

The preverb *ἀπό* in Ancient Greek

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1 Introduction

This paper examines the meanings and the semantic evolution of the preverb *ἀπο-* in Ancient Greek (AGk). After a brief discussion of the forms and the etymology of the preverb, the words that contain it are classified according to structure and meaning. The preverb is compared to other AGk prefixes, e.g. *ἐκ-/ἐξ-*, *ἐν-/εἰς-*, *δια-*, *ἐπι-*, *κατα-*, *παρα-*, *προσ-*, *ὕπο-*, and the privative *ἀ-*.

2 Forms and etymology

The AGk preposition *ἀπό* has two forms, *ἀπό* and *ἀπύ*; the latter is certainly attested in the Mycenaean dialect and is the regular form in Arcadian, Cypriot, Lesbian and Thessalian (*LSJ* sv *ἀπό*; Schwyzer 1968: II 444, Buck 1955:27). The Mycenaean tablets attest the preverb in the form *ἀπυ-*, while there is no certain example of the form *ἀπο-*.¹ *Ἀπυ-* appears in words like: *a-pu-da-se-we*, probably = **ἀπυδα-σ(σ)εύς* ‘distribuidor’, *a-pu-do-ke* = **ἀπύδοκε*, *a-pu-do-si* = **ἀπύδοσις*, *a-pu-do-so* [= **ἀπυδοσ[μός]* or **ἀπυδώσο[νσι]*, and *a-pu-ne-we* = (?) **ἀπυνέφει* (cf. also fn.1).

The final *-o-* of the preverb is regularly omitted before vowel, e.g. *ἄπ-εἰμι* (*Il.*, see also fn.1, cf. Lejeune 1972:224), while the preverb is regularly *ἀφ-* before aspirated vowel, e.g. *ἀφ-ίστημι* (*Il.*). There are rare examples with maintenance of the final *-o-* before vowel, e.g. *ἀπο-αἰνυμαι* ‘take away, deprive one of’ (*Od.*), cf. *ἀπ-αἰνυμαι* ‘strip off, remove’ (*Il.*), before digamma, e.g. *ἀπό-ερσε* ‘swept away’ (*Il.*), and before aspirated vowel, e.g. *ἀπο-ἰερόω* (= *ἀφ-ιερόω*) (*CIG* [Aphrodisias]).

The etymology of the preposition is well established and is presented by *DELG*, Beekes (2010 s.v.) and Schwyzer (1968:II 444). AGk *ἀπό* is certainly connected with L. *ab* (also preverb, e.g. *ab-sisto* = *ἀφίσταμαι*, cf. Umbr. *ap-ehre* ‘= *ab extra, extrinsecus*’), Goth. *af* ‘down’ (also preverb, e.g. *af-standam* = *ἀφίσταμαι*; cf. OE. *aba*, Eng. *of*) and Skt. *āpa* ‘away from’ (also preverb, e.g. Skt. *āpa-i* = *ἄπειμι*, L. *ab-eo*, Skt. *āpa sthā-* = *ἀφίσταμαι*, L. *ab-sisto*, etc.), OPers. *apa*,

¹ The only doubtful case concerning the form *ἀπο-* is the word *a-po-ne-we* (see *DMic* s.v.) = (?) *a-pu-ne-we*; on the other hand, the form *ἀπ-* is certain: *a-pe-do-ke* = *ἀπέδοκε* (or *ἀπέκδοκε*; see *DMic* s.v.); *a-pe-e-ke* = (?) *ἀπ-έηκε* (see *DMic* s.v.);]*a-pe-e-ši*[= (?) *ἀπ-έηενσι* (see *DMic* s.v.);]*a-pe-i-ši*[= *ἄπ-εἰσι* (see *DMic* s.v.).

etc. The form *ἀπό* can be explained within the framework of AGk dialectal phonetics (Lejeune 1972:238), although its Indo-European origin cannot be excluded, if we take into account Skt. *ānu* and Av. *anu*, compared to AGk *ἄνα*, and on the other hand AGk *πύματος* ‘ἔσχατος, hindmost, last’ (*Il.*), OE. *fon(a)*, Ind. *punar* ‘again’ (Schwyzer 1968, II 444). Beekes (2010 s.v. *ἀπό*) reconstructs PIE **h₂epo*, alternating with PIE **h₂pro* in OCS *po*, L. *po-situs*, etc., cf. also AGk *πύματος*. The Albanian cognate is *pa* ‘without’ (also privative prefix *pa-* ‘un-’, e.g. Alb. *Pabesë* ‘unfaithful’).

3 The meanings of the AGk preverb *ἀπο-*

The main meanings of the preposition *ἀπό* are ‘from, away from’ (of motion, position, etc.), ‘from after’ (of time), ‘from’ (of origin, cause, material, instrument, etc.) and they are also preserved in compounds (see *LSJ* s.v. *ἀπό* D, Schwyzer 1968:II 444–445, cf. *DELG* s.v. *ἀπό*).² The *LSJ* describes the meanings of the preverb *ἀπο-* as follows: 1. ‘asunder’, denoting also ‘removal of an accusation’, 2. ‘finishing off, completing’, 3. ‘ceasing from, leaving off’, 4. ‘back again’, also ‘in full, or what is one’s own’, 5. ‘by way of abuse’, 6. almost ‘= *ἀ-* privative’.

According to *DELG*, the preverb *ἀπο-* has the meaning ‘éloigner, écarter’, cf. *ἀποβαίνω*, *ἀποβάλλω*, evolving into ‘payer, rendre’, e.g. *ἀποδίδωμι*. Like *ἐκ-* and *ἐξ-*, *ἀπο-* denotes the ‘aboutissement du procès’, cf. *ἀπεργάζομαι*, *ἀπανδρόω*, *ἀπανθρακίζω*, etc.; ‘cet aboutissement peut être une fin, une cessation, *ἀπαλγέω*, *ἀπανθέω*, etc.’; a privative-negative meaning is found in verbs like *ἀπαγορεύω*, *ἀπαρέσκω*, *ἀπανδάω*, and in nouns like *ἀποχρήματος*, *ἀπότιμος*, *ἀπόσιτος*. In some nouns *ἀπο-* means ‘une espèce de’, in a rather pejorative sense, e.g. *ἀπόλινον*, *ἀπολάντιον*, *ἀπόμελι*, maybe *ἀφάρκη*.

The following examination of the meanings of *ἀπο-* is based on *LSJ* and *DELG*, as well as Dieterich (1909) and Γαρδίκας (1912:77–121); cf. also Bogiatzidis (1918), but it concludes in a different division and classification, taking also into account the structure of each word.

3.1 Primary verbs

Primary verbs with the preverb *ἀπο-* are mostly deverbatives, where *ἀπο-* has the following meanings:

1. Meaning ‘away (from), off (from)’; in the framework of this large category the following distinctions can be made:

a. Formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb denoting movement, like ‘going, driving, leading, running, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀπάγω* ‘lead away, carry off’ (*Od.*); *ἄπειμι* ‘go away, depart’ (*Od.*); *ἀπέρχομαι* ‘go away, depart from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποβαδίζω* ‘go away’

² Cf. Humbert (1957:319–321), Luraghi (2003:118–130), Bortone (2000). Additional bibliography in Schwyzer (1968:II 444, n. 1).

