Word-hoard in Jars of Clay: σκεῦος, σκηνή, and an Obscure PIE Root

Andrew Merritt (am4556@georgetown.edu)

Department of Classics, Georgetown University

1) The Question of σκῆνος and σκηνή

In his second extant letter to the Corinthians (5.1), Paul uses the phrase ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους "our earthly dwelling of the tabernacle" in reference to the humble, lamentable, and transitory state of embodied existence in ultimate hope of a permanent spiritual home. Arising as it does from the conception that what makes the body live is something covered and contained, this expression with the substantive σκῆνος n. 'hut, tent' relies on a sense shared by its more familiar relative σκηνή 'tent, booth'. Putting these two sets of senses together, we may observe that at the interface with √σκην- were the notions of covering, containment, and applications relating to such actions. It is in light of this observation that we shall here address the question of the Proto-Indo-European root from which the preform of σκηνή and its arguably copious relatives, both within and beyond Greek, originated.

2) A Tent is Something Material

Despite Pokorny's assignment of its family to a *$sk\bar{a}i$- (: $sk\acute{ə}i$- : $sk\acute{\bar{\imath}}$-) 'shimmer' of its own dubitability (IEW: 917–918), σκηνή (Dor. σκανά), vaguely and non-committally associated with σκιά 'shadow' (Ved. $ch\bar{a}y\acute{a}$- 'id.', OCS $s\check{e}nъ$ 'shadow'; v. GEW: 727–728; DELG²: 980–981; EDG: 1349), is etymologically unclear. There are two clear reasons for this uncertainty: (1) the derivational histories of the possible preforms of σκιά, namely *$sk\acute{h}_x i\underset{\smile}{i}\acute{e}h_2$- or *$sk\acute{i}h_x\acute{e}h_2$-, are obscure in their own right and distinct from that of σκηνή, which is comparable to words like φερ-νή 'dowry', and (2), whereas shadows are solely phenomenal, tents are material objects that do more than just appear.

3) The Word for 'Shoe' and the Hypothesis of *√$(s)keh_2$- 'cover, contain'

This materiality lexico-semantically and arguable root-shape diachronically (i.e. σκη–) justify the connection of a Proto-Greek *$sk\bar{a}n\acute{\bar{a}}$- with the Germanic word for 'shoe' (Goth. *skohs* m. 'shoe', ON *skór* 'id.', OE *scóh* 'id.', etc.), which Pokorny unacceptably assigns to what now would be represented as *√$skeu\underset{\smile}{h}_x$- 'cover, envelop' (: *$(s)keu$- : $(s)keu\underset{\smile}{ə}$- : $(s)k\bar{u}$- 'bedecken, umhüllen', IEW: 951–953; Latv. *skaût* 'embrace' : ON *skjól* n. 'shelter' [< *$sk\acute{e}u\underset{\smile}{h}_x$-lo-] : OS *skūr* m. 'shelter', OHG *scūr* 'lean-to' < *$sk\acute{u}h_x$-ro-). Given its immediate preform *$sk\acute{o}\chi a$- ("No certain etymology", Kroonen 2013: 446), the "shoe" word may in all likelihood reflect a *$sk\acute{o}h_x$-ko- or a *$sk\acute{e}h_2$-ko- comparable in form to the ancestor of Latvian *spēks* m. 'force' (: *spēt* 'be able', cf. Ved. *pīvaḥ-sphāká*- 'swelling with fat') and, in lexical semantic development, to Avestan *aoθra*- 'shoe' (: Lat. *induō* 'put on', *eu*- 'id.', IEW: 346). As it turns out, there is abundant evidence for a *√$(s)keh_2$- of the meaning 'cover, contain'.

