Hdt. 4.79 διεπρήστευσε*

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This paper examines the form διεπρήστευσε, obelized in the editions of Herodotus. There have been two ways of interpreting the form: some scholars have taken it to refer to an act of speech, while others have sought here a verb of motion. Both groups of scholars proposed a variety of conjectures, some of them *addenda lexicis* and none of them commanding immediate acceptance. After a review of various solutions that have been proposed to-date, this paper argues in favor of retaining the reading of the paradosis and analyzing (-)πρηστεύω as a verb of quick motion. The verb is argued to be an Ionic colloquialism (or even Herodotus' own *Augenblicksbildung*), derived from the root of πίμπρημι in its original meaning 'to blow' (of which 'to burn' is a secondary development) via an agent noun πρηστήρ / *πρήστης, cf. μνηστεύω 'woo' : μνηστήρ 'suitor' or δυναστεύω 'hold power' : δυνάστης 'person with power'. The proposed translation 'blasted, dashed' is supported by typological parallels for the semantic development 'to blow' → 'to move (impetuously)', such as Old English *blǽstan* 'to blow; to move impetuously' or Russian *dut'* 'to blow; to dash, to rush'. Interestingly, Hittite *(parip) parāi-*, the cognate of Gk. πίμπρημι, may show the same semantic development: 'to blow', 'to ignite fire by blowing' > 'to move swiftly'.

Keywords: agent nouns, etymology, Herodotus, Hittite, Indo-European reconstruction, paragogic *-s-*, textual criticism.

V. V. Zelchenko quinquagesimum aetatis annum explenti

According to Herodotus (4.78–80),[1] Skyles was the illegitimate child of the Scythian king Ariapithes; his mother taught him the Greek language and he was much given to

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Greek customs. When he succeeded his father and became king, he started taking frequent trips to Olbia, a Milesian colony of the Borysthenites, which seems to have been a Scythian protectorate at the time:[2] there he would leave his retinue outside the city, shed his Scythian attire, change into Greek clothes and enjoy the Greek way of life for a few weeks before returning home. He was able to get away with his double life for some time, built a splendid house in Olbia, guarded by sphinxes and griffons in white marble, and even took a Greek woman (γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην) as his second wife. However, this cross-cultural experience did not end well for Skyles: he was initiated into the rites of Dionysus,[3] but when a group of Scythians was able to secretly observe their king dancing through the streets in a state of Dionysiac madness, they — predictably — viewed this as a blatant transgression of Scythian religious practices. On the way back to Scythia, Skyles' people revolted against him, and he ended up beheaded by his own brother.[4]

In the middle of this fascinating story there is a problem of considerable textual and linguistic interest, namely, the second verbal form in the following sentence:

ἐπείτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, <u>διεπρήστευσε</u> τῶν τις[5] Βορυσθενεϊτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων· Ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελᾶτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἕπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω (Hdt. 4.79).

"As soon as Skyles was initiated, one of the Borysthenites *διεπρήστευσε* to/at the Scythians and said 'you, Scythians, laugh at us because we celebrate Bacchus and the god takes possession of us. Well, now the same divinity has taken possession of your own king so that he is engaged in Bacchic frenzy and is driven mad by the god. If you do not trust me, follow me and I will show you.'"

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[1] On Hdt. 4.78–80 in general, including the Dionysiac element of the story, see e. g. Henrichs 1994, 47–51; S. West 2007, 85–91; Hinge 2008; Agnolon 2020.

[2] See Vinogradov 1980, 77–78; 1989, 81–109.

[3] On the possible relationship between this story and the bone tablets from Olbia (*SEG* 28.659) see M. West 1982, 25; for "Orphism" in Olbia in general see e. g. Vinogradov 1991; Zhmud' 1992; Vinogradov 2000, 329–330.

[4] Herodotus' story may bear an uncanny resemblance both to the story of Anacharsis (Hdt. 4.76–77) and to the tragic tale of king Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*, but the historicity of king Skyles has found archeological support: around 1935, a golden signet ring bearing his name was found a few miles south of Istros (according to Herodotus, the birth place of Skyles' mother), see Vinogradov 1981; Dubois 1996, 11–13. In addition, bronze coins bearing the letters ΣΚΥΛ(Ε) and datable to 450 BCE have been found in the remains of the ancient city of Niconium (see Zaginailo and Karyshkovskii 1990; Dubois 1996, 11). The inscription on the ring can be dated to early-to-middle fifth century (Vinogradov 1981, 12); Hornblower (2000, 132) dates the Scyles episode to about 460 BCE based on the synchronism with the Thracian dynasty of Teres and Sitalces. The Scythian aversion to Greek cults — as described by Herodotus — has likewise found archeological confirmation in the letter discovered in Olbia and dated to 550–530 (see Ivantchik 2005, 102, n. 160; A. V. Buiskikh *apud* Braund 2007, 46, n. 31) in which a Greek priest complains to his colleague in Olbia that the locals (o]ἱ θηρευταὶ τῶν ἵππων — nomads?) had destroyed Greek altars (Dubois 1996, 55–63). On the general veracity of Herodotus' Scythian logos, see e. g. the response by Pritchett (1993, 37–38, 191–226) to Hartog (1988, 62–84), as well as Bäbler 2011 and Ivantchik 2011.

