

Reflections on a Cretan Gloss Denoting a Salt Source

Elwira Kaczyńska

TWO MODERN EDITORS of the late-ancient lexicon by Hesychius of Alexandria print with the so-called *crux philologorum* the Cretan gloss †ἀλλάθαρων· ἄλμυρόν. Κρητες (α 3110) “†*allátharon* – something salty, [so called by] the Cretans.”¹ The *crux* generally indicates that the lemma is corrupt or doubtful.

A different view is expressed by R. A. Brown, who thinks that the Cretan word ἀλλάθαρων is correct and represents a purely Greek formation: “ἄλμυρόν is to be derived ultimately from the stem ἄλ- = salt. There is no reason to suppose that the Cretan word is not also from the same stem (psilosis of an initial vowel is not uncommon in Cretan forms).”² He refers directly to M. Lejeune, who registers a number of Cretan forms with psilosis.³ Unfortunately, Brown explained the prior part of the supposed compound as a purely Greek element and did not give any

¹ I 110 Latte; I. C. Cunningham (ed.), *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* I (Berlin 2018) 146. See also *DGE* II 155. Earlier editors or authors published the gloss in question without a *crux*, e.g. M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* I (Jena 1858) 126 (α 3112); G. M. Kleemann, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole* (Halle 1872) 22–23; *LSJ*⁹ 68.

² R. A. Brown, *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources* (Amsterdam 1985) 27.

³ M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien* (Paris 1972) 281–282. The psilotic forms are regularly attested in the Lesbian poetry, cf. Aeol. ἄλμυρος adj. ‘salty, brine (of the sea)’, e.g. ἄλμυρον ἐστυφέλιξε πόντον (Alc. 334.2); θάλασσαν ἐπ’ ἄλμύραν (Sapph. 96.10), cf. C. Neri, *Saffo, testimonianze e frammenti* (Berlin 2021) 737.

etymology for the latter.

A. Th. Vasilakis also treats the Hesychian gloss in question as a credible item of the Ancient Cretan vocabulary. He quotes it with no crux⁴ and does not suggest any etymology for the lemma ἀλλάθαρον.

H. B. Voretzsch explains the Cretan word as an alleged compound derived from *ἄλυμᾶ-ταρον by a progressive assimilation of two consonants -λυ- > -λλ-; cf. Gk.⁵ ἄλυμη, Dor. ἄλυᾶ f. ‘sea-water, brine’, ταριχεύω vb. ‘preserve food by salting’.⁶ G. M. Kleemann does not accept Voretzsch’s suggestion that “λλ ex λμ assimilatione factum es[t],” and adds: “Neque infitiandum est, magnum in Creticis vocabulis campum assimilationem habere. Licet tamen de hac voce dubitare.”⁷ Other researchers think that the etymology of the Cretan word ἀλλάθαρον is unclear.⁸

1. *A new explanation for the Hesychian lemma*

I would like to suggest a new etymology of the Cretan gloss †ἀλλάθαρον ἄλυμυρόν. Κρήτες. Generally, both the lemma †ἀλλάθαρον and the explanatory word ἄλυμυρός adj. ‘salty, briny’, also ‘brackish’, metaphorically ‘bitter, distasteful, piquant, unpalatable’, seem to represent two analogous compound formations containing the well-known Greek noun ἄλς (gen. sg. ἄλος) m. ‘salt’, f. ‘sea’.⁹ The neuter form of the adjective ἄλυμυρός

⁴ A. Th. Vasilakis, *To κρητικό λεξιλόγιο* (Heraklion 1998) 35.

⁵ Abbreviations used: Arm.: Armenian; Cz.: Czech; Hitt.: Hittite; Hom.: Homeric (epic) dialect; IE: Indo-European; Mod. Gk.: Modern Greek; OChSl.: Old Church Slavic; PGk.: Proto-Greek; Srb.-ChSl.: Serbian variant of Church Slavic.