4) *$skeh_2$-né-h_2- and *$sk\acute{e}h_2$-n-o/es-

Given the ease of explaining the Proto-Germanic *–$\bar{o}$– beside Proto-Greek *–$\bar{a}$– from *–eh_2.– and the role of the suffix *-$k\acute{o}$- in genitival and thus secondary derivation (v. Nussbaum 2009), it

is conceivable that *skóχa- reflects a *skéh₂-ko- formed by determinative accent retraction from an adjective in *-kó- derived from a root noun *skéh₂-/skh₂-´ 'covering' to *√(s)keh₂- 'cover, contain'. This *skeh₂-kó- 'of the covering; kind of covering' would thus stand beside an imaginable *skeh₂-nó- basic to the determinate preforms of both σκηνή and σκῆνος, namely, *skeh₂-né-h₂- and *skéh₂-n-o/es- (cf. πηρός 'disabled' : Aeol. πᾶρος n. 'weakness' [Alc.98]). In terms of derivational semantics, *skeh₂-nó- could be based on a *-nó- verbal adjective – in which case its derivatives would have meant 'the covered place, shelter' – or the base could have been derived possessively from a *-men- stem (*skeh₂-(m)n-ó-) and thus have meant 'provided with cover, covering' (adj.). In any case, there is some evidence that a *-men- stem was indeed formed from *√(s)keh₂- 'cover, contain'.

5) πῶμα 'lid', κῶμα 'sleep', and κημός 'muzzle'

For the sake of etymology, we may note a certain resemblance between the totally obscure κῶμα 'deep sleep' and the more associable πῶμα 'lid, cover', the latter of which arguably reflects an *-ó/é- acrostatic *-men- stem to *√peh₂- 'cover, protect, care for' (Nussbaum p.c.). In like manner, it is conceivable that *√(s)keh₂- formed a *nomen actionis* *kó/éh₂-mn̥ 'covering' used to refer figuratively to the experience of being enveloped by sleep – an image arguably echoed by the use of κῶμα with καλύπτω in Homer (Ξ 359, σ 201). If this scenario is insufficiently credible, we are on firmer ground when it comes to κημός (Dor. κᾱμός) 'muzzle'. Since muzzles are covers without a shadow of a doubt, it is appealing to assume a possessive *keh₂-m(n)-ó- 'covering' (adj./subst.) ancestral to the etymologically obscure κημός.

6) The "Root" *kadh-

Another set of obscure forms can be illumined as evidence of our *√(s)keh₂- 'cover, contain' by appeal to the root noun suggested above. Under a root *kadh- 'hüten, schützend bedecken' (IEW: 516), Pokorny has a list of mostly Germanic forms such as Old English hód m. 'hood' (: OHG huot 'hat'), hætt m. 'hat' (: OIc. hǫttr 'id.'), and hédan 'watch, tend to' (cf. NHG hüten 'care for'). I would argue that the descriptive *kadh- common to all these forms is also reflected in a set of previously obscure Greek lemmata: κηθίς (-ίδος) f. 'dice-box', κήθιον 'id.', κηθάριον 'voting-urn', κῶθα 'goblets' (· ποτήρια [Hsch.]), κώθων (-ωνος) m. 'Laconian drinking vessel', κάθος 'big basket' (· σπυρίς [Hsch.]). Given the comparison of these sets and the morphophonemic oddity of the root underlying them, it is plausible that "*kadh-" actually originated as a secondary root based on a nominal compound arising from a causative periphrasis in which the predicative instrumental was that of a root noun *kéh₂-/kh₂-´ 'covering' (cf. *sh₁-éh₁ dʰeh₁- 'provide with length, lengthen, elongate', Merritt 2023b). Accordingly, on the basis of *kh₂-éh₁ dʰeh₁- 'provide with covering' was arguably formed a *kh₂-dʰh₁-ó- 'provided with covering, covering, covered' whose derivatives seem to have inspired the creation of a secondary *√keh₂dʰ(h₁)- 'cover, contain' (n.b. OE hédan < iterative *koh₂dʰ(h₁)-éi̯e/o- 'protect, guard').

