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etc.): Contributions to Etymological Methodology

Author(s): Martin Schwartz

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The Indo-European Vocabulary of Exchange, Hospitality, and Intimacy
(The Origins of Greek *ksénos*, *sún*, *phílos*; Avestan *xšnu-*, *xšnanman-*, etc.):
Contributions to Etymological Methodology†

Martin Schwartz
University of California, Berkeley

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

I

The new etymon **k^wsen(-w)-* explains the following forms: **k^wsen-*: (1) Hittite *kuššan-* 'requit, payment'; (2) Avestan *xšnanman-* 'substitution' (in dative *xšnanmaine* 'instead'); (3) Ossetic (*ā*)*xšān* 'common, communal'; (4) Irish *son* 'exchange' (after *ar* 'for' = 'in exchange, in requital, instead'); **k^wsenw-*, alternating with zero-grade **k^wsnw/ [k^wsqw-, k^wsnu-]*: (5) Gr. *ksún* (later *sún*) 'together with', *ksúnōs* 'common'; (6) Gr. *ksénw-* (-w- indicated dialectally and epigraphically) in *ksénwos* 'host/guest (Hom. etc.), stranger', *ksénwion* 'gift of hospitality', *ksenwíā* 'hospitality'; (7) Ir. root *xšnu-* (Avestan present stems *xšnāuuaiia-*, *kuxšnu-*, desid. *cixšnuša-* 'to requite, provide hospitality' [!!!], nouns *xšnūt-* 'requit', *xšnaoθra-* 'grace, gratification, gratitude, propitiation', etc.). Before focusing on (6) and (7), commentary on the items preceding is necessary.

In the greater majority of words from various languages for 'hire' as analyzed in Buck (1949: 813 [II.77]), i.e. Ital., Latv., Russ., Rum., Irish, and O/MHGerm., 'hire' is from 'to arrange, order, secure, fix, stipulate' (but Fr. *engager* 'hire' < *gage*, *wage* < Gmc. **wađia-* 'pledge'). Hitt. *kuššan-* does not go with Germ. *Heuer*, Eng. *hire* as thought by Klingenschmitt (1980: 150). The connection of Gr. *koíōn*, *koíōn*, *kōíōn* (**kouíōn*) 'a pledge' (Hes.), Gortyn. *enkoiōtai* '(money) given as security' with Lat. *cauēre* 'to take care for, provide, order, stipulate, pledge, give surety, guarantee money' points to Gmc. **hūz-* or **hūr-* from PIE **kuH-s-* or **kuH-r-*, r. **kewH-* 'to be attentive, take care' (whence also Gr. *koēō* 'notice, hear', Goth. *hausjan*, Eng. *hear*). (See further below, n. 7.) Phonologically *kuššan-* < **k^wsVn-* is like *kunanzi* < **gh^wnonti* 'they smite'. Possibly *kuššan-* is a root-stem (neuter, after -n- stems), but may be haplogical < **kuššan-*. I take *kuššata* 'bride's price' n.pl, which otherwise would show a rare type of suffixation, from **kuššanta* (haplogical for **kuššanata*) in avoidance of homophony with a participial form of *kuš-* 'to make trouble' (cf. also the uncertain hapax *kušā-* 'son-in-law?').

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

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

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

8b zaraθuštrō spitāmō / huuō nē mazdā vašti ašaica
 c carəkərəOrā srāuuaieñhe / huiāt hōi hudəmēm diiāt vaxədrahiia
 9a ačca gəuš uruuā raostā / *yā anaēšəm xšānmənē rādəm
 b vācim nərəš asūrahiia / yəm +mē vasəmi iša.xšaθrīm
 c kadā yauuā huuō aghat / yō hōi dadat zastauuat auuō

The two stanzas are closely connected in structure (reflecting a conscious Gāthic artistry which will be noted again in III). In the same position in 8b2 and 9b2 a statement of granting, hōi (...) dā-, whose object, voice (vāk-/vaxədra- etc.), is also represented in each stanza. This parallelism frames a series of contrasts: Z.'s desire vs. B.S.'s interests, the intangible vs. the tangible: specifically Righteousness (aša-) and Good Intent vs. Force (xšaθra-, cf. -xšaθriia-), thus contrast of Entities² at the end of 8/9b2; mightlessness (an-aēša-) vs. might (iša-); sweetness of voice vs. manual help (the reconciliation is seen e.g. in stanza 11C: 'May you, Ahura Mazda, give strength through Righteousness and Force in accordance with Good Intent'). Thus the Bovine Soul's complaint is that whereas it has asked for a powerful protector, it is assigned a mere poet-priest for a substitute, i.e. 'instead'; thus xšānman-, expectedly < Proto-Ir. xšān-man-, is 'something given for / in place of something else'.

