



Re-mixing a piss-poor etymology

Gk. *μοιχός* and OE *(ge)māh*

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Plan of the talk

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ A Re-evaluation of the Latin and Sanskrit evidence
- ▶ Gk. *μοιχός* and the Greek reflexes of PIE \sqrt{meik}
- ▶ Two pathways for the development of *μοιχός*
- ▶ Conclusions & discussion
- ▶ Appendix



Gk. *μοιχός* and the traditional etymology

- Since before Wackernagel (1916), *μοιχός* (Hippon. +) has been derived as an agent noun from the PIE verbal root $\sqrt{*h_3meiǵ^h}$ ‘to urinate’– with Chantraine going as far as to say:
 - “Everyone agrees that *μοιχός* is the name of the agent corresponding to the present *ὀμείχω* ‘piss’, but without prothesis.”¹ (Chantraine 1999: s.v. *μοιχός*, 708)
- While formally possible at that time, the semantics were called into question by Wackernagel (1907: 7).
- Etymological connection with $\sqrt{*h_3meiǵ^h}$ denied most recently by van Beek (2011: 137) and Beekes (2010: 962).

¹See Appendix I for references to the literature.



Gk. $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ and the traditional etymology

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Proposal

$\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ should instead be traced back to PIE $\sqrt{*mei\acute{k}}$ to circumvent the problems of strained semantic developments ('to piss' \rightarrow 'adulterer') inherent in an agentive derivation from $\sqrt{*h_3mei\acute{g}^h}$ and previous appeals to the word-initial operation of the Saussure-Hirt (henceforth S-H) effect to explain the lack of word-initial laryngeal in $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ (PIE $*\#H\text{Ro} > *\#R\text{o}$), which is improbable in light of van Beek (2011)'s re-evaluation of the Greek evidence for the word-initial operation of the S-H effect.



Recent evidence cited to support this etymology

- Despite Wackernagel's insistence on the inconclusive nature of the evidence, which has been recently repeated by van Beek (2011: 137) and Beekes (2010: s.v. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$), Piwowarczyk (2012), Janse & Praet (2012), and Höfler (2022/2023) have tried to adduce evidence in favor of this semantic development:
 1. Meaning 'to piss' > 'ejaculate (one's) semen' is attested both for Sanskrit *mehati* 'to urinate' and in the works of Roman satirical authors (more on which below).
 2. Argument mirrored by Janse & Praet (2012), who write "[t]he relationship between "piss' and 'commit adultery' emerges from Horatius' use of *meiō* with reference to the *coniunx aliena* (*Sat.* 2.7.52).
 3. Piwowarczyk (2012) posits the development 'to urinate' → 'to ejaculate' for the root $\sqrt{h_3mei\hat{g}^h} \Rightarrow *h_3moj\hat{g}^h\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-s}$ 'ejaculator' → 'adulterer' > Gk. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$.
 4. The Latin and Sanskrit evidence, however, needs to be re-evaluated.



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Metaphorical usage of *meiō*

A re-evaluation of Catullus (67.29–30)

*Egregium narras mira pietate parentem
qui ipse **sui nati minxerit in gremium.**^a*

^a*Translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.*

You are telling me of a parent
outstanding in his remarkable piety, a
man who had **pissed in his own son's
lap!**

- a. As will be clear from the gender of *sui nati*, the reference here is to ‘pissing’ into the lap (*gremium*) of his son and the attendant defilement of his marriage and cannot refer to ejaculation here.



(im)meiō (in) X ‘to defile’

- Similar usage, which has gone unacknowledged in the literature, is attested in Horace’ *Ars Poetica* in a meditation on what drives poets to poetry:

*nec satis apparet, cur versus factitet, utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus*

(Hor. *Ars Poetica* 470–2)

Nor is it clear enough, why he keeps making verses, whether he had **pissed into his father’s ashes**, or being impure had sorrowfully shaken up consecrated land.

- minxerit in gremium* and *minxerit in patrios cineres* as equivalent idiomatic expression ‘to piss in (X)’ = ‘to defile (X)’.