7) The Family of Gothic haihs 'one-eyed'

Beside the root noun *kéh₂-/kh₂-´ 'covering', there is some evidence that *√(s)keh₂- 'cover' also formed an i-stem *kóh₂-i-/kéh₂-i- and a u-stem *kóh₂-u-/kéh₂-u- of the same meaning. As I have proposed elsewhere (Merritt 2023b), while stems of this kind in *-i- and *-u- normally require a

thematic adnominal base from which they may be both derived, root nouns derived from roots of the shape CEH appear on occasion to have inspired their derivation directly from the root. As far as the *i*-stem is concerned, there are two sets of evidence of its existence and thus of *$\sqrt{keh_2}$- itself. The first set of evidence is the family of Gothic *haihs* 'one-eyed' (Latin *caecus* 'blind; obscure', OIr. *caech* 'one-eyed, squinty, blind', MW *coeg* 'vain, empty'), which may be analyzed as a the reflex of a *$kéh_2$-i-ko-* '(the) obscure, blind (one)' formed by accent-retraction from a genitival derivative *keh_2-i-kó-* 'of the covering, covered, obscure, blind' (> PIIr. *kaHika-* → *kaHika-la-* 'somewhat blind' > Skt. *kekara-* 'squint-eyed').

8) <u>Vedic *kévala-* and Latin *caelebs*</u>

The second set of evidence includes Vedic *kévala-* 'one's own, alone, whole' and probably Latin *caelebs* 'single', which may be analyzed as the reflex of a compound consisting of an *i*-stem abstract *$kéh_2$-i-u̯e-l-i-* 'solitude, totality' derived from the preform of *kévala-* and a nominal form of b^huh_x- 'be/become' representing the anti-causative alternant of the predicative instrumental periphrasis (*$kéh_2$-i-u̯e-l-i-h_1 b^huh_x- 'be/become alone', cf. Ved. *kevalī-kr̥-* 'make one's own', Balles 2006: 98). After the νεογνός-rule and loss of *u̯ (cf. Lat. *probus* 'upright' < *pro-b^huh_x-o-* 'with a forthright nature', Weiss 2020: 173), the stem *keh_2iu̯elib^huh_x- was conceivably leveled to *keh_2iu̯elib^h- (cf. Merritt 2021: 320), resulting in *caelib-* (cf. *aetās* 'age' : *aevum* 'id.', v. EDL: 80). Vedic *kévala-* would thus reflect a *$kéh_2$-i-u̯e-lo-* 'the complete, whole, alone' presupposing a possessive *keh_2-i-u̯ó-* arguably derived from our *$kóh_2$-i-/$kéh_2$-i- 'covering' and bearing the sense 'complete'.

9) <u>The Family of Gothic *hails* 'whole, sound'</u>

This meaning 'complete' probably developed via the sense 'covered, contained, comprehended, enclosed' observable in the etymologies of various terms for 'whole' or 'all', such as πᾶς 'whole, all' from *peh_2-ent- 'covered' (: TA *puk* : TB *po* 'id.' [Kim 2019: 178 with refs.] : *$\sqrt{peh_2}$- 'cover, protect') and Hittite *ḫūmant-* 'all' from *h_2u-h_1m-ént- 'taken together' (: *$\sqrt{h_1em}$- 'take', Kimball 2007). To this group I would add Latin *omnis* 'whole, all', which may reflect a *$h_1$óp-n-i- 'the taken' formed from a *-*nó-* verbal adjective to *$\sqrt{h_1ep}$- 'grasp, take' (or *$h_1$óm-n-i- 'id.' : *$\sqrt{h_1em}$-, Nussbaum p.c.), and German *ganz* 'whole, all', which seems to reflect a *g^hond-ó- 'taken, grasped' analyzable as a patientive τομός-type derivative ultimately of *$\sqrt{g^hend}$- 'grasp, take' (: χανδάνω 'take in, contain', Lat. *praehendō* 'take', v. Nussbaum 2017). The same semantic pathway from 'covered, contained' via 'complete' to 'whole, sound' is arguably involved in the family of Gothic *hails* 'whole, sound' (OE *hál* 'id.' : OCS *cělъ* 'whole' OPr. *kails* 'hail!'; possibly Latv. *kaîls* 'bare'), which arguably reflects a determinate adjective *$kéh_2$-i-lo-* or *$kóh_2$-i-lo-* 'the complete, intact, whole' derived from a *-*ló-* derivative of the *i*-stem and basic to a *u*-stem *$kóh_2$-i-l-u-* 'the whole, wholeness' reflected in the Hesychian lemma κοῖλυ (· τὸ καλόν) and, with more derivational material, in Old Prussian *kailūstiskan* 'health' (acc. sg.). If Latin *caelum* 'sky' is also related (cf. Weiss 2016), it would point to a *keh_2-i-ló-* with the original meaning '(with) covering' (cf. Lith. *dangùs* 'sky' : *deñgti* 'cover').

