

European substratum words in Greek

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When working through Pokorny's dictionary, I noticed that Greek had several words that have cognates in the (Indo-European) languages of Europe, but which seem nevertheless non-Indo-European. It is not just a handful of 'Wanderwörter'. The number is larger, and it seems not only to concern Wanderwörter. I wanted to present here a list of such forms.

The collection is based on POKORNY, not on a systematic study of the Greek etymological dictionaries. I suppose, therefore, that the number may be much larger. With a few exceptions it does not concern new etymologies; for most of the words I just accepted the existing etymology. The idea that it regards non-IE words, too, was mostly already reached earlier, it is not – in general – just my opinion. Of course, one might hesitate in individual cases. Also some etymologies may be simply wrong. But I think that the number is so large that the phenomenon is not affected if some ten items would prove wrong. The conclusion suggests itself that these words derive from a substratum language in Europe.

I have limited myself to words with cognates in the languages of Europe. Thus I have not taken up words found only in Armenian (e.g. κίων¹); they may derive from another non-IE language. (In a few cases cognates are *also* found in Armenian, but that is a different matter.) Also words found only in Latin (e.g. ἀράχνη) I have left out; here again the words may originate from a different language. Idem for words found further only in Latin *and* Armenian (e.g. σπόγγος). Words occurring only in Greek and Albanian (e.g. σκόροδον) were not collected; in this case one might have to do with a Balkan word, or one from the Aegean area which spread northward.

Of course there are instances where one might hesitate. Thus Greek has a word for 'lascivious', used of donkeys, μύκλος, and μυχλός 'donkey', which returns in Alb. *mušk*, ORuss. *мѣскъ*, Lat. *mūlus* (*mūscella*). It is supposed that this word comes from Asia Minor. If this is true, it is not relevant here; so I did not include it².

¹ See now CLACKSON 1994:140-143. – I would suggest that the *-w-* was lost before *u*; this is a phonetically well known development. For the *k̂* > *s*, cf. Skt. *paraśu-* (and perhaps *κάνναβις*, Skt. *śapá-*; FURNÉE 1972:278, n. 41 noted that *k* was identified with PIE **k̂*; cf. also here on *σχοῖνος* F135. This might mean that the language(s) in question only had *k''*: *k̂*; in that case a *k* was identified with the latter. (But I think that PIE already had plain *k* in quite a number of forms, and its importance became only greater in the later languages.) As to *seamk* 'door-post', a reconstruction **kiw̥h₂mes* is unacceptable; no such form is known in the inflexion of a noun in any IE language. It may have generalised *am* < *ṛm* before consonant. (The absence of the *w* could be analogical after the nominative *siw̥n*).

² It is supposed that *μυχλός* derives from **μυσκλος*, but it may have an interchange *κ/χ*. – The word *μύσκλος* means *σκολιός* 'bent', apparently 'bandy-legged'; see CHANTRAINE under *μύκλος* and *μύσκλος*. (Under the latter word it is not mentioned that *μυχλός* [which is mentioned s.v. *μύκλος*] is also glossed as *σκολιός*. FURNÉE 1972:299 takes all words together, which seems not correct.)

The criteria

The criteria are simple: the agreement in form and meaning must be such that it is evident to consider them as anyhow cognate; but the forms must be such that they cannot be IE.

These criteria do not always lead to clear conclusions. E.g. the words *δορκάς*, *ζορκάς*, *ῥορκες* 'roe' are clearly cognate with Welsh *iwrch* 'id.'. One might now conclude that the interchange in Greek is so strange that it must be a non-IE word adapted to Greek in different ways. However, it has been proposed that the last form is a late loan from a Celtic language, and that the *δ-* is due to association with *δέρκομαι* 'to see'. I find the first suggestion quite possible, the latter rather improbable (note that Herodotus uses both forms). Further, while an IE form **jork-* is possible, I find the form suspect, but I admit that this is subjective.

The fact that we consider many forms as problematic and possibly non-IE (in opposition to POKORNY) depends on a number of insights, but more especially on the laryngeal theory, through which our understanding of the ablaut and the shape of the PIE root (and the suffixes) has changed so much. I give one example, also because it is mostly given as unproblematic. Gr. *γνάθος* 'jaw' is compared with Lith. *žándas* 'id.', for which **ǵ(o)nHd^h* is reconstructed, with laryngeal because of the Baltic acute. However, the Greek word cannot be explained from **ǵnHd^h*, which would have given **gnāth-*. In fact I see no way of explaining this Greek form from any PIE form. (The Lithuanian form could also continue **ǵond-* with acute according to Kortlandt's extension of Winter's law, but this is no help for the Greek form.) The gloss *κάνναδοι· σιαγόνες, γνάθοι* might show a (non-IE) interchange *ǵ/k*, but the form could be Macedonian, where we find more instances of voiceless stop beside a voiced one in Greek (whatever the explanation). The Macedonian identity is strongly supported by the *δ* for Gr. *θ*. For the first *a* of the gloss, however, there is no explanation (except 'epenthesis', which is possible, but not a regular sound law)³.

