

Cicadas in the Hesychian Lexicon

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Abstract

Numerous Ancient Greek terms for 'cicada' are attested in the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria (5th c. AD); these are explained here from the morphological and etymological point of view. Some of them are dialectal items, representing Achaean (in Cyprus and Pamphylia) or Doric (e.g. Laconian λιγάντωρ m. 'male cicada'). Other Hesychian words for 'cicada' demonstrate obvious features of Attic-Ionic speech. New explanations are suggested for some of the rare appellatives belonging here, including Gk. dial. κίκους m. 'young cicada' and κίξιος m. 'cicada'. Finally, possible motivation for the attested words is carefully discussed.

Keywords

Ancient Greek; cicadas; insects; Greek lexicography

1. Introduction

Cicadas are easily recognized insects, mainly due to their large size (2 to 5 centimeters in European species) and their unique, loud sound. The latter was so pleasing to the ears of the Ancient Greeks that they called it “sweet” or “sweet-voiced”. Even Plato (*Phdr.* 262d) called cicadas “prophets of the Muses” (Gk. οἱ Μουσῶν προφήται), referring to “their singing as a gift of the Muses” (Dihle 1967: p. 109). Cicadas live in both temperate and tropical climates, including the Mediterranean region. More than 2500 species of the cicada have been described, but commonly cicadas are treated as a unitary kind of insect. Only adult male cicadas produce the chirping noise, the loudest sound produced by any insect (up to 120 dB). Female and young cicadas are mute.

Ancient Greeks were quite familiar with cicadas (Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: pp. 113–133; Beavis 1988: pp. 91–103). They ate their larvae, especially to whet the appetite (Arist., *HA* V 30, 5; Ath. 133b). The most widespread term for this insect in Ancient Greek was τέττιξ m. ‘tree cricket, cicada’ (Schenkl & Brunetti 1991: p. 97, s.v. *cicala*). This word was used not only in Attic Greek and the Hellenistic koiné, but also in the epic language (including Homer, *Il.* 3.151, and Hesiod, *Op.* 580; *Sc.* 393).

However, the more precise Ancient Greek terminology for ‘tree cricket, cicada’ is abundant and interesting. Generally, Ancient Greeks distinguished three kinds of this winged insect: (1) male cicadas, which are larger and produce sound by vibrating drum-like tymbals – a pair of membranes located in the abdomen, (2) female ones, which are mute and smaller; (3) young or new-born cicadas. The nomenclature for ‘cicada’, known not only from different literary sources, but also from the non-literary Greek dialects, was registered in the well-known lexicon of rare or unusual words compiled by the end of the 5th century by Hesychius of Alexandria.

In the present study, we shall discuss the words for ‘cicada’ attested in the Hesychian lexicon, recognizing their dialectal affiliation as a priority. Each gloss is therefore treated as a separate lexical unit, even if some discussed items have a common origin. If necessary, we shall also include other ancient sources in the discussion.

2. Achaean (Cypriote and Pamphylian) terms

No term for ‘cicada’ is attested in the Mycenaean texts. However, Hesychius of Alexandria quotes a number of appellatives taken from the Cypriote dialect and the Pamphylian one. The Achaean lexical data are the following:

2.1. The Cypriote word for ‘small mute cicada’ is attested in the following shape (*HAL* κ-2691): κίλλος· ὄνος· καὶ τέττιξ πρωῖνός ὑπὸ Κυπρίων “*killos* [is called] an ass, and a small (born early, i.e. new-born) cicada by the Cypriotes” (Latte 1966: p. 478; cf. Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 129; Beavis 1988: p. 95). The Hesychian gloss in question shows two different meanings: ‘ass’ (Doric, according to Pollux 7.56) and ‘cicada’ (used by Greeks in Cyprus). Both nouns represent an innovative use of the adjective κίλλος ‘grey, ass-coloured’ (Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 951). The small cicada was named after the grey

colour of its body (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 100; Wartelle 2000: p. 215; Beekes 2010: pp. 697–698; see Strömberg 1943: p. 100; 1944: pp. 11–12).¹ It is worth emphasizing that the term for ‘ass, donkey’, κίλλος, also seems to represent a Cypriote innovation, cf. Mod. Gk. (Cypriote) κίλλης [ˈfɪllis], also γκίλλης [ˈdʒillis] m. ‘small ass / kleingewachsener Esel’ (Andriotis 1974: p. 315; Chatziioannou 1996: p. 80; Giangkoullis 2002: p. 141).

2.2. A different Cypriote term is registered by Hesychius of Alexandria under the heading καλαμίδας (*HAL* κ-403). In the final part of the multi-semantic gloss, the author informs us that Κερυνήται δὲ τοὺς μικροὺς τέττιγας καλαμίδας καλοῦσι “the Keryneians call the small cicadas *kalamídes*” (Latte 1966: p. 399). Although the appellative καλαμίδας, gen. sg. καλαμίδος, is well-known in Ancient Greek, the meaning ‘small (i.e. female or young) cicada’ has to be treated as an innovation in the Cypriote dialect of Ancient Greek, as the ancient city of Keryneia (Gk. Κερύνεια) was located on the northern coast of Cyprus.

