

Thoughts on $*h_1ned^h-$

Daniel Kölligan, JMU Würzburg

Roadmap

How much mileage out of $*h_1ned^h$ -?

1. ἐνθεῖν etc.
2. νόσφι
3. Myc. *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*
4. νόθος
5. Further material? Arm. *ownd*, Celt. **nesso-*

1 ἐνθεῖν etc.

- Epic: 'to come forth, grow, well':

Il. 2.218 αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε / φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλὴν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη

(Description of Thersites): "And above them his head was pointed, and a scant stubble *grew* on it."

"darüber / Zugespitzt war er am Kopf, und spärlich *sproßte* darauf die Wolle." (Schadewaldt)

Il. 10.134 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖναν περονήσατο φοινικόεσσιν

διπλὴν ἑκταδίην, οὕλη δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.

"And around him buckled a purple cloak of double fold and wide, on which the down *was* thick."

"und dicht *sproßte* darauf die Wolle"

- *Il.* 11.266 ὄφρα οἱ αἶμ' ἔτι θερμὸν ἀνήνοθεν ἐξ ὤτειλῆς.
 "(But Agamemnon ranged along the ranks of the other warriors with spear and sword and great stones) so long as the blood *welled* still warm from his wound."
 "Solange ihm das Blut noch warm *hervorquoll* aus der Wunde"
- *Od.* 17.269 γιγνώσκω δ' ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δαίτα τίθενται / ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ κνίση μὲν ἀνήνοθεν
 "And I perceive that in the house itself many men are feasting: for the savor of meat *arises* from it."
 "Doch gewahre ich, daß viele Männer darin ein Gastmahl halten, denn Fettdampf *breitet* sich *aus*."
- Rix (1970: 110 fn. 97): "Die Einengung der Bedeutung von 'gekommen sein' auf 'empor-, hervorquellen' [...] geht wohl auf Kosten der Kunstsprache, die eine bestimmte Verwendung (etwa neben Subjekt αἶμα) zur Bedeutung uminterpretiert hat."

- ἀνήνοθε secondary with haplology from *ἀν-ενηνοθ- as per Frisk *GEW* 1.517? --> no reason to connect the form with **h*₂*end*^h*os*, Gr. ἄνθος (cf. Beekes 2010 s.v.).
- Question of Rix' Law operating in front of nasals -- challenged by Nikolaev (2007) who proposes a connection of **h*₂*ned*^h- 'to move/stick out' with ἀθήρ 'ear of grain' next to ἀνθέριξ 'beard of an ear of corn': **h*₂*nod*^h-/*h*₂*ned*^h-, LOC.SG **h*₂*nd*^h*er* 'in a projecting spot', **h*₂*nd*^h*ēr* > ἀθήρ next to **h*₂*end*^h*eró*- > *ἀνθερε/ο-.
- This requires the assumption that "the Doric, Delphic and Arcadian thematic aorist ἦνθον has *e*- in the root by analogy with ἦλθον." (Nikolaev 2007: 165 fn. 15).
- Possible, but additional assumption beside assumption of root ablaut for the two derivatives **h*₂*nd*^h*ēr* beside **h*₂*end*^h*eró*-.

- Alcman *frg.* 1.73 οὐδ' ἐς Αἰνησιμβρο[ό]τας ἐνθοῖσα φασεῖς "And you will not *go* to A. and say. ..."
- Epicharm *frg.* 84.45 ε]νθῶν τεῖδε θωκησῶ 'I will *go* there and sit down.'
- 99.5 ἐνθ[ῶ]ν ὕσπερ ἐκε-/ λή[σασθ' ἐμέ 'by *going* where you told me to go'
- Law about the return of banned citizens to Tegea, 324 BCE
 (4) τὸς φυγάδας τὸς κατενθόντας τὰ πατρῶια / (5) κομίζεσθαι, ἐς τοῖς ἔφευγον, καὶ τὰ ματρῶια, ὅσαι ἀ-
 (6) νέσδοτοι τὰ πάματα κατήχον καὶ οὐκ ἐτύνηχον ἀδ- / (7) ελφεὸς πεπαμέναι· ... / (31) εἰ δ' ἄν τινες
 ὕστερον / (32) κατένθωνσι, τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ ξενικῷ [μ]ηκέτι ἐόντ- / (33) ος, ἀπυγγραφέσθω πὸς τὸς
 στραταγὸς τὰ πάματα ἰν ἀμ- / (34) ἐραις ἐξήκοντα ... "Die zurückgekehrten Verbannten sollen das
 väterliche (Vermögen) erhalten..." 31 "Wenn jemand später zurückkehrt ..." (Thür/Taeuber
 51ff.).
- Used as aorist of κατέρχομαι 'to return'.