There are of course doubtful cases. Thus *τέναγος* has been supposed to be cognate with Latv. *tīgas* < **tin(H)gas*. If it is IE, the Greek word would require **tenh₂gos* (the Latvian tone can be explained by Winter's law), which would give a root ending in three consonants. This is very rare, but there are a few examples; so it is not a certain indication that it is a non-IE word.

³ So *γνάθος* probably has to be separated from *žándas* which will represent **ǵond-*, because **ǵonHd^h* gives an infrequent root structure (unless the *-d^h* is considered a suffix; the same problem in *τέναγος*). One might also retain the relation between the two words and consider both non-IE. – Connection with *γένυς* is impossible (as the latter is IE; also the formation would be quite unclear). – One has connected *κάνναδοι* with *κνώδων*, but the first means 'jaw', like *γνάθος*, the latter 'teeth' of a spear, point of a sword, the cross-hilt of a sword ("any tooth-like prong or spike", R. JEBB, *Sophocles Antigone* 1900 ad vs. 1233; still this interpretation depends in part on JEBB's etymological connection of the word with *οδοός*). Connection of the latter word with *κναίω, κνήν, κνήθω* seems improbable to me, as this verb means 'schaben, kratzen, jucken'; the formation of the noun also remains unclear. *κνώδων* is further connected with Lith. *kāndu* which is also quite improbable. If we assume a laryngeal for the acute accent, we get the improbable structure **konHd-* while *κνώδων* would have to be **knh₂d-* (**kne/oHd-* would require Schwebeablaut, which is not very probable). If we assume **kond-* (with the acute from Winter-Kortlandt), the Greek word should have **knōd-* with Schwebeablaut, which seems improbable. I assume that *kāndu* derives from **k^(u)ond-*, and that *κνώδων* is pre-Greek. That *κνώδαλον* 'wild animal' is cognate with *κνώδων* seems to me far from evident.

A difficulty is that we know very little about the immediate (IE) neighbours of Greek in the Balkan: Macedonian, Thracian, Illyrian and perhaps more, like Paeonian. Of course we have Albanian, but it is of little help as its etymology still posits so many problems. We must reckon with the possibility that some IE words reached Greek as loans from such unknown languages in the Balkan. One possible form is *oũs* 'swine, boar', which should be *ũs*, and this form is fully attested, of course. The most plausible explanation is that the first form is a loan.

The material

The material is discussed at the end. First a survey is given which shows the distribution of the languages in which the cognate forms are found. Then follows the presentation of the material, the Greek words being given in alphabetical order, with very short comments, in order to save space: the reader is supposed to have FRISK, CHANTRAINE and POKORNY on his desk.

We shall here consider some aspects of the material.

Distribution: If one looks at the distribution of the cognates of these words, we see that Slavic, Baltic, Latin are well represented. Germanic is found most often. This could be due to the fact that Germanic in general is better represented (in IE etymology, and in POKORNY) than other language groups, perhaps because it is best studied. Still, this situation may have another cause. It is well known that very many substratum words are found in Germanic. One might have expected that more cognates were found in the Slavic languages, but this does not appear to be so. I have no explanation for this fact. – Celtic is much more rare. This may be due not only to its geographical position, but also to the fact that Celtic etymology has been less well studied.

Meaning: As to the meaning of the words we find the notions one would expect: flora (juniper, maple, oak; reed (twice), rush; cabbage, chickpea, pea; onion; poppy, and a poisonous plant, Aconitum), fauna (blackbird, finch, heron; roe; crab; cockle; and I add here also 'goats' dung'), landscape (earth, sand, gravel, pebble, swamp, shoal-water; I add here 'hail'), instruments, in a wide sense (torch, chamber, trunk, stick, bundle, pond, harrow, axe, shoes), verbs (stamp, knead; weave; spring, sprawl; be astonished; un-skathed), other (smoke; bowels, belly, jaw). The last group is a little surprising. Three of them are parts of the body. The number of verbs is high, in my opinion.

Status of the Greek words: Four (five) of the words are glosses (*ὄξινα*, *ὄδερος*, *βάσκειται*, *ἔρα* (but *ἔραζε*), *πέλλα*). One word occurs only once: *γλ(ε)ῖνος* (Thphr.). The other words range from rare to common.

The forms: I shortly discuss the phenomena that can be observed.

We find often variation between the stops, notably between (speaking in IE terms) voiceless and aspirate: *δέφω*, *θύον*, *σχοῖνος*, *ράφανος*, *χολάδες*, *τέραμνα*, *ἀσκηθής*, *πέλλα*. Further voiceless/voiced: *ὄδερος*, *καρβάτιναι*; and voiced/aspirate: *σπύραθοι*, *βάσκειται* (unless this form is Macedonian, see above), *σομφός*, *σπυρδίζω*.