Gr. ksún < *k^wsnw- like lúkos 'wolf' < *w^lk^wo-, perh. via *k^wsnw-, as also ksenw- < *k^wsenw- with retrogressive dissimilation (cf. ksíphos 'sword', Myc. *k^wsipos in qe-si-pe-e, dual). From *ksuna (nom. pl.) developed apocopic ksun, cf. an(a), par(a), as per Holland (1977: 644 seq.) and prob. en(i); the apocope was completed by the synonymy of *ksún(a) with *kon < *kom (= Lat. cum), which it replaced, leaving however the adj. koinós < *kom/n-yó- 'common', the model for ksúnós < *ksun-yó-. Further on ksun(-) below, II.

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

For the Greek, Benveniste (who left aside the problem of finding cognates of ksenw-) merely cited Herod. 3.39 (exchange of gifts between heads of state, i.e. the Persian [!] Cambyses and the Egyptian Amasis, institutes kseiníē) and Iliad 6.215-233 (two opposing

warriors swap armor on battleground to renew their relationship as hereditary mutual kseīnoi; the obligation transcends personal and national interest). I add to the Homeric evidence Od. 1.311-318 and Od. 24.266-289 and esp. 311-314. Here the foregrounding of gift-exchange, against a background provision of lodging and food, as the virtual raison d'être of hospitality, together with the close linguistic connection of kseīnos and kseīnē with forms of ameībō 'exchange' (Il. 6.230-231, Od. 24.285-286 and Od. 1.318, and cf. míksesthai kseīnēi Od. 24.314) and the fact that ksénwos meant both 'guest' and 'host', suggest that ksénw- originally meant something like 'to exchange'.

For the Iranian, Benveniste only cited MPers mēhman, NPers. mihmān 'guest' from OIr. *maiθman- (whose existence, I add, is supported by Pashto melmo and Yazghulami miθmān 'id.') < r. maiθ- 'to exchange, to pair'. Much more proof exists in Avestan for Old Iranian hospitality as an institution of exchange.

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

In both Gr. and Ir. *kwsenw- furnished the term for 'hospitality-gift'. The Gr., kseīnwion, is well attested in Gr.: Hom. kseīnion (alongside the later form kseīnion, like presbēion; see Od. 9.365 ~ 9.370), and already in Mycenaean, at Knossos, spelled ke-se-nu-wi-ja etc. pl. adj. of textiles (as hospitality-gifts; cf. Od. 24.276-277). The OIr. equivalent is xšnūt-, 'requital', in the Younger Avestan hospitality contexts Y. 60.2 and Purs. 39, formulaically paired with aši- / *arəiti- 'reward' and followed by the appositional phrase, 'the welcomings (paiti.zaiṇti-) as compensations (viiādā-)'. The term paiti.zaiṇti- (etym. 'acknowledgment') is glossed in Middle Persian as padīrīftīh, padīrīftārīh 'reception', elaborated 'he gives abundantly of his property from piety', while the verb paiti.zan- Y. 29.11 (*'to acknowledge') is glossed pād(d)āšn kardan 'give a counter-gift (or reward)'. The actual granting of a gift to a departing guest so that he is properly xšnūta- is reflected at Y. 9.39.

In both Gr. and Ir. hospitality is protected by a special aspect of a well-known divinity, whose epithet is connected with a term for hospitality-gift (resp. Hom. kseīnion, Av. aši-); in each instance the god presides over consequences of respect or disrespect for the hospitality principle. In Homer it is Zeūs Kseīnios (Od. 9.266-271, Il. 13.623-627), whose Avestan equivalent I identify as Sraoša Ašiia 'Sraoša-associated-with-Reward' (see Y. 57.10, 14, 34 with Yt. 11.3 and cf. Y. 9.40).