(Ar.); *ἀποβαίνω* ‘step off from a place’ (*Il.*); *ἀποίχομαι* ‘to be gone away, to be far from, keep aloof from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποκινέω* ‘remove or put away from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποπέτομαι* ‘fly off or away’ (*Il.*); *ἀποπλάζω* ‘lead away from’ (A.R.), pass. ‘stray away from’ (*Od.*); *ἀποπλέω* ‘sail away, sail off’ (*Il.*); *ἀφάλλομαι* ‘spring off or down from’ (A.); etc. The first examples are already found in Mycenaean and in the *Il.* ([*a-re-i-si*] = *ἄπ-εισι*; *ἀπέρχομαι*, *ἀποβαίνω*, *ἀποπλέω*, etc.).

b. Formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb denoting ‘carrying, taking, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀποαίνουμαι* ‘take away, deprive one of’ (*Od.*); *ἀποκομίζω* ‘carry away, escort’ (X.); *ἀποφέρω* ‘carry off or away’ (*Il.*); *ἀφαιρέω* I. ‘take away from’ (*Od.*), II. *ἀφαιροῦμαι* ‘take away for oneself’ (*Il.*); etc. The first examples are already found in the *Il.* (*ἀποφέρω*, *ἀφαιροῦμαι*, etc.).

c. Formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb denoting ‘cutting, splitting, breaking, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀπαμάω* ‘cut off’ (*Il.*); *ἀποδρέπω* ‘pluck off, pluck and take’ (Hes.); *ἀποδρύπτω* ‘tear off the skin, lacerate’ (*Il.*); *ἀποκόπτω* ‘cut off, hew off’ (*Il.*); *ἀπορρήγνυμι* ‘break off’ (*Il.*); *ἀποσχίζω* ‘split, cleave off’ (*Od.*); *ἀποτέμνω* ‘cut off, sever’ (*Il.*); *ἀποτιμήγω* ‘cut off from’ (*Il.*); etc. The first examples are already found in the *Il.* (*ἀπαμάω*, *ἀποκόπτω*, *ἀπορρήγνυμι*, etc.).

There are also a few examples (Attic) analysed as *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, where the noun denotes what is cut off, e.g.: *ἀπαυχενίζω* ‘cut off by the neck’ (D.S.); *ἀποκαυλίζω* ‘break off by the stalk, break short off’ (E.); *ἀποκεφαλίζω* ‘behead’ (Arr.); etc.; in these formations the suffix *-ίζω* may be explained by the influence of verbs like *ἀπομερίζω*, *ἀφοπλίζω*, see under 1g.

d. Formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb denoting ‘throwing, darting, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀπαῖσσω* ‘dart away’ (Emp.); *ἀπακοντίζω* ‘shoot away like a javelin, shoot off’ (Arist.); *ἀποβάλλω* ‘throw off’ (*Il.*); *ἀπορρίπτω* ‘throw away, put away’ (*Il.*); *ἀφίημι* ‘send forth, discharge’ (*Il.*); etc. The first examples are already found in the *Il.* (*ἀποβάλλω*, *ἀπορρίπτω*, *ἀφίημι*, etc.).

e. Formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb denoting ‘washing, wiping, cleaning, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀποκαθαίρω* ‘cleans off, clear away’ (Ar.); *ἀπολούω* ‘wash off’ (*Il.*); *ἀπομόργνυμι* ‘wipe off or away from’ (*Il.*); *ἀπονίζω* I. ‘wash off’ (*Il.*), II. ‘wash clean’ (*Od.*); *ἀποπλύνω* ‘wash well, wash away’ (*Od.*); *ἀποσμήχω* ‘wipe off’ (Pherecyd.); *ἀποψάω* I. ‘wipe off’ (E.), II. ‘wipe clean’ (Ar.); etc.; cf. also *ἀπολυμαίνομαι* ‘cleans oneself by bathing, esp. from *ἄγος* ‘stain, abomination’ (*Il.*). The first examples are already found in the *Il.* (*ἀπολούω*, *ἀπομόργνυμι*, *ἀπονίζω*, etc.).

f. Many other formations with the general meaning ‘away (from), off (from)’, analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀπαμύνω* ‘keep off, ward off’ (*Il.*); *ἄπειμι* ‘to be away or far from’ (*Il.*); *ἀπείργω* ‘keep away from, debar from’ (*Il.*); *ἀπέχω* ‘keep off or away from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποδειδίσσομαι* ‘frighten away’ (*Il.*); *ἀποθρώσκω* ‘leap off from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποτίθημι* ‘put away, stow away’ (*Il.*); *ἀφαρπάζω* ‘tear off or from’

(*Il.*); *ἀφίστημι* I. ‘put away, remove, keep out of the way’ (A., Hdt.), II. pass. ‘stand away or aloof from, keep far from’ (*Il.*); etc. The first examples are already found in the *Il.* (*ἀπέχω, ἀποτίθημι, ἀφαρπάζω*, etc.).

g. Some verbs of the above categories could have been reanalyzed as *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, with the meaning ‘deprive of (the noun), take (the noun) off, away’, e.g. *ἀπομερίζω* (Pl.), *ἀφοπλίζω* (*Il.*), reanalysed as *ἀπο-μερ-ίζω, ἀφ-οπλ-ίζω*. This fact gave birth to new formations with *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g.: *ἀπανθίζω* ‘pluck off flowers’ (A.); *ἀποδερματίζω* ‘flay, strip’ (Androm. ap. Gal.); *ἀποδερματόομαι* ‘(of shields) to have their leather covering destroyed’ (Plb.); *ἀποκιδάρω* ‘take the κίδαρις ‘turban’ off’ (LXX); *ἀπομιτρόω* ‘take away the mitre’ (LXX); *ἀπονευρούμενος* (*ὁ τὰ νεῦρα κοπτόμενος*) ‘cut from the nerves’ (Hsch.); *ἀποξυλίζω* ‘deprive of its woody fibre’ (Arist.); *ἀποπτερυγόομαι* ‘lose the wings’ (Vett. Val.); *ἀποπνέω* ‘suppurate’ (Hp.); *ἀποσπερματίζω* ‘shed semen’ (Arist.); *ἀποφλοιόω* ‘peel, strip off’ (Nonn.); *ἀφιματόω* ‘strip of clothing’ (Suid.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Attic (*ἀπανθίζω, ἀποπνέω, ἀποσπερματίζω*, etc.).

In Latin we find *abigo* ‘to drive away, to drive off, take away’, *abeo* ‘to go away, depart’, *aufero* ‘to carry or fetch away’, *abscido* ‘to remove by cutting, cut off, away, or out’, *abrumpro* ‘to break or pull off’, *abicio* ‘to throw away from one’, *abluo* ‘to wash off, out, or away’, *absto* ‘to stand at a distance’, etc.

2. Meaning ‘from’ (maybe < ‘away from, off from’) in some formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀπαῖσσω* ‘spring from’ (*Il.*); *ἀπαιωρέομαι* ‘hang down from’ (Hes.); *ἀπαλέξω* ‘ward off from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποείκω* ‘withdraw from’ (*Il.* [Aristarch.]); *ἀποκρύπτω* ‘hide from, keep hidden from’ (*Il.*); *ἀπολαμβάνω* ‘take or receive from’ (Hdt.); *ἀποπαύω* ‘stop or hinder from’ (*Il.*); *ἀπόρνημαι* ‘start from’ (*Il.*); *ἀποσώζω* ‘save or preserve from’ (S.), ‘keep safe’ (Pl.); etc. Verbs like *ἀπαλέξω* ‘ward off from’ (*Il.*) alongside *ἀλέξω* ‘ward off’ (*Il.*) could have influenced this semantic evolution. The first examples of this group are found in the *Il.* (*ἀπαῖσσω, ἀποείκω, ἀποπαύω*, etc.).