The North Cypriote (Keryneian) term for ‘small or mute cicada’, καλαμίδας f. (*d*-stem), is obviously derived from the plant name κάλαμος m. ‘reed, cane; the plant *Arundo*, especially giant cane, *Arundo donax* L.; sweet flag, *Acorus calamus* L.’ (André 1985: p. 45) by means of the feminine suffix -ίδ-. Other names of cicadas (and other insects) seem to attest the same word-formation process, e.g. ἐρπυλλίς f. ‘a kind of cicada’ < ἐρπυλλος m./f. ‘wild thyme’ (see. 5.3); κραιμβίς f. (*d*-stem) ‘an insect living in cabbage’ < κραιμβή f. ‘cabbage, kail’ (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 165).

It should be noted that Ancient Greek literary texts attest two other cognate forms: Gk. καλαμαῖος (Wartelle 2000: p. 216; Beekes 2010: p. 622) and Gk. καλαματίς (Wartelle 2000: p. 216). These items will be discussed below (see 5.6).

2.3. Hesychius of Alexandria informs us that the inhabitants of the town Side in Pamphylia used their own term for ‘cicada’ (*HAL* ζ-92): ζειγάρη· ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις (Latte 1966: p. 259; Brixhe 1976: pp. 84, 86, fn. 3). It is unclear whether the term in question was used by the Greek people of the town, the Pre-Greek population of Side, or both. It must be noted that two different languages, namely Pamphylian Greek and Sidetic (a native language of Anatolian origin), were used in the city of Side.

The traditional etymology connects the Sidetic (or Pamphylian Greek) term ζειγάρη with the Greek adjective σιγηρός adj. ‘silent’, as suggested by M. Schmidt (1860: p. 255) in his edition of Hesychius’ lexicon. According to Schmidt, the gloss should be read as ζιγαρά. However, the Sidetic (or Pamphylian) noun could have been created by accent shift, cf. e.g. κίλλος m. ‘ass, donkey; small cicada’ < κιλλός adj. ‘grey, ass-coloured’. Thus, it must have denoted nothing other than ‘the mute (female) cicada’.

Gil Fernández (1959: p. 126) believes that the gloss belongs to the Pamphylian Greek idiom, not excluding the possibility that it may be a borrowing from a Mediterranean substratum, like Lat. *cicāda* f. ‘cicada, tree cricket’ (cf. Niedermann 1919: p. 80; Alessio 1954: pp. 94–95). He accepts Metri’s hypothesis that the initial ζ appears in the place

¹ The same colour motivation can be seen in the Greek appellative τεφράς, gen. sg. -άδος f. ‘(female) cicada’ (Ael., *NA* X 44). It derives from the Greek adjective τεφρός ‘grey, ash-coloured’ by means of the feminine suffix -άδ- (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 121; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 133; Beavis 1988: pp. 93, 95; Wartelle 2000: p. 216; Kaczyńska & Witczak 2017b: p. 50), cf. also Att. Gk. τέφρα, Ionic τέφρη f. ‘ashes’.

of a guttural stop, as in the Cypriot dialect (Metri 1954: p. 101)². Gil Fernández (1959: p. 126) treats it as a substratal phenomenon (“un fenómeno de substrat”). Dressler (1965: p. 185) presents a different point of view, according to which the Sidetic word in question represents a reduplicated onomatopoeic formation. Accordingly, ζειγάρη would represent a “Mittelmeerwort” and derive from an alleged archetype **kī~kādā* (probably lenited to [gi(:)ga:ða:] and [dzi(:)ga:ra:] in Sidetic), also seen in Latin *cicāda* f. ‘cicada, cricket’ (de Vaan 2008: p. 112) and some Romance languages, e.g. Italian *cicāla*, Provençal *cigala* (> French *cigale*), Mozarabic *chikala*, Spanish *cigarra*, dial. *chicharra* ‘cicada’ (Meyer-Lübke 1935: p. 180).

2.4. The Hesychian gloss (*HAL* σ-576) σιγαλ[φ]οί· οἱ ἄφωνοι. καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι τέττιγες “the silent (people), and the wild cicadas” (Schmidt 1862: p. 27; Hansen 2005: p. 287; cf. also Gil Fernández 1959: p. 126; Dressler 1965: p. 185; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 133; Beavis 1988: p. 95) should be treated as purely Pamphylian. It is evidently related to the Attic Greek adjective σιγηλός ‘silent’ (< Proto-Greek **σιγᾶλφος* ‘silent’).³ The Hesychian heading in question undoubtedly contains the Pamphylian phoneme φ representing an earlier digamma *ɸ, e.g. Pamph. φικατι ‘twenty’ (< Proto-Greek **φίκατι*) in two inscriptions from Aspendos (Thumb & Scherer 1959: p. 184–185; Brixhe 1976: pp. 141, 201, 204; García Ramón 2007: p. 418). In other words, the Hesychian heading σιγαλφοί seems wholly correct and no brackets are necessary. The Pamphylian term σιγαλφοί (< Greek **σιγᾶλφοί* pl. ‘silent’) evidently refers to the mute cicadas, i.e. female or new-born ones.⁴

