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Homeric ἦτορ

Abstract: Homeric ἦτορ 'heart' and Greek ἧτρον 'belly' are derived from Proto-Indo-European *h_1eh_1-*tr*- 'eater; stomach, belly' assuming that *h_1eh_1-*tr*- stems from *h_1eh_1-, an allomorph of Proto-Indo-European *h_1ed- 'to eat', and that the meaning 'heart' is secondary to the meaning 'stomach, belly' and due to a shift in the original semantics of the word.
Keywords: Greek, Homeric Greek, Proto-Indo-European, Glottalic Theory, Etymology.

Introduction

Recently, I have argued that, during the early history of the Indo-European proto-language, PIE *h_1ed- 'to eat' had developed an allomorph *$h_1eʔ$- (= *h_1eh_1-) which is explained, within the Glottalic Theory, as arising due to PIE *dC yielding *$ʔC$ (= *h_1C); see Ligorio *forthc*. (PIE *h_1eh_1- was notably used to derive the PIE word for 'mouth', *h_1oh_1-*s*-; cf. Hitt. *aiš* 'mouth', Skt. *ā́s*- 'mouth', Av. *āh*- 'mouth', L *ōs* 'mouth', OIr. *á* 'mouth', etc.).

In this paper, I propose to consider whether Hom. ἦτορ 'heart' is another derivative of PIE *h_1eh_1- 'to eat', namely *h_1eh_1-*tr*- 'eater; stomach, belly', assuming that the Homeric meaning 'heart' has developed from the original meaning 'stomach, belly'; cf. G ἧτρον 'belly'.

Homeric ἦτορ

Hom. ἦτορ occurs 48 times in the *Iliad* and 46 times in the *Odyssey*;[1] see Gehring 1891: 363. (Also, it occurs 6 times in the *Homeric Hymns* and 2 times in the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*.)[2]

[1] Viz. Α 188, Β 490, Γ 31, Ε 250, 364, 529, 670, Θ 413, 437, Ι 9, 497, 572, 705, Κ 93, 107, 575, Λ 115, 556, Ν 84, Ξ 367, Ο 166, 182, 252, 554, Π 209, 242, 264, 450, 509, 660, Ρ 111, 535, Τ 169, 307, 366, Υ 169, Φ 114, 201, 389, 425, 571, Χ 169, 452, Ψ 647, Ω 50, 205, 521, 585; α 48, 60, 114, 316, β 298, δ 374, 467, 481, 538, 703, 804, 840, ε 297, 406, η 269, 287, θ 303, ι 62, 105, 256, 565, κ 77, 133, 198, 313, 496, 566, μ 277, ν 286, 320, ο 481, π 92, 428, ϱ 46, 514, σ 153, τ 136, 224, υ 22, 84, χ 68, 147, ψ 53, 93, 205, ω 345. (In total, 94 occurrences.)
[2] Viz. *H. Apoll.* 98, *H. Cer.* 181, *H.* vii 10, *H.* xxii 7, *H.* xxvii 9, *H.* xxviii 2; *Batrach.* 2, 71.

All instances are tokens of nominative–accusative singular, i.e. ἦτορ;[3] see op.cit. ibid. (Dative singular, G ἤτορι, which is recorded in Pindar and Simonides, is not Homeric.)[4] [5]

In English, the meaning of Hom. ἦτορ may for the most part be rendered as 'heart' and, on occasion, as 'life', 'death', 'spirit', 'soul', and 'mind';[6] see Bolelli 1948. (The meaning 'heart' is used in the sense of the 'seat of emotions' rather than that of the 'vital organ'; hence the metaphors 'spirit', 'soul', and 'mind'.)[7]

As such, ἦτορ overlaps with other *organs mentaux* of the Homeric psyche; see Biraud 1984. (In particular, as 'heart' it overlaps with κῆρ, κραδίη, θυμός, and φρήν, as 'spirit, soul' with θυμός, and as 'mind' with φρήν and νόος.) Therefore, it is rather difficult to translate unambiguously.

Hom. ἦτορ typically occupies the 6th foot and less typically other feet such as the 5th and the 3rd foot; the 1st and 4th foot are never occupied by it and the 2nd foot only exceptionally so.[8]

Also, in terms of metrics, the correption (*correptio epica*) is always allowed

[3] Instances of nominative singular : A 188, B 490, Γ, 31, E 670, Θ 413, K 93, O 166, 172, 554, Π 450, 509, P 111, Υ 169, Φ 114, 389, 425, 571, Χ 169, 452, Ψ 647, Ω 205, 521, 585, α 48, 60, 316, δ 374, 467, 481, 538, 703, 840, ε 297, 406, η 269, ι 256, κ 198, 496, 566, μ 277, π 92, ϱ 514, χ 68, 147, ψ 205, ω 345. (In total, 47 occurrences.) Instances of accusative singular: E 250, 364, 59, Θ 437, I 9, 497, 572, 705, K 107, 575, Λ 115, 556, N 84, Ξ 367, O 252, Π 209, 242, 264, 660, P 535, T 307, 366, Φ 201, Ω 50, α 114, β 298, δ 804, η 287, θ 303, ι 62, 105, 565, κ 77, 133, 313, ν 286, 320, ο 481, π 428, ϱ 46, σ 153, τ 136, 224, υ 22, 84, ψ 53, 93. (In total, 47 occurrences.)