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

paitizan-, fri- 'treat dearly, intimately', adj. friia-. Thus (friia-) friŋa- paiti.zanta- Y. 57.34, Yt. 15.36, and Yt. 13.147. In Yt. 13.50-51 the Fravashis, i.e. Ancestor Spirits, ask, 'who will treat us intimately, who will welcome us (kō frīnāt kō paiti.zanāt) with meat and clothes in hand?' so that they may be properly xšnūta- (cf. also Yt. 13.156-159). Finally the adj. friia- is a fixed epithet in friia- asti- = OInd. privā-ātithi- 'the dear guest' (> Skt. compd. privātithi- 'guest').⁴

In both archaic Gr. and OIr. both terms of hospitality (i.e. the reflexes of *kw^wsenw- and the forms indicating intimacy) have cultic application, and refer to a relationship of reciprocity between worshipper and deity. In Mycenaean, in the "Pylos Olive Oil Tablets" *ksenwion (ke-se-nu-wi-jo etc.) designates the fragrant oils offered to the goddess Potnia (and perhaps the ancestor spirits, with di-pi-si-jo-i, = Dipsiois 'Thirsty Ones' (thus Guthrie, Palmer, Bennett et al.), cf. the Av. passages referring to the Fravashis cited above from Yt. 13). Cf. also the Theoksēnia, Apollo's festivals at Pellene (Chadwick). In Homer phīla dōra are the hospitality gifts for the departing guest (e.g. 8.545, with vb. philēō, and the guest, kseīnos, said to be treated as next of kin, also Od. 13.41; but the same phrase is used of cult offerings in Il. 24.67-68, where Zeus declares Hector most dear philtatos to the gods because he never failed to provide phīla dōra: the divine feast, the drink offering, the savor of the sacrifice. In Avestan, xšnu- occurs for 'to propitiate a god', as at Yt. 8.49, where we also have the typical statement of reciprocity on the part of the god (Tishtriya); in Yt. 8.43, Tishtriya was already said to be most potent when yašta- xšnūta-, friŋa-, paiti.zanta- 'worshipped, properly requited, treated as intimate, welcomed'. Alone fri- (verb and root-stem) mean 'pray(er) to propitiate a god.' In Y. 46 (for which the motifs of hospitality and reciprocity are central; see Section III), st. 1-2, Zarathushtra says that since the community did not grant him hospitality (xšnāuš) i.e. as priest, he is too poor to propitiate (xšnaošāi) Ahura Mazda, of whom he asks the support given by one friend to another (friiō friiāi). [A₂]

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

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

II

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

Thus the derivation of Gr. ksúnós 'common' from PIE *k^wsen(w) (whence also Gr. ksénwos) is supported by Ossetic (a lexically conservative Eastern Iranian Scythoid language of the Caucasus), which has xsän, äxsän 'common'; the independence of the evolution is indicated by ksún as basis of ksúnós, and the difference in mg. between xsän and OIr. xšānmānē. The latter is itself paralleled by Irish ar son (with ar equivalent to the Avestan dative), which also shows the connection of 'instead' with 'requit' in Hitt. kuššan-, Av. xšnūt-. While xšnūt- and the verb xšnu- were used in reference to hospitality, their more general meanings, as those of allied forms which lack the hospitality reference, and the lack of the hospitality reference outside of Greek and Iranian, make it likely that the semantic overlap of xšnūt-, xšnu- with ksénwos [ksénwion, ksenwízō etc.] is another instance of a parallel course for 'give one thing for another'.

The semantically similar root *mey- and its extended *meith- (denom. < *meiteH?) 'to (ex)change' parallels the entire semantic course proposed for k^wsen-. From Proto-Indo-Iranian *maith- (OInd. méthate 'changes, alternates', Av. maēōā 'vacillation, uncertainty', Av. maēōman- '(to) pair') comes OIr. *maiōman- m. (acc. *maiōmānam 'guest', reflected in later West and East Iranian) and OInd. mithás 'together with', which precisely parallel ksénwos, ksún. From the idea of mutuality (Lat. mūtuus < *moituos) may be explained 'common' (ksúnós, xsän), cf. Lat. (com)mūnis (*moini-), Goth. gamains id.: Lith. maīnas 'exchange'. Av. xšnūt- 'requit' is paralleled by maēni- 'penalty' (textually, resp. Y. 31.1: ~ Y. 31.9, where also dāōra- 'gift'), and, as 'hospitality gift', by Goth. maīpms 'gift (of exchange)', and finally Av. xšnaoōra-, MPers. and Parth. əšnōhr 'gratitude' is matched by Sicilian moitos.

