has also been obvious that ἀγρέω is a denominative of

ἄγρα/-αγρος 'grabbing (also alive), booty, prey, spoils, gatherings, take-out', and of ἀγρός 'outback, (the) wild(s), countryside' (although now the short -ε- is somewhat difficult). These are clearly driving words in origin, in an earlier hunting-and-gathering context. On the Greek model I could interpret English acker/aiker 'a ripple or dark streak on the surface of the water, a break or movement made in the water by (a) fish, a dangerous eddying twirl, a kind of bore', not as a metaphor from the field-acre (ἀγρός), but as something old and inherited like ἄγρα/-αγρος (Anttila 1986). Thus also Gothic akran 'fruit, produce, yield' is better *ag'ro-no-m, not *'fruit from the field', but rather *'the gathered (stuff)'. Irish áirne 'sloe', Welsh aeron 'fruits, berries', eirinen 'plum', eirin 'plums', Middle Breton irin, New Breton hirin 'sloe' (with shapes like *agranyo- ~ *agrinyo- that come close to the Germanic). Pokorny adds Irish áru 'kidney', W aren 'kidney, testicle' (from pl. eirin 'testicles, plums') reflecting something like *agr₋nā. In other words, whatever the origin of the r/n-alternation is, we have now reached an r-element appended with an n-formative.

Irish án has as its fast and lively companions Sanskrit ajirá and Latin agilis. While the Sanskrit is ambiguous as to its original liquid, Latin shows an l-formative, a fairly frequent side-kick to r-morphemes. Taking off from an earlier version of my 2000 book Orr (2000) has suggested that Slavic *aglŭ/*jagly̆, e.g. in Russian jaglyj 'zealous, ardent; quick, fast', with the typical *-[l]o- to *-[l]u- replacement he has so richly documented, contains a centum variant of the driving root. The verbal root would also lurk in dial. Russian jagnut' 'thrust, prick' and jaglit' 'burn of desire', matched with Lithuanian aglùs 'bitter, grievous, austere' with an n-parallel in agnùs 'ardent, zealous'. Furthermore, a direct match to Irish ág would be Lithuanian ogùs 'austere, sharp, bitter; eager, greedy'. The quick-and-fast domain would further display a Slavic *naglŭ 'unexpected, fast', for which I have given rich parallels from the driving domain (Anttila 2000: 212-213).

The northern end of the centum/saten line does indeed accommodate all these formations and meanings reasonably well. This is where Celtic, Germanic, Balto-Slavic, and Iranian abutted. Also Greek and Tocharian go in well into the most archaic structure. For the semantics note the following: Since the contest/games aspect is strong in the driving cluster, and it is tied with prizes to be gained, we can eliminate the question mark in Schmeja's (1976) equation of Avestan āzi- =

Sanskrit *ājí* 'horse race'. The Avestan word means 'Habgier, Habsucht; desire to eat, greed, and sexual desire' and represents a natural specialization from the drive to win, since winning was of course winning wealth in one form or another. Schmeja, as others before him, takes to Toch B *āk* 'zeal, ardor' and its derivatives A *ākāl*, B *ākālk*, 'wish, desire' as good parallels. The differences are rather natural contextual readings of the same concept. All this matches the three *Giere* in German, as well as sermantic spread in its driving term *Trieb*. The clear Estonian driving words in 'impulse, incentive, impetus, motive, urge' meanings (*aje, ajend, ajetama*) are probably formed under German influence, and are thus not totally independent evidence for the "abstract" meaning shifts under consideration. The same might be true at the other end of possible German influence, viz. the driving words in Slovene *gòn(ba)* 'instinct', *pogòn* 'implulse', *gonilno sila* 'impetus'. This is similar to Swedish *drift* 'urge, instinct' and Dutch *drift* 'passion, anger'.

Let us sum up the findings at this point. Since in the human historical sciences one cannot test the results by repeating experiments, one looks instead into the productivity of the patterns gained. My analysis of *ἄγα* etc. led Orr to expand the explanation further into Balto-Slavic. Now I take his result and build on it. Taking the shape *ag'nos* and bundling *āžnas*, *agnùs* 'ardent, zealous', and *ogùs* 'austere, sharp, bitter; eager, greedy' together, we seem to get a good starting point for Finnish *ahnas* 'greedy, industrious, eager' (and its various derivatives). This would require the Baltic source *ažnas, not attested in the greed-meanings. The Finnish shape seems to speak for it though (there is also a good suggestion of Germanic origin), and it is quite expected that differentiation would have taken place in Lithuanian in that the 'greed' readings came out in the centum mode. The centum/satem play would not be any more difficult than in *akmuā* 'stone' vs. *āšmenys* 'edge, blade' (that this is plural might reflect an original row of embedded blades, as in an early sickle). I was led into Greek *ἄγα* from Greek itself with Germanic parallels, and then *ἄγα* reflected back into Finnish, through Baltic. This kind of productivity says that it might not all be wrong.

A classic case of a Baltic loan in Finnish without a source attested in the donor language is *aisa* 'thill, wagon tongue', from Proto-Indo-European *oi-s-ā*. If we want to have perfect ablaut vocalism in an s-stem, and taking along οἴαξ 'tiller, helm' (*oy[ə]s-ak-*, without any evidence for *ə [in Greek]; note the stem shape whose expected buo-

yancy with *ə would be øVøVø-VC [>*ωκ-] in Greek), the general pattern is clear: *h₃eyh-os ∽ *h₃ih-s-ā> Sanskrit ī̆ṣā, (probably borrowed into) Hittite *hissa*. Then there is Estonian *ahatuul* 'dry cold wind', *kāne aha, ahapilv* 'thunder cloud', and *tuule ahad* 'thin clouds drifting in wind' which establish a base noun *aha*. From this we get a derivative Estonian *ahav* 'dry cold piercing wind' and Finnish *ahava* 'dry sunny spring wind'. *Aha* looks like coming from a Baltic *āžā, not attested. But there is a wind name Lithuanian *ožinis* and Latvian *āzinis* 'SE wind', which seems to attest to such a noun, since the formation *ožinis* is structurally and functionally the same as *aha-va*.

