Oulos, "BANEFUL"

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 $O\hat{v}\lambda os$ has a variety of legitimately distinct semantic values. This paper will consider the particular $o\hat{v}\lambda os$ (and its derivative $o\hat{v}\lambda os$) that is usually loosely translated as "baneful." Though neither lexeme appears in the Odyssey, they have, together, a frequency of 8x in the *Iliad*.

Β 6. πέμψαι ἐπ' Άτρετδη Άγαμέμνονι οδλον ὄνειρον

B 8. βάσκ' ἴθι, οὖλε ὄνειρε, θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Άχαιῶν·

E 461. Τρφάς δὲ στίχας οὖλος "Αρης ὅτρυνε μετελθών,

E 717. ϵ ὶ οὖτω μαίνεσθαι ϵ άσομ ϵ ν οὖλον "Aρηα.

 Λ 62. οίος δ' ϵ κ νεφέων αναφαίνεται οὔλιος αστήρ / παμφαίνων,

Ρ 756. οδλον κεκλήγοντες, ὅτε προΐδωσιν ἰόντα / κίρκον,

P 759. κοῦροι ἀχαιῶν / οὖλον κεκλήγοντες ἴσαν, λήθοντο δὲ χάρμης.

Φ 536. δείδια γάρ μη οδλον ανήρ ές τείχος άληται.

The traditional translation of "baneful" has not always aroused full confidence; further, the etymological situation is unclear and the ancient scholiasts were not always sure of Homer's use of $ovleantering \lambda ovleantering \lambda ovleantering \lambda over the statement of the scholiasts where the scholiasts were not always sure of Homer's use of <math>ovleantering \lambda over \lambda over$

B 6. Scholiast T (Erbse)¹ was in doubt concerning the value of οδλος: $\mathring{\eta}$ τον έπ' ολέθρω πεμπόμενον. $\mathring{\eta}$ τον όλόκληρον, ως το "οδλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε."

Λ 62. One scholiast (Dindorf)², however, took pains to correct a presumed error: ὅτι τινὲς γράφουσιν αὔλιος, ὅ ἐστιν ἑσπέριος, πρὸς ὅν αὐλίζεται τὰ ζῷα. καὶ Καλλίμαχος "αὔλιος ὅς δυθμὴν εἶσι μετ' ἠελίου." ἔστι δὲ ἀλύπιος καὶ εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἄγων τὰ ζῷα. γραπτ-

¹ H. Erbse, Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Berlin 1969-).

² W. Dindorf, Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Oxford 1875-88).

έον οὖν οὔλιον, ἵνα τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς σημαίνη, τὸν φθοροποιὸν καὶ λαμπρότατον, ῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὁμοιοῖ "παμφαίνονθ' ὧστ' ἀστέρα ὅς ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν."

Eustathius, who no doubt had access to a much different collection of commentaries from that which we do now, commented as follows: οδλος ὄνειρος, Ἰλ. Β 6. ὁ ὁλέθριος ἢ ὁ ὑγιὴς καὶ τέλειος ἢ ὁ στρεβλὸς καὶ σκολιὸς διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν, παρὰ τὸ εἰλῶ, ὁ δηλοῖ τὸ συστρέφω.

The best place to start in terms of modern criticism would be with Bechtel.³ Bechtel contends that obles seems to have four distinct meanings, and equally as many possible etymologies.

- I. οὖλος, "ganz," ω 402: οὖλϵ τϵ καὶ μϵγα χαῖρϵ. Here οὖλος is compared best with Lat. salve, both on an etymological and semantic level.
- 2. οὖλος, "kraus," ζ230:.....κὰδδὲκάρητος/οὔλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνω ἄνθει ὁμοίας. Here οὖλος is best compared with Lat. $l\bar{a}na$ ($<*wl\bar{a}na$).
- 3. οὖλος, "täuschend," B 6: πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρείδη Άγαμέμνονι οὖλον ὅνειρον. Bechtel offers no firm etymology, but does repeat the offering by Fick (Ilias 79) who relates this οὖλος with Lith. ap-wilti "to cheat."
- 4. oð λ os, "verderblich," E 461: o $\hat{v}\lambda$ os " $A\rho\eta$ s. Bechtel, following Fick, 4 connects this o $\hat{v}\lambda$ os with the root of $\check{o}\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\mu$ ($<*\check{o}\lambda\nu\nu\mu$).

