

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXXIII

HELSINKI 1999 HELSINGFORS

## INDEX

LÁSZLÓ BORHY	Praepositus legionis hunc burgum a fundamentis in diebus XXXXVIII fecit pervenire: <i>Überlegungen zu CIL III 3653 aus Esztergom hinsichtlich der Dauer der Errichtung spätrömischer Militäranlagen</i>	7
MIKA KAJAVA	Ἄρκτος : ἀρκτηύω <i>and the Like</i>	15
ANNA LINDBLOM	<i>The Amazons: Representatives of Male or Female Violence?</i>	67
LEENA PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN	<i>Genucilia Plates – Common agalmata or Depictions of the Myth of Persephone</i>	93
JANNE PÖLÖNEN	<i>Lex Voconia and Conflicting Ideologies of Succession. Privileging Agnatic Obligation over Cognatic Family Feeling</i>	111
RONALD T. RIDLEY	<i>What's in the Name: the so-called First Triumvirate</i>	133
F. X. RYAN	<i>Die Ädilität des Attentäters Cassius</i>	145
W. J. SCHNEIDER	<i>Beccas Talente. Luxurius AnthLat 316 SB = 321 R</i>	155
TIMO SIRONEN	<i>Minora latino-sabellica I. Osservazioni sulla distribuzione tipologica delle iscrizioni osche</i>	161
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CLXXIII–CLXXXIII</i>	169
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	203
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	239
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	241
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	245

## ”Αρκτος : ἄρκεύω AND THE LIKE

MIKA KAJAVA

For the reader my title probably suggests the name of this journal. Correctly so, though I will not discuss the Great Bear or the North, much less other arctic things. My focus is simply on ἄρκτος 'bear' and other Greek names of animals and their related verbal derivatives. However, what follows can willingly be taken as a homage to "Arctos" so as to celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of the new series in 1999, and the full seventy years from the foundation of the first series in 1930.

Besides referring to a constellation in the northern sky (cf. also *Arcturus* 'Bearguard') and the North in general,<sup>1</sup> the word ἄρκτος had a quite specific meaning in the Greek religious world. In some shrines of Artemis in Attica, especially Brauron, young Athenian girls due to be initiated in rites of passage were called ἄρκτοι 'bear girls' from the imitation of the animal.<sup>2</sup> In such rituals, the sacrifice of a surrogate for a bear girl, which symbolized the bear's death, marked the end of the girl's

---

\* My warmest thanks are due to Dr Antero Tammisto for sharing with me his unchallengeable knowledge of birds in antiquity. Prof. Maarit Kaimio and Prof. Heikki Solin were kind enough to read an earlier draft and to comment on it.

<sup>1</sup> A. Le Boeuffle, *Les noms latins d'astres et des constellations*, Paris 1977, 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a survey of the ritual and its meaning, see A. Brelich, *Paidés e parthenoi* (*Incunabula Graeca* 36), Roma 1969, 240 ff.; H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103 (1983) 97 f. (= *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea. The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*, Oxford 1990, 322 f.); K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden. Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*, London – New York 1989, 20 ff.; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Culture. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford 1991, 75 ff.; R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual. Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*, Oxford 1994, 306 ff. – For bears in ancient Greece, see Keller I 175 ff.

childhood. The practice itself had an apparent aetiological explanation,<sup>3</sup> though it evidently had a deeper significance and can be compared (at least in its outward appearance) with many ancient rituals where the participants appeared in the guise of various animals.<sup>4</sup> What actually happened during the *arkteia* is vaguely shown by some pictorial evidence,<sup>5</sup> but we also have some literary reference to girls performing the bear ritual. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, a girl says that she had been a Bear, dressed in *krokotos*, at the Brauronia (Lys. 645: καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις). The line was duly commented on by later scholiasts who, in their account of the Brauronian festival and its origin, used the verb ἄρκεύω (also in Med.) as a "technical" term for the performing of the ritual.<sup>6</sup> The verbal expression is not a late coinage, however, but can be found as early as Lysias who, according to Harpocratio, used the verb for the ritual in one of his lost speeches (Lys. fr. 82).<sup>7</sup> Since the institution of the bear ritual is extremely

---

<sup>3</sup> The fullest version (Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις) is as follows: when a girl poked fun at a tamed bear living in a sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron, it scratched her, upon which it was killed by her brothers. As a result a terrible plague befell the Athenians. According to an oracle, the ills would end only if the people, as a penalty for their crime, made their maidens perform the Bear ritual. Without performing it girls could not get married. – The last rule cannot, of course, have been generally applied, though it is true that the ritual was of public nature and it was carefully observed by the Athenians.

<sup>4</sup> For the wearing of animal-skins in cultic contexts (and cultic transvestism in general), cf. A.M. Bowie, *Aristophanes. Myth, Ritual and Comedy*, Cambridge 1993, 237 f. (with further reading).

<sup>5</sup> C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens 1988, passim; LIMC II (1984) 676 f. Nos. 723 f.

<sup>6</sup> Sch. Ar. Lys. 645 (made up from three versions): αἱ ἄρκευόμεναι δὲ τῇ θεῷ (i.e. Artemis) – καὶ τοῦτο ἄρκευέσθαι λέγεται – ἄρκεύειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρθένους – εἰ μὴ ἄρκεύσειεν τῇ θεῷ. This and other evidence for the ἄρκτοι is collected in Brelich (op.cit. n. 2), 248 f. – Note the elegant and plausible reading καὶ χέουσα (T.C.W. Stinton, CQ 69 [1975] 11 ff.) in place of the traditional κᾶτ' ἔχουσα.

<sup>7</sup> Harp. s.v. ἄρκεῦσαι. Cf. also Did. apud Harp. s.v. δεκατεύειν, saying, somewhat surprisingly, that in Lysias ἄρκεῦσαι is equivalent to δεκατεύσαι 'to pay the tithe', for which see Dowden (op.cit. n. 2), 28. Harp. also refers to a lost speech of Demosthenes where the verb δεκατεύσαι occurs in reference to a girl, but the lexicographer's

ancient, the verb would have been used by other early writers as well, but unfortunately no further evidence is preserved except the record of the noun ἄρκτος in two highly fragmentary plays.<sup>8</sup>

The pair ἄρκτος : ἄρκτηύω is paralleled in terms of cultic reality by that of νέβρος : νεβρίζω 'to dress in a deerskin', the verb being attested for attendants at the feast of Dionysus (see below).<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, a relation between νέβρος 'deer, fawn' and νεβεύω has also been posited. Since this rare verb, which is found only in some Thessalian inscriptions, always appears in connection with the cult of Artemis (in the female form νεβέυσα(ν)σα) and also because the deerskin is otherwise attested as a dress at festivals of the goddess,<sup>10</sup> the conclusion has been that νεβεύω means 'serving as a deer (in Artemis cult)'. This in turn would be a confirmation of what myths relating to Iphigeneia and the Deer of Aulis would demand.<sup>11</sup> This is indeed an attractive suggestion, notwithstanding the considerable difficulty of explaining the constant loss of the liquid *rho* in \*νεβ(ρ)εύω.<sup>12</sup> If this is not simply a phonetic phenomenon, however, one should assume the existence of an independent word \*νέβρος which not only would produce the verb νεβεύω but would also have the same meaning as νέβρος. This sounds most arbitrary, and so it is no wonder that an alternative explanation has been advanced. M. Hatzopoulos revives with strong arguments the old idea of a correlation between νεφεύω/νεβεύω and the Hesychian comment

---

suggestion that the orator meant ten-year-old bear girls is unconvincing (ἐπειδὴ αἱ δεκετίδες ἤρκτηυον). Moreover, he is wrong in claiming that the historian Craterus had equated the concept of ἄρκτηῦσαι and the girls' preparation for marriage: cf. FGrH 342 F 9. – The verb is also given by Hsch. s.v. ἄρκτηία· ἢ τῶν ἄρκτηυομένων παρθένων τελετή. Ἄρκτηεῖν δὲ τὸ καθιεροῦν, and it also occurs in Anecd. Bekk. 1, 444 (confused).

<sup>8</sup> Ar. Fr. 370 (Lemn.); Eur. Fr. 767 (Hyps.).

<sup>9</sup> Note that the verb βουκολέω sometimes seems to allude to the tauriform worship of Sabazios (Ar. V 10; Taillardat 119), but as a compound verb it has been omitted from the following catalogue (βούκολος was used of worshippers in bull-form, cf. further β. τοῦ Ὀσορᾶπι, 'devotee of Sarapis').

<sup>10</sup> Xen. Eph. 1,2,6, discussed by Dowden (op.cit. n. 2), 40 f.

<sup>11</sup> See esp. Dowden (op.cit. n. 2), 41 f., though he is neither the first nor the only protagonist of this idea.

<sup>12</sup> Thus printed, with a question mark, in LSJ Suppl. (1996).

on νέαι (ἀγωνισάμεναι γυναῖκες τὸν ἱερὸν δρόμον). So the verb νεβεύω (also ἐπινεβεύω inscr.) would refer to a kind of sacred race performed by young women about to be initiated in a rite of passage. This form would present the Thessalian way of rendering the digamma of a verb which in Macedonia appears as νεύω in similar contexts.<sup>13</sup>

Though the alleged relation between νέβρος and νεβεύω is unprovable, the idea and logic of such a relation is perfectly sound. The cases of ἄρκτος and νέβρος both come from the world of cult, but denominatives deriving from the animal world are found in many other sections of Greek society as well. Besides providing useful insights into the Greek way of thinking and using language, this particular phenomenon is noteworthy also because similar denominatives are surprisingly few in Latin, most of the attested cases being rare, onomatopoeic or highly technical expressions which are often found in glossaries (see the discussion below in the Appendix).

In the following I shall give an alphabetic list of Greek denominatives deriving from the names of animals (also included are a number of onomatopoeic verbs [e.g. κοκκύζω 'to cry cuckoo'] which together with the corresponding nouns [κόκκυξ 'cuckoo'] are based on various animal sounds [κόκκυ]. I also list some onomatopoeic verbs for which no animal name is attested but which are based on a sound typical of one animal only, e.g. κοίζω 'to cry κοί κοί' ['oink, oink', of young pigs]).<sup>14</sup>

I have not listed those (frequently onomatopoeic) cases where the noun is clearly post-verbal, e.g. ἄσκαρίς 'worm in the intestines' (ἀσκαρίζω 'to jump, to throb'; cf. Beavis 231 f.). – βαμβραδών [Dor.] 'sprat' (? βαμβράσσει· ὀργίζεται [Cyr. Dresd.]; cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 67). – δάπτης 'eater, bloodsucker', of mosquitos (δάπτω 'to devour', etc.; Beavis 231 n. 64). – ἐμπίς 'mosquito, gnat' (ἐμπίνω 'to drink'; cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 81). – κρέξ 'corncrake' (perhaps; reserves in Thompson, Birds 177 and Pollard 62 f.; possibly from κρέκω, the verb for any sharp noise; cf. also the bird names κερκάς, κέρκος, κερκίς, all known from Hsch.; Maurice 210 f.). – κρίγη (Hsch. = γλαῦξ [cf. Hippon. 54 W], i.e. 'owl' [*Strigiformes spp.*], esp. the Little Owl [*Athene noctua*], Thompson, Birds 76 ff.; κρίζω 'to screech', etc., with an onomatopoeic root; Tichy 127; Maurice 198; cf. Taillardat 275 n. 2). – λακέτας '(a type of) locust' (λάσκω 'to scream,

<sup>13</sup> M.B. Hatzopoulos, Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine (MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 19), Paris 1994, 25 ff., with full epigraphic documentation. For *ϕ* represented as *β* in inscriptions, see Sihler 183.

<sup>14</sup> See, in general, Tichy (several ancient Greek lists of names for animal noises are known, cf. the bibliography cited on p. 33).

to chirp', etc.; Taillardat 276). – λάλαξ 'babbler' (λαλέω; name of a frog [and a bird, Thompson, Birds 192]). – μορμύρος, one of the sea-breems (*Sparus mormyrus*; μορμύρω 'to roar and boil', cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 76; Thompson, Fishes 161). – πλάγγοσ 'the one who errs' (πλάγγασθαι, πλάζομαι; name of an unidentified raptor [*Falconiformes spp.*], in Arist. HA 618b23 'a kind of eagle'; for the identification, cf. Pollard 76, Capponi 426; also Thompson, Birds 251). – πτώξ 'hare' (i.e. 'a cowering animal', πτώσσω 'to cower from fear'; cf. Ar. Byz. p. 63). – σπίζα, name applied to various small birds, mostly thought to be identical with the Chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*; cf. Pollard 38; Thompson, Birds 267; Capponi 234 ff.; σπίζω 'to pipe, to chirp'; here the verb and the noun go back to one and the same expressive radical, perhaps σπιγγ-; cf. also Tichy 128). – τρύγων 'turtle dove' (*Streptopelia turtur*, Thompson, Birds 290 ff.; τρύζω, the verb for the producing of [any] low murmuring sound; note also τρυγόζω, used of doves, which may be a false doublet of τρύζω in Ps.Hdn. Anecd. Gr. 3,263).

Cf. also the following cases which are not listed below, either because the noun is post-verbal or because the relation between the verb and the noun is in some way uncertain (in some instances the noun does not refer to an animal at all): ἀσταλύζω 'to weep and sob' (Hsch.) hardly derives from ἀστάλη 'polypus in the nose' or '(a form of) worm with a tail' (both in Hsch.), for the verb must be older (cf. ἀνασταλύζειν 'to sob' already in Anacr. 43,4): both seem to be based on στάλυξ = στάλαγμος 'dropping, dripping' and σταλάσσω 'to let drop', of weeping, etc. – θῶσθαι 'to devour, to feast on' is no doubt related to θῶς 'jackal' (*Canis aureus*; from Hom.) as well as θοΐνη 'feast, dinner' (< \*θωι-να), but all these words perhaps go back to IE \**dhe(i)* 'to suckle, to nurse'. In that case the original meaning of θῶς would be something like 'fecund and prolific animal' (cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 99, 102). – κηκάζω 'to abuse, to revile' (Lyc. 1386; the relation to κήξ 'sea-swallow' is uncertain: both may be onomatopoeitic; cf. further Suda κούαξ [= κήξ]· πανοῦργος). – κιναβράω 'to smell like a goat' (Ar. Pl. 294) is perhaps related to κενέβρειος 'carrion'. – κογχαλίζω 'to murmur' (of shells) and κογχίζω 'to dye purple' (Hsch.; κόγχη 'mussel, cockle, shell' = κογχύλη, dim. κογχύλιον, cf. Lat. *conchatus* 'shaped like a sea-shell' and *conchyliatus* 'purple-dyed'); cf. also καλχαίνω 'to make purple', etc. (κάλχη 'murex, purple limpet'), which associates with the colour, not with the mollusc. – λαρύνω 'to coo like a dove' naturally derives from λάρυγξ. – χλουνάζω· κινύρεσθαι (Hsch.), i.e. 'to lament, to utter a plaintive sound' (χλούνης 'wild boar'), but since χλούνης also means a castrated (animal or man; Van Windekens, Dict. 232), one wonders whether the verb may have something to do with the act of castration.

Compound verbs of the type \*ἀμνοκοεῖν (ἀμνός, κοέω) < ἀμνοκῶν 'sheep-minded, simpleton' (Ar. Eq. 264; Taillardat 255) are also omitted. For βουκολέω, see n. 9.

If not absolutely complete, the catalogue is certainly ample enough to be representative and, I hope, will provide some useful reading not only for philologists but also for zoologists or anyone wishing to become acquainted with the Greek way of conceiving the fauna and its relation to people and human behaviour.<sup>15</sup> Lengthy comments and citations will be avoided so as

<sup>15</sup> For ancient Greek views on the exotic animal, see recently L. Bodson, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 61 ff.

to make the catalogue more succinct and readable. The list concludes with an appendix of comparable Latin examples and a synopsis of the whole material together with some general observations. – For the abbreviations used, see the end of this article.

\*ἀκριδεύω (?): see κατακριδεύω.

[ἀκρίς: see κατακριδεύω.]

\*άλωπεκιάω: see άλωπεκίζω.

άλωπεκίζω 'to play the fox, to be foxy', i.e. 'to be as cunning and unscrupulous as a fox' (ἀλώπηξ; Keller I 88). The earliest attestation is in Ar V. 1241 f. (οὐκ ἔστιν άλωπεκίζειν / οὐδ' ἀμφοτέροισι γίγνεσθαι φίλον) which is a quotation in Aeolic metre from a lyric poem or perhaps a song in a play (= PMG 912a [carm. conviv.]; cf. Taillardat 228).<sup>16</sup> Two further instances are known from the second century A.D., Babr. 95,64 (deer saying to a fox: ἄλλοις άλωπέκιζε τοῖς ἀπειρήτοις) and Zen. 1,70 (άλωπεκίζειν πρὸς ἑτέραν ἀλώπεκα). In the former, the verb means 'to cheat' (cf. Hsch. ἀλωπεκίζειν· ἀπατῶν), whereas the phrase reported by the collector of proverbs corresponds to something like "Greek meets Greek" (cf. Zen. ibid. ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξαπατῶν ἐγχειροῦντων τοὺς ὁμοίους).<sup>17</sup> Another denominative, \*άλωπεκιάω, may be deduced from ἀλωπεκία (άλωπεκίασις in Gal. 6,244; cf. Strömberg, Theophrastea 193), the name for the disease in which hair falls off (like mange in foxes), see Arist. Pr. 893b38; Soph. Fr. 419 (dubious); cf. also Gal. 12,381 and for the formation, μυρμηκιάω < μυρμηκία (below); Gloss. III 596,8 (IV): *alopicia nuda cutis per partem capitis in se habens albos pilos et flavos*, 603,33: *ofiasis alopecia* (cf. below s.v. \*ὀφιάω). Note further that ἀλωπεκία also means the 'hiding-place of a fox' (Hsch.), but whether \*άλωπεκιάω could refer to 'hiding like a fox' (or something similar) remains uncertain. – The noun ἀλώπηξ itself was frequently used in comedy and proverbs (Müller, Schimpfwörter 331; Taillardat 227 f.). Lat. *vulpinor* seems to be a calque of the Greek verb (see below in the Appendix). For κιδαφεύω 'to be wily', see below.

