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The Indo-European Vocabulary of Exchange, Hospitality, and Intimacy (The Origins of Greek ksénos, sún, phílos; Avestan xšnu-, xšanman-, etc.):

Contributions to Etymological Methodology

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In Section I I shall provide the evidence for a Proto-Indo-European base $\frac{k_W sen(-w)}{l}$ 'to give one thing for another', with special attention to its role in the societal and religious vocabulary of ancient Greece and Iran. The elaboration of related etymological problems will then serve to illustrate two phenomena of general theoretical interest for genetic linguistics: parallel patterning of semantic courses (Section II) and "syntropy" (Section III).

The new etymon kwsen(-w)- explains the following forms:

*kwsen-: (1) Hittite kuššan- 'requital, payment'; (2) Avestan

xšanman- *'substitution' (in dative xšanmaine 'instead');(3) Ossetic

(a)xsan 'common, communal'; (4) Irish son *'exchange' (after ar

'for' = 'in exchange, in requital, instead');*kwsenw-, alternating with

zero-grade */kwsnw/ [kwsnw-, kwsnu-]:(5) Gr. ksún (later sún) 'together

with', ksūnós 'common'; (6) Gr. ksénw- (-w- indicated dialectally and epigraphically) in ksénwos 'host/guest (Hom. etc.), stranger', ksénwion

'gift of hospitality', ksenwía 'hospitality'; (7) Ir. root xšnu- (Avestan

present stems xšnāuuaiia-, kuxšnu-, desid. cixšnuša- *'to requite, pro
vide hospitality' [!!!], nouns xšnūt- 'requital', xšnaoOra- 'grace, gratification, gratitude, propitiation', etc.). Before focusing on (6) and (7),

commentary on the items preceding is necessary.

In the greater majority of words from various languages for 'hire' as analyzed in Buck (1949: 813 \$\frac{11.77}{1.77}\$\], i.e. Ital., Latv., Russ., Rum., Irish, and O/MHGerm., 'hire' is from 'to arrange, order, secure, fix, stipulate' (but Fr. engager 'hire' < gage, wage < Gmc. *\frac{wa\delta}{a}\] - 'pledge'). Hitt. \frac{ku\delta \delta}{san}\] does not go with Germ. Heuer, Eng. hire as thought by Klingen-schmitt (1980: 150). The connection of Gr. ko\delta \text{on}, k\delta \text{on}, k\delta \text{on} (*kouion) 'a pledge' (Hes.), Gortyn. enkoi\delta '(money) given as security' with \text{Lat. cau\text{euere}} 'to take care for, provide, order, stipulate, pledge, give surety, guarantee money' points to Gmc. *\frac{huz}{n}\] or *\frac{huz}{n}\] from PIE *\frac{kuH-s}{s}\] or *\frac{kuH-r}{n}\], r. *\frac{kewH-}{to}\] to be attentive, take care' (whence also Gr. ko\delta \text{oo}\] 'notice, hear', Goth. hausian, Eng. hear). (See further below, n. 7.) Phonologically ku\delta \delta and \text{out} \frac{kw\delta \delta n}{s}\] is a root-stem (neuter, after -n- stems), but may be haplological < *\frac{ku\delta \delta and n}{s}\] is a root-stem (neuter, after -n- stems), but may be haplological < *\frac{ku\delta \delta and n}{s}\] in avoidance of homophony with a participial form of ku\delta - 'to make trouble' (cf. also the uncertain hapax \text{\delta ku\delta \delta a} \text{-\delta ku\delta \delta - 'son-in-law'?}.

For Av. x\u00e4anm\u00e4ne\u00e4 Y. 29.9 the usual translation 'that I must put up with!' is unprecedented morphologically, and based on a comparison with Olnd. k\u00e4am- 'to endure' \u00e4 excluded by Pashto \u00e4yaməl 'to endure' with voiced cluster (on which see Burrow [1954:5]). In Y. 29, the Bovine Soul requests a protector (stanzas 1-7). Good Intent declares that only one man has been found as suitable: 'Zarathushtra the Spitamid, who

T Remarks in the Addenda are noted as [A].

wishes to sing praises for us, o Mazda, and for Righteousness, so let us give him sweetness of speech' (st. 8b-c). In st. 9 the Bovine Soul answers: 'Then the Soul of the Bovine complained, "Thereby (you would give) for a xšanman an impotent support (radem n.), the mightless speech of a feeble man, while I want someone mighty in force; when shall he ever be, he who will give him manual help?".

8b zaraθuštrō spitāmō / huuō nā mazdā vašti ašaica c carakəraθrā srāuuaiieŋ́he / hiiāt hōi hudəmām diiāt vaxəδrahiiā 9a <u>atca gēuš uruuā raostā</u> / +yā <u>anaēšēm xšanmēnē rādēm</u> b <u>vācim nereš asūrahijā</u> / <u>yēm</u> +mē <u>vasemī īša xšaΘrīm</u> c <u>kadā yauuā huuō aŋhat / yā hōi dadat zastauuat auuō</u>

The two stanzas are closely connected in structure (reflecting a conscious Gathic artistry which will be noted again in III). In the same position in 8b2 and 9b2 a statement of granting, hoi (...) da-, whose object, voice (vak-/vaxəδra- etc.), is also represented in each This parallelism frames a series of contrasts: Z.'s desire vs. B.S.'s interests, the intangible vs. the tangible: specifically Righteousness (asa-) and Good Intent vs. Force (xsa0ra-, cf. -xsa0riia), thus contrast of Entities at the end of 8/9b2; mightlessness (an-aesa-) vs. might (<u>īša</u>-); sweetness of voice vs. manual help (the reconciliation is seen e.g. in stanza 11c: 'May you, Ahura Mazda, give strength through Righteousness and Force in accordance with Good Intent'). Thus the Bovine Soul's complaint is that whereas it has asked for a powerful protector, it is assigned a mere poet-priest for a substitute, i.e. instead; thus xsanman-, expectedly < Proto-Ir. xsan-man-, is 'something given for / in place of something else'.

Gr. $\underline{ksun} < \underline{*kwsnw}$ - like \underline{lukos} 'wolf' $< \underline{*wlkwo}$ -, perh. via *ksnw-, as also ksenw- < *kwsenw- with retrogressive dissimilation (cf. ksiphos 'sword', Myc. *kwsipos in ge-si-pe-e, dual). From *ksuna (nom. pl.) developed apocopic ksun, cf. an(a), par(a), as per Holland (1977: 644 seq.) and prob. en(i); the apocope was completed by the synonymy of *ksun(a) with *kon < *kom (= Lat. cum), which it replaced, leaving however the adj. koinós < *kom/n-yó- 'common', the

model for ksūnós < *ksun-yó-. Further on ksun(-) below, II.

