

Bei der Wurzel *\*genə-* sind scheinbare *aniṭ*-Formen auffallend weit verbreitet. Sie fordern aber keineswegs den Ansatz einer grundsprachlichen Doppelheit von *\*genə-* und *\*gen-*. Viel eher wird es sich darum handeln, daß in einigen Formen das wurzelschließende *-ə-* vor einem folgenden Vokal geschwunden war<sup>11)</sup>. Die auf diesem Wege entstandene sekundäre *aniṭ*-Wurzel *\*gen-* hat sich über ihren ursprünglichen Geltungsbereich hinaus ausgebreitet. Auch in der im Hexameter verwendbaren Aoristform ἐγένετο liegt diese ursprüngliche *aniṭ*-Wurzel *gen-* vor. Es ist nicht nötig, von einer lautlich bedingten Synkope bei ἐγένετο → ἐγεντο zu sprechen. Vielmehr kann die Bildung von ἐγεντο durch paradigmatischen Ausgleich im Wurzelaorist *\*genə-*, der sekundär die Hochstufe durchgeführt hatte, erklärt werden<sup>12)</sup>.

## Greek ἐγήρα

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The Greek *s*-aorist differs from the pattern usually reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European in the ablaut grade of its stem-internal vocalism. For the protolanguage the prevailing view is to assign lengthened-grade vocalism to the active indicative (and injunctive) forms (at least in the singular), e.g. pres. *\*weghe-* 'conveys': aor.

wurde. Die Schwierigkeit bei diesem Erklärungsversuch liegt sicherlich darin, daß der transitive *sa*-Aorist *gensə-* bei einer *set*-Wurzel *genə-* unerwartet ist. Dieser *sa*-Aorist setzt seinerseits das Vorhandensein der sekundären *aniṭ*-Wurzel *gen-* voraus. Die Entstehung von *\*gen-* aus *\*genə-* bedarf daher immer noch einer Rechtfertigung. Als die sekundäre *aniṭ*-Wurzel *\*gen-* im Wurzelaorist ἐγεντο vorlag, konnte nach der Proportion λέξατο : λέκτο = X : -γεντο die Neubildung X = *gensato* entstehen. Die von Cardona erwogene Analogie genügt zur Erklärung von ἐγεντο nicht.

<sup>11)</sup> Über die scheinbare *aniṭ*-Wurzel *\*gen-* siehe noch Cowgill, Evidence for Laryngeals 148 und Beekes, The development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek 244. Die *aniṭ*-Wurzel *gen-* war lautgesetzlich im *es*-Stamm *\*genə-os* > *\*genos* (> γένος) und in der thematischen Bildung *\*gonə-o-* > *\*gon-o-* (> γόνος) entstanden. Ferner schwand *-ə-* vor vokalisch anlautendem Personalkennzeichen im Perfekt, so daß auch 1. Sg. *\*gegona-a* > *\*gegona* (> γέγονα) und 3. Sg. *\*gegona-e* > *\*gegone* (> γέγονε) zu einer *aniṭ*-Wurzel *\*gen-* zu gehören schienen.

<sup>12)</sup> In sehr knapper Form wurde die im Text vertretene Lösung unabhängig von R. Normier, KZ 94 (1980) 258, Anm. 25 vorgeschlagen.

3sg. *\*wēǵh-s-t*<sup>1</sup>). In Greek, however, for the most part the *s*-aorist simply repeats the vocalism of the present, e.g. *λέγω: ἔλεξα*<sup>2</sup>). Worth emphasizing here is that the *s*-aorist, which in Proto-Indo-European was a late formation with a limited distribution, had become highly productive in Greek (as elsewhere) by historical times. In the course of this expansion the *s*-aorist came to replace a number of earlier root-aorist formations, whose root vocalism it copied. In other words the full grade inherited in the earlier root aorists was maintained in the innovative sigmatic forms that ultimately replaced them. Thus *ἔζενα* for *\*(H)yeug-n* (: Ved. inj. *yojam*)<sup>3</sup>).

Szemerényi 1970:264 has perceptively noted the survival of an older *s*-aorist stem with lengthened-grade vocalism in Gk. 3sg. *ἐγήqa* 'grew old'. He reconstructs a preform *\*gēr-s-n*, which would yield (pre-)Gk. 1sg. *\*ēyḡa*, a form substantiated in Szemerényi's view by the attested pple. *ἡγαυτ-*. My purpose in this study is to discuss at some length the implications of Szemerényi's contribution: in particular to comment on certain difficulties that his reconstruction entails and to suggest a few details concerning the structure and semantics of the PIE root *\*gērH₂-* (better than *\*gēr-*) and its morphological prehistory in Greek and elsewhere.

The first difficulty with Szemerényi's reconstruction is that it disregards the manifest *set* character of the root. Within Greek itself this is plainly evidenced by the indisputably archaic noun *γέρας* 'gift of honor, privilege (accorded to venerability) < \*old ago'<sup>4</sup>). We are dealing here with an ancient proterokinetic neuter

<sup>1</sup>) Szemerényi 1970:263–5 gives a lucid review of the general problem with pertinent references. Cf. further Insler 1972:59, Rix 1976:216–7.

<sup>2</sup>) Schwyzler 1939:751, Szemerényi 1970:263. The exceptions, e.g. *ἔτεσσα*, provide no evidence that bears significantly on the problems we are concerned with here.

<sup>3</sup>) Cf. Rix 1976:217. In this way we perceive the relationship between archaic *λέκτο* (e.g. *Od.* 5.487) and innovative *ἐλέξατο* (e.g. *Il.* 9.666) and between innovative *ἔσσα* (< *\*sed-s-*) and the archaic root-aorist formations discernible in Vedic (e.g. subj. *sád-a-thaḥ*), on which see Cardona 1963:14–16. In such cases the vocalism of the present (if one existed) is of little importance.

<sup>4</sup>) For the semantic prehistory of *γέρας* cf. Frisk 1960:299, 305; Chantraine 1968:220, who note that the original meaning of *γέρας* survives in the derivative *γεραῖος*. The process whereby a formal neologism, e.g. *γῆρας*, takes over the primary function of an older form, e.g. *γέρας*, so that the latter continues as bearer solely of an earlier secondary function has been examined in great detail by Kuryłowicz 1964:10–14 et passim.

*s*-stem, nom.  $*\acute{g}érH_2-s-\emptyset$ : gen.  $**\acute{g}rH_2-és-(o)s \rightarrow *gerH_2-és-os$  (i.e.  $*\acute{g}erásos$ , whence  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  with accent after  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ )<sup>5</sup>). The prime example of the type is, of course,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  ( $< *qréwH_2-s-\emptyset$ ), cf. Skt. *kravíh*<sup>6</sup>).