ἀναχελύσσομαι: see χελλύσσω.

ἀνοιστρέω: see οἰστράω.

<sup>16</sup> The alleged connection of the verb with the deme of Alopeke (thus D.M. Lewis, *Historia* 12 [1963] 23) remains pure speculation.

<sup>17</sup> The same proverb is found in Diogenian. 2,17; Greg. Cypr. 1,40; Apostol. 2,62.



ἀνορταλίζω 'to clap the wings and crow (like a cock)', of a reaction to a speech, is found only in Ar. Eq. 1344 and is derived from ὀρταλίσ 'fowl' (only in Nic. Al. 294; perhaps 'Domestic Fowl' [*Gallus gallus*], Thompson, Birds 214; cf. Sch. Ar. ad loc. ὀρταλίζειν δὲ λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀναπτερόσσεσθαι ὀρνίθων; Taillardat 177). The more current word for 'chick, young bird' was ὀρτάλιχος which according to Stratt. 49,4 (PCG VII) means 'cock' in Boeotian (in Soph. Fr. 793 it stands for 'young animal'). Cf. Hsch. ὀρτάλιχοι· οἱ μὴ πετόμενοι νεοσσοί, καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρούνες. For the etymology, cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 174, arguing that ὀρταλίσ is based on \*ὀτραλίσ suggesting 'vivacity'.

ἀντιπελαργέω 'to cherish in turn' (πελαργός 'stork', i.e. White Stork [*Ciconia ciconia*], Thompson, Birds 221 ff.; Tammisto 282 n. 505; Van Windekens, Dict. 182: perhaps from \*περᾱ-φεργός): Iambl. VP 5,24 (in a dialogue between Pythagoras and a pupil); Zen. 1,94; Aristaenet. 1,25; Cels. ap. Orig. 4,98. The meaning is explained by storks being known in antiquity for their parental and filial piety (see Ar. Av. 1353 ff. with the comments by N. Dunbar [Oxford 1995]; Thompson, Birds 223). Cf. further ἀντιπελάργωσις 'return of benefits' in PCG VIII \*232 = Com. Adesp. 939.

ἀποθυννίζω: see θυννάζω.

ἀποκορακόω: see κορακόω.

ἀπολεοντόομαι: see λεοντιάω.

ἀποσκορακίζω: see κορακόω.

ἀποσπαλακώω 'to reduce to the condition of a σπάλαξ', i.e. blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*, also written ἀσπάλαξ; cf. Arist. de An. 425a11: φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀσπάλαξ ὑπὸ τὸ δέρμα ἔχουσα ὀφθαλμούς; Keller I 23). The denominative is known from Cerc. 4,18 f., referring to the eye of Justice: ὁ τᾶς Δίκας ὀφθαλμὸς ἀπεσπαλάκωται. Note further Hsch. σπαλακία· νόσος ἢ περὶ τοῦς ὀφθαλμούς, πήρωσις.

ἀποσφηκώω: see σφηκώω.

ἀποταυρόομαι: see ταυράω.

ἀραχνάομαι 'to weave the spider's web' is known from Eust. 285,41 (ἀράχνη 'spider' [Aesch., AP, etc.]; 'spider's web' [Hippocr., etc.]; the variant ἀράχνης was mostly used of the animal [Hes., Pi., etc.]; in its precise sense the term ἀράχνη covers all spiders known as being non-venomous, in particular those which spin webs: Beavis 34 ff.). The meaning of ἀραχνέω (or -όω) in ZPE 8 (1971) 57 No. 64 (ostrakon from Abu Mena; fifth/sixth cent.) is not clear, perhaps 'to remove cobwebs' which would fit

the context, i.e. the cleaning of a church. Other denominatives are formed from ἀράχνιον 'spider's web' (Hom. Od., Com., etc.), thus the factitive ἀραχνιώω 'to spin a cobweb' (Arist. HA 605b10, of beetles damaging honeycombs) and, as a medical term, 'to form venous network over' (Hippocr. Oss. 18: ἡ φλὲς ἡραχνιώκε τοῦ σπληνὸς ἐναίμοισι φλεβίοισι). The Pass. voice ἀραχνιόομαι, 'to be covered with cobwebs', is found in Arist. HA 625a8 (of honeycombs), and the same is expressed by ἀραχνιάω in Nonn. D. 38,14 (of the shield of Bacchos).

ἀραχνέω (or -όω): see ἀραχνάομαι.

ἀραχνιάω: see ἀραχνάομαι.

ἀραχνιώω: see ἀραχνάομαι.

ἀρκτηεύω (and ἀρκτηύομαι): see the discussion above.

ἀστραβεύω 'to ride a mule' would not properly belong here, but since ἀστράβη 'mule's saddle, easy padded saddle' was also used of the mule itself (Harp., Hsch., Eust.), I have included this denominative which is found in Pl. Com. 38 (PCG VII). Another denominative, ἀστραβίζω 'to ride pillion' is known from Aesch. Suppl. 285 (καμήλους ἀστραβιζούσας) which suggests that ἀστράβη was also associated with camels, cf. the commentary to Aesch. Suppl. by H. Friis Johansen – E.W. Whittle (1980).

ἀστραβίζω: see ἀστραβεύω.

ἀχωρέω (or -ιάω) 'to suffer from ἄχωρ' (i.e. scurf or dandruff; cf. Beavis 114), attested in a late medical source (Paul. Aeg. 3,3: ἀχωροῦντας or ἀχωριῶντας).

βατραχίζω 'to be / move like a frog' (βάτραχος 'frog'; Keller II 311) is known from Hippiatr. 26,5 (of horses). The noun was also used proverbially (cf. LSJ). No denominative from φρόνη 'toad' is attested (note, however, that Φρόνη was the nickname of several courtesans in Athens).

βαύζω 'to cry βαῦ βαῦ', 'to bark' (cf. Tichy 168) is found in Theoc. 6,10, but it was also used of angry persons, i.e. 'to snarl, to yelp' (e.g. Aesch. Ag. 449; Ar. Th. 173, cf. *ibid.* 895; Taillardat 276). For the transitive use, cf. Aesch. Pers. 13 ('to shriek aloud for') and, of dogs, Heraclit. 97 codd. ('to bark at'). – Cf. Lat. *baubor*.

βδελλίζω 'to bleed with leeches' (βδέλλα 'leech'; Beavis 4 ff.) is a medical term (Pass. in Antyll. ap. Orib. 7,21,3; Gal. 11,317) which is related to βδάλλω (also Med.) 'to milk (cows), to suck' (for the latter meaning cf. Arist. GA 746a20; Sch. Theoc. 2,56a-b) and Erot. βδελλάζεται· ἀμέλγεται.

βοόω 'to change into an ox' (βοῦς) is found in Eust. 70,28: βοώσω δὲ τὸ μεταμορφώσω εἰς βοῦν. The more current term for this was ταυρόομαι.

βύζω 'to hoot, to cry like an owl' (βύας 'owl', esp. the Eagle Owl [*Bubo bubo*; *Strigiformes spp.*]; Thompson, Birds 65; Pollard 81 f.; onomatop. Tichy 151; Maurice 216) is found only twice: in both cases the verb alludes to the owl's hooting which predicted the death of an emperor (βύας ἔβυξε, Dio 56,29: Augustus; 72,24: Commodus). βῦζα (Nic. Fr. 55) = βύας is a postverbal derivation from βύζω; the variant βύξα is also attested (Ant. Lib. 10,4).

γαλιάω. The Hesychian gloss γαλιώσης· ἀκολασταινούσης (see now PCG VIII \*298 [= Com. Adesp. 967]; ἀκολασταίνω 'to be licentious, debauched, intemperate') makes it likely that the verb γαλιάω (perhaps better γαλεάω) derives from γαλέη (contr. γαλή) 'weasel, marten, ferret, polecat' (Keller I 164 ff.), for the behaviour and temper of such animals would fit the Hesychian explanation. Moreover, it is known from Aristophanes and other sources that polecats killing mice were kept in houses despite their smell and their thievish nature (κατοικίδιος γαλή, *Mustela domestica*: Keller I 164; cf. e.g. Ar. Ach. 255, V. 363, Pax 1151; Theoc. 15,27; Taillardat 48, 478). γαλή was also considered as an animal of bad luck and is found in some ancient proverbs (e.g. γαλή χιτώνιον κροκωτόν 'pearls before swine', cf. Keller I 167).

γερανίζω 'to utter the crane's voice, to cry like a crane' (γέρανος 'crane' [*Grus grus*]; Thompson, Birds 68 ff.). The verb is given without explanation in a medieval gloss as the Greek equivalent of Lat. *gruo* (Gloss. II 36,16: *gruunt* γερανιζουσιν). Both verbs and the related nouns would seem to go back to an expressive primitive meaning 'cry' (cf. Chantraine, Dict. 216), though they could reasonably also be regarded as onomatopoetic forms in their own right (from the cry of the crane: *krrou / kru*). Observe that γέρανος also means a dance resembling the movements of the crane (Luc. Salt. 34; Plu. Thes. 21; Poll. 4,101) which makes one wonder whether the denominative also was used of the performers imitating the crane by their gestures and, possibly, even by voice (cf. κολαβρίζω, κόλαβρος below). – For Lat. *gruo*, see the Appendix below.

γρομφάζω 'to grunt' (γρόμφις 'old sow' [Hippon. 69]; γρομφάς [Hsch.], γρόμφαινα [Gloss.]) is known from Gloss. III 432,60: γρονφαζει *grunnit*. If the etymology proposed by Van Windekens, Dict. 58 is correct, γρόμφις originally referred to the 'odour of an old (woman)'. – Cf. γρύζω.

γρῦζω 'to grunt, etc.' has been traditionally taken to derive from γρῦ 'grunt' (onomatop.; Frisk, Wb. 328; Chantraine, Dict. 238; cf. also Tichy 147 ff.; Maurice 199), but it may rather be that the verb is based on \*γρῦς 'old swine', and so the denominative would mean 'to cry like an old swine' (Van Windekens, Dict. 58 f.). Besides referring to the grumbling and muttering of persons, the verb was used of grunting pigs (Alciph. 3,73) and at least once it refers to a growling dog (LXX Ex. 11,7). The suffixed form γρῦλος 'pig' (with the variant γρύλλος; cf. Hsch. γρύλλη· ὑὼν φωνή) is obviously of the same origin, and so is the denominative γρυλίζω 'to grunt' (Tichy 148 n. 200, 162; γρυλλίζω with double λ was rejected by Phryn. Ecl. 72, PS 58 B). This verb is found not only in reference to the grunting of pigs (Ar. Ach. 746 [cf. below κοίζω], Pl. 307; D. Chr. 7,74), but in a late source it characterized the groaning of an Emperor who pretended to weep and lament over a murdered body (Procop. Arc. 17,4). No connection can be established with the dance called γρύλλος (Phryn. PS 58 B = γρυλλισμός, *ibid.*). For 'grunting', note also the verb γογγρύζω (Hsch.) which is based on γογγύζω 'to murmur, to grumble' (cf. Tichy 225). – For Lat. *grundio / grunnio*, see below in the Appendix.

γρυλίζω: see the previous entry.

[δαμαλίζω: see πορτακίζω.]

δελφακόομαι 'to grow up to pigness' (δέλφαξ '[full-grown] pig'; Keller I 404). Cf. Ar. Ach. 786 f. (of a young pig not yet fit for sacrifice: but as full-grown it will have a long, thick and red tail): νέα γάρ ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ δελφακουμένα / ἐξεῖ μεγάλην τε καὶ παχεῖαν κήρυθράν. – Hsch. δελφακοῦσθαι· τελειοῦσθαι τὰς ὕς.

δελφινίζω 'to duck like a dolphin' (δελφίς; Keller I 408 f.). The verb is known from Luc. Lex. 5 which describes a scene in the cold pool of a gymnasium: οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τὸ ψυχροβαφὲς κάρα δελφινίσαντες.

διαπερδικίζω: see ἐκπερδικίζω.

διασκορπίζω: see σκορπίζω.

διασφηκόομαι: see σφηκόω.

διεκπερδικίζω: see ἐκπερδικίζω.

διοιστράω: see οἰστράω.

δορκαδίζω: see δορκάζω.

δορκάζω, explained by Hesychius as an equivalent of περιβλέπω 'to gaze around, to look round about' and thus clearly taken to derive from δορκάς 'antelope, gazelle, roe' (base form δόρξ; Keller I 286 ff.). In popular

etymology, this animal was so-called from its large and bright eyes (δέρκομαι, δέδορκα), but in reality δορκάς (δόρξ) may be a Pelasgian loan-word meaning 'dark (colour)' (Van Windekens, Dict. 72). Another denominative, δορκαδίζω 'to bound like an antelope', is found as a medical term describing the pulse (Herophil. ap. Gal. 8,556).

ἐκκορίζω: see κορίζω.

ἐκπερδικίζω 'to escape like a partridge, to practise partridge tricks' (πέρδιξ 'partridge', probably Rock Partridge [*Alectoris graeca*]<sup>18</sup>). The verb is attested in Ar. Av. 768 and is explained by Sch. ad loc. by the bird's ability of hiding and deceiving hunters (cf. also Arist. HA 613b18; Taillardat 112 f. suggests that Ar. Av. 768 may include a political allusion, "devenir partisan de Perdicas"). The variant διαπερδικίζω is found in PCG VIII \*313 = Com. Adesp. 87, and there is, moreover, διεκπερδικίζω attested in Suda ('to escape', etc.; ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρδικος, πανούργου ὄντος καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντος). For the partridge as a proverbial deceiver, cf. also Thompson, Birds 235 f.; Taillardat 228.

ἐλεφαντιάω 'to suffer from elephantiasis' (ἐλέφας 'ivory', [later] 'elephant'; cf. Strömberg, Theophrastea 193). As is usual in the case of denominatives from the names of diseases, the verb is coined with the suffix -ιάω (evidence for ἐ. in LSJ s.v.). However, this verb is only indirectly associated with the animal, and the same is true of ἐλεφαντώω 'to inlay with ivory' (see e.g. IG I<sup>3</sup> 354,80: τράπεζα ἐλεφαντομένη; 419/418 B.C.), for which cf. also *elephantosis* 'burdock' (J. André, Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique [1985] 94).

ἐλεφαντώω: see ἐλεφαντιάω.

ἐλλοπιεύω 'to fish' is derived from ἔλλωψ, an epithet of fish already in Hes. Sc. 212, perhaps meaning 'scaly' (cf. λόπος, λέπος, λεπίς), and later used as a synonym for fish (Lys., Nic., Opp., etc.). The denominative is attested only in Theoc. 1,42 where it is perhaps coined on the analogy of ἀλιεύω, θηρεύω.

ἐλμινθιάω 'to suffer from worms' (ἔλμι(ν)ς 'worm' and the typical suffix -ιάω; Beavis 1) is used of hounds having worms in Arist. HA 612a31:

---

<sup>18</sup> The partridge meant in the passage is probably the Rock Partridge, because this species was typical of continental Greece, the almost identical Chukar (*Alectoris chukar*) replacing it in the Aegean and Asia Minor, cf. Thompson, Birds 234 ff.; Pollard 60 f.; Capponi, 396 f.; W.G. Arnott, CQ n.s. 27 (1977) 335 ff.

αἱ δὲ κύνες ὅταν ἐλμινθιῶσιν ἐσθίουσι τοῦ σίτου τὸ λήιον.

ἐξηπιαλόομαι: see ἠπιαλέω.

ἐξοιστράω (-έω): see οἰστράω.

ἐξοιωνίζομαι: see οἰωνίζομαι.

ἐπισφηκόω: see σφηκόω.

εὐλάζω 'to be worm-eaten' (εὐλή 'worm, fly larva'; Davis–Kathirithamby 96; Beavis 257 f.) is found in the Hsch. gloss εὐλάζει· σαπριᾶι. σκωληκιᾶι (cf. Hsch. ὑάλη· σκώληξ and ὑάλεται· σκωληκιᾶι, both perhaps dialectal forms). σαπριάω 'to be rotten, putrid' is not listed in LSJ; for the parallel σκωληκιάω, see below.

ἠπιαλέω 'to have fever, to ague' (ἠπίολος 'moth'; Arist. HA 605b14 [also ἦ.]) is attested twice: Ar. Ach. 1165 and Arist. Pr. 947b21. A connection between this verb and ἠπίολος can be assumed not only because moths can spread diseases but also because it was a folk belief that moths are the carriers of nightmares (ἠπίολος seems to be related to ἠπίαλος 'fever' and ἠπιάλης 'nightmare', cf. Taillardat 425; Chantraine, Dict. 415; Beavis 130; cf., moreover, Hsch. ἠπιόλιον· ῥιγοπυρέτιον, i.e. 'ague'). There is also ἐξηπιαλόομαι (Pass.) 'to be caught by intermittent fever' (Hippocr. Judic. 11).

θηριάζομαι 'to pass into a beast' (θηρίον 'wild animal, beast'; also a term of reproach [Müller, Schimpfwörter 331]; in Ion.-Att., this form was a common substitute for θήρ 'beast (of prey)', of lions, wild-boars, and many other animals, as opposed to birds and fish; also of demons, monsters, etc.; cf. Lat. *effero* / *efferascere*). The rare denominative is found in Corp. Herm. 10,20 in reference to the soul which on leaving the body turns into a beast (ψυχὴ ἐξελθοῦσα τοῦ σώματος θηριάζεται). The Act. voice which is not attested would probably be close in meaning to θηριόω 'to make into a wild beast' (Phld. Piet. 144, of the witch Circe who made some of Odysseus' companions into boars; the passive form referring to the same episode is known from IG XIV 1291 [cf. Moretti, IGUR 1622]: ἐταῖροι τεθηριωμέν[οι]). The technical term for this was θηρίωσις 'turning into a beast' (Luc. Salt. 48). θηριοῦμαι was moreover used of the infestation by reptiles, worms, etc. (cf. Davis–Kathirithamby 7 n. 23 on θηρίον applied to insects and other small creatures), and in medical literature it refers to sick organs (e.g. malignant ulcers). When characterizing people, θηριοῦμαι could indicate those who were 'becoming brutal like a beast' (Pl. Lg. 935a; Phld. Lib. p. 250). The widely attested denominatives θηρώω, θηρεύω 'to hunt'

belong to a semantically different category where the animal is the object towards which the action is directed (cf. ἐλλοπιεύω, ἰχθυάω).