[5] For the typical Herodotean use of indefinite τις after the article in constructions with partitive genitive cf. 1.51 τῶν τις Δελφῶν; 1.85 τῶν τις Περσέων; 2.137 τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων; 3.151 τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων; 4.76 τῶν τις Σκυθέων; 8.90 τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, etc.

The verb διαπρηστεύω is only attested here and its precise meaning is unknown;[6] it is obelized by Rosén and Wilson, as well as by Bernabé (*OF* 563T).[7] And yet, a form of this verb likely stood in the archetype of our Herodotean manuscripts:[8] according to Wilson's *app.crit.*, διεπρήστευσε is transmitted in **D**, **R** and other mss. of the Roman family, while **A** (Laur. plut. 70.3, often hailed as the best manuscript of Herodotus) as well as **B** and **C** of the same Florentine family, have ἐπρήστευσε (preferred by Rosén).[9] The purpose of this note is to clarify the form, meaning and etymology of this Herodotean *hapax*.

There have been two ways of interpreting the form: some scholars have taken it to refer to an act of speech (the Borysthenite gibed at the Scythians as they were unaware that their king was participating in Greek rituals[10]), while others have sought here a verb of motion (the Borysthenite went to the Scythians to report that their king was participating in Greek rituals).[11] Both groups of scholars proposed a variety of conjectures, some of them *addenda lexicis* and none of them commanding immediate acceptance.[12] The stan-

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[6] Cf. Wesseling *apud* Schweighäuser 1820, 429: "de famoso ἐπρήστευσε sive διεπρήστευσε neque scio quid dicam aut conjectem"; Stein (1868, 239 n. 13): "das unverständliche διεπρήστευσε" (same formulation in Abicht 1886, 2.70); Stein (1883, 103): "das idiotische διεπρήστευσε".

[7] As well as by P. Maas in his annotated copy of Hude's edition, see Wilson 2011, 64; διεπρήστευσε is printed without daggers by Bähr and Hude.

[8] Macan 1895, 55 aptly describes διεπρήστευσε as a "ἅπαξ λεγ., but almost certainly the true reading".

[9] Ms. **S** (Cambridge, Emmanuel College 30) has διεπίστευσε which is in all likelihood a gloss, possibly by the scribe himself (Andronicus Callistus); the form was, however, chosen by Passow (1841–1857, 1.657) as the true reading.

[10] Stein 1893, 75, n. 13: "höhnen, spotten"; Godley 1920–1924, 2.281: "scoffed at the Scythians"; How & Wells 1928, 1.330: "gibed at"; Horneffer 1971, 281: "sagte höhnend"; Marg 1985, 346: "wollte irgendein Borystheneïte den Skythen eins auswischen (viz. to get back at them — *A. N.*) und sagte"; Grene 1987, 310: "made a joke of the matter"; Strassler 2007, 314: "taunted the Scythians".

[11] Rawlinson 1880, 69: "went and carried the news"; Legrand 1932–1954, 4.96: "alla faire de gorges chaudes ches les Scythes" (for the "gorges chaudes" see below n. 26); Powell 1949, 304: "hastened without"; Braun 1985, 301: "lief ein Borysthenit zu den Skythen hinaus"; Waterfield 1998, 261: "hurried off"; Mensch 2014, 229: "went to the Scythians and said"; Fraschetti in Asheri et al. 1993, 95: "si recò furtivamente".