Metaphorical usage of *meiō* (continued)

*dimittit neque famosum neque sollicitum ne
ditior aut formae melioris **meiat eodem**.*

(Hor. Sat. 2.7.46–52)

“She sends me out neither the victim of scandal nor worried that a richer or a better-looking man may **piss on the same spot.**”

- It seems from the passage cited above and from Persius *patriciae inmeiat volvae* (Sat. 6.73) ‘so that he may piss in a patrician vulva’ that the meaning *semen emittere* could fit in both of these contexts.
- However, attestations of this word in the alleged meaning of ‘to ejaculate’ only in Roman satire and the absence of this meaning from obscene graffiti which do attest *meiō* should give us pause in reconstructing this as an idiom already for PIE.



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- According to Adams, “tears” or “mucus” might also be used as euphemisms for the ejaculation of semen (1982: 142).
- “It is not plausible to suggest that they reflect a ‘primitive’ failure to distinguish sharply between urine and sexual secretions. In Latin at least it is more likely that they would have been interpreted as crudely figurative, or as infantilisms deliberately maintained in vulgar speech.” (Adams 1982: 142)



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- Also hard to rule out intertextuality.



Reflexes of $*/h_3meiĝ^h/$ in the meaning ‘to ejaculate’ in Sanskrit

Obscure meaning ‘Samen entlassen’

- Similarly obscure is the meaning ‘Samen entlassen’ for which Höfler cites PW (s.v. 1. mih Bed. 2) and *mīḍhvāṃs-* ‘gut befruchtend’ (*Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* 9.19.5).
 - According to Höfler, this usage of *mīḍhvāṃs-* adds support for the idiom ‘to urinate’ = ‘to ejaculate’.
 - However, *mīḍhvāṃs-* is not a participial formation to *mīḍ(l)h-* of *mih* ‘to urinate’.
 - *mīḍhvāṃs-* is a participial formation to the **complex verbal root** behind the noun *mīḍhā-* ‘pay, reward’ (*RV* +; cf. OAv. *mīždá-*) < PIE $*mis-d^h_1ó-$, an interpretation going back to Kuiper (1934: 234; cited in *EWA* II 1986-2001: 358).



The saliency of pleasure in Sanskrit and Latin passages?

1. Höfler also argues that the saliency lies in the meaning (*zum Spaß*) *Liebe machen* and that the Sanskrit and Latin passages are also used in contexts where a secondary meaning is *für Sex um des Vergnügens willen* (for the sake of pleasure).
2. In none of the Sanskrit passages cited by Höfler, the meaning ‘sex for the sake of pleasure’ can be gleaned from the context.
3. The prefixed verb *adhi-mehati* is found only in legal proscriptions of punishments and has no valence of sex for pleasure.¹

¹For discussion of the passages cited from Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra* and a similar passage from *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (II 296), see Appendix I.



The saliency of pleasure in Sanskrit and Latin passages?

- Secondly, even the Latin passage (*hunc perminxerunt calones* “the soldiers’ servants pissed over him” [Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.44]) adduced by Höfler in favor of sex for pleasure might actually refer to the opposite.

In the context of the satire, Horace is recounting the penalties Romans pay for their sexual perversions, and, within the context, *hunc perminxerunt calones* most probably refers to rape.

- As Wackernagel (1907: 7) had remarked, “why is the word and its derivatives only used when there is an assault on the rights of another?”¹
- The saliency Wackernagel (1907: 7) saw for uses for reflexes of **/h₃meiǵ^h/* in Sanskrit and Latin do not correlate with the use of *μοιχός* in Greek literature, where the *μοιχός* and the *μοιχᾶς* are both presented as equally guilty in the adulterous procreation.

¹ *Warum wird das Wort und seine Ableitungen nur gebraucht, wenn Eingriff in Rechte eines andern stattfindet?*



The saliency of pleasure in Sanskrit and Latin passages?

