

## On the etymology of Greek ἄλις ‘in abundance, in throngs; enough’<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** Building on a so far neglected root-etymology by Boisacq (1923), the present paper proposes to analyze the Greek adverb ἄλις ‘in abundance, in throngs; enough’ (~ Hesychian gloss γάλι ‘enough’) as the lexicalized locative singular of a mobile root noun PIE \*suelH- / \*sulH- ‘swelling, bulging’ ⇒ ‘heap’, belonging to the PIE root \*suelH- ‘to swell’.

**Keywords:** Ancient Greek; root noun; locative; lexicalization; adverb.

### [es] Sobre la etimología del griego ἄλις ‘en abundancia, en masa; suficiente’

**Resumen.** Partiendo de la hasta ahora descuidada etimología radical de Boisacq (1923), el presente trabajo propone analizar el adverbio griego ἄλις ‘en abundancia, en masa; suficiente’ (~ glosa de Hesiquio γάλι ‘suficiente’) como el producto de la lexicalización de un locativo singular perteneciente al sustantivo radical protoindoeuropeo \*suelH- / \*sulH- ‘hinchazón, abultamiento’ ⇒ ‘montón’, que se remonta a la raíz protoindoeuropea \*suelH- ‘hincharse’.

**Palabras clave:** griego antiguo; sustantivo radical; locativo; lexicalización; adverbio.

**Summary.** 1. Semantics & attestations. 1.1. Semantics. 1.2. Attestations. 2. Proposed etymologies. 3. Evaluating the proposed etymologies. 3.1. The εἰλέω connection. 3.2. The swell connection. 4. Developing the swell connection. 4.1. Semantics. 4.2. The PIE root \*suelH- ‘to swell’. 4.2.1. Verbal derivatives. 4.2.2. Nominal derivatives. 4.2.3. Less certain nominal derivatives. 5. Morphological analysis of ἄλις. 6. Schematic summary & conclusion.

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The aim of the present contribution is to shed some light on the diachronic background of the Greek lexeme ἄλις, for which a detailed etymological investigation is still lacking.

## 1. Semantics & attestations

The Greek adverb ἄλις is most frequently attested in Homer and typically belongs to the poetic language.

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## 1.1. Semantics

As to the Homeric attestations of ἄλις, three main semantic nuances can be identified (cf. *LSJ* 66; *LfrgE* 489-490; *DGE* s.v. ἄλις).

(i) When it refers to animate referents, ἄλις mostly exhibits a semantics ‘in throngs, in crowds, in groups’ – cf. examples (1)-(2):

- (1) Referring to bees (μέλισσαι): αἱ μὲν τ’ ἔνθα ἄλις πεποτήταται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα α «or they fly off in masses, some this way and some that» (*Il.* 2.90)<sup>3</sup>;
- (2) Referring to the Trojan women (Τρῳαῖ): τὴν δ’ ἐκίχανεν / πύργῳ ἔφ’ ὑψηλῶι, περὶ δὲ Τρῳαῖ ἄλις ἦσαν «her [*scil.* Helen] she [*scil.* Aphrodite] encountered on the high rampart, and round her a throng of Trojan ladies» (*Il.* 3.384-385).

(ii) When it refers to inanimate referents, ἄλις mostly exhibits a semantics ‘in abundance, in heaps, in large quantity’ – cf. examples (3)-(5):

- (3) Referring to fields (ἄρουραι): ἄλις δέ οἱ ἦσαν ἄρουραι / πυροφόροι «he [*scil.* Oeneus] owned abundant wheat-bearing plowland» (*Il.* 14.122-123);
- (4) Referring to oil (ἔλαιον): ἄλις τ’ εὐὼδες ἔλαιον «and an abundance of sweet-smelling oil» (*Od.* 2.339-340)<sup>4</sup>;
- (5) Referring to dung (κόπρος): ἐν πολλῇ κόπρῳ, ἣ οἱ προπάροιθε θυράων / ἡμιόνων τε βοῶν τε ἄλις κέχυτ’ «in the abundant dung of mules and oxen left outside the gates» (*Od.* 17.297-298).