⁶ H. B. Voretzsch, *De inscriptione Cretensi qua continetur Lyttiorum et Boloentiorum foedus* (Halle 1862) 12.

⁷ Kleemann, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole* 22–23.

⁸ Cf. *DGE* 155 s.v. †ἀλλάθαρον: “Etim[ología] desc[onocida].”

⁹ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern 1959) 878–879; Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I* (Heidelberg 1960) 78–79; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque I* (Paris 1968) 65; R.

is commonly used in the popular phrase ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ ‘salt (sea-)water’ or θαλάσσης ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ ‘salt water of the sea’, which appears as early as in the Homeric epics (*Od.* 4.511, 5.100, 9.227, 12.236, 12.240; Strattis fr.14 K.; Arist. *Mete.* 353b15; Nonnus *Dion.* 31.57; cf. also Thuc. 4.26.5 ὕδατι ἄλμυρῶ).¹⁰ It is very probable that the Cretan lemma †ἀλλάθαρον refers to ‘salt water’ too.

There is no reason to reject the traditional hypothesis that the Cretan gloss †ἀλλάθαρον represents a primitive compound, whose first member is a reflex of the old Indo-European term for salt (IE **sal-s*, hence Lat. *sal* m. ‘salt’; Arm. *at* ‘salt’; Gk. ἄλς m. ‘salt’, f. ‘sea’). In fact, the Cretan term †ἀλλάθαρον could be regularly derived from *ἀλλάθαρον [h¹al^hat^haron] as a result of a distant regressive dissimilation of two aspirated consonants (Grassmann’s Law).¹¹ For the dissimilatory loss of aspiration in two non-adjacent syllables, consider the following examples:

1.1. Gk. Ion. ἀδελφεός, Att. ἀδελφός m. ‘brother’ < PGk. *ἄ-δελφειός < IE **sm̥-ǵ^helb^heiós* adj. ‘(descending) from the same womb’; cf. Ved. *ságarbhya-* adj. ‘born from the same womb’, *sagarbhā-* f. ‘pregnant woman’.¹² See also Gk. δελφός f. ‘womb’, Ved. *gárbha-* m. ‘womb’.

1.2. Gk. Hom. ἄλοχος f. ‘a bed-fellow, spouse, wife; co-habitant; concubine’ < PGk. *ἄλοχος < IE **sm̥-log^hos* ‘having the same bed; lying together in a bed; the action of lying together’; cf. OChSl. *şlogъ* m. ‘bedmate, husband, lover’, Srb.-ChSl.

Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden 2010) 74–75; R.-G. Curcă, “Terminology of Salt in Ancient Greek,” *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 21 (2015) 221–233.

¹⁰ *DGE* 166; *LSJ*⁹ 72; M. Glezos, Ὑδωρ – Αὐρά – Νερό (Athens 2001) 333; F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Leiden 2018) 96; J. Diggle, *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon I* (Cambridge 2021) 64.

¹¹ See N. E. Collinge, *The Laws of Indo-European* (Amsterdam 1985) 47–61; B. Vine, “Grassmann’s Law,” *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics II* (Leiden 2014) 26–27.

¹² Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 473; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique* 18–19; Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary* 20.

сулогъ m./f. ‘bedmate; σύγκοιτος’, Cz. *souloh* m. ‘intercourse’. See also Russ. суложъ f. ‘bedmate, wife’.¹³

1.3. Gk. Hom. ἄσταχυς m. ‘grain growing in the field; (mowed) cereal together with the stem and ear’ < PGk. *ἄ-σταχυς ‘having the same corn-ear’; cf. Gk. στάχυς m. ‘corn-ear’.

Generally, I agree with Voretzsch’s opinion that the Cretan geminate -λλ- must represent a primitive cluster of consonants. However, the derivation of -λλ- from *-λμ- hardly seems possible. It should be emphasized that a different gloss of Cretan origin, attested in the Hesychian lexicon, points to the original cluster *-λμ-:

1.4. αὔμα: ἄλμη, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν (Hesych. α 8324)¹⁴ “*haúma* – sea-water, [a word used] by the Cretans.”

