The preverb ἀπό in Ancient Greek
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1 Introduction
This paper examines the meanings and the semantic evolution of the preverb ἀπό 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-, ὑπο-, 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 s.v ἀπό; Schwyzer 1968: II 444, Buck 1955:27). The Mycenaean tablets attest the preverb in the form ἀππ-, while there is no certain example of the form ἀπν-.

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 = ἀφιέσταμαι, cf. Umbr. ap-ehtre ‘= ab extra, extrinsecus’), Goth. af ‘down’ (also preverb, e.g. af-standam = ἀφιέσταμαι; cf. OE. aba, Eng. of) and Skt. ápa ‘away from’ (also preverb, e.g. Skt. ápa-i = ἀπεμι, L. ab-eo, Skt. ápa sthā- = ἀφιέσταμαι, 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-πυνέθε (see DMic s.v.).
etc. The form ἀπο 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. ánu and Av. anu, compared to AGk ἀνα, and on the other hand AGk πύματος ‘hindmost, last’ (II.), OE. fon(a), Ind. punar ‘again’ (Schwyzer 1968, II 444). Beekes (2010 s.v. ἀπό) reconstructs PIE *h₂epo, alternating with PIE *h₂po in OCS po, L. po-situs, etc., cf. also AGk πύκαηνος, hindmost, last” (Il.), OE. fon (a), Ind. punar “again” (Schwyzer 1968, II 444). 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 ‘= ἄ- privative’.

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

The following examination of the meanings of ἀπο- is based on LSJ and DELG, as well as Dieterich (1909) and Γαξδίθαο (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.); ἀπιμει ‘go away, depart’ (Od.); ἀπέρχομαι ‘go away, depart from’ (Il.); ἀποβαδίζω ‘go away’


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(Ar.); ἀποβαίνω ‘step off from a place’ (Il.); ἀποίχομαι ‘to be gone away, to be far from, keep aloof from’ (Il.); ἀποκινῶ ‘remove or put away from’ (Il.); ἀποπέτομαι ‘fly off or away’ (Il.); ἀποπληξω ‘lead away from’ (A.R.), pass. ‘stray away from’ (Od.); ἀποπλέω ‘sail away, sail off’ (Il.); ἄφαλλομαι ‘spring off or down from’ (A.); etc. The first examples are already found in Mycenaean and in the Il. ([a-pe-i-ṃ] = ἀπ-εηζη; ἀπέξρνκαη, ἀπνβαίλσ, ἀπνπέηνκαη, etc.).

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

c. Formations analysed as ἄπο- + verb denoting ‘cutting, splitting, breaking, etc.’, e.g.: ἀπακάσ ‘cut off’ (Il.); ἀποδρέπτω ‘pluck off, pluck and take’ (Hes.); ἀποδρέπτω ‘tear off the skin, lacerate’ (Il.); ἀπορρήγνυμι ‘break off’ (Il.); ἀποσχιζω ‘split, cleave off’ (Od.); ἀποτέμνω ‘cut off, sever’ (Il.); ἀποτείχω ‘cut off from’ (Il.); etc. The first examples are already found in the Il. (ἀπακάσ, ἀποκόξγλπκη, etc.).

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

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

e. Formations analysed as ἄπο- + verb denoting ‘washing, wiping, cleaning, etc.’, e.g.: ἀπαξίσσω ‘dart away’ (Emp.); ἀπακώνιτθ ‘shoot away like a javelin, shoot off’ (Arist.); ἀπομόρφημι ‘wipe off or away from’ (Il.); ἀπονίζω I. ‘wash off’ (Il.); ἀπολοίων ‘wash clean’ (Od.); ἀποξιών ‘wash well, wash away’ (Od.); ἀπομηχαίω ‘wipe off’ (Pherecyd.); ἀποψάω I. ‘wipe off’ (E.); ἀποψάω ‘wipe clean’ (Ar.); etc.; cf. also ἀπολυμαίνομαι ‘cleanse oneself by bathing, esp. from ἄγνος ‘stain, abomination’ (Il.). The first examples are already found in the Il. (ἀπολοίων, ἀπομόρφημι, ἀπονίζω, etc.).