(iii) In Homeric negative copula phrases ἄλις means ‘enough, sufficient’, which can be explained as a further development of the semantics ‘in abundance, in heaps’ (⇒ ‘in a sufficient way, enough’) shown in (ii) above. The meaning ‘enough’ also appears in post-Homeric texts – cf. examples (6)-(7):

- (6) ἦ οὐχ ἄλις ὅττι «is it not enough that ... ?» (e.g. *Il.* 5.349);
- (7) ἄλις γὰρ οἱ γεῶντες «children we have enough» (*Eur. Med.* 558)<sup>5</sup>.

Finally, the Attic tragedy attests a metaphorical meaning ‘sufficient (of life), comfortable’ – cf. (8):

- (8) καὶ δὴ γὰρ ἄλις βίσιτόν θ’ ἠῦρον «suppose they have found a sufficient livelihood» (*Eur. Med.* 1107).

One can thus conclude that the basic semantics of ἄλις refers either to a large quantity / abundance of inanimate entities or to a multitude / throngs of animate entities.

<sup>3</sup> Translations of *Iliad* passages are taken or adapted from Green (2015). The Ancient Greek text relies on the edition by West (1998; 2000).

<sup>4</sup> Translations of *Odyssey* passages are taken or adapted from Green (2018). The Ancient Greek text relies on the edition by West (2017).

<sup>5</sup> Translations of *Medea* passages are taken from Kovacs (1994: 275-413), on whose edition the Ancient Greek text relies.

## 1.2. Attestations

Beside the adverb ἄλις, Hesychius attests a gloss γάλι· ικανόν ‘sufficiently, enough’ (Latte, Hansen & Cunningham 2018: γ 96), which will be further discussed below. Moreover, Chantraine (*DELG* 61-62) relates ἄλις to the proper name Φαλίδιος, attested as such in an inscription from Thespieae and as Ἀλιδίου in a Cretan inscription from the early 3rd century B.C. (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 765 with fn. 3). The latter connection with the proper names Φαλίδιος and Ἀλιδίου is possible, although it is hard to prove.

## 2. Proposed etymologies

For ἄλις two competing etymological interpretations have been proposed so far.

Most scholars (cf. *GEW* 1, 74; *DELG* 62; *EDG* 69; Blanc, de Lamberterie & Perpillou 1996: 109; Jasanoff 2009: 142; *LIPP* 1, 172 fn. 13) regard ἄλις as etymologically related to the Greek verb εἰλέω ‘I press together’ < PGr. \**uel-ném-ō* << PIE \**u̯l̥-ném-ō* (~ Ved. *vr-nó-ti* ‘covers, surrounds’) ← PIE root \**uel-* ‘einschließen, verhüllen’ (thus *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 674 with fn. 5). More specifically, ἄλις is compared with the semantically related adjective Ion. ἀλής [ā] ‘thronged, crowded’ (Hdt.) ~ Aeol. ἀολλής ‘all together, in throngs’ (*Il.*), which is traditionally traced back to a pre-form \**sm̥n-és-* (*GEW* 1, 71-72; Blanc 2018: 482-484)<sup>6</sup>.

An alternative root etymology was proposed by Boisacq (1923: 45): «ou bien ἄλις < \*σφαλις base *smel* [*sic*], v. h. a. *swëllan* ‘gonfler’». A comparable analysis of ἄλις has been assumed both by Chantraine (1948: 130, «peut-être une racine \**swel-*?») and Lejeune (1972: 207, < «\**sw<sup>o</sup>l-*»), although neither explicitly refers to Boisacq (1923) nor further specifies which root \**swel-* would be involved.

## 3. Evaluating the proposed etymologies

### 3.1. The εἰλέω connection

On the one hand, the reconstruction of a Pre-Greek segment \**u-* (cf. the PIE root \**uel-*) is well-grounded: not only do the Homeric occurrences of ἄλις exhibit several instances of digamma hiatus (Chantraine 1948: 130; *DELG* 62), but also the Hesychian gloss γάλι (see 1.2 above) directly attests the preservation of the initial digamma in a non-Attic-Ionic dialect (on the graphic rendering of [w-] through <γ->, cf. *GG* 1, 223).

