

## IS THERE AN AUGMENT IN $\eta$ BEFORE $f$ IN $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$ ?

This paper defends two ideas: one, that  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  derives from  $*\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}f\rho\text{-}\omicron\nu$ , a form with a normal augment in  $\epsilon$  and not  $\eta$ , by means of the following process:  $*\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}f\rho\text{-}\omicron\nu > \acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\text{-}\omicron\nu > \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$ , with a change to  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  by analogy with verbs which began with a vowel; the other, that the form  $*f\rho\text{-}$ , which led to the aorist  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  and from this led to the present  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$ , with the meaning 'to find, uncover, show', derives from the same root as  $*f\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ , which means 'to say', just as the aorist  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\zeta\alpha$ , 'to show', is from the same root as the Latin *dicere*, 'to say'.

1.  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  is one of the three forms whose initial  $\eta\text{-}$  is interpreted by Schwyzer<sup>1</sup> as being an original augment in  $\eta$  before  $f$ , and only as such.

2. Judging by the form of  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$ , which comes from  $*\acute{\eta}\text{-}f\rho\text{-}\epsilon\text{H}_1\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ , the morphological structure of  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  must be interpreted as  $*\eta\text{-}f\rho\text{-}\omicron\nu$ , with a zero-grade root and without laryngeal lengthening.

3. The unaugmented form  $*f\rho\text{-}\omicron\nu$  (and the majority of similar forms of the aorist, specifically all those which are monosyllabic) gives  $*\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  (and not  $*\rho\rho\omicron\nu$ ) since the circumstances concurred which favoured the tendency to avoid a monosyllable (just as  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , in virtue of the same tendency, avoided the contraction, as opposed to the polysyllabic  $\theta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ). Vocalization of  $\text{-}f\rho\text{-}$  also took place in other instances, such as in the Lesbian  $*\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}f\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta > \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$ , and  $*\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}f\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma > \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ <sup>2</sup>.

4. In this phase,  $*\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  and similar forms of the aorist take on aspiration, determined by the fact that all the forms with initial  $\upsilon\text{-}$  receive it<sup>3</sup>.

5. The indicative aorist  $*\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  takes the normal and expected aug-

<sup>1</sup> *Gr. Gramm.*, I, p. 653.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris 1972, pp. 181-182.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lejeune, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

ment in  $\acute{\epsilon}$ -, resulting in  $*\acute{\epsilon}$ -υρον, with the subsequent diphthongation  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ - of the previously dissyllabic  $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\acute{\upsilon}$ , giving  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ ρον (since  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon} > \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ ,  $*\acute{\epsilon}$ -φρύς  $> *ε$ - $\acute{\upsilon}$ ρύς  $> \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ ρύς and the Lesbian  $\acute{\epsilon}$ -φράγη  $> *ε$ - $\acute{\upsilon}$ ράγη  $> \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ ράγη).

6. As the dissyllabic  $\acute{\epsilon}$ -υ changed to the diphthong  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ , the idea that the augment was present in the diphthong  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ - disappeared from the consciousness of the speakers, with the result that  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ - changed to  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}$ - by analogy with the verbs that begin with a vowel<sup>4</sup>.

7.  $*φρ$ -ον, however, about whose etymology so much ink has been spilled without any convincing solutions having been reached<sup>5</sup>, proves to be clearly susceptible, given its form and its meaning, to integration in a wider and more well-known morphological structure: in our view, there is nothing to contradict the idea that it belongs to the root of the present stem  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ρω (from  $*φερ$ - $\acute{\iota}$ ω), to the future  $\acute{\epsilon}$ ρέω (from  $*φερ$ -ε-σω) and to the perfect  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ρηκα (from  $*φε$ - $φρ$ -ε $\eta$ <sub>1</sub>-κα).

8. The original meaning of this root was possibly 'say' in the present stem with durative value  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ρω, of the future  $\acute{\epsilon}$ ρέω, both with a full grade root, and of the perfect  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ρηκα, with a zero grade root and full grade laryngeal lengthening, but in the aorist tense with terminative value and a zero grade root without lengthening it meant 'show' or 'uncover', 'discover', 'find'. These correspondences between the meaning of the present stem with durative value 'say' and that of the aorist stem with terminative value of 'say' which is 'discover', 'find', are not the product of chance. Their correlation can be found in well contrasted linguistic realities: in the forms and meanings of a same verbal root: *dicere*, 'say' (which in all probability maintains the original meaning of this root) as opposed to the Greek *δείκνυμι* and the German *zeigen* 'to show', as well as in the form and meaning of the vulgar Latin *attropare*, present in Arnobius the Younger<sup>6</sup>, with the meaning 'to speak in a figurative way', which gave rise to *trouver*, with the meaning 'to find'. Even the verbal root itself which we have been discussing,  $φερ$ -|  $φρ$ -, 'to say', appears in the *Iliad* (II 48-9 and XXIII 226) with a trace of the meaning 'to show' in the following formula, with *Aurora* as subject, which says:

Ἦώς μὲν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσεται μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
Ζηνὶ φῶως ἔρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec*, Paris 1973, pp. 310-311.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, vol. I, p. 387.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Paris 1960, p. 645.

that is:

Aurora, the goddess, came to vast Olympus  
in order *to show* the light to Zeus and the other immortals.

9. The *ú* passed from the aorist with initial *ú* and the meaning 'to find' to a present, future and perfect with the terminative meaning 'to find', while the present stem \**Φερ-ιω* and the future \**Φερ-ε-σω* (the first with a full grade root and the suffix *yod*, and the second with a full grade root as well, but with zero degree laryngeal lengthening) and the perfect \**Φε-φρ-εΗ<sub>1</sub>-κα* (dissyllabic root in stem II) maintained the durative meaning of 'to say'.

10. The process according to which a present, future and perfect with the terminative meaning 'to show', 'to find' emerged from the aorist *εὔρον* with the same meaning is parallel to that of the aorist *ἔδειξα*, with the same meaning, from which was formed the present, future and perfect stem of the same verb. Likewise, if these forms in the aorist coincided essentially in the above mentioned terminative meaning of 'to show', 'to find', the same coincidence is found in the original present stem, which in both verbs meant 'to say'.

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