- As Wackernagel (1907: 7) had remarked, “why is the word and its derivatives only used when there is an assault on the rights of another?”¹
- The saliency Wackernagel (1907: 7) saw for reflexes of $*/h_3meiǵ^h/$ in Sanskrit and Latin do not correlate with the use of $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ in Greek literature, where the $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ and the $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ are both presented as equally guilty in the adulterous procreation.

The need for a new etymology

The derivation of $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ from $\sqrt{*h_3meiǵ^h}$ thus fails on semantic and formal grounds and must be abandoned (similarly van Beek [2011: 137]).

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3 Gk. μοιχός and the Greek reflexes of PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$

μ(ε)ίγνυμι in the contexts of adultery and μοιχός

- The semantic connection is most straightforwardly explained if μοιχός is to be ultimately seen as a reflex of PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$, whose reflexes in Greek frequently refer to adulterous, extra-marital sexual acts in the Homeric epics and hymns.
 - Most frequent are the present stem μίσγω and ἐμίγην in this meaning.²

First comparandum: Helen and Paris

ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσι,
 νήσω δ' ἐν Κραναῇ ἐμίγην φιλότητι καὶ εὐνή,
 ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καὶ με γλυκὺς ἴμερος αἰρεῖ
 (*Il.* 3.444–446)

When having kidnapped you in
 sea-treading ships I sailed, and on the
 island of Cranae, I **mixed in love's bed**—
 likewise now I yearn for now, and sweet
 desire takes a hold of me.

²For the problem of -γ- in the verbal reflexes of this root in Greek and supposedly Iranian, see Appendix I



3 Gk. μοιχός and the Greek reflexes of PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$

μ(ε)ίγνυμι in the contexts of adultery and μοιχός

- In the last passage, ἐμίγην is used of the proverbial adulterers Helen and Paris, whose union is marked by μ(ε)ίγνυμι.
- The secondary semantics of having sex *for the sake of pleasure* that Höfler argues for μοιχός can easily be located in this passage.

Second comparandum: Ares and Aphrodite

αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀείδειν
ἀμφ' Ἄρεος φιλότητος εὐστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης,
ὡς τὰ πρῶτ' ἐμίγησαν ἐν Ἥφαιστοιο δόμοισι
λάθρη· πολλὰ δὲ δῶκε, λέχος δ' ἤσχυνε καὶ εὐνήν
(*Od.* 8.266–270)

But then he played the phorminx and struck up a beautiful song of the love of Ares and fair-crowned Aphrodite— how for the first time **they had mixed in the house of Hephaestus** secretly; and Ares gave her many things, and **shamed Hephaestus' marriage-bed**.



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Ares and Aphrodite's affair

Here, we note that the actions of Ares and Aphrodite are portrayed as deeply irreverential and **shameless**, and their clandestine affair fits all the marks of adultery and the charges levied against a μοιχός (cf. Lysias 1).



Ring composition?

Ares and Aphrodite caught

οὐκ ἀρετᾶ κακὰ ἔργα· κικάνει τοι βραδὺς
ὠκύν, ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἥφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς
εἶλεν Ἄρηα ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν οἱ
Ἄλυμπον ἔχουσιν, χωλὸς ἐὼν τέχνησι· **τὸ**
καὶ μοιχάγρι' ὀφέλλει.

(*Od.* 8.329-32)

Bad actions do not prosper. The slow catches up with the swift, just as even now, Hephaestus, even though he is sluggish, has caught Ares even though he is the swiftest among the gods who reign over Olympus, even though he is lame, with his skills, (he has caught him). **And (Ares) is on the hook for an adultery fine.**

1. μοιχάγρια derived from μοιχός and ἄγρη 'hunt, chase' (LSJ, s.v. ἄγρη; DELG, s.v. μοιχός, 708) with similar formations like ζωαγρία, βοάγρια, ἀνδράγρια (all Hom. +).
2. Here it caps off an episode in a concentric ring that starts with Demodocus signing of Ares and Aphrodite's affair.