There are good parallels from a carrying wind and a wafting wind; Greek has φορός 'favorable [wind]' from *bher-* 'carry' and Sanskrit is full of wind words from *weg'h-* 'move along' — both intimate kissing cousins of *ag'-* 'drive" (e.g. φέρω καὶ ἄγω). Most important is the following evidence from Russian: The basic *vygon* "drive-away" roughly covers the casting-off situation, in usages connected with wind and water. Here *vy'gon* designates 'subsidence of water driven away from the coast by winds, subsidence of water in river mouths falling into the sea or a lake, high driving wind, rise of water caused by winds'. It is again the adjective *vy'gonnyj* pertaining to the "watery" *vy'gon* that is almost startling, meaning 'productive (proizvodjáščij)' i.e., favorable in this context: *vy'gonnyj véter* 'wind blowing from the shore and driving water from the shore to the sea'. This typological parallel makes one more confident about the possibility that *ožinis* was built on an *āžā, *ažá, or *ožá 'drive' and 'driving wind' in Baltic, reflecting PIE *ag'ā or *og'ā. I have in fact suggested that the latter shape is the source of Finnish and Estonian *oja* 'brook', since Latin *agmen* 'riverbed' and (inscriptional) ὕδατος ἀγωγαί 'aqueducts' both exhibit that root and the Greek ultimately even that form (exactly there in Tyrolian *āche* 'book'?).

Consider the following German evidence for Homeric ἄζη: Bavarian *acken* 'to hurt' can be accepted as parallel or identical to English *ache*, but it is Low German that floors us. In Lower Saxony (and elsewhere) we find *āken* 1. 'to hurt' (*de Ogen aakt/ākt mi* 'my eyes ache') and 2. 'to fester' (*em ākt de Ogen* 'his eyes fester'). Various spellings/shapes occur, *acken ∽ āken∽ äcken ∽ ekken ∽ eken∽ aeken.*Sometimes some differentiation develops, as one might expect: in Mecklenburg *āken* is the normal designation for the pus and *äcken* for the eye rheum (similar stirrings in the Finnish material as distinction between a 'dry' and 'wet' tumor). The noun (here given in the standard capital orthography), *Ake ∽ Aak*

~ Ak ~ Ääk ~ Äk ~ Eek~ Eck, likewise indicates pain and pus: 1. 'finger inflammation, panaritium'. 2.'felon, whitlow', and 3. secretion from the eyes' (Mecklenburg: *wisch di dat Äk ut de Ogen* di Ogen *vull Aek*). Pus and pain do go together, and this is indeed a good source for real pain: *Ik hebb dar 'n Äk an de Finger, de steckt und brannt mi so* 'I have there a felon on the finger, it hurts and burns me so'. As a parallel consider Finnish *Jos menöö tikku käther rupiaa ajamha kohta ja pakottamha* 'If a splinter goes into the hand it soon begins to fester and ache'.

The German umlauted shapes and long vowels require an *ak-i-. Short vowels and long consonants seem to ask for a thematic alternate *akja-, and we are indeed in a semantic field that oozes out contamination, so that umlaut and vowel length get totally mixed up. This latter shape might be old, i.e., inherited *ag'-yo-, as a parallel fem. *ag'-yā could lurk in Homeric ἄζη (Od. 22.184) usually glossed 'with dust, or rust', but also 'with mildew', which is much better. My experience in southern California strongly supports the mould reading. We are talking about a shield, i.e., leather goods, and they would have had a harder time in the harder winters in Greece. Modern ἄζα 'dryness, heat; ashes, bitter taste; dust of charcoal, chaff' seems to go against 'mould', but we do not know the exact developments. But Post-Epic glosses of ἄζα are not that clearly dryness or heat either: 'dirt, mold, dry sediment, dryness of the skin, dust, unsatisfied desire', ἄζη· εὐρώς (Hsch.) 'mould, dank decay'. Then of course ἠελίου ἄζα (Opp.) is 'the heat of the sun', but what it is etymologically is of course not given. It could as well be the action of the sun, which is heat by entailment. An aspen or (black) poplar ἀζομένη κεῖται ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας 'lies drying on the banks of the river' (Il 4.487) is easily a contextual development of 'lies shedding [its bark]' as part of the drying process. The tree is noticeable for this aspect, and was for this reason a handy source of tinder for the American mountain men. I thus reconstruct a driving verb-base *ag'-ye/o-.

In addition to the strong and often clear 'dryness' meaning for ἄζη, there is obviously further impetus that way in the rather general positing of Proto-Indo-European *as-, *az-d-, and *az-g(h)—'burn' where convenient, but it is the middle shape that is usually drawn in to explain the Greek here, since it seems to match Old Czech, Old Polish, and Slovene *ozd* 'roasted malt, malt-kiln', and this connection is prevalent in the handbooks and early literature.

The Epic evidence glosses ἄζω, ἀζάνω, and ἀζαλέος (roughly) with 'dry'. The second case of ἄζομαι goes (Hes. Th. 98-99) εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκήδεϊ θυμῷ ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος. The verb is metaphorical here, in the middle of three other grieving words, and thus a pain or grief reading is clear ('if someone having sorrow in his newly troubled mind is distressed with woe in this heart'). Drying is not the most natural image, but here something like *ache* as a driving word is good. As for the active, we have (Hes. Op. 587) μαχλόταται δὲ γυναῖκες, ἀφαυρότατοι δέ τε ἄνδρες εἰσίν, ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει, in which we have the action of Sirius: 'the women are most lustful and the men most feeble, when Sirius Xes [their] head and knees'. Some kind of drive (action) rather than desiccation seems to be much better. The other example is quite parallel, also affecting a body part (Hes. Sc. 397): [τέττιξ] καί τε πανημέριός τε καὶ ἠῷος χέει αὐδὴν ἴδει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ, ὅτε τε χρόα Σείριος ἄζει '[the cicada] all day long and at daybreak lets out a sound in most horrible heat, when Sirius Xes the flesh [skin]' (and here X could as well be 'afflict' or 'inflict' or 'impel', even if it often would be 'dry' in context). In h. Ven. 270 [when the lot of death nears] ἀζάνεται πρῶτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δένδρεα καλά 'first dry up the beautiful trees on the earth'. 'Wither' is of course an exhaustion term, and thus also compatible with drive to the end. When Hector boasts to Ajax about his battle experience, he refers to his ἀζαλέος cowhide shield. This is of course prepared leather, hardened somehow, and hardening means some kind of drying (so it is [again] at least worked-on, seasoned, etc.) (Il. 7.239). Then we have two battlefury metaphors; clearest drying is as Achilles rages like a fire of a parched (?) mountain (οὔρεος ἀζαλέοιο) (Il. 20.491). The other one is of Ajax Il. 11.494 [as a full river coming down to the plain] πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ἀζαλέας, πολλὰς δὲ πεύκας ἐσφέρεται 'many dry oaks and many pines are carried in'. Since the fire feeds on wood, all this is now in the wood domain, but strictly speaking it could actually be "driven = uprooted". Wood occurs also in Od. 9.234 [Cyclops] φέρε δ' ὄβριμον ἄχθος ὕλης ἀζαλέης 'carried a mighty load of ἀζαλέη wood' [to serve his dinner preparation].