Now to Gr. ksenw- and Ir. xšnu-. Phonologically the etymon of <u>xšnu</u>- must have an initial labio-velar; this, and not xšn- $< \hat{g}(h)n$ -, is shown by the reduplicative stems kuxšnu-, cixšnuša-, the latter contrasting neatly with zixšnanha-, desid. of xšna- (PIE *gneO-), the root with which xšnu- was connected by Benveniste (1945: 47-50) and Kent (1953: 182). Thus Gr. ksenw-, Ir. xšnu- are reconciled by a PIE base */kws(e)nw-/. Semantically the Gr. is comparable with the Ir. (for which the gloss 'to please, to placate, to satisfy' has hitherto been deemed adequate) because they both refer to hospitality as well as to exchange/requital. This must be understood in connection with the independent demonstration by E. Benveniste (1969: 87-100) that Indo-European hospitality was characterized by an exchange of gifts between an alternating host and guest.
For the Greek, Benveniste (who left aside the problem of

finding cognates of ksenw-) merely cited Herod. 3.39 (exchange of gifts between heads of state, i.e. the Persian [!] Cambyses and the Egyptian Amasis, institutes kseinie) and lliad 6.215-233 (two opposing warriors swap armor on battleground to renew their relationship as hereditary mutual kseinoi; the obligation transcends personal and national interest). I add to the Homeric evidence Od. 1.311-318 and Od. 24.266-289 and esp. 311-314. Here the foregrounding of giftexchange, against a background provision of lodging and food, as the virtual raison d'être of hospitality, together with the close linguistic connection of kseînos and kseníe with forms of ameibo 'exchange' (II. 6.230-231, Od. 24.285-286 and Od. 1.318, and cf. miksesthai kseniei Od. 24.314) and the fact that ksenwos meant both 'guest' and 'host', suggest that ksénw- originally meant something like 'to exchange! For the Iranian, Benveniste only cited MPers mehman, NPers. mihman 'guest' from Olr. *mai@man- (whose existence, I add, is

supported by Pashto melme and Yazghulami miθman 'id.') < r. maiθ- 'to exchange, to pair'. Much more proof exists in Avestan for Old Iranian

hospitality as an institution of exchange.

It seems not to have been previously noted that Av. xšnuoften means 'to provide hospitality', as at HN 2.13 / Visht. Yt. 59; Purs. 49; Y. 51.12; Y. 46.1, 13, etc. The verb must originate in a root meaning 'to requite', for the root-stem xšnūt- means 'requital' in the Gathas, where it is followed by asi- (*fti-) 'reward', both terms referring to eschatological compensations meted out to the good and the wicked.3 [A1]

In both Gr. and Ir. *kwsenw- furnished the term for hospitality-The Gr., ksenwion, is well attested in Gr.: Hom. kseinion (alongside the later form ksengion, like presbeion; see Od. 9.365 ~ 9.370), and already in Mycenian, at Knossos, spelled ke-se-nu-wi-ja etc. pl. adj. of textiles (as hospitality-gifts; cf. Od. 24.276-277). The Olr. equivalent is xšnūt-, 'requital', in the Younger Avestan hospitality contexts Y. 60.2 and Purs. 39, formulaically paired with a i- / +araiti- 'reward' and followed by the appositional phrase, 'the welcomings (paiti.zainti-) as compensations (viiada-)'. The term paiti.zainti- (etym. 'acknowledgment') is glossed in Middle Persian as padiriftih, padiriftarih 'reception', elaborated 'he gives abundantly of his property from piety', while the verb paiti.zan- Y. 29.11 (*'to acknowledge') is glossed pad(d)asn kardan 'give a counter-gift (or reward)'. The actual granting of a gift to a departing guest so that he is properly xšnūta- is reflected at V. 9.39. In both Gr. and Ir. hospitality is protected by a special aspect

of a well-known divinity, whose epithet is connected with a term for hospitality-gift (resp. Hom. kséinion, Av. aši-); in each instance the god presides over consequences of respect or disrespect for the hospitality principle. In Homer it is Zeus Kseinios (Od. 9.266-271, 11. 13.623-627), whose Avestan equivalent I identify as Sraosa Asiia 'Sraosha-associatedwith-Reward' (see Y. 57.10, 14, 34 with Yt. 11.3 and cf. V. 9.40).

Both Gr. and Olr. use forms signifying intimacy and dearness alongside or in place of the derivatives of PIE *kwsenw- to indicate hospitality. In Homer the root kseinizo is followed by phileo e.g. in Il. 3.207, Od. 14.322, but phileo alone 'provide hospitality' e.g. <u>Il.</u> 6.15; <u>Od.</u> 17.69; 8.208; 5.135. The adj. <u>philos</u> is found with <u>kseinos</u> 'guest' e.g. Od. 19.190-191 bis, cf. Od. 1.313; note also the unique compd. philokseinos Od. 6.121 etc. (opp. kakókseinos Od. 20.376), Il. 6.15 etc., philos referring to the source or object of the affect. In Av. hospitality formulas we find, in addition to the verbs xšnu- and

paitizan-, frī- 'treat dearly, intimately', adj. friia-. Thus (friia-) frī0a-paitizanta- Y. 57.34, Yt. 15.36, and Yt. 13.147. In Yt. 13.50-51 the Fravashis, i.e. Ancestor Spirits, ask, 'who will treat us intimately, who will welcome us (ko frinat ko paiti.zanat) with meat and clothes in hand?' so that they may be properly xšnūta- (cf. also Yt. 13.156-159). Finally the adj. friia- is a fixed epithet in friia- asti- = OInd. priya-