3. Privative-negative meaning; more precisely:

a. A privative meaning, or more generally the opposite of the meaning expressed by the simple verb, is found in formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀπαλείφω* ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.); *ἀπαμαυρόω* ‘remove darkness’ (Orph.); *ἀπαρέσκω* ‘to be disagreeable to’ (Th.); *ἀπεθίζω* ‘disaccustom’ (Aeschin.); *ἀποκηδέω* ‘=ἀκηδέω’ (*Il.*); *ἀποστεγάζω* ‘uncover’ (Emp.); *ἀποσφραγίζω* ‘unseal’ (D.L.); *ἀποτιμάω* ‘fail to honour, slight’ (*h.Merc.*); *ἀποχαλινώω* ‘unbridle’ (X.); *ἀφυπνόω* ‘awake from sleep’ (AP: Antip. Thess., Ant. Diog.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in the *Il.* (*ἀποκηδέω*, etc.).

Some of these verbs could have been reanalyzed as *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g. *ἀπαμαυρόω, ἀπεθίζω, ἀποστεγάζω, ἀποστρατεύομαι, ἀποτιμάω, ἀποχαλινώω*,

ἀφειγιάομαι, etc., and this fact gave birth to a new group of verbs formed with *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g.: *ἀπογλωττίζομαι* ‘to be deprived of tongue’ (Luc.); *ἀποπαρθενεύομαι* ‘lay aside virginity’ (Hp.); *ἀποπαρθενόω* ‘deflower’ (LXX); *ἀποτεκνόομαι* ‘to be deprived of children’ (LXX); *ἀποφυλλίζω* ‘strip (a plant) of its leaves’ (Thphr.); *ἀφηνιάζω* ‘refuse to obey the reins’ (Ph.); *ἀφουπνίζω* ‘awaken from sleep’ (E.); etc.

The semantic evolution from the meaning ‘away, off’ to the privative one must have been influenced by at least one group of verbs lending themselves to both interpretations, namely formations with *ἀπο-* + verb meaning ‘get dressed, armed, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀπαμφιάζω* ‘take off (a garment)’ (Plu.); *ἀπαμφιέννυμι* ‘strip off garment’ (Xenarch.); *ἀπαμφίζω* ‘strip from one’ (Men.); *ἀπαμφίσκω* ‘strip from one’ (Ph.); *ἀπεσθέομαι* ‘undress oneself’ (Luc.); *ἀποζώννυμι* ‘take the girdle off’ (Chor., Hdn.); *ἀφοπλίζω* ‘disarm’ (D.S.), pass. ‘put off one’s armour’ (Il.); etc. Some of these verbs are already attested in the Il. (*ἀφοπλίζομαι*).

b. A negative meaning is also found in a group of formations with *ἀπο-* + verb meaning ‘say, etc.’, e.g.: *ἀπαγορεύω* ‘forbid’ (Hdt.); *ἀπανδάω* ‘forbid’ (S.); *ἀπεῖπον* ‘deny, refuse’ (Il.); *ἀπεννέπω* ‘forbid’ (A.); *ἀπέυχομαι* I. ‘wish a thing away, wish it may not happen’ (E.), II. ‘reject, despise’ (A.); *ἀπισχυρίζομαι* ‘oppose firmly, give a flat denial’ (Th.); *ἀποδιδάσκω* ‘teach not to do’ (Hp.); *ἀπολέγω* ‘decline, refuse’ (Plb.); *ἀπόμνυμι* ‘take an oath away from, swear that one will not do’ (Od.); *ἀποσυμβουλεύω* I. ‘dissuade’ (Arr.), II. metaph. ‘divert’ (Hp.); *ἀποφάσκω* ‘deny’ (Plu.), pass. (S.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (*ἀπεῖπον*, *ἀπόμνυμι*, etc.). Old verbs like *ἀπόμνυμι* seem to confirm the link between the meanings ‘away from’ and ‘say no’.

Closely related are verbs of the vocabulary of jurisdiction, usually opposed to similar formations with *κατα-*, e.g.: *ἀπηγορέομαι* ‘defend oneself’ (Arist.); *ἀποδιδαιτάω* ‘pronounce in one’s favour in an arbitration, opp. *καταδιδαιτάω*’ (Test. ap. D); *ἀποδικάζω* ‘acquit, opp. *καταδικάζω*’ (SEG 5th B.C., rest. in *Inscr. Cret.* 6th-5th B.C., Antipho); *ἀποψηφίζομαι* I. ‘vote away from, refuse to condemn’ (Lycurg.), II. ‘vote a charge away from, acquit’ (Antipho, Lys.); etc.; cf. words analysed as *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g.: *ἀποδικέω* ‘defend oneself’ (X.); *ἀπολογέομαι* ‘speak in defence, defend oneself’ (Antipho, Th., Eup.). The examples of this group are mostly Attic (*ἀποδιδαιτάω*, *ἀποψηφίζομαι*, etc.).

In Latin we find *abdico* ‘to abdicate, resign’, ‘to deny, refuse to acknowledge’, *abiungo* ‘to separate, detach’, ‘to unyoke’, etc.

4. Meaning ‘ceasing from, leaving off’, in formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀπαλγέω* ‘work out one’s grief for’ (Th.); *ἀπανθέω* ‘finish blooming’ (Thphr.), ‘fade’ (Hp.), mostly metaph. (Ar., Pl.); *ἀπεσθίω* ‘leave off eating’ (Theopomp. Com.); *ἀποστέργω* I. ‘get rid of love, love no more’ (Theoc.), ‘loath, reject’ (A.), II. ‘empty of love, harden’ (LXX); *ἀποτύπτομαι* ‘finish beating the

breast' (Hdt.); etc. The older examples of this group are found in Attic (*ἀπαλγέω*, *ἀπανθέω*, *ἀποστέργω*, *ἀποτύπτομαι*, etc.). This meaning seems to derive from the privative one, in verbs like *ἀπανθέω* attesting both of them: 'lose its sweetness, ripen' > 'finish blooming'.

5. There are also formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, where *ἀπο-* is 'strengthening the meaning' of the verb. Based on the interpretations of *LSJ*, we can divide the verbs of this category in two groups (of course the limits are not always clear):

a. verbs described in *LSJ* as having a meaning 'completely, greatly, well, in full, etc.', or a strengthened or stronger meaning than the one of the simple word, e.g.: *ἀπαλθαίνομαι* 'heal thoroughly' (*Il.*); *ἀπεχθαίρω* 'hate utterly, detest' (*Il.*); *ἀποθανυμάζω* 'marvel much at' (*Od.*); *ἀποθνήσκω* 'strengthened. for *θνήσκω*' (*Il.*); *ἀποκτείνω* 'stronger form of *κτείνω*, kill, slay' (*Il.*); *ἀπόλλυμι* 'stronger form of *ἄλλυμι*, destroy utterly' (*Il.*); *ἀπόμνυμι* 'strengthened. for *ἄμνυμι*, take a solemn oath' (*Th.*); *ἀποτριβίω* 'strengthened. for *τριβίω*, wear out' (*Od.*); *ἀπόφημι* 'speak out, declare flatly or plainly' (*Il.*); etc.

b. verbs described in *LSJ* as having an almost identical meaning as the simple verb, e.g.: *ἀπάγχω* 'strangle, throttle' (*Od.*); *ἀπαρέσκομαι* 'to approve, to appease' (*Il.*); *ἀπεῖπον* 'speak out, tell out, declare' (*Il.*); *ἀπεμέω* 'spit up, vomit forth' (*Il.*); *ἀπεναρίζω* 'strip of arms' (*Il.*); *ἀποδατέομαι* 'portion out to' (*Il.*); *ἀποδέχομαι* 'accept' (*Il.*); *ἀπολέγω* 'pick out, choose' (Hdt.); *ἀπονοστέω* 'return, come home' (*Il.*); *ἀποσκευάζω* '(mostly in med.) pack up and carry off' (*SIG* 2nd B.C.); *ἀφάλλομαι* 'jump, bound' (Ruf.); *ἀφήκω* 'arrive at or have arrived' (Pl.); *ἀφικνέομαι* 'arrive at, come to, reach' (*Il.*); etc.