[4] See Pi. *Paean* 6.12 and Simon. apud Athen. Naucr. X 396.

[5] Post-Homeric use of ἦτορ in general is discussed by Darcus Sullivan 1995.

[6] For instance, A.T. Murray — the translator of Homer, who has translated both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in English — renders Hom. ἦτορ as 'heart' in A 188, B 490, Γ 31, E 364, E 529, Θ 413, Θ 437, I 9, I 497, I 571, I 705, K 107, K 575, Λ 556, N 84, Ξ 367, O 166, O 182, O 554, Π 209, Π 242, Π 264, Π 450, Π 509, Π 660, P 111, T 169, T 307, T 366, Φ 114, Φ 389, Φ 425, Φ 571, X 169, X 452, Ψ 647, Ω 50, Ω 205, Ω 521, α 48, 60, 114, 316, β 298, δ 374, 467, 481, 703, 804, 840, ε 297, 406, η 269, 287, θ 303, ι 62, 105, 565, κ 77, 133, 313, ν 286, 320, ο 481, π 92, ϱ 46, τ 136, υ 22, 84, χ 68, 147, ψ 53, 205, ω 345; as 'life' in E 250, Λ 115, O 252, Φ 201, π 428; as 'death' in P 535; as 'spirit' in E 670, Υ 169, Ω 585, δ 538, ι 256, κ 198, 496, 566, μ 277, σ 153; as 'soul' in ϱ 514, ψ 93; as 'mind' in K 93, τ 224. (See Murray 1919 and 1924 ad loc.)

[7] The interrelationship between these terms — and, especially, ἦτορ, κῆρ, and κραδίη — is very intricate; see more in Larock 1930, Bolelli 1948, Cheyns 1985, Sautel 1991, Darcus Sullivan 1995, 1996, Miljević 2017, etc.

[8] Instances in the 6th foot: A 188, Γ 31, E 364, 670, Θ 413, 437, I 9, 705, K 93, 107, 575, Λ 115, 556, N 84, Ξ 367, O 166, 182, 252, Π 450, 660, P 111, 535, T 366, Υ 169, Φ 114, 389, 425, 571, X 169, Ψ 647, Ω 205, 521, 585, α 48, 114, β 298, δ 467, 481, 538, 703, 804, ε 297, 406, η 269, 287, θ 303, ι 61, 105, 256, 565, κ 77, 133, 198, 313, 496, 566, μ 277, ν 286, 320, ο 481, π 92, 428, ϱ 46, 514, σ 153, τ 136, 224, υ 22, 84, χ 68, 147, ψ 205, ω 345; in the 5th foot: B 490, E 250, 520, I 572, Π 264, Φ 201, Ω 50, α 316, δ 374, 840, ψ 93; in the 3rd foot: O 554, Π 209, 242, 509, T 169, 307, X 452, α 60, ψ 53; in the 2nd foot: I 497. (In total, 73 occurrences in the 6th foot, 11 occurrences in the 5th foot, 9 occurrences in the 3rd foot, and 1 occurrence in the 2nd foot. Instances in the 6th foot make cca 80% of all occurrences.)

to take place before ἦτορ, indicating that the anlaut was free of ϝ.[9]

The two recurring phrases including Hom. ἦτορ are φίλον ἦτορ 'dear, own heart' and ἄλκιμον ἦτορ 'heart of valour, valiant heart'; the former occurs 50 times (20 times in the *Iliad*, 30 times in the *Odyssey*) and the latter 5 times (5 times in the *Iliad*, 0 times in the *Odyssey*).[10] [11]

(Functionally, the phrase φίλον ἦτορ is virtually the same as the phrase φίλον κῆρ 'dear, own heart', found many times in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; see Cheyns 1985: 35.)

Other epithets and attributes occurring with ἦτορ include ἀμείλιχον 'ungentle heart', ἁπαλόν 'tender heart, life', δεδαϊγμένον 'stricken heart', ἔμπεδον 'firm heart, mind', θαρσαλέον 'daring heart', νηλεές 'pitiless heart', σιδήρειον 'heart of iron', and χάλκεον 'heart of bronze' (all of which occur only once except for σιδήρειον, which occurs twice.)[12]

(Functionally, the phrase σιδήρειον ἦτορ is virtually the same as the phrase σιδηρέη κραδίη 'heart of iron', found once in the *Odyssey*; see Cheyns 1985: 47.)