The other thing that strikes most is the great number of words with *a* in the root: ἄρκευθος, ῥάφανος, κάμμαρος (plant), γράβιον, λάκκος, μήκων, γνάθος, καπνός, καρβάτιναι, βάκτρον, βάσκευται, ἄμαθος, ἄξινη, αἰγίλωψ, κάμματος (crab), κάχληξ, ταφ-, φάλαγξ (secondary ablaut in Germanic?); 18 forms.

Geminates are rare: κάμματος plant and crab, κρόμμυον, πέλλα. Note that they are all resonants.

Prenasalization is rare: κρέκω (where it is found in the Germanic form), ταφ-(θάμβος).

Regarding *s* three observations can be made. First, initial *s*- before vowel preserved in Greek: σομφός. This cannot be solved by assuming that they came into Greek after the development *s*-> *h*-, if it is supposed that these are very ancient loanwords. They could be more recent loans from neighbouring languages. Remarkable is therefore that ἄμαθος lost its *s*-. But here we also have ψάμαθος⁴. Second, there seems to be evidence for *s* mobile, σπίγγος, πίγγαν (also OHG *fincho*, Swed. *spink*). (Note that *s*-mobile is also found in the Greek substratum, e.g. FURNÉE 1972:390f.) Lastly there may be instances with and without *s* before stop in medial position: ὄδερος/ὕστ(ε)ρ-, βάσκευται/φάκελος, ἔσπερος/*vākaras*?. This interchange is also assumed for the Greek substratum by FURNÉE 1972:298ff.

About vowel variation ('ablaut') not much can be said. I find no patterns. We find all sorts of interchanges: *a/e*, *a/o*, *o/u* etc. Long vowels, alternating with short ones, are not often found (*o/ō*, δόναξ); interesting is *a/ā/ē*. As SEEBOLD states, in the case of μήκων the (apparent) *ē* may be due to adaptation of *a/ā* to the PGm. system (*ā*); this would mean that the word was not a very old loan.

Very little can be said about possible suffixes: we have ἄρκ-ευθ-αι; perhaps we may, compare βάσκ-ευτ-αι; σπύρ-αθ-ου/σφυρ-άδ-ες, ἄμ-αθ-ος?, χολ-άδ-ες; further see on κρόμμυον with *-us*-.

The different substrata

When considering the question of the possible layers, it is good to recall the three layers distinguished by KUIPER in his recent article (1995:65ff). He assumes three non-IE languages in Europe which all have a (frequent) phoneme *a*:

1. Krahe's Old European: The language is characterized by a preponderance of *a* and *i*, and of resonants as opposed to stops; and of open syllables, i.e. (C)V-CV-CV ...; closed syllables end in a resonant; and by the absence of geminates. (The paraphrase is mine.) Loans (of appellatives) of this language are rare.

2. A European substratum: This language had no (plain) voiced stops before vowel, only aspirated ones. KUIPER explains this by assuming that the Indo-European speakers identified voiced stops with their aspirates because their glottalized stops (= voiced stops) were too different. Characteristic are words (roots) like **b^hard^h*, **b^hask-*.

⁴ It is generally assumed that this form was coined after ψάμμος, but this is only a hypothesis for which there is no evidence. E.g. ψάμαθος is frequent in Homer, beside ἄμαθος. (I would consider the possibility that all forms, including ἄμμος, are ancient.)

3. A Germanic substratum: A substratum of which traces are seen notably in Germanic. Typical is the variation of root final consonants, showing notably gemination of stops and prenasalisation, as in (PGm.) *b/bb/ff/ p/pp/mp*.

KUIPER mentions Greek βάσκιαι (66; my βάσκειται) and ἄμαθος (67; my 32) as belonging to the European substratum. Many of the *a*-words of our list could belong to this substratum. This is, of course, the most obvious candidate of the three, as the Germanic substratum is typical for Germanic, and as our forms do not in general show the characteristics of Old European.

The – tentative – conclusion which I would submit is that there was a European substratum (KUIPER's 'European substratum') which reached from the Germanic area towards eastern Europe, from which a number of words came into Greek. If this is correct, we should be aware of this possibility.

