2011

Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective (Book Review)

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Recommended Citation

The volume (henceforth GLIEP) contains seventeen papers originating from a conference held in Cambridge in 2005, "dedicated to the light which the classical languages shed on Indo-European Linguistics and, conversely, the way in which historical linguistics can improve our understanding of Greek and Latin" (vii). Aside from keynote speakers Joshua Katz and Andreas Willi, the meeting was organized as a venue for junior scholars to present and discuss their work. In the opinion of the junior scholar responsible for this review, the resulting contributions are of high quality.

The papers are divided into six sections: Phonology; Verbal Morphology; Particles, Preverbs and Pronouns; Nominal Morphology; Etymologies; and Poetics. The studies are all written in English and range from five to fifteen pages in length, averaging eleven. They are cleanly edited and followed by a comprehensive bibliography. There is unfortunately no word index.

Thomas Olander opens the Phonology section with a fine contribution on "The accentuation of Greek monosyllabic words." In lexical monosyllables that contain a long vowel or diphthong (henceforth \( VV \)), we find a contrast between acute and circumflex accent. Olander argues that this distribution was phonologically predictable
at a stage of Greek predating the change of word-final *-ts > -s: acute if the form ended in two or more consonants, circumflex if the form ended in less than two. We would thus have had *klöps 'thief' and *kréts 'Cretan' vs. *g"ouš 'ox' and *kri 'barley'. Changes including that of *-ts > -s (e.g. *kréts > *křés) introduced monosyllables in -VVC bearing acute accent and rendered the distribution phonologically opaque. Learners then arrived at a new generalization: if the accusative is disyllabic (e.g. κλωσ, Κρήσ), then the nominative bears an acute (κλωψ, Κρής); if the accusative is monosyllabic (e.g. βόω/βοίν, κρί), then the nominative bears a circumflex (βούς/βούς, κρί). Olander's attractive suggestion reminds me of the distinction one finds in recessively accented polysyllables in -VVCC(C) vs. -V(C), e.g. πολυπίθαξ 'having many springs' vs. πολυπίθαξ 'very sharp'. In the former, the accent recedes only to the penultimate syllable, in the latter, to the antepenultimate syllable (cf. Probert 2003: 33 with refs.). This raises some questions for future research. Is anything to be made of the fact that word-final -CC(C) (or put differently, -(C)Cs) restricts accent recession in both mono- and polysyllables? Can we put Olander's reconstructed phonological distribution on plausible phonetic footing?

I would like to draw attention to one point in the analysis. Olander quite rightly excludes monosyllabic finite verbal forms from analysis, since they — along with polysyllabic finite verbs — have default recessive accentuation as a class. In other words, there is no point in searching for a more original distribution in a morphological class of words where the synchronic grammar affords no contrast between acute and circumflex accent. He does not exclude neuter monosyllabic nouns, however, although there is apparently no synchronic contrast there either, e.g. δό 'house', κρι 'barley', σκόρ 'dung'. Since all polysyllabic neuter athematic nouns are recessively accented in Greek, one can view the neuter athematic monosyllables as a special synchronic subclass thereof whose default recessive accentuation gives way in the oblique cases to the accentual mobility that is productive in athematic monosyllabic nouns of all genders. Olander offers a different option: "[a]n interesting consequence of the distributional law is that the rule that monosyllabic neuters regularly have circumflex tone — which is often given a morphological explanation — has a simple phonological basis, as neuters never end in more than one consonant in Proto-Greek" (6).

Without further evidence, I find it difficult to decide between two basic views. On the one hand, Olander's distributional law is a plausible step in whatever series of language changes eventually resulted in the synchronic generalization that all neuter athematic nouns have default recessive accentuation. On the other hand, circumflex accent in neuter monosyllables can just as well be a byproduct of that generalization. If one adheres to the latter view and excludes the neuters from Olander's data on p. 5, circumflex accent is only found in four monosyllabic words: βούς/βούς 'ox', δρος 'tree', μός 'mouse', and σούς/ούς 'pig'. These of course support Olander's hypothesis, but the
removal of the neuters permits other analyses as well. For example, in contrast to monosyllables with acute accent, these four words (along with Ζηγ) have long vowels in the accusative that arose from PIE compensatory lengthening. ¹ What is not made explicit here, but should have been, is the “light” that Olander’s results potentially “shed on Indo-European Linguistics.” The genesis of acute vs. circumflex contrast in Greek monosyllables bears on the larger question of whether PIE itself had such a contrast.²