Hom. ἦτορ is used more frequently as the subject than as the object of a sentence; see Cheyns 1985: 21. The former occurs 46 times (24 times in the *Iliad*, 22 times in the *Odyssey*) and the latter 16 times (12 times in the *Iliad*, 4 times in the *Odyssey*).

As the subject, ἦτορ governs a wide variety of verbs;13 typically, however,

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[9] See A 188, B 490, Θ 413, 437, K 93, Π 242, 450, 509, T 169, 366, Φ 571, X 169, 452, Ψ 647, Ω 205, 521, α 48, δ 374, 840, ι 62, 105, 565, κ 77, 133, ϱ 46, τ 136, 224, ψ 93.

[10] Instances of φίλον ἦτορ: E 250, 364, 670, I 705, K 107, 575, N 84, O 166, 182, 554, T 307, Φ 114, 201, 389, 425, Ω 50, 585, α 60, 316, δ 481, 538, 703, ε 297, 406, η 269, ι 256, κ 198, 496, 566, μ 277, π 92, 428, ϱ 514, υ 22, χ 68, 147, ψ 53, 205, ω 345. (Also, there is φίλον … ἦτορ, in hyperbaton; see Θ 437, O 252, α 114, β 298, δ 804, 840, η 287, θ 303, σ 153, τ 136.)

[11] Instances of ἄλκιμον ἦτορ: E 529, Π 209, 264, P 111, Υ 169. (Also, there is ἦτορ ἄλκιμον, in inversion; see Φ 571f.)

12 See B 490, I 497, 571, K 93f, Λ 116, T 169, Ω 205, 521, ν 320.

[13] Viz. ἀνέψυχεν (ἀναψύχω) 'heart was refreshed' (K 575), ἀνώγῃ (ἀνώγω) 'heart bids' (α 316), γήθησε (γηθέω) 'heart was glad' (η 269), δαίεται (δαίω) 'heart is torn' (α 48), ἐγέλασσε (γελάω) 'heart laughed' (Φ 389), ἐνείη (ἔνειμι) 'heart be within' (B 490), ἐντρέπεται (ἐνρέπω) 'heart has regard, doth regard' (O 554, α 60), ἰάνθη (ἰαίνω) 'was warmed with comfort' (δ 840), καταδάπτετ᾽ (καταδάπτω) 'ye rend the heart' (π 92), μαίμησε (μαιμάω) 'heart, spirit was waxed' (E 670), μαίνεται (μαίνομαι) 'heart is mad' (Θ 413), μερμήριξεν (μερμηρίζω) 'heart was divided' (A 188), μινύθει (μινύθω) 'heart grows faint' (δ 374, 467), ὄθεται (ὄθομαι) 'heart counteth' (O 166, 182), ὀλοφύρεται (ὀλοφύρομαι) 'heart is grieved, hath sorrow' (Π 450, X 169), ὁρμᾶτο (ὁρμάω) 'heart was fain to' (Φ 571), πάλλεται (πάλλω) 'heart leapeth' (X 452), παχνοῦται (παχνόω) 'heart groweth chill' (P 111), στένει (στένω) 'heart, spirit groaneth' (Υ 169), χαίρει (χαίρω) 'heart rejoiceth' (Ψ 647), ὠρίνθη 'heart was stirred' (Π 509) / ὀρινθείη (ὀρίνω) 'heart be stirred' (Ω 585), etc. (Transl. by Murray 1919, 1924.)

it governs λύω 'heart melts' (9 times) and κατακλάω 'heart grows faint, is broken' (7 times).14 15

As the object, it is construed with a somewhat lesser number of verbs[16] and is typically governed by ἔχω (5 times) 'to have a heart' and ἀπαυράω (2 times) 'to rob of heart, life'.[17]

The accusative singular ἦτορ also serves to express notions other than that of the direct object: see Cheyns 1985: 19–21. In particular, it expresses the notion of the accusative of respect (28 times),[18] the accusative of direction (2 times),[19] and the two accusatives (2 times).[20]

The accusative of respect is particularly frequent with participles; most notably, it occurs with ἀκαχήμενος 'grieved at heart' (10 times) and τετιημένος 'sad at heart' (6 times).[21]

(Functionally, the phrase ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ is virtually the same as the phrase ἀχνύμενος κῆρ 'grieved at heart', found many times in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; see Cheyns 1985: 31.)