Some scholarship has since followed on these themes. An opinion of principal importance was offered by McKenzie⁶ who focused on Iliad 17.756, 759: οδλον κεκλήγοντεs. Having first pointed out that οδλοs often denotes an action which involves frequent repetition,⁷ he contends successfully that οδλοs can have the same metaphorical value

³ F. Bechtel, Lexilogus zu Homer (Halle 1914) 256-61.

⁴ GGA (1881) 442.

⁵ This etymology was formally offered by Brugmann in *IF* 11 (1900) 266–99, "Zur griechischen und lateinischen Etymologie und Stammbildungslehre," especially pp. 266–71.

^{6 &}quot;Etymologies," CQ 19 (1925) 208-10.

⁷ McKenzie lists three passages from Callimachus which tend to show οὖλος in an action which involves frequent repetition. Hymn 3.246–47: αἱ δὲ πόδεσσιν/οὖλα κατεκροτάλιζον, ἐπεψόφεον δὲ φαρέτραι. Hymn 1.52–53: οὖλα δὲ Κούρητές σε περὶ πρύλιν ἀρχήσαντο / τεύχεα πεπλήγοντες. Epigr. 5.5: (κόγχος) ... οὖλος ἐρέσσων...

as $\pi \nu \kappa \nu \delta s$, Lat. $cr\bar{e}ber$. $overline{\delta} \lambda os$ is thus related to $e\tilde{\iota}\lambda \omega$, "pack tightly together," IE *we/ol-.

Traditionally, οὖλον κεκλήγοντες, whether uttered by birds (P756) or by men (P759), has been translated something like "crying out in a deathly way." οὖλος here was supposed to parallel in semantic value the οὖλος of οὖλος "Aρης. Yet McKenzie says, if we were to compare these two usages, we would see that they are opposites. One is the cry of birds or men about to die; the other is the epithet of a man about to kill. Scholiast D interprets the line to mean ὀξὺ βοῶντες καὶ πυκνόν, and McKenzie endorses this opinion. A further Classical collocation (non-Epic) of οὖλος with wood (Theophrastus HP 3.11.3: ἔχει τὸ ξύλον ξανθὸν καὶ οὖλον, "has yellow and closely grained wood") reinforces a parallel with πυκνός.8 It seems best, then, following McKenzie, to remove οὖλον κεκλήγοντες from the area where οὖλος is translated as "baneful." οὖλος here appears to be best translated as "thick" or "frequent."

Οὔλιος ἀστήρ (Λ 62) also is difficult. Traditionally, οὔλιος is translated here again as "baneful." However, in Strabo we find quite a different meaning for οὔλιος (Str. 14.4.6):

Οὔλιον δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσί τινα καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Δήλιοι, οἷον ὑγιαστικὸν καὶ παιωνικόν· τὸ γὰρ οὔλειν ὑγιαίνειν, ἀφ' οῦ καὶ τὸ οὐλὴ καὶ τὸ οὖλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε·

Hesychius supports this value: οὐλιᾶσθε· ὄνησίν τινα ἔχετε.

A passage by Macrobius (Sat. 1.17.21) gives a number of instances of ουλιος. This passage is particularly significant since ουλιος must, without question, be translated as "wholesome:"

eundem deum praestantem salubribus causis οὖλιον appellant id est sanitatis auctorem ut ait Homerus οὐλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε. Leandrius scribit Milesios Ἀπόλλωνι Οὐλίω pro salute sua immolare. Pherecydes refert Thesea cum in Cretam ad Minotaurum duceretur, vovisse pro salute atque reditu suo Ἀπόλλωνι Οὐλίω καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Οὐλία.

A few other occurrences of ουλίος are known. In SIG 756.17 we

⁸ Further support for this will follow later; cf. Anth. Pal. 7.543: οὖλον ἀνηρίθμον... γεράνων.

