problematic dental extension disappears at the same time[11]).
Finally, the contrast πρόσσω : ὕπτιος provides us with another
perfectly preserved relic from that time when Sievers' law was a
functioning morphophonemic principle of Indo-European.

σύν, ξύν

By GEORGE DUNKEL, Princeton

1. In every Greek etymological dictionary, the entry σύν consists
entirely of a cross-reference to ξύν. The latter is universally taken
as the original and inherited form of the preverb, and σύν as
secondary and derived within Greek[1]).

The unanimity is perplexing, since this view yields neither mor-
phological advantages nor any etymological connection: "ohne
sichere außergriechische Verwandte" (Frisk *s.v.*), "pas de parenté
assurée hors du grec" (Boisacq *s.v.*), "sichere Beziehungen innerhalb
oder außerhalb des Griechischen fehlen" (Schwyzer-Debrunner
Gr. Gr. II 487), etc.[2]).

The simplification ξ > σ, though usually accepted without dis-
cussion[3]), is also extremely dubious. This cluster was stable in all
Greek dialects; Schwyzer can cite only sporadic instances of ξ > σ(σ)
on some Attic vases[4]). Such a late and localised development can
hardly account for pan-Greek σύν.

---

[11]) Sievers manipulations alone could dispense with the dental: *hup-yos
(cf. Gothic *ufjo* "περισσόν") > *ὕπτος; *hup-iyos > *ὕπιος; contamination
produces ὕπτιος. But *hup-iyos is unmotivated.

The non-assibilation of -τιος points to the Aeolic origin of this element of
the Homeric dialectal mix.

[1]) So too (besides the dictionaries) Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I 329; still Hamp,
Études Celtiques 14 (1974) 470.

[2]) So too Wackernagel, *Vorl. über Syntax* II 155. Chantraine, *Dict. étym.*
offers nothing new. Schwyzer's connection with ξύω (*Gr. Gr.* II 487 fn. 7)
has found no followers.

[3]) Risch, *MH* 21 (1964) 7–8 calls it "satzphonetisch bedingt".

[4]) *Gr. Gr.* I 308; 211. The pre-consonantal simplification of the preverb
ἐξ, into innovatory ἐς in Central Greek (cf. "Mycenaean and Central Greek",
Kadmos 20 (1981), section 2aii and fn. 26) vs. archaic ἐκ elsewhere (Schwyzer
Gr. Gr. I 335–6) is of course irrelevant for putative ξύν > σύν.

56 George Dunkel

2. Nor is the assumption of the originality of ξύν supported by its distribution in the dialects. In the first millennium, σύν is pan-Greek; it must consequently be assumed for proto-Greek. But ξύν is alive in only one single Greek dialect: Old Attic. Even here, inscriptional ξύν yields to σύν and μετά[5]) in adnominal function by 403, and in all uses but idioms by 378[6]). The absence of σύν from Thucydides has also been cited in support of the Old Attic nature of ξύν, but this is not certain. Given his avoidance of crassly Attic -ττ-, -ρσ-, etc., Thucydides' ξύν could well also be an epicism aimed at avoiding the parvenu σύν.

The only other first-millennium dialect with any trace of ξύν is Ionic. But Herodotus uses exclusively σύν; only the derived adjective ξυνός assures the former presence of ξύν in this dialect.

3. Although the *communis opinio* was formulated long before the decipherment of linear B, the presence of *ku-su*(-) in Mycenaean has since also been cited in support of the view that ξύν is original. But Mycenaean *ku-su*(-) neither ends the etymological isolation of ξύν, nor makes it any more likely to have been inherited. It teaches us only that Attic-Ionic ξύν continues a form which existed already in Bronze-Age East Greek.

Nor can it be definitely said that σύν is absent from Mycenaean. The *Index généraux* list three pages of words in *su-* and *u-*. Even after removing the etymologically clear material, a considerable body of suggestive shapes remains. Time and more evidence may alleviate the present opacity of the context to reveal that some of these forms contain συν- or its variant ύν- (section 5)[7]). Nor should a co-occurrence of ξύν and σύν/ύν within Mycenaean surprise us, given what we already know about dialectal variation in these documents[8]).

Regarding the presence or absence of ξύν in Bronze-Age West Greek we have no evidence. It may once have existed, only to die out before our documentation began; it may never have existed. We are thus unable to decide whether ξύν is a specifically Mycenaean independent innovation which was borrowed into Attic[9]), or a

---

[5]) On their competition, see Wackernagel, *Vorl. über Syntax* II 154 ff., 240 ff.