Survey: European substratum words in Greek

1	δέφω/ψ	stamp, knead	Sl.					
2	κόλλωψ	peg	Sl.					
3	κόσσυφος	blackbird	Sl.					
4	θύρον	reed	Sl.	Bl.				
5	σχοῖνος	rush	Sl.	Bl.				
6	ἄρκευθος	juniper	Sl.	Bl.?				
7	ράφανος	cabbage	Sl.	Bl.	Lat.			
8	ταῦρος	bull	Sl.	Bl.	Lat.	Gm.?	Cl.	
9	κύμβη	vessel	Sl.	Bl.	Lat.	Gm.	Cl.	
10	κάμματος	pois. plant	Sl.	Bl.		Gm.		
11	κρόμμυρον	onion	Sl.	Bl.		Gm.	Cl.	
12	λέπω	peel	Sl.	Bl.		Gm.		
13	γράβιον/φ	torch	Sl.		Lat.			
14	μύκλος	lustful	Sl.		Lat.			Alb.
15	έρωδιός	heron	Sl.		Lat.	Gm.?		
16	λάκκος	pond	Sl.		Lat.	Gm.	Cl.	
17	γλ(ε)ῖνος	maple	Sl.			Gm.		
18	μήκων	poppy	Sl.			Gm.		
19	χάλαζα	hail	Sl.					Pers.?
20	χολάδες	bowels	Sl.					Arm.
21	ψεύδομαι	lie	Sl.					Arm.
22	γνάθος	jaw		Bl.				
23	δόναξ	reed		Bl.				
24	τέραμνα	chamber		Bl.	Lat.			
25	όξίνα	harrow		Bl.	Lat.	Gm.	Cl.	
26	κάμπτω	bend		Bl.	Lat.?	Gm.?	Cl.	
27	όδερως	belly		Bl.	Lat.		Cl.	Skt.
28	κρίος	chickpea		Bl.	Lat.			Arm.
29	(σ)πυράθοι	goats' dung		Bl.		Gm.		
30	καπνός	smoke		Bl.		Gm.?		
31	καρβάτιναι	leather shoes		Bl.		Gm.	Cl.	

32	βάκτρον	stick	Lat.	
33	βάσκευται	bundle	Lat.	
34	ἄμαθος	sand	Lat.	Gm.
35	ἄξίνη	axe	Lat.	Gm.
36	ὄροβος	pea	Lat.	Gm.
37	ἀγαθός	good		Gm.
38	αἰγίλωψ	oak		Gm.
39	ἔρα	earth		Gm.
40	θαῦμα	astonishment		Gm.
41	κάμμαρος	crab		Gm.
42	κάχληξ	gravel		Gm.
43	κρέκω	weave		Gm.
44	μολγός	leather bag		Gm.
45	ἀ-σκηθής	unscathed		Gm.
46	σομφός	swamp		Gm.
47	σπίγγος	finch		Gm.
48	σπυρθίζω	spring, sprawl		Gm.
49	φάλαγξ	trunk		Gm.
50	ταρσός	frame		Gm. Arm.
51	πέλλα	stone	Gm.	Cl.
52	χαῖος	shepherd's staff	Gm.	Cl.
53	δορκάς/ζ-	roe		Cl.

The evidence (P = POKORNY)

ἀγαθός ‘good’, ἀκαθός· χρηστόν H., χάσιος· ἀγαθός, χρηστός; χάσιος?; P 423. Goth. *gods*; perhaps Crim. Goth. *gadeltha pulchrum*. Thus SEEBOLD s.v. *gut*. BEEKES 1996:227ff.⁵

αἰγίλωψ ‘oak’; P 13. OIc. *eik* etc. Lat. *aesculus*? The ending of the Greek word is unclear (compared with λώπη ‘bark’). Also αἰγειρος? SEEBOLD s.v. *Eiche*: “Kaum ein idg. Wort.” – **aig-*

ἄμαθος, ψάμαθος ‘sand’; P 146. Lat. *sabulum*, OHG *sant*, MHG *samt*. Mostly one starts from ἄμαθος – ψάμμος and assumes that then ψάμαθος (the most frequent form in Homer) was made. I find this development not at all easy. Lastly ἄμμος would have been created. This would explain the forms, but the historical development is far from evident. I would consider the possibility that all four words were old: ἄμαθος/ψ-, ἄμμος/ψ-. The latter might be the root of the first. The initial interchange would reflect the adaptation of an unknown sound(group).

ἄξίνη (ἰ) ‘axe’; P 9. Goth. *aqizi*, OS *acus*, Lat. *ascia* etc. The formation of these words is unclear. (*g^u*s would give *ps* in Greek, cf. LEJEUNE 46 n. 1, 52 n. 3); *-gus* would give *-γυ[h]*.) FRISK: wahrsch. Wanderwort.

⁵ Improbable ANTILA 1996: *ag̃-η* ‘drove, herd’, **ag̃η-d’ēos* ‘upholding the social unit’. My criticism as to form and meaning of the other solutions applies here as well. Here **ag̃-η* is unattested, the development of the meaning freely invented.

ἄρκευθος ‘juniper’; P 67. Russ. *rakíta* etc. ‘willow’ < **orkūtā*. To Latv. *ērcis* ‘juniper’? Cf ἄργετος· ἡ ἄρκευθος, Κρήτες H (not mentioned by FRISK or CHANTRAINE). Suffixes strange.

ἀσκηθής ‘unhurt’; P 950. Goth. *skapis*. The interchange *d^h/t* points to a non-IE form.

βάκτρον ‘staff’ etc.; P 93. Lat. *baculum*. Or mediterranean? – **bak-*.