10) <u>The Genesis of *$\sqrt{(s)keu̯h_2}$- 'cover'</u>

We are now in a position to consider evidence for the *u*-stem *$*(s)kóh_2$-u-/(s)kéh_2-u-* 'covering' to *√(s)keh_2-* 'cover', on the basis of which arose what we may now rewrite as our secondary *√(s)keu̯h_2-* 'cover' alongside an equivalent *√(s)keu̯d^h-* 'id.' (: κεύθω 'cover, hide', MW *cudd* 'hiding-place', etc.). The existence of these secondary roots is a function of a well-known feature of the PIE denominal verbal system, namely that, while periphrasis with light verbs such as *$*d^heh_1$-* and a predicative instrumental was necessarily employed outside the present system, the present system itself could employ stem-formants of instrumentative value. Accordingly, a *$*(s)keh_2$-u-i̯e/o-* derived from *$*(s)kóh_2$-u-/(s)kéh_2-u-* 'covering' would have meant 'provide with a covering'. Since this verb's meaning was equivalent to whatever verb was originally derived from *√(s)keh_2-* 'cover', it is conceivable that it was reanalyzed as a primary present derived from a "long-diphthongal" *√(s)keh_2u-* 'cover', which would have thus appeared eligible as a base to a *-tó-* verbal adjective, namely a *$*(s)kh_2$u-tó-* 'covered'. Structurally comparable to the preform of Vedic *pītá-* 'drunk' (< *$*pih_3$-tó-* < *$*ph_3$(-)i-tó-*), this *$*(s)kh_2$u-tó-* may be assumed to have undergone laryngeal metathesis. The resulting *$*(s)kuh_2$-tó-* 'covered', arguably basic to the preform of Lithuanian *(s)kiáutas* 'shell, shuck' (< *$*(s)kéu̯h_2$-to-*), appears to have been pivotal in the creation of a secondary *√(s)keu̯h_2-* 'cover', presumably by an analogy like *$*ḱl̥$-tó-* 'covered' : *√ḱel-* 'cover' :: *$*(s)kuh_2$-tó-* : *x*. Once a *√(s)keu̯h_2-* was inferred, it formed, for example, an adjective in *-ró-* (*$*(s)kuh_2$-ró-* 'covering, covered' → *$*skúh_2$-ro-* [: OS *skūr* m. 'shelter' : Lat. *obscūrus* 'obscure' < *'with a covering to it, covered']), a radical *é*-grade simple thematic present *$*(s)kéu̯h_2$-e/o-* 'cover' (>> Latv. *skaût* 'embrace'), and an *s*-stem *$*(s)kéu̯h_2$-o/es-* 'covering' (→ *$*kuh_2$-s-ó-* 'cover(ed)' [→ *$*kóu̯(h_2)$-s-o-* > ON *hauss* 'skull', Latv. *kaûss* 'bowl'] → *$*kúh_2$-s-o-* 'the cover(ed)' > OE *hús* 'house').