[6]) Schwyzer *Gr. Gr.* II 487 fn. 2; Thumb - Scherer, *Hdb. d. griech. Dialekte* II 296.

[7]) Thumb - Scherer 359 suggest taking *su-ki-ri-to* as σύγριτος.

[8]) Risch, *Cambridge Colloquium* (1966); cf. also *meta* beside *peda*, *apo* (PY Ea 259) beside *apu*.

[9]) Like ἁρμόζω, according to Risch *ibid.*

proto-Greek creation which happens to have survived only in Mycenaean and Attic-Ionic.

4. Theoretically, Homeric ξύν could belong either to the Ionic (i.e. relatively recent) or to the Mycenaean (relatively early) element in the dialectal mix. But ξύν patterns like an archaism in Homer; its syntax is more limited, its distribution irregular[10]). This suggests that ξύν had entered the epic language[11]) by the Bronze Age.

However, a combination of early attestation and moribundity is no proof of a form's historic originality. A simple decrease in frequency through time is not automatically reversable into ever-increasing proto-reality. What we happen to be able to observe as it disappears may in fact only have come into being relatively recently. Neither linguistic theory nor typology can resolve such questions—only more evidence[12]).

In short, taking ξύν as original is neither illuminating, nor factually well-founded.

5. I suggest that σύν is the older, and the only inherited form of the preverb, and that it continues IE *sóm "together, with" (Pokorny 903). The latter is an inanimate root-noun[13]) from the stem *sém- "one, single, united"[14]). The semantic link between

---

[10]) Schwyzer - Debrunner *op. cit.* 487 fn. 2. By means of Fickian substitutions, Wathelet has tried to show that σύν entered the epic dialect at a later stage than ξύν; but he himself admits that "l'argument n'a en soi rien de décisif" (*L'antiquité classique* 46 (1977) 164).

[11]) Which may not yet have been a *Kunstsprache*; while some form of oral epic probably existed in the Bronze Age, we cannot be sure that it was composed in hexameter.

[12]) See "Typology vs. reconstruction" in *Bono homini donum* (Amsterdam 1981).

[13]) For extra-Anatolian syntactic evidence for the nominal origin of the preverbs, see "Āmreḍita and iteration of preverbs in Vedic and Hittite" *KZ* 96 (1982), fn. 41.

[14]) On this stem see recently Sihler, *JIES* 1 (1973), and Darms, *MSS* 35 (1976). I see no reason to back-project either a *ksu(n) or a *su(n), both originally proposed by Kretschmer, *KZ* 31 (1892) 415, and variously resuscitated since (bibliography in Schwyzer - Debrunner, *Gr. Gr.* II 487 fn. 7). Hamp, *loc. cit.* in fn. 1, does away with *sóm altogether, deriving even Ved. sám from a contamination of *kóm and his *su. The major objection to this is that it ignores the perfect semantic fit of *sóm with *sém-; another is that aside from Greek, *su is supported only by Balto-Slavic *sŭ. But Lith. sù could be a loan from Slavic (Brugmann *Grdr.*² II 2 897), and OCS sŭ(n) is a normal proclitic development from *som, like kŭ(n) from *kom. OCS sǫ- and Lith. są-, sam- are the orthotone outcomes.

58   George Dunkel

σύν and its nominal congeners εἰς etc. is still transparent (cf. also
σύμπας = ἅπας [14a])), despite the formal isolation brought about by
*sém-'s very active ablaut-life, and the varying treatments of all
three of its segmental phonemes.

The derivation *sóm > σύν calls for observations on the phono-
logical development of *s- and of *-o-.

As for the latter, it has become clear that IE *o became proto-
Greek *u when flanked by a nasal and a liquid or labial (including
labio-velar). The evidence is solid and pan-Greek: root-syllables
such as *núks, *ónuks, *ónuma, *múlā, *gumnós, etc.[15]).

A nasal alone was not enough to bring about the change, as
shown by e.g. various thematic nominal and verbal forms in -ον[16]).
In the case of σύν, the additional conditioner can only have been the
proto-Greek *s. The same development is probable in αἰσυμνήτης[17]).
Note also that the specifically Lesbian raising o > υ occurs not only
before nasals (ὔμοι) and labials (ὐπίσσω), but also before σ (ὔσδος).

Turning to the *s- itself, we find traces of a double treatment
before *u : *s here sometimes became *h as elsewhere[18]), but at
other times it was preserved[19]), most clearly in σῦς and δασύς[20]);

[14a]) So too Myc. ku-su-to-ro-qa 'total' and o-to-ro-[qa (PY Vn 493.3,
indicating the sum of e-sa-re-wi-ja and za-ma-e-wi-ja)?