In "Monophthong for expected υ-diphthong in Greek," Adam Hyllested and Paul S. Cohen propose a "(Pre-)Greek" sound change of *Vυ > u / # _ C[#lab] (13, my notation), which would have applied both to inherited diphthongs and those which arose via what they call "Extended Lex Rix" (9), i.e. Martin Peters' conclusion that PIE word-initial *HυC- likely yielded Proto-Greek *EυC- (Peters' notation), e.g. *h2υ(H)geh2 > αυγη (Peters 1980: 5-125). Their specific point of departure is Peters' discussion of υφαίνω 'weave', which, if from *h2υb-, poses an apparent exception to this development. After a useful discussion of potential IE cognates, Fenno-Ugric evidence, and recent literature, Hyllested and Cohen conclude that υφ- indeed continues *h2υb-, via *aυυb- (by "Extended Lex Rix"), which then undergoes the authors' proposed monophthongization to attested (h)υp-. I use (h) to represent the dialectal (non-)aspiration of word-initial u-. Fenno-Ugric specialists will be interested to note the possible correspondence between PIE *HυV- and Fenno-Permic *wV- (12). Hyllested and Cohen then suggest that a group of forms derived from or related to κυφός 'hunchbacked' and ούβος 'humpbacked', both of which they view as derivatives of a root *h2υb(β)-, constitute a further counterexample to *HυC- > *EυC-. I suspect that a number of scholars will find this additional counterexample less convincing, inter alia because the supposed evidence for *h2 involves a putative development of *h2 > k in forms such as κυφός. As the third piece of evidence for *Vυ > u / # _ C[#lab], the authors point to a general absence in the lexicon of #VυC[#lab] sequences that do not arise from *#V[s, i, u]C[#lab] (my formulation based on their examples ευ- < *esu- < *h1su- and ου- [presumably < *oju- < *h2oju-]). After supporting it with several typological (near-)parallels, the authors apply their proposed change to modify existing etymologies for ιννός 'oven', ούβρις 'arrogance, etc.', and ούμνος 'song'. Regarding the last, note that the authors' "alternative derivation ... *h1su-mn-o-s > *esu-mn-o-s > *eu-mn-o-s > *ey-mn-o-s > (via the rule we posit here) *u-mn-o-s > ούμνος" (17) is inconsistent with their claim noted just above (13 fn. 12), namely that

² This connection is made explicit in Olander 2009: 69. Note that it is typologically plausible for tonal contrasts in a language to be restricted to monosyllables (cf. Zhang 2004).
the change they propose did not apply to *eǔ- < *esu-. Before concluding, the authors briefly discuss the possibility that the same change applied word-externally, specifically that *Vュ > u / C __ C[+lab].

I found the paper stimulating, especially the absence of #VュC[+lab] structures in the Greek lexicon. Future discussion of the #VュC[+lab] gap should in my opinion begin by showing that the lexical gap is in fact unexpected from a statistical standpoint. One could go about testing the dependency between the labiality of the consonant and whether a diphthong or monophthong precedes in various ways, e.g. by setting up a contingency table comparing the distribution of #VュC[+lab] and #(h)uC[+lab] with that of #VュC[-lab] and #(h)uC[-lab] in the corpus. In fact, this lexical gap, if significant, could prove to be the strongest evidence for the authors' proposed monophthongization, since a development of *h₂upʰ- > ūφ- could also be attributed to Peters' λήνος effect, which is taken up in some detail by George Hinge in his contribution to GLIEP, namely the apparent absence of a vocalic laryngeal reflex in the Proto-Greek context *# __ C{aL, Lə}C, e.g. *h₂y₁h₁nos > *y₁h₁h₁nos > λήνος 'wool' (Peters 1980: 23 fn. 18) and possibly in a more general context including *# __ uCon, e.g. *h₂ubʰŋjo/e- > *hupʰŋjo/e- > ūφάνω (Peters 1980: 26).