The fact that, in certain phrases, ἦτορ can be used interchangeably with κῆρ and κραδίη, such as σιδήρειον ἦτορ ≈ σιδηρέη κραδίη, φίλον ἦτορ ≈ φίλον κῆρ, and ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ ≈ ἀχνύμενος κῆρ, is fundamental in terms

[14] Viz. λύτο 'heart was melted' (always in the popular and recurrent phrase λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ 'knees were loosened and heart melted') (Φ 114, 425, δ 703, ε 297, 406, χ 68, 147, ψ 205, ω 345) and κατεκλάσθη 'heart, spirit was broken, grows faint' (δ 481, 538, ι 256, κ 198, 496, 566, μ 277). (Transl. by Murray 1919, 1924.)

[15] Hom. ἦτορ also occurs in nominal phrases where the verb εἰμί has been left out; see K 93, T 169, Ω 205, 521.

[16] Viz. ἄϊον (ἀΐω) 'I gasped forth my heart, life' (O 252), ἀνέψυχον (ἀναψύχω) 'they were refreshing the heart' (N 84), ἕλεσθε (αἱρέω) 'take to the heart' (E 529), θάρσυνον (θαρσύνω) 'make bold the heart' (Π 242), θέλγοιτο (θέλγω) 'would charm the heart' (ϱ 514), καθαπτόμενος (καθάπτομαι) 'chiding the heart' (υ 22), μεταστρέψῃ (μεταστρέφω) 'he shall turn his heart from' (K 107), ὀλέσσῃς (ὄλλυμι) 'lest thou lose thy heart, life' (E 250), ὄρνυθι (ὀρρίνω) 'rouse the heart' (ϱ 46). (Transl. by Murray 1919, 1924.)

[17] Viz. χρὴ ἔχειν 'it beseemeth thee to have a heart' (I 497) / ἔχουσα (I 572) / ἔχων (Π 209, ν 320) / ἔχοντες 'having a heart' (Π 264) and ἀπηύρα 'taketh heart, life; robbed, reft of life' (Φ 201, Ω 50). (Transl. by Murray 1919, 1924.)

[18] See E 364, Γ 31, Θ 437, I 9, 705, Λ 556, Ξ 367, Π 660, P 535, T 307, α 114, β 298, δ 804, θ 303, η 287, ι 62, 105, 565, κ 77, 133, 313, ν 286, ο 481, σ 153, υ 84, ψ 53, τ 136, 224.

[19] See T 366 and ψ 93.

[20] See Λ 115 and π 428.

[21] Viz. ἀκαχήμενος (ἀχέω) 'grieved at heart, with heart distraught, sore troubled, sore stricken, sore distressed' (E 364, ι 62, 105, 565, κ 77, 133, 313, ν 286, ο 481, υ 84) and τετιημένος (τετίημαι) 'sad at heart, with a heavy heart, with sore grief at heart, with heart sore stricken' (Θ 437, α 114, β 298, δ 804, η 287, θ 303). Less typically, also δεδαϊγμένος (δαΐζω) 'stricken to death, with a stricken heart' (P 535), βεβολημένος (βολέω) 'with a stricken heart' (I 9), βεβλημένος 'smitten to the heart' (Π 660), κεχολωμένος (χολόω) 'filled with wrath at heart' (Ξ 367), τεταρπόμενος (τέρπω) 'satisfied at heart' (I 705). (Transl. by Murray 1919, 1924.)

of its semantics; it proves that 'heart' is the correct rendering of Hom. ἦτορ.

Summing up what has been stated above, it can be said that Hom. ἦτορ is something which is located within one or within one's breast and which can melt, leap, be refreshed, roused or made bold, be warmed with comfort, glad, or fain of something, rejoice, laugh, be sad or heavy, be sore troubled, stricken or distressed, be sated, be filled with wrath, grow faint, chill, be broken, torn, rent, smitten, grieved or divided, be stirred, waxed or mad, be turned from something, gasped forth, wasted away, charmed, robbed or even lost, groan, picture, regard or count something, and bid somebody to do something; see ftn. 13–17 and 21.

Additionally, a person who is μεγαλήτωρ (typically Odysseus) is 'great-hearted' and ἦτορ itself is said to be located 'in the (shaggy) breast',[22] [23] just like κῆρ and κραδίη.

And yet, there are reasons to believe that Hom. ἦτορ cannot be rendered as 'heart' proper (or, at least, that it could not have been so originally). Why so?