Verbs from both categories are already attested in the *Il.*, but the majority of the verbs of the first one are older than the verbs of the second.

Cases with an intensive meaning, evolving to "absence of meaning", could have derived from verbs in which, due to the meaning of the simple verb, the meaning 'away, off' of the preverb weakens, as it does not greatly affect the meaning of the derivative. This is the case of verbs like *ἀπεναρίζω* 'strip of arms' (*Il.*) as opposed to *ἐναρίζω* 'strip a slain foe of his arms' (*Il.*): *ἐναρίζω* in itself means 'strip of arms (and take them away)', so *ἀπο-* does not contribute much to the meaning of *ἀπεναρίζω*. As a result, the meaning of the verbs with *ἀπο-* gradually became almost identical with the meaning of the simple verbs: *ἀποδάκνω* 'bite off a piece of' (Aristomen.) > 'bite, gnaw' (Cratin.) [*≈ δάκνω* 'bite']; *ἀποθλίβω* 'squeeze out' (Arist.) > 'squeeze, dry, wring' (Diph.) [*≈ θλίβω* 'squeeze, chafe'], which attest both meanings.

In Latin we find *abnego* 'to refuse, decline (to)', 'to refuse to give, deny', etc., *aboleo* 'to destroy, efface, obliterate', *absorbeo* 'to swallow down, devour', *abutor* 'to exhaust by using, use up', etc.

6. Meaning ‘finishing off, completing’, in formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀπεργάζομαι* I. ‘finish off, complete, bring to perfection’ (Ar.), II. ‘cause, produce’ (Pl.); *ἀπομάχομαι* ‘finish a battle, fight it out’ (Lys.); but most frequently analysed as *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g.: *ἀπαθανατίζω* I. ‘aim at immortality’ (Pl.), II. ‘deify’ (D.S.); *ἀπανδρόομαι* ‘become a man, come to maturity’ (E.); *ἀπογαιώω* ‘make into land’ (Heraclit.); *ἀπολεοντόομαι* ‘become a lion’ (Heraclit.); *ἀπολιθόω* ‘turn into stone, petrify’ (Arist.); etc.

In some verbs we can observe the transition from the intensive meaning to the meaning ‘finishing of, completing’ and to the structure *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g.: *ἀπελευθερώω* ‘emancipate (a slave)’ (Pl.); *ἀπερημόομαι* ‘to be left destitute of’ (Th.); *ἀπογυιόω* ‘enfeeble, unnerve’ (Il.); *ἀποδοχμόω* ‘bend sideways’ (Od.); *ἀποθεόω* ‘deify’ (PTeb. 2nd B.C.);³ *ἀπολευκαίνω* ‘make all white’ (Hp.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (*ἀπογυιόω*, *ἀποδοχμόω*).

7. Meaning ‘back’, in formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀπάγω* ‘bring back, bring home’ (Il.); *ἀπαιτέω* ‘demand back, demand to have returned’ (Hdt., A.); *ἀποδίδωμι* ‘give up or back, restore, return’ (Il.); *ἀποκομίζω* ‘carry back’ (A.R.); *ἀπολείπω* ‘leave over or behind’ (Od.), ‘desert, abandon’ (Il.); etc. The meaning ‘back’ is an old one, as it is already found in the Il. (*ἀπάγω*, *ἀποστρέφω*). Could we assume that the meaning ‘back’ evolved from the intensive one in verbs like *ἀποστρέφω* ‘turn’ > ‘turn back’ (normal evolution for a verb meaning ‘turn’) > *ἀπο-* obtains the meaning ‘back’?

8. Meaning ‘again’, in few formations analysed as *ἀπο-* + verb, e.g.: *ἀποικοδομέω* ‘rebuild’ (Jul.) (nisi leg. ἀν-); *ἀποκαθίστημι* ‘re-establish, restore, reinstate’ (X., Ti. Lokr.); *ἀπορράπτω* ‘sew up again’ (Hdt.).

9. Also, meanings: ‘a little’, e.g.: *ἀποκοιμάομαι* ‘get a little sleep’ (Hdt.); ‘in a way of abuse’, e.g.: *ἀποκαλέω* ‘call by a name, esp. stigmatize as’ (S.); cf. *ἀπάδω* ‘sing out of tune’ (Pl.).

We can easily observe that many verbs have more than one of the above mentioned meanings: *ἀπάγω* ‘lead away, carry off’ (Od.), also ‘bring back, bring home’ (Il.); *ἀποκομίζω* ‘carry away, escort’ (X.), also ‘carry back’ (A.R.); *ἀπαΐσσω* ‘dart away’ (Emp.), also ‘spring from’ (Il.); *ἀποκοιμάομαι* ‘sleep away from home’ (Pl.), also ‘get a little sleep’ (Hdt.); *ἀπεσθίω* ‘leave off eating’ (Theopomp. Com.), also ‘eat, gnaw off’ (Hermipp.); *ἀφάλλομαι* ‘spring off or down from’ (A.), also ‘jump, bound’ (Ruf.); etc. We can even find verbs with the privative meaning and the (opposite) intensive meaning: *ἀπαρέσκω* ‘to be disagreeable to’ (Th.) but also *ἀπαρέσκομαι* ‘to approve, to appease’ (Il.); *ἀπαρτάω* ‘detach, separate’ (D.) but also ‘hang up, strangle, swing freely’ (E.); *ἀποδαρθάνω* ‘wake up’ (Ael.) but also ‘sleep’ (Plu.); *ἀπολαγχάνω* ‘fail in drawing lots’ (Lys.) but also ‘obtain a portion of (a thing) by lot’ (B., Hdt.); *ἀποσκευάζω*

³ See Schwyzer (1968, II 445).

‘pull off’ (Lycurg.) but also ‘(mostly in med.) pack up and carry off’ (SIG 2nd B.C.); *ἀποσκοτίζω* ‘remove darkness’ (Plu.) but also ‘darken’ (Porph.); *ἀποστεγάζω* ‘uncover’ (Emp.) but also ‘cover closely’ (Thphr.); *ἀποσφραγίζω* ‘unseal’ (D.L.) but also ‘seal up’ (Plu.), med. (E.); *ἀφήκω* ‘depart’ (D.C.) but also ‘arrive at or have arrived’ (Pl.); *ἀφουπνόω* ‘awake from sleep’ (AP: Antip. Thess., Ant. Diog.) but also ‘fall asleep’ (Ev. Luc.); etc.

All the primary verbs are very productive. They form:

a. secondary nouns, usually nomina actionis or agentis, like *ἀπερωεύς* ‘thwarted’ (Il.), *ἀπόδρασις* ‘running away, escape’ (Hdt.), *ἀποκοπή* ‘cutting off’ (A.), *ἀφαίρεσις* ‘taking away, carrying off, removal’ (Pl.);

b. secondary adjectives, like *ἀπορρώξ* ‘broken off, abrupt, sheer, precipitous’ (Od.), subst. (Il.), *ἀπόβλητος* ‘to be thrown away or aside’ (Il.), *ἀπότροπος* ‘turned away, far from men’ (Od.);

c. secondary adverbs, like *ἀποσταδόν* ‘from afar’ (Il.), *ἀποτάδην* ‘stretched at length’ (Luc.), *ἀποτροπάδην* ‘turned away’ (Opp.).

Only a few of the secondary derivatives are found in Hom.: *ἀπερωεύς*, *ἀπορρώξ*, *ἀπόβλητος*, *ἀπότροπος*, *ἀποσταδόν*.

3.2 Relations with other morphemes

In primary verbs, *ἀπο-* can be related to other AGk morphemes (cf. Schwyzer 1968: II 461; see also Γαρδίκας 1912: 77–116).