The assumption of *seṭ* root structure finds additional support in the derivative  $\gamma\rho\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , gen.  $\gamma\rho\tilde{\alpha}(F)\acute{o}\varsigma$  'old woman'. Scholars have not reached a consensus as to the precise morphological ancestry of this word, but at least the laryngeal basis ( $\gamma\rho\tilde{\alpha}- < *\acute{g}rH_2-$  or  $\acute{g}reH_2-$ ) seems indicated. A datum to be considered here is that  $\gamma\rho\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$  serves as feminine counterpart to the lexicalized former pple.  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau-$  'old man'. This suggests primary deverbative formation, and we are reminded of the feminine noun  $\nu\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$  'ship' (lit. 'the one (f.) that floats, swims'), built to the root  $*neH_2-$  with a suffixal *u*-element<sup>7</sup>). Hence  $\gamma\rho\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$  is etymologically 'the one (f.) that is aging, aged' in contrast to  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  'the one (m.) that is aging, aged'.

<sup>5</sup>) This morphological type has been carefully studied by Schindler 1975: 259–267, esp. 265ff. Schindler cautiously notes (267) the possibility that the long  $-\eta-$  of  $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  may point to older acrostatic inflection (nom.  $*\acute{g}érH_2-s-\emptyset$ : gen.  $*\acute{g}érH_2-s-os$ ). That such a pattern may once have existed remains an open possibility, but in the specific case of  $\acute{g}erH_2-$  I think proterokinetic inflection more likely: (1) the semantics (cf. fn. 4 above) favor the view that  $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  is a neologism, (2) the spread of long vocalism throughout the entire verb, e.g.  $*\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega \rightarrow \gamma\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ , could readily have encouraged replacement of  $\gamma\epsilon\rho-$  by  $\gamma\eta\rho-$  in nominal derivatives, (3) proterokinetic accent and ablaut are attested in the Rigvedic *s*-stem, abl.  $\acute{jarásah}$  (7.71.5a, 8.67.20c), inst.  $\acute{jarásā}$  (10.86.11d), which are in all likelihood continuations of the expected weak stem  $*\acute{g}(e)rH_2-és-$ . The acc. sg.  $\acute{jarásam}$  (1× each Books I and X), on the other hand, seems to me to be an innovation built after the replacement of  $bhīśā \rightarrow bhiyāsā$ ,  $uśāh \rightarrow uśāsah$ , etc., in accordance with the proportion  $bhiyāsā : bhiyāsam, uśāsah : uśāsam = \acute{jarásā}, \acute{jarásah} : X$ . Another possibility is that  $\acute{jarásam}$  is really a transformed adj.  $*\acute{jaras}-ā-$ . For the type cf.  $\acute{parus}-ā-$  'knotty':  $\acute{párus}$  'knot',  $\acute{tamas}-ā-$  (AV +) 'dark-colored':  $\acute{támas}$  'darkness'. A philological detail that speaks in favor of this view is that in both Rigvedic attestations, as at AV 1.30.3c,  $\acute{jarásam}$  is linked with the neuter noun  $\acute{áyuh}$ . (On this point cf. Renou 1958:20.) We may be dealing here with an original phrase  $*\acute{jarasám} \acute{áyuh}$  'aging time-span, span of time within which the process of aging takes place and reaches completion' with later (redactional?) reanalysis of the former adjective as a noun (accent after inherited  $\acute{jarás}-ah, -ā$ ). On Ved. acc. sg. f.  $\acute{jará}-m$  see Mayrhofer 1956:421.

<sup>6</sup>) Risch 1974:87 correctly assigns  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  to this type while noting the *seṭ* character of the underlying PIE root. Cf. further Beekes 1969:201 with lit.

<sup>7</sup>) Again the morphological details are not a matter of universal agreement. The fundamental analysis prerequisite to their solution is still Szemerényi 1956:184–6 (with lit.). Cf. the summary in Szemerényi 1970:165. Alternatively Rix 1976:147 reconstructs an "amphidynamic" paradigm.

However, the decisive evidence that we are dealing with a base *\*gerH<sub>2</sub>-* rather than *\*ger-* comes from outside of Greek. The most closely related set of forms, plainly etymologically comparable, appear in Vedic in connection with the verb *jāra-ti*, *-te* 'makes, grows old'. The root is indisputably *set*. Witness the collateral pres. *jūr-ya-*, aor. *jāri-ṣ-*, pple. *jūr-ná-* together with the derivative *jari-mán-* 'old age, decrepitude'<sup>8)</sup>. These forms speak for themselves. We are fully entitled to reconstruct a fundamental simple thematic present stem *\*gērH<sub>2</sub><sup>e</sup>/o-* on the basis of Ved. *jāra-*, *jāra-nt-* = Gk. *γέρωντ-*. Moreover, there is every likelihood that this *forme de fondation* came to build an *s*-aorist *\*gērH<sub>2</sub>-s-* (at least in some late dialect of IE ancestral to Greek and Indo-Iranian) and that it was associated with a group of derivatives of which the neuter *s*-stem *\*gerH<sub>2</sub>-és-* (Ved. *jārás-*, Gk. *γέρα-*) is well evidenced.

It follows that Gk. *ἐγήρᾱ* is in some way the continuation of the old aor. *\*gērH<sub>2</sub>-s-*. Not only is this preform in accord with the Vedic evidence, but it enjoys the further advantage of avoiding the second difficulty with Szemerényi's reconstruction, i.e. the need to explain why 1sg. *\*ἐγηρᾱ* (< Szemerényi's *\*gēr-s-η*) and presumably 3sg. *\*ἐγηρῃ* furnished a paradigm that was unstable in prehistoric Greek.

This difficulty is not inconsiderable. Szemerényi's analysis requires us to assume a prehistoric transformation, e.g. 3sg. *\*ἐγηρῃ* → *ἐγήρᾱ*, but it is hard to understand the motivation for the process. Why would so stable and productive a formation as the *s*-aorist be discarded in favor of the unproductive type exhibited, say, by *ἔστᾱ*<sup>9)</sup>? The assumption becomes even less credible when we recall that Homeric *ἐγήρᾱ* was itself quite soon afterwards recast to *ἐγήρᾱσε* in accordance with the expanding sigmatic pattern. It is quite true, to be sure, that the compensatory lengthening in other *s*-aorists to Greek *verba liquida* is chronologically a later phenomenon as shown, for example, by such unlengthened survivals as Hom. *ἔκπεσα* : Att. *ἔκπεα*. This suggests that if Greek had inherited a form *\*ἐγηρ(σ)ῃ* alongside of pres. *\*γέρω* the forces of analogy would rather have tended to reshape it as *\*ἐγερσα*, *\*ἐγειρα*, or the like, after a stable and productive pattern that survived long into

<sup>8)</sup> All of the forms are Rigvedic. Moreover, that the long *-ā-* of the aor. *jāri-ṣ-* is an accessory morphologic marking in no way connected with the laryngeal of the root is plainly evidenced by *jari-mán-*.

<sup>9)</sup> Att.-Ion. *ἔστη*. I shall cite this verb in its older non-Ionic form, which is better suited for comparison.

historical Greek. Even from Modern Greek examples can be cited, e.g. *ἔμεινα* : *μένω*, *ἔσπειρα* : *σπείρω σπέρνω*, et al.