- Also Callimachus *Iambi* 7.46 μὴ τύ γ' αὖτις ἔνθ[ης]. "Do not *come* back again, you!"
- Theocr. *Id.* 1.128 ἔνθ', ὦναξ, καὶ τάνδε φέρει πακτοῖο μελίπνουν
ἐκ κηρῶ σύριγγα καλὸν περὶ χεῖλος ἐλικτάν
"Come, lord, and accept this pipe, smelling sweetly of honey from its compacted wax²⁸ and
with a good binding around its lip."
- 5.62 αἴθ' ἔνθοι ποχ' ὁ βουκόλος ᾧδε Λυκώπας. "I wish Lycopas the oxherd would *come* this way!"
- 5.67 ἴθ' ὦ ξένε, μικκὸν ἄκουσον τεῖδ' ἐνθῶν "Come, my friend, *come* over here and listen for a while."
- Later uses of ἔνθε/ο- may be influenced by perceived identity with ἐλθεῖν but "since ἐνθεῖν is widespread in Doric, it is not from ἐλθεῖν (with a limited dialectal development λτ > ντ)" (Beekes 2010: s.v.).

Ved. *adhvan-*

- Ved. *adhvan-* 'way' < **h₁nd^huēn-*, ON *ǫndurr* 'snow-shoe' < **h₁ond^huro-* (with secondary full grade, *vrddhi*-formation? Rix 1970: 107 n. 71).
- Ved. *adhvará-* m. "Opfer, Soma-Opfer, Feier, Gottesdienst, Zeremonie (RV +)" (EWAia 1: 68) Explained by Mayrhofer as based on '(holy) way'. But probably not in the concrete sense of a path on the ground, but in the abstract and ritualistic sense of 'procedure', 'the way to perform (the ritual)'.
 - *adhvan-* usually describes a fixed course, e.g. 1.72.7c *ádhvanaḥ devayānān* 'the paths walked by the gods', 1.71.9 *māno ná yó 'dhvanaḥ sadyá éti* "Der Sonnengott, der wie der Gedanke in kürzester Frist seine Wege geht" (Geldner), etc.
- Renou *EVP* 13.136 (on RV 6.16.3 with *adhvan-* and *path-* next to each other): "Le premier terme se dit plutôt des voies rituelles (d'où *adhvará-*), le second des voies célestes."
- Ved. *adhuná* 'now' (ŚB+) : INS.SG of *ádhvana-* (EWAia 1.68). Semantically like *right away*?
 - Cf. from Lat. *via* Old Senesian *in issa via*, Old Umbrian *essavia*, New Umbrian *savia* 'immediately' (Meyer-Lübke *REW* 709).

Ved. *adhvan*-

- difficult to separate forms that belong to $*\text{ṇd}^h$ - 'below': Ved. *adhamá*- 'lowest', *ádharma*- 'lower', *ádhas* 'below', Lat. *inferior*, *infimus* etc.
- probably related to *ádhi* 'above, on top, on, because of, in addition...' a LOC of the root noun $*\text{h}_1\text{ṇd}^h$ -i 'by way of/on the way --> on'?
 - Cf. Prellwitz (1931: 105-106).
- Búa (2005): OHG *inti* 'and' < $*\text{h}_1\text{end}^h$ i beside Skt. *adhi* < $*\text{h}_1\text{ṇd}^h$ i? Or from *anti/enti*: EWAhd s.v. *inti*: "Schwachtonvar. zu umgelautetem *ent/di*." OIr. *ind/inn* 'end, tip, edge' < $*\text{h}_1\text{end}^h$ ijo-?
- How frequent is colexification of 'on, above' and 'towards, against' as in Greek *ἐπί*? Cf. Lat. *sub* 'under' and 'toward'. Dunkel LIPP 2.244 $*\text{épi}$ 'auf, darauf; auf - hin'.
- RV 9.27.5 *eṣá súryeṇa hāsate/ pávamāno ádhi dyávi / pavítre matsaró mádaḥ*
"Dieser läuft mit der Sonne um die Wette, *oben, am Himmel*, sich läuternd." < "on the way in heaven"?

