

Munus amicitiae

Norbert Oettinger

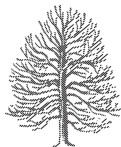
a collegis et amicis dicatum

herausgegeben von

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The Place-Name Τέμπη, τέμπεα . . . τὰ στενὰ τῶν ὀρῶν (Hsch.), IE **temp-* ‘stretch’*

JOSÉ LUIS GARCÍA RAMÓN

1. The place-name Τέμπη, τὰ Τέμπεα designates a defile, especially that between Mounts Olympus and Ossa, as well as others in the low course of the river Peneios and in different places in Thessaly, but also in other regions. The term is actually a common appellative (in the pl. [τὰ] τέμπεα, with regular inflexion as a neuter *-es-stem), which is used for ‘valley’ in postclassical poetry (also in Latin) and is glossed by historians and lexicographers as ‘a narrow space between mountains, pass, defile’ and as ‘hollows, cavities’, among others.

Attempts have been made to etymologize τέμπεα (and PN Τέμπεα, Τέμπη) on the assumption that it perfectly matches Lat. ²*tempora* ‘temples’ and/or ¹*tempus* ‘time’ and that they may be traced back to a neuter stem **témp-es-* of IE **temp-*, which has been interpreted in two directions: on the one hand, as **tem-p-*, a putative extended variant of **tem-* ‘cut’ (actually **temh₁-*, Gk. τέμνω, τέμενος), as already proposed by Pott (τέμπεα “der Pass als Einschnitt”), followed among others by Usener and Kretschmer, who interpreted Τέμπεα, -η as “Name des tief in das Felsgebirge eingeschnittenen Peneios-tales”;¹ on the other hand, as **temp-* ‘stretch, extend’, as convincingly argued by Brugmann (“Erstreckung, Strecke, spatium”) and Persson (“dann sehe ich . . . nicht ein, was uns verbieten könnte, ein *τεμπος- τεμπεσ-* ‘Tal’ als ‘Strecke’ zu deuten und demgemäß auf *temp* ‘stretch’ zurückzuführen”).² A first step in this direction, without explicit reference to **temp-* or to Lat. ¹*tempus* ‘time’, was Bally’s interpretation of τέμπεα as “dépression, enfouissement” as a match of Lat. *tempus* ‘temple’ (“dépressions latérales du front”),

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¹For references cf. the critical review by Persson (1912:485–93), as well as Usener 1896:191; Kretschmer 1896:411; 1898.

²Persson 1912:493 (with references to Brugmann).

and related to *ταπεινός* ‘low’.³ None of these explanations has enjoyed acceptance in recent research, and the term is mentioned as obscure (even as Pre-Greek), or simply not taken into account in etymological dictionaries.⁴

If *Τέμπεα*, -η were attested only as a place-name, it could be Pre-Greek and have an opaque form with an obscure -μπεη, like -μπος in *Ὀλυμπος*.⁵ But the fact is that (pl.) *τέμπεα* is as Greek as Hom. *γένεα*, *κλέεα*, or *τείχεα*, and must be explained in terms of Greek, namely by taking into account both its exact meaning *in Graeco ipso* and the comparative evidence. Common to the etymological proposals mentioned above is the assumption of a basic meaning ‘valley’ (which is actually not exact) and the absence of a detailed analysis of the connection between the geographic reality (or realities) and the etymology proposed for *τέμπεα*, -η. This leads, as in other cases, to etymological proposals which may be formally satisfactory, but can hardly be conclusive from the semantic point of view if the actual meaning of the term is not safely established (§2).⁶

The aim of the present paper is a twofold one. First, it will try to show that Gk. *τέμπεα*, -η originally means ‘a narrow space’, namely a *defile* (*τὰ στενὰ τῶν ὄρων*) between mountains, also a *valley* or a *hollow* (*στενός ἀλλών, κοίλα*) as the ancient sources inform us and as the masterly account of the historical geography of the course of the Peneios by Helly⁷ shows: the Thessalian *Τέμπεα*, -η *par excellence* is a narrow depression between mountains, through which the Peneios flows (§3). Secondly, I shall make the case for *τέμπεα*, -η ‘narrow space’ as a specialization of ‘stretched’ (IE **témp-es-* ‘stretching, extending’: IE **témp-* ‘stretch’). The meaning may be explained in the framework of a semantic shift from (a) ‘stretched out’ (Lat. *tempus* ‘time [extension]’) to (b) ‘long, fine’ (*tempus* ‘temple’ [**stretched skin*]), whence ‘narrow’, which is supported by the evidence of some languages where reflexes of **témp-* are attested (§4). The very same semantic shift is suitably attested for **ten(h₂)-* ‘stretch’ (Ved. *tanóti*, Gk. *τανυ[ο/ε]-*), of which **témp-* is actually an extended variant, as seen in *τανυ*^ο: Ved. *tanú-* ‘long and thin’ (IE **t_hh₂ú-*, §5) and especially in *στενός* ‘narrow’ (PGk. **stemíō-*, §6). The old term *τέμπεα*, -η, which survives as a place-name and as a poetic word, is otherwise replaced in Greek by *τὰ στενὰ*, Ion. *στεινά*, which is actually its substitutory continuant. The adjective *ταπεινός* ‘low’ (Hdt., Pind.) may belong to the same lexeme and be traced back to **t_hmpes-nó-* (§7).

³Bally 1903:329; Bally 1942. The connection of *τέμπεα* with *ταπεινός* ‘low’, which has encountered general scepticism, remains plausible, but needs further argumentation (§7). A further connection with *τάφος* ‘ditch, trench’, which Bally (1903:329) traces back to “une double dégradation vocalique de **tempus-ró-*”, whence **t_hpsro-*, is certainly wrong.

⁴“Appellativische Bed. unbekannt, mithin ohne sichere Etymologie” (*GEW*), “toponyme d’étymologie obscure” (*DELG* s.v.). No mention in *EDG*.

⁵Or like *κόμπος* ‘din, clash’ (beside *κομπεῖν* Hsch.). The interpretation as **τέμ-πη* “bewaldete Gegend” as a reflex of “vorromanisch” **timpra-* “Fels” (Furnée 1972:355, following Hübschmid) is beyond discussion.

⁶Persson’s tenet (1912:492) remains valid so far: “Das Etymologisieren von Nomina propria, über deren eigentliche Bedeutung wir nichts Bestimmtes wissen, kann nicht über unsichere Vermutungen hinausführen.”