Similarly the Greco-Iranian series posited for *k^wsenw- is paralleled by the evidence assembled by Benveniste for the semantically similar *ghosti- 'compensation, equalization' appearing in Latin: ksénwos 'host, guest, stranger': OSlav. gostī, Goth. gasts 'guest', Lat. hostis 'stranger' > 'enemy', hospēs 'host' (> also 'guest'); WMr. əšnōhr 'gratitude': Lat. (red)hostīre; Av. xšnūman-, ZorMPers. xšnūm '(offering of) propitiation': Lat. hostia.

This all casts doubt on the conventional etymology of OInd. átithi-, Av. asti- 'guest': from r. at- 'to wander, pass, go' (OInd. átati). Now Ir. 'guest' should not be a 'wanderer' but 'a partner in exchange', like its Ir. successor *maiōman-. The forms átithi-, asti- should go back to a form with a laryngeal after the first dental, *HvH- expectedly resulting in OInd. *áthi- OIr. ast-, cf. OInd. pathibis, OIr. padbiš; OInd. duhitar-, OIr. dugdar-, Gr. thugatēr, etc. Moreover a suffix -thi- would be unexplained. Thus I propose PIIr. *atHti- (with the common suffix -ti-), whence OInd. *áthiti- > átithi-, with metathesis expectable

from the usual Grassmann patterns, and from associations with átati- and perhaps átiti-, asti- be parallel to ksenwos, gosti and mēhman etc. from the etymological viewpoint, but also from the morphological viewpoint: *atHti- m. would be based on an abstract noun indicating an institution *atHti- f. just like hospis, gosti etc. < ghosti- m. (with atithipati 'host' paralleling Lat. hospēs, Oslav. gospodj < *ghosti-pe/ot-) < f. *ghosti-, cf. *maiθman- m. < maiθman- n., and quite possibly ksénwos, with -e- vocalism indicating an underlying verbal noun (*ksénwos n.?).

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

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

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

The use of parallels from another language group is often justifiable as an ancillary or heuristic aid. Thus the etymology of OInd. hnu- 'to deny, conceal, to atone for, make expiation, appease' which figures prominently among unsuccessful comparisons with Av. xšnu-,⁵ may now be explained as the cognate of ONor. gnūa 'to rub', Gr. khnoós, khnoús 'powder, chaff, incrustations' and khnoé 'axe-box', for which I set up PIE *ghnew- 'to rub'; cf. Bibl. Heb.

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

Parallel semantic development provides an etymological solution in the instance of two words discussed in Sect. I, Gr. phílos and OIr. fríva- (OInd. privá-) 'intimate, dear, beloved, friendly'. The Homeric and the OIr. (chiefly evidenced by Vedic) refer to one's own self, vital force, body and its parts, home and familiar personal objects, kin and wife (phílē, privá, nominal), friends and, as discussed above, the hospitality sphere (and its cultic projection); furthermore, due to the rise of the city and state entity as the chief force in social organization (as against individual relationships), in both Gr. and IIr. the word became limited to 'dear, friend(ly)'.⁶

IIr. p/fríva- and its cognates (which include Eng. friend) have been derived from a "preposition" *prei- (*preAi?) 'close by', cf. Lith. priẽ, prỹ 'by, at', OLat. prī, also præ 'before', Gallic are- 'before, by',⁶ in view of *privó- as denoting the intimate, the personal sphere of an individual; thus Scheller (1958: 122-300); Mezger (1965: 32-33) and Schwartz (1975: 207 w.n. 31). The etymology of phílos, hitherto unknown, may now be given in completion of the parallelisms with privá-. The formal analysis necessary a priori, *bhi-lo-, allows its identification as an adj. in -lo- from PIE bhi 'close, at hand', cf. Goth. bi, OHGerm. bi 'by, at', originally a post-position, and the Myc. comitative case-ending *-phi, productive in Hom. in sg. and pl. with nouns of various shapes.