3. Attic-Ionic words

3.1. The Attic-Ionic term for ‘male cicada’ is attested in the following Hesychian gloss (*HAL* η-1004): ἡχέται· ἡδύφθογγοι τέττιγες “*ēkhétai* – sweet-voiced cicadas” (Latte 1966: p. 301). It derives from the Attic-Ionic verb ἡχέω ‘to sound, ring, peal’ (Liddell & Scott 1996: pp. 266, 780). Originally, the Attic-Ionic appelative ἡχέτης m. ‘male cicada’ (literary ‘the chirper’) represented a descriptive epithet of the cicada (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 121; Wartelle 2000: p. 216), cf. Hesiod’s phrase ἡχέτα τέττιξ (*Op.* 582), repeated by Pamphilos (*AP* VII 201, 3: ἡχέτα τέττιξ). The paroxytone stress, attested in Attic-Ionic ἡχέτης

2 It is worth emphasizing that the question of whether Gk. γ [g] can be rendered as ζ [dʒ] or [z] in the Ancient Cypriot dialect is much disputed, e.g. Gk. Cyp. *a-za-ta-i* [azatʰaī] dat. sg. f. (= Gk. Att. ἀγαθῆ) (Egetmeyer 1992: 27); Gk. Cyp. (in Paphos) ζάβατος m. ‘a trencher for fish’ and Gk. γάβαθον n. ‘cup, bowl’ (Beekes 2010: 253). The most recent literature on this subject generally takes a sceptical view (Egetmeyer 2010: 184, 188–190).

3 Hesychius of Alexandria demonstrates other Pamphylian glosses with the phoneme φ (< Proto-Greek *ɸ), e.g. κειφάς· ἔλαφος (*HAL* κ-2203); λαίφα· ἄσπις (*HAL* λ-169).

4 Note additionally that Gk. σίγιον n. ‘small (mute) cicada’ (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 126; Dressler 1965: p. 185; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 133; Beavis 1988: pp. 94–95) is a diminutive form related to the verb σιγάω ‘to be silent or still, to keep silence’, cf. also Gk. σιγή f. ‘silence’, σίγα adv. ‘silently’. The semantic aspects of the suggested derivation are obvious: small cicadas (i.e. female and young ones) are mute by their nature.

(< Proto-Greek *ἄχετάς), is caused by the retraction of the oxytone stress according to Bartoli's accentual law.⁵

3.2. The Hesychian gloss (*HAL* η-1009) ἠχηταί· κήρυκες. κράκται. ῥδοί. τέττιγες ἠδύφθογγοι “*ekhētai* – heralds, bawlers, singers; sweet-voiced cicadas” (Latte 1966: p. 301) attests a rare Attic-Ionic term for ‘male cicada’. The form ἠχητής (< Proto-Greek *ἄχητᾶς), which derives regularly from the verb ἠχέω, is not found in Ancient Greek literature, see Gil Fernández (1959: p. 122).

3.3. The Hesychian gloss (*HAL* κ-2342) runs as follows: κερκώπη· μικρὸν τεττίγιον τὸ καλαμαῖον λεγόμενον. εἶναι γὰρ τρία γένη τεττίγων φασί. οἱ δὲ τέττιξ θήλεια μὴ φωνοῦσα (Latte 1966: p. 465) “*kerkōpē* is a small cicada called also *kalamaïon*. There are, as some say, three kinds of cicadas. Others say that it denotes a female, non-chirping cicada”. Besides, a different Hesychian gloss (*HAL* κ-2343): κερκώπων· δολίων. πονηρῶν. σκωπτῶν. κακούργων. τεττίγων (Latte 1966: p. 465) gives an additional premise for the identification of the two terms κερκώπη and τέττιξ.

According to Gil Fernández (1959: p. 45), κερκώπη represents “una especie de cigarra” (see also Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: pp. 131–132; Beavis 1988: pp. 93–95). The noun, which evidently refers to ‘the female cicada’, means nothing other than ‘an insect similar to a locust’ or ‘a long-tail insect, i.e. a cicada with a long abdomen’ (Kaczyńska & Witczak 2017b: p. 45–46), cf. Gk. dial. (Hesych.) κέρκα· ἀκρίς ‘locust’ (Latte 1966: p. 464), Gk. κέρκος m. ‘tail (of an animal)’ (Beekes 2010: p. 679). It cannot be excluded that all of the terms in question are of Pre-Greek origin.