11) **The Origin of *Hoard***

This *s*-stem appears to have been used in the causative periphrasis. If we start out with *$*kéu̯h_2$-es-eh_1 d^heh_1-* 'provide with covering' (or *$*kuh_2$-s-éh_1 d^heh_1-* 'id.'), it is possible to imagine a compound *$*kuh_2$-s-d^hh_1-ó-* 'provided with cover, covered' (cf. μισθός 'payment' < *$*mi-s-d^hh_1$-ó-* 'provided in exchange'), whose *$*h_2$* was arguably lost in the coda of a superheavy syllable (*$*kuh_2s.d^hh_1$ó-*; cf. Skt. *kuṣṭha-* m. 'cavity of the loin' < [Skt. *koṣṭha-* m. n. 'receptacle, belly, storeroom' < *$*kóu̯sth_2$o- ←] *$*kusth_2$o-* < *$*kuh_2$-s-t-h_2-ó-* ← *$*kuh_2$-s-te-h_2-* ← *$*kuh_2$-s-tó-* ← *$*kéu̯h_2$-o/es-* 'covering'). The resulting *$*kusd^hh_1$-ó-* 'covered, hidden, hidden stuff, treasure', which seems to have germinated its own Caland system (*$*kusd^h(h_1)$-ró-* > MW *cwthr* 'anus, rump; rectum; womb, matrix; vagina; belly' [IEW: 953] : κύσθος 'pudenda muliebria'), would be (1) the base of a determinate *$*kóu̯sd^hh_1$-o-* 'the covered place, house, building, tower' (Av. *ašta.kaoždā-* 'with eight turrets' [used of *pusā-* 'diadem'], Khotanese *kūṣḍa-* 'palace', v. Bernard and Chen 2022), (2) the preform of Gothic *huzd* 'treasure' (: PDE *hoard*), and (3) the base of the instrumental *$*kusd^hh_1$-ó-h_1* 'with hidden stuff, with treasure' basic to a determinate *$*kusd^hh_1$-o-h_1-d-* 'the one with the hidden stuff' ancestral to Latin *custōs, custōdis* 'guard' (cf. Nowicki 1978).

12) **The Genesis of *√(s)keu̯d^h-* 'cover'**

Returning to the relation between *√(s)keu̯h_2-* 'cover' : *√(s)keu̯d^h-* 'id.', let us bear in mind that the expression corresponding to *$*(s)keh_2$-u-i̯e/o-* 'provide with a covering' was *$*kéh_2$-u-h_1 d^heh_1-* 'id.', on the basis of which was formed a compound *$*kh_2$-u-d^hh_1-ó-* 'covering, covered' basic to

the *kh₂éu̯dʰh₁-o- or *kh₂óu̯dʰh₁-o- 'the covering, cover' ancestral to Avestan *xaōδa-* 'cap, helmet' (: OP *xaudā-* 'cap'). In light of Old English *hýdan* 'conceal', it is conceivable that a *kuh₂dʰh₁-ó- produced by laryngeal metathesis was the base of an *i*-stem *kuh₂dʰh₁-i- 'covering' (→ *kuh₂dʰh₁-i-i̯e/o- 'provide with covering') or a *-i̯e/o- present itself (i.e. *kuh₂dʰh₁-é-i̯e/o- 'render covered'). In any case, this *kuh₂dʰh₁-ó- was definitely basic to an *s*-stem *kéu̯h₂dʰh₁-o/es- 'covered-ness, concealment' subject to Hackstein's (2002) rule of laryngeal deletion (*CH.CC > *C.CC). Since radical *é*-grade *s*-stems existing in Caland systems beside radical *e*-grade simple thematic presents might have provided a model for the formation of thematic presents on the basis of *s*-stems originally derived from compound thematic adnominals (*gʷʰér-o/es- 'warmth' [θέρος 'summer'] : *gʷʰér-e/o- '(be) warm' [θέρομαι 'id.'] :: *pléh₁(-)dʰh₁-o/es- 'fullness' [← *pl̥h₁-dʰh₁-ó- 'rendered full'] : *pléh₁(-)dʰh₁-e/o- 'be/become full', v. Merritt 2023a 181–190), the resulting *kéu̯dʰh₁-o/es- 'hiddenness' (> κεῦθος 'hiding-place, depth, hole') seems to have inspired the creation of a radical *é*-grade simple thematic present *kéu̯dʰh₁-e/o- 'make hidden' (> κεύθω 'hide') as a derivative of a secondary *√(s)keu̯dʰ- 'cover' (cf. MIr. *codal* f. 'skin' < *kudʰ(h₁)-le-h₂- 'covering' ← *kudʰ(h₁)-ló- 'covered'; Goth. *skauda-raips* 'shoe-strap' < *skou̯dʰh₁-e-h₂-; κυθνόν 'seed').