Brett Miller closes the Phonology section with "Ejectives to plain voiced stops in PIE? Phonetics, typology and Glottalic Theory," an excellent contribution that stands somewhat apart in GLIEP, since it has little to do with Greek or Latin specifically. Miller asks whether the change of ejectives to plain voiced stops (T' > D) is phonetically plausible and whether it has been observed elsewhere. He concludes that the answer to both questions is yes, but that a (hypothetical) glottalic PIE remains questionable due to systematic differences between the T' > D processes observed in or plausibly reconstructed for other languages and what has been reconstructed for glottalic PIE. First, in a number of languages, the process is too highly restricted, e.g. morphologically to reduplication in Tillamook and Columbian, phonologically to non-initial k' alone out of a four stop series in Xhosa. Second, where the process is was less highly restricted (Slave, Nakh, Kabardian), both the ejectives and the less marked plain voiced stops (T) become voiced, which suggests that voicing of T' may in fact imply the voicing of T in languages that have both. No such multi-series lenition process {T, T'} > D has been reconstructed for glottalic PIE. Miller goes on to suggest that there is a further difference between Kabardian and glottalic PIE: the voicing of ejective plosives is permitted "only where this is minimally likely to impair perception of the ejective feature" (30). Before concluding, he briefly discusses the developments of the problematic "emphatic" plosives of Semitic. Miller's contribution has several marks of a new standard in this sort of study: up-to-date phonetics; an explicit theory of sound change (referencing Ohala 1990); and lucid, logical presentation.
Opening the Verbal Morphology section, Andreas Willi takes on the pre-history of the PIE tense/aspect system in a fourteen page contribution entitled "Of aspects, augments, aorists — or how to say to have killed a dragon." As he acknowledges, such questions cannot be satisfactorily dealt with in a short paper. I only sketch some of his conclusions here, and look forward to forthcoming work on the topic. For Willi, the prehistory of PIE is marked by the same evolution from aspect-marking to tense-marking that we observe in a number of the daughter languages, e.g. Sanskrit. Setting out to find a formal marker of perfective aspect that can be plausibly reconstructed for early PIE, Willi argues that the reduplicated aorist provides evidence that in early PIE, reduplication in general marked perfectivity (including e.g. the reduplication in the formation that became the later PIE perfect), and further, that the augment, which he reconstructs as \( *h_{1}e- \), "originated as the reduplication syllable of verbs with initial first laryngeal (formally \( *h_{1}e-h_{1} \)..." (46).

In "Iteratives and causatives in Latin: a unified approach," Daniel Kolligan argues that the semantics of the Latin avatars of PIE "primary stems with o-grade (or sometimes zero-grade) root and the suffix -eje/o-" (49) are distributed according to "the agentivity of the base verb from which they are derived" (63): if the base verb is [+agentive], then the derived verb is iterative-intensive; if the base verb is [-agentive], then the derived verb is factitive-causative. (Note that \( c\text{eu}\text{ere} \) 'to bounce, to waggle', whose long first vowel is metrically secured in the Juvenal passage cited on p. 50, is printed throughout as \textit{ceuère}.)

Joshua T. Katz opens the section on Particles, Preverbs, and Pronouns with a persuasive study entitled "The epic adventures of an unknown particle." He argues that Homeric formulaic \( \alpha\omega\tau\rho \) reflects a previously unnoticed usage of the enclitic particle \( \tau\rho \), namely (#)Adversative + \( *\tau\gamma \), which may be added to the two usages famously discussed by Calvert Watkins (Watkins 1995: 150-151), #Interrogative + \( *\tau\gamma \) (e.g. Homeric #\( \tau\iota\varsigma \) \( \tau\rho \), Cuneiform Luvian #\( \text{k}\text{u-(i-)i}\dot{s}=\text{t}\text{ar} \) and #Verb of emotion + \( *\tau\gamma \) (e.g. Homeric #\( \theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\eta\dot{\nu}\epsilon\dot{\nu} \) \( \tau\rho \), Cuneiform Luvian #\( \text{m}\text{a-am-ma-an-na}=\text{t} \text{ar} \)), the first of which was adopted by Martin West in his edition of the \textit{Iliad} (West 1998-2000). Katz begins by providing collocational evidence against the etymological analysis of the conjunction into \( *\alpha\upsilon\tau(e) + ar(a) \): in Homer, \( \alpha\upsilon\tau\rho \) frequently and formulaically cooccurs with the particle \( \dot{\alpha}\rho(a)/\beta(a) \); \( \upsilon\tau\rho \) never does. Katz plausibly explains the latter fact as due to persistent avoidance of clitic doubling, and argues that we would expect the same in \( \alpha\upsilon\tau\rho \), if it actually arose from \( *\alpha\upsilon\tau(e) + ar(a) \).