The question that arises now is how ἐγήρᾱ managed to preserve a lengthened root-internal vocalism inherited from the PIE *s*-aorist in contrast to the overwhelming array of examples (*ἔκερσα*, *ἔλεξα*, *ἔδειξα*, et al.) that point clearly to a prehistoric shortening of the internal vowel. In the case of *CERT*-roots the shortening may have been phonologic<sup>9a</sup>). But it has long been recognized that no such explanation is available for the *CET*-roots (type: *ἔπεσα*, *ἔλεξα*)<sup>10</sup>).

What needs to be emphasized in this connection is that the *s*-aorist of the protolanguage was a highly motivated category. Originally it served to provide roots of durative lexical Aktionsart with a complexive stem denoting the limitation or completion of the verbal action in time. Punctual roots, on the other hand, in Proto-Indo-European formed root aorists in opposition to characterized present-imperfect stems. The complexive *s*-aorist, however, was from the outset dominated by the present. It was the marked member of the opposition, the *forme fondée*<sup>11</sup>). It should also be emphasized that many durative roots had not yet formed aorists at all in Proto-Indo-European times but remained *praesentia tantum*<sup>12</sup>). The productive expansion of the sigmatic formation in many branches of Indo-European forms part of the prehistory of the specific dialect involved.

In the case of Greek this expansion entailed the spread of the *s*-aorist to a variety of stem types that originally had been confined to the present system. In particular to derived verbs such as

<sup>9a</sup>) Through the operation of Osthoff's law, cf. e.g. Schwyzler 1939:279, Lejeune 1972:219–20, Rix 1976:56. It is worth noting, as Rix 1969:170 has pointed out, that participles of the type *θελς*, *θευτ-* can no longer stand as witnesses to this law if we follow Hoffmann 1969:4 with fn. 13 in reconstructing *\*dhH<sub>1</sub>-ént-* and not *\*dhē-nt-*, i.e. /d<sup>h</sup>eH<sub>1</sub>nt-/ , etc.

<sup>10</sup>) See Schwyzler 1939:751. Watkins 1962:23–6 examined this problem in great detail and with valuable insights. However, Watkins' conclusion that the *s*-aorist of the protolanguage did not exhibit lengthened-grade root vocalism cannot be accepted. In addition to the literature cited in note 1 above see Kuryłowicz 1963:207–8 and W. P. Schmid 1963:225–6.

<sup>11</sup>) On the system of lexical and grammatical Aktionsarten in the Greek and Slavic verbs see Schelesniker 1959:390–409, esp. 398–402. A neat sketch of the situation in PIE is given by Sadnik 1962:241–3 and Aitzetmüller 1962a:250–2, 256–7, 1962b:312–4. Cf. further Strunk 1968:296–8, fn. 32, Hoffmann 1970:28–31. I have discussed these matters somewhat more fully in Barton: Forthcoming.

<sup>12</sup>) Cf. e.g. Meillet 1937:199–200.

(former) iteratives (type: φορέω : ἐφόρησα), causatives (φοβέω : ἐφόβησα) and especially denominatives of many different formal structures (e.g. φυλάττω : ἐφύλαξα, βασιλεύω : ἐβασίλευσα, et al.). The ancient inherited formal canon  $Ce(R)C(e/o)- \rightarrow C\bar{e}(R)C-s-$  could not be adapted to a significant number of the present stems that were now beginning to form *s*-aorists (e.g. \**phulak-ye-*). As a result a new and simpler canon began to emerge:  $X- \rightarrow X-s-$ . This new canon was potentially applicable to any present stem irrespective of its phonotactic structure: i.e. not only to the new (largely) derived present stems but also to the old inherited primaries that still formed aorists after the ancient inherited pattern. The reverse was not true. The competing allomorphy could find only one resolution. The new canon would spread and ultimately swamp out the older severely restricted pattern<sup>13</sup>).

Hence the present, which continued to be the fundamental form in the system, came to impose its radical allomorph on the founded sigmatic aorist even in the case of primary  $Ce(R)C$ -verbs. The dominant role of the present is clearly to be seen in such manifestly neological formations as ἐδίδαξα ἔκλινα (root \**klei-*), in which formants originally functioning to characterize the present system have been transmitted to the *s*-aorist<sup>14</sup>).

<sup>13</sup>) It is within this general framework that the phonologic shortening in the types ἔδειξα ἔκρησα has significance, for this sound change would have contributed materially to the spread of the new formal pattern. A supportive role may also have been played by the neosigmatic former root aorists like ἔξευξα (cf. above, fn. 3), ἐπέρσα (cf. below, fn. 39), with unlengthened vocalism; and by such nonfundamental categories as subjunctive and future.

<sup>14</sup>) Cf. Schwyzler 1939:752. Parallels elsewhere are not uncommon. Compare the Latin type *iunxit* with unhistorical *-n-* extended from *iungō* and especially Cl. Lat. *iussit* (for older *iouxit*) with shortened root vocalism due at least as much to *iubeō* as to *iussus* (cf. Sommer 1914:557).

Note further the Pali types: pres. 3sg. *puccha-ti* 'asks' → aor. 1sg. *apucchissam*, 3sg. *apucchi* in contrast to Skt. pres. *prccha-ti*: aor. 3sg. *aprākṣi-t*; Pali *nisīdati* 'sits down' → aor. 3sg. *nisīdi* (: Skt. *-sadat*); Pali *bhīndati* 'breaks, splits' → *abhiṇdi* (with older *abhida* surviving at *Dīgha-Nikāya* 2.107<sup>5</sup> and repetitions, *Jātaka* 3.29<sup>17</sup> [verse], cf. *abbhidā* at e.g. *Jā.* 2.163<sup>25</sup> [verse], glossed with *abhiṇdi* by the commentator [*JaCo.* 2.164<sup>6</sup>]). For more details pertinent to this process of innovation see Mayrhofer 1951: 158–9. Mayrhofer correctly ascribes the impetus for these transformations to the dominant position of the present stem in the Pali verbal system. The basic facts together with an analytical explanation have been available since Torp 1881:71–9, whose concept of "das Streben nach Deutlichkeit" (71, cf. 78) still holds theoretical validity today. Cf. here also Geiger 1943:198–

But in the particular case of \**gerH₂-*, or more precisely its pre-Greek continuation, the *s*-aorist, originally expressive of complexive grammatical Aktionsart with a durative root, came to be felt as