1. Most interesting is the relation between *ἀπο-* and the preverb *ἐκ-/έξ-*. As concerns the meaning ‘away (from), off (from)’, we can find parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with *ἀπο-* and *ἐκ-/έξ-*, the former being closer to the notion ‘away’ while the latter to the notion ‘out’. The parallelism extends in all seven subgroups of the meaning (1), e.g.:

a. *ἀπάγω* ‘lead away, carry off’ (Od.) ≈ *έξάγω* ‘lead out, lead away’ (Il.); *ἀπελαύνω* ‘drive away, expel from’ (E.), pass. ‘to be driven away’ (Hdt.) ≈ *έξελαύνω* ‘drive away, expel’ (Il.); *ἀπέρχομαι* ‘go away, depart from’ (Il.) ≈ *έξέρχομαι* ‘go or come out of’ (Il.); *ἀποβαίνω* ‘step off from a place’ (Il.) ≈ *έκβαίνω* ‘step out of or off from’ (Il.);

b. *ἀποαίνυμαι* and *ἀπαίνυμαι* ‘strip off, remove’ (Il.), ‘take away, deprive one of’ (Od.) ≈ *έξαίνυμαι* ‘take out or away’ (Od., Il.); *ἀποφέρω* ‘carry off or away’ (Il.) ≈ *έκφέρω* ‘carry out of’ (Il.); *ἀφαιρέω* I. ‘take away from’ (Od.), II. *ἀφαιροῦμαι* ‘take away for oneself’ (Il.) ≈ *έξαιρέω* ‘take out’ (Il.);

c. *ἀπαμάω* ‘cut off’ (Il.) ≈ *έξαμάω* ‘mow or reap out, finish mowing or reaping’ (Il.), ‘cut off’ (S.); *ἀπορρήγνυμι* ‘break off’ (Il.) ≈ *έκρρηγνυμι* ‘break off, snap asunder’ (Il.);

d. *ἀποβάλλω* ‘throw off’ (Il.) ≈ *έκβάλλω* ‘throw or cast out of’ (Il.); *ἀφίημι* ‘send forth, discharge’ (Il.) ≈ *έξίημι* ‘send out, let go out’ (Il.);

e. *ἀποκαθαίρω* ‘cleanse off, clear away’ (Ar.) ≈ *ἐκκαθαίρω* ‘clear out’ (Il.);
 f. *ἀπαμύνω* ‘keep off, ward off’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐξαμύνομαι* ‘ward off from oneself, drive away’ (A.); *ἀποθρόσκω* ‘leap off from’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐκθρόσκω* ‘leap out of’ (Il.); *ἀποχέω* ‘pour out or off, spill, shed’ (Od.) ≈ *ἐκχέω* ‘pour out’ (Il.);
 g. *ἀποπνέω* ‘suppurate’ (Hp.) ≈ *ἐκπνέω* ‘suppurate’ (Hp.); *ἀποχυλόω* ‘extract the juice’ (Hp.) ≈ *ἐκχυλόομαι* ‘to be squeezed out’ (Gal.).

2. As concerns the meaning ‘from’, there are also parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with *ἀπο-* and *ἐκ-/ἐξ-*, e.g.: *ἀπαιωρέομαι* ‘hang down from’ (Hes.) ≈ *ἐξαιωρέομαι* ‘to be suspended from’ (Hp.); *ἀποφεύγω* ‘flee from, escape’ (Batr., Thgn.) ≈ *ἐκφεύγω* ‘flee out or away, escape’ (Il.).

3. A privative meaning is also found in (quasi-)synonymous formations with *ἀπο-* and *ἐκ-/ἐξ-*, and seldom with *ἀ-* (< privative prefix *η-) and *παρα-*, e.g.: *ἀπακμάζω* ‘go out of bloom, fade away’ (v.l. in Pl.) ≈ *παρακμάζω* ‘to be past the prime’ (X.); *ἀπαλείφω* ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.) ≈ *ἐξαλείφω* ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.), med. ‘annoint’ (Sapph.); *ἀποδύω* ‘strip off’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐκδύω* ‘strip off’ (Il.); *ἀποκαλύπτω* ‘uncover’ (Hdt.) ≈ *ἐκκαλύπτω* ‘uncover’ (Hdt.); *ἀποκηδέω* ‘= *ἀκηδέω*’ (Il.) ≈ *ἀκηδέω* ‘take no cure of, no heed of’ (Il.); *ἀπόμνημι* ‘take an oath away from, swear that one will not do’ (Od.) ≈ *ἐξόμνημι* ‘swear in the negative’ (S.), med. ‘deny or disown upon oath, swear formally that one does not know, abjure’ (D.); *ἀποτεκνόομαι* ‘to be deprived of children’ (LXX) ≈ *ἀτεκνέω* ‘have no children’ (v.l. in Hp., LXX), *ἀτεκνόομαι* ‘make childless’, *μ’ ἀτέκνωσε* ‘has robbed me of children’ (Bernand *IMEG*); *ἀφοπλίζω* ‘disarm’ (D.S.), pass. ‘put off one’s armour’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐξοπλίζω* ‘disarm, deprive’ (App.); *ἀφουπνίζω* ‘awaken from sleep’ (E.) ≈ *ἐξυπνίζω* ‘awaken from sleep’ (Chrysipp.); etc.

4. As concerns the intensive meaning, there are parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with *ἀπο-* and *ἐκ-/ἐξ-* and seldom with *δια-*, *ἐπι-*, *κατα-*, *παρα-*, e.g.: *ἀπαρκέω* ‘suffice, be sufficient’ (Sol. ap. Arist.) ≈ *ἐξαρκέω* ‘to be quite enough for, suffice for’ (Heraclit.); *ἀπάρχομαι* ‘make a beginning’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐξάρχομαι* ‘begin, take the lead in, initiate’ (Il.); *ἀπατιμάζω* ‘dishonour greatly’ (A.) ≈ *ἐξατιμάζω* ‘dishonour utterly’ (S.); *ἀπεῖπον* ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐξεῖπον* ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (Il.); *ἀπελέγχω* ‘strengthd. for *ἐλέγχω*, convict, expose, refute’ (Antipho) ≈ *ἐξελέγχω* ‘strengthd. for *ἐλέγχω*, convict, confute, refute’ (Simon.); *ἀπεμέω* ‘spit up, vomit forth’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐξεμέω* ‘vomit forth, disgorge’ (Od.); *ἀπεναρίζω* ‘strip of arms’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐξεναρίζω* ‘strip off’ (Il.); *ἀπογυμνόω* ‘strip bare’ (Od.) ≈ *ἐκγυμνόω* ‘bare, expose’ (Hsch.); *ἀποδέχομαι* 1. ‘accept’ (Il.), 2. ‘receive favourably, approve’ (Antipho, Th.) ≈ *ἐκδέχομαι* ‘take or receive from’ (Il.) ≈ *καταδέχομαι* ‘receive, admit’ (Pl.) ≈ *παραδέχομαι* 1. ‘receive from’ (Il.), 2. ‘admit’ (Pl.); *ἀποθνήσκω* ‘strengthd. for *θνήσκω*’ (Il.) ≈ *ἐκθνήσκω* I. ‘die away, to be like to die’ (Od.), II. ‘= *ἀποθνήσκω*’ (Luc.); *ἀποκινδυνεύω* ‘make a desperate venture, try a forlorn hope’ (Th.) ≈ *παρακινδυνεύω* 1. ‘make a