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

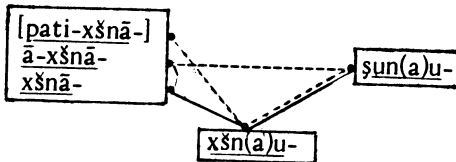
In Iranian, the term xšnuta-, indicating reciprocity, had taken on an additional sense of 'pleased, placated' as already noted. With the additional close association of xšnuta- with friya-, xšnuta- became the canonical opposite of dwišta-, whose mg. included 'alienated' (> 'offended' = 'non-placated,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

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

III

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

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



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

commonly replaced by 'perceive').⁷ The ā- of ā-xśnā- then attached itself to xśn(a)u- bringing about the formally distinct form ā-xśn(a)u-, whence MPers. āśnaw-, āśnaw-, the latter passing into Parthian probably during the period of Sasanian rule.

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

Before proposing a different solution, a survey of the relevant occurrences of śā- is in order.

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

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

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

Alongside śā- we find r. cud- 'to sharpen, whet, urge, propel'; e.g. codáyāmi ta áyudhā vacobhiḥ sam te śiśāmi bráhmaṇā váyaṁsi 'I "sharpen" your weapons with words, and I "whet" strengths (= sustenance) for you with sacred utterance', 10.120.5. Cf. the alternation śā-, cud- in requests for divine "sharpening" of inspired hymns, e.g. codaya dhíyam (with simile 'blade of metal') 6.10.17, dhíyam . . . śiśādhi 8.42.3, etc.

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

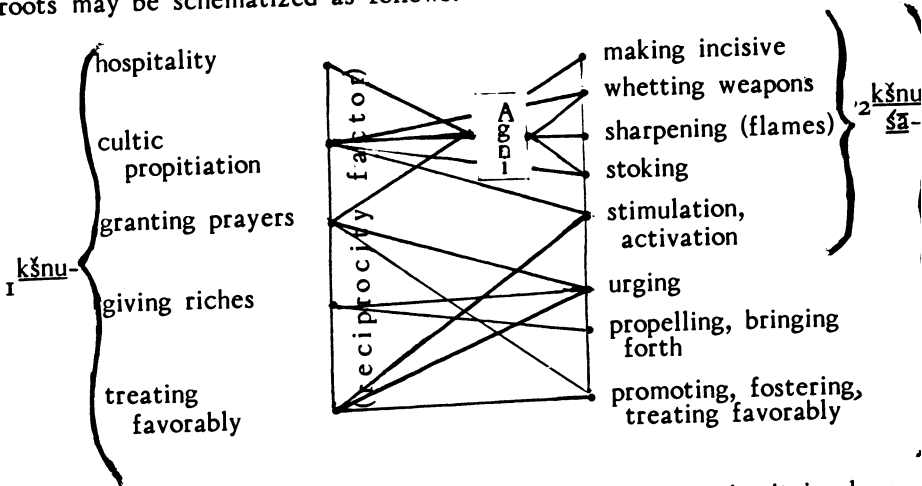
A syntropic analysis may now be suggested. Pllr. had the following: The r. *kṣnu- 'to requite', etc., whence the Ir. forms discussed above, including, via Pllr. *kṣnautra-, Av. xṣnaoθra- 'grace, favor'; r. *₂kṣnu- 'to sharpen, whet, abrade', attested only in ava kṣnāmi 'I efface, destroy' RV 10.23.2; pres. ptc. mid. kṣnuvāná- AV 5.20.1; and Av. huxšnuta- 'well sharpened', with *₂kṣnautra- OInd kṣnótra- 'whetstone'; r. śā- 'to sharpen, whet, to abrade', represented both in Indic and Iranian (Pers. sāyad 'rubs' etc.), Pllr. *śāna- > OInd. śāna-, Pers. sān 'whetstone'; Pllr. r. cud- 'to whet, to sharpen, to stimulate, to impel', OInd. r. cud-, cf. Pers. čust 'agile' etc. (cf. also ONor. hvetia 'to sharpen, stir up', Goth. gahvatjan 'to impel, whet', ONor. hvatr 'quick, sharp'). The poor attestation of the verb r. *₂kṣnu- in both branches indicates that its obsolescence in favor of śā- probably began in Pllr., attributable to the homonymy of *₁kṣnu-.