2 νόσφι

- état de la question at Dieu (2010) who argues for a derivation from PIE **nes-* 'to return': root noun INSTR.(PL) **nos-b^hi* 'en sécurité, à l'abri' >> 'loin'.

-- Is this meaning necessary for Homer?

-- How likely is the semantic shift from 'safe (and sound)' > 'far away'?

- Various other proposals:
 - Gr. νῶτον 'back' (**not-s-p^hi* vel sim.) (Curtius, Schulze, Schwyzer)
 - Lith. *nuõ* 'from' < **nō* (Persson)
 - **nVs-* 'nose' (Thieme, Heubeck)
 - **nos/nōs* 1P.PL pronoun 'away from us' (Risch, Meier-Brügger)

- Alternative: Root noun $*h_1nod^h-$ / $*h_1ned^h-$ 'going, way'?
- meaning as in ἐνθεῖν 'to go/come'
- genitive-ablative $*h_1ned^h-(e/o)s$ of root noun 'way', with *o*-vowel generalized $*h_1nod^hs$ 'off the way, from the away, away' > Gr. $*νός$
 - with loss of initial laryngeal in context $*HRO-$, Saussure's Law
- remarked with $-φι$: νόσφι 'away from, separated',
- cf. ἄμα δ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφιν (Il. 4x) and ἐν χειρὶ ... δεξιτερῇφι (1x), similarly ἀπὸ νόσφι(ν).

- PDE *away* < OE *onweg* 'on the way', *Hira feawa onweg comon buton þa ane þe þær ut ætswummon*. "(There was a great slaughter each time;) so that few of them came away, except those only who swam out to the ships" (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Parker MS.) anno 914; cf. *OED*).
- German *weg* : *DWDS* s.v.: „*weg* Adv. ‘von einem Ort entfernt oder sich entfernend, fort’, verkürzt (14. Jh.) aus mhd. *enwec* ‘hinweg, fort’, zuvor mhd. *in wec* ‘auf den Weg’ (vgl. noch *enweg*, Luther), oft in Verbindung mit Verben der Bewegung wie mhd. *in wec gān* ‘fortgehen’, eigentlich ‘auf den Weg, auf die Reise gehen’.“
- Italian *via* ‘away’ : *andare via* ‘to go away’.
- so LOC > ABL 'on the way' > 'away' by implicature ("If something is moving on its way, it will be gone soon." beside "... it will be here soon.": *I am on my way* can have both meanings.)

Arm. *and*

- ‘illic, there, yonder, in that place’ < **h₁nd^h-*, LOC **h₁nd^h-i*? Or DAT **h₁nd^h-ei* as probably in *andēn* ‘there, in this very place’ < °*-ei-nV*...?
 - Meaning ‘for going away/on the way, distant’? Usually translates Gk. ἐκεῖ in the gospels.
 - Monier Williams s.v. *adhvan*:- “a road, way, orbit; a journey, course; **distance**; time; means, method, resource; the zodiac (?), sky, air; a place; a recension of the Vedas and the school upholding it; assault (?). ”
- ‘in the distance, over there’?
- Cf. Hackstein (2007) on ablative > locative > directive as e.g. in Lat. *intus* ‘from inside’ / ‘inside’ / ‘to the inside, into’.

3 Myc. *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*

- KN M 719

.1 a-mi-ni-so ke-re-na , re-ne , [
.2 e-ne-si-da-o-ne , su-ja-to , *146 1[



- **h₁ned^h-ti-°* should be Myc. */enesti-/ <e-ne-ti->.
- Hence rather **h₁ned^h-si-°* with the "southern Greek" variant of the compositional element -*ti-* in τερψίμβροτος-compounds.
- Cf. for this Myc. *ma-na-si-we-ko* /*Mnā-si-wergos*/ (= Μνησίεργος) and *qi-si-a-ko* /*K^wī-si-ark^hos*/ (= Τείσαρχος) next to e.g. *o-ti-na-wo* /*Or-ti-nāwos*/
- Similar compounds based on dental stems: πείθω, Πεισί-στραος, maybe also φαεσίμβροτος which could be based on φάέθω* (PTCP φάέθων, -ουσα) -- while Risch (1974: 192) assumes a connection with the aorist 3SG φάε, but are these compounds based on inflected forms? Cf. at least ὠλεσί-καρπος (*Od.*) based on aorist 3SG ὤλεσα.