The Cretan lemma αὔμα (< Dor. Gk. ἄλμᾱ; cf. Hom. Gk. ἄλμη f. ‘saline water, sea; salt sediment; salt solution, brine’ ← Gk. ἄλς m. ‘salt’, f. ‘sea’ < IE *sal-s ‘salt’), registered by Hesychius, documents a velar pronunciation of the liquid consonant [ɫ], which is perfectly attested in the central area of Crete from the fifth century B.C.¹⁵ In other words, the cluster *-λμ- appears frequently in the ancient Cretan dialect. The suggested pro-

¹³ Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 658–659; J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Oxford 2008) 209; Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary* 74, 852.

¹⁴ 281 Latte; V. Pisani, *Manuale storico della lingua greca* (Brescia 1973) 111; M. Bile, *Le dialecte crétois ancien* (Paris 1988) 120; 380 Cunningham.

¹⁵ This process consists in the velarization of the Greek phoneme [l] at the end of a closed syllable and its regular transformation into the Cretan phoneme [ɫ] (cf. ‘dark’ *l* in English). See Kleemann, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole* 27; A. N. Skias, Περὶ τῆς κρητικῆς διαλέκτου (Athens 1891) 75; A. Thumb and E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte I* (Heidelberg 1932) 156; Bile, *Le dialecte crétois ancien* 120, and “Cretan,” *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language* II 396–398, at 396; M. Morani, *Introduzione alla linguistica greca. Il greco tra le lingue indeuropee* (Alessandria 1999) 82; A. Bartoněk, *Dialekty klasické řečtiny* (Brno 2009) 191, and *Chrétomatie starořeckých nářečních nápisů* (Brno 2011) 142; J. Méndez-Dosuna, “The Doric Dialects,” in A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity I* (Cambridge 2015) 444–459, at 455.

gressive assimilation *-λμ- to -λλ- is completely unknown in the island of Crete. There is only one example of the regressive assimilation of *-λμ- to -μμ-, attested by the proper name Σαλμώνιον/Σαμμώνιον/Σαμώνιον, a promontory in the eastern part of Crete.¹⁶

In my opinion, the spelling -λλ- in the Hesychian gloss in question could reflect the original cluster -λϝ- [l̥]. In fact, the digamma was preserved for a long time in Crete. If this suggestion is correct, we can connect the latter member of the Cretan dialectism ἀλλάθαρων with the Hittite noun *uattaru-* n. ‘well, spring, source’.¹⁷

A. Kloekhorst rejects the traditional derivation of Hitt. *uattaru-* n. ‘well, spring, source’ from Hitt. *uātar* n. ‘water’ (< IE *wódyr n. ‘water’), correctly stressing that this explanation “is impossible in view of the geminate spelling -tt- in *uattaru-*, which points to an etymological *t, which contrasts with the etymological *d in *uātar*.”¹⁸ His position is confirmed by Hittite lexical data, e.g. nom.-acc. sg. *ua-at-ta-ru* (*KUB* 31.143a+; *VBoT* 124 III 21, *KUB* 8.41 III 14 fr.), *ua-at-ru* (*KBo* 40.34, 5), gen. sg. *ua-at-ru-aš* (*KBo* 8.41 III 3), *ua-at-ta-ru-aš* (*KUB* 31.143a + *VBoT* 124 II 11, *Bo* 4767, 4), [*ua-at-*] *ta-ru-a-aš* (*KBo* 25.112 III 8), allative sg. *ua-at-tar-ua* (*KBo* 3.7 IV 12, *KUB* 17.6 IV 9), dat.-loc. sg. *ua-at-tar-ú-i* (*KBo* 24.12 obv. 6), also *TÚL-i* (*KUB* 12.66 IV 15), nom.-acc. pl. [*ua-*

¹⁶ Voretzsch, *De inscriptione Cretensi* 12; Bile, *Le dialecte crétois ancien* 120 n.204.