On the other hand, though, the etymological connection of ἄλις to εἰλέω fails to explain the *spiritus asper* of Att.-Ion. ἄλις.

Starting from a putative pre-form Pre-PGr. \**u̯ll-i-*, no initial aspiration would be expected, since an original \**u-* which is not followed by an \*-s- in the next syllable should be lost without traces in Attic-Ionic: cf. compelling examples like ἔπος ‘voice’, ἔτος ‘year’, οἶκος ‘house’, οἶδα ‘I know’ etc. (Lejeune 1972: 176-177).

<sup>6</sup> The aspiration of ἀλής is puzzling, since in Ionic one would expect psilosis (Buck 1910: 49-51). See the discussion in *DELG* 59.

An alternative pre-form Pre-PGr.  $*\mu\text{̥}l\text{-}s\text{-}i\text{-}$  would not help explaining attested ἄλις as well. Assuming that this pre-form was subject to the change  $*s > *h$ , the following developments would be expected:  $*\mu\text{̥}l\text{-}s\text{-}i\text{-} >$  PGr.  $*\mu\acute{\alpha}l\text{-}hi\text{-} >$  (*Hauchumsprung*)  $*h\mu\acute{\alpha}l\text{-}hi\text{-} >$  (compensatory lengthening)  $*h\mu\acute{\alpha}.li\text{-} >$  Att.-Ion.  $*\eta\lambda\iota\text{-}\zeta^7$ . Alternatively, assuming maintenance of the cluster  $*\text{-}l\text{-}s\text{-}$  – argued by Batisti (2017: 3, 5) to be the regular development of an inherited sequence  $*\text{-}R\text{-}s\text{-}$  –, the same pre-form  $*\mu\text{̥}l\text{-}s\text{-}i\text{-}$  would have yielded Att.-Ion.  $*\acute{\alpha}l\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\iota\text{-}$  and not ἄλις<sup>8</sup>.

### 3.2. The *swell* connection

By contrast, Boisacq's proposal to trace back ἄλις to a pre-form in  $*s\mu\text{-}$  is formally superior, since it neatly explains the contrast [h-] vs. [w-] observed in Att.-Ion. ἄλις vs. Hes. γάλι – cf., e.g., PIE  $*s\mu\acute{e}h_2d\text{-}^\circ >$  Att.-Ion. ἡδύς vs. Boeot. FCM φᾶδιου- 'sweet' (Lejeune 1972: 133-134; Rix 1992: 62, 76). Accordingly, Boisacq's root-etymological connection will be further investigated in the remainder of this paper.

## 4. Developing the *swell* connection

### 4.1. Semantics

From a semantic point of view, an underlying root with meaning 'to swell (out)' would straightforwardly explain the attested semantics 'in abundance, in throngs; enough' of ἄλις. Cf. following parallels, which might be easily multiplied: (i) PDE *to bulge* 'to swell out' ~ 'to be exceedingly full (e.g. of wallet or bag)'; (ii) PDE *bunch* 'protuberance, swelling, tumor; collection of things / persons' ~ 'a lot, large quantity of' (*OED s.v. bunch*); (iii) It. (*un*) *mucchio* 'heap, pile, swelling' ~ 'a lot, large quantity of'.

### 4.2. The PIE root $*s\mu\acute{e}lH\text{-}$ 'to swell'

In order to provide a more precise morphological analysis of ἄλις (see 5 below), it is first necessary to investigate the attested derivatives of the involved 'swell' root, which is nowadays reconstructed as PIE  $*s\mu\acute{e}lH\text{-}$  (Lühr 1976: 72 fn. 51; *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 609-610).

#### 4.2.1. Verbal derivatives

Notable among the root's verbal derivatives is the thematic present Pre-PGerm.  $*s\mu\acute{e}lH\text{-}e/o\text{-} >>$  PGerm.  $*s\mu\acute{e}ll\text{-}an\text{-} >$  ON *svella* 'to swell', OE *swellan* 'id.', OS *swellan* 'id.', OHG *swellan* 'id.' etc., which ensures the reconstruction of a root final laryngeal due to the application of the so-called Lex Lühr, i.e. Pre-PGerm.  $*\acute{V}RHV > *VRRV$  (Neri 2019b: 53-54).