venture' (Hp.), 2. 'venture, risk' (Ar.); *ἀποκλαίω* 'mourn for, lament' (Thgn., A., Pl.) ≈ *κατακλαίω* 'bewail loudly, lament' (Ar.); *ἀποκνέω* 'shrink from' (Th.), 'shrink back, hesitate' (Th.) ≈ *κατοκνέω* 'shrink from' (S.), 'shrink back' (A.); *ἀπολέγω* 'pick out, choose' (Hdt.) ≈ *ἐκλέγω* 'pick or single out' (Th.) ≈ *ἐπιλέγω* 'pick out, select' (Hdt.); *ἀπόλλυμι* 'stronger form of *ὄλλυμι* 'destroy utterly' (Il.) ≈ *διόλλυμι* 'destroy utterly, bring to naught' (Emp.) ≈ *ἐξόλλυμι* 'destroy utterly' (Od.); *ἀποσβέννυμι* 'extinguish, quench' (Trag. Adesp., Ar.), pass. (Heraclit.) ≈ *κατασβέννυμι* 'put out, quench' (Il.); *ἀποτείνω* 'stretch out, extend' (Arist.), pass. (X.), 'extend, prolong' (Pl.) ≈ *ἐκτείνω* 'stretch out' (A.) ≈ *παρατείνω* I. 'stretch out along, beside or near' (Hp.), II. 'stretch or lie beside or along' (Hdt.); *ἀποφθείρω* 'destroy utterly' (A.) ≈ *ἐκφθείρω* 'destroy utterly' (Scymn.), pass. 'to be undone, ruined' (E.); *ἀφικνέομαι* 'arrive at, come to, reach' (Il.) ≈ *ἐξικνέομαι* 'reach, arrive at' (Il.); etc. Cf. also *ἀπομορφόω* 'change into the form of' (Eust.) ≈ *μεταμορφόω* 'transform' (Gal.).

5. As concerns the meaning 'finishing off, completing', there are parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with *ἀπο-* and *ἐκ-/έξ-*, e.g.: *ἀπεργάζομαι* I. 'finish off, complete, bring to perfection' (Ar.), II. 'cause, produce' (Pl.) ≈ *ἐξεργάζομαι* I. 'work out, bring to completion' (Hdt.); most frequently analysed as *ἀπο-* + noun + suffix, e.g.: *ἀπαγριόομαι* 'become wild or savage' (S.) ≈ *ἐξαγριόω* I. 'make wild or waste' (Dsc.), pass. 'to be made so' (Isoc.), II. 'make savage' (Hdt.); *ἀπολιθόω* 'turn into stone, petrify' (Arist.) ≈ *ἐκλιθόω* 'turn into stone' (Tz.); *ἀποτυφλόω* 'make quite blind' (Arist.) ≈ *ἐκτυφλόω* 'make quite blind' (Batr., Hdt.); *ἀφονιάζω* 'cure, heal' (Archit. ap. Gal.) ≈ *ἐξυγιάζω* 'heal thoroughly' (Plb.); etc.

Antonymous relations are also found, e.g.: *ἀπαρτάω* 'detach, separate' (D.) ≠ *συναρτάω* 'knit or join together' (E., Th.); *ἀπέρχομαι* 'go away, depart from' (Il.) ≠ *προσέρχομαι* 'come or go to' (A., Hdt.); *ἀποιμώζω* 'bewail loudly' (A.) ≠ *ὕποιμώζω* 'wail softly, whimper' (Luc.); *ἀποπλέω* 'sail away, sail off' (Il.) ≠ *προσπλέω* 'sail towards or against' (Hdt.) ≈ *καταπλέω* I. 'sail from the high sea to land, put in' (Od.), II. 'sail back' (Hdt.); *ἀποσφραγίζω* 'unseal' (D.L.) ≠ *ἐκσφραγίζομαι* 'to be shut out from' (E.), 'to be sealed' (BGH); *ἀποτρέπω* 'turn away from' (Il.), 'prevent, avert' (Hdt.) ≠ *ἐπιτρέπω* 'turn to or towards' (Od.), 'permit' (Ar.) ≈ *προτρέπω* I. 'urge forwards' (Il.), II. 'urge on, impel' (S.); *ἀποφράσσω* 'block up, stop up' (Hp.) ≠ *ἐκφράσσω* 'remove obstacles, open' (Gal.); etc. (About *ἀπο-* and *κατα-* see also under 3.1 [3b].)

3.3 Primary nouns

The meanings of the preverb *ἀπο-* in primary nouns and adjectives are presented by Schwyzler (1968: II 444). One can assume the following categories:

1. Adjectives where *ἀπο-* has the meaning 'away, off', analysed as *ἀπο-* + noun (+ suffix), e.g.: *ἀπάνθρωπος* 'far from man' (A.); *ἀποβώμιος* 'far from an altar'

(E.); ἀπήωρος ‘high in air’ (*Od.*); ἀπόδημος ‘away from one’s country, abroad’ (Pi.); ἄποικος I. ‘away from home, abroad’ (S.), II. ‘settled as a colony’ (Ar.), ‘colonist’ (Hdt.); ἀπόκεντρος ‘away from a cardinal place’ (Man.); ἀπόκοιτος ‘sleeping away from’ (Aeschin.); ἀπόπολις ‘far from the city, banished’ (A.); ἀπόσκηνος ‘encamping apart, living and messing alone’ (X.); ἀπόταυρος ‘apart from the bull’ (Arist.); ἀπότροπος ‘turned away, far from man’ (*Od.*); ἀπότροφος ‘reared away from home’ (Hdt.); ἄπουρος ‘far from the boundaries’ (v.l. in S.); ἄφορμος ‘moving off from, departing from’ (S.); etc. Cf. the derivative ἄπιος ‘far away, far off, distant’ (*Il.*). Also nouns: ἀπηλιαστής ‘one who keeps away from the Ἥλιαία’ (Ar.); ἀποδορά ‘peeling of the skin’ (Agathin. ap. Orib.); ἀπόπατος ‘privy’ (Ar.); ἀπόπλοος ὁ ‘sailing away’ (Hdt.); ἀφηλιζ ‘beyond youth, elderly’ (Hdt.); ἄφοδος ἡ ‘going away, departure’ (Hdt.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (ἀπήωρος, ἀπότροπος, etc.).

2. Adjectives with the meaning ‘from’, e.g.: ἀπόγειος ‘from land, coming off land’ (Arist.); ἀπόγονος ‘born or descended from’ (Hdt.); ἄποπτος ‘seen or to be seen from a place’ (Arist.); ἀπόσκοπος ‘erring from the mark’ (Emp.); ἀπόσπορος ‘born from’ (Musae.); etc. Also nouns: ἀπαρκτίας ‘north wind’ (Arist.); ἀπηλιώτης (Hdt.) and ἀφηλιώτης (*IG*, Apion ap. J.) ‘east wind’; ἀπόπατος ‘ordure’ (Hp.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Emp. and in Attic (ἀπόγονος, ἀπόσκοπος, etc.).