átithi- 'the dear guest' (> Skt. compd. priyātithi- 'guest').4

In both archaic Gr. and Olr. both terms of hospitality (i.e. the reflexes of *kwsenw- and the forms indicating intimacy) have cultic application, and refer to a relationship of reciprocity between worshipper and deity. In Mycenean, in the "Pylos Olive Oil Tablets" *ksenwion (ke-se-nu-wi-jo etc.) designates the fragrant oils offered to the goddess Potnia (and perhaps the ancestor spirits, with di-pi-si-jo-i, = Dipsiois 'Thirsty Ones' (thus Guthrie, Palmer, Bennett et.al), cf. the Av. passages referring to the Fravashis cited above from Yt. 13). Cf. also the Theoksénia, Apollo's festivals at Pellene (Chadwick). In Homer phíla dora are the hospitality gifts for the departing guest (e.g. 8.545, with vb. philéo, and the guest, kseinos, said to be treated as next of kin, also Od. 13.41; but the same phrase is used of cult offerings in Il. 24. 67-68, where Zeus declares Hector most dear philtatos to the gods because he never failed to provide phila dora: the divine feast, the drink offering, the savor of the sacrifice. In Avestan, xšnu- occurs for 'to propitiate a god', as at Yt. 8.49, where we also have the typical statement of reciprocity on the part of the god (Tishtriya); in Yt. 8.43, Tishtriya was already said to be most potent when yašta- xšnūta-, friea-, paiti.zanta- 'worshipped, properly requited, treated as intimate, welcomed'. Alone fri- (verb and root-stem) mean 'pray(er) to propitiate a god.' In Y. 46 (for which the motifs of hospitality and reciprocity are central; see Section III), st. 1-2, Zarathushtra says that since the community did not grant him hospitality (xšnauš) i.e. as priest, he is too poor to propitiate (xšnaošāi) Ahura Mazda, of whom he asks the support given by one friend to another (friio friiai). [A2]

P. Thieme (1939: 105-123) showed in detail that Old Indic cultic procedure was based on hospitality customs (in passing, I note that we have parallels to the Indic hospitality ritual [svagata- and asana-, p. 107] in Y. 19.32: Good Intent greets the righteous departed souls by asking how their transition [*trip] was, and escorts them to a golden throne in Ahura Mazda's House of Song). Later Thieme (1957: 90) suggested (on grounds wholly independent from mine) that in ancient Iran cult was also modeled after hospitality. Not only can this now be confirmed for Indo-Iranian, but in view of the Greco-Iranian correspondences, it seems true for

the Proto-Indo-European situation.

The social changes accompanying the rise of polities and empires resulted in the loss of the sense of reciprocity originally central to the Greek and Iranian derivatives of kwsenw-. In Greek the forms in ksenexpanded, via 'guest', the mg. 'strange, foreign'. In Iranian, where 'give one thing for another' > 'requite' > *'give what is merited or expected' > 'please, placate' took place within Olr. (cf. Av. graf Sa- 'satisfied' replacing xšnūta- with friia- and paiti.zanta- in Y. 57.14, the common collocution of xšnūta- and 'unoffended': atbišta-, anāzarata- etc.), it was only the last mg. which survived into Middle Iranian (in Sogd. axšnāw-, MPers. šnāy- < Olr. xšnawaya-). [Cf. also OPers. xšnuta- 'pleased' (DNb 25).]

II

By "parallel patterning of semantic courses" I refer to the recurrence of discrete developments in meaning of an etymon, and, more interestingly, such a recurrence of developments in derivatives of one or more other etyma of similar basic signification but unrelated phonological shape. Each course may consist of a series of semantic developments. This parallelism helps map out the semantic terrain characteristic of a language group and provides a check against arbitrariness in assumptions of specific semantic evolutions.

Thus the derivation of Gr. ksūnos 'common' from PIE *kwsen(w) (whence also Gr. ksénwos) is supported by Ossetic (a lexically conservative Eastern Iranian Scythoid language of the Caucasus), which has xsan, axsan 'common'; the independence of the evolution is indicated by ksun as basis of ksunos, and the difference in mg. between xsan and Olr. xšanmane. The latter is itself paralleled by Irish ar son (with ar equivalent to the Avestan dative), which also shows the connection of 'instead' with 'requital' in Hitt. kuššan-, Av. xšnūt-. While xšnūt- and the verb xšnu- were used in reference to hospitality, their more general meanings, as those of allied forms which lack the hospitality reference, and the lack of the hospitality reference outside of Greek and Iranian, make it likely that the semantic overlap of xšnūt-, xšnuwith ksenwos [ksenwion, ksenwizo etc.] is another instance of a parallel course for 'give one thing for another'.

The semantically similar root *mey- and its extended *meitH-(denom. < *meiteH?) 'to (ex)change' parallels the entire semantic course proposed for kwsen-. From Proto-Indo-Iranian *maith- (Olnd. methate changes, alternates', Av. maeema vacillation, uncertainty', Av. maeeman '(to) pair') comes Olr. *mai@man- m. (acc. *mai@manam 'guest', reflected in later West and East Iranian) and Olnd. mithas 'together with', which precisely parallel ksénwos, ksún. From the idea of mutuality (Lat. mutuus < *moituos) may be explained 'common' (ksunos, xsan), cf. Lat. (com)munis (*moini-), Goth. gamains id.: Lith. mainas 'exchange'. Av. xšnūt- 'requital' is paralleled by maeni- 'penalty' (textually, resp. Y. 31. ~Y. 31.9, where also daθra- 'gift'), and, as 'hospitality gift', by Goth. maipms 'gift (of exchange)', and finally Av. xsnaoOra-, MPers. and Parth

əšnöhr 'gratitude' is matched by Sicilian moitos.

Similarly the Greco-Iranian series posited for *kwsenw- is paralleled by the evidence assembled by Benveniste for the semantically similar *ghosti- 'compensation, equalization' appearing in Latin: ksénwos 'host, guest, stranger': OSlav. gosti, Goth. gasts 'guest', Lat. hostis 'stranger' > 'enemy', hospes 'host' (> also 'guest'); WMIr. asnohr 'gratitude': Lat. (red)hostīre; Av. xšnūman-, ZorMPers. xšnūm '(offering

of) propitiation!: Lat. hostia. This all casts doubt on the conventional etymology of Olnd. átithi-, Av. asti- 'guest': from r. at- 'to wander, pass, go' (Olnd. átati). Now IIr. 'guest' should not be a 'wanderer' but 'a partner in exchange', like its Ir. successor *maiOman-. The forms átithi-, asti- should go back to a form with a laryngeal after the first dental, *HVtH- expectedly resulting in Olnd. *áthi- Olr. ast-, cf. Olnd. pathibis, Olr. padbiš; Olnd. <u>duhitar</u>-, Olr. <u>dugdar</u>-, Gr. <u>thugátēr</u>, etc. Moreover a suffix -thi-would be unexplained. Thus I propose PIIr. *atHti- (with the common suffix -ti-), whence Olnd. *athiti- > atithi-, with metathesis expectable from the usual Grassmann patterns, and from associations with <u>átati</u>-and perhaps <u>áti</u>-'beyond a border'. [A₃] It thereby becomes likely that <u>átithi</u>-, <u>asti</u>- be parallel to <u>ksenwos</u>, <u>gosti</u> and <u>mēhman</u> etc. from the etymological viewpoint, but also from the morphological viewpoint: *atHti- m. would be based on an abstract noun indicating an institution *atHti- f. just like <u>hospis</u>, <u>gosti</u> etc. < <u>ghosti</u>- m. (with <u>atithipati</u> 'host' paralleling Lat. <u>hospēs</u>, OSlav. <u>gospodī</u> < *ghosti-pe/ot-) < f. *ghosti-, cf. *mai Θ man- m. < mai Θ man- n., and quite possibly <u>ksénwos</u>, with -e- vocalism indicating an underlying verbal noun (*ksénwos n.?).

