

μεταξύ was originally Synonymenhäufung like *ἀμφιπερι*³²), Lat. *di-ui-*, etc. The lack of final *-v* is due not to IE doublets, but rather to the influence of the *v*-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

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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 formulation¹) 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. *milas*. 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 **mEl-* (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.

Much of Greppin's discussion (70–2) is devoted to specifying the semantics of the Armenian animal term. None of this would invalidate the other claimed equations if the above cautions were observed. In the end, Greppin never makes overt the semantic and formational relation between *μᾶλλός* and Arm. *mal*.

A claim (73) that the ancient IE formation of *δραγ* is "Balkan" or "Aegean" is deprived of meaning; a correspondence of Helleno-Armenian with Albanian must be of IE depth. The suggestion (footnote 8) that this etymon is Uralic is unprincipled.

In his reference to the discussion on *ma-ri-ne-u* (73–4) in *Nestor*, it is strange that Greppin does not mention my arguments against these hypotheses and my insistence on the genetic nature of the Greek-Armenian relation³). Only exclusive common innovations are diagnostic for this relation, a principle that applies strongly to the arguments of Solta and of Djahukian.

Encore grec τάρανδ(ρ)ος "renne"

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1. Le nom grec du "renne" τάρανδος, dont la variante τάρανδρος¹) réapparaît à travers lat. *tarandrus*²), est depuis longtemps soupçonné d'avoir une origine étrangère. Ainsi E. Boisacq³) envisagea un "Emprunt à une lg. du nord-est"; or les rapproche-

³) *Nestor* 7.2.1431; 3.1439; 5, 1449 (1980). The last of these comments was intended to reply to a version of Greppin's present *Glotta* article, under the impression that the latter was intended for *Nestor*. I assume that Greppin's *Glotta* article is meant to supersede his intervention in the *Nestor* exchange. I see no point in further discussion without a clear grasp of the analytic claims of the prior scholarship.

¹) Il n'y a aucun rapport avec le toponyme Τάρανδρος, dér. Ταράνδριος (région de Phrygie, cf. W. Pape-G. Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen³ [1911] II 1487).

²) La forme *parandrus* chez Solin 30, 25 est jugée "entstellt" par K. Meuli, Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde 56, 1960, 101 note 42 (à rejeter E. J. Furnée, Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen [1972] 389, qui reconstruit grec *παρανδρος à la lumière d'une alternance de consonnes initiales *t:p*).

³) Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque² (1923) 942.