It is the homonymy of the two roots kṣnu- from which one must start in order to explain the development of śā-. The acquisition by śā- of the meanings of *₁kṣnu- in Indic would have begun in contexts where there was a semantic associability between the two homophonous verbs *₁kṣnu-. A starting place may have been 'prayer' etc. as obj. of *₁kṣnu-, cf. Av. yasna- as obj. (dir. or indir.) of xṣnu-. We have in AV 5.20.1 the attestation of kṣnuvāná- modifying vāc- 'voice' (of a war-drum).

'Sharp' i.e. 'cutting' with regard to the effectiveness of a prayer could be interpreted as incisive, or decisive (Arab. qāṭi 'cutting, asserting decisively'). The simile would have been completed by the homonymy of *kṣnautra- 'favor', 'whetstone'. Furthermore, the verb cu- meant not only 'sharpen, whet', which permitted its well-attested interchangeability with śā-, but also had the notion of 'further, favor, treat well' from 'push forth, propel', supported by the semantically parallel courses of hi- and tui-, and would also have wealth as dir. obj. (a usage not found for Av. xṣnu-); thereby 'sharpen' would undergo a commensurate semantic expansion.

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

The chief convergent semantic trajectories of the various relevant roots may be schematized as follows:



While the precise chronology of events is uncertain, it is clear that the Indic replacement of *kṣnu- by śā- is due to the concerted operation of a variety of factors: (1) the homophony of the two roots *kṣnu-; (2) the complexly manifold semantic associability between the various meanings of each root; (3) the expansion of śā- at the expense of

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

The general interest of the development of *kšnu- and śā- in Indic is, apart from its illustration of syntropic operations, its presentation of an unusual phenomenon: the complete replacement of a lexical item not by its synonym, but by the homonym of its synonym.

A final illustration of syntropy, this time as reflected beyond the linguistic realm, in the realm of poetic organization, and in the oldest corpus of Iranian texts, Zarathustra's Gāthās:

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

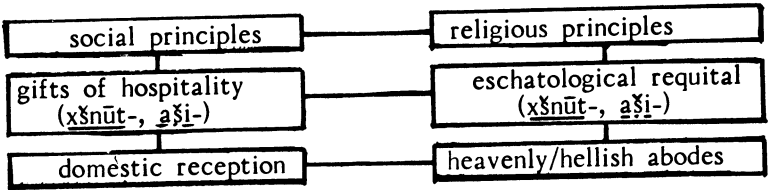
- Y. 51.9: 'That requital (xšnūtəm) which you will assign/create for both sides [good and evil] through your bright blazing fire and molten metal, to designate among creatures harm to the deceitful and benefit for the righteous!'
- Y. 51.10: (Against the wicked opponents of Z.) 'I invoke Righteousness to come to me with Good Reward (ašī)!'
- Y. 51.11: 'Who is an ally (uruuaθō) to Z.? . . . Who is intent on the gift (magāi) from Good Mind?'
- Y. 51.12: 'Not that buggler of a Kavi: at the Bridge of Winter he did not give hospitality to (xšnāuš) Z., blocking his stay, even when his draft animals were trembling from wandering and from cold.'
- Y. 51.13: 'The Kavi's soul will vex him at the Bridge of Judgement because of his deeds'
- Y. 51.14: 'And the Karapans who mistreat cattle are not allies (uruuaθā) and will be doomed to the "House of Deceit".'
- Y. 51.15: 'But Z., who promised reward (mīzdəm) to the generous patrons (magauuabiiō), will lead them into the House of Song.'
- Y. 51.16: E.g. Vishtaspa, 'through the power of the gift (magahiiā), via the paths of Good Mind.'
- Y. 31.3: 'That requital (xšnūtəm) through Righteousness and Fire, which you have created for both sides with your Spirit . . . declare it for us to know.'
- Y. 31.4: 'When I call upon Righteousness, Mazda and the other Ahuras will be present, with Reward (ašī)'
- Y. 31.19: 'That allotment (vidātā) for the good of the two sides through your bright-blazing Fire, o Ahura Mazda.'