The required evidence for PIIr. *atH-, having a mg. similar to *kWsen(w)- and *mey(-tH)- 'to alternate, vacillate', appears in OInd. vyath- 'to vacillate', for which I propose *vi-ath- (with vi- 'in different directions') against the usual connection with OInd. vithura-, Goth. wipondans 'to vacillate, shaking from side to side', PIE **wyetH-~*wey(-tH)- 'winding, deviating', is shown by the lack of other PIE etyma in *wy- or *my-, *ny-, *ry- (similarly OInd. vyadh- |vvadhaya-etc., see Mayrhofer, KEW s.v.) 'to pierce' and vya(n)c- 'make spacious', lacking any PIE etymon; I suggest resp. *vi-adh- to PIE *(E)edh-'spitz, stechend' [Pokorny IEW 289] and PIIr. *wi-a(n)c- |like nya(n)c- anc- 'to bend']; OIr. wi(y)anc- > OPers. winc- > MPers. wini-> guni-).

Further evidence for PIE *AetH- 'to alternate, to vacillate' (from which, in place of the alleged "at- 'gehen'" would derive not only IIr. 'guest' but also OInd. átati 'wanders' as well as the Italic and Gothic words for 'year') may be seen through parallelism of the semantic course of *mey- etc.: OInd. átithi-, Av. asti- (partially homonymous with asta- 'dwelling' and ast- 'bone'): MPers. meman etc.; Av. ao- 'to harm', ao- 'dwelling' and ast- 'bone'): MPers. meman etc.; linked at Y. 32.16 and 48.9 to duuaeOa- 'doubtful, danger, injury, harm' (ao- inked at Y. 32.16 and 48.9 to duuaeOa- 'doubtful, dangerous situation', glossed MPers. gumanīgīh 'doubt, uncertainty', thus confirming Benveniste [1966, 294] on Gr. en doiei, deido, PIE dwei- 'to fear'): Av. maeOa- 'instability', ONor. mein 'harm, injury'; OInd. átati 'wanders', átya- *'passing', 'swift', Lat. meo 'wander, pass, move', further Gr. ameibo 'exchange, wander', Lat. migro 'wander, migrate' (*mey-gw-); Lat. annus, Goth. apna- (*atno-): Sogdian and Shughni meo 'day'.

Note that annus etc. < 'go' is not supported by PIE *Hyēr'year', which is not from *Eey- 'to go' but rather *Aey- 'to allot'
(*Ay-, not Ey-, > Gr. h-); cf. the parallels Lith. mētas 'year, time';
Eng. tide, Germ. Zeit, Arm. ti 'age, years, days' < deAy- 'to distribute', Hitt. lammar 'time' < *nem- 'to assign', etc. For annus:
mēO cf. Gr. hora with mg. 'hour, day' as well as 'year'. Cf. also
Eng. week, ONor. wika 'week; exchange of oarsman (nautical mile)',
ONor. giafa-vīxl 'exchange of gifts', Swed. vicka 'to be unsteady'
< *wey-g/k- 'to vacillate'. Finally, Heb. šānāh, Aram. šantā 'year':
Heb. šānāh, Aram. šanā 'changed' provides a parallel from Semitic.

The use of parallels from another language group is often justifiable as an ancillary or heuristic aid. Thus the etymology of Olnd. hnu- 'to deny, conceal, to atone for, make expiation, appease' which figures prominently among unsuccessful comparisons with Av. xšnu-/, may now be explained as the cognate of ONor. gnua 'to rub', Gr. khnoûs 'powder, chaff, incrustations' and khnóe-/mois 'axle-box', for which I set up PIE *ghnew- 'to rub'; cf. Bibl. Heb.

kipper 'atoned for, expiated, appeased', koper 'atonement fee', Arab. kafara 'concealed, denied God's existence, was ungrateful', kaffara 'concealed, atoned for, made expiation', Syr. kepar 'rubbed off, wiped, deleted, denied, (ab)negated', and Accad. kaparu 'to wipe off, to rub; to cleanse, to trim, peel, or pare off, to polish', kuppuru 'to wipe off, to rub to cleanse, to rum, peel, or pare off, to polish', kuppuru 'to wipe off, to rub to cleanse, to rum it results for the rubb to cleanse. to rub; to cleanse, to purify ritually (e.g. through sacrificial victims) (von Soden).

Parallel semantic development provides an etymological solution in the instance of two words discussed in Sect. I, Gr. philos and Olr. friya- (Olnd. priyá-) 'intimate, dear, beloved, friendly'. The Homeric and the Ollr. (chiefly evidenced by Vedic) refer to one's own self, vital force, body and its parts, home and familiar personal objects, kin and wife (phile, priya, nominal), friends and, as discussed above, the hospitality sphere (and its cultic projection); furthermore, due to the rise of the city and state entity as the chief force in social organization (as against individual relationships), in both Gr. and IIr. the word

became limited to 'dear, friend(ly)'.

IIr. p/friya- and its cognates (which include Eng. friend) have been derived from a "preposition" *prei- (*preAi?) 'close by', cf. Lith. prie, pry 'by, at', OLat. pri, also præ 'before', Gallic are- 'before, by',6 in view of *priyo- as denoting the intimate, the personal sphere of an individual; thus Scheller (1958. 12250); Mezger (1965: 32-33) and Schwartz (1975: 207 w.n. 31). The etymology of philos, hitherto unknown, may now be given in completion of the parallelisms with priva-. The formal analysis necessary a priori, *bhi-lo-, allows its identification as an adj. in -lo- from PIE bhi 'close, at hand', cf. Goth. bi, OHGerm. bř 'by, at', originally a post-position, and the Myc. comitative case-ending *-phi, productive in Hom. in sg. and pl. with nouns of various shapes.