[12] The conjectures of which I am aware are listed below in chronological order. <u>*Verbum loquendi vel sim.*</u>: (1) διεπρέσβευσε 'acted as an ambassador' (Gale *apud* Wesseling 1763, 318, and, independently, Allen 1939, 45; but the Greek was not an envoy on an official mission); (2) διεπερίσσευσε 'nimia loquacitate rem effutiit', viz. 'boasted?' (Reiz 1808, xviii, with a very forced translation of an unattested verb); (3) διεθρήσκευσε 'divulged the sacred rites' (Riemer 1823, 453: "Allein von Überlaufen ist dort gar nicht die Rede, sondern von Verrath u. Ausschwätzen religiöser Mysterien", but the Scythians were unlikely to be interested in the details of the Greek ritual; the verb is unattested and the proposed meaning is utterly contrived); (4) διέπρησσε 'transegit', viz. 'traded (information)' (Negris 1833, 343; syntactically difficult (with πρός) and semantically strained); (5) διεπρίστευσε 'irritated' (Badham 1869, 32; but πρίω is not found in figurative use until Menander, and the meaning 'to gnaw, to chew on oneself' is not quite the same as 'to annoy someone'). <u>*Verbum movendi*</u>: (1) διέπεσε / διέπιπτε 'escaped' (Valckenaer *apud* Wesseling 1763, 318, endorsed by Schweighäuser 1820, 429, and Gaisford 1824, 3.486, even though the conjecture provides no paleographical account of the presumed corruption); (2) διεδρήστευσε 'ran, fled' (Schneider 1819 [1797], 326, followed by Schweighäuser 1824, 87; Dietsch(–Kallenberg) 1903–1906, 1.356 print impf. διεδρήστευε; the unattested form is posited on the strength of Hsch. δ 2371 δρήσται· δραπέται. ἢ δυνατοί where Latte and, following him, Cunningham, have emended the first *interpretamentum* to οἰκέται, thus eliminating the noun *δρή-στης 'runner', cf. aor. (ἀπ)έδρᾱν, although δρηστήρ and δρῆστις 'fugitive' are attested in Hellenistic poetry); (3) διεπέσπευσε 'hurried across' (Dietsch 1853, 412: "hatte daher ein Borystheneïte nichts eiliger zu thun as den Skythen zu sagen"; but this conjecture is best suited to explain the marginal reading διεπίστευσε, see above n. 9; Dietsch gave this idea up in his own Teubner editions in which he printed διεπρήστευσε of the paradosis in 1882 and conjectured διέδρη in 1876; in the revised edition Kallenberg printed Schneider's conjecture, see above); (4) διεκπερήσας ἔσπευσε 'went out hurriedly' (Gebhardt 1857, 9; *non vidi*, cited from Rosén 1987, 1.396); (5) διερπήστευσε 'crawled across, *perreptavit*' (Stein 1868, 239, n. 13; the prefixed verb is unattested, but ἕρπω is indeed a verb of motion and ἑρπηστής 'crawling animal, reptile' is found in Nican-

dard lexica reflect this uncertainty: Powell (1938, 88) lists διεπρήστευσε with a meaning 'hurry across' but labels the word as "dubious", the editors of the *DGE* similarly register their doubts and offer a tentative translation 'montar en colera' (ride in hot rage),[13] while Bailly and the editors of the *LSJ9* thought that the transmitted form must be emended to (otherwise unattested!) διαδρηστεύω or διαδρηπετεύω (see n. 12 above).[14] Montanari (*GI*), in a nifty bit of sleight of hand, has two entries, both citing Hdt. 4.79 as the only source: "διαδρηστεύω fuggire" (to flee) and "διαπρηστεύω infiammarsi" (to catch fire); in the second lemma the phrase in question is translated as "si prese la briga di andare a dire" (he took the trouble to say).[15] The problem clearly warrants a re-examination.

In my opinion, it is prudent to accept the manuscript authority for (δι)επρήστευσε. As has been observed before, the hapax (δια)πρηστεύω is likely to be a colloquial Ionic verb.[16] It is therefore not unreasonable to speculate that we are dealing with a familiar verb that underwent a special semantic development.

To echo Wilson (2015, 82), the key question is, what root is (δι)επρήστευσε supposed to derive from? In order to answer this question, we should analyze the morphological structure of the form which is in fact unproblematic. Even though originally verbs in -εύω were derived from agent nouns in -εύς (cf. ἀριστεύω 'be the best, be the victor' ← ἀριστεύς 'the leader, the victor' ← ἄριστος 'best'), it is, in fact, unnecessary to posit a nominal stem *πρηστεύς: in post-Homeric Greek -εύω spread far beyond its original domain and encroached on the functions of denominative -έω.[17] Therefore, a variety of nominal stems can be envisaged as the derivational basis of (δια)πρηστεύω: *πρήστης (cf. δυναστεύω 'hold power' ← δυνάστης 'person with power'), *πρηστός (cf. πιστεύω 'trust' ← πιστός 'trustworthy'), or — actually attested — πρηστήρ[18] (cf. μνηστεύω 'woo' ← μνηστήρ 'suitor'[19]). The -σ- in these nominal forms does not need to belong to the root (as