3.4. The Attic-Ionic τέττιξ (gen. sg. τέττιγος, rarely τέττικος) m. ‘tree-cricket, cicada’, is attested as early as in Homer’s *Iliad* (III 151: dat. pl. τεττίγεσσιν) (Chantraine 1977: p. 1110). It also appears in Hesiod’s works (*Op.* 580; *Sc.* 393: ἠχέτα τέττιξ in both cases). Hesychius of Alexandria uses the common appellative τέττιξ in many lemmas (Kaczyńska & Witczak 2017b: p. 44).⁶

The diminutive form τεττίγιον n. ‘young or small cicada’ is also attested in the above-mentioned Hesychian lemma: κερκώπη· μικρὸν τεττίγιον τὸ καλαμαῖον λεγόμενον

5 A different (probably West Greek) appellative for ‘adult male cicada’, λακέτας m. (Ael., *NA* X 44: καὶ λακέτας δὲ ἦν ἄρα τέττιγος ὄνομα “and *lakētas* was then a name for cicada”), derives from Proto-Greek *λακέτᾶς. It originally meant ‘the chirper, screamer, bawler, whiner’ (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 122; Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 1025; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: pp. 132–133; Beavis 1988: p. 93). The word in question derives from the Doric verb λακέω (= Attic-Ionic ληκέω) ‘to crack, crackle’ (Liddell & Scott 1996: pp. 1025, 1044). The Attic-Ionic term ληκητής m. ‘bawler’ seems to be a close equivalent of the dialectal (West Greek or Doric) name for ‘adult male cicada’ (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 122; Wartelle 2000: p. 216; Kaczyńska & Witczak 2017b: p. 49).

6 Hesychius of Alexandria also introduces three successive headings containing the same lexeme (cf. Hansen & Cunningham 2009: p. 37): (1) Τέττιγος ἔδρανον· ἢ Ταίναρος. Τέττιξ γὰρ ὁ Κρής Ταίναρον ἔκτισεν “*Tettigos hedranon* (i.e. Tettix’ seat) [refers to] the city of Tainaros, as the Cretan named Tettix (i.e. Cicada) founded Tainaros”; (2) τεττιγοφόρας· Ἄττικοι ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς τριχῶν φειρομένων† χρυσοῦς τέτ<τιγ>ας “*tettigophóras* – the Attic people wore golden cicadas in the head’s hair”. According to Aristophanes (*Eg.* 1331), it was an epithet of rich Athenians, who before Solon’s times wore golden cicada-shaped hair-pins as an emblem of their claim to being native in Attica (Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 1783; Montanari 2003: p. 1995; Guida 2016: pp. 96–98); (3) τέττιξ· ἔξω τοῦ συνηθους ζῶου παρὰ Ἄττικοῖς οἱ τῶν μαγειρῶν ὑπηρέται ξένοι, οἱ δὲ ἐντόπιοι μαίσιωες “*tettix* – except for the ordinary animal (i.e. the cicada), it denotes the foreign assistants of cooks in some Attic authors; others say that it refers to the local (i.e. Athenian) native cooks”.

(*HAL* κ-2342) “*kerkópē* is a small cicada (τεττίγιον) called also *kalamaion*” (Latte 1966: p. 465).

Almost all Ancient Greek dialects attest the same term τέττιξ, gen. sg. -ίγος (and rarely -ίκος) m. ‘tree cricket, cicada’, also metaphorically ‘a hair-pin with the shape of a cicada’ (Beekes 2010: p. 1474). Diminutive forms are also found, e.g. τεττίγιον n. ‘young or small cicada’ (Hesych.; *IG* XI 2, 158A, 5), as well as τεττιγόνιον n. ‘small mute cicada’ (Arist., *HA* 532b 17) (Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 1546; Montanari 2003: p. 1995). An onomatopoeic origin of the widespread appellative τέττιξ cannot be disproved. Note that the Modern Greek word τζιτζικας m. ‘(male) cicada’ seems to imitate the sound [dzi-dzi]. However, a hypothetical Pre-Greek origin of the appellative in question appears to be equally well-founded.

In our opinion, the common Ancient Greek name for ‘cicada’ derives from the adjective τεσσίχος ‘small’, which is only attested in the following Hesychian gloss: τεσσίχον· τὸ μικρόν (Hansen & Cunningham 2009: p. 32). Note that cicadas are very small animals in comparison with amphibians, reptiles, birds or mammals⁷. Both the common noun denoting ‘male cicada’ and the extremely rare adjective with the meaning ‘small’ seem to represent a borrowing from a Mediterranean substratum (Kaczyńska & Witczak 2017b: p. 45).

4. Doric (Laconian and Eleian) names for ‘cicada’

4.1. The Laconian term for ‘adult male cicada’ is registered in Hesychius’ lexicon (*HAL* λ-958) as λιγάντωρ· εἶδος τέττιγος. Λάκωνες (Latte 1966: p. 596). It is derived from the Greek verb λιγαίνω ‘to cry aloud; to produce clear sounds on the pipe; to play on the pipe; to sing’ by means of the agentive (masculine) suffix *-tōr and it denotes the adult male chirping (i.e. singing) cicada (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 121; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: pp. 117, 133; Beavis 1988: p. 95; Wartelle 2000: p. 216).

4.2. Hesychius of Alexandria registers the Eleian word for ‘adult male cicada’ in the following gloss (*HAL* β-5): βάβακοι· ὑπὸ Ἡλείων τέττιγες· ὑπὸ Ποντικῶν δὲ βάτραχοι “*bábakoi* – [so are named] cicadas by the Eleians, frogs by the Pontic Greeks” (Latte 1953: p. 304; Cunningham 2018: p. 411). Both male cicadas and frogs produce an intensive noise (Wartelle 2000: p. 218). Modern Greek lexical data, especially Macedonian Greek (in Kozani) βάβακος m. ‘frog / Frosch’ (Andriotis 1974: p. 170; Kaczyńska & Witczak 2017a: p. 112), show that the Hesychian gloss in question documents a dialectal differentiation in the Greek language world as early as in the ancient times. Shipp (1979: p. 122) correctly stresses that the gloss in question cannot be a fictitious creation of Ancient Greek grammarians, as it is confirmed by Modern Greek dialects.