 $^{^{9}}$ The suffix *-yos commonly produces adjectives in Indo-European. Note Skt. brahmán, but brahmanya- "having the qualities of a brahmán." In Greek we find μάκαρ and μακάριος, as well as φίλος and φίλιος.

read $i\epsilon\rho\epsilon\dot{v}s$... $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ os 'Oλίου. Here there is a long catalogue of the gods for whom there are priests present. In the whole list there appear to be none who are priests of gods whose rôle is not beneficial to man. It would seem artificial to assume that Apollo is here in his rôle of plague-giver rather than healer. We similarly read in IG 12 (I).834.3 and 845.10 (Lindos) of $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ os 'Ολίου. Though the phrase οὔλιος $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ does not appear in Homer, Eustathius records: οὔλιος $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ ὁ ὑγιαστικὸς, $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$ τὸ οὔλειν.

There seems to be solid evidence for a value of "wholesome" for oʊ̃λιos, though this is not the value that is reflected in most Classical writings. The word oʊ̃λιos appears once in tragedy (with one additional possible reading in Aeschylus 10).

τοῖά μοι πάννυχα καὶ φαέθοντ' ἀνεστέναζες ὤμόφρων ἔχθοδόπ' Άτρείδαις οὐλίω σὺν πάθει. (Soph. Ajax 928–32)

This passage, and the suggestion by Mette, shows ovilios in a setting where it would be best translated as "destructive" (= $\partial \lambda \epsilon \theta \rho i \sigma_s$).

Pindar also seems to have used the word ovilios in what appears to have been the standard Classical sense of $\partial\lambda \epsilon\theta\rho$ 1005.

Ο. 9.76: έξ οδ Θέτιος γόνος οὐλί ω νιν έν "Αρει...

Ο. 13.23: ἐν δ' "Αρης ἀνθεῖ νέων οὐλίαις αἰχμαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν.

P. 12.6-8 τάν ποτε / Παλλὰς ἐφεῦρε θρασειᾶν Γοργόνων / οὔλιον θρῆνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθάνα·

Pseudo-Hesiod Scutum^{II} lists two occurrences of ounces. Neither supports the Epic concept of "wholesome," and both would seem best translated as "destructive" (= $\partial \lambda \epsilon \theta \rho \iota \sigma s$).

έν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐναρσφόρος οὕλιος "Αρης, αἰχμὴν ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων, . . . (192–93) τόσση δ μὲν ἰαχῆ βρισάρματος οὕλιος "Αρης κεκληγώς ἐπόρουσεν (441–42)

10 The Aeschylean fragment (206 Nauck) usually stands as

έξευλαβοῦ δὲ μή σε προσβάλη στόμα πέμφιξ· πικρὰ γὰρ κοὐ διὰ ζόης ἀτμοί.

Mette, however, prints πικρὰ γὰρ κοὐλία λαιμῷ in the second verse (fr. 456).

11 For a discussion of the dating of the Shield, cf. Cook, "The Dating of the Hesiodic Shield," CQ 31 (1937) 204–14.

Το return to Homer's οὔλιος ἀστήρ, we note that οὔλιος ἀστήρ¹² is compared to Hector's shield. As the dog star shines, so too will Hector shine among the foremost. Homer describes the dog star in X 26–30: παμφαίνονθ' ὧς τ' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο, | ὅς ρά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ | φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ· | ὄν τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι. | λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται.

Yet, even though we must agree that the oថλιος ἀστήρ brings doom, we must nonetheless admit that the doom it brings is quite different from the violence which surrounds οδλος Ἄρης, οδλος ἀνήρ and οδλος ὅνειρος. It is likely that οὅλιος οἱ οὅλιος ἀστήρ actually has the same meaning that οὅλιος has in conjunction with Ἀπόλλων. The most common epithet of Ἀπόλλων, φοῦβος, has a verbal derivative, φοιβάω, used in Theocritus 17.134 in the sense of "to purify" (χεῦρος φοιβήσασα μύροις). Hesychius reads: φοιβᾶσθαι· καθαίρε [ι]σθαι.