⁷Helly 2000. On *Τέμπεη* cf. the precise summary of Baladié 1996:292–3.

2. The necessity of operating with precise meanings, established on the basis of the *realia*, as a prerequisite for etymology may be briefly recalled at this point in light of the enigmatic term *κελέτρα*, which is also attested in Thessaly, in a decree on the delimitation of the borders between Condaia and Gonnos (IG 521.26.33.35s.: Larisa, 3rd : *κοινέ*): ἀρξάμενο[ς ἀπ/]ὸ τῶν συμβολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ το[ῦ] Εὐρωποῦ ἄχρι τῆς κελέτρας καὶ τῆ[ς] φάραντος τῆς ἀπ' Ὀρχείου ἀγούσης.

It has always been assumed that *κελέτρα* is a topographic term, the precise meaning of which remains unclear. This has led to a variegated series of etymological interpretations: as “Trift” (Frisk, with reference to *κέλομαι* ‘drive on, exhort, call’, *κέλλω* ‘drive, incite’), as “Ölpresser” (von Blumenthal, with reference to *κολετράω* ‘to trample on’), as “barrage mobile dans un fleuve” (Goossens, with reference to *κελέοντες* ‘beams of the standing loom’, *κελέος* ‘picus viridis’)⁸ and to a general scepticism.⁹

Bruno Helly has conclusively identified the *κελέτρα* as “une construction fixe de pierre et de bois, repère précis sur le cours de la rivière” made with “repères fixes, pièces de bois assemblées,” where fish are trapped: these artifacts fully match the current *dai-liani*, which may still be seen in the Peneios.¹⁰ This precise definition of *κελέτρα* invalidated all etymological proposals advanced so far, except, in part, that of Goossens, who had rightly invoked the gloss *κέλετρον*· ᾧ τοὺς ἰχθύας θηρώσιν ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς (Hsch.). The perfect coincidence in form and function between *κελέτρα* and *κέλετρον* allows for an interpretation as two variants of a *nomen instrumenti* (and *nomen loci*)¹¹ of *κέλλω* ‘to beach, strand’ (fut. *κελῶ* Hom., *κέλω* Aesch.; aor. *κελσα*- *Od.* +, also Att. ὀ-κέλλω ‘id.’). The term is explicitly glossed as *κέλλειν*· τὸ εἰς γῆν ἐκτιθέναι τὴν ναῦν. καὶ ἐξοκέλλειν by Hesychius, in full agreement with the Homeric evidence (*νῆα μὲν αὐτοῦ κέλλαι* *Od.* 10.511, *νῆα . . . ἐκέλαμεν ἐν ψαμάθοισιν* *Od.* 9.546). The parallelism between how fish and ships are dealt with could hardly be more exact: both are the object of (ὀ)κέλλω, as I have tried to show.¹² An exact semantic parallel is the PN *Varadero* in Cuba, actually a *nomen agentis/loci* of Spanish *varar* ‘to beach, strand’.

All this allows us to trace back *κελέτρα*, *κέλετρον* to **kellh₁-tro-* of IE **kel-* or **kelh₁-* (Toch. BA *käl^a*- ‘drive, set in motion’), as the place where fish and ships are *beached, stranded*.

3. Let us first briefly recall the essentials of the dossier of *τέμπεα*, -η and its semantics *ex Graeco ipso*.

(1) *τέμπεα*, being a common appellative, is attested as a place-name, especially present in Thessaly, cf. also the poetic epithets *τεμπή* (Plut., Ael.) and *τεμπίς* (Nic.) referred to

⁸Frisk 1932; von Blumenthal 1939:98–9; Goossens 1949–50:202–3. Cf. the overview by Sève (2000: 270–1).

⁹Cf. *GEW* s.v. *κελέτρα* (“Geländebezeichnung, aber nähere Bedeutung unbekannt, mithin etymologisch schwierig zu beurteilen”), *EDG* s.v. (“The precise meaning is unknown . . . Unclear”).

¹⁰Helly 1987:37, 1999:105ff. The term occurs also as a place-name (*Κέλετρον*) in Macedonia.

¹¹Of the type *παλαιστρα* (: *παλαίω*), *χύτρη* (: *χέω*).

¹²García Ramón 1997:545–6.

δάφνη 'laurel, sweet bay', and *Τεμπ-όθεν* 'from Tempe' (Call. *Iamb.* fr. 194.34 οἱ Δωριῆς δὲ Τεμπόθεν με τέμνουσιν / ὀρέων: the sweet bay speaks), and *Τεμπήτας*, an epithet of Apollo (Απλουνη Τεμπεῖτα IG 9:2.1034: Gyrton, iii BC).¹³

The Thessalian Tempe, first mentioned by Hecataeus (FGrH I, frg. 133 Κραννῶν πόλις τῆς Θεσσαλίας τῆς Πελασγιώτιδος ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσιν, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπη) refers to it as a vale in the lower part of the course of the Peneios: the river flows from the Pindos and after having run through the plain of Thessaly, it passes through some mountain chains, among them the defile between Ossa and Pelion, to discharge into the sea.¹⁴ The term *τέμπεα* designates a pass between both mountains:¹⁵ the pass, which is between 30 and 50 meters wide,¹⁶ is, moreover, explicitly referred to as a 'narrow glen' (*αὐλῶνα στεινόν*) since Herodotus and as a 'narrow pass' (*στενά*), cf. Hdt. 7.129.1 . . . τὸν τε Ὀλύμπου καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν . . . διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινόν πυθναίνόμενος εἶναι, δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηγεῖος " . . . having been informed that there is between them a narrow glen, through which flows the Peneios," and Strab. 7.1.14 ἔστι γὰρ τὰ Τέμπε στενὸς αὐλῶν μεταξὺ Ὀλύμπου καὶ Ὀσσης, φέρεται δ' ὁ Πηγεῖος ἀπὸ τῶν στενῶν τούτων ἐπὶ σταδίου τετραράκοντα, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ὀλύμπου, [ἐν δὲ δεξιῇ τὴν Ὀσσαν, ἐγγύς] τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ " . . . the Tempe is a narrow glen between the Olympus and the Ossa. And the Peneios flows from these narrow passes along forty stadia, having the Olympus at the left and the Ossa at the right, close to the mouth of the river."¹⁷ Strabo traces back the origin of the narrow passes to an earthquake.¹⁸