In favor of an alternative etymological segmentation \( *\alpha\upsilon + \tau\rho \), Katz points out that \( \alpha\upsilon\tau\rho \) shares two features with #Interrogative + \( \tau\rho \): both are imbedded in formulaic language and both function as scene-changers. Furthermore, \( \alpha\upsilon\tau\rho \) shares a curious feature with Watkins' #Verb of emotion + \( \tau\rho \), namely cooccurrence with \( \varepsilon\pi\tau\rho\alpha \) and and other words containing \( \varepsilon\pi-/\dot{\omicron} \). Finally, there is a possible Cuneiform Luvian
parallel where (#)Adversative + *τι is followed by a Luvian member of the επ-/όπ- family: #πα=ταρ ἰππα ... δαδνωωα (KUB IX 31 Ro. ii 25-6). Unlike the clitic-doubling argument just noted "[w]hy exactly (-)ταρ and επ- have such a close relationship remains unclear, but each is originally locatival (cf. CLuw. -ταρ) and would seem therefore to reinforce the other" (74). Katz closes with a mini-study of "the poetics of a particle" (77), where he discusses inter alia another tantalizing collocational fact: it is always a verb of ritual and dining that fills the frame αὐταρ επει [→−] verb ||. A phonological problem noted by Katz, namely that instead of oxytone αὐταρ "one might have expected αδ + ταρ to give αὐταρ" (72 fn. 38), may be understood as a further example of a phenomenon treated since the publication of GLIEP by Olav Hackstein: certain grammaticalization processes, including the change of adverbs to conjunctions, are apparently accompanied by a shift to proclisis and oxytonesis both in Greek and other Indo-European languages, e.g. adverbial ὄλλα > ὄλλα 'but' (Hackstein 2011). Katz' contribution will hopefully invite further study of collocational patterns in epic and elsewhere, and should be of special interest to philologically and linguistically inclined Classicists.

The same can be said of Dag Haug's "The prefix co(m)- with motion verbs in Plautus: philological study and etymological implications." Haug convincingly argues that the actional meaning of co(m)- (i.e. the one that does not express togetherness) developed out of the illative meaning 'in, to'. This is reflected in Plautine verbs of motion: those prefixed with co(m)- nearly always occur with an expressed goal of motion, e.g. in urbem ... commoeo, hoc commigravit, ad ianuam concessero, etc., whereas their simplex counterparts do not. After mentioning further support for the meaning 'in, to' from archaic Latin nouns and Sabellic, he closes with a discussion of the difficult deeper reconstruction. Haug understands well how to restrict the scope of his study in order to allow for clear execution in a short essay.

In "Reconstructing reflexive markers in Indo-European," Nicoletta Puddu concludes that one actually can't: "*se- was originally an anaphoric pronoun that referred to the topic or macrotopic" and "*s(e)we- a possessive adjective" (98). Puddu's brief sketch of the parallel post-PIE development of reflexive markers in the various daughter languages — perhaps the most interesting aspect of the problem — will hopefully send readers to her lengthier treatments cited in the bibliography.