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der); (6) διέδρη ἐντεῦθεν 'ran across from there' (Abicht 1886, 2.70; it is uncertain why such a familiar form as ἐντεῦθεν should have been garbled in the transmission); (7) διεπεράτευσε (Scheer 1880; *non vidi*, cited from Stein 1881, 103, but it is unclear why the verb derived from πέρας 'limit' and probably meaning something like 'to complete', cf. Hsch. π 1545 περατεύει· ὁρ{γ}ίζει, στελλει, τελεῖ, should have the meaning 'ἔφη' in Herodotus; Scheer was probably misled by the last *interpretamentum* λέγει in Schmidt's edition, correctly emended to τελεῖ already by Ruhnken, based on transposition of capital Τ and Γ); (8) διεδρηπέτευσε 'ran, fled across' (Dindorf 1887, vii, 206, commended by Blaydes 1901, 71 and Wilson 2015, 82; simplex δρᾱπετεύω 'flee' is attested, but the meaning is not a good fit, since the verb is mostly used of runaway slaves and the Greek informant is not a fugitive from Olbia). Cf. Schuckburgh 1906, xxx: "[t]he sense required seems to be 'to go in haste' [...] but the corrections are none of them convincing", echoed by S. West 2007, 90, n. 40: "[n]one of the various emendations suggested is very convincing"; see also Abicht 1870, 25–27, with critique of Valckenaer's, Reiz's and Negris' conjectures; Dovatur et al. 1982, 319, n. 477; Vinogradov 1989, 102.

¹³ See Adrados 1980–, *s. v.*

¹⁴ See Bailly 2000, 468; *LSJ9* 393 (no revisions in the 1996 *Supplement*). The *Intermediate Greek-English Dictionary* (the "Middle Liddle") followed *LSJ9* in cross-referencing the entry "διαπρηστεύω" with the one for "διαδρηστεύω"; its replacement, the *Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, does not include the form, even though Herodotus is otherwise covered: presumably the difficult form is omitted because it has been obelized in the editions.

¹⁵ Montanari 1995, 496, 514 (for English translations see Montanari 2015: 485, 504).

¹⁶ Stein 1893, 75, n. 13 "ein sonst nicht bekanntes Wort, wahrscheinlich aus der derben Volkssprache", followed by How–Wells 1928, 1.330; Legrand 1932–1954, 4.96, n. 2: "probablement un mot d'usage local et familier". The label "colloquial" simply reflects the fact that the verb is not found in literary sources.

¹⁷ See Fraenkel 1906, 172–224, esp. 205–208; Schwyzer 1939, 732; Risch 1974, 333.

¹⁸ In colloquial Ionic, πρηστήρ may have been replaced with πρήστης, cf. δρήστης (Archil. fr. 119.1 W.²) vs δρηστήρ 'worker', see Fraenkel 1910, 207–208.

¹⁹ Historically μνηστεύω may be best analyzed as a semantic causative to μνηστός 'wedded', but synchronically the speakers were likely to make a direct connection between μνηστεύω and μνηστήρ.

it does e. g. in ξεστός 'hewn', ξέστης 'jug' from ξέω 'shape, carve'): it may come from the underlying *s*-stem verbal noun (cf. τελέστης 'officiating priest' ← τέλος 'offering, rite' or γελαστός 'laughable' ← γέλως / *γέλας 'laughter'), it can originate in the combination of the final *d* or *d^h* of the verbal root (or stem) with a dental consonant of the suffix, e. g. θαυμαστός 'wonderful' < *-*d-to-* (cf. θαυμάζω 'to wonder'), or πιστός 'trustworthy' < *-*d^h-to-* (cf. πείθω 'persuade, convince')[20] or it may be "paragogic", taken over from the tense stems that contained an -σ-, such as aor. in -σ(σ)α, fut. in -σ(σ)ω, aor. pass. in -σθην and perf. mid. in -σμαι.[21]

The purpose of this linguistic exercise is to identify the root of verb (δια)πρηστεύω as πρη-. There is only one root of this structure in Greek, namely, the root of πίμπρημι, πρήθω, (ἐν)έπρησα, etc. At the first sight, the derivation of (-)πρηστεύω from πρήθ- would provide a neat explanation for the -σ- (cf. πιστεύω ← πιστός < *-*b^{h}id^h-to-*, as above), under the assumption that the -θε/ο- in πρήθω is an inherited suffix.[22] But the transitive present stem πρήθω only occurs once in all of attested Greek (*Il.* 9.589 ἐνέπρηθον) and it may be better explained as an artificial form, a *Reimbildung* to πλήθω.[23] If there is no evidence for inherited *πρηθ-, the -σ- in (δια)πρηστεύω, πρηστήρ made from πρη-, aor. (ἐ)πρη-σα-, etc. is best explained as paragogic, comparable to δυναστεύω ← δυνάστης which must have replaced *δυνάτης (cf. δύναμαι) after ἐδυνάσθην.[24]