Beekes (2010: p. 189) derives the Eleian name for ‘cicada’ from the rare noun βάβαξ m. ‘chatterer’ (attested in Archilochus, fr. 33; Lyc. 472) and the verb βαβάξειν ‘to speak

⁷ The rare adjective τεσσίχος ‘small’ cannot be ruled out as having been created on the basis of the noun τέττιξ ‘cicada’. If so, the direction of derivation may be quite opposite.

(in)articulately; to cry’, attested only in Hesychius’ lexicon (*HAL* β-1): βαβάζειν · τὸ <μῆ> διηρθρωμένα λέγειν. ἔνιοι δὲ βοᾶν (Latte 1953: p. 304; Cunningham 2018: p. 411).⁸ The Hesychian gloss may be easily explained on the basis of the Indo-European root **uǵb-* ‘to cry’ (< PIE. **ueh₂b-*), which is perfectly well-attested in Germanic, Baltic and Slavic languages, cf. Goth. *wōþjan* ‘to call loudly, call out’, OSax. *wōþian*, OHG. *wuofan* ‘to bewail’, OE. *wēþan* ‘to weep’; Latv. *vābīt* ‘to entice, summon to judgment’; OCS. *vabiti* ‘to summon, entice’, Pol. *wabić* ‘to decoy, allure, lure’ (Trautmann 1923: pp. 336–337; Pokorny 1959: p. 1109; Lehmann 1986: p. 409; Derksen 2008: pp. 511–512).

A different etymology connects Anc. Gk. dial. (Eleian, Pontic) βάβακοι pl. ‘cicadas; frogs’ with the Indo-European term for ‘frog, toad’, cf. OPruss. *gabawo* f. ‘toad’, OChSl. *žaba* ‘frog’, Russ. *жаба* f. ‘toad’, Pol. *żaba* f. ‘frog’, MDu. *quappe*, *quabbe* ‘eelpout’, EDu. *quabbe* ‘eelpout, gudgeon; frog’ < IE. **g^uēbh-*, zero-grade **g^uəbh-* (Pokorny 1959: p. 466; Kroonen 2013: p. 314). In this case we can assume the semantic change of ‘frog’ to ‘cicada’: as noted above, frogs, like adult male cicadas, produce a loud sound.

5. Other particular or dialectal terms

5.1. The Hesychian gloss ἀκανθίας· τέττιγος εἶδος (Latte 1953: p. 81) refers to ‘a kind of cicada’ (Gil Fernández 1959: pp. 165–166: “un nombre de la cigarra”; Beavis 1988: p. 94; Liddell & Scott 1996: Suppl., p. 13: “cicada”) or perhaps ‘a kind of grasshopper’ (Abramowiczówna 1958: p. 62: “*gat. konika polnego*”; Montanari 2003: p. 104: “specie di cavalletta”). A similar noun ἀκάνθιος m. ‘cicada’ (Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 130; Adrados 1989: p. 108) was earlier used by Claudius Aelianus in his work entitled *De natura animalium* (NA X 44).

The etymology of the noun ἀκανθίας is clear (Beekes 2010: p. 48). Gil Fernández (1959: p. 166) correctly connects it with prickly plants (especially thistles) called ἀκανθα f. and ἀκανθος f./m. (> Lat. *acanthus* m./f.) ‘bear’s breeches, sea dock, *Acanthus mollis* L.; spiny bear’s breeches, *Acanthus spinosus* L.; a kind of mimosa, *Acacia* L.’ (André 1985: p. 2), suggesting that the term refers to cicadas living among the thistles (“El sentido primitivo sería el de «(cigarra) de los cardos»”). This explanation seems acceptable from the semantic point of view.

5.2. The artificial form ἀχέτης (= Attic-Ionic ἠχέτης, Doric ἀχέτᾱς) m. ‘the male cicada’ is mentioned by Hesychius of Alexandria in the following gloss (*HAL* α-8850): ἀχέτης · ὁ ἄρρην τέττιξ, ὁ λαλίστερος “*ākhētēs* – the male cicada, the sounding one” (Latte 1953: p. 299; Cunningham 2018: p. 403). The term was also used as an epithet of the cicada by Archias of Antioch (Aulus Licinius Archias, ca. 120–61 BC) in one of his epigrams (*AP* VII 213, 3–4: ἀχέτα ... / τέττιξ voc. sg. ‘chirping cicada’),⁹ who seems to be imitating Hesiod’s phrase ἠχέτα τέττιξ (*Op.* 582), as well as one by Pamphilus (*AP* VII 201, 3: ἠχέτα

8 On the (alleged) onomatopoeic origin of the verb βαβάζειν, see Tichy (1983: p. 243).

9 See e.g. Ebener (1981: p. 61). In one of his epigrams (*AP* VII 196), Meleager of Gadara uses an innovative expression: ἀχίεις τέττιξ voc. sg. “O resonant cicada” (Egan 1988: pp. 24, 27).