3 Gk. μοιχός and the Greek reflexes of PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$

Ring composition in the affair of Ares and Aphrodite

Ring Composition

- Simply speaking, the action that Ares took part in with Aphrodite (ἐμίγησαν) makes him liable for a fine (μοιχάγρια) as an adulterer.
- Ring-composition is a coveted feature of Indo-European poetic diction (Watkins 1995: 34–37) and here the “finite set” of their transgression is opened by Demodocus singing of ἐμίγησαν and closed by the jocular statement that Ares is now liable to μοιχάγρια.
- Although there are numerous other examples that can be analyzed for sake of the argument, it would suffice to say that the semantic link between μ(ε)ίγνυμι and μοιχός is derived without much ordeal.



3 Gk. μοιχός and the Greek reflexes of PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$

Gk. μοιχός ‘adulterer’ and OE (*ge*)*māh* ‘shameful’

1. OE **māh*, *gemāh* ‘*schamlos*, *zudringlich*, *ungezügelt*’ have been linked frequently with μοιχός, and this etymology has been recently upheld by Höfler (2022/2023: 23).
2. However, as he notes himself, “it is difficult to go from ‘pissing, urinating’ to ‘unbridled.’”³
3. In the epics, μ(ε)ίγνυμι is deployed with great frequency in scenes of extra-marital affairs and uncontrollable sexual urges.
4. An adjective derived from the PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$ through a feminine abstract **moik-éh₂* still conveys the notion of unbridledness of the referent involved in sex that does not conform to the normative social expectations (cf. Ares and Aphrodite).

³*man [kommt] von ‚pissend, harnend‘ [...] jedoch nur schwerlich auf ‚ungezügelt‘.*



3 Gk. μοιχός and the Greek reflexes of PIE $\sqrt{*meik}$

Gk. μοιχός ‘adulterer’ and OE (ge)māh ‘shameful’

- We also note that in the affair of Aphrodite and Ares (discussed above), the gods are called onto look at the adulterers caught in the net; however, the goddesses stay inside:

θηλύτεραι δὲ θεαὶ μένον **αἰδοῖ** οἴκοι ἐκάστη

“but the goddesses, each (of them), stayed at home **out of shame.**”

(*Od.* 8.324)

- The connotations of shamelessness and unbridledness, if seen as a failure to conform to norms of sexual behavior, are already easily located in the Homeric epics and hymns—making the link with Germanic forms all the more semantically attractive and straightforward.

Formal aspects of the derivation

We can now turn to the formal aspects of the derivation after having looked at the semantic domain of $\sqrt{*meik}$ which fits nicely with the attested behavior of a μοιχός.



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4 Two pathways for the development of *μοιχός*

rátha-type derivations with bounded syncope (see Yates 2024):

- (1) Widely-accepted derivations (cf. Yates 2022: 271):⁴
 - a. **(H)rot-éh₂*- ‘wheel’ > Lat. *rota* ‘wheel’⁵
⇒ *(H)rot-h₂-ó-* ‘wheeled’ > Ved. *rátha* ‘chariot’, YAv. *raθa* ‘chariot’⁶
 - b. **sok^wéh₂* > *ὀπά-ων* ‘companion’, *ὀπη-δός* ‘id.’ (Rau 2004: 163⁶⁴)
⇒ **sok^w-h₂-óy-* ‘comrade’ > Ved. *sakhā(y)*- ‘friend’
⇒ **sok^w-h₂-y-ó-* ‘having comrades’ > Lat. *socius* ‘ally’, ON *seggr* ‘warrior’⁷
 - c. **kōp-éh₂* ‘beating’ > Gk. *κοπή* ‘id.’
⇒ **kōp-h₂-ó-*
> Ved. *śaphá-* ‘hoof’, Av. *safa-* ‘id.’ (Rau 2004: 163)

⁴More examples of *rátha*-type derivations can be found in Appendix II.