201, §§ 167–9. Especially instructive are the aorist forms built to present stems from roots of the shape *Car-*. Specifically, to pres. *harati* ‘takes’ the aor. *ahāsi* (= Skt. *ahārṣit*) of canonical Pali (*Sutta-Nipāta*, *Dhammapada*) begins to be replaced by *-hari* in later texts (cf. e.g. the set phrase *atītam āhari* ‘he brought up the past’ common in *Jātaka* prose, *Dhammapada-Commentary*, etc.). Note especially the glosses in the commentaries: to *ahāsi* (*Dh.* 3) we find *avahari* (*DhCo.* 1.44<sup>3</sup>); to 3pl. (*mā*) *ahamsu* (*Jā.* 5.200<sup>6</sup>, verse), (*mā*) *āharimsu* (*JāCo.* 5.200<sup>18</sup>); to *pahāsi* (*Vimāna-Vatthu* 29<sup>8</sup>), *pahari* (*VvCo.* [= *Paramattha-Dīpanī*, part 4] 123). To pres. *tarati* ‘crosses, passes over’ the older aor. *atāri* (*Sutta-Nipāta*, = Skt. *atārīt*) soon finds competition from *atari* (e.g. *Jā.* 3.189<sup>24</sup>, 3.453<sup>16</sup> [-i], both verse). Note the coexistence of the competing stems already at *Sn.* 1045–6, *kaccim su te . . . appamattā atāru jātīñ ca jarañ ca . . . || . . . te . . . nātarimsu jātijaran ti . . .* ‘have not those . . . (who are) zealous passed beyond both birth and old age? . . . they . . . have not passed beyond birth and old age . . .’ (cf. 1079–80). To present *carati* ‘goes, moves about’ the older *acāri* (*Sutta-Nipāta*, *Dhammapada*) begins to give way before innovatory *acari* (already *Sn.* 344). Cf. further, for example, the repetition of *acār’ utāyam . . . vanāni . . .* ‘now this (bird) moved about . . . the forests . . .’ (*Jā.* 2.163<sup>22</sup>, verse) as *acari vatāyam . . .* at *DhCo.* 1.144<sup>15</sup>. As a final example to pres. *karoti* ‘does, makes’ we find alongside of the inherited *s*-aor. 3sg. *akāsi*, 3pl. *akamsu akāsu(m)* (= Skt. *akārṣit*, *akārṣuḥ*) an emerging “regular” aorist formation 3sg. *kari* (e.g. *DhCo.* 1.4<sup>5</sup>, with *akari* already at *D.* 2.157<sup>13</sup>), 3pl. *karimsu* (common); for further details Geiger 1943: 197–8, § 166. Similarly in Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit we find aor. 1sg. *akarissam* and, for the final stage of the process, even 3pl. *-kuvvimsu*, built to the innovatory thematic pres. stem *kuvva-* (3sg. *kuvva-i*) (forms from Pischel 1900:359–60).

In Slavic to pres. 3sg. *vede-tz* ‘leads’ the inherited *s*-aorist pattern, 1sg. *věsz*: 3sg. \**vě*, was disrupted in the first instance by the penetration of former imperfect 2, 3sg. *vede*. The resultant system of the earliest Old Church Slavonic MSS (Marianus, Sinai Psalter, Clozianus) was itself soon (Supsrasiensis) transformed into 1sg. *vedoxz* (West Slavic independently to *vedech*): 3sg. *vede*, and the replacement of the root allomorph *vě* (morphophonemically *věd-*), historically at home in the *s*-aorist, by the allomorph *ved-*, at home in the fundamental present, becomes complete. For more details see, e.g., Diels 1932:238–40, Vaillant 1966:57.

As a final typological parallel consider within the New English suffixed-preterite, the productive and expanding category as against the ablaut-preterite, such innovatory forms as *dream-ed* (/driymd/) *kneeled leant* (with root vocalism copied from the fundamental presents) that have emerged to compete alongside of older *dreamt* (/dremt/) *knelt leant* (with suffix accompanied by alteration of the root vocalism from that of the present). In standard New English the replacement of *dempt* by *deemed* and of *semp* by *seemed* has been complete.

terminative, i.e. nondurative (punctual). This shift in grammatical Aktionsart, complexive → terminative, had as a direct consequence the morphological transformation whereby the neological characterized present *γηράσκω* replaced the inherited simple thematic present *\*γέρω*, canonically to be expected with durative roots<sup>15</sup>). (As already noted the older stem survives in Ved. *jāra-* and in Gk. *γέρο-ντ-* 'old man', the lexicalized former present participle<sup>16</sup>.)

The model for the transformation *\*γέρω* → *γηράσκω* is to be found in the well-defined group of verbs in Greek that exhibit *sk*-presents to either (1) root aorists or (2) neosigmatic aorists and whose roots are inherently nondurative (terminative, ingressive, momentaneous) in lexical Aktionsart. Of at least late Indo-European provenience is (ē-)βᾱ : βᾱ-σκω cf. Ved. *á-gā-t á-gan : gá-ccha-ti* with originally terminative Aktionsart as rightly noted by Delbrück 1897:59–61<sup>17</sup>). Further examples of archaic character are *ἔμ(ε)ικτο : μίσγω* (< *\*mig-ske-*) 'mingle, mix' (terminative), (ē-)δρᾱ : -διδρᾶσκω<sup>18</sup>) 'run off, run away' (terminative), (ē-)γινω : γινώσκω<sup>19</sup>) 'recognize, take cognizance of, be(come) aware' (momentaneous)<sup>20</sup>).

<sup>15</sup>) For the type cf. e.g. *\*bhére-ti* 'is carrying', *\*wéghe-ti* 'is conveying', *\*sérpe-ti* 'is crawling', et al.

<sup>16</sup>) The participial origin of *γέρων* has long been recognized, e.g. Brugmann 1906:454–61, esp. 460. Cf. further Specht 1936:215, Chantraine 1968:218 and Strunk 1967:107 with citations (fn. 298) of adjectival usage. Strunk's discussion is in support of his view that *τένων* 'sinew, tendon' is a lexicalized former root aorist pple. to *τάνν-ται*, cf. Ved. pres. 3sg. *tanó-ti* : aor. *á-tan*. For a discussion of the process of lexicalization whereby a derived form is reanalyzed as an independent lexical item and so rendered exempt from later changes affecting the fundamental form or system of forms see P. Kiparsky 1974:257–75, esp. 266–71, with numerous examples. The process is abundantly exemplified by the PIE *nt*-participle in various historical languages, cf. Brugmann 1906:650, who cites Gk. *ἄρχων*, Lat. *sapiēns*, NHG *Freund*, et al.

<sup>17</sup>) The durative root for 'go' in PIE was *\*ei-/i-*, which formed originally no aorist. Cf. Meillet 1937:199, Cowgill 1960:487.

<sup>18</sup>) Root aorist inflection in Indic is guaranteed by Ved. 2sg. inv. *drā-hi*, 3sg. *drā-tu*, etc. For the correct interpretation and alignment of these forms see Narten 1964:149–50.

<sup>19</sup>) On the Vedic root-aorist opt. *jñeyās* and the Indo-Iranian evidence for root-aorist inflection of this verb in PIE see Insler 1975:2, fn. 5.