- Second compound member word for 'water', **deh*₂-, YAv. *dānu*- 'river', Oss. *don*, etc. (EWAia I.720)
- First compound member with causative meaning, cf. **nes*- 'to come home', but probably 'to bring home' in Νέστωρ, *ne-ti-a-no* /*Nesti-ānōr*/ etc.) 'who brings his army/people home'.
- --> 'who makes the water(s) come forth' (like Indra unblocking the waters?).
- NB **Enesidāhōn* receives an offering (of textiles) at Amnisos, one of the harbours of Knossos, and the river of the same name close by.
- Advantage in comparison to previous explanations: no need to assume ad hoc vowel assimilation if one compares ἔνοσις 'shaking', ἐνοσίγαιος, and ἐνοσίχθων (**h*₁*enh*₃- as per Janda).

Cf. García Ramón *Myc. Onomastics* 235:

“It is not clear whether the GN *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* (dat.) */-dahō-nei/* survives in Ἐννοσίδαις, an epiclerus of Poseidon (Pindar, Stesichorus), which probably reflects the first part of Hom. Ἐννοσίγαιος, -χθων ‘earth-shaker’ (epithets of Poseidon).

In fact, the form concealed by *e-ne-si*^o, with its -e- vocalism, is not matched by Ἐννοσί^o and cannot, in my opinion, be explained as the effect of an assimilation **en(n)o-* > *en(n)e-*. Moreover, the etymology of the first member of ἔννο-σι^o, εἴνο-σι^o is far from safely established: a connection to ὠθέω ‘shake’ (IE **uēd^h-*), and an explanation of ἔννοσι^o, εἴνοσι^o as from **en-uod^h-si*^o remains plausible from the semantic point of view, but, in this case, Myc. *e-ne-si*^o, which shows no trace of -w-, must be kept apart. Non liquet.”

- Surely, the isolated *e-ne-si-da-o*^o later merged with or was subsumed with the "names of Poseidon Ἐννοσίδαις, Ἐννοσίγαιος, etc. (see p. 873). This is one of several cases where what appears to be a separate deity on the tablets recurs later as an epithet of one of the Olympians." (Killen 2024: 1.309)
- And *ibid.* 2.873: "As Furumark (1954b.34) and Meriggi (1955.25, 62) were the first to point out, *e* is reminiscent of Poseidon's names Ἐννοσίγαιος, Ἐννοσίχθων 'the earth shaker' (Il. x iii , 34, vii , 445, etc.; cf. εἰννοσίφυλλος 'with quivering foliage') or Ἐννοσίδαις 'the earth shaker' (Pindar). If the terms are related, however, the second *e* of *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* is difficult to explain; see further Heubeck 1957.277–78, Ruijgh 1967b.12, Chantraine, Dictionnaire 351 s.v. ἔννοσις."
- Poseidon as the deity of water would of course be the natural target for this merger.
- As discussed by Littleton (1973), there are myths of Poseidon as the god who makes a river flow, e.g., by making a whole in a rock. This would seem to fit well to the proposed explanation of *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* as the one who makes the waters come/gush forth. And the myth as told e.g. in Apollodorus and Hyginus might originally have been the myth of /Enesidāhōn/ later transferred to Poseidon.

- Apollod. 2.4 τὰς θυγατέρας ὑδρευσομένας ἔπεμψε. μία δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμυμώνη ζητοῦσα ὕδωρ ρίπτει βέλος ἐπὶ ἔλαφον καὶ κοιμωμένου Σατύρου τυγχάνει, καὶ κεῖνος περιαναστάς ἐπεθύμει συγγενέσθαι: Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπιφανέντος ὁ Σάτυρος μὲν ἔφυγεν, Ἀμυμώνη δὲ τούτῳ συνευνάζεται, καὶ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶν τὰς ἐν Λέρνη πηγὰς ἐμήνυσεν.

"Danaus sent his daughters to draw water. One of them, Amymone, in her search for water threw a dart at a deer and hit a sleeping satyr, and he, starting up, desired to force her; but Poseidon appearing on the scene, the satyr fled, and Amymone lay with Poseidon, and he revealed to her the springs at Lerna."