θηριόω / θηριοῦμαι: see above.

θυννάζω 'to spear a tunny-fish, to strike with a harpoon' (θύννος 'tunny-fish'; Thompson, *Fishes* 79 ff.) is attested, metaphorically, in Ar. V. 1087 (θυννάζοντες εἰς τοὺς θυλάκους; Taillardat 422 n. 4), being also explained in Hsch. and Suda. Besides this, there is θυννίζω (= θυννάζω in Apostol. 8,96) and ἀποθυννίζω, the latter being known from Luc. JTr. 25 where it means 'to dismiss as worthy of a tunny' (Poseidon says: Οὐκοῦν ἄμεινόν τι ὑμεῖς ἄλλο ἐπινοεῖτε, εἰ τὰμὰ οὕτως ὑμῖν ἀποτεθύννισται; one wonders whether it is of some relevance here that Poseidon was the god of the sea); note the adj. θυννώδης in the same passage, i.e. 'typical of a tunny' (= stupid). Regarding the Suda gloss θυννίζω καὶ ἀποθυννίζω· τὸ ἀποπέμπομαι, καὶ παραλογίζομαι, the former explanation probably means 'to get rid of (something or somebody as stupid as a tunny)', and the latter seems to allude to 'cheating' or 'misleading' (someone who is stupid like a tunny). The notion of 'cheating' is also present in the Suda gloss on θυννοσκόπος: just as tunnies cannot hide themselves from a watcher observing them on entering the labyrinthine fish-traps (cf. Thompson, *Fishes* 87 f.), those who are entering a city in order to pay taxes cannot escape the notice of Cleon who by false reckoning takes the public money for himself (cf. Ar. Eq. 311 f.; Taillardat 422). – From θυννευτική (σαγήνη) (Luc. Sat. 24) one may deduce \*θυννεύω 'to fish tunny' (for the ending, cf. ἀλιεύω, ἐλλοπιεύω, θηρεύω).

\*θυννεύω: see θυννάζω.

θυννίζω: see θυννάζω.

ἱερακίζω 'to behave / scream like a hawk' (ἱέραξ [*Accipitridae spp.*], esp. falcon [*Falco spp.*]; Thompson, *Birds* 114 ff.) is an interesting case, as it does not allude to human behaviour, but to other birds. According to Thphr. Sign. 16, if ravens and jackdaws are hovering high and screaming like hawks, it is a sign of rain (similarly Arist. Fr. 253, mentioning only the jackdaw). In these passages the verb probably alludes to the voice, because both Thphr. and Arist. use another verb for the flying.

ἰπάζομαι 'to ride', etc., also prefixed ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, παρ-, with several postverbal derivations: see LSJ; Chantraine, *Dict.* 468.

ἰπτεύω 'to drive horses, to ride' (ἵππεύς 'horseman' < ἵππος), also prefixed ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, with several postverbal derivations: see LSJ;

Chantraine, Dict. 468.

ἰχθυάζομαι: see ἰχθυάω.

ἰχθυάω 'to fish, to angle' (also Med.; the suffixed form ἰχθυάζομαι in AP 7,693 [Apollonid.]; ἰχθύς 'fish'), also of fishing birds (Opp. Hal. 1,426) and sporting dolphins (Hes. Sc. 210: δελφίνες...ἰχθυάοντες). Though the latter passage belongs to an interpolation already condemned by Alexandrian scholars (cf. Hesiodi Scutum, a cura di C.F. Russo [1950] 129 f.), it is interesting because of its antiquity. The meaning of the passive form ἰχθυάομαι 'to be made of fish' (Horap. 1,14: ἰχθυώμενος ἄρτος) is not clearly paralleled in the present material. For the functional similarity of ἰχθυάω with θηράω θηρεύω, see above (and compare Lat. *piscari*). Note also that it was not ἰχθύς that produced the most current terms related to 'fishing', but that they were derived from ἄλς 'sea' (e.g. ἀλιεύω 'to fish', etc.; cf. the Halieutica by Oppian).

κακκαβίζω 'to cackle like a partridge' (κακκάβη [Ath. 9,390a] is an onomatopoeic name for the chukar-type partridge from its call-note [Tichy 265; Maurice 214]; the variant κακκαβίς in Alc. 39 P; the bird is either the Rock Partridge or the Chukar, see Thompson, Birds 129 and above s.v. ἐκπερδικίζω). The denominative was used of partridges (Arist. HA 536b14; Thphr. Fr. 181) as well as partridges and doves together (Stoic. 3,180 [Chrysipp.]). Observe that in Ar. Lys. 761 κακκαβάζω (of the owl's hoot) has been emended to κικκαβάζω (cf. s.v.). Note further that the prefixed denominatives from πέρδιξ never allude to the bird's cry (see above ἐκπερδικίζω). – The verb appears in some late Latin sources as *cac(c)abare* (ThlL III 4), see below.

καμηλίζω 'to be like a camel' (κάμηλος; Keller I 275 ff.) is found in Hld. 10,27 where strange animals and other exotic things are described. Among the gifts brought to King Hydaspes by the Anxomitai, there was a very unusual type of animal, in size as tall as a camel and with leopard spots; its head was like a camel's (ἡ κεφαλή τὸ μὲν εἶδος καμηλίζουσα). The animal caused great amazement and it was named καμηλοπάρδαλις from its appearance (i.e. giraffe).

καπράω 'to want the boar', of sows (κάπρος '(wild) boar'; for the formation and meaning, cf. ταυράω, τραγάω; Keller I 404) is known from Arist. HA 572b24, who elsewhere uses καπρίζω in exactly the same sense (HA 572a16). The variant καπριάω (with -ιαω, typical of verbs denoting diseases or expressing a desire) is used in reference to mares in heat (Ar.



Byz. Epit. 145,12; also as a ms. variant in Arist. HA 572b24). Moreover, there is *καπρώζομαι* 'to rut' (of the boar; Sciras 1), perhaps on the analogy of verbs in *-ώζω* expressing 'cry'. Besides these more or less technical expressions, *καπράω* could also characterize a lecherous person (Ar. Pl. 1024: *καπρῶσα γραῦς* 'debauched old woman', cf. Taillardat 160 f. with a comment on Men. Fr. 434 [PCG VI,2]: *καπρᾶις, κακόδαιμον*, and on *κάπραινα* as an invective against a woman). The notion of lechery is understandable, considering that jostling sows in heat could even force themselves on people (according to Aristotle).

*καπριάω*: see *καπράω*.

*καπρίζω*: see *καπράω*.

*καπρώζομαι*: see *καπράω*.

*καριδόω* 'to wriggle, to twist about like a shrimp' (*καρίς* 'shrimp, prawn', etc.). This verb (trans.) is found in the fourth-century comic writer Anaxandrides in reference to a wriggling body: *ἄυτη δὲ καριδοῖ τὸ σῶμα καμπύλη* (Anaxandr. 38 [PCG II]).

*καρκινόω* 'to make crab-like' (*καρκίνος* 'crab') was used in the transitive sense by the fourth-century comic writer Antiphanes: *ἀύλητικῶς δεῖ καρκινοῦν τοὺς δακτύλους / οἶνον τε μικρὸν ἐγγέαι καὶ μὴ πολύν* (Antiph. 57,15 f. [PCG II]), i.e. 'to crook one's fingers like crab's claws' (the metaphor is further strengthened by the adverb *ἀύλητικῶς*). Otherwise the verb indicated the crab-wise spreading of roots (in Pass.; Thphr. HP 1,6,3; CP 3,21,5; in Act. 'to cause to spread': Thphr. CP 3,23,5), and it is also found as a medical term referring to 'cancer'.<sup>19</sup>

*κατακορακόω*: see *κορακόω*.

*κατακριδεύω* 'to chirp like a swarm of locusts', etc. (*ἄκρις* 'cricket, grasshopper, locust'; for the identification, see Davis–Kathirithamby 135 ff.; Beavis 62 ff.). Hsch. gives three equivalents: *κατακριδεύσει· κατα<λα>-λήσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἄκριδες πολύφωνοί εἰσιν· ἢ καταναστήσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἄκριδες ἀναστήματα γῆς καὶ λόφοι εἰσιν· ἢ καταγελάσει*. The first explanation is logical, whereas the second in fact does not refer to *ἄκρις* but to *ἄκρις* 'hill-top, mountain peak'. There is some confusion here, since *κατακριδεύω* could hardly derive from *ἄκρις*, the nom. plur. of which is *ἄκριες* (note, however, the gen. and dat. in *-ιδος / -ιδι* of the place name Ἄκρις in SEG 28, 103,4.19.22/23.33.45; Eleusis; 332/1 B.C.). For the third

<sup>19</sup> For the Corinthians styled as crabs (Ar. Eq. 608), see Taillardat 481.

no explanation is given, but one could think of the locust's chirping again (in his Hsch. edition, K. Latte added 'com. adesp.' after the third item, cf. now PCG VIII \*358). The etymology of ἀκρίς is in dispute (Chantraine, Dict. 51), but it could be onomatopoeic and related to κρίζω (see R. Strömberg, Griechische Wortstudien, Göteborg 1944, 19). Though not attested, \*ἀκριδεύω would be quite plausible.

κελητιάω: see κελητίζω.

κελητιζώ 'to ride' (also κελητιάω Hsch.; κέλης 'riding-horse, courser'; cf. κέλλω, κέλομαι). The verb literally means 'to ride' (from Hom., esp. of riders who rode two or more horses leaping from one to another; cf. also Plin. nat. 34,75: *celetizontas pueros fecit*, of an artist), but more often it was used of a sexual posture in which the woman is above the man (cf. Ar. V. 500 ff. κάμ' ἡ πόρνη χθὲς εἰσελθόντα τῆς μεσημβρίας, / ὅτι κελητίσαι 'κέλευον, ὄξυθυμηθεῖσά μοι / ἤρετ' εἰ τὴν Ἰππίου καθίσταμαι τυραννίδα [with a pun on ἵππος / Hippias, the last tyrant of Athens]; the verb is transitive in Macho 170 ff. φασὶ καὶ τὴν Λαμίαν / τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτὲ / ἐπαινεθῆναί θ', telling of the ability of Lamia, a flute-girl, one of the mistresses of Demetrius Poliorcetes; cf. further Ar. Th. 153: οὐκοῦν κελητίζεις, ὅταν Φαίδραν ποῆς; for which see C. Corbato, Scritti di letteratura greca, Trieste 1991, 35). The same action is meant in Macho 362, but another verb is used of the "riding": καθιππάζομαι (Pass.: καθιππάζεσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεντάκις; cf. above s.v. ἵππος). To some people the performance resembled "sailing" (πλέω) or "fighting by sea" (ναυμαχέω); similar erotic metaphors are collected in Taillardat 100 ff. For the posture (κελητισμός), typical of prostitutes' repertoires, cf. further Ar. Lys. 60, 676 f.; Pax 900; Taillardat 105 and J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse, New Haven – London 1975, 164 ff.

κεπόω 'to make like a κέπος' is derived from the metaphorical meaning of κέπος, a name for a water-bird which is usually identified with the British Storm Petrel (*Hydrobates pelagicus*; cf. Thompson, Birds 137 f.), i.e. 'light-headed simpleton, noddy' (note that Eng. *noddy* is also the name of a similar sea-bird). κέπος is in fact a byword for gullibility and stupidity in Ar. Pax 1067, Pl. 912 (Müller, Schimpfwörter 322; Taillardat 256), and probably also in Call. fr. 191,6. It was the "light" appearance of the bird that produced this metaphor in ancient minds (cf. Hsch. εἶδος ὀρνέου κουφοτάτου... ἔνθεν λέγεται ὄξυς καὶ κοῦφος ἄνθρωπος κέπος; Sch. Ar. Pax 1067: ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς ἐλαφροὺς ταῖς φρεσὶ κέπους καλοῦμεν; Sch.

Ar. Pl. 912: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλογίστων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων). The verb is found twice in the passive voice: LXX Pr. 7,22 'to be easily cajoled' (κεπρωθείς, cf. Hsch. κεπρωθείς· ἐπαρθείς, ἀπατηθείς) and Cic. Att. 13,40,2 (κεκέπρωμαι 'I have become feather-brained').

κερκωπίζω 'to play the ape, to behave like a κέρκωψ' (κ. 'man-monkey, [long-tailed] ape'; from κέρκος 'tail'). In legend, Κέρκωπες were two (or more) mischievous dwarfs which according to one version were turned into apes. Their malicious and ill-mannered temper was proverbial, and so κέρκωπς was used of 'knaves' and 'those who tell false tales' (cf. Hsch. κέρκωπες· ποικίλοι. πονηροί; at Athens there was also a 'Knives-market', Κερκώπων ἀγορά; cf. Opelt 173). Note also that the noun κερκωπία 'trickery' occurs as early as Semon. 34. The verb κερκωπίζω is explained in Hsch. κερκωπίζοντες· κατασκώπτοντες, and it also occurs in Zen. 4,50 which tells of the legendary dodges and malevolence of those creatures. In only one case does κέρκωπς refer to the ape itself, i.e. cercopithecus (Manil. 4,668, telling of animals living in Libya: *et portentosos cercopum ludit in ortus*; cf. Keller I 6 f.). – For πιθηκίζω, see below. – There is no connection with κερκώπη, a 'long-tailed' cicada (from Ar.; cf. Davis–Kathirithamby 131 f.; Beavis 93 f.).

κεστρεύω 'to be starving' (whence 'to be gluttonous'), attested in Hsch. κεστρεύειν· κεχηγνέναι πεινῶντα, is derived from κεστρεύς 'grey mullet' (Thompson, Fishes 108 ff.; cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 134), which in comedy and elsewhere was used as nickname of a starveling (νήστις), for it did not eat flesh and was therefore thought to be starving (e.g. Arist. HA 591b18–22; Hsch. κεστρεῖς· τοὺς κεχηγνότας καὶ πεινῶντας κεστρεῖς λέγουσι. καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ προσηγόρευον· τὸ γὰρ ζῷον αὐτὸ λαίμαργόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄπληστον); cf. Taillardat 94 f. For the comedy, see e.g. Ar. Fr. 159 (PCG III,2); Pl. Com. 28 (ibid. VII); Euphro 2 (ibid. V). The proverb κεστρεὺς νηστεύει 'a mullet goes hungry' is preserved in Ath. 7,307c. – Cf. also κοδαλεύομαι.

κητόομαι (Pass.) 'to become a sea-monster (κῆτος 'any) sea-monster, huge fish, seal' [from Hom.]; cf. Keller I 409 ff.). This rare verb is used in Ael. NA 14,23 of the sword-fish growing into a monster (κητουμένῳ τῷ ἰχθύϊ). In later sources κῆτος was also used of whales, which in fact reflects the original meaning of the word, cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 120.

κιγκλίζω 'to wag the tail, as the bird κίγκλος does', whence 'to change constantly' (κίγκλος 'wagtail' [*Motacilla spp.*], cf. Thompson, Birds

140 f.; Pollard 71), cf. Hsch. κίγκλος· ὄρνειον πυκνῶς τὴν οὐρὰν κινῶν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ κιγκλίζειν, ὃ ἐστὶ διασειέσθαι; the notion of 'shaking' (and 'heaving') also in Hsch. κιγκλίζει· σαλεύει. μοχλεύει. The verb occurs as early as Theogn. 303 in reference to good and quiet life that should not be "agitated": οὐ χρὴ κιγκλίζειν ἀγαθὸν βίον, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζειν. Besides describing quick and jerking movements (in medical writings also κιγκλισμός and κίγκλισις; cf. Hippocr. Art. 14, 71), κιγκλίζω, especially in some prefixed forms, was used of those who moved their loins in an effeminate manner (= Lat. *cevere*). So the Doric form of προσκιγκλίζομαι in Theoc. 5,116 f. refers to a man who was "twisting about" (καὶ τὸ σεσαρώς / εὖ ποτεκιγκλίζεω), and διακιγκλίζω bears the same meaning in Ar. Fr. 29 (PCG III,2; ὄσφον... διακ., discussed by Taillardat 106 f.; cf. Ar. Fr. 147 [ibid.]: κιγκλοβάτης). Sch. Theoc. ad loc. is precise: ἀπὸ τοῦ κίγκλου οὕτως καλουμένου ὄρνέου, ὃ νῦν σεισοπυγίδα καλοῦσιν ... κιγκλίζειν δὲ τὸ κινεῖν τὴν ὄσφον φασιν (similarly Suda s.v. κίγκλος; note also the other, descriptive name of the bird, i.e. σεισοπυγίς). – 'Wagtail' also occurs in proverbs, e.g. κίγκλου πτωχότερος 'poor as a church mouse' which seems to have arisen from the idea that the wagtail does not have a nest of its own (in fact, as Dr Tammisto informs me, wagtails [*Motacilla spp.*] build their nests in well-hidden places where they are scarcely noticeable).

κιδαφεύω is attested in the Hsch. gloss κιδαφεύειν· πανουργεῖν· κιδάφη γὰρ ἀλώπηξ (cf. Id. κίδαφος· δόλιος. καὶ <κιδάφη> ἢ ἀλώπηξ; Fraenkel 258). So it appears that the adj. κιδάφη 'wily' was used of the fox as a noun (other forms: σκιδαφή [An. Ox. 2,302], σκινδαφός [Ael. NA 7,47]). Regarding Hsch. κιδαφίων· πανούργων· κιδάφην γὰρ τὴν ἀλώπεκα λέγουσιν, the form κιδαφίων can be taken as either gen. plur. or a Doric present participle of \*κιδαφέω; in the latter case we should write πανουργῶν. – For κίναδος, a Sicilian word for 'fox' (= 'wily'), see Taillardat 228.