The realization of the root connection with πρη- must have been responsible for such translations of (δια)πρηστεύειν as '(to be) in <u>hot</u> haste' (Schuckburgh 1906, 174[25]), 'to catch <u>fire</u>' (*GI*) or 'to ride in <u>hot</u> rage' (*DGE*).[26] Indeed, the familiar meaning of πίμπρημι and πρήθω is 'to burn, to put on fire; to be inflamed': the dreadful Capaneus' battle-cry at Aesch. *Sept.* 434 is πρήσω πόλιν "I will burn the city", at Soph. *Ant.* 201 Polyneices simi-larly sought to burn his city from top to bottom (ἠθέλησε μὲν πυρὶ / πρῆσαι κατ᾽ ἄκρας) and at Ar. *Lys.* 341 the chorus of women is praying to Athena Polias to not see their com-rades burned to coal (γυναῖκας ἀνθρακεύειν … (᾿μ)πιμπραμένας). The same meaning 'to burn' is found among the derivatives, e. g. ἔμπρησις 'setting on fire' or πρηδών 'inflamma-

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[20] Another example showing -στ- from *-*d^{h}t-* is ἄλαστος which must have originally meant 'im-possible to forget' (cf. λήθω 'forget') but eventually became specialized in a negative sense (the expression πένθος ἄλαστον may have been the starting point) and came to mean 'terrible, insufferable' (see Cassio 2007, 30–31).

[21] Schwyzer 1939, 500 (-στης "mit unetymologischem σ"), 503 (-στός), 524 (-σμα "nach Verbalfor-men"), 775.

[22] Cf. *pl(e)h$_1$-d^{h}e/o-* > πλήθω, Old Avestan *frāda-* 'become full' (vs πίμπλημι 'fill').

[23] For an analysis of the Homeric hapax ἐνέπρηθον as a *kunstsprachlich* form see Rothstein-Dowden 2022, 48–49 who posits the following analogical proportion: πίμπλημι : πί(μ)πρημι = ἔπλησα : ἔπρησα = πλήθω : X, where X is resolved as πρήθω.

[24] See Fraenkel 1910, 208–209 and compare further ἀρυ(σ)τήρ 'bowl for drawing water' (ἄρυ-σα-), ἑλκυστήρ 'forceps, tool for pulling out' (εἵλκυ-σα-), ζωστήρ 'belt, tool for girdling' (ἔζω-σα-), κνηστήρ 'grat-er' (ἔκνη-σα-), κρεμαστήρ 'hanger' (κρέμα-σα-), etc.

[25] "It may be connected with the root seen in πρηστήρ (πίμπρημι)."

[26] In fact, the last two translations, at least, may have been inspired by P. Chantraine's remark: "πρη-στεύειν dérive-t-il […] de la racine de πίμπρημι" (*apud* Legrand 1932–1954, 4.96, n. 2; Chantraine does not mention the Herodotean hapax in his etymological dictionary). Legrand continues: "et est-il dit ici de quelqu'un qui est tout enflammé, tout brûlant, tout fumant, pas de colère, mais de malice impatiente". He compares πρημονάω (Herod. 6.8) which seems to mean 'to puff', 'to seethe (with anger)' (Cunningham 1971, 163), but in any event it is far from clear why the inhabitant of Olbia should have been angry at the fact that Scyles was initiated into the mysteries.

tion'.[27] But the semantics of 'burning' will not be of much help with the Herodotus' passage, as the strained translations cited above have shown, and the preposition πρός adds a further syntactical difficulty.[28]

However, 'to burn' is not the only meaning of πίμπρημι, nor is it historically the primary one. The original meaning of the verbal root was 'to blow' (of the wind), 'to swell from blowing', well-attested in Greek texts, cf. *Il.* 1.481 (≅ *Od.* 2.427) ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ἱστίον 'and the wind blew into the middle of the sail', and the blast of Hephaestus' bellows is described as εὔπρηστος ἀυτμή (*Il.* 18.471). The semantics of blowing clearly underlies the noun πρηστήρ 'hurricane; bellows' (cf. Hes. *Th.* 846 πρηστήρων ἀνέμων), as emphasized by Lebedev 2014, 339, in his discussion of Heraclitus fr. 44 (= B 31 A Diels–Kranz). Following Buttmann 1865, 99–105, C. P. de Putter (*LfgrE* 3.1533) posits 'durch Blasen expandieren lassen' as the original meaning of Greek πρη-, whence 'verbrennen' via 'jaillir, herausschlagen von Flammen'. The etymology of the verb confirms this conclusion: Hittite *parāi-*, reduplicated *parip(p)arāi-* means 'to blow' (e. g. a wind instrument).[29] The meaning 'to blow' has long been on the books for πίμπρημι and πρήθω, but it seems to have escaped the attention of Herodotean scholars.