- Hyginus CLXIXa. AMYMONE. *Amymone Danai filia missa est a patre aquam petitum ad sacrum faciendum, quae dum quaerit, lassitudine obdormiit; quam satyrus uiolare uoluit. illa Neptuni fidem implorauit. quod cum Neptunus fuscina in satyrum misisset, illa se in petram fixit, satyrum Neptunus fugauit. qui cum quaereret in solitudine quid faceret a puella, illa se aquatum missam esse dixit a patre; quam Neptunus compressit. pro quo beneficium ei tribuit, iussitque eius fuscina de petra educere. quae cum eduxisset, [et] tres silani sunt secuti, qui ex Amymones nomine Amymonius fons appellatus est. ex qua compressione natus est Nauplius. hic autem fons Lernaeus est postea appellatus.*

"Amymone, daughter of Danaus, was sent by her father to get water for performing sacred rites. While hunting for it, she grew weary and fell asleep. A satyr tried to seduce her, but she implored the help of Neptune. When Neptune had hurled his trident at the satyr, it became fixed in a rock. Neptune drove off the satyr. When he asked the girl what she was doing in this lonely place she said she had been sent by her father to get water. Neptune lay with her, and in return he did her a favour, bidding her draw out his trident from the rock. She drew it out and three streams of water flowed, which were called the Amymonian Spring from her name. From the embrace Nauplius was born. The fountain, however, later was called the Fountain of Lerna."

- NB if the connection is right, the root is rather **h₁ned^h-*, not **h₂ned^h-*, unless one wants to assume an assimilation **anesi-* --> *enesi-*, but this is probably no better than **enos-* --> *enesi-*.
- On **deh₂-* 'water' in Greek theonyms cf. also Δάειρα as argued by Nikoalev (2019): **deh₂uerih₂* 'the one (f.) having water'.
- KN M 719 *a-mi-ni-so ke-re-na*: *ke-re-na* = /kresnā/, related to **krasnā*, Aeol. κράννα, Att. κρήνη 'well, fountain'?

4 νόθος

- *Il.* 8.283 πατρί τε σῶ Τελαμῶνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐόντα,
καί σε νόθον περ ἐόντα κομίσσατο ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
"To your father Telamon, who reared you when you were a babe and, although you were a bastard, cherished you in his own house."
- Germ. *Bankert* 'illegitimate child' from *Bank+hard*, i.e., child engendered/born on the bench, not in the marital bed.
- *LfgrE* 3.418–419 (B. Mader) opposes it to ἰθαγενής 'born here' and glosses it as "Genaue Bed. unsicher, gewöhnlich: *Kind von Nebenfrauen, ehelichen* (wie z.B. Lykaon u. Polydoros [...]) u. *unehelichen* (wie z. B. der Sohn des Kastor [...]), [...] wobei beide hinter den 'legalen' Kindern nur wenig zurückstanden.", but then states "(*außereheliche*) *Kinder mit (Genos-)fremden Frauen* [...]; als uneheliche Kinder gehören sie prinzipiell zum Oikos der Mutter."
- --> 'outsider', 'the one who is away, namely in the mother's house' or 'born outside wedlock'?

- Nikolaev (2005: 55 fn. 75):
 - Возможно, что от этого же корня **H₂ned^h*- образовано *vòθos* 'бастард, рожденный вне брака' (Hom.+) < **(H₂)nod^h-o-* (выпадение ларингала по закону Хирта—де Соссюра): поскольку речь идет о ребенке от отца, чье имя известно, и от неизвестной матери или матери-рабыни, т.е. ребенку, рожденном вне отчего дома, кажется логичным предположить, что в основе значения этого слова лежит понятие, сходное с рус. на стороне или англ. [to be born] out of wedlock, и семантика 'движения наружу' подходит для описания данной ситуации достаточно точно (ср. рус. выродок); важной представляется также глосса *voθoṓvvn̄tos* Hes. 'рожденный вне брака' — не стоит ли за первой частью этого композита имя **voθòs* 'выход' uel sim.?
- Also Nikolaev (2010: 262 fn. 77).

- Or from meaning 'come (forth)' > 'offspring'?
- CόC-o-type formation like τόμος 'slice, piece of land' < 'what has been cut' from τέμνω 'to cut', i.e. 'what has come (forth)'.
- For the semantic shift 'to come' > 'to be born' cf. Lith. *gimti* 'to be born' from PIE **g^uem-*.
- νόθος may have referred to 'offspring' in general like σπέρμα, as e.g. in
 - Lk. 1.55 καθὼς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
"as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his *offspring* forever." (ESV)
- This general meaning might explain the rather vague denotation of νόθος as is visible in the discussion of the term in the *LfgrE*.

