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be deleted and the emended text added—along with the citation from Callimachus, *Epigr.* 36—s.v. *λεοντάγχης*: “the lion-strangler (sc. *ὁ λίθος*), referring to Herakles⁷): *Hippiatr.* 2.148.5 (mss. legg. *λεονταχατης*)”.

Oscan *slaagi-*

By BRIAN D. JOSEPH, The Ohio State University

Oscan *slaagi-*, with its spelling variant *slagi-*, is glossed by Buck (1904: 226, 227, 229, 324) as having the same range of meanings as Latin *fīnis*, i.e. ‘boundary, border’ but also ‘territory, district’. These meanings come through fairly clearly in the uses of this word in the Cippus Abellanus (Buck pp. 226–227, inscription 1), an inscription which represents an agreement reached by the cities of Nola and Abella concerning the use and ownership of a temple of Hercules, owned by both cities and located on their common boundary. *Slaagi-* occurs in the ablative case (*slaagid*) in the description of the position of the temple:

sakaraklúm Herekleís [up / slaagíd púd íst . . . (ll. 11–12)
‘the temple of Hercules which is at the border . . .’

and later in the inscription, occurs twice in the accusative (*slagim*), in the meaning ‘territory’:

pústin slagím / senateís suveís tangi- / núd tríbarakavúm lí- /
kítud (ll. 34–37)
‘let it (i.e. a building) (be allowed to) be built by the decision
of the senate of each (city) according to the territory’
avt anter slagím / A]bellanam íním Núvlanam (ll. 54–55)
‘but between the Abella and Nolan territory . . .’

⁷) Since both the citation from Callimachus and our proposed emendation refer to Herakles as slayer of the Nemean lion, we may have here a cult-epithet comparable to the curious title for Hermes, *κυνάγχης*, “dog-throttler” (Hippon. fr. 3a West). On this, see the interpretation of Olivier Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax. Édition critique et commentée* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1962) 104–106; cf. also the form *δεραγχής*, *ές*, “throttling” (*AP* 6.107.4).

Despite the relatively clear and uncontroversial meaning of *slaagi-*, the etymology is most unclear. Buck (p. 229) somewhat tentatively suggests a connection with Old Irish *slige* ‘street’ and *slicht* ‘track’, and no better suggestions seem to exist in the literature. However, there are formal problems which prevent one from accepting this *slaagi* ~ *slige/slicht* connection. The Irish words are generally, though not wholeheartedly, taken to somehow represent an IE root **sleig-* (Pokorny IEW 663) with the meaning ‘glide; smooth’ (cf. Old Norse *slīkr* ‘smooth’, Old Irish *fo-sligim* glossed ‘linō’) either directly (Pokorny) or indirectly by a contamination with the meaning of the root **slak-* of Old High German *slahan* ‘strike’ (Vendryes [1974: s.v.v.]). Although the semantics of these root connections for the Irish words leave something to be desired, their form, coming from a zero-grade **slig-*, is such that a connection with Oscan *slaagi-* can be ruled out, for one would expect an Oscan cognate to be either *sleig-* (full-grade) or *slig-* (zero-grade), but not *sla(a)g-*. Thus a different etymology for *slaagi-* must be found.

Although no exactly equatable *i*-stem form exists in Indo-European for *slaagi-*, there are forms which offer a better root etymology, with morphological and semantic parallels as well to strengthen the connection. In particular, Greek *λήγω* ‘leave off, cease’, along with its apparent Germanic cognates, e.g. Norwegian *slōken* ‘slack, loose’, provides the etymology for *slaagi-*. The Greek form points to a root **slēg-* (the Germanic forms are from an *o*-grade form **slōg-*), which can be rewritten in laryngealistic terms as **slēHg-*. The initial *l-* of *λήγω* is from an earlier **sl-*, as shown by the geminate in the compound *ἄλληκτος* and in *ἀπο-λήξειαν* (*Od.* 12.224), thus allowing for the connection with *slōken* and especially *slaagi-*.

Moreover, the meaning of *λήγω* makes it a very good cognate for *slaagi-*. The connection between a meaning ‘leave off’ and a concretized sense of ‘border, boundary’, i.e. ‘where something leaves off’ (the meaning ‘territory’ would be an extension from ‘boundary’, as with Latin *fīnēs*, properly “boundaries”), seems natural enough to the attractive in this case. Furthermore, such a semantic connection is implied by the use of *λήγω* in a local sense by Herodotos in the description of the endpoint, i.e. boundary, of roads, mountains, and the like, e.g. 7.216: *ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὐτῆ ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄσωποῦ ποταμοῦ . . . λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηρὸν πόλιν* (cf. also Hdt. 2.8 in regard to a mountain range and 4.39 [2×] in regard to a peninsula).