(2) The term *τέμπεα*, -η refers to more than one narrow pass in Thessaly and outside Thessaly. As to Thessaly, Helly¹⁹ has convincingly shown on the basis of Strabo's indications that there are *τέμπεα*, -η near Phalanna (9.5.19), in Perraebia (9.5.20), at the end of the western plain (9.5.17), near Gyrton (9.5.19,20) and in the enigmatic region of the Magnetes (9.5.22);²⁰ also in the Axios valley, where the *τέμπεα* make the passage from Paeonia to Macedonia difficult,²¹ and in the Dotion Pedion (cf. the *Δώτια τέμπεα* Steph.Byz.). The term and/or place-name occurs also in other regions, namely Cilicia

¹³Cf. Paus. 10.5.9 ποιηθῆναι δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ ἀρχαϊότατον δάφνης φασί, κομισθῆναι δὲ τοὺς κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς δάφνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι.

¹⁴Cf. Theop. FGH 2b.115, F 80 τὰ καλούμενα Τέμπε τὰ Θετταλικά διαγράψωμεν τῷ λόγῳ, Call. *Hymn.* 4.105 φεῦγε δὲ καὶ Πηγεῖος ἐλισσόμενος διὰ Τεμπέων, Strab. 7a.1.15 Ὅτι ὁ Πηγεῖος ποταμὸς, ῥέων διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν, καὶ ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Πίνδου ὄρους, καὶ διὰ μέσης Θεσσαλίας (cf. also 9.5.17), Arrian. 4.6.7.

¹⁵Hdt. 7.173 καὶ ἀπικέτο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἢ περὶ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρεται παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηγεῖον, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρους [εἴοντα] καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. Cf. also Diod.Sic. II.2.5 . . . τοὺς καταληφόμενους τὰς περὶ τὰ Τέμπε παρόδους " . . . to seize the passes of Tempe".

¹⁶Baladié 1996:292.

¹⁷Cf. Dion.Perieg. 916 Τέμπεα, ἦτοι τὰ μεγάλα στενώματα. Κυρίως γὰρ τὰς διόδους καὶ τὰ στενώματα λέγει τῶν ὀρέων.

¹⁸Strab. 9.5.2 ὑπὸ δὲ σεισμῶν ῥήγματος γενομένου [κατὰ] τὰ νῦν καλούμενα Τέμπε καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν ἀποσχίσαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου "but when a cleft was made by earthquakes at what is now called Tempe, and split off Ossa from Olympus . . ."

¹⁹Helly 2000:45–8.

²⁰Helly 2000:61–3.

²¹Strab. 7.1.4 Ἡ δὲ Παιονία . . . ἔχουσα τὰς εἰσβολὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς στενά δι' ὧν ὁ Ἄξιός ῥέων δυσείσβολον ποιεῖ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τῆς Παιονίας, ὡς ὁ Πηγεῖος διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν φερόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτὴν ἐρμυνοῖ.

(τέμπη τῆς Κιλικίας Mich. Psellus 7.34) and Ethiopia (Dion.Perieg. 219 Κέρνη λίμνη ἐστὶν Αἰθιοπίας παρὰ τῷ ὠκεανῷ τὰ δὲ κοῖλα τῶν ὄρων τέμπη καλοῦνται).

(3) As an appellative proper, τέμπεα, -η is used in fairly different ways. On the one hand, post-classical poets use it as a poetic term for any valley, either in Thessaly (cf. Theoc. 1.67 ἢ κατὰ Πηρειῶ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἢ κατὰ Πίνδω; “(where were you, Nymphs?) in the beautiful valleys of the Peneios, or in the Pindus?”),²² or in another region.²³ The same applies to Latin *tempe* (also a plural neuter), e.g. *speluncae uivique lacus et frigidula tempe* (Verg. *Georg.* 2.469).²⁴ This reflects the fluvial character of the τέμπεα, -η stated above. On the other hand, the lexicographers explain τέμπεα as ‘narrow places, narrow passes’ (στενά, στενώματα) between mountains or high cliffs, as ‘hollow, cavities’ (κοῖλα, κοιλώματα), or as ‘defile, glen’ (αἰλῶν). Some sources add that they are ‘thickly wooded’ (σύνδενδροι τόποι). Their indications are fairly precise and accurate, and match those of the historians à propos the Thessalian Tempe: this lets us assume that they were well acquainted with the historiographic sources. Let us recall some of them briefly:

Hsch.: τέμπη τὰ σύνδε(ν)δρα χωρία τινές δὲ τὰ στενά τῶν ὄρων.

EM: λέγεται τέμπη καὶ στενώματα.

Suda: τέμπεα τὰ κοιλώματα, and Τέμπη μεταξὺ τῶν Θετταλίας ὄρων περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀρσσαν στενά καθόλου δὲ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὄρεσι στενόταται διεκβολαί. καὶ οἱ σύνδενδροι τόποι. ἰδίως δὲ Μακεδονικὰ ὄρη οὕτω καλούμενα, καὶ οἱ στενοὶ τόποι.

Dion.Perieg. 219: τὰ δὲ κοῖλα τῶν ὄρων τέμπη καλοῦνται.

To sum up: Taking into account of the ancient indications and the geographic reality on the strength of the study by Helly²⁵ allows us to state the exact meaning of τέμπεα, and confirms the accuracy of the information of the glossists: a narrow space or pass (στενά τῶν ὄρων, στενώματα, αἰλῶν) and, in a broader sense, a depression (κοῖλα, κοιλώματα) between mountains.

4. As has long been assumed, Gk. τέμπος*,²⁶ τέμπεα, -η ‘narrow space, defile’ and both Lat. ²*tempus*, *tempora* ‘temple(s)’ (Verg. +) and ¹*tempus* ‘time’ may certainly be traced back to ^{*}*témp-es-*, an *-es-* neuter of a IE ^{*}*temp-* ‘stretch, strain’²⁷ (Lith. *tempiù*, inf. *tem̃pti* ‘stretch’, Toch. BA *cämp-* ‘be able’),²⁸ which is in fact an extended variant ^{*}*ten-p-* of IE

²²Nonn. 40.134 τίς με λαβὼν κομίσειεν ἐς ἱερά τέμπεα Δάφνης “who will take me and bring me to the sacred vale of Daphne...?”