3a. (Almost) privative adjectives, analysed as ἀπο- + noun (+ suffix), e.g.: ἀπαίσιος ‘ill-omened’ (App.); ἀπάνθρωπος ‘inhuman, savage’ (S.); ἀπάξιος ‘= ἀνάξιος, unworthy of’ (Pl.); ἄπατος ‘immune from punishment’ (*Inscr. Cret.* 6th B.C., *Leg. Gort.*); ἀπόδειπνος ‘= ἄδειπνος’ (Hsch.); ἀπόθεος ‘far from the gods, godless’ (S.); ἀποθύμιος ‘not according to the mind, unpleasant, hateful’ (*Il.*); ἀποκαίριος ‘= ἄκαιρος, unseasonable’ (S.); ἀποκηδής ‘= ἀκηδής, negligent’, adv. (Hp. ap. Gal.); ἀπόκληρος ‘without lot or share of’ (Pi., Emp.); ἀποκόλαστος ‘unpunished’ (Zos. Alch.); ἀπόμισθος ‘away from (i.e. without) pay, unpaid or underpaid’ (X.); ἀπόξενος ‘alien to guests, inhospitable, stronger than ἄξενος’ (S.); ἀπόρρητος I. ‘forbidden’ (S.), II. ‘not to be spoken, secret’ (Hdt.); ἀπόσπονδος ‘stronger form of ἄσπονδος’ (Poll.); ἀπότεκνος ‘sterile’ (Vett. Val.); ἀπότιμος ‘put away from honour, stronger than ἄτιμος’ (Hdt.); ἀποτυχής ‘missing’ (Pl.); ἀπόφθεγκτος ‘= ἄφθεγκτος’ (E.); ἀποφύλιος ‘having no tribe, foreign’ (A.); ἀπόχειρος ‘unprepared’ (Plb.); ἀφέταιρος ‘friendless’ (Theopomp. Hist.); ἀφέψαλος ‘without a spark of fire’ (Hsch.), ‘uncooked’ (*Suppl. Hell.* 3rd B.C.); ἄφορκος ‘not having weight’ (Str.); ἀφόμοιος ‘unlike’ (Dsc.); etc. Also nouns: ἀπακμή ‘decline’ (Longin.); ἀπαζία ‘disvalue’ (Zeno); ἀπευχή ‘deprecation’ (Men. Rh.); ἀπογένεσις ‘decease’ (Porph.); ἀποδυναμία ‘lack of power’ (Olymp.); ἀπόνοια ‘loss of all sense’ (Th.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (ἀποθύμιος).

b. Closely related is the meaning ‘formerly’ in the adjective *ἀποπραιπόσιτος* ‘formerly praepositus’ (*PMasp.* 6th A.D.); and mainly in the nouns: *ἀποβασιλεύς* ‘ex-king’ (*AB*); *ἀπόδουλος* ‘freedman’ (*Suid.*); *ἀποδρακωνάριος* ‘ex-standard-bearer’ (*PAmst.* 501 A.D.); *ἀποέπαρχος* ‘ex-eparch (perfect)’ (*PLips.* 391 A.D.); *ἀποστράτηγος* ‘retired general’ (*D.*) The first example is found in *D.* (*ἀποστράτηγος*; but see Schwyzer 1968, II 444).

In Latin we find *absonus* ‘of unpleasant sound, harsh, discordant’, *amens* ‘out of one’s mind, demented, insane’, *absimilis* ‘dissimilar, unlike’, etc.

4. Adjectives with an intensive meaning, analysed as *ἀπο-* + noun (+ suffix), e.g.: *ἀπαλεξίκακος* ‘= *ἀλεξίκακος*’ (*Orph.*, dub. in *IG*, *Porph.* ap. *Eus.*); *ἀπαρκής* ‘sufficient’ (*Hsch.*); *ἀπέρημος* ‘strengthd. for *ἔρημος*’ (*Sch.* *Pi.*); *ἀπόκενος* ‘not quite full’ (*Dsc.*), ‘empty’ (*Hero*, *PCair.Zen.* 3rd B.C.); *ἀπόκρυφος* ‘hidden, concealed’ (*E.*, *Hdt.*); *ἀπόξυρος* ‘cut sharp off, abrupt, sheer’ (*Luc.*); *ἄποξυς* ‘tapering’ (*Hr.*); *ἀπόσκληρος* ‘strengthd. for *σκληρός*, very hard’ (*Philum.*); *ἀπότολμος* ‘bold, daring’ (*Heph.* *Astr.*); *ἀφαρματοεπής* ‘= *ἀμαρτοεπής*, talking at random’ (*Il.*); *ἀφόμοιος*, *ἀφόμοιον* ‘copy’ (*LXX*); etc. Also nouns: *ἀπάετωμα* ‘= *ἀέτωμα*’ (*IG*); *ἀπαρχή* 1. ‘beginning of a sacrifice, primal offering’ (*E.*), 2. ‘firstthings, first-fruits’ (*Hdt.*, *S.*); *ἀπεγγύη* ‘security’ (rest. in *Thasos* 5th B.C.); *ἀπεμπολή* ‘sale’ (*Call.*); *ἀπόδαρμα* ‘hide’ (*Hdt.*); *ἀπόμοιρα* ‘portion’ (*OGI* 3rd B.C.); *ἀποφώρ* ‘thief’ (*Hsch.*); etc. The first example is found in the *Il.* (*ἀφαρματοεπής*).

5. According to *DELG* (s.v. *ἀπο-*), “dans quelques formations nominales *ἀπο-* semble exprimer la notion ‘une espèce de’, avec nuance pejorative, ainsi dans *ἀπόλινον* [= *θυμελαία*, spurge-flax, daphne cnidium’ (v.l. in *Dsc.*)], *ἀπολάντιον* [‘perh. name of a grass’ (*PMag.Lond.*)], *ἀπόμελι* [‘honey-water, an inferior kind of mead’ (*Dsc.*)], p.ê. *ἀφάρκη* [‘an evergreen tree, hybrid arbutus, arbutus hybrida’ (*Thphr.*)].”

Primary nouns and adjectives are also productive. They form:

a. secondary nouns and adjectives, like *ἀπανθρωπία* 1. ‘dislike of men’ (*Luc.*), 2. ‘unsociability, meroseness’ (*Hr.*), *ἀποδημία* ‘going or being abroad’ (*Hdt.*), *ἀπορρώξ* ‘broken off, abrupt, sheer, precipitous’ (*Od.*, *Il.*), *ἀφήγημα* ‘tale, narrative’ (*Hdt.*), *ἀφήγησις* ‘narration’ (*Hdt.*), *ἄφιξις* ‘arrival’ (*Hdt.*);

b. secondary verbs, like *ἀπανθρωπέομαι* ‘shun like a misanthrope’ (*Hr.*).

3.4 Relations with other morphemes

In primary compound nouns, *ἀπο-* can be related to other AGk morphemes.

a. With the meaning ‘away (from), off (from)’ *ἀπο-* is (quasi-)synonymous with the preverb *ἐκ-/ἐξ-* and antonymous with the preverb *ἐν-*, e.g.: *ἀποβώμιος* ‘far from an altar’ (*E.*) ≠ *ἐμβώμιος* ‘on the altar’ (*Jul.*); *ἀπόδημος* ‘away from one’s country, abroad’ (*Pi.*) ≈ *ἔκδημος* ‘away from home, abroad’ (*E.*) ≠ *ἐνδημος*

‘dwelling in, native’ (Hes.); *ἀποδορά* ‘peeling of the skin’ (Agathin. ap. Orib.) ≈ *ἐκδορά* ‘stripping of, removing’ (Gal.); *ἄποικος* I. ‘away from home, abroad’ (S.), II. ‘settled as a colony’ (Ar.), ‘colonist’ (Hdt.) ≠ *ἐνοικος* ‘inhabitant (A.), ‘dweller in’ (Pl.); *ἀπόκεντρος* ‘away from a cardinal place’ (Man.) ≈ *ἔκκεντρος* ‘not occupying a cardinal point’ (Vett. Val.) ≠ *ἐγκεντρος* ‘occupying a cardinal point’ (Vett. Val.); *ἀπόπατος* ‘privy’ (Ar.) ≈ *ἐκπατος* ‘= *ἀπόπατος*, privy’ (Theognost.); *ἀπόπλοος* ὁ ‘sailing away’ (Hdt.) ≈ *ἐκπλοος* ὁ ‘sailing out, leaving port’ (A.); *ἄποπτος* ‘out of sight of, far away from’ (S.) ≠ *ἐνοπτος* ‘visible in’ (Arist.); *ἀπότροπος* ‘turned away, far from man’ (*Od.*) ≈ *ἐκτροπος* ‘turning out of the way’, adv. (Erot.); *ἀπότροφος* ‘reared away from home’ (Hdt.) ≠ *ἐντροφος* ‘living in or acquainted with’ (S.); *ἄπουρος* ‘far from the boundaries’ (v.l. in S.) ≈ *ἐξορος* ‘= *ἐξόριος*, out of the bounds of one’s country’ (Poll.) ≠ *ἐνόριος* ‘within the boundaries’ (Poll.); *ἀφῆλις* ‘beyond youth, elderly’ (Hdt.) ≠ *ἐνήλις* ‘of age, adult, grown up’ (*OGI* 2nd B.C.), *ἐνήλικος* ‘of age, adult, grown up’ (*Sammelb* 2nd B.C.); *ἄφοδος* ἡ ‘going away, departure’ (Hdt.) ≈ *ἐξοδος* ἡ ‘going out’ (Hdt.) ≠ *ἐνοδος* ἡ ‘way in, entrance’ (*IGC*), *εἴσοδος* ἡ I. ‘place of entrance, entry’ (*Od.*), II. ‘entering, entrance’ (A.); etc.