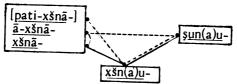
The opposite of philos (phileo) is ekhthros 'hated, inimical' (ekhthaírō 'to hate', etc.), from PIE *Eeghs-tro- 'external, extraneous, estranged, alien', adj. to *Eeghs, Gr. eks 'out(side)'. Clearly the opposition of the particles *bhi and *Eeghs indicates intimus vs. extraneus, close vs. distant. By the principle of parallelism of semantic patterning, applied with the rigor of symmetry, we would expect that IIr. dwista-, Olnd. dvistá-, Av. tbista- etc., the precise semantic equivalent of Gr. ekhthros, should also have an etymon indicating the idea of being outside, distanced, alienated. It does: *dwišta- is the precise cognate of ONor. tvistr (PIE *dwis-to-s) 'separate', vb. tvistra 'to separate', MHGerm. twist 'quarrel', cf. Goth. twis-stass 'standing apart', from PIE *dwis 'in two parts'. This Gmc.-IIr. etymology is supported by the connection I propose of Av. tbišiš- 'joint' with OEng. twisla 'confluence of two rivers' and related forms for bifurcation. The derivation of *IIr. dwista- from PIE *dwey- 'to fear' ('fearful uncertainty', see above), which has been favored in recent literature, must now be abandoned.

In Iranian, the term xšnuta-, indicating reciprocity, had taken on an additional sense of 'pleased, placated' as already noted. With the additional close association of xšnuta- with friya-, xšnuta- became the canonical opposite of dwista-, whose mg. included 'alienated' (> 'offended' = 'non-placated, mistreated').

The conceptual picture of archaic PIE society that emerges from our study is that of individuals centered in circles containing their close possessions, family, and friends; the outsider to these circles was viewed as a potential enemy. Alliances neutralizing or eliminating the potential threat were brought about by the rapprochement of the two circles, with each penetrating the border of the other by means of alternating presentation of dear possessions from within each circle of intimacy upon the reciprocative entry into the respective households. This was Indo-European hospitality.

By "syntropy" I mean change or creation brought about by the simultaneous interactions of various factors within and across different hierarchies and parameters of form and meaning; this may be seen in terms of the dynamics of the associative process taking place within a multidimensional network of mental data. This outlook provides a theoretical structural framework in which to analyze the effects of phenomena such as "word-play", etc. "attraction", "contamination",

One problem for the etymology of xšnu- has been the mg. 'to hear' found in WIr.: OPers. <u>a-xšn(a)u-, MPers. ašnaw-, (a)šnaw-,</u> Parth. (2) snaw-. In terms of syntropic analysis we must start from the following items in the lexical network: (1) xšn(a)u- 'to *requite, reciprocate favorably, be hospitable, please'. (2) pres. stem srun(a)u->OPers sun(a)u- 'to hear, to obey', (3) (a) xšnā- 'to know', (b) *ā-xšnā-'be aware of something' (cf. MPers asnag 'aware, familiar with'), and possibly (c) *pati-xšnā- = *pati-zan- welcome with tokens of hospitality'; cf. Av. paiti.xšnāta- = paiti-zanta- (both glossed MPers. padīrift 'received'), where -xšnāta- is from PIE *gnHto- and -zanta- its later analogical replacement. In OPers. we would have the following potential phonological (----) and semantic (----) connections:



The chief factor in linking $\frac{x\sin(a)u}{a}$ and $\frac{x\sin(a)u}{a}$ was OPers. $\frac{x\sin(u)a}{a}$, the equivalent of the Avestan formula $\frac{x\sin(u)a}{a}$... xšnuiia 'may you hear and reciprocate favorably '(obj. yasna- 'liturgy, prayer'), Yt. 10.32, Y. 68.9. Here we would have an 'irreversible binomial" (to use Prof. Malkiel's term) with close phonological association and simultaneous close semantic association (hear/obey: reciprocate favorably). This would motivate the replacement of sun(a)u-(itself semantically overloaded, with additional mgs. 'sing' and 'make famous' in the causative and past participle) by xšn(a), which phonologically connected the semantically associable sun(a)u- and (a)xšna- ('hear' being

commonly replaced by 'perceive'). The $\overline{\underline{a}}$ - of $\overline{\underline{a}}$ - $x\bar{s}n\bar{a}$ - then attached itself to xšn(a)u- bringing about the formally distinct form a-xšn(a)u-, whence MPers. asnaw-, asnaw-, the latter passing into Parthian probably

during the period of Sasanian rule. Another problem for the history of PIE *kwsenw-, Olr xšnuis solved by a "syntropic" analysis: the fact that Vedic r. sa- (si-) 'to sharpen' also means 'to treat favorably, treat hospitably'. According to the view first proposed by Humbach (1952: 11 n.6) and independently taken up recently by Hollifield (1978: 175-176), each citing a personal communication by Karl Hoffmann, the second sense of saprovides a parallel for a development of PIIr. r. kšnu- 'to sharpen' (Olnd. ksnauti; Ir. only hu-xšnuta-, of a dagger) to 'treat favorably, hospitably'. 8 Here is an interesting instance of the limitations of mechanically assigning probative value to a single instance of a putative non-serial semantic parallelism. In this case, doubt arises because the proposed development cannot be explained by culture-bound factors, nor by universal patterns of association: it is difficult to bridge the semantic gulf of 'sharpen' and 'treat hospitably', etc.; Humbach's putative intermediary 'strengthen' is indemonstrable and otherwise of little help.

Before proposing a different solution, a survey of the relevant

occurrences of \$2- is in order.

It would require a separate monograph to document and discuss the complexity in use of sa- in the poetic language of the RgVeda. Here only a crude summary of the chief data is possible. The vb. saoften has as direct object the gods, usually with a request for reciprocity RV 8.67.7, 8.40.10 seq.), or the dir. obj. may be the worshipper rewarded by the god (3.24.4-5; 3.16.3; 10.12.4 etc.) or else the hymns and petitions themselves (8.24.3, 7.18.2, etc.). Clear hospitality imagery is found with regard to Agni: 7.42.4: When Agni is treated well in the dwelling of a rich man, a guest well pleased (atithi-, su-prīta-) in the house, then he grants the clan's (house's) wishes. Since Fire,"Lord of the House", is kindled from Fire (1.12.6), we read 'sisīhi (imperative) the Dear Guest, the Lord of the House . . . at his resting place', 6.16.42 etc. Conversely in return for his being made great with fuel, the "hosts" ask Agni to śā- them, 6.15.19.

While such passages provide perfect parallelism with the Av. xšnu-, with combination of hospitality with reciprocity, the use of sadiffers in that it frequently has an additional reference to actual sharpness, with comparison to pointed weapons. This double mg. 'treat favorably/sharpen' is found commonly of Agni with reference to his flames (téjas-, combined in the continuation of the lastcited verse with tigma- 'pointed weapon'), compared with blades (6.3.5), horns (5.9.5), teeth (10.43.3) sharpened to overcome evil. In the opening of 10.87, Agni is said to be sharpened (sisano) when kindled and invoked to grab the sorcerers, metal-toothed, with his flame; verse 24, Agni is addressed, burn the . . . sorcerers . . . I sharpen you (sisami) . . . with my prayer-thoughts; awaken, o inspired one! Here \$2- simultaneously refers to propitiation, shar-

pening, stoking, and stimulating.