²³Cf. Opp. *Cygn.* 2.197 οὔτε γὰρ ἐσταότες παρὰ τέμπεσιν ἀργονόμοισιν “not standing in the pastoral vales,” Nonn. 2.697–8 ... σὺ δέ, ... Δελφίδος ἀνδρήντα μετέρχεο τέμπεα Πυθῶς “and now (*scil.* Cadmos), do you come to the vales, full of voice, of Pytho.”

²⁴Also for the Thessalian place-name (e.g. *ad Tempe Thessalica* Liv. 33.35.7).

²⁵“Une dépression ou un défilé abondamment arrosé, par un cours d’eau, et où pousse une végétation dense” (Helly 2000:46).

²⁶Only two attestations in the singular, both very late (*Schol.* in Eur. *Phoen.* 600, Anna Comm. 4.8.4.).

²⁷Cf. *LIV*² s.v.; *IEW* s.v.

²⁸Cf. Toch. B 3sg. pret. *campär* ‘can’, A *cämpräs* ‘id.’; B *campamo* ‘capable’, A *tampe* ‘force, ability’ as a lexicalization from ^{*}to get into tension’.

*ten- ‘id.’, like *ten-h₂- (and *ten-d-: Lat. *tendō*, -ere), all with basically the same meaning.²⁹

Once the formal equation is assured, the semantics remain to be elucidated: the task is to explain how Gk. *τέμπεα*, -η can have the meaning ‘narrow space, defile’ if the basic meaning of *temp- is ‘stretch’. In fact, a semantic shift from (a) ‘stretch, extend’ (and ‘stretched’) to (b) ‘make thin’ (and ‘thin, narrow’) is easily conceivable: what is *stretched out* may become *long* and, ultimately, *thin*,³⁰ whence *narrow*, as it is evident for *ten- and extended *tenh₂- (§§5, 6).

For *temp-, the coexistence of both meanings (a) ‘stretched’ and (b) ‘thin’ is universally accepted for Lat. ¹tempus ‘time’ and ²tempus ‘temple’, which are ultimately the same form and have in common that they meant originally ‘stretched out’: (a) ‘stretching, extension’ is clearly recognizable in Lat. ¹tempus ‘time extension’ (Enn., Plaut. +),³¹ adv. *temperē* ‘in time’, cf. Cic. *Inu.* 1.36.39 *tempus est pars quaedam aeternitatis cum alicuius annui, menstrui diurni nocturniue spatii certa significatione*,³² (b) ²tempus ‘temple’ (*tremulum mouens tempus* Cat. 61.155, *per tempus utrumque stridens* Verg. *Aen.* 9.418, also plural *cinge tempora floribus* Cat. 61.6; Late *temporalis* Veget. +) refers to the ‘stretched skin’ from behind the eye to the ear on the side of the forehead. The designation of the temple as a stretched (and thin) skin underlies OIce. *punn-vangi* ‘temple’, OHG *dunwangi* ‘id.’ (literally ‘thin cheek’).³³

Both (a) and (b) may also underlie Lat. *templum*, although the frequent meaning of ‘temple, precinct’ (and, by extension, ‘residence, dwelling space’)³⁴ may formally be

²⁹This is the current opinion, which goes back to Walde (cf. *IEW* s.v. *temp-*, with references). The scepticism of Benveniste 1925:56 (“on voudrait savoir ce que représente cette racine *temp-, car aucun des mots qui en peuvent être issus n’est clair”) is hardly understandable.

³⁰Lat. *temperō*, -āre ‘to restrain oneself, behave with moderation’ (Plaut.) reflects another semantic shift /stretching/ → /measuring/, which has been also assumed for Lat. *templum* (*EDL* s.v.) on the assumption that the term goes back to *temp- too.

³¹A possible parallel could be Goth. *þeiths* ‘right time’, “καίρός”, *þengsaz (theonym: *Thingsus*) from *tenk- ‘extend, stretch’ (?): PGm. *þenhsa- as thematization of PGm. *þenh-iz- (*ténk-es-), cf. the discussion by Casaretto (2004:563), who argues for “die festgesetzte (Versammlungs)Zeit” and points to IE *temk- ‘become firm, curdle’ (Hitt. *tame(n)kzi* ‘fastens?’).

³²Against the interpretation of *tempus* as connected with *temh₁- ‘cut’ (“einen begrenzten Zeitraum, einen bestimmten Zeitpunkt, daher auch die geeignete, gelegene Zeit, die Gelegenheit” as per Kretschmer 1898:264–5) cf. Persson 1912:487.

³³As commonly accepted since Walde, cf. Persson 1912:489 (“Ausspannung, angespannte = dünne Stelle”, with semantic parallels in Lithuanian), recently Stüber 2002:159–60; *EDL* s.v. An egregious exception is Benveniste 1925:56 (“on ne s’arrêtera donc pas à cette étymologie fondée sur un rapprochement boiteux”), who traced back *tempus* ‘temples’ to IE *(s)temb(h)- ‘stick’ (Skr. *stambh* ‘id.’, Gk. *στέμβω*, ἄσπεμφής, στόβος). This explanation (“seduisante” as per *DELL*⁺ s.v.) is phonetically problematic (why *temp-* and not *temb-?) and has as in its support only the semantic parallel of Gk. *κρόταφος* ‘side of the forehead’ (*kret- ‘beat’, OIce. *brinda*, Gk. *κρότος*, *κροτέω*).