⁵EWA (1986-2001: 429-430), de Vaan (2008: 527), e.g., Weiss (2020: 126, 320), Fritz & Meier-Brügger (2021: 126), cf. *NIL* (2008: 575-578)

⁶Schindler (1969: 164⁶⁵), e.g., EWA II (Mayrhofer 1986-2001: 684-685), Beekes (2010: 112-113)

⁷See Appendix II for more formations of the *rátha*-type.



4 Two pathways for the development of $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$

rátha-type derivations with bounded syncope (see Yates 2024):

Tentative Proposal for Gk. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ and OE *(ge)māh*

• $\sqrt{*me\acute{i}k}$ 'to mix (of bodies)'

$\Rightarrow *mo\acute{i}k\acute{-}éh_2$ 'mixture (of bodies)' = 'sex'

$\Rightarrow *mo\acute{i}k\acute{-}h_2\acute{-}ó\acute{-}s$ 'one engaging in sex' \rightarrow 'adulterer'

> OE *(ge)māh*, Gk. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ (with elliptical substantivization).



When was *maiša* derived?

- Exact match for Lith. *kraujó-* in OPr. *crauyo* < **krow(h₂)-y-éh₂* vs. productive masculine forms in Lith.
- Old Prussian reflexes match formally with Lith. *kraujó-* < **krow(h₂)-y-éh₂* in the Lith. 2M determinative compound *kraujó-maiša* ‘incest’ (Old Prussian forms cited as feminine by Mažiulis [(1988-1998: 263–264)]).
- A couple of general patterns in Balto-Slavic compounding that point towards the antiquity of *kraujó-maiša*:
 1. For most 2M determinative compounds, the 2M of the determinative compounds, ends in Lith. *-is/-é* (Larsson 2002: 209), and the ending in *-a* is not the productive type.
 2. For two-member determinative compounds ending in *-a* (more seldom *-as*), Larsson (2002: 211) argues that they reflect the inherited category of deverbative nouns (ending in **-ah₂*).



4 Two pathways for the development of $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$

Explaining the derivational history of *-maiša* and related forms

- *LED* (s.v. *maišyti*) derives *-maiša* from the iterative-causative stem, however we could be dealing here with the inverse.⁴

Baltic

PBSL *mais-á* (cf. Lith. *kraujó-maiša*)

⇒ PBSL denominative **maiš-ítí*

> PBal. *maisítí* > Lith. *maišyti*, » OPruss. *maysotan*

Slavic

Russ. *(pri)-meša*

⇒ PSl. **mēsítí*

> Russ. *mesít*, Scr. *m(ij)ešiti* (*EDS 2008*: s.v. *mēsiti*, 313)

Proposal for Gk. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ and OE *(ge)māh* so far

(1) $\sqrt{*meik}$

⇒ **moik-éh₂* > Lith. *-maiša*

⇒ **moikh₂-ó-s* > OE *(ge)māh*, Gk. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ (with elliptical substantivization).

⁴The derivational history presented for the Balto-Slavic forms here owes entirely to Ronald Kim's discussion (p.c., December 10, 2023).



4 Two pathways for the development of *μοιχός*

Aspiration from s-extended stem or verbal stems

1. Aspiration from the **men*-stem seen in *μεῖχμ[α]* (Alc.) < “theoret.” **méik̂-s-men-* (LIV² 2001: 481).
2. Aspiration by analogy to the aspirated verbal stems?
 - (2) Some aspirated perfect forms for this word:
 - a. Gk. *-μέμιχα* (*Il.* +, often with prefixes; see *GEW*² 1960-1972: 192),
ἀνα-μεμ<ε>ίχεται (*Hdt.* 1.146).⁵
 - (3) Some aorist passive forms with aspirated stems:
 - a. *ἐμίχθη* (*Il.* 10.365, 10.457), *ἐμ<ε>ίχθην* (*A. Fr.* 99.5).
- Under this analysis, we could be dealing with an original Gk. **μοικός* \rightsquigarrow *μοιχός* by analogy to the verbal stems or a nominal stem keeping in mind the early attestation of the verbal stems ending in an aspirate.