In the following contribution, the first in the section on Nominal Morphology, "The master of the house — Greek οἶκος and related issues," Jenny Helena Larsson argues that Old Lithuanian wiej3pats 'lord' and the related Baltic forms are best understood as continuing a Proto-Baltic compound *uəj3-pat(i)s either from an earlier *uəj3a-pat(i)s via regular loss of the thematic/compositional vowel of an initially stressed immobile first member *uəj3as 'house' < PIE *yοjkos, or perhaps from an earlier *uəj3i-pat(i)s with a first member *uəj3is 'guest' (possibly calqued on the Sla-
vic compound that yielded Old Church Slavic gospodî 'lord') via the same process. Under either scenario, the Baltic words do not attest to a hoary PIE genitive singular *yejk-s (cf. Schindler 1972: 32), leaving Greek oûkaîe 'homeward' as the only potential evidence for a full grade of any sort in the root noun, which elsewhere only continues *yik-. As Larsson argues, the Greek form need not reflect a root noun *yojk-m either, but could just as well continue a Proto-Greek thematic neuter plural *yoika with "collective" meaning (for which cf. Homeric δόματα 'house' and non-neuter κλισία 'tent') that follows the morphological pattern seen e.g. in κέλευθος 'path' with plurals κέλευθοι and κέλευθα.

Following Larsson, Roland Litscher takes up another topic famously treated by Jochem Schindler (1975), "Kpēac, kravih and the original nom.-acc. sg. of the IE s-stem neuters," in which he takes issue with Schindler's reconstruction of early or pre-PIE R(e)-S(z) morphology in the singular strong stem, e.g. *mén-s. Litscher comes to a conclusion that shares much with Schindler's: "[t]o be truly parallel with the other [proterokinetic] stems, those in *-s- had to preserve the syllabicity of their suffix in the nom.-acc. sg." (120). Litscher goes on to suggest that speakers fixed the problem with *-os, the nearest equivalent to a phonologically illicit syllabic *s, and that forms like *mén-s never existed. If I understand correctly, then, what Litscher proposes is that *[mêns] never existed as a phonetic surface form, but it did exist as an underlying representation */mén-s/. The majority of Litscher's study consists of discussion of Indo-Iranian neuters of the type kravih, which he suggests contain a complex Caland suffix *-i-s- (my notation), and Greek neuters of the type kpēac. Regarding the latter, where Litscher discusses Greek-internal derivatives in *-h2-s-, one may now consult Nikolaev 2010. Throughout the paper, many issues are raised that invite further treatment. For example, Litscher argues that the R(e)-S(z) stem allomorph *mans in Indo-Iranian *mans-d^hA- arose through synchronic compounding, not through the diachronic univerbation of an accusative singular object with the verb (107-108), and that morphologically independent looking avatars of *mán-s and *jáu-s (Old Avestan māng and yaoš) are the result of tmesis and ellipsis. This raises crucial questions about how exactly tmesis and ellipsis are constrained in the Rigveda and Avesta. Kiparsky 2010 (building inter alia on Insler 1998) includes discussion of the separation of constituents of Rigvedic dvandvas and determinative compounds whose first members are inflected nouns, and would serve as an excellent starting point for further study.

In "Gamonyms, internal derivation and the Greek suffix -ôa," Ulla Remmer suggests that the Greek female names formed with this suffix originate as amphikinetic internal derivatives based on masculine hypocoristics in -i-. For example: "*Dôti-X m. → shortened *Dôti- m. → *Dôtôi- f. [via internal derivation] > Δωτώ f." (127). This derivation, in turn, would somehow indirectly continue a process whereby gamonyms
were internally derived from non-hypocoristic i-stems, which would be witnessed by the Rigvedic type agni- 'Agni' → agnāyi-d 'wife of Agni' — on the assumption that agnāyi-d reflects an older *agnāyi- that has been enlarged by -d (125). As Remmer points out, the Greek names in -ω differ from the Rigvedic -āyi-d type not only with respect to the morphology of their derivational bases, "they no longer exhibit any semantic or onomastic connection with the names of their husbands" (128). Remmer explains that the dissociation could have taken place when "husband and wife became separated in mythology, just as Διόνυς and Zeus were mythologically estranged" (129). The fact that in attested Greek "there is no evidence of a female name in -ω with a corresponding masculine name inflecting in -i" (126) would be a further consequence of this mythological estrangement. For a highly attractive alternative account of the historical morphology of the agnāyi-d, indrāni-d, and Διόνυς type formations, consult Rau 2007. Note also that readers not intimately familiar with accent and ablaut types may be mislead by typographical errors on p. 122, where one must read "strong R(e)-S(o)-D(ō)" and "weak R(ē)-S(ō)-D(ē)" in the middle of the page and "R(ē)-S(ō)-D(ō) → R(ē)-S(ō)-D(ō)" at the bottom.