³⁴Lat. *templum*, *templa*, like in part Gk. *τέμενος*, designates spaces inhabited by or related with heavenly and marine or underworld divinities and, by extension, parts of the body, e.g. Lucr. 5.1188 *in caeloque deum sedes et templa locarunt* (also Plaut. *Mil.* 413 *in locis Neptuniis templisque turbulentis*), Lucr. 5.948–9 *silvestria templa . . . nympharum* (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 12.27 *πάλιν Χαρίτων Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει*), Enn. *Scaen.* 107 *Acherusia templa alta Orci salute infera*, Lucr. 5.102–3 . . . *humanum in pectus templaque mentis* (in the materialistic view of the

traced back both to *temp-lo- *(space/object) which stretches itself or *‘is stretched’³⁵ and to *temh₁-lo-³⁶ ‘(space/object) which has been cut, separated’ (IE *temh₁-: τέμενος): in fact, the different meanings of Lat. *templum* point to a confluence of both *temp-lo- and *temh₁-lo-.³⁷ For our purposes it may be stressed that Lat. *templum* ‘cross-beam, rafter’ (*tignum transversum* P.Festus, p. 505 L.), a specific meaning attested by the grammarians, points unmistakably to *temp-lo-, i.e. to *temp- (b) ‘(make) thin’.³⁸ *templum significat tignum quod in aedificio transversum ponitur* and Vitruv. 4.2.1 *supra cantabios templa; deinde insuper sub tegulas asseserunt ita prominentes, uti parietes proiecturis eorum tegantur* “... above the spars, rafters; then above, under the tiles rafters (*templa*) which overhang so that the walls are covered by the eaves.”³⁹ As to the semantics of Lat. *templum* “tignum transversum”, cf. Class. Gk. *ταυεῖαι* ‘beams’ (cf. §5).

The semantic path (a) ‘stretch’, ‘stretched’ → (b) ‘make thin’, ‘long, thin’ we assume for IE *temp- is otherwise attested in different languages, also in nominal derivatives for ‘sinew’, ‘rope’ or ‘string’:⁴⁰

Lith. *tempiù* (*tempti*) ‘stretch’, also intrans. *timpstù* (*tiṃpti*) is directly connected with ‘become thin’ (*plonėti*) in some texts.⁴¹ The nominal derivatives OLith. *temprýva* (: OCS *tetiva*), Lith. *timpa* ‘sinew’, Lith. *templė* ‘bowstring’ (also ‘rubber band’), like OIce. *þomb* ‘bow-string’, reflect the resilience of the string, which actually matches its thinness.

The meaning (b) ‘thin’ may also underlie Lat. *antenna*, *antenna* (often pl. *antennae*) ‘sailyard, yard-arm’ (Plaut. +) if from *an(a)-tempnā- (*‘which is stretched, extended’),

poet, what is material is antiphrastically referred to as *temple*). Cf. also the collocation *caeli templa* (Enn. *Ann.* 1.49–50 *quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerulea templa / tendebam* +), *templa aetheris* (Sen. *Herc.fur.* 3 *ac templa summi . . . deserui aetheris*) beside the hapax *τέμενος αἰθέρος* (Aesch. *Pers.* 365).

³⁵“das sich Erstreckende” (Lidén 1906:362), “ciò che è teso (o si estende) trasversalmente” (Cipriano 1983:127).

³⁶The phonetic outcome of *temh₁-lo- would be properly *tem-i-lum (*tem-a-lom), but a variant without laryngeal *tem-lo- (extended from *tom- < *tomh₁- by de Saussure’s rule), cf. Lat. *gen-men (*germen* ‘sprig, offshoot’) instead of *gena-men (but *gēnh₁-tor- > *gena-tor > *genitor*) is also possible. The epenthesis -p- of *tem-p-lo- (instead of -b-: †tem-b-lum) is due to the analogy with *temptum (cf. *contem-p-tum*, *contem-p-sī*, also of *temh₁-).

³⁷García Ramón 2008. Myc. *te-me-no* is an area of prominent officials, without religious connotation. The designation of reserved areas by means of terms ‘cut, separate’ is well attested, cf. Myc. *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na / kekesmenā ktoinā* ‘communal land’ (cf. *kes-, cf. *κέαζω* ‘cut’, lat. *castrō*, -*āre*), Lyd. *širma-* ‘precinct, temple’ (PANat. *sērmó-, as per Innocente 1987–8), Lyc. *hrīmā* ‘parcel’ (*sērmā-, as per Melchert 1994:337) from IE *ser(s)- (Hitt. *sar(r)a-* ‘separate’, Lat. *sar(r)īō* ‘hoe’, *sartor* ‘hoer’).

³⁸Persson 1912:491. Cf. the exhaustive presentation by Cipriano (1983:121–42). Whether this is the only source of all meanings of *templum* by means of a set of semantic shifts from ‘rafter’, to ‘building made with transversal rafters’, whence ‘augural spaces’ and ‘temple’, as proposed by Cipriano (1983:127–38) must remain open at this point.

³⁹Cf. also Vitruv. 4.7.5 . . . *templa ita sunt collocanda, ut stillicidium tecti absoluti tertiaro respondeat*.

⁴⁰Data of different relevance are collected by Cipriano (1983:131).

⁴¹Felix Thies (Cologne) kindly refers me to an illustrative instance from a literary source (LKŽ s.v. *timpa*: *Ksaveras jautė, kaip giminytės ryšys vis plonėja, tempias. Iš pradžių ta stora timpa iš visos šeimos suplonėja didžiuoju jos nariu – motina*). [Juozas] Vaižg[antas] “Xaver spürte, wie die familiären Bindungen immer dünner wurden (*plonėja*), sich dehnten (*tempias*). Dieses dicke (*stora*) Gummiband (*timpa*) aus der ganzen Familie wurde zuerst durch das größte ihrer Mitglieder immer dünner (*suplonėja*) – der Mutter”.

but **anti-mno/ā-* (as per Forssman),⁴² with *anti-* (dialectal Rom. *antīnna* for **antenna*) instead of phonetically expected **ante-mna*⁴³ remains possible.

Back to Greek:⁴⁴ the same semantic shift which has been stated for Lat. ²*tempus* ‘temple’ and *templum* ‘beam, rafter’, for Lith. *teĩpti* (associated with *plonėti* ‘to become thin’) *et sim.* applies to Gk. *τέμπος**, pl. *τέμπεα* ‘narrow space’: ‘narrow’ is easily understandable as close to ‘thin’ with places as referents.

5. The semantic path assumed for IE **temp-* has a spectacular parallel in **ten-*, i.e. in the non-extended root, and in **tenh₂-*. Let us mention the essentials of both, which cannot always be clearly differentiated, as for some of the forms both **ten-* and **tenh₂-* may be assumed.⁴⁵ Anyway, both meanings (a) ‘straight, extended’ and (b) ‘thin, long’ are well attested.