¹⁷ D. M. Weeks, *Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck’s Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Los Angeles 1985) 13 (‘spring, well’); J. Friedrich, *Kurzgefaßtes hethitisches Wörterbuch. Kurzgefaßte kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter* (Heidelberg 1991) 250 (‘Brunnen, Quelle’); J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch* (Innsbruck 2001) 199 (‘Wasserloch, Quelle, Brunnen’); A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden 2008) 989 (‘well, source’).

¹⁸ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary* 989. It should be added that earlier scholars (e.g. J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Die hethitischen u-Stämme* [Amsterdam 1984] 195; Weeks, *Hittite Vocabulary* 13–14) derived the Hittite term *uattaru-* n. (*u-*stem) ‘well, spring, source’ from Hitt. *uātar* n. ‘water’. As noted, such an etymology is impossible for phonological reasons.

at-ta]r-*ua* (*KUB* 19.37 III 54).¹⁹

Finally, Kloekhorst reconstructs **uot(H)-ru-* as a primitive archetype of this Hittite word.²⁰ It is worth emphasizing that the suggested cluster **tH* may create an aspirated voiceless dental stop [tʰ], which should be rendered as θ [tʰ] in Ancient Greek. Moreover, it is possible that the Anatolian term for ‘well, spring, source’, reflected in Hitt. *uattaru-*, is to be found in the following gloss:

1.5. Βαθάλη· κρήνη· Ἀμερίας (Hesych. β 47)²¹ “*Bathálē* – a (name of) spring/source, [according to] Amerias.”

K. Latte and I. C. Cunningham, the two modern editors of the Hesychian lexicon, follow Benseler, who argued that Βαθάλη represents not a purely Greek appellative but a proper name (of foreign origin) referring to a spring (“Bezeichnung einer Quelle”).²² The Pre-Greek hydronym, registered by two Greek lexicographers, Amerias and Hesychius, can be related to Hittite *uattaru* n. ‘well, spring, source’. The Greek grapheme β (originally [b], later [b] and [v])²³ may render the digamma [w], pronounced later as [v].²⁴ On the other hand, the Greek phoneme θ [tʰ] agrees with an Anatolian phoneme [tʰ] or [tH], as suggested by Kloekhorst. The liquid consonant, written as λ [l] in the gloss offered by Amerias, may replace the Hittite liquid

¹⁹ *KBo* = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy* (Osnabrück 1923–); *KUB* = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy* (Berlin 1921–1990); *VBoT* = A. Goetze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* (Marburg a.d. Lahn 1930).

²⁰ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary* 989 s.v. *uat(ta)ru-*, concludes: “So, although I know no IE cognates, I would mechanically reconstruct this word as **uot(H)-ru-*.”

²¹ 306 Latte, 413 Cunningham.

²² G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ (Braunschweig 1911) 191.

²³ Bartoněk, *Dialekty klasické řečtiny* 142.

²⁴ Cf. J. Brause, *Lautlehre der kretischen Dialekte* (Halle 1908) 38–56.

phoneme [r].²⁵

Following the consensus that a reflex of IE **sal-* ‘salt’ appears in the former part the Cretan gloss †ἀλ-λάθαρων, I propose that the latter member -λάθαρων is identical with the above-mentioned Anatolian noun for ‘well, spring, source’, which many Hittite texts register as *uattaru* and was presumably pronounced [ua^haru].