- Question whether to take ‘offspring’ as primary meaning, from which ‘spurious, counterfeit, supposititious’ developed or vice versa (cf. Hackstein 2016: **noth₂o-* ,keiner, nichtiger‘).
- Most lexicographers seem to prefer the former sequence, e.g. Boisacq (1916: 671): “bâtard, de naissance illégitime; *fig.* altéré, corrompu; faux”, LSJ “(A) *bastard*, *baseborn* ... (II) generally, *spurious* ...”
- Also the *OED* entry *bastard* starts with ‘A person conceived and born outside of marriage; an illegitimate child’ (attested since the 14th c.) and then adds as second meaning ‘Something which is of mixed or adulterated quality or nature, or of unusual size or shape for its kind, and related senses.’
- A semantic shift from ‘illegitimate child’ to ‘not the real thing, false, counterfeit’ seems unproblematic. The opposite development ‘false, not real’ > ‘illegitimate child’ does not seem to be frequent (attested at all?). Designations of persons seem to be primary.

Lat. *stirps*

- Cf. for 'offspring' > 'bastard' also Lat. *stirps* 'root, stalk, shrub, sprout; family, lineage, offspring, progeny' and Ital. *sterpo(ne)* 'wild, dry bush; bastard' (reported by Meyer-Lübke REW s.v. p. 624).
- Marazzini, Claudio. 2018. *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana – prototipo edizione digitale*, vol. XX p. 161: <https://www.gdli.it/JPG/GDLI20/00000168.jpg>: *sterpone*

2. Ant. e letter. Figlio illegittimo (anche con valore aggett. in unione con l'agg. *bastardo*).

M. Villani, III-3-99: Questo sterpone tornando alla sua natura, senza carità fraterna o ffede, di presente intese al tradimento del fratello. *A. Pucci*, *Cent.*, 62-39: Nel detto tempo il conte di Mangone / fu morto a tradimento da Spinello, / suo nipote bastardo ed isterpone. *Boiardo*, I-20-26: Or chi t'ha consigliato, vil stirpone, / smontar a piede e combatter al piano? / E non mi giongi col capo al gallone, / stroppiato bozzarello e tristo nano! *D. Bartoli*, I-8-103: Ne morì il re, senza lasciar di sé altro figliuolo che uno sterpone bastardo avuto d'amore da una cinese. *Cantù*, 503: Voltandosi a Forestino ed al costui fratello Bruzio, intorno ai quali, perché sterponi bastardi d'un gran signore, facevasi un circolo rispettoso.

– Come appellativo ingiurioso.

La Spagna, 14-7: Per mille volte tu sia il mal venuto, / sozzo sterpone, malvagio troiante.

Ved. *nadh*-?

- A formal match would seem to be Ved. RV 10.60.6 *nadbhyaḥ*, if from **nadh*- 'offspring':
agástyasya nádbhyaḥ / *sáptīyunakṣi róhitā* "For the *descendants* of Agastya you yoke a ruddy paired team." (Jamison & Brereton 2014)
- This form is now universally understood as a case form of *napat*-, however, i.e., from **naptbh*^o-
 - cf. Wackernagel & Debrunner (1930: 233), Schindler (1972: 29), EWAia 2: 11, 32: "Aufzugeben **nád*h- 'Verwandter' in RV *nádbhyas* (s. vielmehr o II 11); Schi, Wn 29, mit Lit. "
- Older view in Lanman (1872: 478): "*nád*hbyas ... BR. refer this to *náh* (cf. *akshânáhas*, A.p.f.); Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.109, to *náp*." BR s.v. *nah* 'binden, knüpfen, úmbinden, anlegen'. [...] 2. *nah Band*."
- The connection with *nah* 'to bind, to knot' is certainly not necessary. But if from **h₁ned^h-*, Ved. *nadbhyaḥ* would be the expected form in an acrostatic paradigm **h₁nod^h-*/*h₁ned^h-*, INSTR.PL **h₁ned^h-b^hios*.

5 Arm. *ownd*

- Dan. 1:12 *atē, p'orjea zcarays k'o awowrs tasn, ew tac'en mez ownds, ew keric'owk', ew jowr arbc'owk'*:
12 πείρασον δὴ τοὺς παῖδάς σου ἡμέρας δέκα, καὶ δότωσαν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων, καὶ φαγώμεθα, καὶ ὕδωρ πιώμεθα
"Test your servants for ten days; let us be given *vegetables* to eat and water to drink."
- Dan 1:16 *Ew arnoyr Ametasad zant'ris noc'a ew zgini ampelwoy noc'a, ew tayr ownds*
[11] *č'orec'ownc' mankanc'n*:
Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀμελσὰδ ἀναιρούμενος τὸ δείπνον αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ πόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς σπέρματα.
"And A. took away their portion (of food) and their wine (for drinking), and he gave them *pulse/corn*."
- *ənd-a-bowt* 'feeding on seeds, herbs' (Buzandaran 6.16), *ənd-a-ker 'id.* (Agat'angelos §138), etc.