f. Many other formations with the general meaning ‘away (from), off (from)’, analysed as ἄπο- + verb, e.g.: ἀπακάω ‘keep off, ward off’ (Il.); ἀπείρω ‘to be away or far from’ (Il.); ἀπείρω ‘keep away from, debar from’ (Il.); ἀπέξω ‘keep off or away from’ (Il.); ἀποπληξω ‘frighten away’ (Il.); ἀποθρόπσω ‘leap off from’ (Il.); ἀποτῆμι ‘put away, stow away’ (Il.); ἀφαιρετζω ‘tear off or from’
(II.); ἀφίστημι I. ‘put away, remove, keep out of the way’ (A., Hdt.), II. pass. ‘stand away or aloof from, keep far from’ (II.); etc. The first examples are already found in the II. (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 (II.), reanalysed as ἀπο-μερ-ιζω, ἀφ-οπλ-ιζω. This fact gave birth to new formations with ἀπο- + noun + suffix, e.g.: ἀπανθίζω ‘pluck off flowers’ (A.); ἀποδερματίζω ‘flay, strip’ (Androm. ap. Gal.); ἀποδερματόμεια ‘(of shields) to have their leather covering destroyed’ (Plb.); ἀποκιδαρόω ‘take the κίδαρος ‘turban’ off’ (LXX); ἀπομιτρόω ‘take away the mitre’ (LXX); ἀπονευρομένος (ὁ τὰ νεύρα κοπτόμενος) ‘cut from the nerves’ (Hsch.); ἀποξολίζω ‘deprive of its woody fibre’ (Arist.); ἀποτερψώμεια ‘lose the wings’ (Vett. Val.); ἀποπυέω ‘suppurate’ (Hp.); ἀποσπερματίζω ‘shed semen’ (Arist.); ἀποφλοιώτω ‘peel, strip off’ (Nonn.); ἀφιματόω ‘strip of clothing’ (Suid.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Attic (ἀπανθίζω, ἀποπυέω, 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’, abscedo ‘to remove by cutting, cut off, away, or out’, abrumpo ‘to break or pull off’, abicio ‘to throw away from one’, ablvo ‘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.: ἀπαίζζσ ‘spring from’ (II.); ἀπαμείρομει ‘hang down from’ (Hes.); ἀπαλέξω ‘ward off from’ (II.); ἀποείκω ‘withdraw from’ (II. [Aristarch.]); ἀποκρύπτω ‘hide from, keep hidden from’ (II.); ἀπολαμβάνω ‘take or receive from’ (Hdt.); ἀποπαια ‘stop or hinder from’ (II.); ἀπόρνημαι ‘start from’ (II.); ἀποσφέω ‘save or preserve from’ (S.), ‘keep safe’ (Pl.); etc. Verbs like ἀπαλέξω ‘ward off from’ (II.) alongside ἀλέξσ ‘ward off’ (II.) could have influenced this semantic evolution. The first examples of this group are found in the II. (ἀπαίζζσ, ἀποείκω, ἀποπαια, 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.); ἀπαμαυρώ ‘remove darkness’ (Orph.); ἀπαρέσκω ‘to be disagreeable to’ (Th.); ἀπελίζω ‘disaccustom’ (Aeschin.); ἀποκιδήω ‘ἀκιδήω’ (II.); ἀποστεγάζω ‘uncover’ (Emp.); ἀποφαγείζω ‘unseal’ (D.L.); ἀποτιμάω ‘fail to honour, slight’ (h.Merc.); ἀποχαλνύω ‘unbridle’ (X.); ἀφιλέξσ ‘awake from sleep’ (AP: Antip. Thess., Ant. Diog.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in the II. (ἀποκιδήω, etc.).

Some of these verbs could have been reanalyzed as ἀπο- + noun + suffix, e.g. ἀπαμαυρώ, ἀπελίζω, ἀποστεγάζω, ἀποστρατεύματι, ἀποτιμάω, ἀποχαλνύω,
ἀθεςηάνκαη, etc., and this fact gave birth to a new group of verbs formed with ἀπο- + noun + suffix, e.g.: ἀπογυμνιτίζομαι ‘to be deprived of tongue’ (Luc.); ἀποπαρθενεύνομαι ‘lay aside virginity’ (Hp.); ἀποπαρθενω ‘deflower’ (LXX); ἀποτεκνόμαι ‘to be deprived of children’ (LXX); ἀποφυλλίζω ‘strip (a plant) of its leaves’ (Thphr.); ἄφηνιάζο ἔχεω ‘refuse to obey the reins’ (Ph.); ἄφυπνίζω ‘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.: ἀπαμφιάζο ‘take off (a garment)’ (Plu.); ἀπαμφιέμομαι ‘strip off garment’ (Xenarch.); ἀπαμφίζω ‘strip from one’ (Men.); ἀπαμφίσκω ‘strip from one’ (Ph.); ἀπεθέμομαι ‘undress oneself’ (Luc.); ἀποζώνυμι ‘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. (ἀφοπλίζω).