βάσκευται· φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι; P 111. The first word (β.) is considered Macedonian, the second (φ.) occurs only here and could be a loan from Latin; improbable φάσκωλος ‘leather bag’; cf. also φάκελος ‘bundle’; Lat. *fascis* (Mlr. *basc* ‘collar’ is uncertain; perhaps here MW *beich* ‘burden’ < **baskio-*). – **b^hask-*; *sk/k*.

γλ(ε)ῖνος ‘maple’ (Thphr.); P 603 **kleno-*. Mac. κλινότροχον, Olc. *hlynr*, Russ. *klěnъ*. – *klen-/klin-/kln-*?

γνάθος ‘jawbone’; P 381. Lith. *žándas* < **ġonHd^hos* (or **ġon(H)dos*), but Greek cannot be derived from this form, nor from any PIE form. Mac.(?) κἀναδοῖ· σιαγόνες, γνάθοι gives a problem with the *k-*. Complicated ablaut. See p. 22 above with note 3.

γράφιον (γράφιον once) ‘torch’, γοβρίαῖ· φανοί, λαμπτήρες Hsch.; P 404. Russ. *grab(ína)* ‘Hagebuche’, OPr. *wosi-grabis*, Umbr. *Grabovius*. – BS *ā* from *a* before *b* (Winter’s law).

δέφω, δέψω ‘stamp, knead’; P 203. Serb. *děpiti*, Arm. *top‘em*. Greek requires *b^h*, Slavic *p*. Cf. FURNÉE 1972:315. Note that Armenian may have a cognate.

δόναξ (-ω-, -ου- unreliable, though the existence of the two variants is remarkable) ‘reed’; (P 187). Latv. *duonis* ‘Schilf, Binsen’.

δορκάς, ζορκάς (both in Hdt.) kind of roe; P 513. W *iwrch*. ἱορκος Opp. etc. probably later direct loans from Celtic. δ- after δέρκομαι is not convincing. Is **jork-* IE? See the text above p. 22.

ἔρα; P 332. OHG *ero*, Goth. *airpa* (W *erw* ‘field’?). Strange word formations. – **er(t)-*.

ἐρέβινθος, ὄροβος ‘pea’; P 335. Lat. *ervum*, OHG *araweiz*. – *b/ū*; *e/o*, *a*?

ἐρωδιός (ω?) ‘heron’ (ἄρ- LXX; ῥ- Hippon. popular?); P 68. Lat. *ardea* id., Serb. *róda* ‘stork’. FRISK: sehr fraglich Olc. *arta* ‘Kriekente’. Clearly non-IE. – Ablaut quite abnormal; *rod-* < **rad^h-*?

ἔσπερος ‘evening’; P 1173. Lith. *vākaras*, OCS *večерь*, Lat. *vesper*, W. *ucher* (**vesp-^huisp-*?), Arm. *gišer* ‘night’ (**ue/oik-*?). – See p. 24 above; *p/k* (KUIPER 1995:81ff.).

θαῦμα, θῶμα to which belongs the group δάμβος (note that *mb^h* did not give *μβ* as is often stated: ἀμφί, ὀμφαλός; the cases adduced are all suspect), ταφ-ών, τέθηπα ‘astonishment, be amazed’; P 233. Goth. *afdobn*, -*dumbnan* ‘become silent’. Note that both languages show prenasalization. FURNÉE 1972:236, following KUIPER 1951:125.

θύρον ‘Binse’; P 1026, 1097. Lith. *tr(i)ušis*, OCS *trъstъ* ‘Schilfrohr’ (not here *traūsti* ‘zerbrechen’, I think). – *d^h/t*.

κάμ(μ)αρος ‘crab’; P 558. OIc. *humarr*, Mac. κομ(μ)άραι confirms non-IE origin; FURNÉE 1972:343: “wohl voridg. Wanderwort”. Perhaps also κύμαρος: κόμαρος Hsch. Improbable is a loan from Germanic (KRETSCHMER). – *m/mm*; *a/u*? **kam(m)-*.

κάμ(μ)αρος, -ορος poisonous plant, type of Aconitum; P 558. Russ. *čemerica* ‘Nieswurz’, Lith. *kemēras* ‘Wasserdost’, OHG *hemera*. – *kemer-/kammar-*; *m/mm*.

κάμπτω ‘bend’; 525, 918. Also σκαμβός. Lith. *kaĩpas*; OIr. *camm*. Doubtful Lat. *campus* ‘plain’ (not ‘valley’), Goth. *hamfs* ‘mutilated’. KELLENS 1986 adduces Middle Iranian forms, but I don’t follow his conclusion that Skt. *kampate* ‘tremble’ belongs here, because of its meaning (thus also EWAia).