<sup>20</sup>) Some additional Greek examples are *διδάσκω* 'teach' (term.), *θνήσκω* 'die' (moment.), *μυμνήσκω* 'remind' (term./moment.), *(ἐ)ίσκω* 'cause or deem to be similar' (term.), *θρώσκω* 'leap' (moment.), et al. The verbs in *-ίσκω* e.g. *εὑρίσκω* 'find' (moment.), *ἀραρίσκω* 'fit, join' (term.), would augment the group appreciably.



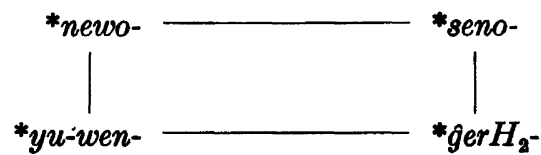
In the second subgroup we find ἐκόρεσα : κορέσκω 'satisfy, satisfy' (term.) ἤρεσα : ἄρεσκω 'please' (term./moment.), et al. That this formal pattern constituted a well-defined functional category is indicated by its having served as model to a few derived non-primary verbs, e.g. ἐμέθυσα : μεθύσκω 'make drunk' (term.), cf. also ἐγενεῖασα (γενεῖασα already *Od.* 18.176, 269) : γενειάσκω 'grow a beard' (term.). The form κορέσκω together with collateral κορέν-νῶμι is of interest here, since it furnishes a secure example of an *sk*-present built within historical Greek as a motivated *forme fondée* to a terminative aorist *forme de fondation*. Both present stems are in all probability neologisms struck within the historical period to fill out the paradigm of a verb that had earlier been defective<sup>21</sup>). The root pattern -ορε- (like the -η- of γηράσκω) cannot possibly derive from canonically acceptable present stem-formations (e.g. \*k<sub>r</sub>H<sub>3</sub>-ske- > \*κρωσκε-, and for the -n-present we would have to expect a \*κορνῶμι parallel to στόρνῶμι). It can only derive from the aorist, where ἐκόρεσα is simply the sigmatic replacement of an earlier (*set*) root aorist \*k<sub>er</sub>H<sub>3</sub>-t. Compare the morphologically parallel ἐστόρεσα 'spread out (bedding, etc.), made smooth' (term.) with its Atharvavedic (12.3.38) counterpart 2sg. *astarīs*, both for earlier root aor. \*sterH<sub>3</sub>-t<sup>22</sup>).

The reinterpretation in pre-Greek times of the aorist \*(ē-)γηρα-(σ)-a as terminative in grammatical Aktionsart was linked to a reinterpretation of the inherent semantics of the root, i.e. to a shift in lexical Aktionsart, from durative and atelic 'aging' to stative 'old'. In his painstakingly thorough study of this and related etyma Porzig 1954:343–9 points out that the root \*g<sub>er</sub>H<sub>2</sub>- (Porzig writes \*g<sub>erē</sub>-) stands in an eastern group (Greek, Armenian, Indo-Iranian) as opposite to \*yu-wen- 'young' (or a later replacement of this) to designate the biological age of living beings, whereas the pair \*newo- : \*seno- 'new' : 'old' refers to length or priority of time in use, in a given position, etc. In the West (Celtic, Germanic, Latin,

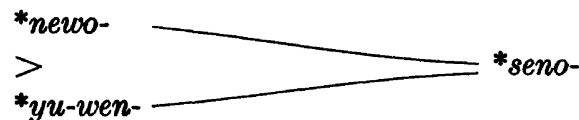
<sup>21</sup>) Frisk 1960:919, Strunk 1967:122, fn. 349; cf. Chantraine 1968:565–6.

<sup>22</sup>) Κορέννῶμι is simply morphophonemic {κορεσ-νῶ-}. The -n-present to \*sterH<sub>3</sub>-, however, is clearly ancient in the light of Ved. *stṛṇā*-, on the one hand, and OIr. *sernaid*, Lat. *sternit*, on the other. Strunk 1967:53–4, 1969:223 with fn. 15, has seen in the Latin and Irish forms an archaic present \*ster-n-H<sub>3</sub>- (\*sternā-): root-aor. \*sterH<sub>3</sub>- (cf. further fn. 39 below). For the original root-aorist inflection of \*sterH<sub>3</sub>- see Narten 1964:281, Strunk 1967:53, 113–4. On the distinction in Vedic, both formal and functional, between (*anī*) *stṛ*- and (*se*) *stṛ*- see Narten 1964:278–81 and Cowgill 1965:155.

Lithuanian) the situation is different. The marginal dialects (Celtic, Lithuanian) use *\*seno-* in opposition to both *\*yu-wen-* 'young' and *\*newo-* 'new'<sup>23</sup>). Porzig rightly observes that each of the respective geographical areas stands sufficiently well defined as a locus of linguistic innovation to preclude reliance on geographical distribution as a criterion for deciding about the state of affairs in the protolanguage. However, he suggests that the morphologic parallelism *\*sen-o-s* : *\*new-o-s* decisively favors archaic semantic alignment (i.e. antithesis) and that accordingly the original system, best preserved in the East, was as follows:



In the West the application of *\*seno-* in the sense of 'venerable' to the social position of the aged<sup>24</sup>) led by a process of metaphorical extension to the ouster of *\*gerH<sub>2</sub>-* as an attribute of human beings. Hence the innovatory asymmetrical system:



Porzig's morphological argument, however, is not compelling. In the first place the supposed counterpart to *\*gerH<sub>2</sub>-*, *\*yu-wen-* 'young', functioned, like *\*seno-* and *\*newo-*, as a primary (i.e. non-derived) adjective<sup>25</sup>). The morphological structure of the positive

<sup>23</sup>) In Latin and Germanic only in opposition to *\*yu-wen-*, but this is a manifest innovation. Cf. Porzig 1954:348.

<sup>24</sup>) "Sie stehen nicht mehr im aktiven Leben, aber sie verkörpern die ehrwürdige Tradition" (349).

<sup>25</sup>) *\*yu-wen-* is earlier *\*yu-Hen-* (more precisely *\*H<sub>2</sub>yu-Hen-*) as shown by zero-grade *\*yūn-* (cf. Ved. gen. *yūnaḥ*). See Hoffmann 1955:39–40. Etymological connection of *\*(H<sub>2</sub>)yew-* 'young' with *\*H<sub>2</sub>oyu* 'age, lifetime, eternity' does not invalidate the above analysis, since it is unclear that the derivational interrelationship was still felt vividly by late IE times. As in the historical languages PIE *\*yu-wen-* was a prime: the basic formal expression of a basic, universally human, concept.

differs from the simple *CeR-o-* shape of the latter two, but the indisputably archaic comparative *\*yew-yos-*<sup>26)</sup> provides sufficient formal parallelism (*\*yew-yos-* like *\*sen-yos-*, *\*new-yos-*)<sup>27)</sup> to indicate that *\*yew-/yu-* patterned in Proto-Indo-European with *\*sen-* and *\*new-*. In function too we find a parallelism: each of the three roots denotes a *state* not a process.