As to (a) ‘stretch, extend’, cf. Gk. *τείνω* (**ten-jo/e-* or **tenh₂-jo/e-*),⁴⁶ also Ved. *tanóti*, Gk. *τανύω*, Hom. *τάνυται* (**tñ-ném-/*tñ-nu-*),⁴⁷ Gk. *τισταίνω* ‘id.’, Ved. aor. *átan*, *átān* (-s-aor.), OHG *donēn* ‘be extended’, also causat. Ved. *tānaya-*: Goth. *uf-þanjan*, Lat. *tenēre* (**ton-éjo/e-*) ‘keep’, beside intrans. *tenēt* (**tñ-éh₁-*) ‘lasts’ (Lat. *fama tenet*). Also Gk. ^o*τενής* (e.g. *ἀλι-τενής* ‘reaching into the sea’ [**stretched till the sea*]), of *πέτρα* Diod.Sic. 3.44).⁴⁸ Also nominal Ved. *tāna-* ‘continuous’ (RV), adv. *tānā*, OIr. *tan* ‘time’.

As to (b) ‘make thin’, ‘thin’, cf. OCS *tъniti* ‘to make thin’, *тєtiva* νεῦρον, νευρά ‘sinew’, Lat. *tenus*, -oris ‘a kind of cord, snare’ (Plaut. *Bacch.* 793 *ita intendi tenus*), *τόνος* ‘cord’ (Hdt. +), ‘sinew, tendon’ (C.H.), Ved. *tantí-* ‘rope’ (RV 6.24.4), *ātānā-* ‘stretched bow-string’ (VS, Br.), *tántu-* (RV +) ‘rope, threat, cord’.

The same applies to **t(e)nh₂-u-*:⁴⁹

As to (a), cf. Lat. *tenus* (Lucr. +) ‘as far as, up to’, ‘to the extent of’, ‘lengthwise’ (**stretching along*: *lumborum tenus* ‘as far as the loins’ Cic. *Arat.* 83 [324], *urbium*... *tenus* Liv. 26.24.II, *summo tenus attigit ore* Verg. *Aen.* I.737).

As to (b), cf. Ved. *tanú-* ‘thin’ (also *tanú-* ‘person’: Av. *tanū-* ‘id.’), Gk. *τανύς** ‘long,

⁴²Forssman 1965:18–9 (like *πρῶμος* ‘hindmost, undermost, endmost’, *πρῶμη* ‘poop’ from **pro-mno/ā-*, Ved. *ni-mná-* ‘going downstairs’ from *ni^o* ‘down[stairs]’); Leumann 1977:322.

⁴³Whether *extemp(u)lō* ‘immediately, directly, right away’ (Enn., Plaut. +) goes back to earlier **tightly*, in a tight time-span’ remains open. An explanation of *extempulō* as the older form, built from **temp-e/olo-* ‘point in time’, as proposed by Fortson (2008:63), with reference to *ex tempore* ‘on the spur of the moment’, seems fairly convincing.

⁴⁴Gk. *τάπης*, -ητος ‘carpet, rug’ (Hom. +), also Later Att. *τάπις*, *δάπις*, which is generally assumed to be a Persian loanword (NPer. *tāftan*, cf. inf. *tābīdan* ‘turn, spin’), reflects indirectly the meaning ‘straight out’ of Iran. *taf^z* (: **tñp-?*). In fact, the carpet is spread and lies stretched out (τετανωστο II. 10.156).

⁴⁵In fact **ton-V-* is the outcome of **ronh₂V-* by de Saussure’s effect.

⁴⁶With dropping of laryngeal before suffixal /-j-/ according to the Lex Pinault.

⁴⁷The *-nu-* present is created on an *anít* basis **tñ-* by reanalysis of the aorist 3sg. *átan-t* (de Lamberterie 1990:110–1).

⁴⁸Cf. also *ἡλιτενής* ‘lofty’ (**stretched on high*) in *ἡλιτενής πέτρα ὑψηλή* (Suid.), which is probably a different word, namely a quasi-synonym of *ἡλίβατος* (e.g. II. 15.273 *ἡλίβατος πέτρα*): litt.Dor. *ἄλιβατος* (Tremblay 2012:140).

⁴⁹On the paradigm and derivatives cf. de Lamberterie 1990:102–24 and Pinault 2003:174–5.

thin⁵⁰ only in compounds *τανυ*^ο (e.g. *τανυήκης ἄορ* ‘with long point, edge’ *Il.* 16.473+ beside *τανυήκει χαλκῶ*# 7.771, *τανυπτερυξ* 12.237 ‘long-winged’ beside *τανυπτερος* *HHDem.* 89), Lat. *tenuis*, OIce. *þunnr*, OE *þynne*, OHG *dunni* ‘thin’.

The thematic derivative *ταναός* (**tenh₂em-ó-*) means both (a) ‘outstretched’ (*ταναὸν αἰθέρα* Eur. *Or.* 322 ‘outspread ether’, ‘Ἠλιόπη ταναῶπις Emp. fr. 122.1) and (b) ‘thin’ (of a javeline *αἰγανέης ταναοῖο* *Il.* 16.589, of the ear *ταναοῖσι... ἄσταχύεσσιν* *HHDem.* 454+), also Myc. MN *ta-na-wo* (/Tanawo-). Especially interesting is *τανεῖαι* ‘beams’⁵¹ (Thphr. *Hist.Pl.* 4.1.2), which matches the semantics of Lat. *templum* : *tignum transversum* and, in the Baltic domain, Lith. *°tevas* ‘slender’ (of body parts [arms, legs, belly], of the body), Latv. *tiēvs* ‘id.’ (of long and thin objects: bough, stick, needle) from PBalt. **tēnuma-* (**tenh₂m-ó-*).

6. Att. *στενός*, Ion.-Hom. *στεινός* ‘narrow’ (**stenuó-*),⁵² also in compounds *στε(ι)νο*^ο, *στείνομαι* ‘be(come) narrow’ (Hom.),⁵³ obviously goes back to an *s*-mobile variant of **ten-* in Greek: the epithet may therefore be traced back to the same root underlying *τανύς* and *τέμπεα*, and reflects the last step of the shift (a) ‘stretched’ → (b) ‘thin’ → ‘narrow’ beyond any doubt.⁵⁴

The epithet *στε(ι)νός*, as the opposite to *εὐρύς*, *πλατύς*, directly points to the meanings of *τέμπεα*, -η (§2): it refers, among other things, to places, e.g. *ἔσβολή* ‘entrance’ (Hdt.), *ἔσοδος* (Hdt., Thuc.),⁵⁵ also *ἐν στε(ι)νῶ* ‘in a narrow space’ (Hdt. 8.60 *τὸ γὰρ ἐν στείνῳ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστί*, as against *ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων*, also Aesch. *Pers.* 413).