κικκαβάζω (-ίζω Hsch.) 'to shriek like the little owl'. This onomatopoeic verb is based on κικκαβαῦ (Ar. Av. 261), the cry of the Little Owl (γλαῦξ, *Athene noctua*), from which the bird was also called κικκάβη (Sch. Ar. ad loc.). The verb itself is attested in Ar. Lys. 760 f. (emended for κικκ-; cf. Tichy 265), where a woman cannot get any sleep because of the

owl's calls (ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν... / κικκαβαζουσῶν ἀεὶ).<sup>20</sup> The name of the owl occurs in other forms as well: κικκάμη (Gloss. III 319,27: κικκαμη *noctua*; also 497,61 [*kyccame n.*] and 526,63 [*kikkame n.*]), κικυμῆις (Hsch., perhaps better κικυμῶις [cf. Call. fr. 608]), but the Hesychian gloss on κίκυμος (with the variant κίκυβος; cf. Fest. p. 39: *cicuma avis noctua* [cf. n. 20]) is more problematic: λαμπτήρ· ἢ γλαυκός· ὁμοίως καὶ κίκυβος. Unless something is missing before γλαυκός (e.g. either the nominative γλαῦξ or the typical word εἶδος), I would suggest that the mention of the fire or torch refers to the beaming and glowing eyes of the owl, and the same may be true of the adjective γλαυκός which basically means 'gleaming' (also of fire). The eyes of the *noctua* were in fact sometimes depicted as and compared with fire or torches.<sup>21</sup> As for Hsch. κικυμῶειν (for the form, see Call. fr. 608 Pfeiffer)· δυσβλεπεῖν (ms. also -βλέπειν), the only reasonable explanation seems to be the ancient observation that the keenness of the owl's sight is poor in day-time (thus Arist. HA 592b8). – Note throughout the variation *m/b* in the words discussed.

κικυμῶω 'to see badly (like an owl)': see κικκαβάζω.

κισσαβίζω (Att. κίττ-) 'to scream like a jay' (κίσσα 'jay' [*Garrulus glandarius*], Thompson, Birds 146 ff.) is attested only in Poll. 5,90: καὶ κίττας κίτταβίζειν (for the ending cf. τιττυβίζω). In our sources κίσσα is also the term for the 'longing of pregnant women' and 'the craving for

<sup>20</sup> As Dr Tammisto points out to me, while the name κακκάβη for the chukar-type partridge from its call-note sounds onomatopoeic also to the modern observer, it seems strange that the quite different cry of the Little Owl was described with a sound like *kikk-/kikkabau* (the territorial call of this species is given in modern ornithological literature [in Eng.] as a repeated *goo(o)ek*: B. Bruun – H. Delin – L. Svensson, Birds of Britain and Europe [1997] 172). Closer would be the bird's alarm shrill which is described as an "explosive, tern-like 'kyitt, kyitt'" (ibid.). Interestingly, Capponi 163 f. regards the Latin name *cicuma* (Fest. p. 39: *cicuma avis noctua*) as onomatopoeic, referring to the description of its call in Italian ornithological literature (*cu-cu-mèo, cu-cu-mèo*), and to the Little Owl's vernacular names in Italian dialects (*Cuccumeggia* in Central Italy, *Cuccuvèdda / Cuccuvella* in Southern Italy, *Cuccumìdu / Cuccumèo* in Sardinia); cf. further Anth. 762,40: *noctua...cucubit*.

<sup>21</sup> Keller II 40; RE VII 1404 s.v. Glaukopis; cf. further Mart. Cap. 6,571: *glaucam dant volucrem, quod lumina concolor ipsi es* (Minerva), *tuque ignis flos es, cluis et γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*. For the somewhat problematic relation between γλαῦξ and γλαυκός, see Chantraine, Dict. 226.

strange food' (Medic.), from which κισσάω 'to crave for strange food, to envy for' (of pregnant women, e.g. Arist. HA 584a19, etc.; in LXX Ps. 50,7 the verb means 'to conceive'), but it was also used metaphorically as an equivalent of ἐπιθυμῆναι, e.g. κ. τῆς εἰρήνης (Ar. Pax 497; the verb also in V. 349 and Long. 4,33,4: ὅλη γὰρ ἐκίττα ἢ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ μαιρακίῳ καὶ τῇ παρθένῳ; cf. Taillardat 161). The application of κισσάω to pregnant women was (and is) explained by the voracity of the jay (cf. Sch. Ar. Pax 496: ἐπειδὴ ἀδηφάγον καὶ παμφάγον ὄρνεον ἢ κίττα, περίεργον δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν; cf. also the various meanings of Eng. *jay*), cf. Thompson, Birds 146 ff.

κισσάω: see κισσαβίζω.

κιχλάζω: see κιχλίζω.

κιχλιδιάω: see κιχλίζω.

κιχλίζω 'to titter, to giggle; (also) to guffaw', literally 'to chirp like a thrush' (κίχλη 'thrush' [*Turdus spp.*], Thompson, Birds 148 ff.; for the variants κιχλάζω and καχλάζω, see LSJ; Tichy 254; Maurice 197), especially used of a wanton and lascivious laughter, the corresponding noun being κιχλισμός (AB 271: πορνικὸς γέλως πολὺς καὶ ἄκοσμος; also in Clem. Al. Paed. 196 P and, perhaps, Ar. Nu. 1073 [varia lectio]). The verb is attested from Ar. onwards (Ar. Nu. 983; Ar. Fr. 347 [PCG III,2, Med.]; Theoc. 11,78; AP 5, 245,1; 251,3; Alciphr. 1,33; 3,27.74). In Herod. 7,123 the verb refers to 'guffawing' and Ph. 2,265 is metaphorical (ἡδονὴ... κιχλίζουσα). For the desiderative κιχλιδιάω 'to have a desire to titter', see PCG VIII 791 = Com. Adesp. 1038. Note further that Sch. Ar. Nu. 979 wrongly explained the verb as referring to the eating of κίχλαι, i.e. 'to live luxuriously'. – Cf. τρίγλη : τριγλίζω.

κνιπέω: see κνιπέω.

κνιπέω is explained by Hsch. as follows: σείειν, ξύειν [μέλαθρα καὶ δοκοὺς] which clearly refers to the destructive activity of κνίψ (also spelled σκνίψ, a general term for wood-boring pests; Davis–Kathirithamby 97 f.; Beavis 245 f.). The other denominative, κνιπέω 'to be miserly' is known from a late source (Doroth. in Cat. Cod. Astr. 6,81 with κνιπέια 'miserliness'), taking its meaning from the fact that these gnawing pests were considered to be scrapers (whence Γνίφων, the prototype of miserliness in New Comedy; cf. the adj. κνιπός 'miserly, niggardly'). A third derivative is attested in Hsch. σκνίπτειν· νύσσειν, i.e. 'to prick, to pinch, to nip'.

κοδαλεύομαι 'to be a stay-at-home, loafer' (Hsch. κόδαλα· ἰχθύς, κεστρεύς, i.e. grey mullet [or similar]; cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 134) is explained three times by Hsch.: κοδαλεύεσθαι· ἔνδον διατρίβειν; κοδαλεύομαι· ἔνδομυχῶ; κοδαλευομένη· ἀρεσκευομένη, ἀπραγοῦσα. The verb probably alludes to behaviour that was compared with that of the fish. Cf. the red mullet which according to ancient sources hides its head in the sand, and thinks itself invisible (Arist. HA 591b4; Plin. nat. 9,59). The name κόδαλα is of obscure origin. – Cf. κεστρεύω.

κοίζω 'to cry κοί κοί', i.e. 'to squeak "oink, oink"' (like a young pig), cf. Tichy 168. The cry is found in Ar. Ach. 780, the verb *ibid.* 746 (ὅπως δὲ γρυλιξεῖτε καὶ κοίξετε; cf. above γρυλίζω). Hsch. κοίζειν· τὰ χοιρίδια μιμητικῶς λέγεται.

κοκκύζω 'to cry cuckoo' (κόκκυξ 'cuckoo' [*Cuculus canorus*], Thompson, Birds 151 ff.; Tichy 256 ff.; Maurice 199; Taillardat 256) is found as early as Hes. Op. 486, but it was also applied to the crowing of the cock or cockerel (Cratin. 344 [PCG IV], Diph. 66 [*ibid.* V], Pl. Com. 231 [*ibid.* VII]; Hyp. Fr. 239; Theoc. 7,48). In two further cases the verb refers to signalling: Ar. Ec. 30 f. (ὁ κῆρυξ...δεύτερον κεκόκκυκεν) and Ra. 1380 (Aeschylus and Euripides should not start speaking their lines until Dionysus gave the signal: ...πρὶν ἂν ἐγὼ σφῶν κοκκύσω). For the possibility that κοκκύζω was also used of 'deriding', see Tichy 258 (discussing Timo 43). There is also the prefixed περικοκκύζω in Ar. Eq. 697 (-εκόκκυσα mss.; cf. Taillardat 176 f. with a note on the reading ἐπικοκκύστρια in Ar. Th. 1059), where the sausage-seller compares himself to a triumphant fighting cock.

κολαβρεύομαι: see κολαβρίζω.

κολαβρίζω 'to perform a κολαβρισμός', i.e. a wild Carian or Thracian dance, cf. Poll. 4,100 (κόλαβρος '(small) pig'; Hsch. -ον· χοιρίδιον). Hsch. says κολαβρίζειν· σκιρτῶν, but he also provides the Med. form κολαβρευομένη· κώλοις ἀλλομένη. Since not only the pig but also the song accompanying the dance was called κόλαβρος (Ath. 4,164e; 15,697c [from Demetr. Scep.]), one may hypothesize that the whole ensemble imitated the pig in both movements and sound (cf. above γερανίζω, γέρανος). Besides referring to a dance, κολαβρίζω also means 'to jest, to mock' (in Pass. 'to be derided': LXX Jb. 5,4), cf. Suda κολαβρισθείη· χλευασθείη, ἐκτιναχθείη, ἀτιμασθείη. κόλαβρος γὰρ ὁ μικρὸς χοῖρος. That "κ. is a small pig" would not seem to be enough to

explain the meaning of the verb, but the probable etymology of κόλαβρος gives a clue: 'jeune-(animal)vorace' or 'stupide-(animal)vorace' (thus Van Windekens, Dict. 124 f.). No wonder, then, that leaping and bounding piglets were a likely object of derision, and that κολαβρίζω was also applied to persons. The basic meaning of this verb is probably 'to act like a pig [which is stupid and voracious]' (cf. e.g. χοιρίζω), whence 'to regard someone as a pig' = 'to jest, to mock' (transitive like θυννίζω, νεβρίζω).

κολοιάω 'to scream like a jackdaw' (κολοιός 'jackdaw' [*Corvus monedula*], Thompson, Birds 155). The verb is known from Poll. 5,89: κολοιούς κλώζειν ἢ κολοιᾶν (the former does not derive from the bird's name but is onomatopoeic [Tichy 130], usually referring to the making of a similar sound in token of disapprobation; cf. κλάζω, κράζω, κρώζω [see below and s.v. κορωνιάω]). κολοιᾶν occurs with a different vocalism in Hom. Il. 2,212 where it means 'to cry out, to shout' (Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μῶνος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκολῶα; cf. Chantraine, Dict. 556; Lex. frühgr. Epos s.v. and further Antim. 37 κολῶει [Ion.]) which is to be compared with κολῶός 'tumult, uproar' (cf. Eust. Il. 1,575: κολῶός τε γὰρ ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ὁ κολοιὸς δὲ θορυβητικόν). Eust. Il. 2,212 also refers to the bird: καὶ κολοιὸς ὄρνεον θορυβητικόν καὶ κραυγαστικόν, and the Hesychian variant κολουᾶν· θορυβεῖν seems to belong here, too (cf. also Hsch. κολοιή· φωνή <κολοιουᾶ>). Interestingly, κολοιός does not seem to be onomatopoeic; it rather means 'black bird' (κολ-οιός; cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 125 f.). The sound of the bird's cry is \*grak- / \*grag-, cf. κράζω and Pi. Nem. 3,82: κραγέτης (of the jackdaw); Lat. *graculus*; André, Onomatop. 151.

κολουάω: see κολοιάω.

κολυμβάω 'to dive, to plunge headlong' (Att., hellen.); later, 'to swim', thus taking the place of νέω (κόλυμβος [or -ίς / -άς], name of a water-bird, in some sources to be identified with the Little Grebe [*Tachybaptus ruficollis*], Thompson, Birds 158), with the technical term κολύμβησις (of pearl-fishery, Peripl. M. Rubr. 35,58). Cf. also the derivative κολυμβιτεύω 'to plunge into water' (P. Masp. 9 II 30, sixth century, with late orthography in place of the original -ητεύω). Prefixed forms are also attested (ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-).

κομβακεύομαι, explained by Hsch. as κόμπους λέγει (κόμπος 'din, clash'), was put in relation to a Cretan name for crow by Fr. Bechtel, Die griechischen Dialekte II (1923), 788 (Hsch. κόμβα· κορώνη. Πολυρρήνιοι).



As for Hsch. κόμβησαν· ποιὸν ἦχον ἀπετέλεσαν, one may reasonably think of βομβέω, cf. Frisk, Wb. 907; Chantraine, Dict. 559.

κορακεύομαι: see κορακόω.

κορακόω 'to close, to fasten up' (κόραξ 'raven' [*Corvus corax*], Thompson, Birds 159 ff.; onomatopoeet.). This meaning derives from the fact that κόραξ was also used of (door-)handles (and other objects) hooked like a raven's beak (cf. similarly κορώνη, see at note 24). So we find the verb denoting the closing of tombs in some Imperial inscriptions from Asia Minor (CIG 3918,6 [Hierapolis]; TAM III 902 [Termessus]; SEG 17, 630, 635 [Perge]), also κατακ.: ABSA 17 [1910/11] 225 ff. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 (?), 26 [Pamphylia]; JÖAI 23 [1926] Beibl. 101 (ibid.); SEG 17, 632 [Perge], and ἀποκ. in the opposite meaning 'to open': Bull. ép. 1971, 647 [Hierapolis]). The name of the bird produced another verb as well, namely κοράσσω which is explained twice by Hsch.: κοράξαι· ἄγαν προσλιπαρήσαι· πεποίηται παρὰ τοὺς κόρακας and κοράσσει· †ὀρχεῖται, καὶ ἄκλητος ἐλήλυθε (according to the lexicographer, this verb is also equivalent to κορακεύεσθαι). While in the first case the meaning is 'to persevere in, to importunate excessively', in the latter the reference to dancing may be corrupt (unless the raven's movements are meant). As for ἄκλητος ἐλήλυθε, I guess that 'appearing without being called' derives from the fact that the appearance of the raven was generally regarded as an ill omen and therefore the bird was an undesirable guest (as was the parasite);<sup>22</sup> this would also fit the meaning of ἄγαν προσλιπαρήσαι: the prophet of bad weather was considered an importunate creature. Ravens, moreover, fed on carrions and corpses which, probably, produced the current expression ἐς κόρακας 'go and be hanged' (Müller, Schimpfwörter 336 f.). The corresponding denominative was σκορακίζω 'to bid one go ἐς κόρακας, to treat contemptuously' (Att., Hellen.; also ἀποσκορακίζω [LXX and later; also 'to damn, to curse']).

κοράσσω: see κορακόω.

---

<sup>22</sup> Note that ἄκλητος was a common epithet of uninvited parasites in Greek comedy, see C. Damon, HSCPh. 97 (1995) 182 n. 3, with evidence on parasites who are said to consume others' food (cf. παράσιτος 'one who takes food beside'). Moreover, the masks worn by parasites and flatterers in comedy were usually equipped with a big and curved nose (evidence in Taillardat 311 f.).

κορίζω probably means 'to be infested with bugs' (κόρις 'bed-bug' [*Cimex lectularius*]; Davis–Kathirithamby 46 f.; Beavis 104 ff.), although the verb is attested only in late glosses with no explanation: Gloss. II 100,42 *cimis* κορίζω; 353,44 κορίζω *cimico* (45 κορίς *cimex*). Lat. *cimicare* is also otherwise unknown (see below). The prefixed form ἐκκορίζω 'to clear of bugs' (for a similar case, cf. below φθειρίζω) occurs in AP 9,113 (Parmen.) which is an artificial play on κόρις, κόρος, κορέννυμι and (ἐκ)κορίζω; cf. also Ar. Fr. 277 (PCG III,2), an erotic metaphor with a play on κόρις and κόρη: τί, ὦ πονηρέ, μ' ἐκκορίζεις ὡσπερὶ κλιντήριον; (see Taillardat 102); erotic context also in Eup. Fr. 247 (PCG V): κύσθον ἐκκορίζειν; Thphr. Char. 22,12: τὰς κλίνας ἐκκορίσαι (corr. Casaubon).

κορωνιάω 'to arch the neck' (of horses) is found in AP 9,777 (Phil.)<sup>23</sup> and derives its meaning from κορώνη 'crow' (or anything curved or hooked like a crow's bill; also of curving leaves: Hes. Sc. 289; for the curved beak, cf. above κόραξ; note that the beak of the raven appears more hooked than that of the crow).<sup>24</sup> In a more abstract sense, the verb bears the meaning 'to be ambitious' (Plb. 27,15,6; D. Chr. 78,33). As for κορωνίζω 'to bring to completion' (I.Pont.Eux. 2,298,9 [Panticapaeum]: ἔξ δεκάδας κεκορώνικε), this verb is more remotely related to the bird and its curved bill through κορωνίς 'curved' (of any curved or bent thing; metaph. also 'end, completion'). On the other hand, the existence of κορωνισταί and κορωνίσματα on Rhodes makes it very likely that there was also the verb \*κορωνίζω which was coined directly from the bird name κορώνη, i.e. 'to sing like a crow'. The Rhodian Crow-Song was sung by men carrying around a crow and begging on its behalf: those who took up collections of gifts were called κορωνισταί and their songs were κορωνίσματα (the practice is described by Phoenix of Colophon in a poem in choliambic metre: Coll. Alex. p. 233 f.; cf. Ath. 8,359). For the Rhodian Swallow-Song, see below s.v. χελιδονίζω. – Note that κορώνη (just like κόραξ) is onomatopoeic (cf. Poll. 5,89:

<sup>23</sup> Cf. κερουτιάω in Ar. Eq. 1344: 'to toss the horns, to bear proudly', of horned animals, especially bulls (according to Hsch.), also used metaphorically ('to toss the head, to give oneself airs').

<sup>24</sup> The species meant is most probably the Hooded Crow (*Corvus corone cornix*), see Pollard 25, excluding the Carrion Crow (*Corvus corone corone*) which mainly occurs in Western Europe.