I agree with Abicht[30] and other authorities, cited above, that we need a verb of rapid motion at Hdt. 4.79 (the Greek informant would have been in a hurry to make sure that the Scythians arrive in time to witness their king in the state of μανία) and I think that πρη- 'to blow' can conceivably have developed just this meaning in colloquial use. A welcome parallel is found in Modern English *blast* which can refer to a variety of loud or forceful actions (including quick motion), but its Old English forebear *blǽstan* (etymologically related to *blow* and Latin *flāre*) is attested in just two meanings: 'to blow' and 'to move

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[27] But Ar. *Nub.* 336 πρημαινούσας τε θυέλλας refers to 'gale-blast storms'; the translation 'to suffer violently' (Montanari 2015, 1739) is unlikely: Aristophanes' choice of πρημαίνω may have been inspired by immediately preceding Τυφῷ who was believed to generate storm-winds (cf. Hes. *Th.* 869).

[28] The problem was succinctly formulated by A. Corcella: "the (δι)επρήστευσε of the mss. in a *hapax* which can only have the meaning of 'to inflame' [...] A verb is needed which denotes a stealthy movement" (Asheri et al. 2007, 639).

[29] Another cognate is the Plautine hapax *exprētus*, compared to **preh₁-* by Klingenschmitt 1989: Plaut. *Bacch.* 446 *it magister quasi lucerna uncto expretus linteo* "the teacher goes like a lamp, extinguished, when the wick is still drenched" (trans. de Melo); the best way to extinguish an oil lamp is by blowing at it (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1098 φυσῶν τὴν λαμπάδα). Slavic **para*, Old Church Slavonic *para* 'vapor, ἀτμίς' probably belongs to the same root, combining the meanings of 'hot' and 'blown air' (**para < *porh₁-eh₂-* with expectable *Schwebeablaut*; despite the outer similarity with the Slavic form, Hitt. *parā-* 'breath; blown air' is probably of inner-Hittite coinage). Russian *pret'* 'perspire' is customarily taken from **preh₁-ie/o-*, too. Finally, Heidermanns (1993, 206–7) compared isolated Old High German *frat* 'foul, purulent' (< PGmc. **fraða-* 'inflamed'): if correct, this comparison suggests that the semantics of inflammation may be fairly old with the root **preh₁-*. The phonology is not straightforward (Heidermanns' preform **pr̥h₁-tó-* would probably have given Gmc. **furða-*), but *frat* < Gmc. **frada-* may represent a back-formation to the (unattested) verbal strong stem **frō-* (< **(pe)proh₁-*) on the pattern of e. g. **stō-* : **stada-* (full-grade **frō-* may be continued in Old Frisian *bēn-frōtha* 'injury of the bone', if related). Alternatively, Gmc. **fraða-* may go back to adj. **pr̥h₁oto-* 'inflamed', back-formed to **pr̥h₁oteh₂-* 'inflammation', an adjective abstract of the type **prih₂o-teh₂* 'love' (Ved. *priyátā*, OE *frēod*) ← **prih₂o-* 'dear' (Old Avestan *friia-*, Middle Welsh *rhydd* 'free'). After the loss of the laryngeal, the form **pr̥(h₁)oteh₂-* would be resyllabified and resulting **proto-* would give Gmc. **fraða-*, cf. Gmc. **krana-* 'crane' < **gr(h₂)anó- < *gr̥h₂-en-ó-* 'crane' (cf. Greek γέρανος, Middle Welsh *garan* < **gérh₂-en-o-*; see Neri 2017, 222 n. 71). I thank Sergio Neri for his input to the discussion of the Germanic material in this note.