⁵(*Sapph. Fr.* 44.30) also attests an aspirated present stem *ὄν-εμείχυστο*.



Which option is preferable?

- I am agnostic for now as to which etymology should be given more weight, but if the Balto-Slavic data can be shown to be secondary, then the route getting aspiration by analogy is preferable.
- If truly from a *rátha*-type derivation, $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}s$ would be a remarkable archaism considering the $-\gamma$ - reflexes of the verbal root in Greek.
- Also possible that $*mo\check{\iota}k\text{-}h_2\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}s$ already voiced in the history of Greek to $*mo\check{\iota}\hat{g}\text{-}h_2\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}s$ just like $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\omega$ based on the nasal-infix presents and after aspiration by the laryngeal underwent the regular $*/\hat{g}^h/ > [k^h]$ development:
PIE $*mo\check{\iota}k\text{-}h_2\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}s \rightsquigarrow$ PGk. $*mo\check{\iota}\hat{g}\text{-}h_2\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}s >$ PGk. $*mo\check{\iota}\hat{g}^h\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}s$ or $*mo\check{\iota}g^h\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}s >$ Gk. $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}s$.



Which option is preferable?

- If truly from a *rátha*-type derivation, $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ would be a remarkable archaism considering the $-\gamma$ - reflexes of the verbal root in Greek.
- Also possible that **moik̑-h₂-ó-s* already voiced in the history of Greek to **moig̑-h₂-ó-s* just like $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\omega$ based on the nasal-infix presents and after aspiration by the laryngeal underwent the regular **/ǵ^h/ > [k^h]* development:

PIE **moik̑-h₂-ó-s* \rightsquigarrow PGk. **moig̑-h₂-ó-s* > PGk. **moig̑^h-ó-s* or **moig^h-ó-s* > Gk. $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Benefits on the new analysis

- Two derivational pathways available for $\mu\omicron\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ that do not have to appeal to the operation of S-H effect to explain away the lack of laryngeal.
- No good evidence for the operation of the S-H effect in Greek with a nasal in the #HRO sequence (see Appendix III) making the derivation from $\sqrt{h_3meig̑^h}$ improbable.



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Conclusions & discussion

- The derivation of $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ from PIE $\sqrt{*h_3mei\hat{g}^h}$ remains problematic semantically and cannot serve as evidence for the word-initial operation of the S-H effect.
- Already in Homeric epics and hymns, $\mu(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\nu\mu\iota$ has connotations of shameless adultery in an extra-marital context.
- The derivational chain $\sqrt{*mei\hat{k}} \Rightarrow *moi\hat{k}-\acute{e}h_2 \Rightarrow *moi\hat{k}-h_2-\acute{o}-s > OE (ge)m\bar{a}h$, Gk. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ (with elliptical substantivization) and aspiration by analogy have been used to formalize the derivation.
- Tentatively, I side with van Beek (2011) against the word-initial operation of S-H effect in Greek but leave open the question of his word-medial rule $-VLHNV- > -VLNV-$ for future investigation.



The End!⁶

Thank you for your attention!

Questions? Comments?

⁶I am thankful to everyone in PIES for their help with this presentation. David Goldstein, Stephanie Jamison, Brent Vine, and Anthony Yates provided invaluable feedback and indispensable bibliographic references. Special thanks to Ronald Kim and Miguel Villanueva Svensson for their help with the Balto-Slavic data, and to John Clayton for his help and support with more matters than I can recount here.