κορώνη with κρώζω; cf. Taillardat 275), but only \*κορωνίζω actually alludes to sound.

\*κορωνίζω: see κορωνιάω.

κοσσυφίζω 'to sing like a blackbird' (κόσσυφος [Att. κοττ-] 'blackbird' [*Turdus merula*], Thompson, *Birds* 174 ff.; also κόσσυκος in Gloss. III 412,7: *merulus cossycos*). This verb seems to be attested only in Hero Spir. 2,35, a description of a boiling vessel with winding tubes which also produced the song of the blackbird, see the drawing in W. Schmidt's Teubner-edition: Hero Alexandrinus I, p. 319, fig. 79.

κουβαρίζω (ms. var. -ιάζω) is known from Sch. Theoc. 1,29 (explaining μαρύεται 'to draw up, to wind round'): μηρύω δὲ τὸ κουβαρίζω. This verb is a denominative from κουβαρίς (a name for the ὄνος 'wood-louse' in Dsc. 2,35 title; Beavis 16) which, in turn, is a diminutive of Hsch. κόβαρος· ὄνος. Though the etymology of κόβαρος remains unknown, it seems that the scholiast's explanation is based on the observation that woodlice roll themselves into a ball.

κριόω 'to make into a ram' (κριός 'ram'). Hsch. (before γαιηόχῳ) Γαλλίμ [sic]· κεκριωμένον ἤγουν κριῶν (cf. LXX Is. 15,8: τῆς Αγαλλιμ).

κροκοδειλίζω, from the Byzantine period, cited without source by Müller, -ίζω 80.

κυνάω: see κυνίζω.

κυνίζω 'to play the dog' (κύων), always used metaphorically of the Cynics, i.e. 'to live like a Cynic' (which was called κυνισμός): Stoic. 3,162,27 (from Stob.): κυνιεῖν τε τὸν σοφὸν λέγουσιν; *ibid.* 3,261,17 (Diog. Laert. from Apollod.): κυνιεῖν τε αὐτόν (scil. τὸν σπουδαῖον), also Arr. Epict. 3,22,1; Luc. Peregr. 43; Ath. 13,588f; Jul. Or. 6,182a; the verbal adj. κυνιστέον in the title of Jul. Or. 7,204a. The variant κυνάω is found in Luc. Demon. 21 being paralleled with ἀνθρωπίζω (καὶ λέγοντος, Δημῶναξ, οὐ κυνῶς, ἀπεκρίνατο, Περεγρίνε, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίζεις). – κύων was used as a term of abuse early on (for the Homeric epic, see M. Faust, *Glotta* 48 [1970] 8 ff.).

κωτιλίζω 'to twitter' is derived from κωτιλάς, a Boeotian word for 'swallow' (*Hirundinidae spp.*, Pollard 32; cf. Stratt. 49,6 [PCG VII]) and a fem. variant of the adj. κωτίλος 'twittering' which, in turn, is the epithet of swallows in Anacr. 453 P and Simon. 606 P. κωτιλίζω is used of birds in Call. Iamb. 194,81, whereas κωτίλλω more frequently refers to 'chattering'

and 'prattling' in general (of birds, cf. Procl. ad Hes. Op. 374, cited at Anacr. 453 P).

κωτίλλω: see κωτιλίζω.

λαμπυρίζω 'to shine like a glow-worm' (λαμπυρίς 'glow-worm'; Davis–Kathirithamby 158; Beavis 175 ff., cf. Arist. PA 642b34) is found in Thphr. Lap. 58,59 and Dsc. 5,84, but in Magical Papyri it also refers to the shining of planets, stars or gods (PGM IV 2940 [Venus]; PGM II 103 [Apollo: λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὄλην οἴκουμένην]). Med. λαμπυρίζομαι 'to shine' is attested in PGM VII 603.

λεοντιάω (λέων 'lion') has two meanings: 1) 'to suffer from leontiasis (i.e. the early stage of elephantiasis)' (Ruf. ap. Orib. 45,27,2; Gal. 14,757; cf. Strömberg, Theophrastea 193); 2) 'to be like a lion' (Tz. H. 4,937). Moreover, there is ἀπολεοντόομαι (Pass.) 'to be turned into a lion, to become a lion' in Heraclit. Incred. 12 (a young couple eaten by lions in a cave were subsequently turned into lions themselves).

λυκόω 'to tear like a wolf' (λύκος; Keller I 87 f.) is known from Xen. Cyr. 8,3,41 (πρόβατα λελυκωμένα 'torn by wolves').

μετοιωνίζομαι: see οἰωνίζομαι.

μοσχεύω 'to train as a calf' (μόσχος 'calf' [young bull or cow or any young animal]) is found in this sense in Philostr. VA 6,30 where Emperor Titus says to Apollonius that his father had reared him as a calf (ὁ ἐκ νέου... μοσχεύσας με). However, the verb was used more frequently as a botanical term, i.e. 'to plant a sucker' (from μόσχος 'young shoot, twig'), cf. Eng. *sucker* which means both 'calf', etc. and 'shoot, sprout'. The prefixed form ὑπομοσχεύω 'to propagate by layers' was used metaphorically by Eun. Hist. p. 271 D (τὸν πόλεμον). – μοσχιάω is cited without source by Sütterlin 33.

μύω 'to make muscular'. Though not directly connected with the animal, the meaning of the verb derives from μῦς 'mouse' which by way of analogy also means 'muscle' (cf. Lat. *musculus*). The verb mostly occurs in Pass., i.e. 'to be or to become muscular'; cf. further μυωτός: 1) χίτων (Poll. 7,60, 'made of mouse-skin' or 'embroidered with figures of mice', or something else?); 2) σάρκες (Clearch. 72, 'furnished with muscles').

μυρμηκιάω 'to be afflicted with warts' (μυρμηκία 'wart' [Medic. from Hippocr.] < μύρμηξ 'ant'; Davis–Kathirithamby 37 ff.; Beavis 198 ff.) is known from LXX Le. 22,22. The name of the disease is μυρμηκίασις. This particular denominative was used because the subcutaneous irritation caused by the warts was compared to the creeping of ants. The variant

μυρμηκίζω means: 1) 'to feel as though ants were running under the fingers', i.e. 'to be quick and feeble', of the pulse (Gal. 8,553, etc.; Ruf. Syn. Puls. 8,11), for which cf. σκωληκίζω; 2) 'to itch, to have a feeling of irritation' (Aet. 12,48). – Note also that ants were used in treatments for styes and warts (Beavis 208).

μυρμηκίζω: see μυρμηκιάω.

μωπιζομαι 'to be torn by flies' (Pass.; μύωψ 'horsefly'; Davis–Kathirithamby 160 ff.; Beavis 225 ff.), of horses and oxen (Xen. Eq. 4,5 and Eq. Mag. 1,16; Aristaenet. 2,18). The verb was used metaphorically in J. AJ 7,8,1: when violating her sister, Ammon was τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι καιόμενος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μωπιζόμενος.

νεβρίζω 'to dress (initiates) in a fawnskin' (νεβρίς 'fawnskin' < νεβρός 'fawn'). The institution, called νεβρισμός (see Harpocr.), was an important feature of Dionysiac worship in Athens and elsewhere (cf. Eur. Ba. 24, 111, 137), and fawnskin was the traditional clothing of maenads in poetry and in vase-paintings. The verb is found in Dem. 18,259 (for the exact meaning, cf. the commentary by H. Wankel, Demosthenes Rede für Ktesiphon über den Kranz [1976] 1135 ff.; also C.G. Brown, CQ 41 [1991] 44 ff.). Compounds: νεβριδόπεπλος (AP 9,524,14 with νεβρώδης), -στολος (Orph. H. 52,10), νεβροχίτων (Simm. 15). The passive form νεβρόομαι 'to be changed into a fawn' is known from Nonn. D. 10,59 f. (Learchos, turned into a fawn, was killed by his father who did not recognize him: καὶ κεφαλὴν ἄγνωστον ἀπηλοίησε μαχαίρη, / φάσματι νεβρωθεῖσαν). – For νεβεύω, see above at n. 9 ff.

νεβρόομαι: see νεβρίζω.

ν(ε)οσσεύω (Att. νεοττ-) 'to build a nest, to hatch' (νεοσσός 'young bird, nestling', or any young animal, cf. Taillardat 48 f.; from νέος). The verb was used especially of birds (sometimes bees), but a metaphorical use is attested in LXX Si. 1,15 (σοφία). The term for building a nest, etc. was νεοσσεία, νεόσσευσις.

οἰστράω 'to sting' (οἰστρος 'horsefly'; Davis–Kathirithamby 162 ff.; Beavis 225 ff., -άω from Trag. and Pl.; also -έω from Eur.); metaphorically, 'to sting to madness' (e.g. Eur. Ba. 32, of Theban women maddened by Dionysus), often in Pass. οἰστρηθεῖς 'driven mad', of various ecstatic states (e.g. Soph. Tr. 653; Eur. Ba. 119), later also of sexual passion (e.g. Iamb. VP 31,195; Ael. NA 15,9). The intransitive use 'to go mad, to rage' is attested from Aeschylus (cf. also Pl. Phdr. 251d: ἡ ψυχὴ οἰστρᾶ). The fol-

lowing prefixed forms are known: ἀνοιστρέω (Eur. Ba. 979: ἔρωτι καρδίην ἀνοιστρηθείς), διοιστράω (Diod. Sic. 4,12; Philostr. VA 1,33), ἐξοιστράω (and -έω; various late sources), παροιστράω (and -έω; various late sources). From Homer onwards, the horsefly's persecution of cattle was associated with frenzied behaviour; in later sources, οἴστρος began to be connected with frenzy of desire and various forms of erotic passion, cf. D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic. Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*, Oxford 1998, 29 (for Pl. Phdr. 251d, see p. 21).

οἴστρέω: see οἴστράω.

οἰωνίζομαι 'to take omens from the flight and cries of birds' (οἰωνός 'large bird, bird of prey'; cf. οἰωνοσκοπέω and Lat. *auspicari, auspicium*), also 'to divine (from omens)', attested from Xen., Dem., etc. Two prefixed forms are known: ἐξοιωνίζομαι 'to avoid as ill-omened' (Plut.) and μετοιωνίζομαι 'to procure happier omens for' (Din.). οἰωνός seems to go back to an IE word meaning 'bird' (Chantraine, Dict. 789).

ὄνεύομαι: see ὄνεύω.

ὄνεύω 'to draw up with a windlass, to haul up' (ὄνος 'ass'; from this animal as a beast of burden the name passed to 'windlass'). The verb is found in Thuc. 7,25 (according to Sch. ad loc. ὄνος 'windlass' = ὄνευος) and in the meaning 'to haul up' e.g. in Stratt. 31 [PCG VII]: τὸν πέπλον. For the Med. voice, cf. Erot. ὄνεύεσθαι· τείνειν. – ὄνος was frequent in proverbs.

ὀρνεάζομαι: see ὀρنيθεύω.

ὀρنيθεύω 'to catch birds' (ὄρνις 'bird'; cf. θηρεύω, ἰχθυάω) is found in Xen. HG 4,1,16. The Med. voice ὀρنيθεύομαι was used as an equivalent of οἰωνίζομαι (Dion. Hal. 4,13; Hecat. Abd. 14 = FrGH 264 F 21,202). Other denominatives from ὀρنيθ-: Pass. ὀρنيθόομαι 'to be changed into a bird' (Philoch. 207; also ἄπ- [Str. 6,3,9; Heraclit. Incred. 35; Sch. Ar. Av. 100]; μετ- [late]), ὀρنيθιάζω 'to talk bird-language' (Sch. Ar. Av. 1678). Still another verb was coined from the variant ὀρνεον (from Hom.), i.e. ὀρνεάζομαι: 1) 'to twitter like a bird' (Aq. Is. 8,19, perhaps also 38,14 [for ὀρνίθω]); 2) 'to carry the head high' (like a fowler looking out for birds; perhaps from comedy, see PCG VIII \*443 = Com. adesp. 1202; Hsch. ὀρνεάζετο· μετέωρον ἐπῆρε τὴν κεφαλὴν).

ὀρنيθιάζω: see ὀρنيθεύω.

ὀρنيθόομαι: see ὀρنيθεύω.

ὀρταλίζω: see ἀνορταλίζω.

\*ὄφιαίω (ὄφις 'serpent') may be deduced from the medical term ὄφιασις (cf. Strömberg, *Theophrastea* 193): 1) a bald place on the head, of serpentine or winding form (Gal. 10,1004; 12,381); this was also called simply ὄφις (Cels. 6,4; Poll. 4,192); cf. also Gloss. III 603,33: *ofiasis alopecia* (see above s.v.); 2) a form of leprosy in which the patient sheds his skin like a snake (Ps.-Gal. 14,757).

\*παρδαλώω (πάρδαλις 'leopard, panther') may be deduced from παρδαλωτός 'spotted like a leopard' (Luc. Bis Acc. 8); cf. also παρδαλώδης 'leopard-like'.

παροιστράω (-έω): see οἰστράω.

[πελαργός: see ἀντιπελαργέω.]

[πέρδιξ: see ἐκπερδικίζω.]

περικοκκύζω: see κοκκύζω.

πιθηκίζω 'to play the ape' (πίθηκος 'ape', Keller I 6; cf. Müller, *Schimpfwörter* 331), used of flatterers and those who were engaged in trickery (which was called πιθηκισμός: Ar. Eq. 887; cf. also δημοπίθηκος in Ra. 1085), cf. Ar. Th. 1133 (which combines 'ape' with 'fox': μιάρως ἀλώπηξ, οἶον ἐπιτήκίζέ μοι: Taillardat 20, 228) and V. 1290;<sup>25</sup> later Lib. Ep. 424,1 (πίθηκοι πιθηκίζοντες) and 1397,5. The Med. voice seems to be found only in Sch. Dem. 18,242 (VIII p. 325 Dindorf), explaining the expression αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος (see the commentary by Wankel, cit.). For the prefixed form διαπιθηκίζω, see PCG VIII \*451 = Com. Adesp. 980: διαπιθηκίσαι· τὸ διαπαίξαι...φιλοπαιγμονέστατον γὰρ τὸ ζῶον, etc.

[πιπίζω: see τιτίζω.]

πορτακίζω 'to subdue, to tame' (πόρτις 'young heifer, calf' [younger than δαμάλη]; Hsch. πορτάκινον· μοσχίον) is known from Hsch. πορτα- <κί>ζει· δαμαλίζεται. – Note also that δαμαλίζω (cf. δάμνημι) derives from the stem δαμα- which produced δάμαλις / δαμάλη 'heifer' (the former also 'girl') and δαμάλης 'subducer' or 'young steer' (for Eros as δαμάλης in Anacr. 357 P, see now W.J. Henderson, *Akroterion* 43 [1998] 11). This verb is found twice: Eur. Hipp. 231 (πώλους δαμαλιζομένα) and Pi. P. 5,121 (δ. χρόνον [probably], for which see R.W.B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* [1962] 148 f.).

<sup>25</sup> For the ape in ancient comedy, see S. Lilja, *Arctos* 14 (1980) 31 ff. (the verb on p. 32).

προβατεύω 'to keep cattle' (πρόβατον, usually in plur., 'cattle, herds'; in Att. prose and comedy mostly of sheep) is known from Dittenberger, SIG<sup>3</sup> 1165 (Dodona) and App. BC 1,7, whereas the reference is to sheep in AP 7,636 (Crin.). Cf. further App. BC 1,8 where the verb means 'to graze' and Dion. Hal. 1,37 (Pass.) 'to be grazed by cattle'. – Besides this farming term, who knows if there was also the verb \*προβατίζω (cf. προβατόδης 'simple'; πρόβατον was also used in the sense of ἡλίθιος, cf. Taillardat 255)?

\*προβατίζω (?): see προβατεύω.

προψηνίζω: see ψηνίζω.

πωλεύω 'to break in a young horse' (Xen. Eq. 2,1, etc.; πῶλος 'foal' or any young animal), also in Pass. 'to be trained' (Him. Ecl. 21,4; Ael. NA 13,8; 16,36).

\*σαυρόω (σαύρα [also σαῦρος] 'lizard'; Keller II 273) may be deduced from σαυρωτός which means: 1) furnished with a σαυρωτήρ (from Hom. Il.), i.e. 'spike at the butt-end of a spear' (by which it was stuck into the ground; cf. Hsch. σαυρωτοῖς δόρασι· τοῖς σαυρωτήρας ἔχουσι κατὰ τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος); 2) 'spotted like a lizard' (Hsch. σαυρωτή· ποικίλη). Thus the denominative would mean 1) 'to make acute like a lizard's tail'; 2) 'to make spotted like a lizard'.

σητάω 'to fret' (σής, σεός 'clothes-moth, book louse'; Davis-Kathirithamby 110 f.; Beavis 136 ff.) is found in Suda σητώμενα· βιβρωσκόμενα. The verb is formed from the stem σητ- which occurs in Arist., Men. and later (cf. θής, θητός).

σιαλόω 'to fatten' (σίαλος 'fat hog'; Mycen., Hom., etc.) is attested in Hsch. σιαλοῦται· τρέφεται (Pass.) and, in a more abstract sense, σιαλωσαι· ποικίλαι, i.e. 'to embroider, to adorn, to embellish'.

σκνίπτω: see κνιπέω.

σκομβρίζω (σκόμβρος 'mackerel'; Thompson, Fishes 243 ff.) is explained by Hsch. as follows: σκομβρίσαι· γογγύσαι· καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀσελγοῦς εἶδος. The latter explanation is made clear by Hsch. = ῥαθαπυγίζειν 'to give a slap on the buttocks', whereas the former ('to murmur, to grumble') probably alludes to a voice produced by the fish (see Strömberg, Fischnamen 73, though his etymological proposal can hardly be correct). The notion of slapping (cf. ῥαθαπυγίζειν) may derive from the way in which a mackerel slaps its tail against the sides of a boat, see Chantraine, Dict. 1021, who also refers to the possibility that σκομβρίζω in the sense 'to



make like a mackerel' could allude to the act of 'bruising' on the analogy of the bluish stripes on both sides of the fish.

σκορακίζω: see κορακόω.

σκορπιάνομαι: see σκορπίζω.

σκορπίζομαι: see σκορπίζω.