It is difficult to decide whether the Cretan term should be treated as a hybrid (Greek-Anatolian) formation, as it ostensibly appears. The Anatolian term for ‘salt’ is in fact unknown.²⁶ Theoretically, one can propose that the Cretan lexical item was an early adaptation of the Anatolian (Hittite or Luwian) **sal-ua^haru-* ‘salt source’.²⁷ Some researchers believe, however, that

²⁵ The λ/ρ variation seems to be one of the features of the Pre-Greek substrate. Cf. E. J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* (The Hague 1972) 387; R. Beekes, *Pre-Greek. Phonology, Morphology, Lexicon* (Leiden 2014) 21.

²⁶ Weeks, *Hittite Vocabulary* 84. The meaning ‘salt’ in the preserved Hittite texts is rendered by the Sumerian ideogram MUN, as well as by the Akkadian term *TĀBTU*. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., “An English-Hittite Glossary,” *RHA* 25 (1967) 7–99, at 77; Friedrich, *Kurzgefaßtes hethitisches Wörterbuch* 286. It is worth adding that C. Watkins suggests that *ḪUR.SAG Šalīwana/i-* means something like ‘Mount Saltrock’: “Luvo-Hittite ‘*lapan(a)-*,” in D. Disterheft et al. (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Jaan Puhvel I* (Washington 1997) 29–35, at 34). Thus, he derives the first component of the Hittite oronym, *šali-*, from IE **sal-* ‘salt’. Reflexes of the Indo-European word for ‘salt’ in the onomastic landscape are discussed by A. Falileyev, “‘Salty’ Geographical Names: A Fresh Look,” in M. Alexianu et al. (eds.), *Archaeology and Anthropology of Salt: A Diachronic Approach* (Oxford 2011) 209–214.

²⁷ The Hittite or Anatolian terms for ‘salt source’ or ‘salty water’ are unknown. It should be emphasized, however, that Strabo 12.3.12 mentions salty sources or saltworks (Gk. ἀλαί) located near Halys, the longest river in Asia Minor (Cappadocia). He believes that the hydronym *Halys* (Gk. Ἴαλος, also Ἴαλος and Ἴαλις, now *Kızılırmak* or *Acı Su*) is motivated by these saltworks (cf. D. W. Roller, *The Geography of Strabo* [Cambridge 2014] 524). Therefore the river in question is also known by the Turkish name *Acı Su* (‘bitter water’). Moreover, the Ancient Greek hydronym Halys (literally ‘Salt River’) derives

the linguistic substrate of Crete, the Aegean islands, and some parts of continental Greece in the second millennium B.C. was of Anatolian origin.²⁸ It was also assumed by some scholars that “most Greek place names in *-vθος* are likely to be legacies from one (or more) languages close to the Anatolian branch which was spoken in certain regions of Greece before the Mycenaeans settled there.”²⁹ The supposed Hellenic adaptation of the Anatolian lexeme **sal-ua^haru-* (*u*-stem) n. ‘salt source’ could be connected with the replacement of an original *u*-stem by a highly productive *o*-stem. The final result of prehistoric Cretan-Anatolian language contacts would be attested by ἀλλάθαρων. The Hesychian form of this Cretan term appears to be correct and the gloss should be printed without a crux.

2. Can the Hesychian gloss refer to a Cretan source of salt water?

There are three abundant saltwater springs on the island of Crete. All of them are called Armirós or Almirós (Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός, earlier Αλμυρός ← Gk. ἄλμυρός adj. ‘salty’).³⁰

2.1. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός/Αρμυρός, salt springs and marshes located ca. 300 meters west of the village of Georgioupolis (in the Chania region). They are attested implicitly in the river name τοῦ Ἀλμυροῦ τὸ ποτάμι (see §2.4), first mentioned in the so-called *Chrysóboullō* (1182, a counterfeit created in the 13th cent.).³¹

via Anatolian (or via Phrygian) from IE **salús* adj. ‘salty/salzig’; cf. D. J. Georgacas, “From the River Systems in Anatolia: The Names of the Longest River,” *Names* 12 (1964) 197–214, at 212; J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie. Semantische und morphologische Analyse der griechischen Gewässernamen* (Wiesbaden 1977) 60.