13) The Question of σκεῦος and σκευή

Now that we have found extensive evidence that a *√(s)keh₂- 'cover, contain' both existed and formed a *u*-stem, let us at length consider what are arguably two reflexes of stems derived from a thematic derivative of *(s)kóh₂-u-/(s)kéh₂-u- 'covering, containment'. These two reflexes are σκεῦος n. 'vessel, implement' and σκευή 'equipment, attire, apparel' (: σκευάζω 'prepare, dress'). Putting these two sets of senses together, we may observe that at the interface with √σκευ- were the notions of covering, containment, and applications relating to such actions. Despite Pokorny's assignment of σκεῦος and its family to a *(s)keu- 'herrichten, ausführen' of its own dubitability (IEW: 950–951), there is general agreement that √σκευ- is etymologically obscure (GEW: 727; DELG²: 980; EDG: 1348–1349). A major cause of this obscurity is the difficulty in accounting for the prevocalic diphthong. While Peters (1980: 131) provides some possibilities for the preform of σκευή, namely *skeu̯si̯éh₂- and *skeu̯hₓi̯éh₂-, it is doubtful that either preform would regularly develop to what is attested, and it is unclear from what root and in what way either preform would be derived.

14) The Unfeasibility of Derivation from *√skeu̯h₂- 'cover'

As far as the root is concerned, an initial hypothesis, given the lexical semantics discussed above, is a connection with what we have represented as *√skeu̯h₂- 'cover'. It is at least conceivable that preforms *skéu̯h₂-u̯o/es- and *skeu̯h₂-u̯é-h₂- derived from an adjective in *-u̯ó- would regularly develop to the attested forms. Since, however, there is no evidence for such an adjective and since it is imaginable that the laryngeal would have a vocalic reflex, it is necessary to pursue another path.

15) A Serious Comparandum

This path may be taken with the observation that the prevocalic diphthong is also encountered in the substantive χλεύη 'joke, jest', and thus with the suggestion that the same morphological and

phonological processes necessary for its explication may also be involved in the background of σκεῦος, whose comparandum finds itself among the forms listed under Pokorny's *g^hleu- 'fröhlich sein, scherzen' (IEW: 451). These items may be divided into three sets: (1) a "simple" set consisting of OE *gléo(w)* 'glee', ON *glý* 'joy', and χλεύη itself, (2) a dental set represented by Old Lithuanian *gláuda* 'mirth' (: *gláudas* 'id.'), and (3) a *-mo-* set comprising OCS *glumъ* 'idle talk, mockery' (RCS 'noise, amusement', Derksen 2008: 167) and Proto-Germanic *$*glauma$- 'joy, mirth' (: OE *gléam* 'joy, revelry', ON *glaumr* 'noisy merriment'). Given the connection of humor with joy, and of the latter with luminance, it is conceivable that, as Pokorny himself suggests, we are dealing ultimately with what we may represent as *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hel}$- 'shiny' (cf. IEW: 429–434).