σκορπίζω 'to disperse, to scatter' (σκορπίος 'scorpion'; Keller II 470 ff.; Beavis 21 ff.), often found in late sources, according to Phrynichus a Ionic word used by Hecataeus (FrGrH 1,366: σκορπίζεται· Ἐκαταῖος μὲν τοῦτο λέγει Ἴων ὄν, ὁ Ἀττικὸς δὲ σκεδάννυται φησί). The prefixed form διασκορπίζω bears the same meaning (Plb., NT, etc.). But σκορπίζω has two further meanings close to that of 'dispersing' and 'scattering': 1) 'to discharge arrows' (with a σκορπίος, an engine of war resembling the scorpion: RE III A 584 ff.); 2) 'to spread manure' (P.Soterichos 1,26 [AD 69], with a note on P.Flor. III 369,1 [AD 139] where one has to read σκορπι[ῶ]; 2,22 [AD 71]; BGU 2354,8 [second cent. AD] with the verb κοπρίζειν, both referring to the fertilizing of the land). Apart from the military term, the connection of these verbs with the scorpion is not immediately clear (Chantraine, Dict. 1022 proposes that the verb may have something to do with the use of scorpions in magic rituals. There is, in fact, evidence for the use of scorpions for magic purposes, but one cannot easily see how the verb σκορπίζω would be related to magic practices<sup>26</sup>). One could perhaps assume that the basic meaning of 'dispersing, scattering, spreading, etc.' derives from the way in which the scorpion moves and uses its sting. It was a popular belief in antiquity that scorpions are ready to sting at every possible opportunity (e.g. Plin. nat. 11,87: *semper cauda in ictu est*; Beavis 28). As for σκορπιάνομαι 'to be enraged' (Procop. Arc. 9) = σκορπιόομαι (Hsch. σκορπιούται· ἀγριαίνεται, ἐρεθίζεται), one may plausibly think of the scorpion's venom and someone who makes venomous remarks. Enraged and malicious persons were in fact traditionally compared with scorpions (cf. e.g. Diogenian. 8,59: ἐπὶ τῶν κακοήθων λέγεται; Macar. 7,72 [= Com. Adesp. 734]: σκορπίους βέβρωκεν, of an angry person; Apul.

---

<sup>26</sup> Scorpions were often depicted on various magic and apotropaic objects (gems, rings, etc.) and they were also to some extent used in the production of drugs and philtres (RE III A 1808 ff.). On the other hand, there were various magic devices to make scorpions harmless. For the scorpion in Mithraic symbolism, see A. Mastrocinque, Studi sul mitraismo (il mitraismo e la magia), *Historica* 4, Roma 1998, passim.

met. 9,17: *decurio, quem scorpionem prae morum acritudine vulgus appellat*; sycophants as compared with scorpions: Taillardat 424 f.; cf. further Opelt 235 on *scorpio* and other animals in Jerome's language).

σκορπιόομαι: see σκορπίζω.

σκυλακεύω 'to pair dogs for breeding' (σκύλαξ 'young dog, puppy', also of other animals) is known from Xen. Cyn. 7,1; Arr. Cyn. 31,1. In Pass. it means 'to be suckled' (by a she-wolf: Str. 5,3,2) or 'to be trained from puppyhood' (of dogs: Max. Tyr. 1,1; σκυλακευτής 'dog-trainer' in Him. Ecl. 21,4; cf. also πωλεύεσθαι). σκυλάκευμα 'whelp, cub' could also refer to boys (contemptuously). – This verb is etymologically related to the following entry.

σκυμνεύω 'to rear' (σκύμνος 'cub, whelp' [esp. lion's whelp], also of people) is attested in Philostr. Im. 2,18 (νέβρους τῆ Γαλατεία). – Cf. the previous entry.

σκωληκιάω 'to breed worms, to be worm-eaten' (σκώληξ 'worm, larva' [esp. the wood-boring larva], Lat. *vermiculus*; Davis–Kathirithamby 96, 102 f.; Beavis 150 f.) is known from Gp. 10,90,5 and Orib. Fr. 10 (cf. also above Hsch. on εὐλάζω). Besides, there is σκωληκόομαι 'to be infested by worms, to be worm-eaten' (Pass.; Thphr. HP 4,14,2, etc.), the technical term for that state being σκωλήκωσις = σκωληκίασις (Davis–Kathirithamby 175 n. 162). A third denominative was coined with the suffix -ίζω, i.e. σκωληκίζω: 1) 'to wriggle like a worm' (Med. -ίζονται in Hsch. with no further explanation of the use); 2) 'to beat feebly and irregularly', of the pulse (Gal. 8,553, etc.), cf. μυρμηκίζω (ibid.)

σκωληκίζω: see σκωληκιάω.

σκωληκόομαι: see σκωληκιάω.

σκώπτω 'to mock, to jeer, to scoff at' (from Ar., see LSJ; σκώψ 'Scops Owl' [*Otus scops*], Thompson, Birds 262 ff.; Pollard 54). Ancient writers already thought that the verb derived from the owl's name (Ael. NA 15,28; Ath. 9,391a–b; further Sch. Theoc. 1,136). Though their fantastic explanations did not hit the mark, the possibility still exists that σκώπτω comes from σκώψ. Since it seems very likely that σκώψ is related to σκέπτομαι (cf. κλώψ : κλέπτω) which refers to the disquieting and insistent look, one may imagine accordingly that σκώπτω is a denominative of σκώψ, likewise taking its meaning from the bird's piercing glance, see Chantraine, Dict. 1026 (and cf. also Frisk, Wb. 747).

[σπάλαξ: see ἀποσπαλακώω.]

στρουθίζω 'to chirp like a sparrow' (στρουθός 'sparrow' [*Passer spp.*], incl. other small birds, the word denoting the ostrich as well, though normally with an epithet like μεγάλη, κατάγαιος, etc.; Thompson, *Birds* 268 ff.; Pollard 29 f.) is attested in comedy, perhaps Aristophanes (Ar. 973 [PCG III 2] = Com. Adesp. 1155, from Eust.), and Thd. Is. 10,14; 38,14. Moreover, στρουθωτός 'painted or embroidered with birds' (Sophr. 190) would seem to point to the existence of the denominative \*στρουθόω. – στρουθίζω 'to cleanse with the herb of στρούθειον' has nothing to do with the bird.

\*στρουθόω: see στρουθίζω.

συνένω: see ὑνένω.

συόομαι: see ὑνένω.

\*σφηκίζω: see σφηκόω.

\*σφηκιόω: see σφηκόω.

σφηκόω 'to make like a wasp' (σφήξ 'wasp'; Davis–Kathirithamby 75 ff.; Beavis 187 ff.), i.e. 'to pinch in at the waist, to bind tightly', (also) 'to close' (cf. σφήκωμα 'the point of the helmet [where the plume is fixed]: Soph. Fr. 341). The Pass. voice 'to be bound tightly' occurs as early as Hom. Il. 17,52 and the latest attestations of the verb are in Nonn. D. (see LSJ s.v.). Moreover, one could deduce the verb \*σφηκιόω from Hsch. σφηκίωσις· κηρία σφηκῶν, though the explanation is somewhat strange (combs in a wasps' nest). \*σφηκίζω is equally plausible because Hsch. gives σφηκισμός 'imitation of the buzzing of a wasp on the flute' (cf. Taillardat 460 on Ar. Ach. 864 ff. where flute-players are compared with wasps; who knows if there was also a dance by the same name [cf. γερανίζω, κολαβρίζω]?). Three prefixed forms are attested: διασφηκόομαι 'to be made like wasp' (Ar. V. 1072: μέσον διεσφηκωμένον 'wasp-waisted', of a member of the chorus; also in Nonn. D. [Act.]), ἀποσφηκόω 'to untie, to loosen' (Nonn. D.), ἐπισφηκόω 'to bind on/to' (Nonn. D.; also Med.). For the adj. σφηκώδης, see Taillardat 129.

ταυράω 'to want the bull', of cows (ταῦρος 'bull') is found only in Arist. HA 572a31 (with v. l. ταυριάω; cf. καπράω), the Pass. ταυρόομαι being more frequent (Act. only in Hsch. ταύρωσον· ταῦρον ποίησον). This means 'to become savage like a bull' and it usually indicates savage behaviour with special reference to the angry glance (Aesch. Ch. 275: see the commentary by A.F. Garvie [Oxford 1986] 113; Eur. Med. 92), being used of transformation literally only once (Eur. Ba. 922, of Dionysus; for

βουκολέω and βούκολος in allusion to tauriform worship of Dionysus/Sabazius, cf. above n. 9). The prefixed form ἀποταυρόομαι is used of both the savage glance (Eur. Med. 188, of a lioness with cubs; cf. Taillardat 207) and the metamorphosis (Erot. s.v. κερχνώδεα [cf. TGF Soph. 257], of Io turned into a heifer). Finally, there is ταυρίζω, a gloss on τείνω (An. Ox. 2,417, uncertain), perhaps meaning the act of stretching a bull's hide. – Cf. also s.v. βοόω.

ταυριάω: see ταυράω.

ταυρίζω: see ταυράω.

ταυρόομαι: see ταυράω.

τερηδονίζομαι (Pass.) 'to be worm-eaten', of roots (Dsc. 1,1; τερηδών 'shipworm, woodborer' [in larval stage]; cf. Davis–Kathirithamby 98; Beavis 152), also 'to be carious', of bones (which is called τερηδονισμός, cf. Antyll. ap. Orib. 44,23,10).

τετράζω 'to cackle like a τέτραξ' (τ. is a game-bird [*Galliformes spp.*], here perhaps to be identified with the Guineafowl [*Numida meleagris*] rather than the Black Grouse [*Lyrurus tetrix*], cf. Thompson, Birds 282 f.; Pollard 22) is attested in Alex. Mynd. ap. Ath. 9,398d (according to this source, the bird cackles on laying an egg). – τετράζω 'to observe a four-day cycle' does not belong here.

τιτίζω 'to cry *ti ti*, to cheep like a young bird' (τιττ- v. l. in Poll. 5,89) is known only from τιτίζοντας which was read by Zenod. for τετριγῶτας (< τρίζω) in Hom. Il. 2,314 (though, according to Eust. 490,40, he read τεττίζοντας because of τέττα, τέττιξ, cf. Tichy 263 f.). On Photius' testimony, τιτίς means a 'small chirping bird'. – There are two comparable verbs with no corresponding animal names, i.e. πιπίζω 'to pipe, to cheep, to chirp' (Ar. Av. 306; Tichy 263) and τιττυβίζω (also ἀμφιτ. 'to chirp around', Ar. Av. 235; Tichy 265), the latter being used of the partridge (probably the Rock Partridge) and of swallows (and other small birds). However, one would not be surprised to find nouns like \*πιπ(π)ίς or \*τιττύβη in lexicographical works (cf. κακκάβη, κακκαβίζω). Such words may in fact have existed in classical Attic.

[τιττυβίζω: see τιτίζω.]

τραγάω: see τραγίζω.

τραγίζω 'to break, to grow rough and hoarse', of boys' voices (τράγος 'he-goat'; Hippocr., Arist., etc.); 'to smell like a goat' (Gal. 14,57). The first meaning is also borne by τραγάω (Medic., Philos.), but this verb was used

in another and quite specific sense as well: 'to be over-luxuriant, to run to leaf', of vines (Arist., Thphr., etc.), the over-luxuriant shoots of a vine being called ἐπίτραγοι (for a description of this botanical disease, see Thphr. HP 4,14,6). These were unproductive, as was ἐπιτραγίας (Capon-fish: Thompson, Fishes 65), a barren fish which has neither milt nor roe but grows fat (Arist., Plut.), see Strömberg, Fischnamen 103. The connection with the goat is based on the notion that corpulent goats are not particularly prolific. – For the formation, cf. καπράω.

τριγλίζω 'to laugh' (Hsch. τριγλίζειν· κατὰ μίμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν γελώντων) is a denominative from τρίγλη 'red mullet' (Thompson, Fishes 264 ff.) which, in turn, is based on τρίζω 'to utter a shrill cry', etc. because of the voice produced by the crunching of cartilages covering the gills when the fish is being hauled up or when it swims ashore to eat (I have verified such a sound myself; for details, see Strömberg, Fischnamen 71 ff.). This makes it likely that τριγλίζω was used of tittering in particular. Note that τριγμός / τρισμός 'shrill cry, scream' was used of various animals, including some fishes. – Cf. κίχλη : κιχλίζω.

ὑάλομαι: see εὐλάζω.

ὑηνέω 'to be as stupid as a hog (for which the term was ὑηνία), to play the hog' (from ὕς 'hog, (wild) swine' through the adj. ὑηνός; – συηνέω, συηνία Phot. [σῦς is attested from Hom. onwards; for σῦς and other similarly sounding words, cf. P. Kretschmer, Glotta 13 [1924] 132 ff.]; Keller I 404). The one who does such things is ὑηνεύς and the adjective is ὑηνός 'swinish' (cf. σῶδης 'swinish, gluttonous', also 'stupid': Plut., Philostr., etc.). The verb is first found in Plato (Th. 166c: ὕς δὲ καὶ κυνοκεφάλους λέγων οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑηνεῖς, ...) who also has the adj. (Lg. 819d: θρέμματα ὑ.), cf. P. Louis, Les métaphores de Platon, Rennes 1945, 131 n. 32. ὑηνία 'swinishness, swinish stupidity' is found in Ar. Pax 928; PCG VII: Pherecr. 271; Epich. 148 (of the final stage of drunkenness); for ὑηνία and ὑηνός, cf. also Call. 38 (PCG IV) and Taillardat 254. – ὑίζω 'to squeal like a pig' is known from Poll. 5,87 (with ὑῖσμός). There is also συόομαι 'to become swine' (Elias in Porph. 119,22; sixth cent.).

ὑίζω: see ὑηνέω.

ὑπομοσχεύω: see μοσχεύω.

ὑποψηνίζω: see ψηνίζω.

ὑύζω 'to make the sound of υ υ' (of owls), a varia lectio for ἰύζω in Poll. 5,90 (Tichy 246).

φαλαγγιάω 'to be venomous' (φαλάγγιον [dim. of φάλαγξ] – *phalangia* were a group of venomous spiders, cf. Beavis 44 ff.) may be deduced from Hsch. φαλαγγ(ι)ῶσα· τεθηριωμένη, ἠρεθισμένη.

φθειριάω 'to be lousy' (φθείρ 'louse'; Davis–Kathirithamby 168 ff.) is known from comedy (PCG VIII 922 = Com. Adesp. 280) and Diog. Laert. 5,5 (of Callisthenes who was kept in an iron cage, φθειριῶν καὶ ἀκόμιστος; the same man in Plut. Alex. 55,5; for the dying Sulla, see Plut. Sull. 36,3), and it was normally used as a strictly technical term of the alleged morbus pedicularis (Gal., Dsc.; of bees and oxen: Gr.; of vines: Str.), the name of the disease being φθειρίασις (Lat. *pediculatio*; A. Keaveney – J.A. Madden, Symb.Osl. 57 [1982] 87 ff.). φθειρίζομαι 'to louse, to pick the lice off oneself' is attested in Arist. fr. 76; Thphr. Sign. 16; Apollod. ap. Ath. 13,586a (of a courtesan called Φθειροπύλη 'Louse-Gate'), the Act. being found in LXX Je. 50 (43),12 and Gloss. II–III passim: *peduculo* φθειρίζω, *peduculat* φθειρίζει. The corresponding nouns for 'picking lice' were φθειρισμός (Gloss. II 520,3 *pthirismus*) and φθειριασμός (Gloss. II 495,18). Note, finally, φθειριαστική (τέχνη) '(the art of) louse-catching' in Pl. Sph. 227b.

φθειρίζω: see φθειριάω.

χελιδονίζω 'to twitter like a swallow' (χελιδών 'swallow' [*Hirundinidae spp.*], Thompson, Birds 314 ff.; Pollard 30 ff.) was used of barbarous tongues in Aesch. Fr. 450 (being synonymous with βαρβαρίζω), the twittering of the swallow being frequently associated with non-Greek speech (Aesch. Ag. 1050; Ion Trag. 33; Ar. Ra. 93, 681; cf. Taillardat 299 f.).<sup>27</sup> The verb had a different meaning on Rhodes, being applied to the Swallow-Song which Rhodian boys went about singing at the return of the swallows in the month Badromios. The song is given and the verb is attested in the description of the local practice in Thgn. Hist. ap. Ath. 8,360c (FrGrH III 526; the verb also in Eust. 1914,43 who gives the term χελιδονισμός in 1914,16). The singers were called χελιδονισταί (Hsch.). – For the Rhodian Crow-Song (and comparable terms), cf. above s.v. κορωνιάω.

χελλύσσω 'to spit out (the waves)', of a swimmer (χέλυς 'tortoise'; also 'arched breast, chest', from its similarity in shape to the back of a tortoise), is found in Lyc. 727 (one may also think of water flowing out of

<sup>27</sup> Compare κλαγγάζω (Maurice 196), onomatopoetic word for the cry of the cranes in Poll. 5,89, which refers to the language of the Scythians in Porph. Abst. 3,3.

the mouth of a corpse, see Lykophrons *Odysee*: Alexandra 648–819, übers. und kommentiert von G. Schade [1999] 136). Med. χελ(λ)ύσσομαι 'to expectorate' refers to a dry retching and hawking in Nic. Al. 81, and it will also have been in current use as a medical term; cf. further ἀναχελύσσομαι 'to cough up' (Hippocr. ap. Sch. Nic. Al. 81; Erot. = ἀναπνεῖ). Moreover, the meaning 'to cough' is found in Hsch. χελούειν· βήσσειν, where χ. may be a Lacon. (?) form of \*χελύειν (cf. Clem. Al. Protr. 2,38,5, of the Spartans: τὸ βήττειν χελύττειν καλοῦσιν). – Note also that it may be an accident of survival that we do not know the verb \*χελωνίζω, for χελώνη 'tortoise' was commonly used of slowness.

\*χελύω (?): see χελλύσσω.

\*χελωνίζω (?): see χελλύσσω.

\*χημόω may be deduced from χήμωσις which means an affection of the eyes, when the cornea swells like a cockle-shell so as to impede sight (χήμη 'clam, cockle-shell'; Gal. 19,436; Demosth. Ophth. ap. Orib. Syn. 8,42; Paul. Aeg. 3,22).