²⁸ S. Rose, “Greek and Anatolian Languages,” *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language* II 27–31, at 28.

²⁹ Y. Duhoux, “Pre-Greek languages: Indirect Evidence,” in *A History of Ancient Greek* I (Cambridge 2015) 223–228, at 228.

³⁰ O. Rackham and J. Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (Manchester 1996) 42.

³¹ G. A. Sifakas, “Το χρυσόβουλλον Αλεξίου Β’ Κομνηνού και τα δώδεκα

The salt source is explicitly attested in modern times, e.g. Αλμυρός – [πηγή] στη Γεωργιούπολη Αποκόρωνα (1996);³² Αλμυρός or Αρμυρός (my autopsy; June 2003). The Cretan proper name derives from the adjective αλμυρός, also αρμυρός ‘salt/y/, briny, saline’.³³ The alternative form αρμυρός documents a delateralization typical of some idioms of Modern Greek, including the Cretan dialect.³⁴

2.2. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός/Αρμυρός, also Αλμυρίδα/Αρμυρίδα, an abundant source of saltwater northwest of the village of Gazi (Heraklion region), from which a small river called *Armirós/Almirós* flows (see §2.5). A small lake, the *Kolímba Armiroú*, forms near the source. The attestation for the salt spring begins in the 16th century: *Armirò* (1590);³⁵ *Armiris* (KIK 1941);³⁶ Αλμυρός

αρχοντόπουλα (1182 μ. Χ.),” *CretChron* 2 (1948) 129–140. See also Th. E. Detorakis, *History of Crete* (Heraklion 1994) 135–136.

³² Rackham and Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* 42.

³³ D. N. Stavropoulos, *Oxford Greek-English Learner’s Dictionary* (Oxford 1992) 34.

³⁴ B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect. A Study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge 1972) 112–113.

³⁵ M. Arakadaki, “Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη (Λιμενάρχη Χανίων): ‘Περιγραφή των ακτών της Κρήτης’ (1590 ci.),” in Ch. Charalampakis (ed.), *Τα κρητικά τοπωνύμια: Δίημερο Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο I* (Rethymnon 2000) 109–158, at 128, 149.

³⁶ Historical maps and archive sources: Bas 1618 = D. Calabi, *F. Basilicata, Regno di Candia: atlante corografico di Francesco Basilicata 1618* (Marsilio 1993); Bosch 1651 = M. Boschini, *Il Regno tutto di Candia* (Venice 1651); Cor 1681 = P. M. Coronelli, *Isola. Regno di Candia* (Venice 1681); EC-Road 2003 = *Ανατολική Κρήτη / Eastern Crete, Road Editions, Scale 1:100.000* (Athens 2003); KIK 1941 = *Karte der Insel Kreta*, Maßstab 1:266.666, Sondergabe I.1941; Merc 1590 = G. Mercator, *Candia cum insulis aliquot circa Graeciam* (Duisburg 1590); Ort 1584 = A. Ortelius, *Candia Insula. Archipelagi insularum aliquot descrip.* (Antwerp 1584); Rossi 1622 = D. di Rossi, *Descriptio Crete, nunc Candia Moderna* (Venice 1622); Sans 1658 = N. Sanson, *Isle et Royaume de Candie* (Paris 1658 [map]); TLK 1953–1957: *Τοπωνυμικό λεξικό της Κρήτης*, Historical Museum of Crete.