Firstly, there are a couple of passages in Homer in which ἦτορ is used in a seeming opposition with 'heart' proper, κῆρ and κραδίη; in these cases ἦτορ seems to yield the meaning 'heart' and assume some of its more metaphorical meanings, such as 'spirit' or 'mind'.[24]

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[22] In Homer, μεγαλήτωρ is found in gen. sg. μεγαλήτορος (29 times), dat. sg. μεγαλήτορι (12 times), acc. sg. μεγαλήτορα (21 times), nom. pl. μεγαλήτορες (5 times), and acc. pl. μεγαλήτορας (1 time); see Gehring 1891: 500. (In total, it is found 68 times.) (Instances of genitive singular: B 547, 641, E 247, 468, Z 395, Θ 187, Λ 626, N 189, P 166, 299, Υ 175, 208, 263, 293, 323, γ 423, δ 143, 797, ζ 17, 196, 213, 299, η 58, 85, 93, θ 464, κ 36, κ 200, 207, λ 85; of dative singular: E 674, 785, Z 283, I 109, N 712, O 674, Π 257, Ω 117, 145, ε 233, ζ 14, θ 9; of accusative singular: I 255, 629, 675, Λ 403, P 90, 626, Σ 5, Υ 343, Φ 53, 552, X 98, ε 81,149, 298, 355, 407, 464, ι 299, 500, ψ 153, ω 365; of nominative plural: Υ 523, M 656, T 278, Φ 55, τ 176; of accusative plural: N 302.) Usually, μεγαλήτωρ is used to describe various characters and peoples and, in particular, it refers 15 times to Odysseus or his θυμός (E 674, Λ 403, δ 143, ε 81, 149, 233, 298, 355, 407, 464, ζ 14, θ 9, ι 299, 500, ψ 153), 7 times to Alcinous (ζ 17, 196, 213, 299, η 85, 93, θ 464), 6 times to Achilles' θυμός (I 255, 629, 675, Σ 5, Υ 343, Φ 53), 4 times to Aeneas (Υ 175, 263, 293, 323), 3 times to Aias (O 674, P 166, 626) and Priam (Z 283, Ω 117, 145), 2 times to Anchises (E 468, Υ 208), Eëtion (Υ 365, Θ 187), Hector's θυμός (P 90, X 98), Patroclus (P 299, Π 257), and the Trojans (Θ 523, Φ 55), and once to Aeolus (κ 36), Agenor's θυμός (Φ 552), Agamemnon's θυμός (I 109), Amphimachus (N 189), Arsinous (Λ 626), Autolycus (λ 85), the Cretans (τ 717), Cyclops (κ 200), Erechtheus (B 547), Eurylochus (κ 207), Eurymedon (η 58), Icarius (δ 797), Laertes (ω 365), the Myrmidons (T 278), Oeneus (B 641), Oïleus (N 712), the Paphlagonians (N 656), the Phlegyes (N 302), Stentor (E 785), and Telemachus (γ 432).

[23] Instances of the phrase 'in the breast': ἐνὶ φρεσί (Θ 413), ἐνὶ φρεσίν (Π 242, T 169), ἐν φρεσίν (P 111), ἐν στήθεσσι (υ 22), ἐν στήθεσσιν (ρ 46f); of the phrase 'in the shaggy breast': ἐν στήθεσσιν λασίοισι (E 188f).

[24] Compare:

> ὣς ἔφατ᾽, αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γε κατεκλάσθη φίλον **ἦτορ**,
> κλαῖον δ᾽ ἐν ψαμάθοισι καθήμενος, οὐδέ νύ μοι **κῆρ**
> ἤθελ᾽ ἔτι ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο. (δ 538–540.)

Secondly, the existing etymology of ἦτορ suggests that it derives from a PIE word meaning 'entrails' and not 'heart', *h_1eh_1t-r-, and that the meaning 'heart' is secondary to the meaning 'entrails', which is well-attested in the adducible cognates; see Frisk 1960: I 645.[25] Compare OIr. *in-athar* 'entrails', MCo. *in-ederen* 'entrails', OHG *inn-ād(i)ri* 'entrails', MHG *in-æder(e)* 'entrails', and OLFra. dat. pl. *inn-ēthron* 'entrails'.[26]

And thirdly (and perhaps most significantly), the derivative of ἦτορ, G ἦτρον, means 'belly' and not 'breast' or the like;[27] it is recorded in Plato, Xenophon, Hippocrates, etc.[28]

I suppose there still are a couple of passages in the *Iliad* (e.g. I 705–706 or T 305–307) in which the meaning 'belly' or 'stomach' could tentatively be inferred for ἦτορ although the evidence for such a claim is naturally very difficult to come by.[29]

However, it may not seem as controversial if we consider the fact that, in the *Iliad*, the phrase σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο can be governed equally well by

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So he spoke, and my **spirit** was broken within me,
and I wept, as I sat on the sands, nor my **heart**
any longer desired to live and to behold the light fo the sun.
(Transl. Murray 1919.)

and:

αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια, οὐδέ μοι **ἦτορ**
ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀλαλύκτημαι, **κραδίη** δέ μοι ἔξω
στηθέων ἐκθρῴσκει, τρομέει δ᾽ ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα. (K 93–95.)
Wondrously do I fear the Danaans, nor is my **mind** firm,
but I am tossed to and fro, and my **heart** leapeth forth from out
my breast, and my glorious limbs tremble beneath me.
(Transl. by Murray 1924.)