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 - Appendix II
 - Appendix III



Appendix I: Additional Notes and References

1. [t]out le monde admet que *μοιχός* est un nom d'agent répondant au present *ὀμείχω* «pisser», mais sans prothèse. (Chantraine 1999: s.v. *μοιχός*, 708) The world includes Fritz & Meier Brügger 2021: 128; Mašliš 2021: 123, 126; Weiss 2020: 123; Piwowarczyk 2012; Byrd 2013; Janse & Praet 2012: 166²; *NIL* 2008: 384; Beekes 2010: 74–75, 238–242; Yamazaki 2009: 431; Nussbaum 1997: 181 (with the semantics 'to make water'); *DELG* 1999: 708; *IEW* 1959: 713; *GEW* 1960-1972: 249–250; Wackernagel 1916: 225².
2. Höfler (2022/2023: 23) cites the following passages from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* for the saliency of sex for pleasure:
 - *striyām ayonau gacchataḥ pūrvāḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ puruṣam adhimehataś ca* (4.13.40)
“For someone having sex with a woman in a place other than the vagina, the punishment is the lowest seizure fine, as also for someone ejaculating in a man.” ([Kauṭilya: *Arthaśāstra* IV 13.4]; Trans. Olivelle [2013: *ad loc.*, 252])



Appendix I: Additional Notes and References

- *striyaṃ dāsīm adhimehayatām pūrvāḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ, adāsīm madhyamaḥ, kṛta avarodhām uttamaḥ, kulastriyaṃ vadhaḥ*

“For molestation, they should be assessed the lowest seizure fine in the case of a slave woman; the middle fine in the case of a non-slave women; the highest fine in the case of a woman kept confined; and execution in the case of a woman from a respectable family.” ([II 36.41]; Trans. Olivelle [2013: *ad loc.*, 177])’
- *ayonau gacchato yoṣāṃ puruṣaṃ vābhimehataḥ / caturviṃśatiko daṇḍas* (Yājñ. 296.1-2; Trans. my own)
 - “For the one going in a place other than a woman’s vagina, or pissing on a man twenty-four is the fine.”
- In none of these passages, sex for the sake of pleasure can be gleaned from the context. These are merely proscriptions, and the meaning of *adhi-mehati* is far from clear, as the varying translation of Olivelle for the passages shows: ejaculating in a man vs. molesting a woman.



Appendix I: Additional Notes and References

3. The voiced reflexes of the final palatal e.g., in $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\omega$ 'to mix' show analogical transfer of voicing from the stem formations which would have voiced the final palatal according to *LIV* II (2001: 428), *GEW* II (1960-1972: 193)— e.g., the *nu*-present $\mu(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\bar{\nu}\mu\iota$ « **mik-nu*-. The Iranian formations that seem to go back to a voiced PIE root $\sqrt{*mei\acute{g}}$ like NP *mīhan* 'fresh butter', Oss. I. *misyn*, Yghn. *mešin* are probably unrelated to $\sqrt{*mei\acute{k}}$ (Cheung 2007: 261). Cheung (2007: 261) traces NP *mīhan* back to the IIr. verbal root $\sqrt{*mai\acute{g}H^3}$ 'to throw, discard' and argues that the Ossetic and Yghn. words might be related too and that the Yghn. word could also show contamination from PIIr. **maiša-* 'sheep' (cf. Av. *maēšī-* (f.) 'ewe').



Appendix I: Additional Notes and References

4. For the e-grade reconstruction of *kraũjas*, see Mayrhofer 1986: 140, although I operate here with an o-grade after Nussbaum (1999: 402, 416) who argues for o-grade root-vocalism for Skt. *kravyá-* (neut.), OPr. *krawian*, and Lith. *kraũjas* and also posits that the *i*-stem abstract *-kravi-* as seen in Skt. *á-kravi-hasta* attested in the dual *ákravihastā* [*RV* 5.62.6]) < **krow(h₂)-i-* is derived from **krow(h₂)-ó-*, a morphological formation attested in OE *hrēaw*, OHG *hrao* (1999: 402). For the morphological derivation of the compound *á-kravi-hasta* as *á-kravi* ‘without goriness’ ⇒ *ákravi-hasta-* ‘whose hands are goreless’, see Nussbaum (1999: 416).