The match with *στενωπός* is perfect in the case of *τὰ στενά* ‘narrow place’, *τὰ στείνωπορα* (of a pass, Hdt.), actually one of the terms used by historians and grammarians to describe *τὰ τέμπεα* (§3), or *στενή* ‘narrow strips of land’ (Thuc. +), cf. Hdt. 7.223.1 ... *ἐπέξῆσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ ἀλχένος... οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιώντες ἐς τὰ στείνωπορα ἐμάχοντο τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἕξω τῶν στείνων...* , Thuc. 2.99.4 *τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἄξιόν ποταμὸν στείνην τινα*. The same applies to *στείνεσθαι* (Hom., Hsd.) ‘to become straight, be narrowed’⁵⁶ and to the compounds with *στε(ι)νο*^ο, which evoke the very same reality of *τέμπεα*.

Hom. *στενωπός* ‘narrow’ of a passage or space in general (glossed as *στενωπός*:

⁵⁰The component ‘thin, fine’ is lost due to the association with *τανύω* (de Lamberterie 1990:121).

⁵¹Most probably a Greek formation, not IE **tenh₂em-ih₂*.

⁵²Either **sten-mó-* or, more probably, a thematization **stenu-ó-* of PGk. **sten-ú-* (de Lamberterie 1990:262, with extensive discussion). There is no need to trace back the form, a Greek creation, to IE *(s)*ten(h₂)-ú-*.

⁵³PGk. **sten-mó-* :: **sten-jo/e-*, **stn-jo/e-* (σπάνει τέινεται. συμβέβησται Hsch.). De Lamberterie (1990:262) evokes as a parallel Lat. *con-tinnuus* beside *con-tinēri*.

⁵⁴Cf. the formulation of de Lamberterie 1990:262: “de ‘tendre’ on est passé à ‘(s)allonger, (a)mincir.’”

⁵⁵Cf. Hdt. 7.175 ... *τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν... στείνωπὴ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εὐδοσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἄμα μῖα ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἐσωτῶν*, 7.176 *Ἡ δὲ αὖθις Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστί τῇ στείνωπῃ ἡμίπλεθρον...* , Thuc. 7.51 *αἴσης δὲ στείνης τῆς ἐσόδου*.

⁵⁶For instance, of gates (*θύρατρα φεύγοντι στείνωπῳ* *Od.* 18.386). The verb also means secondarily ‘to be straitened for room’ (*στείνωπῳ δὲ λαοί* *Il.* 14.34), ‘to be full’ (*γαῖα στείνωμένη* Hsd. *Tb.* 160), *στείνωμενος νεκίεσσι* of a river ‘thronged by the dead men’ (*Il.* 21.220).

στενὸς τόπος Hsch):⁵⁷ *στενωπὸς ὁδός II. 7.143 τὸν ... ἔπεφνε ... στενωπῶ ἐν ὁδῶ* ‘for he killed him in the narrow pass of the way’ (also 23.416), *ἐν οὕτω στενωπῶ* ‘in so narrow a space’ (Diod.Sic. 31.9).⁵⁸ Especially interesting is its meaning ‘mountain-pass, defile’, e.g. Soph. *OT* 1398–9 Ὡ τρεῖς κέλευθοι καὶ κεκρυμμένη νάπη, / ὄρυμός τε καὶ στενωπὸς ἐν τριπλαῖς ὁδοῖς ‘ο three paths and hidden glen, thicket and defile in threefold ways’.

στενόπορος ‘with a narrow pass’,⁵⁹ τὰ στενόπορα ‘narrows’ (Hdt. 7.223), -ον (7.211, Xen.) ‘a strait, narrow’: Hdt. 7.223 οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στενόπορα ἐμάχοντο τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἕξω τῶν στενῶν... , Thuc. 7.73.2 καὶ τὰ στενόπορα τῶν χωρίων... φυλάσσειν ‘to keep watch on the defiles’, cf. also Xen. *HG* 4.6.9 χαλεπὸν δ’ ἡγήσάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν... , Diod.Sic.13.18.6 τὰ στενόπορα τῶν ὁδῶν.⁶⁰

στενυγρός ‘narrow’: Sem. *fi*: 14.3 West *μοῦνος στενυγρῆ συμπεσὺν ἐν ἀτραπῶ* ‘meeting alone (a leopard) on a narrow path’, also *στενυγρῆ* ‘pass, strait’ (Late Oracles).⁶¹

We can therefore conclude that the meaning of Att. *στενός*, Ion. *στεινός* ‘narrow’, pl. neut. ‘narrow places’ (also in compounds) perfectly matches the basic meaning we assume for *τέμπεα*, -η (§3). This allows the assumption that pl. *στε(ι)νά* (PGk. **stenimó-*) is the substitutory continuant of the old inherited *τέμπεα* (IE **tēmpo/es-*) which has remained obsolete, as a place-name and as a poetic word.

7. Once it has been established that *τέμπεα*, -η is a narrow-pass (: *στενά*), but also a depression (: *κοῖλα*, *αὐλών*) and goes back to **tēmp-es-* ‘narrow’ (and *‘stretched’), a short remark on *ταπεινός* ‘low’ (Hdt., Pind.+) may be in order. Bally’s interpretation of the term as **tēmpes-nó-* (§1) is semantically acceptable: a connection between ‘stretched out in length’ and ‘low-lying’ is easily conceivable in the case of a territory or an island⁶² (e.g. *νῆσος περὲκ λιμένος τετάνυσται* ‘an island that spreads away from the harbor’ *Od.* 9.116): Hdt. 4.191 ἡ μὲν [χώρα] γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς Λιβύης... ἐστὶ ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης, Arist. *Met.* 352b32 διὸ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην τὴν Ἀμμωνίαν χώρων ταπεινότερα φαίνεται καὶ κοιλότερα (‘lower and hollower’), Diod.Sic. 3.21 *νῆσοι γὰρ εἰσι... ταπειναί*, cf. also *ταπεινὰ νέμεσθαι* ‘to live in the low regions’ (Pind. *Nem.* 3.82 *κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται* ‘and the cawing jackdaws live in the low regions [of the air]’ in contrast to the eagles).