The old *ozd*-line has become dogma. But the following possibility suggests itself (although barely): With an early *ag'*- as a kind of distillation term agreeing with the evidence from other languages (cf. Russian driving works *vozgónka* 'sublimation', *peregonját'*, 'sublimate', German *rennen* 'smelt', *abtreiben* 'refine by cupellation'), we might expect a Slavic *oz-*, extended somehow to *oz-d-*. In any case,

the cluster -zd- tends to carry a morpheme boundary in it, -z+d-. One could look for something like Russian *mzdá* 'recompense, bribe', i.e. $*ag'$ (-s)-dhə$_1$-o-s *'drive-hold /structure' (similar form and meaning for ὄχθη as a holding chute for water: ($*og'$(-s)-dhə$_1$-ā). Curiously, we would now have here the same roots as in ἀγαθός. Here *brožénie* 'fermentation' and 'discontent' (cf. ἀγανάκτησις) go patricularly for beer: *pívo bródit* 'the_beer is fermenting', *pívo perebrodílo* 'the beer finished its fermentation'. Thus one could also speculate that *ozd* might have been a fermentation structure, i.e., a brewing hut. In Latin and Russian (Slavic) *$*dh\bar{e}$-* is largely supplemented by *struere /stróit'* as a structure-building verb with nouns like *structura, stroj, stroénie*, and *postrójka*. *Ozd* in this frame would look like *peregónnoe stroénie* or *peregónnaja postrójka*. The ending structures are permanent, they stand (cf. *Stall / stellen*), and the infusion processes in them take time (also *stand*). *Brožénie* thus matches "standing" brew, *nastój* and *nastójka* 'infusion': *čaj eščé ne nastojálsja* 'the tea is not ready yet'.

So far we have seen that driving vocabulary has developed into meanings like 'games', 'social unit', 'gather', 'greed (and sexual desire)', 'excretion', and 'malt-kiln' (and 'distil', as in Estonian *ajama* 'drive'), and so on. It is now time to look into "spiritual" compulsion and religion.

The meaning of ἄγᾱ, usually taken as a variant of ἀγα-, can be summed up as 'the feeling that the interlocutor does or says something outside or beyond the normal.' This gives 'wonder, amazement' in Homer, but the negative value 'envy, malice' in Herodotus. Homer has only the nominative singular in the phrase ἄγη μ' ἔχει, the construction with similar meanings is shared also by θάμβος 'astonishment', σέβας 'wonder, reverential awe', and θαῦμα 'wonder, marvel'.

If such feelings are not actions, they are at least reactions, and thus justifiable in a driving domain. This wonder-and-amazement feeling in epiphanic contexts is a particularly Greek feature — the Romans went rather for powerful prodigia, portenta, and preventive rites (Latte 1960:41). It is extremely interesting and useful to peruse Latte's "Beginnings" (36-63). The text is a constant flow of concepts like Aktion, Macht, Reaktion, Handlung, Verhalten, Kraft, Wirkung, numen, and δύναμις, and they designate the individual powers (actions) of gods (= natural forces). The clearest action word in this context is Umbrian **ahtu** (Latte 1960:56, Radke 1965:18, Ancillotti & Cerri 1996:188-194, 1997: 87-91). This must be quite old, and it is formally and semantically natures' action. The evidence is Iguvine *ahtu iuvip.* and *ahtu*

marti, datives telling to whom (what) one sacrifices, usually translated into Latin as *Actui Iovio* and *Actui Martio*. The particular action /power aspect comes out clearly in that the domain of the force is identified with an adjective (meaning something like 'in the domain of X', e.g., 'act[ion] in the domain of Jupiter'; and an act was and still is formally a drive).

The verb ἄγαμαι, ἀγάσσατο 'admire vs. feel envy, be jealous', and other similar verbs are regularly connected, for formal and semantic reasons, with either ἄγ- or ἀγα-. This is correct, but not under the same 'admiration' root, but under a 'drinving' root in that we most likely have a denominative here. Szemerényi (1967: 82-83) took it as a derivative of ἄγος [originally] 'awe, numinosum', then 'power. awe, and holy fear'. I take it as a denominative of *ἄγα. Both suggestions are not perfect, but there is not much one can do. A big problem is that there is no certain way of knowing where ἄγος itself comes from. Its meaning gamut in Liddell & Scott is "any matter of religions awe": 1. pollution, guilt, 2. the person or thing accursed, 3. expiation, sacrifice, and (from Hesychius) 4. ἄγεα· τεμένεα, ἀγέσσι· τεμένεσι, ἄγη· τὰ μυστήρια. Ever since antiquity scholars have thought the noun to be a psilotic shape connected with ἀγνός and ἅγιος 'holy', on which exhaustive treatments for our purposes are Chantraine & Masson (1954, the one usually referred to) and Rudhardt (1958: 38-46, and see also Casabona 1966: 207-210). Rudhardt pleads for ἅγιος as pertaining to the creative force preceding the act of creation, not visible to men, but it is there in society and the world. The natural-order power in conformity with creation and with everything connected with animated things, in harmony with human laws and regular rituals, lies behind the adjective ὅσιος. When this power condenses on naturally privileged objects, in elements like earth, light, political groups, i.e., with particular concentration of force in a place, the adjective used is ἱερός. When Rudhardt puts the noun τὸ ἄγος against this, he finds that ἄγος designates an active principle which manifests itself among the natural world and humans whose history it influences, mostly after a wrong they have committed. Ἄγος punishes violations of asylum and hits the one committing perjury, which is a disturbance of proper social order. Its effects are generally negative, baneful, and ἄγος notably follows murder, acts against social peace, or opposition to royal power. It is always used with emotion, and it inspires fear, indignation, and wounded feeling. Rudhardt believes he can now define ἄγος in a new way (43):