καπνός ‘smoke’; P 596. Lith. *kvāpas*; Lat. *vapor*?; Goth. *af-hapjan*?⁶

καπρός ‘he-goat’; P 529. Lat. *caper*, OIc. *hafir*, OIr. *gabor*, cf. OBrit. *Gabrosentum* ‘goat-path’? Perhaps OIr. *cáera*, W. *caer-iwrch* ‘roebuck’ < **kaperō-*, but see VENDRYES s.v. Note κάπρα: αἶξ, Τυρρηνοί Hsch. The Welsh form, compared with Gr. σῦς κάπρος, may confirm “vermutlich allgemeiner ‘männliches Tier’” (POKORNY). (Very uncertain Skt. *kápr̥t* ‘penis’.) A form **kh₂p-* (**kh₂ep-*?) is improbable.

καρβάτιναι/καρπ- ‘shoe’; P 581. OIr. *cairem* < **karpíamon-*. OIc. *hriflinger*, Lith. *kūrpė* (acute from metatony). Clearly non-IE; FRISK: Wanderwort. (Not here κρηπίς, which shows a different meaning.) – *p/b*; *krep-/kɪp-* (but -αρ-).

κάχληξ ‘gravel’, late κόχληξ; P 518. OHG *hagal* ‘hail’. **kh₂g^h-* possible (not for Gr. -ο-, which may not be old). Cf. also κάχλιξ and gloss **ǎχλαξ* (corrected from ἄχόλαξ). Root structure *T–D^h* not allowed. – **kag^h-*.

κόλλοψ ‘peg’, also κόλλαβος; and probably σκόλοψ ‘pole’; not in POKORNY. OCS *kolъ*. The Greek variants (οπ/αβ) point to a non-IE word; words for ‘pole’ are very often loans (cf. BEEKES 1995/96:20 n. 5).

⁶ SCHRIJVER 1991:260 made a valiant attempt to explain the word as IE. He reconstructs **k^(u)h₂uep-* with laryngeal on the basis of Lith. *kūpėti*, Latv. *kūpēt* (acute *ū* < *uH* with metathesis in **kHup-*; but Lith. *kvēpti* with circumflex lengthened *ē*); the labiovelar is not relevant here, so I will write just **k*. Of course, this gives an unusual root structure. He excludes OCS *kypėti* because it means ‘sieden, wallen’, but that is also the meaning of the Lithuanian form; the Latvian form means ‘rauchen, dampfen, qualmen, stäuben’. So I think the Slavic form must be included, what does not affect the conclusion. If, on the contrary, these forms are (all) excluded, the evidence for laryngeal disappears. – SCHRIJVER explains the Greek form from **kuh₂ep-* with metathesized *kuh₂-*; further > **kuap-* > **kuap-* > *kap-*. The metathesis in *kuh₂-* seems acceptable (cf. Skt. *svār-* ‘sun’ < **suHr*, cf. **seh₂uel-*). The development to **kuap-* seems doubtful to me, in view of forms like κύαρος, κύαρος (which are loans); μυελός does not prove much (in κύων < **kūōn* the *u* may have been restored from oblique κυν-). – SCHRIJVER also leaves out Goth. *af-hapjan*, -*nan*, because it requires **b*. But a variation voiceless/voiced at the end of a root is often found; and if the word is non-IE, the interchange may be due exactly to the fact that it is a loan. The meaning, ‘choke, extinguish, suffocate, be(come) suffocated’ (thus KÖBLER 1989) agrees perfectly well with ‘breathe’ often found in Lithuanian, and e.g. Hom. ἀπὸ ... ἐκάπυσσε. Together with the general agreement in form (Gmc. **hap-* < **kmo/ab-*) this makes it probable that it is the same word. If so, I wonder whether in **kh₂uep-* the laryngeal would not have been vocalized in Germanic. – Lastly, Russ. *kópot* ‘Staub’ has no *u*, like Latv. *skapstēt*, if this is cognate (FRAENKEL 1, 326). – So I rather think that the word is non-IE.

κόσσυφος, κοττ-, κόπιχος ‘blackbird’; P 614. RCS *kosz*. Suffixes -φος and -ιφος; onom. Κοξυφίων. – *ps*, *ks*, Gr. σσ/ττ.

κρέκω ‘ein Gewebe (fest)schlagen’; P 618. OIc. *hræll* < **hranhilaz*. -(n)-; *e/o*, *a*.

κριός ‘chickpea’; κίκερροι ὠχροί, Μακεδόνες; P 598 Arm. *siseṛn*, OPr. *keckers*, Lat. *cicer*. κριός not because of its “krummen Hülsen” (FRISK s.v. κριός ‘ram’(!)), though it is difficult to connect the form with *cicer* etc. (κίκερροι < **ki-kerio-*, κριός < **(ki)krio-*?). – *k/k̄*; *e/i*.

κρόμ(μ)ον (κρε- gloss) ‘onion’; P 580. OE *hramesa*, OIr. *crem* (*u*-stem), OW *cram* (vocalism?), Lith. *kermušė*. From **krom-*, *krem-*, *k̑m-*, *kerm*? Both the uncertain root vocalism and the suffixation (and the meaning) point to non-IE origin. As Celtic has an *u*-stem, and the other languages (Germanic? OHG *ramusia* not in KLUGE) a suffix after *-us-*, the pre-IE word will have ended in *-us*. – *krom/krem/kerm/k̑m-*; suff. *-us-*.