A possible objection to a zero-grade neuter **tēmp-es-* (and **tēmp-es-nó-*) is that one

⁵⁷Cf. Eust. 4, p. 756, l. 10 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τε πῶ στενωπὸς ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τὸ εὐρωπός.

⁵⁸Also of straits (*στενωπὸν ἀνεπλόμεν Od.* 12.234; *στενωπὸν πλησίον θαλασσίου Aesch. Prom.* 364, Soph. *OT* 366, et al.), of the entrance to Hades (*στενωπὸς Ἰδίου Soph. fr.* 832).

⁵⁹Among others of *πύλαι* (Aesch. *Prom.* 729), of *ἕξοδοι* (Eur. *Andr.* 1143).

⁶⁰Cf. also Xen. *HG* 4.6.9 *χαλεπὸν δ’ ἡγήσάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν... , Diod.Sic. 13.18.6 τὰ στενόπορα τῶν ὁδῶν.*

⁶¹The form, being a synonym of *στενός*, is morphologically unclear: according to de Lamberterie 1990:261–2, the second member *ογρός* goes back to **-u-ró-* with secondary introduction of *-g-* (*-u-g-ró-*), like in *kāruš* ‘herald’ vs. Ved. *kāru-* ‘singer of praise’, and may perhaps be connected with a putative Arm. **sting* ‘narrow’ (**stenimó-*) underlying *stingam*, -ac’i ‘to suffer under tensions’ (**pehb₂* ‘wide, broad’, Hitt. *palli-* ‘id.’), Pahl. *tanuk*.

⁶²The term is also applied to persons, in a physical and in a moral sense. This may be a secondary development.

would expect *τέμπε- and *τέμπε-νό-, with full grade, as in ἔλεινός ‘pitied’ (: ἔλεος ‘pity’), ἔρεβεννός ‘dark’ (: ἔρεβος ‘darkness’), ὄρεινός ‘mountainous’ (: ὄρος) and the like. In any case, it is a fact that zero-grade neuters coexist with (and are attested later than) those with full grade in one and the same lexeme, e.g. Class. Gk. βάθος ‘depth’ (: βαθύς ‘deep’) or πάθος ‘sorrow, experience’ beside Hom. βένθος ‘depth’, πένθος ‘sorrow’. Consequently, *τάπος (*ταρpes-) beside τέμπος*, τέμπεα is easily conceivable.

On the other hand, ταπεινός ‘low’ could have been created (directly on *ταπύς) beside τέμπος* on the model of αἰπεινός ‘high, steep’ :: αἰπύς ‘id.’ (both Hom. +)⁶³ :: αἶπος ‘height, steep’ (Aesch.). The possibility of an adjective *τήμψ-ύ- seems in fact to be supported by the existence of *τήμψ-ύ- (Gk. τανυ°, Ved. tanú-) to synonymous *tenh₂- (§6) and PGk. *sten-. Accordingly we may assume ταπεινός :: *ταπύς :: τέμπος* beside αἰπεινός :: αἰπύς :: αἶπος in the framework of the Caland system. The antonymy between ταπεινός and αἰπεινός, αἰπύς is evident when they refer to the sky, cf. ταπεινὰ νέμονται (Pind. Nem. 3.82) and Bacch. 3.35–6 ... χέρας δ’ [ἔς / αἰ]πὺν αἰθέρα σ[φ]ετέρας ἀείρας, Soph. Aj. 845 Σὺ δ’, ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν. This possible explanation of ταπεινός deserves full consideration in its formal and semantic details.⁶⁴

8. To sum up: Gk. (pl.) τέμπεα, -η, originally ‘a narrow space’ between mountains, means ‘defile’ (τὰ στενὰ τῶν ὄρων), also ‘valley’ and ‘hollow’ (κοῖλα, αὐλῶν), as the Greek sources and the geography of Ancient Thessaly clearly show. The term goes back to IE *τέμψ-es- ‘stretching’ (*τέμψ- : *ten-p- ‘stretch’, an extended variant of *ten-) and reflects the last phase of the semantic shift from (a) ‘stretched out’ (Lat. *tempus* ‘time [extension]’) to (b) ‘long, fine’ (*tempus* ‘temple’ [* ‘stretched skin’], *templum* ‘beam’) and ‘narrow’: the meaning ‘defile, narrow pass’ reflects (b), ‘valley’ may reflect (a). The same shift is attested beyond any doubt for *ten(h₂)- ‘stretch’ (Ved. tanóti, Gk. τανυ[ο/ε]-), as seen in Gk. τανυ°, Ved. tanú- ‘long and thin’ (*τήμψ-ύ-), Gk. τανείαι ‘beams’ and, especially, in Gk. στενός (*stenuó-) ‘narrow’. The inherited term τέμπεα, -η (attested only as a poetic term and as a place-name) is replaced in Greek by τὰ στενά, Ion. στεινά, which is in fact its substitutory continuant. The Hesychian gloss τέμπη· τὰ σύνδε(ν)δρα χωρία τινές δὲ τὰ στενὰ τῶν ὄρων can hardly be more exact in its last part. One need only understand that the glossist did not realize that τέμπεα and στενά were connected etymologically as the reflexes of variants of IE *ten- ‘stretch’. Class. Gk. ταπεινός ‘low-lying’ may belong to the same word family as τέμπος*, and stand in the same relation as αἰπεινός to αἶπος.

Abbreviations

DELG = Chantraine, Pierre. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck.

⁶³So the formula αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα# (Od. 6.123 Νυμφάων, αἰ ἔχρουσ’ ὄρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα ‘who keep the towering peaks of the mountain’, II. 2.869) beside ὄρος αἰπύ (II. 2.603 ... Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ), αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον (3.485 ... λιπέτην δὲ Πύλου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον). Cf. also αἰπήεις Πήγασον αἰπήεσαν (II. 21.87).

⁶⁴I plan to treat this topic in detail elsewhere.

- DELL⁺ = Ernout, Alfred, and Antoine Meillet. 1967. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*. 4th ed. Paris: Klincksieck.
- EDG = Beekes, Robert S. P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.
- EDL = de Vaan, Michiel. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden: Brill.
- GEW = Frisk, Hjalmar. 1960–73. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- IEW = Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1. Bern: Francke.
- LIV² = Rix, Helmut, ed. 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

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