Given the connection with *λήγω*, then, *slaagi-* would represent a zero-grade **s_lg-* (**s_lH₁g-*), with the usual Italic development of **ī* to *ā*, as in Latin *lāna* from **u_lnā* (cf. Skt. *ūrṇā*, Greek *λήν-ος*) and apparently (though with no indication of length) Umbrian *an-gla-* 'oscen, i.e. bird from whose note an augury is taken' from **-k_l-* (cf. Latin *clā-mō*, Greek *καλέω*). The spelling variant *slagi-* noted earlier would simply be the result of the usual Oscan inconsistency in the writing of "etymological" [ā], e.g. *fratrum* from **bhrātrōm*. Although the alternative zero-grade vocalization, to **slæg-* (indicated for this root by Pokorny IEW 959), would yield Oscan *slag-*, from which the by-form *slaag-* could be derived by the "secondary lengthening" of *a* seen in Oscan *aamanaffed* 'locavit' (Buck § 77.2), in view of the problems, admitted by Buck, with the nature and conditioning for this secondary lengthening process, it seems best to derive *slaagi-* directly from the zero-grade vocalization **s_lg-*.

Morphologically, *slaagi-* would be a zero-grade *i*-stem formation from the verbal root, parallel to such forms as Sanskrit *drś-i-* 'the act of) seeing, beholding', and *ruc-i-* 'light, splendor', or Middle High German *luc*, Old Church Slavonic *лѣзь*, both from **lug-i-* 'falsehood'. As Brugmann (1904: § 426) notes, these formations are generally verbal abstracts, though they can undergo a concretization in meaning, as with *ruci-*. *Slaagi-*, then, fits into this pattern of originally abstract verbal nouns which have taken on a more concrete meaning.

The connection of Oscan *slaagi-* with Greek *λήγω*, therefore, encounters no phonological, morphological, or semantic difficulties, and so must be preferred over Buck's suggestion of Old Irish *slige/slicht*. Moreover, if one assumes that *slaagi-* shows that Italic inherited a zero-grade **(s)lāg-* from this root, then some insight may be gained into the problematic connection of Latin *laxus* and Greek *λαγρός* with the root of *λήγω* (cf. Chantraine (1968: s.v. *λαγαίω*)). *Laxus* is unlikely to reflect a zero-grade **(s)læg-* of **sleH₁g-*, with vocalization of the laryngeal and not the liquid, because, as noted above, the Oscan form most likely represents a zero-grade with the vocalization **s_lH₁g-* (**s_lg-* in traditional terms), not **slæg-*. Latin *laxus* would thus have to be from a root **(s)lag-* (with an *s*-extension), which would provide the basis for Greek *λαγρός* and related words (*λαγαίω*, etc.). Similarly, though van Windekens (1976: s.v.) connects Tocharian A *slākkār* B *slakkare* 'mobile, agile, instable' with *λαγρός*, *laxus*, and *λήγω*, positing **slæg-* for the

Tocharian forms, a preform **slag-* would yield the A *ā* to B *a* correspondence in the root syllable as well. *Laxus*, *λαγρός*, and *slākkār* (etc.) would thus represent an entirely different root from that of *λήγω* and *slaagi-*.

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Latin *ut/nē* and *ut (... nōn)*

By ERIC P. HAMP, Chicago

The accounts in the handbooks of the phonological and morphological background of what we read in Latin as *ut uti* are quite inadequate, and this is essentially because they do not take proper account of the syntaxes into which *ut* enters. The focus is heavily, rather, on what translational equivalences *ut* may take.

We may first remove one subsidiary phonetic question, which is not of great importance to the total problem in any case. There can be no doubt that we must assume a form **uta* in order at least to explain the combination *ali-uta*; it is also quite possible to derive *uti-nam* and *uti-que* from this form. But, more important, the prominent syntax with *ita*¹) would be optimally explained by the

¹) For a detailed listing of Korrelativa im Hauptsatz (*ita - ut, sic - ut, etc.*) see Szantyr 633; the later pleonastic accumulations need not concern us here for purposes of tracing the sources of *ut*. Recognition of the basic relevance of *ita* to *ut* is demonstrated by Leumann's (1977) juxtaposition (482 § 377B) of *ita* and *utei uti ut* under *-ta* modal.