κύμβη, κύπελλον etc. see BEEKES 1996:220ff.

λάκκος ‘water-basin’; P 653. Lat. *lacus*, OE, OS *lagu*, OCS *loky* (*-uH-*). Gaul. PN *Penne-locos*, OIr. *loch* prove *o*-vocalism for Celtic. λάκκος has -κκ- which cannot be from *-ku-* cf. Myc. *iqo/hik̑k̑o/* (cf. also Aeol. φήρ < **ǵʰuehr*), unless double *-k̑-* was restored to (double) *-k-* from the nom.; *l-* > **la-* is not attested. (*ǵ* > αρ, but this is always **Hȓ-*.) Latin *lo* > *la* (SCHRIJVER 1991:424) is uncertain. – *lok-/lak-*? *k/kk*?

λέπω ‘to peel’, ὀλόπτω, ὀλούφω; P 690. Lith. *lùpti*, Russ. *lupit’*, *lub*; OHG *louft*; Lat. *liber*? BEEKES 1996:220ff.

μάθυιαι γνάθοι, μασάομαι ‘chew’; P 732. Lat. *mando*; Goth. *munþs* rather to Lat. *mentum*. Non-IE origin is suggested by the variant μοσσύνειν; if the root was (IE) μαθ-, the formation of the other forms is difficult to explain; for the non-IE forms in -υια see BEEKES 1998:25f.

μήκων ‘poppy’; P 698. OHG *māho*, *mago*, RCS *makz*, Russ. *mak*; Latv. *maguona* may be a loan. FRISK: “... eine schon idg. Entlehnung eines Wanderworts”. Note SEEBOLDS comments: “die germanischen [Formen weisen] eigentlich auf *ē/æ*, doch wenn eine verhältnismässig junge Entlehnung vorliegt, könnte der dem Germanischen fremde Laut *ā* teilweise nach wg. *ā* aus *æ*, teilweise zu kurzem *a* ausgewichen sein. Für eine Entlehnung aus einer nicht-indogermanischen Sprache (die mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit anzunehmen ist), ist die Verbreitung etwas auffällig.” I agree completely with this remark; the aim of the present article is exactly to draw attention to those words that spread over a great area.

μολγός ‘leather bag’; P 747. OHG *malaha*; this gives *g/k*. Perhaps Goth. *balgs* is also cognate with an interchange *m/b*ⁿ (nasalization; for the phenomenon see FURNÉE 1972:203ff.; KUIPER 1995:68f).

μύκλος ‘lascivious’, μυχλός ‘donkey’; not in POKORNY; FURNÉE 1972:299. Lat. *mūlus* (< **musclo-*; late *muscella*), Alb. *mušk*, ORuss. *mъskъ*. It is supposed that μυχλός derives from **μυκσλος*, but it may rather have κ/χ. (The form μύσκληος means σκολιός ‘bent’, apparently ‘bandy-legged’; see CHANTRAINE under both

words (where under the last word it is not mentioned that μυχλός [given s.v. μύκλος] is also glossed as σκολιός). FURNÉE takes them all together, which seems not correct.

ὄδερρος ‘belly’ (gloss; not here in my opinion ὕδερρος ‘Wassersucht’); P 1104. Skt. *udāram*, Lith. *vėdaras*, *paūdrė* (**ued-*, **ud-* with Winter’s law; note the acute); cf. ὕστέρρα, ὕστρος id. Lat. *uterus* and *ve-n-t-er*? SCHRIJVER points to OIr. *inathar* ‘belly, intestines’ < **en-utr-* – *d/t/st*.

ὄζινα· ἐργαλεῖόν τι γεωργικόν, σιδηροῦς γόμφους ἔχον, ἐλκόμενον ὑπὸ βοῶν; P 22. OHG *egida* < **ageþō*, OW *ocet*, Lith. *akėčios* (έ from verb *akėti*?), Lat. *occa*. Reshaped after ὄξυς? POKORNY has palatal because of **ak-* ‘sharp’; this gives a problem for Lith. Formation: *-et-*? Original root noun?

ὀλούφω see λέπω.

πέλλα ‘rock’ (gloss); P 807. Mlr. *all* (**p/so-*?), OHG *felis* (**pelisa-*?). Πέλλα, φελλεύς ‘stony land’ point to non-IE origin. There is evidence for pre-Rom. *pal(l)a* – *p/b^h*; *l/l*; *e/a*?

ράφανος ‘Rettich, cabbage’, ράφ/πυς – Lat. *rāpum*, OHG *ruoba*, *raba*, Lith. *rópė*, OCS *rěpa*. Generally seen as non-IE. – *p/b^h*; *a/ā/ē*?

σομφός ‘swamp’; P 1052. OHG *swamp* (IE **b^h*), MLG *swamp* (IE **b*), Goth. *swamm*. Gr. σ-. A Wanderwort (FRISK) seems not probable to me. – *b/b^h*; Gr. σ-.