[30] Abicht 1870, 26: "Ratiocinandi necessitas requirit fugiendi verbum, quo scriptor indicet, Borysthenitam inter muri custodes elapsum ad Scythas transfugisse".

impetuously, hurl oneself'.[31] For Russian *dut'* (*дуть*) 'to blow' the authoritative dictionary offers the meaning "4. *intrans. colloq.* to move fast; to dash, to rush".[32] As a general parallel for the connection between blowing (of the wind) and the idea of rapidity compare Lat. *vēlōx* 'fast' < *'wind-like' from the root *h_2ueh_1- 'to blow'[33] (Greek ἄημι, Latin *ventus*).[34]

Interestingly, the polysemy 'to blow' ~ 'to move (fast)' may be observed with another descendant of *$preh_1$-, the PIE root of Greek πρη-. While the usual meaning of Hittite *parai-* is 'to blow',[35] including, just as in (Proto-)Greek, 'to ignite fire by blowing',[36] the form *parāi* is twice used to denote motion of insects, e. g. KUB 8.1 ii 16–7 KUR-*e anda mašaš parāi* BURU₁₄.ḪI. A *karāpi* 'The locust will *parāi* in the land and devour the crops'. The verb *parāi* may be translated here as 'will blow in', especially because a swarm of locusts can easily be visualized as a cloud. Most authorities have assigned the meanings 'to blow' and 'to move' to two different (and unrelated) Hittite verbs,[37] but some have treated this range of meanings as a real polysemy,[38] in which case it may serve as another typological parallel to the semantic development 'blow' > 'move' posited here for Greek πρη-.

The proposed solution to the problem of the Herodotean hapax (-)πρηστεύω is thus as follows: this colloquial verb (or even possibly Herodotus' own *Augenblicksbildung*) goes back to the same root as πίμπρημι and πρήθω in the original meaning 'to blow' and shows a semantic development from 'blowing' to 'moving (impetuously)', supported by a range of parallels. It is possible to theorize that (-)πρηστεύω was formed directly from πρηστήρ

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[31] Cf. the glosses *forðblæstan* 'erumperant', *onblæstan* 'irrumperant' (see Bosworth–Toller 1898, 96; *DOE* s. v. *blǽstan*) and further Old High German *blesten* 'to advance, to descend' (see *EWAhd* 2.178).

[32] See Gorbachevich, Gerd 2004–, 5.441. There are other parallels to be found in Russian dialects, e. g. *pofúkat'* (*пофу́кать*) recorded in Vologda in the meaning 'to dash' and derived from (onomatopoetic) *fúkat'* 'to blow'.

[33] The Indo-European root *h_2ueh_1- 'to blow' may, perhaps, provide another parallel for 'blow' > 'move (rapidly)': this root made a participle *h_2uh_1-*ent*- 'blowing' (> Hittite *ḫuwant*- 'wind'), a derivative of which is the widespread word *h_2ueh_1-*n̥t-o*- 'wind' (> Latin *ventus*, Vedic *vā́ta-*, Tocharian B *yente*, English *wind*); next to it, we find a very similar root *h_2euh_1- that means to 'run' in Anatolian (Hittite *huwai-*, Luwian /*hwiya-*/) but 'run to help' > 'succor' (Vedic *avⁱ-*, *ūtá-* 'to help', Latin *iuuāre* '*id.*') or 'run to' > 'long for' (Latin *auēre* 'to desire', Welsh *ewyllys* 'appetite, lust', Greek (Doric) ἀῖτᾱς 'eromenos', ἐνηής 'friendly') in Core Indo-European, see García Ramón 2012. It is quite possible, in my opinion, that these two roots are related, with *h_2euh_1- 'run' back-formed to *h_2ueh_1- 'blow' (note the participle *h_2uh_1-*ent*- as a possible *Scharnierform*), see Oettinger 2022: 64–65. However, the *opinio communis* is that *h_2euh_1- and *h_2ueh_1- are etymologically distinct, see e. g. Rix 2001, 243–244, 274, 287; García Ramón 2016, 72, n. 49.

[34] Another Latin parallel may be found in the verb *a(d)spīrāre* which usually means 'to breathe; to blow' but is also attested in the meaning 'to move near; to approach' (lit. 'to blow toward'), e. g. Lucil. 842 Marx: *qui prope ad ostium aspiraverint* 'any who have moved close to the door'; Cic. *Fam.* 33 Shackleton Bailey: *ab eo ad quem ceteri, non propter superbiam eius sed propter occupationem, adspirare non possunt* 'whom other people — not because of his pride, but of his many engagements — cannot venture to approach'; Sil. 5.442–423: *aspirare viro propioremque addere Martem / haud ausum cuiquam* 'none dared to approach him (viz. Othrys) or fight him at close quarters'.

[35] E. g. *KBo* 24.106 ii 22 ᴸᵁ́BALAG.DI *šauwatar* 2-*ŠU parāi* 'the harpist blows the horn twice'; *KUB* 2.3 ii 30 *šawatarr=a* 3-*ŠU pariyanzi* '[they] blow the horn thrice'; *KUB* 43.58 i 16 *arḫa=ma=at dān pariyan* 'but it (viz. stew in a bowl) is blown off (viz. cooled off) for a second time'.