[15]) Cowgill, Evid. for Laryngeals 156–7; Hamp, Proc. of Sixth Meeting,
CLS 486–7. In MSS 29 (1971), Hamp set up sound-laws for Greek πρυ- and
πυ-, related to πρό and ἀπό, but these are more probably inherited allomorphs,
as in *kʷo- : *kʷu-, etc.

[16]) These were of course further protected by the basically o-colored nature
of the rest of the paradigm. On *o > *e /_dental as the origin of the
"thematic *e/o", see "*woydo", AJP 98 (1977) 148f.

[17]) If Saussure's derivation from *aiso-mnā- (Recueil 462) is preferred over
one by dissimilation from *aisi-mnā- (so Frisk). Cf. also fn. 25.

[18]) *s-moveable may also be involved; see "ὕπτιος" (preceding study),
fn. 2. Note *Esu- > *hu- in ὑγιής (cf. Saussure Recueil 457) and ὕμνος, where
the match with Ved. sumná- is irresistible, pace Frisk. ὐ- beside εὐ- from *Esu-
is comparable with ὀντ- beside ἐοντ- from *Es-ont-, whatever the explanation.

[19]) Rather than restored, for which the non-ablauting *suH- and the
proterodynamic *dnsu- provided no paradigmatic source.

[20]) Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. I 307 follows W. Schulze in taking the environment
for the preservation of *s in the latter word to be the preceding vocalic
semivowel. This is of course complementary to the present interpretation.
Here too, the outcome is double, σ and h. For attempts to resolve this, see
Hoenigswald, "ῥα, δασύς, δέδαε, and the semivowels", Lang. 29 (1953), and
"Certain semivowel sequences in Greek", Pratidānam (FS Kuiper, The Hague
1968). On Hittite dassu- "stark, fest", see Oettinger, Die Militärischen Eide
(Wiesbaden 1976) 24.

to these I would now add σύν[21]). Hesychian ὕγγεμος· συλλαβή· Σαλαμίνιοι, etc.[22]) show that some Greeks did change *sún to ὕν, just as some also said ὕς[23]) and δαυ(-λός). In view of the recent work on lexical diffusion of sound change, the existence of relic forms need not be taken as opposed to the concept of "regularity"[24]).

The co-occurrence of the two changes in our word provides us with a fragment of proto-Greek relative chronology. The combined effect fits neatly into the wide-ranging conspiracy to re-create a phoneme s in Greek, to replace the lost IE *s[24a]). The specific sound-sequence συ was also re-created by the East Greek change *tu > συ[25]).

6. If σύν does continue IE *sóm, while ξύν seems not to have been inherited, ξύν must be a Greek innovation.

Greek inherited another morpheme of similar form and meaning to *sóm: this was *kóm, an adverb meaning "with" (Lat. cum, etc., Pokorny 612), which became proto-Greek *kón. The derived adjec-

---

[21]) That σύν continues an IE form in *s- was first suggested by Kretschmer, op. cit. in fn. 14; but his pre-form was *sum, derived from *ksum already in IE. Of course the only evidence whatsoever for *ksum is precisely Greek ξύν; this interpretation further neglects the (to my mind) self-evident connection with IE *sem-.

[22]) Schwyzer - Debrunner op. cit. 487 fn. 3. Cypriot u-tu-ka equals σὺν τύχῃ, not ἐπὶ τύχῃ (Thumb - Scherer op. cit. 173; Masson, Inscr. chypr. syll. 287); Cypriot thus has both σύν and ὕν.

[23]) Homer naturally made use of the differing metrical values of the two variants: cf. Od. 14.410 σύες τε καὶ ἄνερες ... ὑφορβοί, 16.154–6, etc. Mycenaean too seems to have had both σῦς and ὕς—see Baumbach, Glotta 49 (1971) 185.
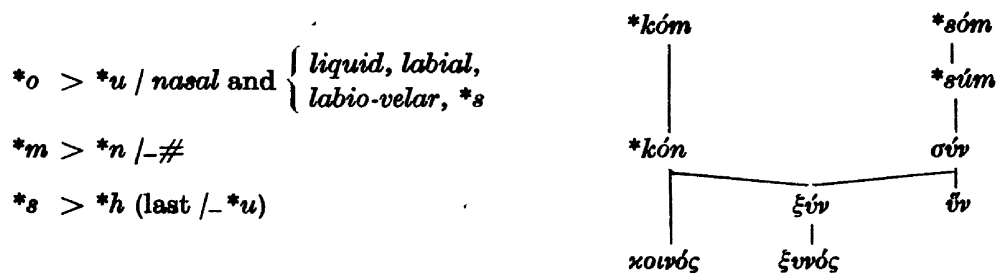
[24]) That sound change is "regular" by definition has been pointed out by Hoenigswald, e.g. in Phonetica 11 (1964), 206; Current Trends in Linguistics vol. 11 (1974), 52; Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, ed. R. Cole (Bloomington 1977), 179–83.