16) The Preferability of *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hel}$- 'shiny'

This root, often reconstructed as *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^helh_3}$- 'yellow(-green)' in light of χλωρός 'yellow-green' and some Indo-Iranian material (cf. Ved. *híri-śmaśru-* 'golden-bearded' : Av. *zari-* 'tawny', EWAia II: 805–806), should instead be reconstructed as *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hel}$- 'shiny' for three reasons: (1) the meanings of many derivatives point to more than just 'yellow-green', 'golden', or 'tawny' (e.g. OIr. *gel* 'shining, white', Lith. *glodùs* 'smooth, polished, even, well-fitting'), (2) the Balto-Slavic evidence points to *$\acute{g}^h$ reflected with Gutturalwechsel (Lith. *geĩtas* 'yellow' : East. Lith. *žeĩtas* 'gold-colored'), and (3) there are forms and correspondences that heavily favor an *aniṭ*-root (e.g. non-acute Serbo-Croatian *žût* 'yellow' < *$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}$-tó-; Av. *zāra-* 'gall' : χόλος 'wrath, biliousness' < *$\acute{g}^hol$-o- 'yellow stuff'; χλῑδή 'luxuriance' < *$\acute{g}^hl$-i-dé-h_2- 'splendor, glitziness'; PGk. *$k^hlówā$- [: χλόη 'young greenery']; SCr. *žûč* 'bile' < *$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}$-$^{(\acute{k})}$-i- : χαλκός 'copper, bronze' < *$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}$-$^{(\acute{k})}$(-)ó- 'shiny-yellowish (stuff)', cf. Georgiev 1936). Accordingly, I suggest that the laryngeal reflected in forms such as χλωρός and Lithuanian *glodùs* 'smooth, polished, etc.' was of suffixal origin.

17) The Emergence of *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hleh_2}$- 'shiny'

Given that our *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hel}$- 'bright, shiny, clear' was an adjectival root like *$\sqrt{me\acute{g}}$- 'big' (Nussbaum 2022: 218–220), it is reasonable to suppose that, just as *$\sqrt{me\acute{g}}$- formed a primary proterokinetic *-h_2- stem of determinate meaning (*$mé\acute{g}$-h_2- 'the big; bigness' : μέγα 'great' : FCM ἀγα- 'with great *x*' : ἀγαθός 'good' < *$m\mathring{g}$-h_2-d^hh_1-ó- 'provided with greatness'), *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hel}$- formed an adjectival abstract *$\acute{g}^hél$-h_2-/$\acute{g}^hl$-éh_2- 'the clear, clarity' employable in the causative periphrasis *$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}$-h_2-éh_1 d^heh_1- 'provide with clarity, (make) clear'. Since this common construction required a case characterized, exceptionally for proterokinetics, by zero-grade of the stem and full-grade of the ending (cf. Ved. gerunds in *-tvắ* < *-tu̯-éh_1 'with *x*-ing'), it is conceivable that *$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}$-h_2-éh_1 was reanalyzed as the instrumental singular of a root noun *$\acute{g}^hléh_2$-/$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}h_2$-´ 'shininess'. Since, moreover, *$\acute{g}^hleh_2$-, the *o*-grade of which, incidentally, would be reflected in χλωρός (< *$\acute{g}^hloh_2$-ró- : *$\acute{g}^h\mathring{l}h_2$-ró- [: χλᾱρός 'joyous' Pi.]; cf. *b^hel- 'glänzend, weiß' [IEW: 118–120] : *b^hloh_2-ros 'light-colored' [Lat. *flōrus* 'light-colored' {of hair, Acc.+}, MIr. *blár*, MW *blawr* 'grey'] ← *b^hleh_2-, Weiss 2020: 304), was the full-grade of this secondary root, it is understandable that, when the causative periphrasis inspired the creation of a thematic compound *$\acute{g}^hlah_2$-d^hh_1-ó- 'rendered clear, shiny, smooth, bright' (> PGmc. *$*glada$- 'shiny, smooth, glad' [: OE *glæd* 'glad, bright', ON *glaðr* 'id.', NHG *glatt* 'smooth, even, sleek, shiny'] → *$\acute{g}^hleh_2d^hh_1$-u- Lith. *glodùs* 'smooth, polished, even, well-fitting' [: OCS *gladъkъ* 'smooth, even']), which arguably germinated a tertiary *$\sqrt{\acute{g}^hleh_2d^hh_1}$- 'clear, smooth, etc.' (→ *$\acute{g}^hlah_2d^h(h_1)$-ró- > Lat. *glaber*

'smooth, bald'), the *–l– was always assigned to the onset. Accordingly, just as *√(s)keh₂- formed both a root noun and a u-stem, it is reasonable to suppose that *√ǵʰleh₂- 'shiny' formed both the root noun reflected in the "glad" family and a u-stem of the shape *ǵʰlóh₂-u-/ǵʰléh₂-u- 'brightness'.