[36] E. g. *KBo* 34.38 i 3 *paḫḫur parāi* 'he fans fire', *KUB* 10.88 i 8 *paḫḫurr=a pariyanzi* 'and they fan fire'.

[37] See Güterbock, Hoffner 1997, 134. The form *parannaš* cited under *parai-*ʙ is now read as *kurannaš*, see van den Hout 2010, 400.

[38] See Puhvel 2011, 109–112. There may be evidence for a related verb of motion in other Anatolian languages but it is even more uncertain: in the Palaic version of the ritual for a disappearing deity (KUB 35.168, 3') we read *n*]=*an šīt nit=kuwat parāi[t* '(the eagle) pressed him (the god), (but) he (the god) did not *parai-* at all'. In hieroglyphic Luwian texts we find *ARHA para-* which seems to mean 'to disappear' (< 'to blow away'?).

'hurricane', based on pairs like ληστεύω 'to be a pirate; to pillage' : ληστήρ 'plunderer' or μνηστεύω 'to woo' : μνηστήρ 'suitor' (which, as mentioned above, do not necessarily represent historically correct morphological derivation but may have easily been reanalyzed by the speakers as valid derivational chains).

As Vinogradov (1989, 102) noted, the prefix δια- is important. In Herodotus' story, Scyles is the only one who moves freely between the Scythian camp (ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ) and the town of Olbia, but the Greek and the Scythian spaces are separated: Scyles' practice was to have the gates locked (Hdt. 4.78 καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκληίσειε) while the Borysthenites kept watch (τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τίς μιν Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στόλην).[39] The resident of Olbia who was keen to inform the Scythians as soon as possible that their king was dancing in the streets in a state of Dionysiac madness, would therefore have to circumvent these measures by escaping the town, possibly over the wall (δια-). If (-)πρηστεύω is analyzed as a verb of swift motion, as argued above, the Herodotean phrase διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενεϊτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας can be translated as "one of the Borysthenites blasted over to the Scythians" or, in Russian, "дунул к Скифам".[40]

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[39] Cf. Gaisford 1924, 3.486 (in support of a hesitantly entertained emendation διέπεσε, also favored by Valckenaer): "debuit enim, dum portis occlusis sacris rex Graecanicis operaretur, insciis custodibus urbe delator elabi" (emphasis Gaisford's).

[40] Ultimately, I suppose, different scholars' native languages may inform their judgement on this matter: while my solution is prompted by Latin *vēlōx*, Old English *blǽstan* and Russian *dut'*, Martin Peters has pointed out to me German *durchbrennen* 'to move quickly', while Albio Cesare Cassio signals Italian *una soffiata* 'a tip-off' and suggests "Uno degli abitanti di Boristene fece una soffiata agli Sciti dicendo: 'voi ci deridete…'"

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Hdt. 4.79 διεπρήστευσε

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В статье рассматривается форма †διεπρήστευσε† (Hdt. 4.79): в рассказе о гибели скифского царя Скила этот глагол описывает действия ольвиополита, от которого скифы узнали о том, что их царь празднует дионисийские ритуалы. Существует два подхода к пониманию этого гапакса, засвидетельствованного практически во всех рукописях «Истории» Геродота: одни филологи видели в этой форме *verbum loquendi*, другие — *verbum movendi*. И теми, и другими был предложен целый ряд малоубедительных конъектур, многие из которых сами представляют собой *addenda lexicis*. После критического разбора предложенных ранее интерпретаций и исправлений в статье предлагается сохранить чтение рукописного предания и видеть в (-)πρηστεύω идею стремительного движения. Единственное морфологически возможное объяснение заключается в том, что глагол (-)πρηστεύω (возможно, просторечный или созданный самим Геродотом как *Augenblicksbildung*) образован от имени деятеля πρηστήρ 'вихрь, струя воздуха' / *πρήστης от того же корня, что и πίμπρημι в его изначальном значении 'дуть'. (Эту же словообразовательную модель мы находим в μνηστεύω 'свататься' : μνηστήρ 'жених' или δυναστεύω 'мочь, иметь силу' : δυνάστης 'правитель, могущественный человек'). В поддержку предлагаемого перевода 'дунул', т. е. 'ринулся, устремился, побежал', пред-

лагаются типологические параллели, например, др.-англ. *blǽstan* ‘дуть; стремительно двигаться’ или русс. *дуть*. Примечательно, что эта же семантика может присутствовать в хетт. *(parip)parāi-* ‘дуть, раздувать огонь; быстро двигаться’, которое представляет собой полное этимологическое соответствие др.-гр. πίμπρημι.