χηνιάζω 'to cackle like a goose', of a bad flute-player (χήν 'goose' [*Anser spp.*], mostly the tame goose descending from the wild Greylag Goose [*Anser anser*], see Thompson, *Birds* 325 ff.; Ath. 14,657e: χηνίζω, with the same sense), is known from Diph. 78 (PCG V): ἐχηνίασας. Note also that bad poetry was traditionally compared with the croaking of the raven (evidence in Opelt 221 n. 17).– The ending -ίζειν would be more normal, but cf. ὀρνιθιάζειν (Sch. Ar. Av. 1678).

χηνίζω: see χηνιάζω.

χοιρίζω 'to behave like a pig' (χοῖρος 'pig'; Keller I 404) is attested in Sch. Pl. Tht. 166c which explains the verb ὑνέω (see above): οἶον ὡς εἴ τις εἴποι χοιρίζεις. Cf. further χοιρώδης 'swinish' (Hdn. Epim. 153; Leonid. ap. Aet. 16,44) and χοιρωδία 'swinishness' (Sch. Ar. Eq. 984).

ψηνίζω alludes to the process during which fruiting branches of the wild fig are hung near the cultivated one so that the fig-wasp (ψήν; Davis–Kathirithamby 81 f.; Beavis 212 ff.) living in the wild fig may accomplish an effective pollination (for synonyms, cf. ἐρινάζω, ὀλυνθάζω, Thphr.; L. Georgi, CPh. 77 [1982] 224 ff.). Besides the botanical meaning, the denominative was used metaphorically of committing buggery, perhaps in comedy: οὐδεις κομήτης ὅστις οὐ ψηνίζεται (Com. Adesp. 12 [not in PCG; cf. Taillardat 174 n. 4]; cf. Synes. Ep. 104,244; Suda s.v. ψηνίζεται; Macar. 6,74). As for the other occurrence of ψηνίζω (in Ar. Eq. 523), the verb

probably alludes to the Ψῆνες, a play by Magnes who is ridiculed in the same passage. On the other hand, it has been argued that there was no such play, ψηνίζω 'buzzing like a ψήν' and the similar expressions of the passage simply making a mock of some peculiar voices and things that were heard and performed in Magnes' comedies (E. Spyropoulos, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 247 ff., esp. 264 f.; cf. A.H. Sommerstein, in: *The comedies of Aristophanes II: Knights* [1981] 171). – Two prefixed forms are attested, the first in botanical, the second in metaphorical use: προψηνίζω 'to inoculate figs beforehand' (EM 818,29) and ὑποψηνίζω (Suda s.v. ψῆνες: ὑπεψηνισμένη, of gravid women [possibly from a comic poet]).

ψυλλίζω (from ψύλλα 'flea' [also ψύλλος, ψύλλαξ]; Davis–Kathirithamby 149; Beavis 240 ff.), attested only in Suda ψυλλίζω· αἰτιατικῆ, perhaps means 'to catch fleas' (cf. φθειρίζω), or 'to be afflicted with fleas'.

In the above list, I have included a number of verbs which could be deduced from verbal adjectives (type παρδαλωτός : \*παρδαλόω). In addition, there are a number of nouns which surely could point to the existence of denominative verbs, but the inclusion of such material would extend the present paper excessively. To take only two examples, since χαμαιλέων 'chameleon' was also used of an image of changefulness, one may wonder whether some authors had the verb \*χαμαιλεοντίζω in their vocabulary. Likewise, κανθήλιος 'pack-ass', especially when meaning 'ass, blockhead' (Müller, *Schimpfwörter* 333; Taillardat 255), might well suggest the verb \*κανθηλίζω. These and many similar coinages would be quite plausible in Greek.

Most of the denominatives listed above fall into two functional categories, agentives and factitives (both taken in a broad sense; cf., in general, Sihler 511 ff.). More than half of the material belongs to the former group, whereas factitives make up a fifth of all verbs. The number of agentives is not surprising, considering that animal denominatives usually refer to situations where the appearance, behaviour, movement, cry or any specific characteristic of an animal is compared with human appearance, etc. (cf. Eng. *to dog* 'to do what a dog does' [whatever it may be]). Such verbs rarely allude to other animals (e.g. βατραχίζω, ιερακίζω). Agentives were often consciously abusive and pejorative, but they could also be simply descriptive, or something else; in fact they could take on an infinity of



meanings, depending on how the appearance, behaviour, etc. of an animal was defined and conceptualized and how such things were thought to be related to the human world (in general or in some specific regard). Because of their wide range of meanings, agentives are found in many kinds of literature, being, however, particularly frequent in comedy, proverbs and the like. Most of the agentives are in -ᾶζω and -ίζω (or -ύζω) which form a massive number of denominatives in Greek (Sihler 516 f.). The typically agentive -εύω occurs in some cases (ἄρκτηεύω, etc.; Sihler 518), and occasionally we find other affixes as well (-άω, -έω).

Factitives were normally formed with the affix -όω (e.g. σφηκόω 'to make like a wasp'; Fraenkel 67 ff. [some animals: 70]; E. Tucker, TPhS 1981, 15 ff.; Sihler 522), the passive voice being used especially of various kinds of transformations (ἀπολεοντόομαι, δελφακόομαι, ὀρνιθόομαι, etc.; Sütterlin 120 ff.). Moreover, this affix (Pass.) occurs in a number of medical terms alluding to diseases (e.g. ἐξηπιαλόομαι, θηριόομαι, etc.; Act. e.g. \*χημόω), though verbs for diseases more normally ended in -ιάω (e.g. ἐλεφαντιάω, μυρμηκιάω, etc.; Sütterlin 29 ff.), but cf. also μυρμηκίζω as well as the terms for the conditions in which someone or something is infested with bugs, worms, etc. (e.g. εὐλάζω, κορίζω, τερηδονίζομαι; cf. also ψηνίζω in botanical use). Many denominative affixes do have a particular function, but there are always verbs which do not fit (cf. e.g. λυκόω which means 'to tear like a wolf', not 'to make into a wolf', as one might expect; cf. Lat. *accipitro* = *lacerare*). Sometimes the use of different affixes would not seem to affect the basic meaning of the verb at all (e.g. καπράω, καπρίζω, καπριάω; cf. καπρώζομαι).

There are also some denominatives listed that do not allude to human behaviour, like those for 'hunting' or 'fishing' (θηράω, θηρεύω; ἔλλοπιεύω, ἰχθυάω; cf. also προβατεύω 'to keep cattle', πορτακίζω 'to tame'; φθειρίζω, ψυλλίζω, of catching lice and fleas [when they are a medical problem]). In such cases it is the animal towards which the (human) action is directed. Two technical expressions allude to animals in heat (καπράω, ταυράω), and another group of verbs in -εύω are variously related to offspring and the training of the young (μοσχεύω, ν(ε)οσσεύω, πωλεύω, σκυλακεύω and σκυμνεύω). ἵππεύω 'to ride on horseback' is also included in the catalogue, though it is based on ἵππεύς 'horseman'.

Denominatives deriving from fauna are widely related to various human and social activities (which, of course, may overlap sometimes):

botanics, cult and religion, farming and fishing, handicraft, magic, medicine (also veterinary), the military, philosophy, politics, technics, zoology. The literary (and documentary) genres and sources in which the verbs occur include a lot of comedy (much less tragedy), various types of poetry and prose (especially technical) from classical times to late antiquity, some inscriptions and papyri, a number of scholia (esp. on Ar.), and many glosses (esp. Hsch.).

The question of which animals produced more denominatives than others is clearly related to the animals' familiarity and visibility. So it is understandable that birds are the most frequently found class of animals in this material. What is more, birds are not only visible (unlike most of the fish, for example) but the different species also produce a great variety of sounds and they move in many different ways.

### Appendix: Latin evidence

As already stated in the Introduction, Latin denominatives derived from animal names are much fewer than the Greek ones. Some of the verbs are clearly onomatopoeic, usually from the cry of a bird,<sup>28</sup> and for these there often exists a more or less corresponding noun: *bubilare*, *bubulare* (*bubo* 'eagle owl'); *butire* (*butio* 'bittern' [*Botaurus stellaris*]); *cac(c)abo* (cf. κᾰκκᾰβίζω); *coracinare*, *crocare* (?), *croc(c)ire*, *crocitare* (*corvus* 'raven'); *cornicor* (*cornix* 'crow'); *cucubire* (*cicuma* 'little owl'; cf. *cavannus* 'tawny owl' [*Strix aluco*]); *cuculare* (*cuculus* 'cuckoo'); *friguttire*, *fringuttire*, *fringulare*, *fringultire* – *fritinnire* (*fringillus* /-a/-o 'chaffinch' – *frisio* 'hawfinch' [*Coccothraustes coccothraustes*], *fritilla* 'wryneck' [*Jynx torquilla*]; cf. *frindio*, *frigo*); *graccitare* (*graculus* 'jackdaw'); *grillare* (*grillus*/*gryllus* 'grasshopper'); *gruere* (*grus* 'crane'); *paupulare* (*pavo* 'common peafowl' [*Pavo cristatus*]); *pipare*, *pipiare*, *pipire*, *pipilare* (*pipio* 'nestling of doves'); *tinnire* (*tinnunculus* 'kestrel' [*Falco tinnunculus*], cf. *titiunculus*); *titiare* (*titus* 'wood pigeon' [*Columba palumbus*]); *trucilare* (*turdus* 'thrush'); *ululare* (*ulula* 'tawny owl'). For all these names and verbs and the exact identification of the bird in question, I refer to André, Noms;

---

<sup>28</sup> For *grundire* / *grunnire* IV (also *de-*; Leumann 557), see above s.v. γρούζω: perhaps not onomatopoeic from γρού / *gru*.

André, *Onomatop.* 148 ff.; Capponi; E.–M.; Tammisto; W.–H. – In many cases, however, the verb for the cry or sound does not resemble the name of the animal at all (cf. e.g. Suet. frg. p. 250: *mustelarum drindrare*; p. 251: *vulturum pulpare*; Anth. 762,23: *cygni drensant*, etc.). Sometimes the verb is based on a sound typical of one animal only (*baubor* [of dogs: βαῦ βαῦ], *coaxo* [of frogs: *coax*, κοάξ]), cf. Gr. βάζω and κοίζω (the latter of pigs: κοί κοί).

Such onomatopoetic verbs mostly described the animal's cry alone (e.g. Carm. Phil. 34: *cuculi cuculant*; Suet. frg. p. 161: *gruum gruere*, etc.), and so they are usually not found in reference to people (which, however, is not to say that they could not have been used of people as well). A second group is made up of verbs describing many different sounds, not only those produced by animals but also human voices and other sounds (cf. e.g. *tinnire* which was used of several clanging, metallic or ringing sounds, including human speech; likewise, *ululo* 'to howl, to yell' does not allude to the owl's cry exclusively but also to other animals as well as people, even ghosts). This means that in the above Latin evidence there seem to be only two onomatopoetic verbs that characterize the human voice alone, i.e. *cornicor* 'to croak out' in Pers. 5,12 (also some late sources) and *graculor* 'to scream (like a jackdaw)' in Apul. met. 3,10,1 (emended). Significantly, both verbs are deponent (see below). The sound of the cry of those birds could be described (technically) with other verbs, probably *coracinare*, etc. (typically of the raven, but *corvus* and *cornix*, like κορώνη and κόραξ, are etymologically related) and *graccitare*. These and other cases will be discussed below, but before that I shall give a list of Latin denominatives which are not onomatopoetic, but are related to animal names in some other way.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> The following cases are omitted: *aucupo(r)* and *auspico(r)* [also *ex-*, *red-*], both compound verbs (Flobert 106 f.); *bovinor* 'to rail, to revile' (Fest. p. 30: *bovinatur conviciatur*; a connection with *bos* 'ox' is not demonstrable, cf. W.–H. 113; E.–M. 75; Flobert 188; Opelt 230 on *bovinator*); *bubulcito(r)* (Flobert 63, 289; *bubulcus* 'one who drives cattle, teamster' < *bos*); *hinnio* 'to neigh, to whinny' (onomatop., giving the aspirate to *hinnus* 'hinny' < Gr. ἵννος, γίννος); *lupor* 'to play the prostitute' (*lupa* 'prostitute' < 'she-wolf'); *pull(ul)o* I and *pullulasco* III were normally used of new shoots and sprouts, not young animals; the etymology of both *subo* I and *surio* IV 'to be on heat' (the former of female, the latter of male animals) remains uncertain (a connection with *sus* was posited in antiquity). – Moreover, I have not included cases where the

*accipitro* I 'to tear, to rend'. Gell. 19,7,11: *accipitret posuit* (scil. Laevius) *pro laceret*. As for *accipitrina* (scil. *ars*) 'the act of a hawk, rapacity' (Plaut. Bacch. 274), one may note that adjectives in *-inus* from bird names are attested in Latin from early times (H. Nowicki, Glotta 74 [1997/98] 104 ff.). – *accipiter* 'hawk' (cf. Opelt 235).

\**araneo* I (cf. *araneans* 'full of cobwebs', Apul. met. 4,22). – *araneus, aranea* 'spider'.

*arieto* I 'to strike violently, to batter, to buffet' (tr., from Plaut.); 'to charge violently against, to collide', etc. (intr., Acc., Verg., etc.). – *aries* 'ram'.

*barrio* IV 'to trumpet' (of elephants; Suet., Fest., etc.). – *barrus* 'elephant' (from Hor.; prob. Indian), cf. ThlL II 1756 f.

*baubor* I 'to bark, to bay', attested in Lucr. 5,1071 (of dogs) and in some late sources (Flobert 110; later also Act.: Gloss. IV-V; Isid. differ. 1,607: *canis baubat vel latrat*; Flobert 340). Cf. βάρυζω (see s.v.).

\**belvo* I (cf. *belvatus* 'decorated with beasts', of embroidery, Plaut. Pseud. 147: *Alexandrina belvata tonsilia tappetia*; otherwise late; Mignot 275). – *belva* 'beast' (term of abuse: Lilja 30 ff.; Opelt, passim; Faust 85 f.).

*burdio* IV 'to prance, to bear proudly' (of horses), according to Gloss. II 31,39: *burdit ψηριτιᾶ* (ψιριτιᾶ Buech.), γαυριᾶ; cf. above κορωνιάω with n. 23 on κερουτιάω. – *burdo, burdus* 'mule' (from Edict. Diocl., prob. Celtic).

*caballico* I 'to ride' (some late sources). – *caballus* 'horse' (esp. a riding-horse or pack-horse; from Lucil.; loan-word of uncertain origin; term of abuse: Opelt 220, 222 n. 21).

*cac(c)abo* (Nemes. auc. 13; Anth. 733,12; 762,19) = κακκαβίζω (see s.v.).

*cancero* I always seems to allude to a disease (late medical sources; note that *cancerascere* does not exist: Mignot 167 f.; cf. above s.v. καρκινώω) – *cancer* 'crab'.

*caperro* I 'to become wrinkled'. Plaut. Epid. 609: *quid illuc est quod illi caperrat frons severitudine?* The verb may derive from *capere* 'goat', and it was already explained in antiquity by reference to a goat's wrinkled

---

evidence from Romance languages might suggest the existence of a denominative verb in Latin (e.g. \**piccare* [*pica, picus*], \**soricare* [*sorex*], etc.).

forehead (though this etymology is not without problems, cf. E.–M.; W.–H.). For the transitive use, cf. *caperratus* 'wrinkled' (from Naev.).

*caprio* I is found only in Anthim. 23 f. where it seems to be a cooking term, perhaps referring to maceration (23: *pulli capriati facti melius comeduntur*; 24: *pavones caprientur bene*). – *caper* 'goat'.

*catto* I (Isid. orig. 12,2,38: *musionem vulgus catum a captura vocant. Alii dicunt, quod cattat*). – *cat(t)us/-a* 'cat' (both wild and domesticated; from Palladius; cf. Keller I 74).

*catulio* IV 'to be on heat' (Varro, Laber., Non.). – *catulus* 'young dog, whelp'.

*cimico* I 'to be infested with bugs' (probably; Gloss.), cf. above s.v. κοίζω. – *cimex* 'bed-bug' (term of abuse: Opelt 93, 228).

*coaxo* I 'to croak', of frogs (from *coax*, κοάξ [Ar. Ra.], onomatop. name for the frog's croak; *quaxare* Fest. p. 259), is first attested in Suet. Aug. 94 where it is likely to be a literary coinage (cf. further ThLL III 1392). In Greek no similar verb is known. Cf. κοίζω above s.v.

*columbor* I 'to bill and coo', only Maecen. Sen. epist. 114,5. – *columba* 'dove'.

*equio* IV 'to be on heat', of mares (Plin. nat., Col., Chiron).

*equito* I 'to ride' (< *eques*, with several prefixed formations), cf. ἵππεύω. – *equus* 'horse'.

*equor* I 'to procure horses', a rare military term (cf. *aquor*, *frumentor*, etc.) found only in the supine form in Pap. Hunt, in: Raccolta Lumbroso p. 265 col. II 56 (cf. Arch.Pap.Forsch. 8 [1927] 95); cf. Flobert 134, 522 (listed under "situatifs centripètes").

*felio* IV is the verb for the leopard's cry in Suet. frg. p. 247; Carm. poet. min. V 61,50; Eug. Tolet. carm. 41,50. – Prob. from *feles* (of several small carnivora, incl. the marten, polecat, wild cat).

*formico* I 'to experience fornication' (of the skin; Plin. nat. 30,120); 'to be slight and irregular' (of the pulse; Plin. nat. 7,171), the technical term for the former being *formicatio* (= μυρμηκίασις), i.e. a sensation as of ants were crawling under the skin (Plin. nat. 28,71; 30,72; late medical sources). – *formica* 'ant'.

*gallo* I is explained in Gloss. II 257,32 as βιβάζω, i.e. 'to put the female to the male' (of animals). Here, then, the object would be a *gallina*. – *gallus* 'cock'.

*gallulasco* III alludes to the sound of a boy's voice when breaking (Novius Atell. 20). Cf. *hirquitallio* and τραγίζω in the same sense. – *gallus* 'cock' (through \**gallulus*).