On the other hand, in Proto-Indo-European *\*gerH₂-* was fundamentally a verbal root, atelic and durative in lexical Aktionsart, denoting the *process* of aging. The formal evidence for this has already been presented: the simplest morphological structure we can recover—either by comparison or internally—is the simple thematic present stem *\*gerH₂e/o-*, which well accords with the assumption of inherent durative semantics. It is worth observing that no evidence for a comparative adj. *\*gerH₂-yos-* exists, because no adjective existed. Syntactic adjectives were furnished by the participles *\*gérH₂o-nt-* ‘aging’, *\*gṛH₂-nó-* ‘aged’. In the historical languages these forms became more or less lexicalized, and eventually *bona fide* adjectives, invariably of a markedly derivative character, came to be coined. But the formal disparity of these, cf. Ved. *jaraṇá-* ≠ Gk. *γεραῖός* ≠ *γεραρός*, etc., is more than enough to demonstrate their recent origin.

Moreover, Porzig’s 1954:348 observation<sup>28)</sup> that Slavic provides no evidence is not immediately acceptable. Surely there is no reason to doubt the cognation of OCS (*sz-*)*zbrě-ti* ‘to grow ripe’ and its congeners<sup>29)</sup>, and the semantics are quite in keeping with the assumption of an originally durative root<sup>30)</sup>. To clarify this point I shall briefly sketch the formal processes whereby a PIE simple thematic present *\*gerH₂e-*, which may well not yet have formed an

<sup>26)</sup> Secured by Rigvedic superl. *yáv-iṣ-ṭha-* (cf. post-Ved. cmpv. *yáv-īyas-*) in conjunction with OIr. *óa*, Welsh *ieu* ‘younger’, cf. Pokorny 1959:510, Szemerényi 1968:36.

<sup>27)</sup> Ved. *sán-yas-*, Lat. *seniōr-*, OIr. *sinu*; Ved. *náv-yas-*, etc.

<sup>28)</sup> “... mehrere Angehörige der Ostgruppe, nämlich Slawisch, Tocharisch, Hethitisch, in unserem Falle die Aussage verweigern”.

<sup>29)</sup> Recent (re-)affirmations of cognation can be found, for example, in Vasmer 1950–:462, Sadnik-Aitzetmüller 1955:336, Pokorny 1959:391, Vaillant 1966:371, V. Kiparsky 1975:30.

<sup>30)</sup> I shall not attempt here to settle such questions as (1) whether or not *\*gerH₂-* originally meant ‘rub’, (2) the prehistory of the word for ‘grain’ in northern and western IE, (3) whether Slav. ‘ripen’ is a specialized narrowing for earlier ‘be aging’ or the older meaning applied metaphorically to persons in certain eastern branches.

aorist in the dialect ancestral to Slavic, came to be replaced by the *zrě-je-* attested in the historical languages. Alongside of inherited simple thematic (Leskien's class I) *\*zere-* pre-Slavic fashioned a collateral derived class IV B verb with stative force, i.e. *\*zere-* 'be ripening' → *\*zīr-ī-/\*zīr-ē-* 'become ripe, be ripe'. Compare the commonly cited stative OCS *bŏdi-/bŏdĕ-* 'be awake' alongside of inherited *bljude-* 'watch, guard' (< *\*bheudhe-*, cf. Skt. *bódha-ti*, Gk. *πείθε-ται*, Goth. *-biuda-n*, etc.). To the "second" stem of this new derived stative pre-Slavic built a derived adjective in *\*-lo-*, which in addition to its regular function as "resultative" participle came to serve as the ordinary adjective for 'ripe'. On the other hand, the verbal forms proper were homonymous with the etymologically unconnected *\*zīr-ī-/\*zīr-ē-* 'see'. Hence there existed ample motivation for the transformation of the deverbative class IV present *\*zīrī-* to the denominative (secondary) stative class III A *\*zīr-ē-je-*<sup>31</sup>). The formerly derived adjective had become fundamental: *\*zīrē-lo-* now motivated *\*zīrē-je-* after the (imperfect) model of the type *\*stāro-* → *\*stār-ē-je-* (the transformation was moderated by the aorist *\*zīrē-s-*, which was common to both the older class IV and the new class III inflection). The significant parallel here, pertinent to the prehistory of Gk. *γηράσκω* is simply the shift in *lexical Aktionsart* on the part of *\*gerH₂-* in pre-Slavic from atelic durative 'be ripening, aging' to stative 'ripe'.

For the protolanguage, then, it seems best to follow Wackernagel 1914:114–5, fn. 1, in the view that the primary adjj. *\*seno-*, *\*newo-* and (quasi-primary) *\*yuwen-* formed a semantically correlated asymmetrical system: *\*seno-* served as antonym to each of the other two respectively. The root *\*gerH₂-* was primarily verbal and stood apart.

In pre-Greek *\*gerH₂-* underwent a semantic development comparable to that of its congener in Slavic: a shift in inherent semantics from durative and verbal to stative and substantival. The semantic common denominator to *γέρον*, *γῆρας*, *γηράσκω*, etc. is simply 'old', and by historical times the verb had long since ceased to be felt as a *forme de fondation*. Prehistorically this shift helped to motivate the transformation *\*γέρω* → *γηράσκω*. A much later consequence has been the creation in Middle and Modern Greek of the morphologically simple neofundamental *o*-stem substantive

<sup>31</sup>) On the similarly motivated transformation of *zrěti* to Czech *zráti* see Vaillant 1966:371.

γέρος 'old man', as against derived verb γερῶ, ἐγέρασα 'grow old, make old'. In this light the Armenian *o*-stem *cer*, gen. *ceroy* 'old man' has no claim to antiquity.

The results of the preceding investigation lead me to the view that Homer's ἐγήρᾱ<sup>32</sup>) is not a replacement of an earlier *s*-aorist. It is the inherited *s*-aorist (= Ved. *jāri-s*-). The phonological transformations that this view presupposes present no difficulty. In the fundamental third singular form, for example, after the replacement of PIE *\*-s-t* by pre-Gk. *\*-s-e(t)* we have *\*egērase(t) > \*egērahe > \*egērae > ἐγήρᾱ*. (For the contraction of word-final *\*-ae* to *-ā* we can compare the 3sg. imperf. (ἐ-)τίμᾱ < *\*-a(h)e* < *\*-aye(t)*<sup>33</sup>).

The attested nonfinite forms likewise present nothing that is difficult. The nom. sg. pple. γηράς continues an earlier *\*γηρά(σ)α(ν)ς* and the stem γηράντ- < *\*γηρά(σ)αντ-*. From this follows the acute accentuation of the nominative after the inherited pattern, στάρντ- : στᾶς = γηράντ- : X. It now also becomes clear why there has been confusion as to the shape of the infinitive: both γηράναι and γηράναι have authority. The former was readily fashioned to the base γηρά- after the loss of intervocalic *-σ-* but before contraction, i.e. when the aorist was still 3sg. *\*-(ἐ-)γήρᾱ-ε*. The replacement of awkward *\*γηρά-αι* (< *\*γηράσαι*) by γηράναι was no more than the automatic extension of the usual postvocalic allomorph *-ναι* as a consequence of the phonologic change that had brought about a restructuring

<sup>32</sup>) The final quantity is secured by *Od.* 9.510.