τέττιξ). Archias' ἀχέτα represent a dactylic foot (´ ∪ ∪) and contains the long vowel ā [a:] in the initial position. The term in question represents an adjective with the meaning 'clear-sound, musical, shrill, chirping' (it can refer to reed, swans and cicadas), as well as a noun denoting 'the adult male cicada'. The correct (not-Ionic) form should be given as ἀχέτας m. 'the male cicada' (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 121). The Attic-Ionic ending -ης was reproduced by the author of the glossary according to the norms of the Hellenistic koine or the Attic dialect. For unknown reasons, the form ἀχέτας 'male chirping cicada' is preferred by Aristotle in his *History of Animals* (HA 532b 16, 556a 20). The exact Attic-Ionic equivalent ἡχέτης is well-entrenched in Ancient Greek literature (Gil Fernández 1959: pp. 121–122; Wartelle 2000: p. 216), see 3.1 (and 3.2) above.

The verb ἀχέω (with the initial long vowel ā [a:]) is commonly treated as the Doric counterpart of the Attic-Ionic verb ἡχέω 'to sound, ring, peal' (Liddell & Scott 1996: pp. 266, 780) < Proto-Greek *fāχeiw. The closest equivalent is attested in Lat. *vāgiō, vāgīre* 'to wail, to cry' (Beekes 2010: p. 528; de Vaan 2008: p. 651).

5.3. The Hesychian gloss (HAL ε-5992) ἐρπυλλίς· τέττιξ (Latte 1966: p. 198) is not attested in Greek literary texts. It is frequently glossed as 'cicada' (Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 131; Beavis 1988: p. 95) or 'grasshopper' (Beekes 2010: p. 463). Strömberg (1944: p. 17) explains the Hesychian term ἐρπυλλίς as a derivative of the plant name ἐρπυλλος m./f. 'wild or creeping thyme, *Thymus serpyllum* L.' (André 1985: p. 122), also 'tufted thyme, *Thymus sibthorpii* Benth' (Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 691). Gil Fernández (1959: p. 165) accepts Strömberg's etymology. Indeed, the feminine suffix -ιδ- was frequently used for deriving names of insects (Gil Fernández 1959: pp. 165–166). See also 2.2.

5.4. Hesychius of Alexandria provides the following gloss (HAL η-791): ἡρινολόγοι· τέττιγες m. pl. 'cicadas' (Latte 1966: p. 294), originally 'early talking' (cf. Gk. ἥρι adv. 'early') or 'talking in spring' (cf. Gk. ἡρινός, ἐαρινός adj. 'of or in spring'). The second member of the compound ἡρινολόγοι evidently represents an apophonic derivative of the Greek verb λέγω 'to say, speak, call'.

5.5. Another Hesychian gloss (HAL η-941) is commonly marked with the so-called *crux philologorum*: †ἡτιγώνιον· τέττιγι ὅμοιον. καὶ ἡ κερκώπη "an insect similar to a cicada; Also, the small mute cicada" (Latte 1966: p. 198). It is obvious that the Hesychian form †ἡτιγώνιον is related to Greek τιγόνιον n. 'a name of an insect, like the cicada' (Beavis 1988: p. 94; Beekes 2010: p. 1488),¹⁰ but the exact relationship appears obscure. It is possible to suggest that the Late Greek form †ἡτιγώνιον [to be read *ἡτιγόνιον] was created from τιγόνιον by the regressive dissimilation ($t - t > \emptyset - t$).

5.6. Under the heading κερκώπη (HAL κ-2342; see 3.3), Hesychius of Alexandria registers a rare form καλαμαῖον n. 'small cicada': κερκώπη· μικρὸν τέττιγιον τὸ καλαμαῖον λεγόμενον. "kerkōpē is a small cicada, also called kalamaïon" (Latte 1966: p. 465; Beavis 1988: pp. 94–95). The term καλαμαῖον evidently refers to a young or new-born cicada living among plants called κάλαμος m. 'reed, cane; giant cane; sweet flag'. Wartelle (2000:

10 The appellative τιγόνιον seems to represent a late variant of τέττιγιον n. 'designation of the small mute cicada' (see 3.4). It is worth mentioning that Zenodotus of Alexandria (*Schol. A II. 2. 314*), the famous grammarian and literary critic of Homeric poems, suggested a Greek verb τιτίζω 'to chirp' (Gil Fernández 1959: p. 130; Beekes 2010: p. 1488). Note, however, that small (young or female) cicadas are mute.

p. 216) also quotes two other forms: καλαμαῖος m. ‘cicada’ (Theoc. X 18) and καλαμάτις f. ‘id.’ (AP VII 198). The derivative nouns in question are built by means of the suffixes -αῖος and -ᾶτις.