b. A negative meaning is also found in a group of formations with ἀπο- + verb meaning ‘say, etc.’, e.g.: ἀπαγγελεύου ‘forbid’ (Hdt.); ἀπαγγάλω ‘forbid’ (S.); ἀπεῖπν ‘deny, refuse’ (Il.); ἀπενεύα ‘forbid’ (A.); ἀπείρωμαι I. ‘wish a thing away, wish it may not happen’ (E.), II. ‘reject, despise’ (A.); ἀπαρχηριζομαι ‘oppose firmly, give a flat denial’ (Th.); ἀποδιάδασκω ‘teach not to do’ (Hps.); ἀπολέγω ‘decline, refuse’ (Plb.); ἀπόνυμω ‘take an oath away from, swear that one will not do’ (Od.); ἀποσπομβολέω ι. ‘dissuade’ (Arr.), II. metaph. ‘divert’ (Hps.); ἀποφάσκω ‘deny’ (Plu.), pass. (S.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (ἀπεῖπν, ἀπόνυμω, etc.). Old verbs like ἀπόνυμω 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.: ἀπαγροεύμαι ‘defend oneself’ (Arist.); ἀποδιαστάω ‘pronounce in one’s favour in an arbitration, opp. καταδιαστάω’ (Test. ap. D); ἀποδικάζω ‘acquit, opp. καταδικάζω’ (SEG 5th B.C., rest. in Inscr. Cret. 6th-5th B.C., Antiph); ἀποσφηξίζομαι I. ‘vote away from, refuse to condemn’ (Lycurg.), II. ‘vote a charge away from, acquit’ (Antiph, Lys.); etc.; cf. words analysed as ἀπο- + noun + suffix, e.g.: ἀποδικίω ‘defend oneself’ (X.); ἀπολογέομαι ‘speak in defence, defend oneself’ (Antiph, Th., Eup.). The examples of this group are mostly Attic (ἀποδιαστάω, ἀποσφηξίζομαι, etc.).

In Latin we find abdicō ‘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.: ἀπολέγω ‘work out one’s grief for’ (Th.); ἀπολεγέω ‘finish blooming’ (Thphr.), ‘fade’ (Hp.), mostly metaphor. (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 (ἀπαιγέσ, ἀπαλζέσ, ἀπνηύπηνκαη, etc.). This meaning seems to derive from the privative one, in verbs like ἀπαινθέσ 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’ (II.); ἀπεχθαίρω ‘hate utterly, detest’ (II.); ἀποθαυμάζω ‘marvel much at’ (Od.); ἀποθνήσκω ‘strength. for θνήσκω’ (II.); ἀποκτείνω ‘stronger form of κτείνω, kill, slay’ (II.); ἀπόλλομι ‘stronger form of ὀλλυμι, destroy utterly’ (II.); ἀπόμνυμι ‘strength. for δμνυμι, take a solemn oath’ (Th.); ἀποτρίβοι ‘strength. for τρίβοι, wear out’ (Od.); ἀπόφημι ‘speak out, declare flatly or plainly’ (II.); etc.

b. verbs described in LSJ as having an almost identical meaning as the simple verb, e.g. ἀπάγρσ ‘strangle, throttle’ (Od.); ἀπαξέζθνκαη ‘to approve, to appease’ (II.); ἀπείπνλ ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (II.); ἀπειδέω ‘spit up, vomit forth’ (II.); ἀπεκέσ ‘spit up, vomit forth’ (II.); ἀπεκέσ ‘strip of arms’ (II.); ἀποδεέκμαι ‘accept’ (II.); ἀπολέγω ‘pick out, choose’ (Hdt.); ἀπονοστέω ‘return, come home’ (II.); ἀποσκευάζω ‘(mostly in med.) pack up and carry off’ (SIG 2nd B.C.); ἀφάλλομαι ‘jump, bound’ (Ruf.); ἀφίσκω ‘arrive at or have arrived’ (Pl.); ἀφικνέμαι ‘arrive at, come to, reach’ (II.); etc.

Verbs from both categories are already attested in the II., 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 ἀπεκέσ ‘strip of arms’ (II.) as opposed to ἐναρίζω ‘strip a slain foe of his arms’ (II.): ἐναρίζω in itself means ‘strip of arms (and take them away)’, so ἀπο- does not contribute much to the meaning of ἀπεκέσ. 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’]; ἀποβλίβω ‘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 ἄπο- + 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 ἄπο- + noun + suffix, e.g.: ἀπαθανατίζω I. ‘aim at immortality’ (Pl.), II. ‘deify’ (D.S.); ἀπανδρώμαι ‘become a man, come to maturity’ (E.); ἀπογαίθω ‘make into land’ (Heraclit.); ἀπολεοντόμαι ‘become a lion’ (Heraclit.); ἀπολιθῶ ‘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 ἄπο- + noun + suffix, e.g.: ἀπειεπζεξόσ “emancipate (a slave)” (Pl.); ἀπεξεκόνκαη “to be left destitute of” (Th.); ἀπογυνόω ‘enfeeble, unnerve’ (Il.); ἀποδοχύω ‘bend sideways’ (Od.); ἄποθεοῦ ‘deify’ (PTest. 2nd B.C.); ἄπολευκαίνω ‘make all white’ (Hp.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (ἀπογυνόω, ἀποδοχύω).

7. Meaning ‘back’, in formations analysed as ἄπο- + 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’) > ἄπο- obtains the meaning ‘back’?