(Αρμυρός) – μεγάλη καρστική πηγή (1965);³⁷ Αλμυρός – [πηγή] στο Γάζι Τεμένους [sic!] (1996/2004);³⁸ Αλμυρίδα (EC-Road 2003). The oldest record, *Armiris* (1941), represents an alternative form taken from *katharevousa* (= Mod. Gk. Αρμυρίδα). It derives from the Cretan dialectal word αρμυρίδα f. ‘saltwater source’ (< Gk. άλμυρίς, gen. sg. άλμυρίδος f. ‘salty moisture; salty foam; saltiness; salty terrain’).³⁹

2.3. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός/Αρμυρός, salt springs and marshes located ca. 2 km south of the town of Agios Nikolaos (Lasithi region). The marshes called *Almirós* form one of the most important hydrobiotopes in Greece. The salt marshes are clearly registered as *Armiro* in the 17th century (Bas 1618; Bosch 1651; Cor 1681) as well as in modern times, e.g. *Almyro or Armyro – a copious source of brackish water* (1865);⁴⁰ *Almyros* (1869);⁴¹ ὁ Ἄλμυρός (1890);⁴² ὁ Ἄρμυρός (1891);⁴³ ὁ Ἄλμυρός (1902);⁴⁴ ὁ Ἄλμυρός (1984);⁴⁵ Αλμυρός (2006).⁴⁶

There are also rivers called *Almirós* or *Armirós* on the island. Two of them are connected with the above-mentioned salt springs.

³⁷ E. K. Platakis, “Ο Αλμυρός του Ηρακλείου. Ειδήσεις και πληροφορίες,” *CretChron* 19 (1965) 55–104, at 55.

³⁸ Rackham and Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* 42.

³⁹ Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* 96.

⁴⁰ T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete I* (London 1865) 145.

⁴¹ V. Raulin, *Description physique de l’île de Crète* (Paris 1869) 379.

⁴² N. Stavrakis, Στατιστική του πληθυσμού της Κρήτης μετά διαφόρων γεωγραφικών, ιστορικών, αρχαιολογικών, εκκλησιαστικών κτλ. ειδήσεων περί της νήσου (Athens 1890) 51.

⁴³ E. G. Generalis, Επίτομος γεωγραφία της νήσου Κρήτης (Athens 1891) 11.

⁴⁴ E. G. Generalis, Επίτομος γεωγραφία της νήσου Κρήτης³ (Athens 1902) 10.

⁴⁵ P. Faure, “Hydronymes crétois,” *Κρητολογία* 10 (1984) 30–61, at 45 = *Recherches de toponymie crétoise. Opera selecta* (Amsterdam 1989) 303–337, at 318.

⁴⁶ N. Andriotis, Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της ανατολικής Κρήτης (16^{ος}–19^{ος} αι.) (Heraklion 2006) 30.

2.4. Mod. Gk. Αλυμρός/Αρμυρός or Ποταμός, earlier του Αλυμρού το ποτάμι, a river only one km long, flowing from the spring by the same name (see §2.1) about 300 m west of Georgioupolis (Chania region). The river is attested for the first time in 12th or 13th cent.: τοῦ Ἀλυμροῦ τὸ ποτάμι (1182 [13th cent.]). Historical sources or maps registered it by means of a Latin calque, e.g. *Salsum flumen* (1415);⁴⁷ *Salsa fluuius* (Rossi 1622). The Cretan river frequently appears as *Armiro* (= Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός) in Venetian and post-Venetian times, e.g. *Armiro* (1577/8);⁴⁸ *Armirò* (1590);⁴⁹ *Armiro* (Bas 1618); *Armiro Fiume* (Bas 1630); *Armiro F.* (Bosch 1651); *Armiro fl.* (Sans 1658). The river is navigable all the way from the salt springs to the mouth.

2.5. Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός/Αλυμρός, a small river, ca. two kilometers long that flows from an abundant saltwater spring called *Almirós Armirós* or *Almirída Armirída* (see §2.2) to the Cretan Sea near the mouth of the river Gazanós (Heraklion region). This river appears frequently in maps starting in the 16th cent.: *Armiro flu.* (Ort 1584); *Armiro fl.* (Merc 1590). It is mentioned as *Armiro* or *Armirò* by Francesco Barozzi (1577/8), Stamatis Fasionis (1590), and Francesco Basilicata (1630).⁵⁰