- Martirosyan (2010: 636): Traditionally connected with $*h_2end^h$ -, Gr. ἄνθος 'flower', Skt. *ándhas*-, which is rejected by Ačaryan and upheld by Martirosyan, who connects *and* 'field of corn', and assumes $*h_2ond^ho$ - for *ownd*.
- Maybe $*h_1ned^h$ -/ $*h_1nod^h$ -/ $*h_1nōd^h$ - > $*aned$ -/ $*anod$ -/ $*and$ -; new *o*-grade form based on the zero-grade form $*and$ -: $*ond$ - --> *ownd*, as in *əmpem* 'to drink' : verbal noun *owmp* (quasi $*(p)ombo$)?

Celt. **nesso-*

- **nesso-* 'closer' (comparative) [Adj]: OIr. *nessa*, OW *nes*, MW *nes*, MBret. *nes* 'close', Co. *nes*, *nessa*, Gaul. *neddamon* [GEN.PL] 'proximorum' (Banassac, CIL XIII 10016,13)
- Matasović (2009:289-290): **Hned^h-* 'to bind', Ved. *nah-* (prs. *náhyati* 'binds') – semantically likely? 'bind' > 'near'?
- CLICS³ has a few examples for 'to unite, join' and 'near' colexified:

Language	Family	Form for JOIN	Gloss for JOIN	Form for NEAR	Gloss for NEAR
Proto Polynesian	Austronesian	<i>*pili</i>	join, unite	<i>*pili</i>	near (adv)
Hawaiian	Austronesian	<i>pili</i>	join, unite	<i>pili</i>	near (adv)
Páez	Páez	<i>ut'a-</i>	join, unite	<i>ut'a</i>	near (adv)
Yi (Mile)	Sino-Tibetan	<i>na²¹</i>	paste / glue / stick	<i>na²¹</i>	near

- The majority of cases have different sources / colexifications:
 - beside 93, short 16, **approach** 10, soon 4, **join** 4, enter 3, sun 3, neighbour 3

- so rather **h₁ned^h-* 'come' : **h₁ned^hto/so-* 'coming/having come (forth)' (to the speaker) > 'near, close'?
- Cf. Gk. πέλας 'near' : πίλναμαι 'to approach' (PIE **pelh₂-*) etc.
- Gk. ἐγγύς 'near' if from **h₁en-* + *g^uh₂-u-* 'coming towards/near/into' vel sim.
 - Cf. Beekes (2010: 370): "Pisani RILomb. 73:2(1939-40): 47 connected the word with βάλνω as "colui che va innanzi". This may chiefly be correct, but the second element is rather the neuter (= absolutive) of the root **g^weu-* 'to go', "en allant vers, au milieu"; cf. De Lamberterie 1990: 326-37, who compares με(σ)σηγγύς(ς)."
- Lat. *prope* 'near' < **pro-pro* (Dunkel 1980) 'on and on', i.e., 'getting closer'
- *coming week* = *next week* etc.

open questions...

1. νόστος: formally possible **h₁nod^h-to-* – which meanings of Gr. νόστος might fit to this etymon?
 - "yield or produce of grain when ground, Trypho ap. Ath. 14.618d; = γεύσις, Glossaria, cf. Hsch."
 - Cf. also ἄ-νοστος 'without yield' (Thphr.); νόστιμος 'belonging to the return' (Od.), also 'giving produce, fruitful, nutritious' (Call., Thphr., Plu.)." –
 - from meaning 'to return/return (n.)' (from sowing etc.)? Or 'what comes out/result'?
2. Myc. PN *e-ne-ti-jo* /Enestios/ as a short form of a *τερψίμβροτος*-compound **h₁ned^h-ti^o*? Beside **h₁ned^h-si^o* in *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*? Or rather /en-hestios/ 'at the hearth'?

summary

- Original meaning of **h₁ned^h-* 'come [+/- forth], go':
- 'come (forth)':
 - **h₁nod^h-o-* 'what has come forth, offspring' : νόθος
 - **h₁ned^h-si-deh₂-* : **/enesi-dā-/* 'making water come forth' : Myc. *e-ne-si-da-o*
 - **(h₁)ond^h-o-* 'seed' : Arm. *ownd* (maybe inner-Armenian new formation based on **and*).
 - 'coming near': **h₁ned^h-s/to-* > Celt. **nesso-*.
- 'come/go' > 'way':
 - **h₁nd^h-u_{er}/n-* : Skt. *adhvan-*, ON *ǫndurr* < **andura-* < **(h₁)ond^huro-*
 - 'on the way': **h₁nd^h-i/e_i*, Arm. *and* 'there'
 - 'from the way, off the way, away': ABL **h₁nod^hs* --> νόσφι

Thank you for your attention!