[25] Chantraine and Beekes follow Frisk; see Chantraine 1970: II 418 and Beekes 2010: 527.
[26] Cf. Kroonen 2013: 120 with Frisk.
[27] The metaphorical meaning 'belly of a stew pot' is found in Aristophanes; see Aristoph. *Thes*. 509.
[28] The derivative of ἦτρον, G ἠτριαῖος, means 'belonging to the belly'; it is found in Aristophanes.
[29] Compare:

νῦν μὲν κοιμήσασθε τεταρπόμενοι φίλον **ἦτορ**
σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή. (I 705–706.)
For the present go ye to your rest, when ye have satisfied your **hearts** (= **bellies?**)
with meat and wine, for therein is courage and strength.
(Transl. by Murray 1924.)

and:

λίσσομαι, εἴ τις ἔμοιγε φίλων ἐπιπείθεθ᾽ ἑταίρων,
μή με πρὶν σίτοιο κελεύετε μηδὲ ποτῆτος
ἄσασθαι φίλον **ἦτορ**, ἐπεί μ᾽ ἄχος αἰνὸν ἱκάνει. (T 305–307.)
I beseech you, if any of my dear comrades will hearken unto me,
bid me not before the time sate my **heart** (= **stomach?**) with food
and drink, seeing dead grief is come upon me. (Transl. by Murray 1924)

τεταρπόμενοι φίλον ἦτορ 'having satisfied the belly (?) with food and wine' and πάσασθαι 'taste, eat of food and wine'.[30] [31]

And, in the Odyssey, there is a phrase Κύκλωπός τε βίης μεγαλήτορος, ἀνδροφάγοιο 'and the violence of the great-hearted Cyclops, the man-eater.'; see κ 200. In it, μεγαλήτωρ — at first sight a rather strange qualification for the Cyclops — is followed directly by ἀνδροφάγος 'man eating', perhaps as a clarification of μεγαλήτωρ, if it is assumed to mean 'big-bellied'.

Be that as it may, the chief meaning of G ἦτορ by the time of Homer was undoubtedly 'heart' and the meaning 'belly' — given the alleged semantics of PIE **h*$_1$*eh*$_1$*t-r-* before ἦτορ and that of G ἧτρον after ἦτορ — was apparently only an echo by the time the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were being composed, lingering somewhere in the background of the newly developed meaning 'heart'. With this in mind, I propose to reconsider the existing etymology.

According to Frisk, Hom. ἦτορ 'heart' derives from a PIE word meaning 'entrails' and the meaning 'heart' is due to a shift in the original semantics which has been preserved in the adduced cognates; cf. OIr. *in-athar* 'entrails', OHG *inn-ād(i)ri* 'entrails', etc.[32]

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[30] Compare:

> νῦν μὲν κοιμήσασθε **τεταρπόμενοι φίλον ἦτορ**
> **σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή**. (I 705–706.)
> For the present go ye to your rest, when ye have satisfied your **hearts** (= **bellies?**)
> **with meat and wine, for therein is courage and strength**. (Transl. by Murray 1924.)

with:

> ἀλλὰ **πάσασθαι** ἄνωχθι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιοὺς
> **σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή**. (T 160–161.)
> But bid thou the Achaeans by their swift ships to **taste**
> **of food and wine; since therein is courage and strength**.
> (Transl. by Murray 1924.)

[31] Also, there is a phrase in the *Works and Days* of Hesiod where, likewise, the meaning 'belly' or 'stomach' can tentatively be inferred for G ἦτορ; see v. 593. It reads κεκορημένον ἦτορ ἐδωδῆς 'satisfied with food in the belly (?)'.

Compare:

> ἐπὶ δ᾽ αἴθοπα πινέμεν οἶνον,
> ἐν σκιῇ ἑζόμενον, **κεκορημένον ἦτορ** ἐδωδῆς,
> ἀντίον ἀκραέος Ζεφύρου τρέψαντα πρόσωπα,
> κρήνης τ᾽ αἰενάου καὶ ἀπορρύτου, ἥτ᾽ ἀθόλωτος,
> τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἱέμεν οἴνου. (Hes. 592–596)
> then also let me drink bright wine,
> sitting in the shade, when my **heart** (= **belly?**) **is satisfied with food**,
> and so, turning my head to face the fresh Zephyr,
> from the everflowing spring which pours down unfouled,
> thrice pour an offering of water, but make a fourth libation of wine. (Transl. by Evelyn-White 1914.)