[24a]) As well as explaining why the correct comparison has not heretofore been made.

[25]) Schwyzer, op. cit. 308, shows that not every instance of this can be considered analogic; a phonologic development parallel to *ti > σι must be assumed. Note that the combination of the two changes discussed here permits a direct comparison of -σνο- (Schwyzer 529) with Vedic -tvaná-, rather than invoking a zero-grade "*-tuno-" which does not exist (Wackernagel - Debrunner, Altind. Gram. II 2 716f.). So too Ae. σύρξ < *twork (Schindler, BSL 67 (1972), 34.

60　　　　　　　　　George Dunkel, σύν, ξύν

tive κοινός[26]) represents proto-Greek *kon-yó-[27]). The parallelism of the adjectival derivatives *ksun-yó- and *kon-yó-[28]) is a reflection of, and further reinforces, the similarity in form and meaning of ξύν and *kón.

Since ξύν and σύν are just as close in form and meaning, we are led to propose that the mediating, non-inherited ξύν is the product of a contamination between *kón and σύν[29]). In the non-proportional analogy known as contamination or blending, "a new form . . . is based on a traditional form . . . but departs from it in the direction of . . . semantically related forms"[30]). In this way, *sún was re-characterised with the initial consonant of *kón[31]). The blended form competed for a while with its progenitor, but ultimately lost out. The derivation is thus:

*o > *u / nasal and { liquid, labial, labio-velar, *s

*m > *n /-#

*s > *h (last /_ *u)

```
        *kóm            *sóm
         |               |
         |              *súm
         |               |
        *kón            σύν
         |_____|
              ξύν        ΰν
               |
        κοινός ξυνός
```

μεταξύ was originally Synonymenhäufung like ἀμφιπερι[32]), Lat. di-ui-, etc. The lack of final -ν is due not to IE doublets, but rather to the influence of the ν-moveable and forms like συ-ζυξ, συ-σκευάζω. While the original meaning was probably intensive, semantic change has ensued; a shift "closely together with" > "between" is not difficult to imagine.

μαλλός: A Clarification

By ERIC P. HAMP, Chicago

J. A. C. Greppin's article (*Glotta*, 59, 1981, 70–5) leaves some aspects of the debate unclear.

He calls my account of the development of Celtic *-sw-"idiosyncratic". He ignores the fact that my formulation[1]) accounts for all the British Celtic (especially Breton) dialect facts as no other account has done. According to Greppin this is "a development that one would not hurry to accept". Let him present a theory that accounts for all the Celtic data better.

My equation of Welsh *blew* with μαλλός is supposedly no stronger than the proposed equation with Lith. *mìlas*. This judgment overlooks the fact that the latter requires a discrepancy between set and anit bases. My equation, allowing for normal ablaut (*mles-uo-* : *mls-ó-*), is exact.

Footnote 2 carries some unusual claims: Irish *lon*[2]) cannot match Lat. *lāna* (*ulHnā*). From IE *mĒl-* (with medial laryngeal) Arm. *mel* would *not* be expected, and *mal* is certainly possible. Greppin has again neglected to support his claim—a reasonable desideratum in rejecting the work of another.

---

[32]) See "*reciprocus* und Verwandtes", *IF* 84 (1979).

[1]) *JIES* 1, 1973, 219–21; *Historical Linguistics II: Theory and Description in Phonology* (eds. J. M. Anderson and C. Jones), North-Holland 1974, 145–6.

[2]) I do not understand Greppin's gloss 'wether'. Irish *lon* means a 'blackbird' or 'ouzel'. We cannot be occupied here with *luán* 'fatted lamb or kid', which reflects *lubhán* 'young of an animal' (nor with ancient disyllabic forms for 'fat'). The routine Irish word for 'wether' is *molt*, and for 'wool' *olann* (surely a borrowing from British Celtic). Greppin's alleged comparison here seems to be a ghost.