However, the verb occurs with regard to the propitiatory "sharpening" of the weapons of other gods, esp. Indra, and of propitiation (offerings, hymns) in general. Quite commonly too the god is asked to "whet" the prayer itself or, e.g. 2.39.7: ima giro aśvina yuşmayantih kşņótreņeva svádhitam sam sisitham O Asvins, whet for us these praises of you as an axe with a whetstone!

Alongside sa- we find r. cud- 'to sharpen, whet, urge, propel'; e.g. codávami ta ayudha vácobhih sam te sisami brahmana váyansi 'I "sharpen" your weapons with words, and I "whet" strengths (= sustenance) for you with sacred utterance', 10.120.5. Cf. the alternation 32-, cud- in requests for divine "sharpening" of inspired hymns, e.g. códaya dhíyam (with simile 'blade of metal')

6.10.17, dhíyam . . . sisadhi 8.42.3, etc.

Another difference from the Iranian situation is the occurrence of both <a>§a- and <a>cud- with dir. obj. 'wealth' (<a>radhas-) sought from the gods, or simultaneously from the patrons (7.96.2 and 1.48.2 cud-; 7.18, 10.42.3 sa-, etc.). Conversely 'just him, i.e. Indra, do I whet (urge) to / for great wealth (in return for soma) for drinking' 8.67.7. Finally, note 8.4.15-16, in a prayer to Pusan, patron-god of hymnists: 'We choose for friendship Pusan of many treasures; may you, able, much invoked, facilitate, through the inspired hymn (dhiya), the propulsion (tujé) of riches. Sharpen (sis7hi) us like a knife in the hands, grant us wealth, o releaser! Through you are riches in cattle easy to obtain, when you propel (or advance, treat favorably: hinosi) a man'; cf. also tuiw. ray-, 9.87.6. Here it may be seen that 'propel, speed forth' found for cud- (but not \$\frac{\frac{5a}}{2}-) with dir. obj. 'wealth' or the petitioner would fit in well with the terms for 'to grant', etc. [hi- 'propel' = 'treat with favor' commonly; cf. hitá- 'dear'.]

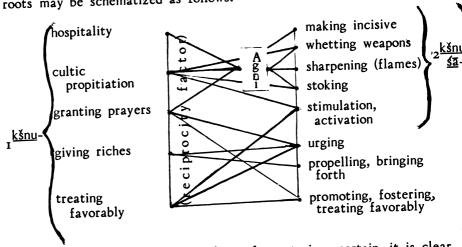
A syntropistic analysis may now be suggested. Pllr. had the following: The r. rkšnu- 'to requite', etc., whence the Ir. forms discussed above, including, via PIIr. * <u>Ikšnautra</u>-, Av. <u>xšnaoθra</u>- 'grace, favor'; r. *2kšnu- 'to sharpen, whet, abrade', attested only in ava kṣṇaumi 'l efface, destroy' RV 10.23.2; pres. ptc. mid. kṣṇuvaná-AV 5.20.1; and Av. huxšnuta- 'well sharpened', with *2kšnautra-Olnd kṣṇotra- 'whetstone'; r. śā- 'to sharpen, whet, to abrade', represented both in Indic and Iranian (Pers. sayad 'rubs' etc.), PIIr. *sana- > Olnd. sana-, Pers. san 'whetstone'; Plir. r. cud- 'to whet, to sharpen, to stimulate, to impel', Olnd. r. cud-, cf. Pers. čust 'agile' etc. (cf. also ONor. hvetia 'to sharpen, stir up', Goth. galuatjan 'to impel, whet', ONor. hvatr 'quick, sharp'). The poor attestation of the verb r. *2kšnu- in both branches indicates that its obsolescence in favor of sa-probably began in PIIr., attributable to the homonymy of * kšnu-.

It is the homonymy of the two roots kšnu- from which one must start in order to explain the development of sa. The acquisition by \underline{sa} - of the meanings of \underline{sksnu} - in Indic would have begun in contexts where there was a semantic associability between the two homophonous verbs *kšnu-. A starting place may have been 'prayer' etc. as obj. of rkšnu-, cf. Av. vasna- as obj. (dir. or indir.) of xšnu-. We have in AV 5.20.1 the attestation of kṣṇuvaná- modifying vác- voice' (of a war-drum). 'Sharp' i.e. 'cutting' with regard to the effectiveness of a prayer could be interpreted as incisive, or decisive (Arab. qatic cutting, asserting decisively'). The simile would have been completed by the homonymy of *kšnautra- 'favor', 'whetstone'. Furthermore, the verb cud- meant not only 'sharpen, whet', which permitted its well-attested interchangeability with sa-, but also had the notion of 'further, favor, treat well' from 'push forth, propel', supported by the semantically parallel courses of hi- and tuj-, and would also have wealth as dir. obj. (a usage not found for Av. xšnu-); thereby 'sharpen' would undergo a commensurate semantic expansion.

As concerns specifically the cult of the gods, the ritual centrality of Fire (Agni) had an important role in the Indic merger of kšnu- as 'reciprocate, treat hospitably, propitiate cultically' and 'sharpen, whet' etc. Agni was the divine idealization of both guest (átithi-) and host (grhápati-) and thus an optimal representation of the reciprocity of hospitality (~cult) at the same time there was a close association between stoking and feeding the sacred flames, which was seen as whetting Agni's blades, horns "sharpening" of other gods, whereby their being offered food, drink, praise, etc. was conceived of as both stimulating them (i.e. making them active and/or urging them) and sharpening their weapons to combat evil. Probably Indra figured prominently in the transition, being the most important divinity of the RV, activated by Soma and wielding the vaira. A close association between Indra and Agni is indicated by their forming a compound divinity; note esp. 6.40.10-11, where the worshippers are exhorted to sharpen (sisshi) each of the two, who pierce or split (bhid-) the eggs (brood) of the monster Susni.

The chief convergent semantic trajectories of the various relevant

roots may be schematized as follows:



While the precise chronology of events is uncertain, it is clear that the Indic replacement of Ikšnu- by sa- is due to the operation of a variety of factors: (1) the homophony of the two roots *kšnu-; (2) the complexly manifold semantic associability between the various meanings of each root; (3) the expansion of $\frac{5a}{2}$ at the expense of

the synonymous *2kšnu-; (4) the semantic overlap of cud- with *2 kšnu and sa- as well as with kšnu-. It may also be noted that polysemy was an important aspect of the vatic tone of the RgVeda, valued as both an aesthetic and hierophantic quality, increasing the value of the hymn as a means of stimulating and strengthening the divinity addressed, and also increasing the professional hymnist - priest's merit of reward by his patron-host; this characteristic of the liturgical hymnic corpus, the most important context for the terminology involved, would have furthered the processes at issue (whose reflection in the everyday language cannot be determined).