[32] The shift from 'entrails' to 'heart' is likened by Frisk to the difference between OE *hreðer* 'belly; heart, breast' and OHG *herdar* 'entrails': see Frisk 1960: I 645.

For 'entrails', Pokorny reconstructs PIE **ēt-r-* and Beekes PIE **h_1eh_1t-r-*; see Pokorny 1959: 344 and Beekes 2010: 527. (Frisk and Chantraine posit a heterocliton, PIE **ēt-r-* / **ēt-n-*, i.e. **h_1eh_1t-r-* / **h_1eh_1t-n-*; see Frisk 1960: I 645 and Chantraine 1970: II 418.)

PIE **ēt-r-* / **h_1eh_1t-r-* regularly yields Hom. ἦτορ and OHG *-ād(i)ri* while OIr. *-athar* and G ἧτρον would appear to reflect PIE **(-)h_1e/oh_1t-r-o-*. (In particular, PIE **h_1eh_1t-r-o-* would appear to be reflected by G ἧτρον and PIE **-h_1oh_1t-r-o-* by OIr. *-athar*; see Matasović 2009: 115.)

The reconsideration I propose here consists, ceteris paribus, of reconstructing PIE **h_1eh_1-tr-* rather than PIE **h_1eh_1t-r-* and PIE **h_1e/oh_1-tr-o-* rather than PIE **h_1e/oh_1t-r-o-*.

It follows from a paper I wrote earlier this year that, during the early history of the Indo-European proto-language, there was an allomorph formed from PIE **h_1ed-* 'to eat', namely **$h_1eʔ$-* (= **h_1eh_1-*), which is explained, within the Glottalic Theory, as arising due to PIE **dC* yielding **ʔC* (= **h_1C*); see Ligorio *forthc*.

Once formed, PIE **h_1eh_1-* 'to eat' was used to derive not only PIE **h_1oh_1-s-* 'mouth' (> Hitt. *aiš* id., CLuw. *āaš* id., Skt. *ā́s-* id., Av. *āh-* id., L *ōs* id., OIr. *á* id.) (and a number of derivatives built on **h_1oh_1-s-*)[33] but also PIE **h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-o-* 'lip, upper lip' (> Skt. *óṣṭha-* id., YAv. *aošta-* id.). Therefore, it can be considered as a de facto independent root.

Conclusion

The proto-forms I propose to reconstruct, PIE **h_1eh_1-tr-* and PIE **h_1e/oh_1-tr-o-*, are, respectively, the agent noun and the instrument noun of this root, PIE **h_1eh_1-*; originally, therefore, PIE **h_1eh_1-tr-* is 'the agent of eating' and **h_1e/oh_1-tr-o-* the 'instrument of eating'.

In my opinion, both PIE **h_1eh_1-tr-* and **h_1e/oh_1-tr-o-* later came to mean 'stomach, belly'.

In the case of the instrument noun, PIE **h_1e/oh_1-tr-o-*, the shift in the meaning, from the 'instrument of eating' to 'stomach, belly', must be promptly admitted on account of the meaning 'belly' which is seen in G ἧτρον 'belly'.[34]

[33] Viz. PIE **h_1oh_1-s-en-* 'in the mouth' (Skt. *āsán* id.), PIE **h_1oh_1-s-i-o-* 'mouth; throat' (Skt. *āsya°* id.), PIE **pro(H)+h_1oh_1-s-n-o-* 'leaning forward, bending down, inclined' (L *pronus* id.), PIE **h_1oh_1-s-t-o-* 'river mouth; haven' (Lith. *úostas*, Latv. *uosts* 'river mouth; haven'), PIE **h_1oh_1-s-t-i-o-* 'entrance' (L *ōstium*), etc.

[34] In terms of formation, cf. e.g. G δέρτρον 'caul' next to δέρω 'to skin, flay'.

In the case of the agent noun, PIE *h_1eh_1-*tr*-, the shift in the meaning, from the 'agent of eating' to 'stomach, belly', is perhaps not as easy to admit; in fact, it seems quite hard-pressed to assume that 'eater' came to mean 'stomach, belly'.

And yet, there is a viable parallel in G γασ-τήρ (< *γρασ-τήρ) 'belly' next to G γράω 'eat, gnaw'; see Frisk 1960: I 291. If so, PIE *h_1eh_1-*tr*- 'eater; stomach, belly' next to *h_1eh_1- 'to eat' would be precisely like PIE **grs*-*tr*- 'eater; stomach, belly' next to PIE **grs*- 'to eat'; see LIV² 192.[35]

Other meanings, 'heart' and 'entrails', are in my opinion secondary to 'stomach, belly'.