<sup>7</sup> On *Hauchumsprung* and compensatory lengthening see, among others, Sommer (1905: 1-82); Neri (2019a: 423 with fn. 19).

<sup>8</sup> On the development of an inherited sequence  $*\text{-}R\text{-}s\text{-}$  in Greek, which is either maintained (sometimes with progressive assimilation) or lost with compensatory lengthening – but never lost without compensatory lengthening –, see *GG* 1, 284-286; Lejeune (1972: 124-126); Miller (1976); Rix (1992: 79); Batisti (2017).

In addition, a fientive *\*su<sub>l</sub>H-éh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to become swollen, puffed up’ should be reconstructed for the protolanguage as well, since it is continued both in Hitt. *šulle*-<sup>9</sup> ‘to become arrogant’ and in *\*sualē- ~ \*īn-sualē-* > (weakening) *\*īn-suolē-* > Lat. *īn-solē-scō* ‘id.’ (Melchert 2005: esp. 96-97; unnecessarily skeptical *ED-LIL* 304-305).

#### 4.2.2. Nominal derivatives

Toch. B *šale*, A *šul* ‘mountain’ (< PToch. *\*s<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>älæ*) point to a pre-form Pre-PToch. *\*suelH-o-* ‘swollen’ or *\*suélH-o-* ‘a swelling’ (cf. *DTB*<sup>2</sup> 714 for the root connection). As to the semantics, one might compare ON *þúfa* f. ‘elevation, hill’ (de Vries 1977: 626), which is related to Lat. *tūber, -eris* n. ‘swelling, tumor’ and ultimately belongs to a PIE root *\*teuHb<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to swell, become high’ (Imberciadori 2022).

OS *swil* n. ‘callus’, MDutch *swil* ‘tumor; callus’ > Dutch dial. *zwil* ‘id.’, and OHG *swil* n. ‘callus’ (~ *swil-o* m. ‘id.’) > MHG *swil* n./m. ‘id.’ (~ *swil-e* m. ‘id.’ > NHG *Schwiele* f. ‘id.’)<sup>10</sup> are best traced back – on the basis of their root *i*-vocalism and neuter gender – to a Proto-(West-)Germanic *s*-stem *\*suel-ez-* ‘a swelling’ (Seebold 1970: 490). The latter pre-form might be analyzed as a substantival *s*-derivative of an inherited adjective PGerm. *\*suela-* ‘swollen’ continuing Pre-PGerm. *\*suelH-ó-* ‘id.’ – without application of Lex Lühr due to its oxytone accentuation. Although not exactly parallel, a comparable derivational process might be seen in PGerm. adjective *\*dōg-i-* → substantive *\*dōg-i-z-* > ON *dágr* n. ‘day’ (Harðarson 2014: 50 with fn. 19).

Besides, continental West Germanic also provides following attestations: MLG *swel* n. ‘tumor’ (~ *swel-e* m. ‘id.’), MDutch *swel, zwel* ‘tumor; callus’ > Dutch *zwel* ‘id.’, and MHG *swel* n./m. ‘callus’<sup>11</sup>. Either these forms represent unmarked substantivizations of the *a*-stem adjective PGerm. *\*suela-* ‘swollen’ (< *\*suelH-ó-* ‘id.’) or they rather continue the strong stem allomorph *\*suel-az-* of the *s*-stem *\*suel-ez-* ‘a swelling’ discussed above.

As to OE *swyle* m. ‘tumor, swelling, abscess’, it can be traced back to PGerm. *\*suuli*-<sup>12</sup> < Pre-PGerm. *\*su<sub>l</sub>H-i-* ‘a swelling’, likely an *i*-substantivization<sup>13</sup> of an inherited adjective Pre-PGerm. *\*su<sub>l</sub>H-ó-* ‘swollen’. Although deverbal substantives with structure R(Ø)-*i-* are productive in Germanic (Krahe & Meid 1969: 65-66), the non-geminate *-l-* of OE *swyle* speaks against the assumption of inner-Germanic deverbal derivation.