τὸ ἄγος, the power considered in itself, abstracted from the order of things according to which it acts normally. It follows that if the word can have a positive reading, it means most often the abnormal and the nefarious influences of the power, in the course of which only it can be perceived out of the order and independently from it.

If men are driven by gods, would there be a reflex of this in ἄγεα 'temples', and then also 'mysteries', as actions in such segregated areas? Place and function would again come under the same form. Place of religious action is not much different from place of any action (*ag'-ro-s). Οἶκος vs. ἀγρὸς is the life line, and then another sacred line, *ἄγος, would not be that odd. *Templum* and τέμενος meant exactly *'cutting, cut thing', thus (Lucretius') *caeli lucida templa* reflect an Indo-European *'the bright cuttings of the axe', later interpreted as 'temples of the sky'. Ἄγειν and *agere* are the terms for building walls and digging ditches and drawing lines, and thus an *ag'-os* suggests itself, especially if there was any human enhancement in the holy groves. The uncontracted shape ἄγεα speaks for greater antiquity than what we have in the pollution/guilt-ἄγος. In Latin then we have clearer connection with *ag-* and gods, and *ag-* in human action toward gods, but in Greek this is a vague hint. There are driving words in celestial epithets (these can just be leaders), but Aeschylus' ἄγος 'expiation, sacrifice' might reflect an *ἄγος-action. In pollution and guilt situations one needs an action plan, a fixed (driving, as it were) point.

There is no general 'religious awe'-color in ἄγος. There is always wonder and amazement in the oldest Greek religious contexts of epiphanic import. There are the feelings that relate man to cosmos — it is the religious feeling, always there when one recognizes the presence of a/the god.

To sum up, we apparently have three nouns from the driving-root: *ag'-n 'driving unit; games', *ag'-ā 'amazement beyond the expected (at words and deeds)', and *ag'-os '(gods') power'. In fact, J. H. H. Schmidt (3.173) stated that the ἄγεσθαι itself is easily felt as an overpowering force which one's own strength cannot withstand, and this connotation is not immediate in other driving words. German evidence from its noun *Trieb* is quite close to ἄγη as a griphold of wonder (even without adding its support from ἄγαμαι). Admiration, wonder, love, jealousy, envy, are all natural instinctive feelings, and they often clash with societal norms. Even if one would not trust the concrete place-and-function meaning of ἄγος, there still remains the gods' power
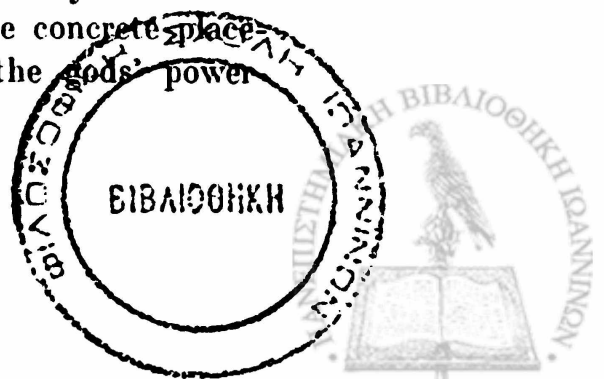
line-infraction doom and force. This is quite parallel to German *Acht und Bann* in which the first was secular banishment and the second the Church's excommunication. Anybody under the *Acht* could be killed without punishment, and the same held for somebody under the ἄγος also.

We saw that Umbrian **ahtu** gave a solid action word as a religious term. Let us remember that Latin *agere* meant, in the right context, 'to sacrifice', and *agō /-nis* was the priest who killed the victim. This is of course an action word, but in this context it is killing, slaying. The sacrificer asked the priest *agone?* 'Shall I drive [the knife in]?', and he did not do it, unless commanded with *age!* or *hoc age!* The victim was called *agōnia*, and there were festivals (*agōnālia, diēs agōnius,* and a deity or action Agōnius) and "holy" places *(agōnus)* called by similar names in Rome.

The crux of the driving matter would be Latin *indiges*. Let us look at it: — What strikes one in the literature about Greek and Roman religion (and beyond), is this discussion of and emphasis on power, natural power, which in those times was largely supernatural power. This force is labeled an *active* principle. We have touched on these aspects of the divine above. Useful summaries of this are Latte (1960: 36-63) and Radke (1965: 25-38). Reichelt (1914) thought that the old Roman gods were called *indigetes* 'endo agentes', driving in, which he then interpreted as 'driving into difficulties (in die Enge), surprising ones'. We do not know the list of the *di indigetes* (cf. Radke 150) and can assume that these were later honorific extensions. We can now by-pass the rich literature on the topic, largely because of Schilling (1979), who points out that there is a difference between the origin of the term and its later history (64, 65). If *indiges* is postverbal to *indigitare* (59) we would not have any formal problems at all — *indiges* would be the object of 'calling in'. If, on the other hand, it is the passive (participle-like adj.) **ind-ag-et-* (as the basis of a factitive *indigitare*), we have few comparable formations from verbal roots.