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

9. Also, meanings: ‘a little’, e.g.: ἀποκομίμαω ‘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.); ἀπαίσσω ‘dart away’ (Emp.), also ‘spring from’ (Il.); ἀποκομίμαω ‘sleep away from home’ (Pl.), also ‘get a little sleep’ (Hdt.); ἀπεσθήσω ‘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.); ἄπαρτῶ ‘detach, separate’ (D.) but also ‘hang up, strangle, swing freely’ (E.); ἀποδιαρθάνω ‘wake up’ (Ael.) but also ‘sleep’ (Plu.); ἀπολαβάοντο ‘fail in drawing lots’ (Lys.) but also ‘obtain a portion of (a thing) by lot’ (B., Hdt.); ἀποσκεφάλω

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'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.); ἀφῆκο ‘depart’ (D.C.) but also ‘arrive at or have arrived’ (Pl.); ἀφυπνώω ‘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 ἀπεξσεύο ‘thwarter’ (Il.), ἀπόδξαζηο ‘running away, escape’ (Hdt.), ἀποκοτη ‘cutting off’ (A.), ἀφαίρεσι ‘taking away, carrying off, removal’ (Pl.);

b. secondary adjectives, like ἀπορροώ ‘broken off, abrupt, sher, precipitious’ (Od.), subst. (II.), ἀπόβλητος ‘to be thrown away or aside’ (II.), ἀπότροπος ‘turned away, far from men’ (Od.);

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

Only a few of the secondary derivatives are found in Hom.: ἀπερεωύς, ἀπορροώς, 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 Γαξδίθαο 1912: 77–116).

1. Most interesting is the relation between ἀπο- and the preverb ἐκ-/ἐξ-. As concerns the meaning ‘away (from), off (from)’, we can find parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπο- and ἐκ-/ἐξ-, 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. ἀπάγοω ‘lead away, carry off’ (Od.) ≈ ἐξάγοω ‘lead out, lead away’ (II.); ἀπελαίνω ‘drive away, expel from’ (E.), pass. ‘to be driven away’ (Hdt.) ≈ ἐξελαίνω ‘drive away, expel’ (II.); ἀπέρχομαι ‘go away, depart from’ (II.) ≈ ἐξέρχομαι ‘go or come out of’ (II.); ἀποβαίνω ‘step off from a place’ (II.) ≈ ἐκβαίνω ‘step out of or off from’ (II.);

b. ἀπαινίμαι and ἀπαινίμαι ‘strip off, remove’ (II.), ‘take away, deprive one of’ (Od.) ≈ ἐξαινίμαι ‘take out or away’ (Od., II.); ἀποφέρω ‘carry off or away’ (II.) ≈ ἐκφέρω ‘carry out of’ (II.); ἀφαιρέω I. ‘take away from’ (Od.), II. ἀφαιροῦμαι ‘take away for oneself’ (II.) ≈ ἐξαιρέω ‘take out’ (II.);

c. ἀπαμόω ‘cut off’ (II.) ≈ ἐξαμάω ‘mow or reap out, finish mowing or reaping’ (II.), ‘cut off’ (S.); ἀπορρήγνωμι ‘break off’ (II.) ≈ ἐκρήγνωμι ‘break off, snap asunder’ (II.);

d. ἀποβάλλω ‘throw off’ (II.) ≈ ἐκβάλλω ‘throw or cast out of’ (II.); ἀφίμμι ‘send forth, discharge’ (II.) ≈ ἐξήμι ‘send out, let go out’ (II.).
e. ἀποκαθαίρω ‘cleanse off, clear away’ (Ar.) ≈ ἐκκαθαίρω ‘clear out’ (Il.);
f. ἀπαθόνω ‘keep off, ward off’ (Il.) ≈ ἐξαμύνομαι ‘ward off from oneself, drive away’ (A.); ἀπομετρώκοι ‘leap off from’ (Il.) ≈ ἐκθρέψκοι ‘leap out of’ (Il.); ἀπογέω ‘pour out or off, spill, shed’ (Od.) ≈ ἐκχέω ‘pour out’ (Il.);
g. ἀποπτέω ‘suppurate’ (Hp.) ≈ ἐκπίνει ‘suppurate’ (Hp.); ἀποχυλώ ‘extract the juice’ (Hp.) ≈ ἐκχυλύσσαι ‘to be squeezed out’ (Gal.).

2. As concerns the meaning ‘from’, there are also parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπ- and ἐθ- (Il.), e.g.: ἀπαθόνω ‘hang down from’ (Hes.) ≈ ἐμαθόνω ‘to be suspended from’ (Hp.);

3. A privative meaning is also found in (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπ- and ἐθ- (Il.), e.g.: ἀπεικάκα ‘suffice, be sufficient’ (Sol. ap. Arist.) ≈ ἐξαρκέω ‘to be quite enough for, suffice for’ (Heraclit.); ἀπαρχομαι ‘make a beginning’ (Il.) ≈ ἐξάρχομαι ‘to be the leader in, initiate’ (Il.); ἀπατημάζω ‘dishonour greatly’ (A.) ≈ ἐξατιμάζω ‘dishonour utterly’ (S.); ἀπεῖπον ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (Il.) ≈ ἐξεῖπον ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (Il.);