References

Beekes, Robert Stephen Paul. 2010. *Etymological dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.

Boisacq, Émile. 1916. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Búa, Carlos. 2005. „Zur Etymologie der deutschen Konjunktion *und*“. *Sprachwissenschaft* 30:111–25.

Dunkel, George. 1980. „Ennian Atque Atque; Prope“. *Glotta* 58: 97–103.

—. 2014. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*. Heidelberg: Winter.

EWAhd = Rosemarie Lühr. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen* V. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014. (ISBN 978-3-525-20771-0). s. v. 'inti'. (<https://ewa.saw-leipzig.de/articles/inti>)

Frisk, Hjalmar. 1960-1972. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

References

- García Ramón, José Luis. 2011. „Mycenaean onomastics“. In *Companion to Mycenaean*, ed. Yves Duhoux, Louvain: Peeters, 213–251.
- Hackstein, Olav. 2007. „Ablative Formations“. In *Verba docenti: studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues, and friends*, ed. Alan J. Nussbaum, 130–53. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.
- Hackstein, Olav. 2016. „Altgriechisch νόθος ‚keiner, nichtiger, unechter‘, hethitisch natta ‚nicht‘ und urindogermanisch *noth2o- ‚kein, nichtig““. In *„dat ih dir it nu bi huldi gibu“: Linguistische, germanistische und indogermanistische Studien Rosemarie Lühr gewidmet*, ed. Sergio Neri, Roland Schuhmann, Susanne Zeilfelder, 147–50. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Jamison, Stephanie W., & Joel P. Brereton. 2014. *The Rigveda : the earliest religious poetry of India*. New York: Oxford University Press.

References

Killen, John, ed. 2024. *The New Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139029049>.

Lanman, Charles R. 1872. „A Statistical Account of Noun-Inflection in the Veda“. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 10:325. <https://doi.org/10.2307/592131>.

LfgrE = Snell, Bruno. 1979-2010. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Littleton, C. Scott. 1973. „Poseidon as a reflex of the Indo-European ‚source of waters‘ god“. *JIES* 1: 423–40.

Martirosyan, Hrach K. 2010. *Etymological dictionary of the Armenian inherited lexicon*. Leiden: Brill.

References

Matasović, Ranko. 2009. *Etymological dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. Leiden: Brill.

Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1992-2006. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1911. *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nikolaev, Alexander. 2005. „К Действию Закона Рикса в Древнегреческом Языке“. In *Hṛdā Mānasā: Studies Presented to Professor Leonard G. Herzenberg on the Occasion of His 70-Birthday*, ed. by N. N. Kazanskiĭ & E. R. Kriuchkova, 38–72. Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka.

References

- . 2007. „The name of Achilles“. In *Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective*, ed. by George, Coulter et al., 162–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2010. *Исследования по праиндоевропейской именной морфологии*. Sankt-Peterburg: Наука.
- . 2019. „Ἀχαιῖρα, the lady of the waters“. *Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology* XXIII (Juni):790–95. <https://doi.org/10.30842/ielcp230690152357>.
- Prellwitz, Walther. 1930. „Hervorhebende Partikeln in der indogermanischen Wortbildung“. *Glotta* 19 (1): 89-127.
- Risch, Ernst. 1974. *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*. 2., Völlig überarb. Aufl. Berlin: de Gruyter.

References

Rix, Helmut. 1969. „Anlautender Laryngal vor Liquida oder Nasalis Sonans im Griechischen.“
Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 27:79–110.

Schindler, Jochem. 1972. *Das Wurzelnomen im Arischen und Griechischen*. Würzburg.

Thür, Gerhard, & Hans Taeuber. 1994. *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien (IPArk)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wackernagel, Jacob, & Albert Debrunner. 1930. *Altindische Grammatik. 3, Nominalflexion, Zahlwort, Pronomen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.