The general interest of the development of *kšnu- and śa- in Indic is, apart from its illustration of syntropic operations, its presentation of an unusual phenomenon: the complete replacement of a lexical item

not by its synonym, but by the homonym of its synonym.

final illustration of syntropy, this time as reflected beyond the linguistic realm, in the realm of poetic organization, and in the oldest

corpus of Iranian texts, Zarathustra's Gāthās:

As noted in section I, the Avestan canonical terms for the gifts of hospitality are $x \le nut$ and $a \le i$ (are iti), as at Y. 60.2 and Purs. 39; at the same time they are the ordinary words rep. for 'requital' and 'reward'. They occur consecutively in the Gathas for eschatological remunerations, but are immediately followed by hospitality motifs in Y. 51.9-16 and Y. 31.3-4; 19-22 (with 3-4/19 showing the same motif), which show sequential linear parallelism:

Y. 51.9: 'That requital ($x \sin u t = m$) which you will assign/create for both sides [good and evil] through your bright blazing fire and molten metal, to designate among creatures harm to the deceitful and benefit for

Y. 51.10: (Against the wicked opponents of Z.) 'I invoke Righteousness to

come to me with Good Reward (a§i)'.

Y. 51.11: Who is an ally (<u>uruua $\Theta \overline{0}$ </u>) to Z.? . . . Who is intent on the gift (magai) from Good Mind?

Y. 51.12: 'Not that bugger of a Kavi: at the Bridge of Winter he did not give hospitality to (xšnāuš) Z., blocking his stay, even when his draft animals were trembling from wandering and from cold.

Y. 51.13: 'The Kavi's soul will vex him at the Bridge of Judgement

because of his deeds . . . !

Y. 51.14: 'And the Karapans who mistreat cattle are not allies (uruua 0a) and will be doomed to the "House of Deceit".'

Y. 51.15: 'But Z., who promised reward (mīždəm) to the generous patrons

(magauuabiio), will lead them into the House of Song.

Y. 51.16: E.g. Vishtaspa, 'through the power of the gift (magahiia), via the paths of Good Mind.'

Y. 31.3: 'That requital (xšnūtəm) through Righteousness and Fire, which you have created for both sides with your Spirit . . . declare it for us to

Y. 31.4: 'When I call upon Righteousness, Mazdah and the other Ahuras will be present, with Reward (ašī)

Y. 31.19: That allotment (vīdātā) for the good of the two sides through your bright-blazing Fire, o Ahura Mazda.

Y. 31.20: 'Whoever comes to the aid of a righteous man, heavenly glory will be his future possession. But a long duration of darkness, bad food, and sounds of woe--to this state, o evil ones, will your conscience lead you for your deeds.'

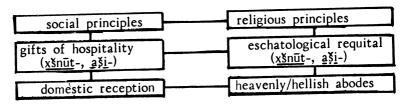
Y. 31.21: (Ahura M. grants support to his ally, uruua 00).

Y. 31.22: The benefactor will become 'Ahura's best fed guest' (vazišto anhaitī astīš).

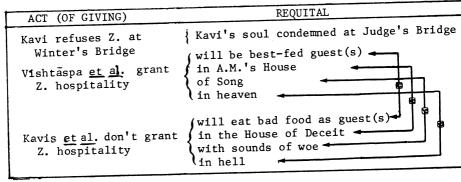
Moreover \underline{Y} . 51.12 seq. is paralleled in linear sequence by \underline{Y} . 46.11 seq.: Kavis and Karapans injure creatures; their souls will vex them at the Bridge of the Juage; they will be forever 'guests (astaiio) in the House of Deceit'; those allied for the maga-gift will be in Ahura Mazda's abode, esp Vishtaspa; praise of Spitamids and Haugvids, etc. Note that Y. 46.1-6 and 13 is specifically concerned with hospitality and reciprocity ($\overline{x}\overline{s}nu$ -).

Zarathushtra linked together the disparate usages of xšnūt- and aši-, i.e. as applied to hospitality and eschatology, by the fact that each usage was independently associated with houses; moreover both usages wer

connected by the relationship of social and religious principles:



The conflation_of the remunerations of hospitality with those of eschatology permitted Zarathushtra further to project events of his own experience, esp. as regards hospitality, into his eschatological vision; at the same time he could integrate his experience near a bridge with his notion of an eschatological bridge of crisis. One axis of symmetry was afforded by the requital/reciprocity model, and the other by Z.'s strict dualism. The combined picture gained from a comparison of Y. 31, Y. 51 and Y. 46 may be schematized as follows:



It now emerges from the relationship of the three texts (which are from different sections of the Gathas) that the entirety of the Gathas forms a compositional unity. Here we find syntropy as an important factor in the poetic tours de force whereby Zarathustra achieved this end. As in the Vedic material discussed above, the exploitation of polysemy is a characteristic of archaic Indo-Iranian vatic technique. as in a large range of poetry, the syntropy of linguistic (and paralinguistic) data, which begins unconsciously, becomes part of a process of artistic organization. [A4]

NOTES

The radically aberrant view of Insler (1975: 156) must be rejected. Insler rightly objected to seeing an inf. in xsanmane, but his own reading *xšnan mane (sic) for *xšnam mana is far-fetched: (1) the dangling clause 'I who have recognized . . . ' is impossible; (2) the assumption that *mone is for *mona and this for *mana is unsupportable; no help is furnished by Insler's interpretation of mana.vistais Y. 46.19 (allegedly for *mana vistāiš, with *- $\frac{1}{2}$ - . . . $-\frac{1}{2}$ - > $-\frac{3}{2}$ - . . . $-\frac{1}{2}$ -), where moreover 'my possessions' makes less sense as part of an eschatological reward for a righteous man than the straightforward manə.vistais 'things seen in the mind, envisioned in the plan'. (3) If *xšnan/m were the older reading, one would expect the Pahl. translation to have recognized it as a form of 'to know'. Instead the Pahl. has ašad, which seems to reflect * '/hš'n-, cf. Bartholomae s.v. xšanmane.

² Possibly here one can compare typologically the contrast of the "upper" and "lower" Sephiroth in the hierophany of the Kabbalah.