4. As concerns the intensive meaning, there are parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπ- and ἐθ- (Il.) and seldom with ἀ- (< privative prefix *η-) and παρα-, e.g.: ἀπαρκέω ‘go out of bloom, fade away’ (v.l. in Pl.) ≈ παρακάζω ‘to be past the prime’ (X.); ἀπαλαίφω ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.) ≈ ἐξαλαίφω ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.), med. ‘annoint’ (Saph.); ἀποδόω ‘strip off’ (Il.) ≈ ἐκδόω ‘strip off’ (Il.); ἀποκαλύπτω ‘uncover’ (Hdt.) ≈ ἐκκαλύπτω ‘uncover’ (Hdt.);

5. As concerns the intensive meaning, there are parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπ- and ἐθ- (Il.), e.g.: ἀπεικάκα ‘suffice, be sufficient’ (Sol. ap. Arist.) ≈ ἐξαρκέω ‘to be quite enough for, suffice for’ (Heraclit.); ἀπαρχομαι ‘make a beginning’ (Il.) ≈ ἐξάρχομαι ‘to be the leader in, initiate’ (Il.); ἀπατημάζω ‘dishonour greatly’ (A.) ≈ ἐξατιμάζω ‘dishonour utterly’ (S.); ἀπεῖπον ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (Il.) ≈ ἐξεῖπον ‘speak out, tell out, declare’ (Il.);

6. As concerns the intensive meaning, there are parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπ- and ἐθ- (Il.) and seldom with ἀ- (< privative prefix *η-) and παρα-, e.g.: ἀπαρκέω ‘go out of bloom, fade away’ (v.l. in Pl.) ≈ παρακάζω ‘to be past the prime’ (X.); ἀπαλαίφω ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.) ≈ ἐξαλαίφω ‘wipe off, expunge’ (D.), med. ‘annoint’ (Saph.); ἀποδόω ‘strip off’ (Il.) ≈ ἐκδόω ‘strip off’ (Il.).
ventures’ (Hp.), 2. ‘venture, risk’ (Ar.); ἀποκλαίω ‘mourn for, lament’ (Thgn., A., Pl.) ≈ κατοκλαίω ‘beware loudly, lament’ (Ar.); ἀποκλέω ‘shrink from’ (Th.), ‘shrink back, hesitate’ (Th.) ≈ κατοκλέω ‘shrink from’ (S.), ‘shrink back’ (A.); ἀπολέσω ‘pick out, choose’ (Hdt.) ≈ ἐκλέγω ‘pick or single out’ (Th.) ≈ ἐπιλέγω ‘pick out, select’ (Hdt.); ἀπόλλυμι ‘stronger form of ὀλλυμί ‘destroy utterly’ (II.) ≈ ὀλλυμί ‘destroy utterly, bring to naught’ (Emp.) ≈ ἐξόλλυμι ‘destroy utterly’ (Od.); ἀποσβέννημι ‘exterminate, quench’ (Trag. A desp., Ar.), pass. (Heraclit.) ≈ κατασβέννημι ‘put out, quench’ (II.); ἀποτεῖνο ‘stretch out, extend’ (Arist.), pass. (X.), ‘extend, prolong’ (Pl.) ≈ ἐκτεῖνο ‘stretch out’ (A.) ≈ παρατεῖνο I. ‘stretch out along, beside or near’ (Hpt.), II. ‘stretch or lie beside or along’ (Hdt.); ἀποφθεῖρο ‘destroy utterly’ (A.); ἐκφθείρο ‘destroy utterly’ (Scymn.), pass. ‘to be undone, ruined’ (E.). ἀρικνέωμαι ‘arrive at, come to, reach’ (II.) ≈ ἔξωκνέωμα ‘reach, arrive at’ (II.); etc. Cf. also ἀπομορφόμονος ‘change into the form of’ (Eust.) ≈ μεταμορφόμονος ‘transform’ (Gal.).

As concerns the meaning ‘finishing off, completing’, there are parallel (quasi-)synonymous formations with ἀπο- and ἐμ-/ἐμ-, e.g.: ἀπεξιγαδνόμαι I. ‘finish off, complete, bring to perfection’ (Ar.), II. ‘cause, produce’ (Pl.) ≈ ἔξωκνέωμα I. ‘work out, bring to completion’ (Hdt.); most frequently analysed as ἀπο- + noun + suffix, e.g.: ἀπαγράφω ‘become wild or savage’ (S.). ‘make wild or waste’ (Dsc.), pass. ‘to be made so’ (Isoc.), II. ‘make savage’ (Hdt.); ἀπολιθώ ‘turn into stone, petrify’ (Arist.) ≈ ἐκλίθω ‘turn into stone’ (Tz.); ἀποτυφλόω ‘make quite blind’ (Arist.) ≈ ἕκτυφλόω ‘make quite blind’ (Batr., Hdt.); ἀρνηγάζο ν ‘cure, heal’ (Archit. ap. Gal.) ≈ ἔξωγνάζω ‘heal thoroughly’ (Plb.); etc.