σπίγγος, πίγγαν, σπίνος, σπινθία; P 999. Swed. (E.) *spink*, OHG *fincho*. Skt. *phīṅgaka-* (lex.) “gewiss nicht urverwandt”, MAYRHOFER. Though the word has onomatopoeic aspects, the agreement cannot be mere accident. – (*s*)-.

(σ)πύραθοι, σφυράδες, σπορθύγγια etc. ‘excrements of goats etc.’; P 995. Lith. *spiros*, Latv. *pires*, OIc. *sperdill*, NIc. *spard*. *(*s*)*pord^h* – could well be IE, but *(*s*)*p_rh-* would give *σπαρ-. – *p/b^h*; (*s*); *o/u*; (-αθ-/-αδ-).

σπυρδίζειν ‘aufspringen, zappeln’; P 995. OIc. *spraðka* with IE **d^h*, MLG *spartelen* with *d*. Semantically different Skt. *spárdhate* ‘contest’, Goth. *spaurds* ‘racing course’; not here words for ‘tail’, OIc. *spordr*. Greek υ. – *d/d^h*; *o/u*.

σχοῖνος ‘Binse, Schilfrohr’; FURNÉE 1972:135 (not in POKORNY). The gloss κοινά· χόρτος is usually connected with Lith. *šiėnas*, OCS *sěno* ‘hay’, but the exact meaning of χόρτος here is not clear. FURNÉE connects the gloss with σχοῖνος, which then is non-IE, together with the Balto-Slavic forms. – *sġ^h/k̃*.

ταρσός, τρασιά ‘frame of wicker-work’ for drying cheeses etc.; θαρρία· τρασιά H.; P 1078. Arm. *t’ar̄*, OHG *darra* ‘Darre’. The word is generally derived from **ters-* ‘to dry’, but ablaut in *o-* and *ā-* stems is unexpected and a root noun improbable (it would mean ‘the drying’; one would expect an instrumental suffix), Gr. αρ is the wrong vocalisation and the *s* should have disappeared. This type of instrument is often found in loanwords. The word may have the *a*-vocalism typical of loanwords. I propose a noun **tars(-)*.

ταῦρος ‘bull’; P 1083. Lat. *taurus*, Lith. *taũras*, Gaul. *tarvos*; perhaps Goth. *stiur*.

τέραμνα ‘chamber, house’; P 1090. Connected with Osc. *trírbúm* etc., Umbr. *tremnu*, and further compared with τρά/όφηξ, -π- ‘beam’; difficult is the vocalism of Lith. *trobà* (acc. *tróbą*) and Lat. *trabs* (cf. SCHRIJVER 1991:481); OHG *dorf*, OW *tref*. SEEBOLD s.v. *Dorf*: “kaum idg.” Further perhaps OCS *trěmъ* ‘turris’, Russ. *térem* ‘Gemach, Halle’. I would add MLG MDu. *trame* (Eng. *tram*), MLG *treme*, Dutch *treem*; on labial/*m* see on θαῦμα. *p/b/b^h/m*; *e/a/ē*?

φάλαγξ ‘beam’, also φάλκης?; P 122. OIc. *bialki* < **belki-*, OE *balca*, *bolca*, Lith. *balžiēna* (Latv. *bālziēns* proves *ġ^h*), Slov. *blazína*; perhaps Lat. *fulciō*, *sufflāmen*. – *g/ġ^h/k?*; *el/ol* or *al/l*.

χαῖος ‘Hirtenstab’; P 410. OIr. *gae*, OIc. *geirr*; as loanwords in γαῖσος, Lat. *gaesum*. FRISK: wie bei vielen anderen Waffennamen ist mit fremden Ursprung zu rechnen. Non-IE *gais-(os)* rather than **g^hh₂eis-* or **g^heh₂is-*.

χάλαζα ‘hail’; P 435. CS *žlědica*, Russ. *ožlédica* < **želd-*, NPers. *žāla* < **žalda-*. Greek requires a **d*, which would agree with the Slavic acute, for Greek we would have to assume **g^hlh₂-ed-*; Slavic could then have **g^helh₂d-*, but this is an irregular root structure. Note the plain velar *g^h*.

χολάδες, χόλικες ‘bowels’; P 435. RCS *želudъkъ* < **želodъkъ* with *-ond-*. Gr. -αδ- < -*nd-* should be given up. Gr. κόλον ‘intestines’ rather proves non-IE origin; perhaps also καλίδια: ἔντερα, Κύπριοι, and γάλλια: ἔντερα; further to Arm. *k‘alird* ‘intestines of animals’? *g^h/k/g*; *e/o/a*; *l/l*.

ψεύδομαι ‘to lie’; also forms with ψυθ-. FURNÉE 1972:197. Arm. *sut* ‘lie’; Slovak. *šudit* ‘deceive’. Both *d/d^h* and *ψ-* point to a non-IE form.

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