3 Insler (1975: 182) strongly defends xšnūt- as 'satisfaction' "in the legalistic sense" (seeing the Gathic eschatological terminology as chiefly derived from the legal sphere), for which he cites the oldest usage of Eng. satisfaction in the OED. The sentence cited there indicates that the goal of the satisfaction is the offended party, as is to be expected; in the Gathic passages however Ahura Mazda (the party to be satisfied) gives or assigns the xšnūt- to the good and evil.

4 The term vazišta- modifying asti- was shown conclusively by Humbach (1952: 24-27, 33-34) to mean 'most strengthened, best fed', [cognate of Olnd. vaja-'invigoration, prize']. I would add that the old positive of vazišta- was vazra-, Olnd. vajrá- *'bloated, forceful' (> 'mace'), cf. OPers. vazrka- 'great, big' etc., ONor. vakr 'energetic', etc. Furthermore, vazista- as applied to the guest finds an important correlation in Ossetic: Digor iwazag, Iron wazag 'guest'! The latter

attests another replacement for Olr. asti-.

5 Insler's translation of hnu- as to satisfy is inaccurate; the mgs. 'deny, conceal, atone for were conclusively demonstrated by Charpentier (1916: 96-105) and cf. J. Brough, Siddha-Bharatī, 1950, 1-5. The connection of hnu- with Ir. xšnu- is rejected on formal grounds (the velar attested in the Av. redup.) by Charpentier, 105, and recently by Hollifield (1978: 175-176), who also notes the discrepancy in mg.; his own etymology, -n- infix from *ghew- 'to call', is insupportable semantically and formally (note Gr. pepnuménos, émpnuto cannot be wholly separated from pnew- 'blow, inspire', anapnéo etc.).

-Av. snuš in the Frahang-i Oīm is probably a corrupt, truncated form; the gloss sogenidan 'to bring about benefit' suggests sous-,

sauuiš- or the like < r. sav-.

6 Against Scheller (whose study is invaluable for the mg. of priva-, its cognates, and the parallelism with philos), it does not seem necessary to reconstruct a laryngeal base preA-. Gr. praus 'gentle, friendly' may be conn. w. praos 'meadow', Lat. pravus 'bent', with the same semantic course as Sogd. namre 'gentle', Lat. nemus 'meadow', Av. nam- etc. 'to bend'. IIr. prī-, Gmc. frī- perh. *pri-A-, with the same verb marker as Hitt. newahh- etc.

7 Cf., in addition to the etymologies of Gr. akouō, Eng. hear, etc. < 'perceive', in Ir. Ormuri amar- 'hear' < 'take account of'.

8 Humbach (1952:11; 1956: 70) not only takes Ir. xšnu- 'to treat well' but also 'to hear' (which he unconvincingly tries to demonstrate for an Av. form without \bar{a} -) from 'sharpen'; see against this

already Gershevitch (1959: 324).

9 Aspects of the parallelism of \underline{Y} . 51 to \underline{Y} . 46, with remarks on the contrasts along what I call the horizontal axis, and comments on the "ring-compositional style" of the texts, are found in Humbach (1952: 20); the same article is particularly important for its recognition of the guest status of the professional priest.

ADDENDA

[1] The clearest contexts for xšnu- as 'provide hospitality' are (1) Pursišnīhā 49: 'He who has not x.d (xšnaošta) nor will x. (xšnauuaiieite) the righteous man coming to his door-post (a0ahuua with Humbach *atahuua = Olnd. atasu) [will not go to Paradise]. (2) Hadoxt Nask 2.19 (of exempla of piety): 'x.ing (kuxšnuuano) the righteous man coming from near and from far' (also Vištasp Yašt 59, in connection with Vishtaspa, who having put an end to Zarathushtra's wanderings, is the host par excellence); for 'righteous man' (= 'Zoroastrian') cf. Y. 46. 5-6, where Zarathushtra, in stating the rules of hospitality, distinguishes the deceitful from the righteous, admonishing hosts to warn their families against suspect guests, (3) \underline{Y} . 51.12: 'He . . . did not \underline{x} . (\underline{x} snaus) Zarathushtra . . . though his (Z.'s) draft beasts were trembling from wandering and cold'.

The use of the middle voice with xsnu- in hospitality contexts is connected with its status as a verb of reciprocity.

[2] Mayrhofer, III 4, 1960, 136-140 has reported, from cuneiform materials from Nuzi and Alalakh, a number of apparent Aryan personal names in -atti, which appears to be yet another realization of Pllr. *atHti-*'guest'. Thus Birjatti *Priva-atthi-[or the like], 'Philoxenos', cf. OInd. priya- atithi-, Av. friia- asti-', and forms with first member of compd. the name of a god (*Mitra, Asura, Sūrya, Indra), i.e. 'Having Mitra (etc.) as a guest'. This may now be seen as a further reflection of hospitality as model for cult.

Olnd. átya (átiya-) literally means 'by-passing' and is from ati-, as was shown by Kuiper, IIJ 4/4, 1960, 220 n. 10. This

further confirms the seconday association of atithi- (*athit with both átati and áti-, and the parallelism of the semantic course of their root with that of mey-, which may be illustrated schemati-PIE *Aet-(H-) 'to alternate'

PIE *mey-(t-H-) 'exchange' Olnd. nimáyate 'changes' Sogd. etc. met 'day' Lat. meo 'pass, wander'

Olnd. vyáthate 'vacillates' Lat. annus etc. 'year' Olnd. átati 'wanders', átya- 'bypassing!

ONor. mein 'harm' MPers. mehman etc. 'guest'

Av. aQi- 'harm' Av. asti- etc. 'guest'

Other parallel courses may be schematized similarly, e.g.

PIE *kwsen-(w-) 'to exchange' PIE *mey-(t-H-) 'to exchange' Gr. ksūnos, Oss. xsän 'common' Gr. ksún 'together with' MPers. šnohr 'grateful' Av. xšnūt- 'requital' Gr. ksénwos 'guest'

Lat. communis 'common'. mūtuus 'shared' Olnd. mithas 'together with' Sic. moitos 'gratitude' Av. maēni- 'penalty' MPers. mehman 'guest'

[4] The idea of heavenly reciprocity for earthly hospitality passed from the Gathas (probably via digests and catechisms such as the Pursišnīhā) into the Pahlavi literature; note esp. Some Sayings of Adurbādh, Son of Mahraspand 16 (PT 146): 'Give hospitable reception (padir bawed) to the traveler so that they will receive you all the more here (on earth) and there (in heaven), for he who gives, gets, and with increase (profit, interest: waxs) besides'. Here may even be seen a reflection of the "attenuated sort of potlatch" characterizing the archaic situation.

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