5.7. The Hesychian gloss (HAL κ-2662): κίκους· ὁ νέος τέττιξ “the young cicada” (Latte 1966: p. 477; cf. Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 132; Beavis 1988: p. 95). According to Alessio (1954: p. 95), this Hesychian gloss represents “[u]na forma più vicina” to Lat. *cicāda*. Both of these terms should, according to the Italian linguist, be treated as two independent loanwords of Mediterranean origin (“di origine mediterranea”). Gil Fernández (1959: pp. 126–127) believes that the term for ‘young cicada’ is of onomatopoeic origin, like Lat. *cicāda*. A similar position is that of Dressler (1965: p. 185). The onomatopoeic origin of Gk. dial. κίκους is hardly acceptable, as the young cicada is mute. Szemerényi (1988: pp. 132–134) tries to prove that Lat. *cicāda* f. is not borrowed from a Mediterranean source. In his opinion, it represents a purely Hellenic loanword in Latin, whose ultimate source may be the Greek accusative *κικ(κ)ᾶδα created on the basis of the feminine form *κικᾶς f. (*d*-stem) ‘female cicada’ or *κικκᾶς with affective gemination, cf. Gk. (Hesych.) κίκους m. ‘young cicada’. He does not exclude, however, that the Greek word may be “an onomatopoeic creation or borrowing from a hitherto unidentified external source” (Szemerényi 1988: p. 134). Beekes (2010: p. 696; 2014: p. 88) connects two Hesychian glosses (see 5.7 and 5.8), suggesting (perhaps correctly) that the attested Hesychian form κίκους should be treated as a Pre-Greek borrowing.

If the lexeme κίκους m. ‘young cicada’ represents a Doric (or Aeolic) Greek formation, where the final ending -ους corresponds to Attic-Ionic -υς, then the comparison of the Greek term in question with OInd. *śíśuḥ* m. (*u*-stem) ‘child, infant, the young of any animal’, adj. ‘young, infantine’ (Monier-Williams 1999: p. 1076),¹¹ as well as with Pali *susu-* m. ‘lad’, Prakrit *sisu-*, *susu-* m.n. ‘id.’, Oriya *sisa* m. ‘son’, Hindi *sis*, *sisu* m. ‘young of any animal, infant’, Singhalese *susu* ‘child’ (Turner 1966: p. 722), seems the most obvious explanation. In fact, OInd. *śíśuḥ* and other Indo-Aryan terms represent perfect equivalents of Doric (or Aeolic) Greek κίκους not only from the phonological point of view, but also from the semantic one. The Hesychian Greek term κίκους and its probable Indo-Aryan equivalents go back to the Proto-Indo-European archetype **kí-ku-s* m. (*u*-stem) ‘young animal; child, infant’, adj. ‘young, infantine’, which derives by expressive reduplication from the root **keu-* ‘to swell / schwellen’ (Pokorny 1959: pp. 592–594). The semantic change of ‘young of any animal’ to ‘young cicada’ seems to represent a purely Greek innovation.

5.8. The next Hesychian gloss (HAL κ-2761), κίξιος· τέττιξ (Latte 1966: p. 481), seems to be related to the Greek appellative discussed above (see 5.7). Gil Fernández (1959: p. 127) treats it as a variant of the earlier Hesychian gloss discussed under 5.7, containing an onomatopoeic element **kik-* or **gig-* (possibly a reduplicated root like Lat. *cicāda*). He stresses, finally, that “[la] coincidencia del latín y del griego en este punto parece abogar por la hipótesis de un préstamo de una lengua mediterránea non ide.”. Beekes (2010:

11 The Sanskrit word in question frequently refers to young animals, e.g. OInd. *śíśu-nāga-* m. ‘young snake; young elephant’ vs. *nāga-* m. ‘snake; elephant’ (Monier-Williams 1999: p. 1076), OInd. *śásaka-síśu-* m. ‘the young of a hare’ vs. *śásá-*, dimin. *śásaka-* m. ‘hare’ (Monier-Williams 1999: p. 1060).

p. 696) represents a similar stance: “The variation κ/ξ points to Pre-Greek origin”. Although the relationship of κίκους and κίξιος is striking, the Hesychian gloss in question is unclear from the point of view of the Greek (and Indo-European) word-formation. It should be remembered, however, that the Indo-European suffix **-só-* appears frequently in animal terminology, cf. OInd. *vatsáh* m. ‘calf, young of any animal, offspring, child’ (< PIE. **uel-só-s* ‘one-year-old animal, yearling’) vs. Lat. *vitulus* m. ‘calf, bull-calf’, also ‘foal’ and ‘seal, sea-calf’ (< PIE. **uel-* ‘year’; Pokorny 1959: p. 1175). It also functions as an “Adjektivsuffix” in Ancient Greek (Schwyzer 1939: p. 516), e.g. Gk. κοραζός adj. ‘raven-black, black like a raven’ < Gk. κόραξ, gen. sg. κόρακος m. (*h*-stem) ‘raven, *Corvus corax* L.’ (Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 980; Montanari 2003: p. 1116). Theoretically, it cannot be excluded that Gk. (Hesych.) κίξιος (sc. τέττιξ) is an innovative nominal formation derived from the hypothetical Greek adjective **κιξός* ‘grey like a cicada’ (see Gk. Hesych. κίκους m. ‘young cicada’ < PIE. **kíkus* m. ‘young animal, child, infant’), cf. Gk. ἐνύδριος and ἐνυδρος adj. ‘living in water’, hence ἐνυδρις f. ‘otter; water-snake’ (Liddell & Scott 1996: p. 578).