b. With the privative-negative meaning *ἀπο-* is (quasi-)synonymous with the preverb *ἀ-*, e.g.: *ἀπάνθρωπος* ‘inhuman, savage’ (S.) ≈ *ἀνάνθρωπος* ‘inhuman, savage’ (*POxy.* 3rd A.D.); *ἀπάξιτος* ‘= *ἀνάξιτος*, unworthy of’ (Pl.) ≈ *ἀνάξιτος* ‘unworthy, not deemed or held worthy’ (S.); *ἀποδυναμία* ‘lack of power’ (Olymp.) ≈ *ἀδυναμία* 1. ‘want of strength, debility’ (Thphr.), 2. ‘inability, incapacity’ (Hdt.); *ἀπόθεος* ‘far from the gods, godless’ (S.) ≈ *ἄθεος* 1. ‘that is without God’ (Pl.), 2. ‘godless, impious’ (A., Pi.) ≠ *ἐνθεος* ‘full of the god, inspired’ (S.), ‘possessed’ (A.); *ἀποκαίριος* ‘= *ἄκαιρος*, unseasonable’ (S.) ≈ *ἄκαιρος* ‘ill-timed, unseasonable’ (Thgn.); *ἀποκηδής* ‘= *ἀκηδής*, negligent’, adv. (Hp. ap. Gal.) ≈ *ἀκηδής* ‘without care or sorrow’ (*Il.*); *ἀπόκληρος* ‘without lot or share of’ (Pi., Emp.) ≈ *ἄκληρος* ‘without lot or portion, poor, needy’ (*Il.*); *ἀπόνοια* ‘loss of all sense’ (Th.) ≈ *ἄνοια* ‘want of understanding, folly’ (Th.); *ἀπόξενος* ‘alien to guests, inhospitable, stronger than *ἄξενος*’ (S.) ≈ *ἄξενος* ‘inhospitable’ (Hes.); *ἀπόρρητος* I. ‘forbidden’ (S.), II. ‘not to be spoken, secret’ (Hdt.) ≈ *ἄρρητος* I. ‘unspoken’ (*Od.*), II. ‘that cannot be spoken or expressed’ (Pl.), III. ‘not to be spoken’ (Hdt.); *ἀπόσπονδος* ‘stronger form of *ἄσπονδος*’ (Poll.) ≈ *ἄσπονδος* ‘without *σπονδή* or drink-offering’ (A.); *ἀπότιμος* ‘put away from honour, stronger than *ἄτιμος*’ (Hdt.) ≈ *ἄτιμος* ‘unhonoured, dishonoured’ (*Il.*); *ἀπόφθεγκτος* ‘= *ἄφθεγκτος*’ (E.) ≈ *ἄφθεγκτος* ‘voiceless’ (A.); *ἀφόμοιος* ‘unlike’ (Dsc.) ≈ *ἀνόμοιος* ‘unlike, unsimilar’ (Pi.); etc.

According to Strömberg (1946: 28, 33), privatives with *ἀπο-* are stronger than the privatives with the preverb *ἀ-* (“*ἀπόσιτος* is a stronger privative than *ἄσιτος*”). But we must also take into account *ἀπόκαυλος* (Thphr. *HP* 7.2.4; see *DELG*

Suppl. s.v.), denoting plants “privées de tige par une mutilation” (cf. ἀποκαυλίζω ‘briser net’) et non les plantes ‘acaules’, par nature dépourvues de tige”, and therefore agree with *DELG Suppl.* s.v.: “whilst ἀ- simply indicates the absence of something, ἀπο- indicates that one has been deprived (or has voluntarily deprived oneself) of something, the implicit concept often being by force [...]”. The same holds true for ἄτιμος (Hdt. 1.173) “of Lycian children deprived of the right of citizenship when their mother is not a citizen” and ἀπότιμος (2.176) “of citizens who exercised crafts and trades and therefore lose the τιμή bestowed through citizenship [...]”.

Antonymous relations are found also with προσ-, e.g. ἀπόγειος 1. ‘from land, coming off land’ (Arist.), ‘far from the earth’ (Plu.) ≠ πρόσγειος ‘near the earth’ (Ti. Lokr., Arist.); etc.

3.5 Primary adverbs

Primary adverbs have the meanings:

1. ‘away, off’, e.g.: ἀποπρό ‘afar off’ (Il.); ἀπόπροθε ‘from afar’ (Il.); ἀπόπροθι ‘far away’ (Il.); ἀπόπροσθεν ‘from afar’ (Hr.); ἀποτηλοῦ ‘afar off’ (Od.).
2. ‘from’, e.g.: ἀποκάτω ‘from below’ (Sch. D.T.); ἀπόπαλαι ‘from of old’ (Phryn.).
3. ‘after’, e.g.: ἀπάριστα ‘after luncheon’ (Tab. Defix. Aud.).
4. intensive, e.g.: ἀπάνευθε ‘= strengthd. for ἀνευθε, afar off, far away’ (Il.); ἀπαντικρύ ‘= strengthd. for ἀντικρύ, right opposite’ (D.); ἀπαντίον ‘= strengthd. for ἀντίον, right opposite’ (Hdt.); ἀπέναντι ‘opposite’ (Plb.); ἀπεναντίον ‘opposite’ (Hdt.); ἀποπρωῖ ‘early’ (Gloss.); ἀποψέ ‘late’ (A.D.); ἀφάπαξ ‘once for all’ (PFlor. 3rd A.D.); ἀφεκάς ‘far away’ (Nic.).

3.6 Special cases

In some words the form ἀπο- can be the result of popular etymology, mainly from the preverb ὑπο-, e.g. ἀπανεμία ‘shelter from wind’ (Sch. Opp.) < *ὑπανεμία; ἀπήνεμος ‘without wind’ (D.Chr.) < ὑπήνεμος; cf. also ἀποβάλαμον ‘ὀποβάλαμον’ (BGU).

4 Modern Greek data

The comparison of the AGk data with the Modern Greek ones clearly shows that most ancient meanings survive in Modern Greek dialects, in nominal as well as in verbal derivatives. For instance, the meaning ‘away (from)’ is found in adjectives like ἀπόμερος, ἀπόμακρος; the privative-negative meaning in words like αποδέξις, αποδιπλώνω; the meaning ‘ceasing from, leaving off’ in verbs like απογαλεύω, αποζυμώνω; the intensive meaning in adjectives like απομόναχος; the meaning ‘finishing off, completing’ in verbs like αποβλακώνω; the meaning

‘after’ in *απόδειπνο*. This will be the subject of another paper (Papanastassiou forth.).

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