Oὔλιοs, cognate with Lat. salve, is used formulaically. Indo-European, as well as Greek, has the poetic device of calling a dreaded thing by its opposite. The Euxine Sea is an example of this, as are the Eumenides.¹³ In Indic, the demon Rudra is renamed Śiva, "propitiator." Here too the terrible star is given a beneficent epithet, the dreadful occurrence of the dog star is favored with a pleasing label. Hence οὖλιοs quite consistently, though sometimes contradictorily, means "healthful, wholesome." The dreaded star which heralds the season of sickness is propitiated by being called οὖλιοs.

Five uses of $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os remain in Homer. Bechtel has viewed them in two ways: as "täuschend" (B 6 $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ ov $\tilde{o}\nu\epsilon\iota\rho\sigma\nu$, B 8 $o\tilde{v}\lambda\epsilon$ $\tilde{o}\nu\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$), and as "verderblich" (E 461 $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os " $A\rho\eta s$, E 717 $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ ov " $A\rho\eta a$, Φ 536 $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os $d\nu\eta\rho$). This apparently creates a problem, for if we are to agree with Bechtel that we have two distinct usages, we must then agree that the $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os which modifies $\tilde{o}\nu\epsilon\iota\rho\sigma$ s (2x) is different from the $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os which modifies " $A\rho\eta s$ (2x) and $d\nu\eta\rho$ (1x); we must thus posit two etymological origins. This is not altogether an appealing solution since the groupings are really so similar: $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os $d\nu\eta\rho$ and $o\tilde{v}\lambda$ os " $A\rho\eta s$

¹² The "Dog Star" (Sirius), the brightest star in the heavens, appears in the constellation of Canis Major, and is one of the nearest stars to the earth.

¹³ Εὔξενος was formerly ἄξενος (Ovid, T. 4.4.56: dictus ab antiquis Axenus ille fuit). Εὐμενίδες were formerly the Ἐρινύες.

are both warriors, plunderers of cities; οδλος ὄνειρος is a dream begetting plundering.

We might rather view these five usages of Homeric ovlos ("Apηs (2x), ἀνήρ (1x), ὄνειρος (2x)) as a unit. It would seem that these three nouns are modified by an adjective that denotes "plundering:" plundering Ares, a plundering man, and a dream begetting plundering. The dream sequence in B 6 and B 8 describes Zeus directing ovlos ὄνειρος to go to Agamemnon to have him make haste to take (ἕλοι) the widewayed city. Ares is of course the personification of war and plundering par excellence, and ovlos ἀνήρ refers to Achilles who will spring into the Trojan stronghold.

- οὖλος "plundering," Arm. golanam "steal," Lith. -vilti "cheat," IE *wļO-.
- 2. οὖλος "wooly," Arm. gelmn "wool," Lith. vilna "wool," IE *wl-.
- 3. οὖλος "twisted," Gk. ϵἴλω "pack tightly together," Arm. glem "to roll," Lith. vélti "to roll," IE *wļ-.

The last two items are no doubt of the same origin. IE *w!-developed along two lines: "wooly" (as well as "curly, twisted" and "thick"), and a verbal concept "to roll, pack together."

Thus it would seem that there are three separate roots involved (as opposed to Bechtel's four) which produce the multi-meaning $o\hat{v}\lambda os$.

- 1. οδλος "whole, healthy," Lat. salvus, IE *solw- (οὔλιος ἀστήρ).
- 2. οὖλος "thick, frequent," Lat. $(v)l\bar{a}na$, IE*wel-(οὖλον κεκλήγοντες).
- 3. οὖλος "plundering," Gk. άλίσκομαι, ΙΕ *welO- (οὖλος ἀνήρ, "Aρηs).

This reduction of Bechtel's inventory is made possible, at first, by the removal of οὖλον κεκλήγοντες from the definition "baneful

¹⁴ The o-coloring laryngeal, from the series *E, *A, *O, is also written as H_3 , from the series H_1 , H_2 , H_3 .