<sup>33</sup>) In this way we meet the objection raised by Osthoff 1906:237 against the view that ἐγήρᾱ was an asigmatic aorist continuing PIE *\*-ā-t*. With Osthoff we would in that case rather expect *\*ἐγήρη* in Homer and "Ionian" authors (e.g. Herodotus 6.72). But Osthoff's own belief (235–40), which unfortunately recurs occasionally in current literature, e.g. Pokorny 1959:391, that Greek originally formed simple presents *\*γέρᾱ-μι* (whence ultimately the attested pple. γηράς) and collaterally *\*γέρᾱ-ω* (whence ultimately the "imperf." ἐγήρᾱ) and that the *-η-* of the attested verbal forms in place of the expected *-ε-* was due to the influence of ῥέβᾱω is untenable on both functional and formal grounds. On Osthoff's patently forced interpretation of *Il.* 17.197, Hesiod *Op.* 185 and 189, et al. see Specht 1936:214–5, and note further *Od.* 14.67, where . . . κέ . . . ὤνησεν . . . εἰ . . . ἐγήρα can hardly be a "mixed" condition. The impossibility of trying to account for the *-η-* on the basis of ῥέβᾱω has been neatly and convincingly demonstrated by Frisk 1960:305. Moreover, from a strictly formal point of view Homer and Hesiod oppose the stems γηράσκει- : γηρά-. The first is unequivocally present. Can the second plausibly be considered a collateral variant of the first while the aorist is fortuitously unattested? Cf. further Chantraine 1973:380.

of the shape of the stem, i.e. *\*γηρᾶσ-* > *\*γηρᾶ-*<sup>34</sup>). The latter form, *γηρᾶναι*, is newer and arose only after contraction. The point of departure was 3sg. (-) *γήρᾶ*, now perceived as stem + zero-ending, with ample models in (-) *δρᾶ* → *δρᾶναι*, (-) *γνω* → *γνῶναι*, etc.<sup>35</sup>).

As Volkmar Schmidt 1968:15–18 has demonstrated, *-γήρᾶ* also served as the foundation for pf. (3sg.) *γε-γήρᾶ-κ-ε*, fut. *γηρᾶ-σε-*, verbal adj. *ᾶ-γήρᾶ-τος*, as well as neosigmatic aor. *ἐγήρᾶσα*. Schmidt's thorough documentation leaves no doubt that the nonaorist forms have *-ρᾶ-*. Nor is there any reason to "emend" to *-ρη-*. Schmidt rightly analyzes the intrans. aor. *ἐγήρᾶσα* (Hdt. 7.114 +) as a sigmatic extension of *ἐγήρᾶ* like *ἐβλώσα* : *ἐβλώ* or *κατέδῴσε* (*h. Ap.* 443) : *κατέδῴ*, and observes (fn. 49) that, "die sigmatische Erweiterung langvokalischer Wurzelaoriste einer gerade im Ionischen begonnenen, das Attische nur streifenden, in der Koine voll entwickelten Tendenz entspricht".

However, Schmidt goes on to defend the view that *ἐγήρᾶ* is an athematic root aorist (so too Chantraine 1968:220). Specifically, *ἐγήρᾶ* (with *-η-* from *γηρᾶς*) replaced an earlier *\*ἐγρᾶ*. This view, put forth by Schwyzler 1939:708 has also been adopted by Gil 1964:176, who explains the *-η-* on the basis of *ῆβη*. (In what follows I shall examine Schmidt's exposition in some detail, but I shall omit reference to other versions of the root-aorist hypothesis as well as to its history for reasons of space.)

Schmidt holds the *-ᾶ* to be an Aeolicism, which was preserved in the Ionic epic because at a certain point in the tradition the form was falsely interpreted as a contract imperfect. The basis for this misinterpretation was the transformation *\*ἐγρᾶ* → *ἐγήρᾶ*, which brought about a disyllabic base, an extremely rare structure for an old root aorist in *-ᾶ*.

<sup>34</sup>) Only in this sense is it correct to cite present infinitives of the type *ιστά-ναι*. As duly noted by Osthoff 1906:238 and Specht 1936:215, this comparison goes back to Herodian. Specht's proportion, *ιστάς* : *ιστάναι* = *γηρᾶς* : X, is imprecise. Not only is it unlikely that the shape of the infinitive depends upon the (nom. sg. of) the participle, but it is especially improbable that a present infinitive would serve as model for an aorist. We should expect rather *γηρᾶναι*, which in fact we find, after *στᾶναι*.

<sup>35</sup>) Such concurrent doublets are commonplace: cf. NEng. *dreamt* : *dreamed*, *lit* : *lighted*, et al. It is no surprise to find the archaic anomalous *γηρᾶναι* in Aeschylus (*Choeph.* 908) and the younger regularized *γηρᾶναι* in a play produced half a century later (Soph. *OC* 870).

The analysis, which is not only complicated and artificial but also forces us to make numerous unsupported suppositions, is untenable. Aeolic forms in Homer exist, but we are not compelled so to deem ἐγήρᾱ simply because of  $\bar{a}$  after  $\rho$ . And why does Schmidt neglect the good authority for γηράναι? Moreover, it is doubtful that contemporaries of Homer so misunderstood the categorical distinctions of their own language as to feel that ἐγήρᾱ was an imperfect. Even so, could the whole complex of *formes fondées* (γεγήρακε, etc.) in literary Ionic really have been built up on the basis of a wrongly interpreted borrowing from another dialect? And just how did an *imperfect* come to serve as a *forme de fondation*? Surely ἐγήρᾱ was felt by those who used it as a living form to be just what it had always been, an aorist. The only "misinterpretation" was formal: with the phonologic loss of  $-\sigma-$  it was no longer felt as an *s*-aorist but as a root aorist akin to ἔστᾱ. Hence γε-γήρᾱ-κ-ε like βέ-βη-κ-ε like ἔ-γνω-κ-ε to -γήρᾱ, -βη, -γνω, etc.

The scantily attested pple. γηρεῖς, γηρέντος (Xenophanes, *ALG* (Diehl-Beutler) I frg. 8(9); *ALG* III frg. iamb. adesp. 25 (26<sup>B</sup>); cf. *EM* 231, 2) cannot be used as evidence for a pre-Greek root aorist active that later fell together in Ionic with the  $\bar{e}$ -aorist (type: ἐμίγη). As the concurrent doublets attested in Herodotus (6.72: 7.114) indicate, ἐγήρᾱ was obsolescent (if not already obsolete) by this period. For an intransitive verb of state the  $\bar{e}$ -aorist was at least as suitable a formation as the *s*-aorist despite the greater productivity of the latter. Hence with Frisk 1960:304 and Chantraine 1968:220 γηρεῖς was simply remodeled after δαμείς, μυγείς, etc.