18) The Origin of χλεύη 'joke, jest'

This u-stem was (1) the basis of an adjective in *-mó- (*ǵʰleh₂-u-mó- 'bright, glad' → *ǵʰléh₂-u-mo- 'gladness' (PGmc. *glauma- 'merriment', OCS glumъ 'idle talk, mockery'), (2) employed in the causative periphrasis *ǵʰléh₂-u-h₁ dʰeh₁- 'provide with brightness, gladden' (: *ǵʰleh₂-u-dʰh₁-ó- 'brightened, glad' → *ǵʰléh₂-u-dʰh₁-e-h₂- 'gladness' > Old Lithuanian gláuda 'mirth'; cf. *géh₂-u̯-i-h₁ dʰeh₁- 'provide with brightness, gladden' : *geh₂-u̯-i-dʰh₁-ó- 'gladdened, glad' : *geh₂-u̯-i-dʰh₁-i̯o- 'gladdening, gladness' > Lat. gaudium 'joy', Merritt 2024), and (3) subject to genitival derivation with lengthened grade of the root and a simple thematic suffix (v. Nussbaum 2009). Just as Vedic párśu- m. 'rib' is the base of a vṛddhi-derivative pārś(u)vá- '(region) of the ribs', it is plausible that *ǵʰléh₂-u- 'brightness, gladness' was the base of a *ǵʰlēh₂-u̯-ó- 'of the gladness', which, like pārś(u)vá- (trisyllabic at RV 4.18.2), was subject to Sievers' Law. The variant *ǵʰlēh₂-uu̯-ó- was arguably the ancestor, via Osthoff's Law, of a Proto-Germanic *glewwa- 'mirth' ([→ *gliwwija- > ON glý 'joy'] > OE gléow 'glee'), and basic to an *-h₂- stem *ǵʰlēh₂-uu̯-e-h₂- 'that which is of gladness, humor' ancestral to a *kʰléu̯u̯ā- ancestral, also via Osthoff's Law, to a *kʰléu̯u̯ā- ancestral to χλεύη 'joke, jest'.

19) Treasure in Tents and Jars

In like manner, therefore, let us propose that *(s)kóh₂-u-/(s)kéh₂-u- 'covering, containment' was the base of a genitival adjective *skēh₂-u̯-ó- 'of the covering' subject to Sievers' Law. The resulting *skēh₂-uu̯-ó- was the base both of the *skéh₂-uu̯-o/es- 'kind of covering, container' ancestral to σκεῦος n. 'vessel, implement' and of the *skēh₂-uu̯-é-h₂- 'kind of covering, container' ancestral to σκευή 'equipment, apparel, clothing'. Though σκεῦος presupposes the sense 'containment' rather than the sense 'covering' underlying σκῆνος 'tent', it is, in conclusion, interesting to observe that, in the same Pauline letter with which we began this discussion, σκεῦος like σκῆνος is not only employed in comparable reference to precarious corporeality with precious contents (ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν "in jars of clay" [4.7]), but also, as I argue, a derivative ultimately of the same verbal root – one of the greatest accessible antiquity and comprising a vast corpus of lexical treasure (e.g. Lith. kū́nas 'body' < *kuh₂-no- 'covering' : *√skeu̯h₂- 'cover', v. Charpentier 1907: 23–24; cf. Latv. kûnis 'pupa, larval form of an insect', Smoczyński 2018: 631).

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Abbreviations

DELG^2 = Chantraine, Pierre. 2009. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*. (2nd ed., with supplements by Alain Blanc, Charles de Lamberterie, and Jean-Louis Perpillou). Paris: Klinksieck.

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