*hirquitallio* IV 'to get a man's voice', of boys growing up, cf. Cens. 14,7: *quod Aristoteles appellat τραγίζειν, antiqui nostri irquitallire, et inde ipsos putant irquitillos appellari, quod tum corpus ircum olere incipiat*. Note that also in Greek τραγίζω could mean 'to smell like a goat' (Gal.). – *hircus* 'goat' (with an obscure element, cf. Gr. τᾶλις; term of abuse: Lilja 32, 42; Opelt 81 f., 174, 243; Faust 88 f.).

\**ostreo* I (cf. *ostreatus* 'striped like an oyster', Plaut. Poen. 398: *iam quasi ostreatum tergum ulceribus gestito*; Mignot 275). – *ostreum/a* 'oyster'.

*pediculo* I (also *-duc-*) is the Latin equivalent of Gr. φθειρίζω: Gloss. II–III passim; Regula mag. 81,2. – *pediculus* 'louse' (replacing *pedis* in later sources, but already established in Petr., Plin., Cels.; full evidence in ThLL X 976 f.); *pedis* as a term of abuse: Opelt 93.

*piscor* I 'to fish', attested from Plaut. onwards (Flobert 75, 522; later also Act.: Flobert 314), cf. Gr. ἰχθυάω. – *piscis* 'fish'.

*pulico* I is given in Gloss. II and III (passim) as ψυλλίζω 'to catch fleas' (probably, unless it means 'to be afflicted with fleas', see above s.v.). – *pulex* 'flea' (from Plaut.; term of abuse: Opelt 93).

\**testudino* I (?), cf. *testudinatus /testudineatus*, of a roof having four converging sides and no *impluvium* (Vitr., Col.). – *testudo* 'tortoise' (or anything arched like a tortoise-shell).

*vermescere* 'to be eaten by worms' (Aug. trin. 3,9,17, etc.); cf. also *vermigerare* in some late sources.<sup>30</sup> – *vermis* 'worm'.

*vermiculo* I 'to infest', of grubs, etc. (Plin. nat. 17,220, of trees, in Pass. [taken as deponent by Flobert 131]); cf. the adj. *vermiculatus*, suggesting \**vermiculo* 'to make like a grub' and referring to an effect of wavy lines (of mosaics, etc.; from Lucil.), to be compared with *belvatus*, etc. – *vermiculus* 'grub, maggot', etc.

*vulpinor* I 'to behave like a fox', i.e. with cunning (later Act.: Gloss. V 648,36: *vulpinare fraudes et dolos facere*): Var. Men. 327: *vulpinare modo*

---

<sup>30</sup> Note that *verminor* (-o) 'to be affected with griping pains' (Pompon. Atell. 56, etc.) and *vermis*, which have been associated with each other from antiquity, are not etymologically related: Flobert 206 n. 3.

*et concursa qualubet: erras* (cf. Non. p. 46), probably addressed to a zealous adherent of mystery cults (see the commentary by J.-P. Cèbe [1987] 1412 f.); Apul. met. 3,22,6: *Ain...vulpinaris, amasio?* (taken as adj. by W.-H.); cf. Flobert 109. The adj. *vulpinus* is first attested in Gratt., Cels. and Phaedr. *Vulpes* 'fox' was often associated with cunning: Hor. sat. 2,3,186; Pers. 5,117 (also cowardice: Petr. 44,14). – Cf. Gloss. III 316,64: ἀλοπεκία *vulpina*; 507,32: *alupecia vulpina*, and above s.v. ἄλωπεκίζω.

The noteworthy thing about this evidence is that, unlike the Greek material, agentives and factitives used of people are extremely rare in Latin. They are almost non-existent in the early comedy and totally lacking among the verbs of Greek origin (-ίζω).<sup>31</sup> Names of some animals are frequently found in an abusive, pejorative or obscene sense in Roman comedy, Plautus in particular, but despite many obvious Greek elements in Plautus' language, there are no traces of related denominative verbs.<sup>32</sup> So, to say in Latin that "someone is / behaves / lives like a pig", one evidently used the noun 'pig' itself (cf. Opelt 229, 233 ff.; Faust 92 f.; there is no denominative corresponding to *porcus, sus* or *succula*), whereas in Greek one could well use the agentive ἠνέω or χοιρίζω (< ὄς 'hog, (wild) boar'; χοῖρος 'pig'; cf. Eng. *to pig*, Ger. *schweinen*, Finn. *sikailla* / *porsastella* [from *sika* 'swine' / *porsas* 'pig']).<sup>33</sup> To be sure, one could plausibly assume a verb like \**porcinari* (< adj. *porcinus*) in Latin, but if this type had been common, we would probably know more about it (for *vulpinari*, etc., see below). Many adjectives of the type *porcinus* could allude to human appearance, behaviour or temper (e.g. *asininus, caninus, caprinus, colubrinus, hircinus, taurinus, viperinus*) and several animal names were employed to describe persons from early comedy to late antiquity (often in pejorative sense: Opelt 233 ff. and passim; Faust 81 ff.), but no de-adjectival verbs are known. It is true

---

<sup>31</sup> As can be observed from the extensive lists given by Mignot, passim. For the verbs in -ίζειν in Latin (-*issare* / -*izare* / -*idiare*), see Mignot, op.cit. 330 ff.; M. Fruyt, BSL 82 (1987) 248 ff. A number of treatises on the Latin vocabulary relating to animals are provided by F. Cupaiuolo, *Bibliografia della lingua latina* (1949–1991) (Studi latini 11), Napoli 1993, 475 f.

<sup>32</sup> Evidence in Lilja 30 ff., 90 ff.

<sup>33</sup> In Greek, of course, one could also say στέλεχος εἶ,... ὄνος,... κανθήλιος: Lysipp. 8 (PCG V).

that the Greek language is generally more flexible and richer in various suffixed derivations (compare the enormously productive  $-\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  with predominantly denominative functions), yet the scanty amount of comparable animal denominatives in Latin is a matter of some interest. For despite their limited number, the Latin verbal affixes covered a relatively extensive semantic range, and so in principle they could have been used for coining more variegated denominatives (incl. those based on names of animals) than are actually attested.

The Latin verbs which most resemble the Greek (agentive) denominatives are *columbor* 'to bill and coo', *cornicor* 'to croak out', *graculor* 'to scream (like a jackdaw)' and *vulpinor* 'to play the fox', all typical formations, since intransitive denominatives (or de-adjectivals) in Latin are often deponent. *Columbor* is extremely rare (Maecen. Sen. epist. 114,5: *labris columbatur*; Flobert 122) and may have a Greek pattern (either similar or identical). The same is true of *cornicor* and *graculor*, both onomatopoeic verbs (see above). The former is known from Pers. 5,12: *nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte* (explained by Sch. and also found in some late sources [note that the Persian phrase was borrowed by Hier. Ep. 125,16]; Flobert 129), and the latter is found in Apul. met. 3,10,1: *hi gaudii nimietate graculari (gratulari codd., cf. H. Armini, Eranos 26 [1928] 289; Flobert 138)*. Like (perhaps) *columbor*, these verbs sound literary coinages; Maecenas and Persius may well have been familiar with  $*\kappa\omicron\rho\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  (see s.v.) and similar Greek expressions,<sup>34</sup> and the possibility exists that *graculor* in Apul. goes back to a Greek original (cf.  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ), perhaps through intermediate Latin sources. *Vulpinor*, attested in Varro (whence, perhaps, Apul.), is probably a calque of  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  (known from Ar. onwards). It would be interesting to know whether Varro was the first writer to use this verb.<sup>35</sup>

Three further verbs can be adduced here, *accipitro*, *arieto* and *caperro*. They can be taken as agentives, though it is likely that *accipitro* (=

---

<sup>34</sup> A close Latin model for the Persian metaphor is unlikely, though the passage (5,10–13) seems to echo some earlier writers, cf. Gli *auctores* di Persio. Primo censimento a cura di D. De Venuto, F. Iengo, R. Scarcia (Studi su Persio e la scoliastica persiana 1), Roma 1972, 47.

<sup>35</sup> One wonders whether *baubor* in Lucr. 5,1071 (*cum deserti baubantur in aedibus*, of dogs) also belongs to this category (cf.  $\beta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omega$ ).



*lacero* in Laev. according to Gell.) alludes to some tearing beast (cf. λυκόω). But who knows whether it was also applied to people 'acting like a hawk' (in some specific regard)? In any case, the verb sounds like a literary coinage by the neoteric poet, perhaps in imitation of a Greek model (Hofmann–Szantyr 767, with references; cf. ἱερακίζω, though with a different meaning). The etymology of *caperro* is uncertain, so a connection with *caper* can be held as only possible. *Arieto* (cf. Eng. 'to ram') instead was used early on also of people 'striking against' something (e.g. a door), though the verb cannot be taken as strictly metaphorical (well established in Latin from early times, *arieto* was used of many kinds of 'battering, buffeting, colliding', etc., and it probably did not usually associate with the animal).

As factitives could be listed *\*belvo* and *\*ostreo* (cf. *belvatus*, *ostreatus*: Plaut.) as well as *\*testudino* (cf. *testudinatus*: Vitr., Col.) and *\*vermiculo* (cf. *vermiculatus*, when referring to mosaics, etc.), though such verbal paradigms should probably be taken as secondary and based on adjectives in *-atus* (Mignot 272 ff.). These are highly technical expressions and can be compared with Gr. *\*μύω* [reconstr. in this particular sense], *\*παρδαλόω*, *\*σαυρόω*, *\*στρουθόω* (perhaps also *σιαλόω*, when alluding to embellishing [Hsch.]), all related to handicraft or manufacture and deduced from verbal adjectives. It is a plausible guess that Plaut. as well as Vitruvius/Col. knew many similar expressions from Greek sources (cf. Plaut. Pseud. 147: *Alexandrina belvata tonsilia tappetia*). Adjectives like *\*θηριωτός* and *\*όστρεωτός* would be plausible in technical Greek.

For many of the other technical expressions one may assume a Greek model. Take, for example, *formico*: 1) 'to experience fornication' (*formicatio*, cf. μυρμηκίασις); 2) 'to be feeble and irregular' (of the pulse). Since *μυρμηκίζω* was used of both fornication and irregular pulse by Greek medical writers (cf. also *μυρμηκιάω* in LXX), it may be that the use of those terms by Pliny and others goes back to common Greek sources (cf. similarly *cancero* καρκινόω, *cimico* κορίζω, *pediculo* φθειρίζω, *pulico* ψυλλίζω [late / Gloss.; the possibility that there were earlier forms in *-ari* cannot be excluded]; for *vermiculo* / *vermescere* there are various corresponding expressions in Greek, cf. above). So, many of the Latin verbs would seem to be semantic and/or structural calques from Greek, adapted from literary sources or taken from various lexica, manuals and repertoires (for the phenomenon, cf. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, Lund 1933, 433 ff.). Note also

the early verb *hirquitallio* = τραγίζω, of boys' voice when breaking; here both languages use the word for 'goat', but in Latin there is also *gallulasco* in the same sense. For *catulio* and *equio*, of animals in heat, there are some comparable Greek expressions. On the whole, Latin denominatives without a Greek model with similar animal imagery are very rare (*burdio* [but cf. κορωνιάω with n. 23], *caprio* [but cf. τραγίζω in the sense 'to smell like a goat'], *catto* [but cf. γαλιάω: polecats used to catch mice in Greece], *felio*, *gallo*; also *coaxo*).

Whereas Greek denominatives are well represented in many types of literature from the classical period to late antiquity, the Latin material falls broadly into three groups: early period (rather insignificant, though there is something in Plautus), technical literature (mainly Plin. nat.; medical writers), various late sources (especially glosses). Examples from poetry and literary prose are almost non-existent.

Why is it, then, that the Latin evidence is so scanty in comparison with the Greek material? The first thing one may think of is the importance of animal imagery and metaphors in Greek literature, above all in early comedy (Aristophanes and others: Taillardat, passim). A distinction between humans and animals was made early on by Greek philosophers and rhetors, and adjectives like 'swinish' or 'bestial' were often used to characterize bad or low behaviour.<sup>36</sup> It is true that animal imagery was also rich in a writer like Plautus, but it may be of some relevance that verbs were not a typical characteristic of Plautian metaphor. This means that the reader is likely to find many animals in Plautus, but not in verbal expressions.<sup>37</sup> By comparison, over half of the images in any play by Terence are expressed and implied by the verb alone, whereas metaphors from animals are extremely rare in his diction; in both respects Terence clearly echoes Menander's usage (Fantham 77 ff.). In the rest of the extant Republican literature, the comparison of men with animals is by no means frequently

---

<sup>36</sup> K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1974, 74 f.

<sup>37</sup> In her study, Fantham 56 registers only the expressive *gannire* 'to yelp, to snarl' (of dogs), used of persons in Plaut. *Asin.* 422 (probably of a louder form of 'nagging'); the verb also in Ter. *Ad.* 556, *Ph.* 1030 ('grumbling' or 'complaining'). Cf. further Fantham 116 (and 124) on *delitiscere*, *inreperere* and *rodere* in Cicero, suggesting animal associations.

attested (see Fantham, *passim*), and the same is largely true of the Latin literature as a whole, though the examples of the use of animal imagery are evenly distributed through the centuries (for abusive terms, see Faust 96 f.; Opelt, *passim*).<sup>38</sup> Many of the Greek examples concerned various types of transformations into animals, but there is nothing of the like in Latin (even if a lot of metamorphic literature was produced in Rome).

Besides the differences between various literary genres and styles as well as individual authors, there is surely something that may be taken as language-specific. So the quantitative differences in our material between the two languages can also be explained by the fact that in Latin there is little comparable with Gr. -ίζω (or -εύω and other productive affixes), which could form agentives or imitatives from innumerable nouns. Verbal expressions of the type 'to play X, to act like X, to be X' are not particularly common in Latin. For this purpose there were a number of deponents in *-ari* functioning as agentives (*agricol-*, *arbitr-*, *domin-*, etc.; also de-adjectivals like *laet-*; cf. Flobert 520 ff. ["prédicatifs"]), and the possibility moreover exists that this usage was influenced by Greek (Leumann 546: "Gräzismus?"). This would make it even more likely that *vulpinor* and similar Latin evidence goes back to Greek originals.

## Abbreviations

André, Noms = J. André, *Les noms d'oiseaux en latin*, Paris 1967.

André, Onomatop. = J. André, *Onomatopées et noms d'oiseaux en latin*, BSL 61 (1966) 146–156.

Beavis = I.C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity*, Exeter 1988.

Capponi = F. Capponi, *Ornithologia latina* (Pubbl. Ist. Filol. Class. Mediev. 58), Genova 1979.

Chantraine, Dict. = P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, Paris 1980.

---

<sup>38</sup> For the metaphoric and metonymic use of animal names in Latin, see also M. Fruyt, *Glotta* 67 (1989) 106 ff. As is well known, not only men but also plants were frequently named after parts of animals or the animals themselves: Strömberg, *Theophrastea*, *passim*; J. André, *Latomus* 22 (1963) 652 ff.; see also his book cited above s.v. ἐλεφαντιάω.

- Davis–Kathirithamby = M. Davis – J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects*, London 1986.
- E.–M. = A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris 1959<sup>4</sup>.
- Fantham = E. Fantham, *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery* (Phoenix Suppl. Vol. 10), Toronto 1972.
- Faust = M. Faust, *Metaphorische Schimpfwörter*, IF 74 (1969) 54–125 (animals: 69 ff.).
- Flobert = P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne* (Publ. de la Sorbonne, Sér. «NS Recherches» 17), Paris 1975.
- Fraenkel = E. Fraenkel, *Griechische Denominativa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Verbreitung*, Göttingen 1906.
- Frisk, Wb. = H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I–II*, Heidelberg 1960–1970.
- Hofmann–Szantyr = J.B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (HbAW II.2.2), München 1972.
- Keller = O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt I–II*, Leipzig 1909–1913.
- Leumann = M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (HbAW II.2.1), München 1972<sup>5</sup>.
- Lilja = S. Lilja, *Terms of Abuse in Roman Comedy* (Ann. Acad. Sc. Fenn., Ser. B: 141.3), Helsinki 1965.
- Maurice = N. Maurice, *Sonorisation et expressivité en grec ancien*, BSL 82 (1987) 189–225.
- Mignot = X. Mignot, *Les verbes dénominatifs latins* (Études et comm. 71), Paris 1969.
- Müller, -ίζω = A. Müller, *Zur Geschichte der verba auf -ίζω im Griechischen*, Diss. Freiburg 1915.
- Müller, Schimpfwörter = A. Müller, *Die Schimpfwörter in der griechischen Komödie*, *Philologus* 72 (1913) 321 ff.
- Opelt = I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen. Eine Typologie*, Heidelberg 1965.
- Pollard = J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, London 1977.
- Sihler = A.L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Oxford 1995.
- Strömberg, Fischnamen = R. Strömberg, *Studien zu Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen* (Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift 49, 2), Göteborg 1943.
- Strömberg, Theophrastea = R. Strömberg, *Theophrastea. Studien zur botanischen Begriffsbildung* (Göteborgs kungl. vetenskaps- och vitterhets-samhälles handlingar. Femte följden. Ser. A. Band 6, 4), Göteborg 1937.
- Sütterlin = L. Sütterlin, *Zur Geschichte der Verba denominativa im Altgriechischen*, Diss. Strassburg 1891.

- Taillardat = J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane. Études de langue et de style* (Ann. Univ. Lyon, 3. sér., 36), Paris 1962.
- Tammisto = A. Tammisto, *Birds in Mosaics. A Study on the Representation of Birds in Hellenistic and Romano-Campanian Tessellated Mosaics to the Early Augustan Age* (Acta IRF 18), Rome 1997.
- Thompson, Birds = D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London 1936.
- Thompson, Fishes = D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (St. Andrews Univ. Publ. 45), London 1947.
- Tichy = E. Tichy, *Onomatopoetische Verbalbildungen des Griechischen* (Sitz. Ber. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 409; Veröffentl. Kommiss. Ling. Kommunikationsforsch. H. 14), Wien 1983.
- W.-H. = A. Walde – J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954<sup>3</sup>.
- Van Windekens, Dict. = A.J. Van Windekens, *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque. Nouvelles contributions à l'interprétation historique et comparée du vocabulaire*, Leuven 1986.

*University of Helsinki*