Three Agonalia mention *indiges* (AGON. IND.), one of them being December 11, in counterbalance to that of Mater Matuta on June 11. Thus we have to do with a solar cult, centered in Lavinium, naturally connecting the sun with water and earth (Schilling 1979: 63). Sol Indiges is Pater Indiges (divus pater) = Jupiter Indiges, and his is not only the highest order of divine power — it is the power that makes nature produce food. The third head for the epithet is Aeneas, but he can be eliminated

from the original "list", because he is clearly local and national propaganda (Latte 1960: 44, Radke 1965: 150). This impelling action that remains as the basic meaning seems to come rather close to Aja Ekapād and Savitr (in Sanskrit) as variant terms for the sun in connection with other natural phenomena. *Indiges* also comes very close to something like The Impeller. And there is a parallel tint in Indra as Sámaja, vanquishing enemies and driving together booty, in the warrior aspect of economy.

That AGON. IND. would now in my analysis repeat the same *ag-* is good rather than bad, as the Italic evidence for sacrifices and divine power under *ag-* is very good. The Umbrian divinities of action, **ahtu** dat. sg. (*ag-teu*), cover particularly the actions of Jupiter (sacrificial) and Mars (sacrificial), whereas with Çerfe 'Growth' (gen. sg., of *ker-s-o-*) the action is not mentioned, but its domain is assigned to the two other gods, e.g., Çerfus Martius 'the principle of vegetative growth in the sphere of Mars' (Ancillotti & Cerri 1996: 188-192, 334, 1997: 87-90; cf. also Latte 1960: 44, 56, Radke 1965: 32). Note that Çerfus Martius is about the same Ares Aphneios in Arcadia, there is just a reversal in the head and attribute hierarchy. The fact that the god of creation in India, Brahmā, is called *ajana* [driver] 'the instigator' is at least strong typological support, even if direct inheritance cannot be proven.

There is of course the strong analogy of human experience of gods in general, particularly strong in Greece. Men drove their animals and kept them in line, and gods drove men the same way. *Indigetes* as drivers-in make sense, and from this *indigitāre* and *indigitāmenta* might follow. There is a strong parallelism of the figura-etymologica-type transitive double driving in ἄγος ἐλαύνειν and Russian *zagnát' gónku* 'to impart a strong reprimand'. Also ἄνωγα in some usages smacks of power that goes down on lesser beings, although of course one of the main points of religious rituals is to talk back to gods. That does not deny the possibility of calling those gods drivers who keep men in line.

The big picture is thus reasonably clear, although the exact details are blurry. Latte (1960: 43-44) pointed out formal difficulties for *indiges*, the main one being that *ag-* 'say' (i.e., *ag-ye/o-*) does not qualify as a contender for etymology, although such a suggestion is common enough. Many of the impasses can be broken with my analysis of all these items reflecting as early *ag-* 'drive', thus also in *-igitare*. There is in fact a medical term (*indigo/*) *indigere* "to drive in (bodily

fluid)", not attested in a text (Niedermann 1944: 72). One talks about
a hard tumor (scirosis): 'fit autem ex glutinoso quodam et spisso atque
frigido humore, quod confluendo ita membris indigitur, ut insitus locis,
ubi consederit, unum esse videatur'. Howerer shaky the lexicographic
evidence is, here it is rather important, because medicine was part of
the religion, and tumors are pushed in the way the tubers (and other
such plants) are. *Indiges* and *indigere* agree in that something comes
out and that there is an end result (pushing into an end state, as it
were). Being driven in is as the same time coming out. The medical
passage indicates that the humor is run together in limbs for one re-
sult wherever it settles. When one remembers the richness of nature
deities or at least epithets, e.g., the *ahtus*, one has the same multiple
source of structure of action ending in beneficial life/food, coordinated
or bossed by Jupiter Indiges, the Impeller (cf. Ζεὺς ᾿Αγήτωρ at Sparta).
The fact that Italic names these nature forces actions is good, but not
necessary, because such a conception is rather universal, and wide-
spread in the Indo-European areas.

When one takes an overall view of the Italic situation (or here at
least Umbrian appended with Roman) we see constant contamination
of speaking and acting divinities, word-and-act gods. The general theo-
logy of the act and the word easing the personification of each and
sundry life acts (Ancillotti & Cerri 1996: 188-194) in fact supports
the position that the two hail from the same source. Thus Italic theo-
logy shows exactly the same as word-and-deed concepts in Homer.

We are now ready to go back to the symbiosis of *ag'-* and *dhē-*.
Note the rich law and religion crop in Greek: θέμις 'justice', right',
θεσμός 'law, rule, rite,' θεσπέσιος 'divinely spoken', θέσφατος 'spoken
by god', etc. The root is also central in family law, e.g., in name-giving
(Giannakis 1995). Latin must have had *fētis* '(contract) law' as the
basis of *fētiālis* 'member of a priestly college on war declaration' (cf.
Avestan *dātam* '[religious] law'). Similarly, Sanskrit *dhā* carries mea-
nings like 'imitate, think of, perform, incur, assume, support' (to empha-
size the meaning that also emerges from the Greek), although a list
of root glosses in a dictionary does not mean much. For *dhāman* 'abode,
domain, seat of gods, delight, pleasure, band, host; rule, law, manner,
appearance, effect, power, splendour, light' the actual passages have
been compiled and treated by Gonda (1967), who also supplies a rich
list of attempts at the interpretation of this term (19-22). He strives
to nail down 'location' as the basic meaning as often as he can, but it

is easily 'location of divine presence', and hence '[the place of] mani-
festation of divine power' much of the time, or even gods' 'modes of
making [their] presence felt' (26). He ends up by telling that Sāyana
was essentially right in equating *dāhmāni* with *devānāṃ tejaḥsthā-
nāni* 'gods' fiery-energy places' (95), nor was Ludwig's 'manifestation'
"that far off the mark" (9). When Yama refuses his sister's advances
appealing to *mitrásya várunasya dhāma* (37), Gonda now allows that
"the order maintained by these gods, law, justice, faithfulness, good
conduct etc. etc., being aspects of their functions and presence, are,
all of them, covered by [this] term" (38). Schlerath (1978) has criticized
Gonda for pushing for a concrete nucleus of an "untranslatable word"
and agrees that Gonda's 'location' gives the best prerequisite for a
future more precise and critical examination of the passages. Curiously,
the etymology of the term is absolutely clear, but not its meaning and
meaning development (Gonda 1967: 19, Schlerath 1978: 381).