Carlo Vessella opens his contribution, "Overlength and the system of primary comparatives," with reference to Henry Hoenigswald's "working hypothesis ... that metrical composition observed distinctions more subtle than those between long and short syllables. Overlong syllables ... appeared to be avoided at verse-end" (131; cf. Hoenigswald 1991). Since the publication of GLIEP, Hoenigswald's view on weight distinctions has in fact been tested and further articulated in two brilliant studies by Kevin Ryan (Ryan 2011; to appear). Vessella's basic idea, to test the quantity of the alpha in comparatives such as θάσσον, μαλλον (I purposely omit the accents), and ἐλάσσον by studying the way the poet(s) of the Iliad and Odyssey distributed the words in the hexameter, is very good, but the execution is lacking. He simply states that οσσον and μασσον "occur freely in Homeric cadences, so if Hoenigswald's point of view is correct, this too would point to simple length and not overlength, i.e. to forms with a short ă" (132). An actual comparison of distributions (of the sort Hoenigswald provides) remains a desideratum. Vessella goes on to provide a very fine discussion of Greek primary comparatives with an excellent collection of references and concludes that "[a]part from οσσον, all the comparatives with overlength containing both the geminate and the long vowel must constitute a later extension of Attic features" (139). Classicists unsure of why Martin West prints θάσσον and μέξον in his edition of the Iliad.

Opening the Etymologies section, Michiel de Vaan provides a short, attractive account of "The etymology of Latin adiēlāre 'fawn (upon), flatter', according to which *ad-auidos, essentially *auidos hypercharacterized by ad-, becomes *ad-audos by the development of *aui > au familiar from initial syllables, e.g. in auspex. Either at this
stage or the next, *adōdos, speakers no longer associate the form with *auidōs, and they dissipilate the second d to l, yielding *adūlos, from which adūlāre is derived. A plausible semantic specialization from 'be eager' > 'fawn (upon), flatter' completes de Vaan's picture.

George Hinge takes on the etymology of several Greek words in "The authority of truth and the origin of ὀσίος and ἔρωμος (= Skt. satyā- and tūtumā-) with an excursus on pre-consonantal laryngeal loss," a Herculean effort that involves more etymologies and problems of historical phonology than either the title or this review reflects. Hinge defends Brugmann's etymology relating ὀσίος 'holy, permitted' with satyā- 'true, real', providing discussion of both the o vocalism and (later) the absence of a laryngeal reflex that one must assume if *h₁śnt(ī)jōs > ὀσίος. He then equates ἡτίμωμος 'true, real' with the Rigvedic hapax tūtumā- 'effectual'. These would reflect reduplicated forms *h₁te-h₁tu-mo- and (presumably) Indo-Iranian *tūtuma- < *HuUtHu-umā-, derived from a root "*h₁teuh₂- 'to be powerful, to be efficient', with an initial laryngeal" (148), i.e. an alternative reconstruction of the root known e.g. in the LIV as *teuh₂- 'schwellen, stark werden'. The short u of the root in both forms would be due to laryngeal loss after reduplication, and the difference between the reduplication vowels is systematic. The semantics are discussed with a fondness for the philosophical. As Hinge notes, his reconstruction has implications for the development of the Vedic long reduplicated perfects: "if tūtāva is counted among the original long-vowel perfects, there would be a stronger basis of analogy for secondary forms like śūsuve and pīpāya, both meaning 'grow, swell'' (149 fn. 25). I fully agree that a "stronger basis" would be particularly attractive there. Note that pīpāya is virtually certainly to be restored as pīpāya with a short reduplication vowel (Gunkel 2010: 88-96 with refs.) and read *h₁uḍd₂- for the typographical error *h₁uḍd₁- earlier in the same footnote. Note also that the long ū of Avestan tūtāuua may either go back to a long or short *u (de Vaan 2003: 281f.), leaving the reconstruction of an Indo-Iranian long reduplicated perfect less secure. Hinge goes on to argue that ἐτάξω 'examine', σῶς 'safe', Latin tuaor 'watch (over)', tūtus 'safe', and possibly Germanic *pewaz 'servant' belong with the same root. Reconstructing the root as *h₁teuh₂- requires explaining the absence of e < *h₁ in σῶς. Taking up the absence of a laryngeal reflex in ὀσίος as well, Hinge provides a detailed discussion of the phenomenon noted above, namely Peters' ᾱήνος effect, arguing that prothetic vowels do not develop "before a closed syllable containing a syllabic consonant" (157).