Antonymous relations are also found, e.g.: ἀπερτάω ‘detach, separate’ (D.) ≠ συναρτάω ‘knit or join together’ (E., Th.); ἀπερχόμαι ‘go away, depart from’ (II.) ≠ προσερχόμαι ‘come or go to’ (A., Hdt.); ἀπομοιώζω ‘beware loudly’ (A.) ≠ ὑπομοιώζω ‘sail softly, whimper’ (Luc.); ἀποπλέο ‘sail away, sail off’ (II.) ≠ προπλέω ‘sail towards or against’ (Hdt.) ≈ καταπλέω I. ‘sail from the high sea to land, put in’ (Od.), II. ‘sail back’ (Hdt.); ἀποσφαγίζω ‘unseal’ (D.L.) ≠ ἐκσφαγίζομαι ‘to be shut out from’ (Ε.), ‘to be sealed’ (BGH); ἀποτρέπω ‘turn away from’ (II.), ‘to prevent, avert’ (Hdt.) ≠ ἐπιτρέπω ‘turn to or towards’ (Od.), ‘permit’ (Ar.) ≈ ἐπιτρέπω I. ‘urge forwards’ (II.), 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 Schwyzer (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.); ἀποβοῶνος ‘far from an altar’
(E.); ἀπήσμος ‘high in air’ (Od.); ἀπόδημος ‘away from one’s country, abroad’ (Pl.); ἀποικός 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.); ἀπόσταυρος ‘apart from the bull’ (Arist.); ἀπότροπος ‘turned away, far from man’ (Od.); ἀπόπτροφος ‘reared away from home’ (Hdt.); ἀποπτεῖρος ‘far from the boundaries’ (v.l. in S.); ἀφορμὸς ‘moving off from, departing from’ (S.); etc. Cf. the derivative ἄπις ὃς ‘far away, far off, distant’ (Il.). Also nouns: ἄπηλιαστής ‘one who keeps away from the Ἕλια’ (Ar.); ἀποδορά ‘peeling of the skin’ (Agathin. ap. Orib.); ἀπόπτατος ‘privy’ (Ar.); ἀπόπλουος ὁ ‘sailing away’ (Hdt.); ἀφηλιζ ‘beyond youth, elderly’ (Hdt.); ἀφθονὸς ἡ ‘going away, departure’ (Hdt.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (ἀπήσμος, ἀπότροπος, etc.).

2. Adjectives with the meaning ‘from’, e.g.: ἀπόγειος ‘from land, coming off land’ (Arist.); ἀπόγονος ‘born or descended from’ (Hdt.); ἀπόπτατος ‘seen or to be seen from a place’ (Arist.); ἀπόσκοπος ‘erring from the mark’ (Emp.); ἀπόστροφος ‘born from’ (Musae.); etc. Also nouns: ἄπορκτια ‘north wind’ (Arist.); ἀπηλιώτης (Hdt.) and ἀφηλιώτης (IG, Apion ap. J.) ‘east wind’; ἀπόπτατος ‘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 ἄπ- + noun (+ suffix), e.g.: ἄπαισμος ‘ill-omened’ (App.); ἄπανθρωπος ‘inhuman, savage’ (S.); ἄπαξίος ‘= ἄνάξιος, unworthy of’ (Pl.); ἄπατος ‘immune from punishment’ (Inscr. Cret. 6th B.C., Leg. Gort.); ἄπαιδειπνος ‘= ἄδειπνος’ (Hsch.); ἄποθόκος ‘far from the gods, godless’ (S.); ἄποθήμιος ‘not according to the mind, unpleasant, hateful’ (Il.); ἄποκαίριος ‘= ἄκαιρος, unseasonable’ (S.); ἄποκηράς ‘= ἀκηράς, negligent’, adv. (Hp. ap. Gal.); ἄποκληρος ‘without lot or share of’ (Pi., Emp.); ἄποκλειστος ‘unpunished’ (Zos. Alch.); ἄπομισθος ‘away from (i.e. without) pay, unpaid or underpaid’ (X.); ἄποξενος ‘alien to guests, inhospitable, stronger than ἄξενος’ (S.); ἄπορρητος I. ‘forbidden’ (S.), II. ‘not to be spoken, secret’ (Hdt.); ἄποσπονδος ‘stronger form of ἄσπονδος’ (Poll.); ἄποστακτος ‘sterile’ (Vett. Val.); ἄπότιμος ‘put away from honour, stronger than ἄτιμος’ (Hdt.); ἄποστειχίς ‘missing’ (Pl.); ἄπόφθεγματος ‘= ἄφθεγματος’ (E.); ἄποφθειρος ‘having no tribe, foreign’ (A.); ἄπόχειος ‘unprepared’ (Plb.); ἄφεταυρος ‘friendless’ (Theopomp. Hist.); ἄφέψαλος ‘without a spark of fire’ (Hsch.), ‘uncooked’ (Suppl. Hell. 3rd B.C.); ἄφωκας ‘not having weight’ (Str.); ἄφωμος ‘unlike’ (Dsc.); etc. Also nouns: ἄπακμη ‘decline’ (Longin.); ἄπαξία ‘disvalue’ (Zeno); ἄπευξη ‘deprecation’ (Men. Rh.); ἄπογένεσις ‘decease’ (Porph.); ἄποδυναμία ‘lack of power’ (Olymp.); ἄπονοια ‘loss of all sense’ (Th.); etc. The first examples of this group are found in Hom. (ἄποθήμιος).
b. Closely related is the meaning ‘formerly’ in the adjective ἀποπραιπώστος ‘formerly praepositus’ (PMasp. 6th A.D.); and mainly in the nouns: ἀποβασιλέως ‘ex-king’ (AB); ἀπόδοουλος ‘freedman’ (Suid.); ἀποδρακονύριος ‘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 ἕρμος’ (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.); ἀποξίς ‘tapering’ (Hp.); ἀπόσκληρος ‘strengthd. for σκληρός, very hard’ (Philum.); ἀπότολμος ‘bold, daring’ (Heph. Astr.); ἀφαμαρτουτής = ἀμαρτουτής, talking at random (II); ἀφόμιος, ἀφόμιον ‘copy’ (LXX); etc. Also nouns: ἀπεύπωμα = ἄτομωμα (IG); ἀπαργή 1. ‘beginning of a sacrifice, primal offering’ (E.), 2. ‘first-things, first-fruits’ (Hdt., S.); ἀπεγγύε ‘security’ (rest. in Thasos 5th B.C.); ἀπεμπολή ‘sale’ (Call.); ἀπόδαχκα ‘hide’ (Hdt.); ἀπόδαχα ‘portion’ (OGI 3rd B.C.); ἀποφώρ ‘thief’ (Hsch.); etc. The first example is found in the Il. (ἀφαμαρτουτής).