More examples of *rátha*-type derivations

- (4) Some recently proposed examples of the *rátha*-type derivation:
- a. \sqrt{wes} 'to buy' \Rightarrow $*wos-éh_2$ - 'buying, purchase' \Rightarrow $*wos-h_2-ó$ - 'the thing characterized by purchase'
> HLuw. *wašha*- 'purchase, price, fee' (Zhang 2022)
 - b. $*h_3nog^{(w)h-éh_2}$ > Lith. *nagà* 'foot', PSl. **nogá* 'id.'
 \Rightarrow $*h_3nog^{(w)h-h_2-ó-s}$ > Ved. *nakhá* 'nail, claw, talon' (Barnes 2024)



Word-initial S-H's effect in Greek? Gk. ὄνυξ as a counterexample of word-initial S-H effect

- Vine (1999: 559) reconstructs $*h_3nóg^{(w)h_-} \sim *h_3nég^{(w)h_-}$ based on Schindler (1972: 91) and acknowledges the problem of laryngeal vocalism in the S-H effect context.
 - Laryngeal restored from an e-grade oblique form after S-H effect ceased to operate, which was followed by a leveling of the strong stem throughout the paradigm.
 - However, this would require that the laryngeal was analogically transferred to the strong form, which was then generalized throughout the paradigm.



Gk. ὄνυξ as a counterexample of word-initial S-H effect

- van Beek (2011: 142) points out that there is no indication of an e-grade in other branches and dating Cowgill's Law before the S-H effect would be *ad hoc*.
- Such bidirectional analogies should also be posited with caution.⁷
- Taking the surface-base hypothesis approach of Albright (2010), we can rule out such bidirectional analogy entirely since that would have required a switch in the SURFACE BASE from which all others cells of the paradigm are derived.

⁷cf. Garrett (2011) for arguments against bi-directional leveling in Verner's Law doublets and Lundquist (2015) for arguments against bi-directional analogies in the formation of attested *ti*-stem ablaut and accent in Vedic.



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- In the development of Greek, however, there is no evidence that the oblique forms served as the surface base for nouns with root o-vocalism in their strong cases.

The evidence from the generalization of the o-grade in the paradigms of acrostatic II nouns with *ó/é*-ablaut suggests that the strong form of the acrostatic II paradigms served as the surface base.

⁷cf. Garrett (2011) for arguments against bi-directional leveling in Verner's Law doublets and Lundquist (2015) for arguments against bi-directional analogies in the formation of attested *ti*-stem ablaut and accent in Vedic.



Leveling in Acrostatic II paradigms in Greek

- Acrostatic II nouns R(ó)-S(ø)-E(ø) ~ R(é)-S(ø)-E(ø) uniformly level the vocalism of their strong cases throughout the paradigm in Greek:
 1. **nókʷt-s* (NOM.SG.) ~ **nékʷt-s* (GEN.SG.) » $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\xi$ (o-grade) with **/o/* > [u] by the “stricter” version of Cowgill’s Law (Vine 1999: 557).
 2. **pód-s* ~ **péd-s* (standardly since Kuryłowicz 1956: 57) » Gk. $\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (~ $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$) ‘foot’
 3. **h₂ówi-* ~ **h₂éwi-* » Gk. $\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ‘sheep’.
 4. The PIE root noun **dóm-s* ~ **dém-s*, shows only the o-grade form in Greek.⁸
 5. Moreover, in Greek, **nt*-stems, regardless of their exact formation, have also generalized their strong stem vocalism (Rau 2004: 162).
- The most straightforward explanation for $\theta\acute{\nu}\xi$ would be to assume, along with van Beek (2011: 142), that the S-H effect did not apply word-initially in Greek.

⁸The e-grade from PIE **dóm-s* ~ **dém-s* can only be seen in Greek in the compound $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (cf. Av. *dāng-paiti*; 1972). $\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon$ (< **wóyk-ṛ-de?*) is more uncertain. The example of $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ is also more involved, but its strong form, Vine 1999: 560–562 has argued, can in principle be traced back to an o-grade, which has been generalized in Greek, except for Boeot. $\beta\alpha\nu\tilde{\alpha}$, which must reflect, as Vine points out, a ø-grade.