Alexander Nikolaev provides an impressive treatment of "The Name of Achilles," suggesting (as many before him) that it is related to ἀχος 'grief'. Quickly moving into new territory, however, Nikolaev argues that key to understanding the etymology of the name is to view ἀχος as "the result of a contamination of two different s-stem verbal abstracts, formed from IE *h₂egʰh- 'to be afraid' (Go. og, Olr. ad-agor) and
"*h₂en²h*- 'to oppress' (G ἀγγελος, YAv. (nī)nāzata, L angō) respectively" (163). The proposed contamination would have been facilitated by the semantic and formal similarity between the nouns, the zero grade root allomorphs of which would have merged as ἄγγελος in Greek, assuming that Rix's Law did not apply before nasals. As this phonological point is not communis opinio, Nikolaev provides plausible examples of the non-application of Lex Rix in this environment, summarizing his earlier, more comprehensive treatment of the problem (Nikolaev 2005). He then connects the hypothetical contamination product, Proto-Greek *akʰos- 'distress', and by extension, Achilles' name, with the Indo-European myth of victory over death, comparing the equation of Rigvedic āṁhas- tar¹- with Younger Avestan (vī)tar-azah-, then suggesting that ἄγγελος, which can refer to grief over the death of a loved one, serves as a substitute for 'death' in Achilles' name, just as δόνη does in Iliadic δόνηφατα φάραμα according to Watkins 1995: 396. He provides support from the epic tradition and beyond for viewing Achilles as having originally been a death-defeating figure.

Nikolaev's reconstructed "compound *h₂līg²h₁-(h₂)ul(h₂)-o- 'slaying pain/death' ... [with a] second member ... *(h₁)uēlh₂- attested in Hitt. walahzi 'he strikes' ... or the root *(h₂/3)uēlh₁/3- attested in Tocharian ... and Greek (ἐκλάον 'I was captured')" (167-168) would also explain several facts about the λ ~ ἅ alternation in the epic language. After studying the pattern of attestations, Nikolaev argues that "they suggest an original distribution /akʰilēn/- in nom./voc. > ἄχιλλε- vs. /akʰiilēn/- in gen./dat./dacc. > ἄχιλ.-" (169) which arose via an early dissimilatory loss of *y > ο in the syllable onset, where followed by ο or m in the following syllable onset, e.g. *yer.yos > εἶρος 'wool'. Note that this requires the syllabification *a.kʰi.i.ulē.uV- with a structure V.υiV, where the syllable boundary would descriptively mirror the morphological compound boundary. For syllable onset maximization and the relationship between morpheme and syllable boundaries in PIE, one may now consult Byrd 2010. Nikolaev closes with an account of "the missing /y/ in Mycenaean a-ki-re-u" (173).

Wojciech Sowa closes the Etymologies section with "A note on Macedonian ἀλίττα," which he characterizes as "one of the most debated Macedonian glosses" (175), suggesting the possibility that the word is best understood as reflecting the usage of derivatives of *h₂līg- in a hypothetical Balkan Indo-European Sprachbund including meanings 'small, weak, ill'. The Macedonian form would reflect *h₂līg-jeh₂ 'illness, disease', supporting the reading of the Hesychian codex, "but the possibility of some sort of metaphorical name for a particular species of tree — e.g. 'ill-tree' (cf. 'weeping willow', Pol. wierzba placząca) — cannot be excluded either" (178).

With "The feet of Greek and Sanskrit verse," Anne Mahoney offers the sole contribution in the Poetics section and the final study in GLIEP. The question — now also treated in West 2007: 31f. et passim — is how Greek, