1. There are only three forms which are currently attributed to the Avestan verb *siiazd-/*sif. 'to withdraw; to expel, banish', viz. -iia-present participles act. *siidamn- (Yt 19.84), med. *siidamna- (Y 32.4), and 3sg. subj. act. *siidazai (Y 34.9).

Let us first look at the present, where the active participle seems to be transitive whereas the middle participle is intransitive:

Yt 19.84
yaj imqm daenqm dstaota
dufmainiim siZdiio +daeuuq +apaufauqi
so that he (= Kavi Vītākṣa) pronounced for this religion, expelling the enemy, driving out the daevas.

Y 32.4
mafiid ... vaxJ1)te daeuuqzunftd valJhfjuf sF:f!liiamnd mana1JhO
The mortals will increase the things agreeable to daevas, withdrawing from good thinking.

The diathesis opposition in the present is unusual: Avestan iia-presents, just as their Sanskrit counterparts, are normally either active, or middle (cf. Kulikov 2001: 565). Kellens (1984: 36) mentions only six iia-presents where both voices are found, and, remarkably, the medial forms are in this case always the participles. Three verbs - *ah- 'to throw', *jad- 'to ask', *varz- 'to work, accomplish' - are transitive in the active, and passive in the middle (participles 'thrown', 'asked', 'accomplished'). Two verbs (*vaxJ- 'to grow' and *uruuis- 'to turn') are intransitive both in the active and in the middle, the middle forms being hapaxes (Vr 12.5 frauismna, Yt 4.8 uruuisamna), most probably of secondary origin.

It is clear that, if our interpretation of the forms is correct, *siiazd- occupies a unique position. It does not belong to the group of the transitive verbs, since *siidamn- 'withdrawing' is not passive and since the adjective *siidha- 'evasive,

Avestan *siiazd-, Sanskrit *sad-, Latin *edere

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2. This is the text given by Hintze 1994: 353. Geldner edited dalnasimna siidsi daiunam apsu dalonaq. For the last two words cf. also Schmittler 1982: 189, 208.9 and de Vaan 2002: 354f., who proposes to read *daiunam *siidamnana.
variants given in Geldner's edition:

3 The word is spelled with -š in Y 8.36, and with -š in V 13.2. As indicated by de Vaan 2002: 166f., -š is the usual reading in front of š.
5 When the manuscript of this article was finished, I saw that the same emendation had already been proposed by Pirart 1992: 109f.
6 Cf. also GA 5v 30–44, 3onadaiti 35g, subj. root aor. ‘make afraid, vex’ vs. Skt. bhkāhyati ‘be angry’ (Humbach 1959: 56, fn. 65).
7 Thus already Westergaard, who basis his edition on manuscript K5.

2. Now we can turn to the aorist. Y 34.9 ši₃adaj has traditionally been translated intransitively (‘will withdraw, retreat’), but the two latest translations of the Gāthās (Kellens & Pirart 1988, Humbach 1991 I), take the form as transitive, while interpreting maš as nom.sg. of the noun / adjective maš- ‘a great (one), master, chief, father’, cf.

Y 34.9 aššišši maš ašša ši₃adaj ši₃adaj ašša maš₃a₃ma₃ maš₃a₃ma₃ aššišša

... far from them a master shall chase away truths, as far from us as the fierce beasts (are to be chased) (Humbach)

... le (mauvais) chef éloigne de ceux-là les Harmonies aussi loin que les in­fects (dieux) fuves (les éloignent) de nous (Kellens-Pirart)

It seems to me that the transitive interpretation is more attractive because the wild beasts do not normally retreat from us, but must be chased away (we shall come across another argument in favor of this interpretation below). A combination of an intransitive ſi₃-present and a transitive root aorist is also found with the root *s₃ad₃, s₃ad₃a₃ta₃, s₃ad₃a₃ta₃ (Y 29.1) vs. the fierce beasts (are to be chased) (Humbach)

3.1. There is one more form, which, in my opinion, belongs to the aorist of ši₃ad₃, viz. GA 5v (Y 48.7) ši₃id₂um, as it was edited by Geldner. Bartholomae in his dictionary opted for ši₃id₂um, and this reading entered all subsequent publications, although Geldner's choice was most probably correct. Consider the variants given in Geldner's edition: ši₃id₂um J2; ši₃id₂um J6, Jm1; ši₃id₂um P6; ši₃id₂um J3; ši₃id₂um J7, Jm2, Dn1, O2, S2, K10, L3; ši₃id₂um H1; ši₃id₂um L2; ši₃id₂um L1, B2; ši₃id₂um Jm3; ši₃id₂um K11, C1; ši₃id₂um Jh2; ši₃id₂um K5.4, ši₃id₂um K5.4, ši₃id₂um K5.4, ši₃id₂um K5.4,

... ni aefgma ni diidtqm paiti siiOzdiim

The form paiti ši₃id₂um can be interpreted as 2pl. aor. impv. middle of ši₃ad₃. The passage can be translated: ‘Let fury be stopped!’ We do not know the exact bearing of the terms aefgma and diidtqm, but they clearly refer to violence against the cow, the followers of Zarathustra being summoned to abolish cow sacrifices. From the semantic point of view, the transitive aorist of ši₃ad₃ perfectly suits the context. The middle has the so-called ‘self-beneficient’ function, i.e. ‘away from yourselves’ or ‘in your own interest’. The transitive meaning of this aorist imperative confirms the transitive interpretation of ši₃ad₃, discussed in § 2.

3.2. The reading ši₃id₂um / gyid₂um, on the other hand, leads to insurmountable semantic difficulties. This form seems to be 2pl. impv. med. *si₃id₂um of ši₃id₂um, but what would this root mean? Bartholomae assumed the meaning ‘weh­ren’, but was unable to find an etymology. Therefore, Kuiper suggested to compare ši₃id₂um with Skt. dyata, which not only means ‘to fall out’, but ‘in
Zusammenfassung mit Präverben hat es die allgemeine Bedeutung von lat. *sīa-, z.B. *attāyate 'herauskommen aus, verlassen, discedere', *apāyete 'hinzu­kommen, accelerē'" (1939: 64 = 1997: 220). However, the usage referred to by Kuiper is only attested in later Vedics (JB) and is clearly secondary, the original meaning of *sīa- being 'to fall (down)'. Finally, according to the nowadays generally accepted analysis (Humbach, Insler, Kellens), *sīa- means 'to cut' and is cognate with Skt. *chā- 'to skin', but the translations are rather forced, cf. Humbach 1959: 'haut ein auf die Fesseln'; Humbach 1991 I: 'Chop up fury', Insler: 'Cut away cruelty!', Kellens & Pirart: 'Tranchez l'Entrave', and the function of the preverb *paiti remains unclear. The grammar of Hoffmann & Fossman takes an intermediate position, postulating the meaning of the root as 'wehren' and still keeping the etymological connection with Skt. *chā-.

Furthermore, the other forms of *Av. *sīa- are doubtful, too. The only other finite form that has been attributed to this root is *Y 31.18 *sīdām *ṣādham (as 2pl. impv. med.) Here again, the meaning does not really suit the context of the text: the translations of *sīa- are 2pl. impv. med. s-aor. Here again, the meaning does not really suit the context of the preverb *paiti remains unclear. Therefore cut these down with your \textit{weapon}' (Insler 1975), or 'coupez de votre couteau ses (formules et ses leçons)' as 2pl. impv. med. pres. of the root *sā- which we have already postulated for *Yt 19.84.19

6. To recapitulate, we can represent the aoristo of Avestan *sīa- as a follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item present med. (intr.) \textit{siיdd\textit{aa}mā} 'withdrawing, flinching'
  \item root aor.act. (trans.) \textit{siיa} (?)
  \item root subj. \textit{siיa-} 'will chase away, expel'
  \item impv. med. (paiti) \textit{siיd\textit{h}im} 'banish!'
  \item causative act. \textit{sfιy\textit{a-siιa}\textit{d}\textit{a}t\textit{i} \textit{siιa\textit{d}\textit{a}t\textit{a}i} \textit{siιa\textit{d}\textit{a}}' \textit{chase away}'
  \item [adj.] \textit{siι\textit{a}-} 'evasive, shy'
\end{itemize}

Within Iranian, *sīa- has a probable cognate in Chor. *sī- to avoid' (Schwartz apud Henning & MacKenzie 33) < *ap\textit{a}-\textit{h\textit{a}θ\textit{a}}- (Samadi). Since Bartholomae GIP: 77, the root has been further connected with Skt. *śa- 'to be left

14 A possible derivative of this root is *ā\textit{m\textit{a}}- at Yt 19.44 (…)*ā\textit{m\textit{n}}om and Yt 13.136 fra\textit{ϕ\textit{i}\textit{a}}\textit{r\textit{a}}\textit{t} *frā\textit{i\textit{a}}\textit{m\textit{n}}a\textit{h}, for which see Cheung, forthcoming.
15 Thus already Altheim 1949: 264 ('Belehrte sie durch die Waffe').
16 Insler 1975 takes it as an adj. from *u *lie', assuming that it stands for *\textit{raa} \textit{a} or *\textit{t\textit{a}}\textit{x}, and translates the first line: 'This is equal to the best indeed (for him) who surely lies in the \ldots of the Wondrous One'.

\section{Av. *sīa-}

\textit{Avestan *sīa-}, Sanskrit *sābhā, Latin *śābā

\textit{Av. *sīa-} regularly yield \textit{Av. *śa} (cf. 3sg. *sā- or *śā- to seem, please) < *ś	extit{a}-\textit{r\textit{h}}-\textit{th}, Beebes 1988: 102). There are no other verbal forms in the first two lines, and it is probable that *śa is a verb.

5. Finally, in order to complete the dossier of the root *sīa- let us look at F 25a (Klingenschmitt 695) *frā\textit{i\textit{a}}\textit{m\textit{n}}a\textit{h} and A 3.13 *fr\textit{a\textit{u}} \textit{a-si\textit{a}}\textit{n\textit{a}}\textit{i} (1934: 237, cf. also Kellens 1984: 147) has proposed to emend F 25a *frā\textit{i\textit{a}}\textit{m\textit{n}}a\textit{h} to *frā\textit{i\textit{a}}\textit{n\textit{a}}\textit{i}, so that we are probably dealing with a single causative formation. Bartholomae has set up a separate root (fr\textit{a\textit{u}}-\textit{y\textit{a}}- *propelleire, *fort-, *ver­gen') for these forms, but this root has no secure parallels either in Iranian, or outside. The meaning of *frā\textit{i\textit{a}}\textit{n\textit{a}}\textit{i} is so close to that of *sīa- that Kuiper 1934: 236f. considered *sīa- and *frā\textit{i\textit{a}}\textit{n\textit{a}}\textit{i} parallel root enlargements. It is therefore tempting to consider frā\textit{n\textit{a}}\textit{i-a\textit{i} as a corruption of *frā\textit{n\textit{a}}\textit{a}i\textit{a\textit{i}}, a causative to *sīa-, which we have already postulated for *Yt 19.84.19
over', but this etymology leaves the *d̪h* unaccounted for and is semantically not evident. Humbach (1991 II: 111) compared *sēdh- with Skt. *siṣṭhāti 'to drive, chase away', albeit without any further comments. Mayrhofer (EWA 1 s.v. SEDH) did not take up this comparison, but Humbach's idea seems attractive to me. Let us try to seriously consider this etymological proposal.

First of all, the semantic match is perfect. Humbach has pointed to many parallels, cf. RV 8.23.13c: stīvād aṣṭaḥ purāt rākṣasmiṣ्टi *sēdhāti 'Agni chases all Rakṣases away', 6.47.29d: dārāvāvā dāvā dāvā *sēdhā dārāvāvā 'chase away the enemies farther than far!', 1.105.11c: te *sēdhantā patīḥ sīkṣāṃ 'they chase the wolf off the path'. Secondly, Skt. *sēdh- is used with the same preverbs as *siṣṭh-, viz. prāti, prātā, āpa (cf. Chor. *aṣṭa-vrāgyā), although one can argue that these preverbs are only to be expected with a verb of such semantics. Thirdly, it is remarkable that in old Vedic texts, formations with zero grade of the root are clearly avoided: we find present *sēdhāti, it-svār. sēdhāk, pf. *sīṣṭhādāi, SB nīṣṭhādī, antīṣṭhādī, possibly AVS 1.18.4 āvātādī, 'kine-repelling'. The zero-grade is attested in the intensive annuṣṭhādī (RV 1.23.15b), the attribution of which is not certain (see Schaefer 1994: 196f. for a discussion), and in apasīṭhāya AVS 8.2.7. The aps-participle is found at SB 2.5.2.27 nīṣṭhāī, where it stands directly after nīṣṭhādī, and otherwise in the JB. Accordingly, it looks as if the zero-grade is secondary, which would be in conformity with the reconstruction *ṣajhā.20 It is conceivable that the Skt. present *sēdhāti goes back to the subjunctive of the root aorist, which would account for the transitive meaning.

The only serious problem is that of the anlaut, since Iranian *dʒ̪- (from PIFR. *dʒ̪-) and Sanskrit r̥- (apparently, from PIFR. *r̥-) do not match. Nevertheless, I do not think that this fact is an insurmountable obstacle to the etymology: The loss of ṛ- in the initial cluster *r̥- is not without parallels in Sanskrit, cf. śr̥-thread, jñān- 'basket' < *śiṇj-. Note further that word-initial ṛ- is unattested in Sanskrit.21

In order to account for Skt. ṛ- instead of expected *r̥-, we have to consider the fact that Sanskrit has a tendency towards a kind of 'sibilant harmony'. Initial *r̥- often becomes ṛ-, if there is ṛ or ṛ in the root, cf. Skt. ṛyus 'to be dry' < *mṛ-, hā śārura- 'father-in-law' < *mṛ̥-, śūrām 'beard' < *smṛ̥-, etc. (NEGr. I: 224). Klingenschmitt (1975: 77, fn. 3) has shown that also non-initial ṛ- can be assimilated to the initial ṛ-, cf. lāhl- 'hare' < *laśha,32 In a root like *gāryā, it was hardly possible to assimilate ṛ- to the initial ṛ-, because ṛ- was "protected" by

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20 On a higher level, it is conceivable that *sēdh- is related to Skt. śip- and further to śipate 'fail out' (cf. Kuiper 1934: 236f).
21 RV 1.32.13a, for a discussion of this form see Gonō 1987: 327, fn. 793.
22 AVS ṛyām- 'muceau' (12.1.30b), also spelled śīhva- in the mss., must no doubt be emended to śiṣṭha- 'id.' on the basis of the parallel AVP passage (17.3.10b), which has śeṣṭhra in Kashmir, and śeṣṭha in Orissa.
23 We find a somewhat similar picture in the Vedic 'ruki' reflexes. There are several cases where s does not undergo 'ruki' if the next syllable contains s, cf. dh-panḍa, annuṣṭhādāi, 2sg. sitāsam (vs. 3sg. sitāsak, 3sg. impv. sitāsakā, 2pl. impv. sitāsakā, nī- in several, etc. which points to dissimilation s...s > s...s only at a second level forms of the root Vedh-, and compensatory lengthening.26 Let us review the evidence usually given for the reflex st-.
24 Since we reconstruct PIFR. *gāryā with *d̪, we must shortly discuss the development of PIE *gādh in Latin. Since Szemerényi 1952, it has become generally accepted that this cluster yields Latin st (cf., for instance, Meiser 1998: 119). Before that, the development of *gāh was considered uncertain,25 because next to the st-reflex we also find crīdī < *kṛṣṭī < *kṛṣṭī- (Stk. nṛdāhās) and audiō < *əyədī- (Gr. ḍ(τ)ēskəbəus) with *d- and compensatory lengthening26. The se­

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(2) Lat. vastus 'wide, immensely large' (Ofr. fata 'long'), fiet, fiat 'length');
(3) Lat. custus 'guard' (Got. harsq 'treasure', Gr. keusqo 'to hide');
(4) Lat. aestus 'heat', aestas 'summer' (Gr. aôdo).

The first two words have limited distribution and are likely to be loan-words from a European substrate, which is further indicated by the variation in the vocalism (\*a - in hastu vs. \*a - in Umbr. hastas 'harvests'), analogous with 'non harvests', Lat. vastus vs. Ofr. fiet) and in the consonantism (cf. also Ofr. gas 'twig' < \*-st-). At what stage these words entered the language and in which form is unknown, but they are irrelevant to the fate of PIE *\*g* in Latin.

The connection of custus with the Germanic words for 'treasure' as well as its derivation from the IE root for 'to hide' seem very doubtful to me. Szemerenyi's suggestion (1952: 45ft) to derive both Latin and Germanic words from PIE *\*g* (palace, treasure house, treasure' on account of Avestan \*koazh-d is also unattractive.

As for aestus, aestas (which at any rate is a different case, representing a reflex of \*a-\*a\*a\*a), I would rather assume that in *aetens, *aetass, the - of the suffix was restored.

8. We may conclude that PIE *\*g* yields Latin d with compensatory lengthening28 and that PIIr. *\*g* is likely to be connected with Lat. sédem. The PIE root must then be reconstructed as *\*keto*. The structure of this root is admittedly quite unusual and may point to a compound29, but further analysis must be reserved for another occasion.

References

Cheung, J., forthcoming: Die Sprache.

27 The Avestan word is only attested at Yt 5.128 as the second member of the compound \*alta-haôfia, interpreted by Szemerenyi as 'with eight turrets'. The compound is an epithet of the hapax pasas, traditionally glossed as 'ladens', but taken by Szemerenyi to mean 'crown', more specifically, a Roman corona muralis.
28 Since the sound law \*g* > \*s is seen as 'eines der stärksten Argumente dafür, daß die urirdg. Mediae Aspiratae im Italischen zunächst als stimulose Spiranten fortgesetzt wurden' (Meiser 1998: 119), the whole theory must probably be abandoned.
29 Cf. Skt. mityafás, \*as méculo m. 'sacrificial meal' < \*mityat(h)yás vs. As. méculo, etc. < \*mitad(h)yás.
Gr. ἰμάς, ἰμώνα y otra forma emparentada: aिमासि

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§ 1. Desde Homero se encuentra atestiguada en la lengua griega la forma aिमासि. La etimología de esta palabra ha sido debatida y, al parecer, no se ha encontrado un punto de conexión con otras palabras griegas. Sin embargo, aिमासि debe ser puesta en relación con ἰμάς y ἰμώνα, tal como se expondrá en las próximas páginas.

En un primer momento se revisarán brevemente los testimonios de ἰμάς y ἰμώνα, para pasar más adelante a estudiar aिमासि. Finalmente se ofrecerá la conexión léxica y etimológica que une estas dos formas.

§ 2. Ya en el epós homérico aparece el sustantivo ἰμάς. Relacionada con este aparece, más adelante, también otra palabra ἰμώνα (Aristoph. ἕ). Estas dos palabras tienen asimismo diversas derivaciones y, en su conjunto, permiten establecer dos sentidos muy concretos bajo los que se agrupan los derivados de una y otra. Por una parte se encuentra ἰμάς con el significado de 'correa' y por otra ἰμώνα con el significado de 'cuerda, soga (del pozo)'.

Las apariciones de ἰμάς en Homero indican claramente que se hace siempre referencia a una 'correa', es decir una 'tira de cuero'. Esto resulta evidente porque en el epós se hace mención casi constante del material de ἰμάς y su aparición: ἰμάντα βοῦς 'correa de buey' (II 3.375), βοῶν ... ἰμάντος 'correas bovinas' (II 22.397), πολύκεστος ἰμάς 'correa recamada' (II 3.371), κεστόν ἰμάντα / ποικίλον 'correa bordada colorida' (II 14.214), ἰμάντα βοῦς φαῖνα, φαῖναν 'correa bovina reluciente de púrpura' (Od 23.201), etc.3

1 El significado técnico reciente 'vigá' no es relevante en esta discusión.

2 En otras ocasiones se utiliza la misma expresión para describir un cinturón en II 6.219 (y también en II 7.305); ὀνός μὲν μετὰ τὴν δῶρον φαῖναν φαῖναν 'En eso le dio un cinturón reluciente de púrpura', ἀνάκεισα λάφον αὐτόν ... νότον φαῖνας φαῖνας 'el equino crezó ... recién reluciente de púrpura' (II 15.537).

3 Un caso especial es el de la pechera de Afrodit a en II 14.214 ss., pues no se trata de una correa fina como en otros caso sino, al parecer, de más bien de una 'bandolera' que contiene o de la que cualquiera s'encuentra (14.215 ss): el amor, el deseo, el amoroso susurro, la seducción.