PIE *h_1eh_1-*tr*- 'stomach, belly' came to mean 'heart' in Greek (while the original meaning, 'stomach, belly', is possibly only hinted at a couple of times in Homer); see sec. 2. Incidentally, the shift from 'stomach, belly' to 'heart', which is seen in Hom. ἦτορ, is exactly paralleled by the shift from OFr. *caul-dun* 'stomach' to W, Co. *calon* 'heart'; see Buck 1949: 249.

In Germanic and Cletic, PIE *h_1eh_1-*tr*-(*o*-) 'stomach, belly' came to mean 'entrails'; cf. OHG *-ād(i)ri* 'entrails' and OIr. *-athar* 'entrails'. The shift from 'stomach, belly' to 'entrails' is, I think, more readily understandable and seems due to the composition of PIE *h_1eh_1-*tr*-(*o*-) 'stomach, belly' with PIE *h_1en 'in'; cf. OHG *inn-ād(i)ri* and OIr. *in-athar*.[36]

That said, it seems more plausible and indeed more practical to me to reconstruct a nomen agentis and a nomen instrumenti, PIE *h_1eh_1-*tr*- 'agent of eating' and PIE *h_1e/oh_1-*tr*-*o*- 'instrument of eating', to a known and a productive root, PIE *h_1eh_1- 'to eat', assuming that both derivatives came to mean 'stomach' (and thence 'heart', in Homer), than to reconstruct a dubious heterocliton, PIE *h_1eh_1t-*r*- / *h_1eh_1t-*n*- 'entrails', and a secondary *o*-stem, PIE *h_1e-h_1t-*r*-*o*- 'entrails', to an unproductive and an ad hoc root, PIE *h_1eh_1t- 'entrails', whilst having in mind that there is no actual evidence for PIE *h_1eh_1t-*n*- and no advantage in terms of semantics in assuming the shift from 'entrails' to 'heart' rather than that from 'stomach, belly' to 'heart' (since parallels can be found for both shifts, as I have shown above).

Finally, it should to be said that -ορ of Hom. ἦτορ is typically taken to be an Aeolic outcome of the PIE **r̥*; see e.g. Ruijgh 1961. (Cf. e.g. Aeol. (?) ἄορ 'sword' < PIE **n̥s-r̥* id.) If so, it would mean that G ἦτορ is a Homeric Aeoli-

[35] In terms of formation, cf. also G γναμπτήρ 'jaw' next to γνάμπτω 'bend' and G μυκτήρ 'nostril' next to μύσσομαι 'snort'.

[36] Also, MCo. *in-ederen* 'entrails', MHG *in-æder(e)* 'entrails', OLFra. dat. pl. *inn-ēthron* 'entrails'.

cism, which is certainly a possibility.

However, van Beek has recently argued that the Aeolic outcome of the word-final **r̥* is in fact not known; see VAN BEEK 2013: 73, ftn. 250. Consequently, Hom. ἦτορ could be pointing to PIE **h₁eh₁-tor-ø* rather than **h₁eh₁-tr-ø*; whether this is truly so, it is very difficult to say.

(Incidentally, there is an alternation in Germanic, PGm. **ēÞr-* and **ēdr-* , which seems to point to an originally mobile paradigm, PIE **h₁éh₁-tr-* and **h₁h₁-tór-*; see KROONEN 2013: 120. Hom. ἦτορ could be pointing to a levelled form of this paradigm, such as PIE **h₁éh₁-tor-* or **h₁eh₁-tór-* (with accent retraction, if the word is truly Aeolic).)

Abbreviations

*	reconstructed form
?	questionable form
>	*yields*
<	*comes from*
Aeol.	Aeolic
Av.	Avestan
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
Co.	Cornish
G	Greek
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homeric
L	Latin
Lith.	Lithuanian
Latv.	Latvian
MCo.	Middle Cornish
MHG	Middle High German
OHG	Old High German
OFr.	Old French
OIr.	Old Irish

OLFra.	Old Low Franconian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Skt.	Sanskrit
YAv .	Young Avestan
W	Welsh

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Хом. ἦτορ

Апстракт: Хом. ἦτορ ‘срце’ и грч. ἦτρον ‘трбух’ изводе се од ие. *h_1eh_1-tr- ‘онај који једе; стомак, трбух’ под претпоставком да *h1eh1-tr- потиче од *h_1eh_1-, тј. од аломорфа ие. *h_1ed- ‘јести’, и да је значење ‘срце’ постало накнадно, од првобитног значења ‘стомак, трбух’.
Кључне ријечи: грчки, хомерски, индоевропски, глотална теорија, етимологија.