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

Y. 31.21: (Ahura M. grants support to his ally, uruuaΘ).
Y. 31.22: The benefactor will become 'Ahura's best fed guest' (vāzištō aḡhaitī astīš).

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

Zarathushtra linked together the disparate usages of xšnū- and aḡi-, i.e. as applied to hospitality and eschatology, by the fact that each usage was independently associated with houses; moreover both usages were connected by the relationship of social and religious principles:



The conflation of the remunerations of hospitality with those of eschatology permitted Zarathushtra further to project events of his own experience, esp. as regards hospitality, into his eschatological vision; at the same time he could integrate his experience near a bridge with his notion of an eschatological bridge of crisis.⁹ One axis of symmetry was afforded by the requital/reciprocity model, and the other by Z.'s strict dualism. The combined picture gained from a comparison of Y. 31, Y. 51 and Y. 46 may be schematized as follows:

ACT (OF GIVING)	REQUITAL
Kavi refuses Z. at Winter's Bridge	{ Kavi's soul condemned at Judge's Bridge will be best-fed guest(s) in A.M.'s House of Song in heaven
Vishtāspa <u>et al.</u> grant Z. hospitality	
Kavis <u>et al.</u> don't grant Z. hospitality	{ will eat bad food as guest(s) in the House of Deceit with sounds of woe in hell

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

NOTES

- ¹ The radically aberrant view of Insler (1975: 156) must be rejected. Insler rightly objected to seeing an inf. in xšān mēnē, but his own reading *xšān mēne (sic) for *xšān mēnā is far-fetched: (1) the dangling clause 'I who have recognized . . .' is impossible; (2) the assumption that *mēne is for *mēnā and this for *manā is unsupported; no help is furnished by Insler's interpretation of manō.vistāiš Y. 46.19 (allegedly for *manā vistāiš, with *-ā- . . . -i- > -ā- . . . -i-), where moreover 'my possessions' makes less sense as part of an eschatological reward for a righteous man than the straightforward manō.vistāiš 'things seen in the mind, envisioned in the plan'. (3) If *xšān/n were the older reading, one would expect the Pahl. translation to have recognized it as a form of 'to know'. Instead the Pahl. has āšād, which seems to reflect */hš'n-, cf. Bartholomae s.v. xšān mēnē.
- ² Possibly here one can compare typologically the contrast of the "upper" and "lower" Sephiroth in the hierophany of the Kabbalah.
- ³ Insler (1975: 182) strongly defends xšnūt- as 'satisfaction' "in the legalistic sense" (seeing the Gāthic eschatological terminology as chiefly derived from the legal sphere), for which he cites the oldest usage of Eng. satisfaction in the OED. The sentence cited there indicates that the goal of the satisfaction is the offended party, as is to be expected; in the Gāthic passages however Ahura Mazda (the party to be satisfied) gives or assigns the xšnūt- to the good and evil.
- ⁴ The term vāzišta- modifying asti- was shown conclusively by Humbach (1952: 24-27, 33-34) to mean 'most strengthened, best fed', [cognate of OInd. vāja- 'invigoration, prize']. I would add that the old positive of vāzišta- was vazra-, OInd. vairā- 'bloated, forceful' (> 'mace'), cf. OPer. vazrka- 'great, big' etc., ONor. vakr 'energetic'; etc. Furthermore, vāzišta- as applied to the guest finds an important correlation in Ossetic: Digor iwāzāg, Iron wāzāg 'guest'. The latter attests another replacement for OIr. asti-.
- ⁵ Insler's translation of hnu- as 'to satisfy' is inaccurate; the mgs. 'deny, conceal, atone for' were conclusively demonstrated by Charpentier (1916: 96-105) and cf. J. Brough, Siddha-Bhāratī, 1950, 1-5. The connection of hnu- with Ir. xšnu- is rejected on formal grounds (the velar attested in the Av. redup.) by Charpentier, 105, and recently by Hollifield (1978: 175-176), who also notes the discrepancy in mg.; his own etymology, -n- infix from *ghew- 'to call', is insupportable semantically and formally (note Gr. pepnūménos, émpnūto cannot be wholly separated from pnew- 'blow, inspire', anapnéō etc.).