5.9. The Hesychian gloss (*HAL* κ4772) κῶβαξ· ὁ μέγας τέττιξ (Latte 1966: p. 555) denotes a ‘big cicada’ i.e. the adult male cicada, which chirps shrilly in hot and dry weather (Gil Fernández 1959: pp. 122–123; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: p. 132; Beavis 1988: p. 95). The lexeme in question is of onomatopoeic origin. It recalls the well known phrase βρεκεκεκὲξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ, used by Aristophanes (*Ra.* 209) to express the croaking of frogs. If this interpretation is correct, the attested gloss should be read as **κῶφαξ* ‘the croaker’, i.e. ‘the chirper’.¹² The Hesychian gloss in question cannot be of Attic-Ionic origin.

It is worth emphasizing that the Attic form κοᾶξ demonstrates the so-called *metathesis quantitatis*, as Proto-Greek **κωφᾶξ* ‘loud sound (of frogs or cicadas)’ (standing in an accentual opposition to κῶβαξ m. ‘male chirping cicada’) yields the Old Ionic form **κωᾶξ*, which regularly develops into (Attic-Ionic) κοᾶξ [koˈa:ks].

6. Conclusions

The Ancient Greek terminology denoting the ‘cicada’ is abundant and for the most part easily explainable. The results of our etymological analysis of the Hesychian terms can be presented as follows:

6.1. The adult male cicadas are generally named after their loud and pleasant voices. Thus, Attic-Ionic ἤχεταις (3.1), also ἤχητής (3.2), dial. ἀχέτας (5.2) < Attic-Ionic ἤχέω, Doric ἀχέω ‘to sound, ring, peal’; Laconian λιγάντωρ (4.1) < Gk. λιγαίνω ‘to cry aloud; to produce clear sounds on the pipe; to play on the pipe; to sing of’; Eleian βάβακοι ‘adult male cicadas’ (4.2), cf. Greek (Hesych.) βαβάζειν ‘to speak (in)articulately; to cry’; Gk. (Hesych.) ἡρηνολόγοι (5.4) m. pl. ‘cicadas’, originally ‘talking in spring’ or ‘early talking’; Gk. (Hesych.) κῶβαξ (5.9), originally ‘croaker; chirper’.

6.2. As opposed to adult male cicadas (which usually utter a loud and unique sound), the female or young ones are mute by their nature. Some Greek appellatives refer to this

¹² According to Beekes (2014: p. 88), “it is a Pre-Greek word”.

feature, e.g. Pamphylian σιγάλοιοι m. pl. ‘mute (young or female) cicadas’ (2.4), see Attic-Ionic σιγηλός adj. ‘silent’ (also Gk. σίγιον n. ‘small (mute) cicada’ < Gk. σιγή f. ‘silent’, σίγα adv. ‘silently’). It cannot be excluded that the Sidetic (or Pamphylian Greek) term ζιγάρια f. ‘female or small cicada’, registered as ζειγάρη in the Hesychian lexicon (2.3), demonstrates the same motivation, cf. Attic-Ionic σιγηρός adj. ‘silent’.

6.3. Cicadas are also named after the grey colour of their bodies: Cypr. κίλλος m. ‘young or new-born cicada’ (2.1) < Gk. κίλλος adj. ‘grey, ash-coloured’ (also Gk. τεφράς f. ‘female cicada’ < τεφρός adj. ‘grey, ash-coloured’, cf. Attic τέφρα, Ionic τέφρη f. ‘ashes’).

6.4. A number of terms for ‘cicada’ refer to plants among which cicadas, especially young ones, are wont to live, e.g. Gk. (Hesych.) ἀκανθίας or ἀκάνθιος m. ‘cicada’ (5.1) < ἄκανθα f. and ἄκανθος m./f. ‘a kind of thistle’; Gk. (Hesych.) ἔρφυλλίς f. ‘cicada’ (5.3) < ἔρφυλλος m./f. ‘creeping thyme, *Thymus serpyllum* L.’; Cypr. καλαμίσ f. (*d*-stem) ‘small cicada’ (2.2) and Gk. καλαμαῖον n. ‘small cicada’ (5.6) < κάλαμος m. ‘reed; (giant) cane; sweet flag’.

6.5. The basic name for ‘tree-cricket, cicada’ is τέττιξ (*γ*-stem, also *κ*-stem) (3.4); it probably derives from the (Pre-)Greek adjective τεσσίχος ‘small’. The term seems to represent an onomatopoeic item or perhaps a borrowing from an unidentified Pre-Greek language.

There are also some Hesychian glosses of unclear origin, e.g. κίκους (5.7), κίξιος (5.8), as well as ambiguous or etymologically doubtful ones, cf. ζειγάρη (3.3), †ήτιγώνιον (5.5). It cannot be excluded that these appellatives were borrowed by the Ancient Greeks from a foreign source, e.g. from a Mediterranean substratum or an Anatolian language spoken in Asia Minor.

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