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 [= θυμελία, spurge-flax, daphne cnidium’ (v.l. in Dsc.)], ἀπολάντιον [= ἄληνον, ‘perh. name of a grass’ (PMag.Lond.)], ἀπόμελι [= ‘honey-water, an inferior kind of mead’ (Dsc.)], p.ē. ἀφάρχη [= ‘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’ (Hp.), ἀποδημία ‘going or being abroad’ (Hdt.), ἀπορρόξ ‘broken off, abrupt, sheer, precipitous’ (Od., Il.), ἀφήγημα ‘tale, narrative’ (Hdt.), ἀφήγης ‘narration’ (Hdt.), ἀφίημι ‘arrival’ (Hdt.);

b. secondary verbs, like ἀπανθρωπεύομαι ‘shun like a misanthrope’ (Hp.).

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.: ἀποβώμος ‘far from an altar’ (E.) ≠ ἐμβώμος ‘on the altar’ (Jul.); ἀπόδημος ‘away from one’s country, abroad’ (Pi.) ≈ ἐκδημος ‘away from home, abroad’ (E.) ≠ ἐνδημος

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‘dwelling in, native’ (Hes.); ἀποδορά ‘peeling of the skin’ (Agathin. ap. Orib.) ≈ ἐκδορά ‘stripping of, removing’ (Gal.); ἀποκοικός I. ‘away from home, abroad’ (S.), II. ‘settled as a colony’ (Ar.), ‘colonist’ (Hdt.) ≠ ἔνοικος ‘inhabitant (A.), ‘dweller in’ (Pl.); ἀπόκεντρος ‘away from a cardinal place’ (Man.) ≈ ἐκκεντρος ‘not occupying a cardinal point’ (Vett. Val.) ≠ ἐκκεντρος ‘occupying a cardinal point’ (Vett. Val.); ἀπόπατος ‘privacy’ (Ar.) ≈ ἐκπάτος ‘= ἀπόπατος, privacy’ (Theognost.); ἀπόπλοος ὁ ‘sailing away’ (Hdt.) ≈ ἔκπλοος ὁ ‘sailing out, leaving port’ (A.); ἀποπτος ‘out of sight of, far away from’ (S.) ≠ ἔνοπτος ‘visible in’ (Arist.); ἀπότροπος ‘turned away, far from man’ (Od.) ≈ ἔκτροπος ‘turning out of the way’, adv. (Erot.); ἀπότροφος ‘rearad away from home’ (Hdt.) ≠ ἐντροφος ‘living in or acquainted with’ (S.); ἀπουρος ‘far from the boundaries’ (v.l. in S.) ≈ ἔξωρος ‘out of the bounds of one’s country’ (Poll.) ≈ ἐνδοίρος ‘within the boundaries’ (Poll.); ἀφηλίζει ‘beyond youth, elderly’ (Hdt.) ≠ ἐνήλιζε ‘of age, adult, grown up’ (ΟΓΙ 2nd B.C.), ἐνήλικος ‘of age, adult, grown up’ (Sammelb 2nd B.C.); ἀφοδος ὡ ‘going away, departure’ (Hdt.) ≈ ἐξοδος ὡ ‘going out’ (Hdt.) ≠ ἔνοδος ὡ ‘way in, entrance’ (ΙGC), είσοδος ὡ I. ‘place of entrance, entry’ (Od.), II. ‘entering, entrance’ (A.); etc.