(crying)." It thus becomes reasonable to merge ovlet ovle

What then for the Classical period? It appears that by then the meanings of ovleta and ovleta were in doubt. The scholiasts usually commented on each occurrence, confident that their readers would welcome an explanation. Apollonius Sophista provided glosses as did Eustathius later. A correspondence was usually made with $\partial \lambda \epsilon \theta \rho \iota os$ largely because of the ancient idea of an etymological relationship with $\partial \lambda \nu \mu \iota$. In this case the scholiasts and lexicographers frequently appear to have been wrong. Their glosses and opinions reflect well the confusion that centered around these two words at this time. It seems apparent that by the fifth century the original value of ovleda where ovleda is plundering had pretty much been lost; everywhere ovleda had become synonymous with $oleha \rho \iota ovleda$. I have been able to locate seven occurrences of ovleda (= oleha ha ha) outside of Homer.

Nicander of Colophon used οὖλος twice (Ther. 233, 671). The phrase οὖλ ω γὰρ στομί ω ἐμφύεται (233) is usually translated as "with a destructive mouth." But Gow 15 has contested this conventional viewpoint, preferring to translate the phrase as "with the whole mouth." Indeed, scholiast bm also saw this as a possibility and suggested: ὅλ ω , ὡς κατὰ μετάθεσιν. However, G is in doubt and states: ὅλ ω ἢ ὀλεθρί ω καὶ ὀλο $\hat{\omega}$. But in any event a definition of "plundering" is not practical. Similarly in Ther. 671 (κνυζηθμὸν κυνὸς οὖλον) οὖλος cannot possibly mean "plundering."

Bion 2.14-15 Gow likewise sees οὖλος as ολέθριος.

οὖλον χεῖμα φέρει νιφετόν, κρυμὼς δὲ φοβεῦμαι. εἶαρ ἐμοὶ τριπόθητον ὄλῳ λυκάβαντι παρείη.

An earlier usage by Apollonius of Rhodes shows the same value of $\delta\lambda \acute{\epsilon}\theta\rho\iota os$.

- 3.296–97. τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίη εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρη / οὖλος ἔρως...
- 3.1077–78. Ω s φάτο· τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπήιε δάκρυσι κούρης / οὖλος ἔρως . . .

¹⁵ A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, Nicander (Cambridge 1953).

Two instances from the Anthologia Palatina are listed in LSJ where οὖλος is putatively to be translated as "baneful." The first (7.27), by Antipater Sidonius, reads: ὑγρὰ δὲ δερκομένοισιν ἐν ὅμμασιν οὖλον ἀείδοις. This clearly supports a value of "baneful." The second, 7.543 (anonymous), is probably incorrectly listed, since it would appear that οὖλος here better means "thick:" οὖλον ἀνηρίθμον κεῖνο νέφος γεράνων.

That ovlos and ovlos are from the same root is without doubt. It is significant, however, that it is fairly difficult to insist that either be consistently translated as "baneful" or "wholesome" or "plundering." The ovlos to be translated as "wholesome" is from a different stem from the ovlastic which produces "plundering" and "baneful." There is a clear chronological dividing line. In the Epic period, οδλος was not "baneful;" in Classical times, a translation of "plundering" is difficult. However, that the Classical usages of ovlos (at best by only five authors) differ from that of Homer need not be viewed with surprise. First, it is quite evident that even in Epic times both ovlos and ovilios were uncommon words. After Homer, they were used quite infrequently in the whole of Greek literature. In some cases, they were used self-consciously by authors who were given to considering themselves "Homeric" (Nicander, Apollonius). But we know how occasionally an uncommon word can have a reversal in meaning. English "sanguine" is a pertinent example of this semantic confusion. Its most early occurrences in English usually had the meaning of "bloody, red" (Chaucer, Knight's Tale 1310: "his colour was sangwyn"). But the late medieval physiologists were using the word to describe temperaments: "sanguyn, melancolyk, phlegmatyk and coleryke." It was this latter usage that begot our current English value of "cheerful," quite different from the original "bloody."

Such occurrences of drastic semantic change are documented from ancient times as well. Consider M. Leumann's discussion ¹⁶ of $a\tau a\lambda \delta s$, which originally had a meaning of something like "childlike, tender." However, with the compound $a\tau a\lambda a\phi \rho\omega\nu$ "tender-minded (of a child)," the initial a- was viewed as an alpha privative, and $\tau a\lambda a\phi \rho\omega\nu$ "tough-minded" developed. Thus $a\tau a\lambda \delta s$, originally "childlike,"

¹⁶ M. Leumann, Homerische Wörter (Basel 1950) 139-41.

came to have a meaning of "soft," the opposite of the falsely generated $*\tau a\lambda \acute{o}s$ "tough."