Of the difficulties in trying to explain the  $-\eta-$  of ἐγήρᾱ on the basis of γῆρας I shall cite three: (1) as Ved. *jarás-* and Gk. γέρας, γεραιός show, γῆρας is itself a relatively recent innovation, (2) it is hard to understand why γῆρας worked so quickly to recast the (formerly fundamental) verb and so slowly on its own proper derivatives (Homer still only γεραιός, γεραίτερος), (3) it is in principle unlikely that analogy would operate to produce an aberrant anomalous form from a previously canonical one.

Finally, the supposed root aor. \*ḡrᾱ itself is entirely without support either in Greek or elsewhere in Indo-European, and the assumption of a root aorist for this verb violates the principle that root aorists and uncharacterized presents did not anciently coexist as purely inflectional counterparts. Historical γηράσκω reflects nothing old, and surely to inherited pres. \*ḡérH<sub>2</sub>e-ti an

aor. *\*greH<sub>2</sub>-t* is unbelievable either as an inheritance or an innovation<sup>36</sup>).

In Attic intrans. *ἐγήρᾱσα* appears first in Xenophon and Plato, both of whom also furnish citations for the pres. *γηράω*, which entails aor. *ἐγήρᾱσα*. Hence the opposition we find in Aeschylus between intrans. *γηράναι* (*Choeph.* 908): trans.-csv. *ἐγήρᾱσαν* (*Supp.* 894) probably represents the norm of older Attic as of older Greek in general.

An objection to the findings of this study might be raised on the grounds that PIE *seř* roots formed sigmatic aorists of the type (*ē*-)πέρᾱ-σ(σ)-α in Greek<sup>37</sup>). But in fact this type has no bearing on the prehistory of *ἐγήρᾱ*. To put the matter simply: *πέρᾱσα* continues a PIE asigmatic root aorist—the sigmatization is a Greek *innovation*<sup>38</sup>). *ἐγήρᾱ* continues a PIE sigmatic aorist—it is a Greek *inheritance*. Unlike *\*gerH<sub>2</sub>-* the root *\*perH<sub>2</sub>-*, for example, is manifestly nondurative and telic in lexical Aktionsart. The characterized nonfundamental pres. *πέρνημι* is matched by OIr. *ernaid* ‘bestows’ as well as by *renaid* ‘sells’ and is in all likelihood of PIE provenience as the marked member of an opposition *-n*-present: root aorist<sup>39</sup>). Thus neither the mechanics nor the chronology of the

<sup>36</sup>) Perhaps this is put too strongly. But I know of no convincing demonstration of the existence in PIE of such a correlation on the inflectional plane and no clear explication of the position of such a pattern within the PIE Aktionsart-based system of tense-stem oppositions. Unconvincing, for example, is Hamp's 1976:90–1 attempt to reconstruct aor. *\*g<sup>w</sup>ieH<sub>3</sub>-* (> *ē*-βίω-ν) to athem. root pres. *\*g<sup>w</sup>eiH<sub>3</sub>-* (i.e. *\*g<sup>w</sup>eyə-* > Arm. *kea-m*). I think Hamp may be right about the present of this nonpunctual root, but Normier 1978:132–4, following an idea of Eric Francis, has convincingly identified *ἐβίωv* as a (stative) *ē*-aorist (< *\*g<sup>w</sup>iH<sub>3</sub>-eH<sub>1</sub>-*). Similarly *ἀλώ-ναι* (< *\*wlH<sub>3</sub>-eH<sub>1</sub>-*).

<sup>37</sup>) For the *-ā-* see e.g. *Od.* 15.428.

<sup>38</sup>) For the analysis of (*ē*-)πέρᾱ-σ(σ)-α as the replacement of earlier root aorist *\*perH<sub>2</sub>-* (*\*perə<sub>2</sub>-*) see Strunk 1979:92–3. Schwyzler 1939:752 gives further examples and literature and rightly observes that all of the forms are recast root aorists. Note also the unlengthened *-ε-* at home in the root aorist.

<sup>39</sup>) On the archaic PIE pattern *-n*-present: root aorist in general see Strunk 1967:22–3, 30 and passim, 1969:217–8. For the subtype with FG I root vocalism, e.g. pres. 3sg. *\*stér-n-H<sub>3</sub>-ti* (OIr. *sernaid*, Lat. *sternit*): aor. 3sg. *\*stérH<sub>3</sub>-t* (Ved. *á-stari-t\**), see Strunk 1967:53–4, 1969:223 and especially 1979. In this last-mentioned study (89–95) Strunk shows that in particular the Greek forms Ion.-poet. *περνᾶ-*: Aeol. *πορνα-* (Hesych.): aor. *περᾱ-σ-* continue a PIE system pres. *\*pér-n-H<sub>2</sub>-* (*\*per-n-ə<sub>2</sub>-*): *\*pr-n-H<sub>2</sub>-*: aor. act. sg. *\*pérH<sub>2</sub>-*. The continuation is quite straightforward save for the



respective replacements of PIE *\*ĝērH<sub>2</sub>-s-* by *γηqā-* and of PIE *\*perH<sub>2</sub>-* by *πεqa-σ-* can be compared. This applies *a fortiori* to the derived verbs (originally *praesentia tantum*) like *ἐττμᾶσα*, et al.

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dialectally apportioned ablaut-levelings in the Greek presents and the innovative sigmatization of the aorist. The *-n*-stems recur in Celtic: OIr. *renaid* 'sells' (< *\*prnH<sub>2</sub>-*) and at least typologically in *ernaid* 'grants, bestows' (< *\*per-n-H-*). (Etymologically *ernaid* may derive rather from *\*perH<sub>3</sub>-* 'give' than from *\*perH<sub>2</sub>-* 'sell'.) Cf. the similar independent analysis by Lambert 1979:211–12.

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## Encore les substantifs grecs à suffixe -εύς

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Dans un excellent ouvrage d'ensemble, le premier dans son genre qui ait été consacré à l'étude du type de gr. βασιλεύς, J. L. Perpillou<sup>1)</sup> a e. a. mis en évidence: 1° que par sa forme tout à fait particulière le suffixe en question constitue en tout cas une finale qui est propre au grec<sup>2)</sup>; 2° que sa forme primitive a été \*-ēu- > gr. -η/- "qui se réduit tantôt phonétiquement tantôt analogiquement à -ε/-"<sup>3)</sup>; 3° que jusqu'ici aucune des exégèses, soit anciennes soit récentes, ne peut passer pour réussie. Ces interprétations admettent ou bien un suffixe hérité de l'indo-européen et offrant des parallèles dans des langues apparentées, ou bien un suffixe emprunté à une langue non-indo-européenne "méditerranéenne", ou bien un suffixe issu d'"un développement complètement original d'éléments hérités mais sans doute d'emploi limité"<sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Les substantifs grecs en -εύς, Paris 1973.

<sup>2)</sup> Voir déjà P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, 125.

<sup>3)</sup> Perpillou, o.c. 62.

<sup>4)</sup> Perpillou, o.c. 76.