Finally, ON *sullr* m. ‘tumor, swelling’ < PGerm. *\*suull-a*-<sup>14</sup> can be interpreted either as an inner-Germanic deverbal derivative of the type Goth. *hunþs* m. ‘catch(ing)’ (Krahe & Meid 1969: 60) or as the continuant of a pre-form Pre-PGerm. *\*su<sub>l</sub>H-no-* (thus Sergio Neri, p.c.).

<sup>9</sup> On the inner-Anatolian development of an inherited sequence *\*uR* see Melchert (2019: 266-267). If Hitt. *palhi-* ‘broad’ really continues Pre-PAnat. *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-i-* (e.g. Melchert 1994: 125), the geminate *-ll-* of Hitt. *šulle-* is unexpected.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *WAhdS* 6, 872; Holthausen (1954: 73); Seebold (1970: 490); Lexer (1979: 1375); Verwijs & Verdam s.v. *swel*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *MndW* 4, 489; Lexer (1979: 1375); Verwijs & Verdam s.v. *swel*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bosworth & Toller (1954: 961); Seebold (1970: 490); *EDPG* 503.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Schindler (1980: 390); Nussbaum (1999: 399-400).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Seebold (1970: 490); de Vries (1977: 560).

### 4.2.3. Less certain nominal derivatives

According to Brosch (2011: 60-61, 64), also Hitt. *šalli-* ‘great’ and CLuw. *šalḫa-* ‘greatness’ (*ACLT s.v. salh(a)-*) ~ ‘greatness, growth (?)’ (Melchert forthc.) belong to the present root PIE *\*suelH-*. However, these forms might also be cognates of Ved. *sārva-* ‘whole, intact’, Gr. ὅλος ‘id.’ etc. (cf., e.g., *EDHIL* 709-711).

The Ṛgvedic word *sūri-* ‘lord, patron (who commissions poems and pays the poets for that)’ is obscure according to *EWAia* 2, 741. Under the assumption that it goes back to Pre-PIIr. *\*sūlH-ri-*<sup>15</sup>, Ved. *sūri-* might be compared both semantically and morphologically (cf. the suffix *\*-ri-*) with Gr. κύριος [v̄] ‘ruling; lord, ruler’ (post-Hom.) ← PIE root *\*kueh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to swell’ (*EDG* 806-807). Notably, the Ṛgvedic *sūri-* is associated with the verb *pinvate* ‘swells out (of goods)’ in RV 1.125.5b-d (cf. Pinault 1999-2000: 436). However, Pinault’s (1999-2000: 429-441) alternative interpretation of Ved. *sūri-* as a lexicalized compound continuing *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-Hri-* ‘doté de la bonne rétribution’ cannot be excluded.

## 5. Morphological analysis of ἄλις

Crucial for the analysis of ἄλις is the attestation of a variant without -ς, namely Hesychian γάλι· ἰκανόν (see 1.2 above).

The existence of this *s*-less variant speaks against following scenarios: (i) ἄλις continues an old nom.sg. – thus *GG* 1, 620, 2, 415 and *GEW* 1, 74; (ii) ἄλις continues an old instrumental (plural) in *\*-is* of the type discussed by Jasanoff (2009: 141-143) – thus in *nuce* Meillet (1909-1910: 100), see further Jasanoff (2009: 142); *EDG* 69; *LIPP* 1, 172. In both cases the *s*-less variant γάλι would be hard to explain.

The pair Att.-Ion. ἄλις ~ Hes. γάλι rather suggests that an original form in -ι has been recharacterized through -ς within the prehistory of Greek – cf. *DELG* 62; *EDG* 69; and Jasanoff (2009: 142 fn. 8), who nevertheless adds «though [...] unlikely». Plenty of parallels for such a recharacterization of Greek adverbs (or prepositions) in -V through -ς can be found: cf. ἄχρι ~ ἄχρι-ς ‘to the uttermost’; μεσ(σ)ηγύ ~ μεσ(σ)ηγύ-ς ‘in the middle’; prep. ἀμφί ~ adv. ἀμφί-ς ‘on both sides’; πῶ ~ πῶ-ς ‘in any way, at all’ / πῶ-ς ‘how?’ etc.<sup>16</sup>. Notably, not all Greek adverbs in -ις have doublets without -ς (e.g. μόλις ‘scarcely’, μόγις ‘id.’ or χωρίς ‘separately; without’ [Risch 1974: 356]): if this is not simply due to chance, then for the latter forms a different diachronic background should be assumed.