b. With the privative-negative meaning ἀπό- is (quasi-)synonymous with the preverb ἀ-, e.g.: ἀπάνθρωπος ‘inhuman, savage’ (S.) ≈ ἀνάνθρωπος ‘inhuman, savage’ (ΠΟξυ. 3rd A.D.); ἀπάξιος ‘= ἀνάξιος, unworthy of’ (Pl.) ≈ ἀνάξιος ‘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.) ≈ θεος 1. ‘that is without God’ (Pl.), 2. ‘godless, impious’ (A., Pl.) ≠ θεος ‘full of the god, inspired’ (S.), ‘possessed’ (A.); ἀποκαίριος ‘= ἀκαιρος, unseasonable’ (S.) ≈ ἀκαιρος ‘ill-timed, unseasonable’ (Thgn.); ἀποκηρήθη ‘= ἀκηρήθη, negligent’, adv. (Hp. ap. Gal.) ≈ ἀκηρήθη ‘without care or sorrow’ (Il.), ἀπόκληρος ‘without lot or share of’ (Pi., Emp.) ≈ ἀκλήρος ‘without lot or portion, poor, needy’ (Il.); ἀπόνοια ‘loss of all sense’ (Th.) ≈ ἀνοια ‘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 ἀσπονδος’ (Poll.) ≈ ἀσπονδος ‘without σπονδη or drink-offering’ (A.); ἀπόστιμος ‘put away from honour, stronger than ἀτιμος’ (Hdt.) ≈ ἀτιμος ‘unhonoured, dishonoured’ (Il.); ἀπόθεργκτος ‘= ἀφθεργκτος’ (E.) ≈ ἀφθεργκτος ‘voiceless’ (A.); ἀφόμιος ‘unlike’ (Dsc.) ≈ ἀνόμιοις ‘unlike, unsimilar’ (Pi.); etc.

According to Strömberg (1946: 28, 33), privatives with ἀπό- are stronger than the privatives with the prefix ἀ- (“ἀπόσιτος is a stronger privative than ἀσιτος”). But we must also take into account ἀπόκαυλος (Thphr. ΗΡ 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, ἀτρο- 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 ἀτιμος (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. ἀπόγεησ 1. ‘from land, coming off land’ (Arist.), ‘far from the earth’ (Plu.) ≠ πρόσγεησ ‘near the earth’ (Ti. Lokr., Arist.); etc.

3.5 Primary adverbs
Primary adverbs have the meanings:

1. ‘away, off’, e.g.: ἀποπτρό ‘afar off’ (Il.); ἀπόπροθθ ‘far away’ (Il.); ἀπόπροθθ ‘afar off’ (Il.); ἀπόπροθθ ‘from afar’ (Hp.); ἀπόπροθθ ‘afar off’ (Od.).

2. ‘from’, e.g.: ἀποκάτω ‘from below’ (Sch. D.T.); ἀπόπροθθ ‘from old’ (Phrym.).

3. ‘after’, e.g.: ἀπάριστα ‘after luncheon’ (Tab. Defix. Aud.).

4. intensive, e.g.: ἀπάνευθε ‘afar off, far away’ (Il.); ἀπάνευθε ‘strengthd. for ἀνευθε, afar off, far away’ (Il.); ἀπάνευθε ‘strengthd. for ἀνευθε, right opposite’ (D.); ἀπάνευθε ‘strengthd. for ἀνευθε, right opposite’ (Hdt.); ἀπάνευθε ‘opposite’ (Plb.); ἀπάνευθε ‘opposite’ (Hdt.); ἀπάνευθε ‘early’ (Gloss.); ἀπαγέ ‘late’ (A.D.); ἀφάπαζ ‘once for all’ (PFlor. 3rd A.D.); ἀφεκάζ ‘far away’ (Nic.).

3.6 Special cases
In some words the form ἀπο- can be the result of popular etymology, mainly from the preverb ἱπτ-, e.g. ἀπάνευθε ‘shelter from wind’ (Sch. Opp.) < *ἱπανεμία; ἀπήνεμος ‘without wind’ (D.Chr.) < ἱπήνεμος; cf. also ἀποβάλλζαμον ‘ὁποβάλλζαμον’ (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 απόκεμνο, απόκαθεν; the privative-negative meaning in words like ἀποδέζξος, ἀποδιπλώνος; the meaning ‘ceasing from, leaving off’ in verbs like ἀπογάλεζε, ἀποζήμωνος; the intensive meaning in adjectives like ἀπομόναζος; the meaning ‘finishing off, completing’ in verbs like ἀποβάλλζαμον; the meaning
‘after’ in απόδειπνο. This will be the subject of another paper (Papanastassiou forthcoming).

References