2.6. Mod. Gk. Αλυμρός/Αλυμρός/Αλυμβρός, a periodic stream flowing through the gorge of the same name, located 1.5 km northwest of the town of Ierapetra (Lasithi region). It crosses some suburbs of Ierapetra. Attestation: Αλυμρό (στον) – ξεροπόταμος (TLK 1953–1957: Ιεράπετρα Α/815[638].49); ὁ Ἄλυμ(β)ρός (1984)⁵¹; Αλυμρός (my autopsy; July 2003). Two al-

⁴⁷ M.-A. van Spitael, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Descriptio insule Crete et liber insularum, cap. XI: Creta* (Heraklion 1981) 100, 246.

⁴⁸ S. Kaklamanis, *Francesco Barozzi, Descrizione dell'isola di Creta* (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) (1577/8) (Heraklion 2004) 269.

⁴⁹ Arakadaki, Τα κρητικά τοπωνύμια 125, 146.

⁵⁰ Kaklamanis, *Francesco Barozzi* 268–269; Arakadaki, Τα κρητικά τοπωνύμια 128, 149; Francesco Basilicata, *Relazione 1630*, in S. G. Spanakis (ed.), *Μνημεία της κρητικής ιστορίας V* (Heraklion 1969) 35.

⁵¹ Faure, Κρητολογία 10 (1984) 49 = *Recherches de toponymie crétoise* 322.

ternative forms Ἀλυμρός [Alimrós]/Ἀλυμβρός [Alimbrós], noted by P. Faure, probably arose from local metathesis. The gorge seems to take its name from the river.

Hesychius of Alexandria thus seems to have recorded a Pre-Greek name of one of three Cretan sources of abundant salt water. If so, the corresponding Hesychian gloss should be restored as Ἀλλάθαρων· ἄλυμρόν. Κρήτες.

Conclusions

The above reflections on one of the Cretan glosses recorded by Hesychius of Alexandria lead to the following conclusions:

3.1. The Cretan gloss †ἀλλάθαρων· ἄλυμρόν. Κρήτες (Hesych. α 3110) cannot be treated as corrupt or doubtful. Both the lemma (ἀλλάθαρων) and the explanatory word (ἄλυμρόν) contain the same lexical morpheme *ἄλ- [hal] ‘salt(y)’ (cf. especially Gk. ἄλς, gen. sg. ἄλός m. ‘salt’, f. ‘sea’), which evidently derives from the inherited Indo-European term for ‘salt’ (IE *sal-).

3.2. There is no obvious psilosis in the Cretan word ἀλλάθαρων. The *spiritus lenis* can readily be explained as the outcome of a distant regressive dissimilation: [ø] – [tʰ] < [h] – [tʰ]. As shown above (§1.1–1.3), the dissimilatory loss of aspiration in two non-adjacent syllables is attested in several instances.

3.3. The Cretan word ἀλλάθαρων (correctly glossed as ἄλυμρόν ‘something salty’) likely represents an Anatolian loan, whose original archetype is *sal-uatʰaru- n. ‘salt source’; cf. Hitt. *uattaru-* (u-stem) n. ‘well, spring, source’. Alternatively, the Cretan lexeme may be interpreted as a Greek-Anatolian hybrid formation.

3.4. The relation between this Hesychian gloss and three sources of abundant salt water in Crete, commonly called Armiros or Almiros, is unclear. We cannot dismiss the possibility that the first word of the lemma should be capitalized, Ἀλλάθαρων· ἄλυμρόν. Κρήτες “*Allátharon* – a salt source, [so called by] the Cretans.” This would parallel the Hesychian gloss of

foreign origin Βαθάλη· κρήνη· Ἀμερίας, “*Bathálē* – a (name of) source, [according to] Amerias” (§1.5).

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University of Lodz, Faculty of Philology
Department of Classical Philology
elwira.kaczynska@uni.lodz.pl
ORCID 0000-0002-4545-1927