In the light of the above observations I propose to trace back Att.-Ion. ἄλις ~ Hes. γάλι to the frozen locative singular of a mobile root noun *\*suelH-* / *\*sūlH-*, which – according to the seminal study by Schindler (1972: esp. 38) – would have exhibited abstract semantics ‘swelling, bulging’<sup>17</sup>. Assuming a semantic concretization ‘swelling, bulging’ ⇒ ‘heap’ – for which cf. Lat. *tum-ulus* ‘raised heap of earth, hill(ock); sepulchral mound’ (Pac.) ← *tumeō* ‘to swell’ or Lat. *cumu-lus* ‘heap’ (Lucil.) ← PIE root *\*kueh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to swell’<sup>18</sup> –, one might reconstruct for Att.-Ion. ἄλις ~ Hes. γάλι an

<sup>15</sup> For the formal development see Nikolaev (2021). The pre-form *\*sūlH-ri-* has been suggested to me by Sergio Neri, p.c.

<sup>16</sup> For further examples see Risch (1974: 356, 362).

<sup>17</sup> On the PIE locative case see generally Villar (1981), esp. pp. 48-50 on the locative of consonant stems in Greek.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *EDLIL* 152-153, 633 with refs. Whether the short -u- in the first syllable of Lat. *cumulus* ‘heap’ is due to the application of Dybo’s Law (Weiss 2020: 108) in a pre-form *\*kūh<sub>1</sub>-mó-* or to an inner-Latin analogy with the

older meaning ‘in heap’. Therefore, the frozen locative ἄλι-ς ~ γάλι might be compared both semantically and morphologically with the synonymous syntagmata PDE *in heaps* and NHG (univerbated) *zu-hauf* ‘in droves (lit. at / in heap)’, although the latter present, of course, an analytic rather than a synthetic locative structure.

The reconstruction of the aforementioned root noun *\*suelH-* / *\*sulH-* is supported by the existence of at least two external derivatives. On the one hand, PIE *\*suelH-ó-* ‘swollen’ (→ Toch. B *sale*, A *sul* ‘mountain’, OHG *swil* n. ‘callus’, and MLG *swel* n. ‘tumor’) represents a *v̥rddhi*-derivative of the root noun weak stem *\*sulH-* – cf. the type PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>érg-* / *\*b<sup>h</sup>rg-* ‘highness’ (> YAv. *bərəz-* ‘high(ness)’ etc.) → adjective *\*b<sup>h</sup>erǵ-ó-* ‘high’ (→ [substantivization] ON *berg*, *bjarg* n. ‘mountain’, OHG *berg* m. ‘id.’ etc.)<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, Pre-PGerm. *\*sulH-ó-* (→ OE *swyle* m. ‘tumor, swelling, abscess’) represents an alternative derivative of the root noun weak stem *\*sulH-* according to the pattern PIE *\*iég-* / *\*iug-* ‘attaching’ (> Hitt. *iūk-* n. ‘pair’ etc.) → adjective *\*iug-ó-* ‘attached’ (→ [substantivization] Ved. *yugá-* n. ‘yoke’, Gr. ζυγόν n. ‘id.’)<sup>20</sup>. The assumed morphological relations find an exact parallel in the following word family: PIE *\*léuk-* / *\*luk-* ‘shining, light’ (> Ved. *rúc-* f. ‘id.’) → adjectives (i) *\*leuk-ó-* ‘bright, clear’ (> Gr. λευκός ‘id.’) ~ (ii) *\*luk-ó-* ‘bright, clear’ (→ [substantivization] ON *log* n. ‘light, flame’) – cf. Nussbaum (2017: 251).