Likewise, $^{"}A\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota s$, by folk etymology, came to be occasionally spelled $^{"}A\rho\tau\alpha\mu\iota s$ by popular assimilation with $^{"}a\rho\tau\alpha\mu\iota s$ "slaughterer."

We must view Homeric $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ in the same light. The confusion was brought about by the homonymous existence of $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ "wooly, thick," $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ "plundering," and $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ "all" (as well as "healthy, whole"). $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ "whole" did not occur outside Homer and a few inscriptions; the standard Attic form was $\tilde{o}\lambda os$. Further, the Epic metaphorical use of $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ "thick," for "wooly, curly," escaped most later readers who thus tried to blend it in with the value of $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ *"baneful." $\tilde{o}\lambda \epsilon \theta \rho \iota os$ was used as a synonymous concept which seemed to satisfy somewhat all readings.

In modern times, doubts arose over why ovlos $\delta\nu\epsilon\iota\rho$ os could be derived from $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$. Linguists tried to clear a path that would resolve the difficulties. ovlos) $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\gamma$ o $\nu\tau\epsilon$ s presented a formidable difficulty until it was finally cleared away by McKenzie.

Other than the convenience of positing $\delta\lambda l\sigma\kappa \rho\mu a l$ as a cognate for $ov\lambda os$, rather than $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu l$, no truly significant linguistic reasons really exist. Both $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu l$ and $\delta\lambda l\sigma\kappa o\mu a l$ satisfy the phonetic requirements to produce $ov\lambda os$ or $ov\lambda los$. $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu l$ has an IE shape of *OelE-. The *-E- is reflected as -e- in $\delta\lambda \epsilon \theta\rho los$. That it does not appear in $ov\lambda os$ has been explained by E. D. Francis on a parallel with $\kappa\epsilon\nu F \delta s$; $\kappa\epsilon\nu F \delta s$: $\kappa\epsilon\nu \epsilon \delta s$ — $ov\lambda \delta s$: $\delta\lambda \delta \delta s$. This explanation is quite feasible. However, it is just as reasonable to assume a root *welO- which begets not only $ov\lambda \delta s$ but $\delta\lambda l\sigma\kappa \delta \mu a l$. The *-O- is reflected in the aorist infinitive $\delta\lambda \delta \nu a l$ as well as derivatives such as $\delta\lambda \delta \nu a l$ and $\delta\lambda \delta \nu a l$ as well as derivatives such as $\delta\lambda \delta \delta l l$ and $\delta\lambda \delta l l$ and $\delta\lambda \delta l l$ are the initial digamma is clearly marked in Thess. $\delta\lambda l l l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l l$ are the initial digamma is clearly marked in Thess. $\delta\lambda l l l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l$ are the initial digamma is clearly marked in Thess. $\delta\lambda l l l$ and other than Arm. $\delta l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l$ is a variety of cognates, and other than Arm. $\delta l l$ and $\delta\lambda l l$ is also likely.

 $^{^{17}}$ R. S. P. Beekes, The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeal in Greek (The Hague 1969), deals with the laryngeal aspects of $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$. Pages 42 and 236 are particularly pertinent.

¹⁸ Yale dissertation, 1970, pp. 305-06.

¹⁹ E. Fraenkel, *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1955), deals with Lith. *vìlti*, but his etymological comment, "Gehören zur Wz. *wel- 'wollen'," is hardly illuminating.

It would seem that there is no hard evidence of a phonetic sort that would champion a derivation of $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ from $\tilde{o}\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$ (*OlE-) rather than from $\tilde{a}\lambda l\sigma\kappa o\mu\alpha\iota$ (*welO-). Both seem to provide the needed phonemic shape. It is only when we begin to consider semantic requirements that $\tilde{o}\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$ fails. A value of "plundering" will cover all Epic instances of $o\tilde{v}\lambda os$ not covered by "whole" (<*solw-) or "closely packed" (<*w!-), while a derivation from $\tilde{o}\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$ "destroy" is, in the long run, insufficient.

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