Thus both Greek and Sanskrit evidence for the root **dhē-* gives
both physical fundaments and an incredibly rich abstract gamut. Since
the PIE religion was a nature religion we can easily accommodate θεός
'god' into this set, as was already suggested by Herodotus. Θεός desi-
gnates natural phenomena, rain (Zeus), shaking (Poseidon), the sun (in
Herodotus), and stars, exactly what one would expect in an epiphanic
religion (Burkert 1985: 271-272). The essence of the Sanskrit meaning
scale and the Greek here can perhaps be combined under (Ludwig's)
'manifestation'. As Burkert, among others, points out (loc. cit.), θεός
does not have a normal vocative and it is used predominantly as a
predicate:

Theos is the annunciation and marvelling designation of someone present.
When a mysterious light shines into the chamber, Telemachos knows: 'Surely
a god is there,' just as formerly the intuition had come to him that his guest
had been 'a *theos*.' When a man exhibits unprecedented behaviour in ecstasy,
the same identification holds: 'in him is a god,' he is *en-theos;* this is the basic
meaning of enthusiasm. Even the everyday exclamation *theoi*, 'oh gods!,' is
not a prayer but rather a commentary on what has happened to cause admi-
ration or amazement. The duplication of the word, *'theos! theos!'*, probably
comes from ritual usage to mark epiphany. This agrees with the special re-
lation of the word *theos* to divine revelation through oracles and seers. It has
often been remarked that *theos* is used predominantly as a predicate. Already
Hesiod affirms that even *Pheme*, Rumour, is *theos*, and later writers variously
call luck, envy, or reunion a *theos*. The word *theos* does not lead into an I-
Thou relation, it is declaratory of a third, objective power, even if it often
arises from a state of confusion and overwhelming impressions.

Θεός is used as a camouflaging cover term for the individual gods: ἡ Θεός is Athena in Athens — the two goddesses, τὼ Θεώ, mean Demeter and Kore (and even heroes). And further: "When a relief with the image of a large snake is dedicated to the god, τῷ Θεῷ, one avoids being out-spoken on the relation of god and animal. Finally, in prayers the comprehensive formula [for] all gods is required if one is to be sure that no important god has been forgotten" (still p. 272). Τῷ Θεῷ thus might have meant literally 'to the phenomenon'. The epiphanic nature of Θεός remains strong (Rudhardt 1981: 78: "Il [Θεός] peut désigner *ce qui se manifeste* dans le monde, la puissance qui l'anime et l'ordonne..."). As to the PIE antecedent both *$dheh_1$-o-s- and *dhh_1-s-o-s (= *-dhəsos) would seem to be possible.

Can we now let Greek's radiation shine further north? Ivanov (1996) has given a bold and exciting etymology for Balto-Slavic 'star' in Russian *zvezdá*, Lithuanian *žvaigždė*, etc. This would reflect a compound *$ghwoig^w$- *stē(r)*, 'shining star' and in this we have the o-grade without the thematic vowel (present in Φοῖβ-o-ς as epithet of Apollo). Here, however, we need glottalic theory which assimilates the *-st- to the preceding stop producing -zd- in Balto-Slavic, where the o-grade gives Slavic -zda and the e-grade produces Baltic -žde. But isn't it equally good and in fact simpler, to take to the parallel of Θεοί as stars and reconstruct a *$ghwoig^w$-s-dhh_1-ā, i.e., *'shine-manifestation'? This kind of o-grade agrees with ὄχθη as *og'(-s)-dhh_1-ā. In the same way Lithuanian *gaĩdas* 'din, roar' would be *$g^w hon$-dhh_1-o-, *'beating manifestation', i.e., manifested by the ear (~ φόν-o-ς). Thus *perkuno gandaī* 'thunder' would at some point have had a legitimate structural gloss *'the beating manifestations of Perkunas'. Note further *gaĩdą duoti trimitù* 'to give a command/signal with a trumpet', *gaĩdą duoti* 'make an announcement', *gaĩdą gáuti* 'obtain satisfaction' *(gáną)* skirt the driving semantics portrayed here. But with *$g^w hen$-/$g^w hon$- we have entered into the beating domain, as in φόνος, and its cultural and religious import will be treated next.

The root *ag'- designates hunting, fishing, and even killing in quite a number of contexts. Balto-Slavic and Albanian lose it and also assign the general driving meaning ('drive') to the root *$g^w hen$-, if *weg'h- does not do the work. The killing meanings have been recently treated by García-Ramón (1998), and they need not be handled here. In Balto-Slavic the driving *$g^w hen$- is overwhelmingly tied to meanings of general driving, racing, driving after or striving, transporting,

floating, driving away, and from that: persecuting, oppressing, pla-
guing, reprimanding. The real death meanings come only with extreme
forced beating *(zagnat' skvoz' stroj* "to drive through the [battle-]line"
= 'to beat to death in a gauntlet') or oppression to the end *(zagnát'
so svéta* "drive from the light ∼ world" — 'make perish through oppre-
ssion', *sgonját'* 'through persecution, drive somebody to his grave').
Such readings do not change the overall picture that *gnat'* is beat-ing
and driving, not killing. Thus also Polish *zgon* 'death' is a kick-the-
bucket type of metaphor from the fisherman's last cast of no escape
(cf. Lithuanian *ganābinti* 'torment to death').

Both **ag'-* and **g^when-* hark back to Paleo- or Neolithic times,
i.e., to hunting and gathering, where both aspects fall under beating
whether battue-beating or throwing together nuts and berries. When
such an economy shifts to agriculture, old terms can be carried over,
and normally would be carried over. Against this background it is easy
to understand how the Slavic e-grade **žen-* 'to reap' has been lexi-
calized into an independent root, as it still nicely reflects non-hunting
beating, whereas *gonobit', (s)gonošit', vygonošit'* 'gather, save in small
amounts, amass, store up, do hastily', with a general throwing together
feeling, reflect a more pronounced driving semantics. This context is
conducive to preservation of any goods acquired (*žátva* 'storage', in
addition to 'crops, grain', and even 'gain, profit' [reached also by *vy'gon*];
žníva 'stubble-field, crops'). Parallels are easy to find, cf. Swedish
slå hö 'to mow' [beat hay] and Fininsh *tappaa riihtä* 'thresh' (beat
the *riihi* [threshing barn]); note further **g^when-* in Vedic *han* with
áva and *práti* as 'thresh').