Since old root noun locatives in Greek tend to acquire zero grade of the root morpheme in analogy to the other weak cases – cf. PIE loc.sg. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-i* >> *\*h<sub>2</sub>nr-i* > Gr. dat.sg. ἀνδρ-ί ‘to the man’ –, one may assume an inner-Greek development as in (9):

- (9) Root noun PIE *\*suelH-* / *\*sulH-* ‘swelling, bulging’ ⇒ ‘heap’, whose loc. sg. *\*suelH-i* ‘in heap’ >> (on the model of the other weak cases) *\*sulH-i* → adverb PGr. *\*hual-i* ~ (*s*-recharacterization) *\*hual-i-s* ‘in large quantity’ > Hes. γάλι ~ Att.-Ion. ἄλι-ς ‘in abundance, in throngs; enough’.

Two further remarks are called for here. First, the barytone accent of ἄλι-ς ~ γάλι can be neatly explained through its lexicalization as an adverb – cf. Probert (2006) as well as the barytone accent of adverbs like ἄκρι(ς), μόλις etc. Second, if the liquid metathesis *\*μR* > *\*Ru* / *C\_C*<sup>21</sup> was still active by the time Pre-PGr. *\*sulH-i* arose, one should operate with the trivial assumption of a restored syllabification *\*-ul-* in analogy to the strong stem *\*suelH-* – cf., e.g., the ordinal *\*k<sup>w</sup>etur-t(h)o-* ‘fourth’ (> Lith. *ketvirtas* ‘id.’, OCS *četvrtŭ* ‘id.’, PGerm. *\*fe(ð)μurd/þa-* ‘id.’)<sup>22</sup> after the cardinal *\*k<sup>w</sup>etur-* / *\*k<sup>w</sup>etur-* ‘four’.

## 6. Schematic summary & conclusion

In the present paper I have proposed to interpret the adverb Att.-Ion. ἄλις ~ Hes. γάλι ‘in abundance, in throngs; enough’ as the lexicalized locative singular of a root noun PIE *\*suelH-* / *\*sulH-* ‘swelling, bulging’ ⇒ ‘heap’, belonging to the PIE root

synonym *tumulus* is not crucial in the present context.

<sup>19</sup> See NIL 30, 31, 32 fn. 7 with refs.

<sup>20</sup> See Nussbaum (2017: 251).

<sup>21</sup> On which see, among others, Mayrhofer (1986: 161-162); Neri (2003: 278-280 fn. 932); Del Tomba (2021), who assumes liquid metathesis in absolute *auslauting* context only.

<sup>22</sup> See EDSIL 87; EDPG 133; ALEW 559.

\**suelH-* ‘to swell’. Comparative evidence for the reconstruction of such a root noun has been adduced. The diachronic background of Att.-Ion. ἄλις ~ Hes. γάλι as well as its morphological relation to other derivatives of the root \**suelH-* can be schematized as in (10) below:

(10) Mobile root noun PIE \**suélH-* / \**suǵH-* ‘swelling, bulging’;

- adjective (vr̥ddhi-derivative) PIE \**suelH-ó-* ‘swollen’;
- (*s*-substantivization) PGerm. \**suel-a/ez-* ‘a swelling’ > OHG *swil* n. ‘callus’ and MLG *swel* n. ‘tumor’;
- (? \**suélH-o-* ‘a swelling’ >) PToch. \**sʷälæ* > Toch. B *šale*, A *šul* ‘mountain’;
- adjective Pre-PGerm. \**suǵH-ó-* ‘swollen’;
- (*i*-substantivization) PGerm. \**suuli-* ‘a swelling’ > OE *swyle* m. ‘swelling, abscess’;
- > Pre-PGr. \**suélH-* / \**suǵH-* ‘heap’, whose loc.sg. \**suélH-i* ‘in heap’ >> \**suǵH-i* → adverb PGr. \**huál-i* ~ \**huál-i-s* ‘in large quantity’ > Hes. γάλ-ι ~ Att.-Ion. ἄλ-ι-ς ‘in abundance, in throngs; enough’.

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### Abbreviations

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- OED = *Oxford English Dictionary. The Definitive Record of the English Language*, <https://www.oed.com/>.
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