—Av. snuš in the Frahang-i Oīm is probably a corrupt, truncated form; the gloss sōgēnīdan 'to bring about benefit' suggests sauš-, səuuiš- or the like < r. sav-.

6 Against Scheller (whose study is invaluable for the mg. of priyá-, its cognates, and the parallelism with phílos), it does not seem necessary to reconstruct a laryngeal base preA-. Gr. praús 'gentle, friendly' may be conn. w. práos 'meadow', Lat. prāvus 'bent', with the same semantic course as Sogd. namrē 'gentle', Lat. nemus 'meadow', Av. nam- etc. 'to bend'. Ilr. pri-, Gmc. fri- perh. *pri-A-, with the same verb marker as Hitt. newahh- etc.

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

8 Humbach (1952:11; 1956:70) not only takes Ir. xšnu- 'to treat well' but also 'to hear' (which he unconvincingly tries to demonstrate for an Av. form without ā-) from 'sharpen'; see against this already Gershevitch (1959:324).

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

ADDENDA

[1] The clearest contexts for xšnu- as 'provide hospitality' are (1) Pursišnihā 49: 'He who has not x.d (xšnaošta) nor will x. (xšnāuuaiēite) the righteous man coming to his door-post (aṭāhuua with Humbach *ātāhuua = OInd. ātāsu) [will not go to Paradise]'. (2) Hadōxt Nask 2.19 (of exempla of piety): 'x.ing (kuxšnuuānō) the righteous man coming from near and from far' (also Vištāsp Yašt 59, in connection with Vištāspa, who having put an end to Zarathushtra's wanderings, is the host par excellence); for 'righteous man' (= 'Zoroastrian') cf. Y. 46. 5-6, where Zarathushtra, in stating the rules of hospitality, distinguishes the deceitful from the righteous, admonishing hosts to warn their families against suspect guests; (3) Y. 51.12: 'He . . . did not x. (xšnāuš) Zarathushtra . . . though his (Z.'s) draft beasts were trembling from wandering and cold'.

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

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

[3] OInd. átya (átiya-) literally means 'by-passing' and is from ati-, as was shown by Kuiper, IJ 4/4, 1960, 220 n. 10. This

further confirms the secondary association of átithi- (*áthiṭ with both átati and áti-, and the parallelism of the semantic course of their root with that of mey-, which may be illustrated schematically as follows:

PIE * <u>mey-(t-H-)</u> 'exchange' OInd. <u>nimáyate</u> 'changes' Sogd. etc. <u>mēθ</u> 'day' Lat. <u>meo</u> 'pass, wander' ONor. <u>mein</u> 'harm' MPers. <u>mēhmān</u> etc. 'guest'	PIE * <u>Aet-(H-)</u> 'to alternate' OInd. <u>vyáthate</u> 'vacillates' Lat. <u>annus</u> etc. 'year' OInd. <u>átati</u> 'wanders', <u>átya-</u> 'by-passing' Av. <u>āθi-</u> 'harm' Av. <u>asti-</u> etc. 'guest'
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Other parallel courses may be schematized similarly, e.g.

PIE * <u>k^wsen-(w-)</u> 'to exchange' Gr. <u>ksūnōs</u> , Oss. <u>xsān</u> 'common' Gr. <u>ksún</u> 'together with' MPers. <u>šnōhr</u> 'grateful' Av. <u>xšnūt-</u> 'requital' Gr. <u>ksénwos</u> 'guest'	PIE * <u>mey-(t-H-)</u> 'to exchange' Lat. <u>communis</u> 'common', <u>mūtus</u> 'shared' OInd. <u>mithás</u> 'together with' Sic. <u>moītos</u> 'gratitude' Av. <u>maēni-</u> 'penalty' MPers. <u>mēhmān</u> 'guest'
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[4] The idea of heavenly reciprocity for earthly hospitality passed from the Gāthās (probably via digests and catechisms such as the Pursišnīhā) into the Pahlavi literature; note esp. Some Sayings of Ādurbādh, Son of Mahraspand 16 (PT 146): 'Give hospitable reception (padīr bawēd) to the traveler so that they will receive you all the more here (on earth) and there (in heaven), for he who gives, gets, and with increase (profit, interest: waxš) besides'. Here may even be seen a reflection of the "attenuated sort of potlatch" characterizing the archaic situation.

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