The descendants of **g^when-* point to Stone-Age economy. In a
hunting and gathering situation, abundance and riches and life itself
is food, what you are able to beat together. Fick did make the proposal
(approved by Bechtel) that ἄφενος 'riches, abundance' would essentially
be **sm-g^whenos*, going nicely with εὐθενέω 'thrive, flourish' (- εὐθη-
νέω). It seems that the general idea ever since has been that the root
meaning here would be 'swell', rather than *'beating together'. This
is unnecessary, swelling is an aspect of beating, as are the sexual mea-
nings in Sanskrit, Slavic, and elsewhere.

The verds εὐθενέω and εὐθηνέω are obviously denominative, but
it is not certain that they are from the s-stem *-θεν-εσ-, and in any case
there is a different prefix.This might in fact be quite significant, if we
can determine a concrete beginning for the prefix. Particularly in a

Stone-Age conception, life and riches are one and the same thing. And life is being, *es- in *h₁esu- (Sanskrit ásu, ἐύς), and thus we can posit *h₁(e)su-gʷhen-, something like *'beating out sustenance (= life)', putting it together, in other words, 'abundance and riches'. In this context φερέσβιος 'life-bearing, life-giving, nourishing [earth]' would be another good portrait of this kind of semantics. Tautology of this kind is a strong indication of the original meaning; it is parallel to compounds like lemon-yellow. Ἄφενος < *sm̥-gʷhen-os would share the same semantic field as *h₁(e)su-gʷhen-.

Ἄφενος agrees with the hunting-and-gathering starting-point in that it reflects the cattle-raising and agrarian counterparts (as do εὐθενέω and εὐθηνέω). In Homeric the meaning is tied to grain and cattle, i.e., plants and animals as concrete riches rather than abstract richness. The adjective ἀφνειός refers to individuals and their houses, not cities, which seems to indicate that originally it was a good beater who was "rich" (and his possessions were kept in his house), and that beating it together for the common good was on a different level. Πολυφόντης would be such a rich or well-to-do individual, but names are indeterminate. Even if in Ἀργεϊφόντης we have killing in the second part, it need not be true for the starting point of the former (Ἄφενος goes into names in Thessaly). Curiously, the adjective ἀφνειός is the epithet of Ares in Arcadia, in the meaning of 'the nurturing one' (cf. Çerfus Martius), almost like Sanskrit -bhára '-supporting' (and with passive meaning: bhāryá 'to be nourished or cherished', bharita 'nourished') in the 'carry' > 'fertile' context, but then also 'war, booty, battle' in the φέρω καὶ ἄγω situations. In any case, war is a kind of sustenance for a warrior society. In Sanskrit Indra as Sámaja supplies the other member of the φέρω καὶ ἄγω configuration.

As for the compound, this is exactly what we saw in Russian (s)gonošít', even with or without *s(o)m-, in exactly the right home-economy reading. Sanskrit sam+han, in addition to the regular killing and destruction readings, means something like sam+dhā, 'joining, putting together, beating together, making compact'. Note particularly saṃhati 'keeping together, saving, economy; bulk, heap, multitude', (*som-gʷhn̥-ti-, close to -φασσα below). The semantic field involved can be strengthened from Vedic, through vṛj 'twist off, pluck, break somebody's neck'. Particularly in the context of sacrificial grass vṛj means 'gather', and generally 'choose for oneself, select' and sam+vṛj 'lay hold of, seize for oneself, appropriate, own,' (which comes quite

close to ἄφενος), i.e., to throw booty together, and the nominal forms echo this: *sam-vargá* 'rapacious, gathering for oneself' (∽ *samvárgam samvárjana*). Collection of sacrificial grass as part of religion could go back tens of thousands of years, although it is difficult to prove, of course. Nature and plants in the original hunting-and-gathering culture shimmer also in Greek sports (Sansone 1988).

Murder, slaughter, and blood easily result from the battue-beating context, or the hunting aspect. The problem is, and has been, the gathering (or the later agricultural) aspect which has left only vague remnants. If we assume that the action meaning shifts to the result of the action (as is quite common) we will get a rather natural solution for the long-standing problem of the name of Persephone. There are quite a number of forms, e.g., Περσεφόνεια, -φόνη, -φασσα/-φαττα (and more; see Petersmann 1986), not to speak of the problems of the first part (Φερσε-/Φερρε-, with an aspirated initial). We have to take the endings as *$g^who n$-es-yh_2*, *$g^w hon\bar{a}$*, and *$g^w hnti$-*. The initial has been mostly connected with πέρθω 'waste, ravage', but Fraenkel found here an s-aorist of φέρω: Φερσε-, which is not otherwise attested in Greek (but cf. Sanskrit *abhārsīt, abhārisam, bharsat*). But such semantics is mirrored in Hesychius' ἡ φέρουσα τὸ ἄφενος 'the one [earth] carrying riches'.

There is general agreement that the Demeter/Persephone complex contains much from the Pre-Greek culture, but such a situation need not mean that the name itself could not in essence be inherited from Proto-Indo-European or Pre-Greek. The whole situation is admirably portrayed in Petersmann (1986), who ties it all in with Oriental parallels and Greek religion. The main aspect that arises is that Persephone was originally a sun goddess. Since the sun does go down (into the earth or the sea) at night to rest, sun goddesses are at the same time earth and underworld goddesses, and when the yearly cycle is added, nature and harvest aspects get included. Fire as an index of both light and warmth substitutes easily for the sun in nightly rituals, and so on, and springs as entrances to the underworld (also caves) and as life supports become obvious cult sites. Petersmann takes up the old(er) idea that the names Perse(s), Perseus, and Persephone go together. These names are closely connected with the sun in Greek myths, but Petersmann can quote Lycophron (3rd cent. B.C.) as actually using a word πέρρα for 'sun' in a sentence where the Persian arrows καλύψει πέρραν. He can now assume that there was an Aegean word *πέρσα, whose origi-

nal meaning was apparently 'fire, light', and this is then combined
with the 'swell'-root to produce the name Persephone with the basic
meaning 'the one full of fire/light, exuding fire (die von Feuer, Licht
Übervolle)'. Such an interpretation works fine for the attested usages
in early and later Greek, but is this necessarily the starting point? Do
we not get a better reading by taking the last part as 'produce'? Note
that φορά is also 'produce, crop, fruit' (cf. German *Ertrag*). It would
seem that was originally what nature carried and put forth, and ἄφενος
what man was able to throw together (*φονά; cf. Russian *vy'gon* 'gain,
profit'), although in the name of the goddess (and elsewhere) this distin-
ction is gone. I suggest that a personified *'sun's produce' gives us
the simplest solution as the starting point. (But it is true that today
the destruction [Περσε-] and death/killing [φονή ∼ φόνος] interpretations
predominate).

In the yearly cycle Persephone has to spend about a third of the
year in the underworld to produce every year the great wonder of her
return upstairs, wonder to both gods and men. This central fact is not
easy to interpret, witness Burkert (1985: 160):

> Since antiquity, this myth has been understood as a piece of transparent nature
> allegory: Kore [=Persephone] is the corn which must descend into the earth
> so that from seeming death new fruit may germinate; her ascent is the sea-
> sonal return of the corn, 'when the earth blooms with spring flowers'. For all
> that, this account does not accord with the pattern of the growth in Medite-
> rranean lands, where the corn germinates a few weeks after the autumn sowing
> and then grows continuously. For this reason, Nilsson proposed an alternative
> construction of the myth: Kore's descent into the underworld is the storing
> of the seed-corn in underground silos during the dry summer months when,
> in Mediterranean climate, all vegetation is threatened with desiccation. At
> the time of the first autumn rains, four months after the harvest, the seeds
> are taken from the subterranean keep, Kore returns, and the cycle of vege-
> tation begins anew. This undoubtedly fits the facts much better, but the Greeks
> did not understand the myth in this way; we are taken back to pre-Greek,
> perhaps neolithic times.

Indeed, and furthermore, those are the times we are interested
in! Demeter and Persephone swap epithets, as mothers and daughters
do with clothing, and one of them is Demeter's θεσμοφόρος 'law-giving'
(earliest in Herodotus). Both are called τὼ Θεσμοφόρω (Aristophanes)
and αἱ Θεσμοφόροι, and Pindar calls Persephone πότνια θεσμοφόρος (the
epithet is assigned to Dionysos in the Orphic tradition). The question
is, and it must remain a question, is there a vestige of that Pre-Greek

possibility in interpreting the compound as containing Anacreon's (earlier than Herodotus!) θεσμὸς = θησαυρός, which would now provide a storage aspect (supported by Hsch. θεσμοί· συνθέσεις τῶν ξύλων 'stacked-up wood?'). When we also take the ending with the reading suggested above, the epithet could have gone, originally, something like 'storagecrops': Demeter of the Stored Crops, Demeter of the Granary. This is part of the order of life, as is more strongly, although more abstractly, there in θεσμὸς as law. Hera surpassed Demeter as a family or social-order goddess, and Dionysos is not connected with any kind of order at all, just wine, intoxication, pell-mell, and madness (cf. Burkert 1985: 161-167). Wine would at least belong to Demeter's cellars. The evidence here is not too solid, since we have a hapax, and it is further aggravated by θεσμός and νόμος, two law words, occurring in subsequent lines (Symp. hemi. 2/2B):

Δότε μοι λύρην 'Ομήρου   ὑπὸ σώφρονος δὲ λύσσης
φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς·   μετὰ βαρβίτων ἀείδων
φέρε μοι κύπελλα θεσμῶν,   τὸ παροίνιον βοήσω·
φέρε μοι νόμους κεράσσας,   δότε μοι λύρην 'Ομήρου
μεθύων ὅπως χορεύσω,   φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς.

'Give me Homer's lyre, without a string of murder; bring me cups from the storage-rooms, having mixed [them] bring me melodies, so that drunken I will dance a choral dance, under wise madness singing with *barbitoi* I will shout the wine-encounter; give me Homer's lyre, without a string of murder'.

The poet points out that he would avoid the killing chords of Homer's epic, although he asks for epic lyre melodies; in line 4 the mixing word is a civilized wine treatment and consumption term (with two verbs sharing the object; the cutting of wine would of course rather have the singular, οῖνον κεράσαι). The whole thing is drinking and being boisterously merry. No laws enter. A storage idea is still a good possibility. In fact, the use of these two words is probably intentional punning, a reversal of the social order the words would primarily convey, thus in a way establishing a Dionysian order. The words at the line seam 3/4 could hint at the later θεσμοφόρος. Note that practically all of the authorities take Latin Consus (god of the granary) from *condere* 'to store' (i.e., the same ubiquitous *dhə-* as in θε-; see Radke 1965: 18, 21-22), who was closely connected with Ops (Abundance, Harvest

[cf. ἄφενος], with her festivals Opiconsiva and Opalia, and her epithet *opifera* [cf. Opifera, Radke 1965: 12]), and other harvest aspects as deities. e.g., Ceres (closest in function to Demeter and Kore) and Terra / Tellus. Consus had his altar in an underground facility over which the Circus Maximus was later built, and, indeed, the oldest way of storing grain and produce was underground. The θεσ- (*$dh\partial_1s$-) as in θεσμός might have a direct counterpart in the Sanskrit name *Dhiṣána*, of a deity presiding over wealth and gain (*$dh\partial_1s$-eno-).

"What does he know of England who only England knows?" We saw above (in a few selected examples) that the glory of Greek comes out best when taken together with the other Indo-European languages. Although Finnish parallels were just hinted at (to be found in Anttila [2000]), they remind us of the fact that the student can profitably go beyond Indo-European to find typological depth and semantic justification in his or her own language.

Author's address:
University of California, Los Angeles

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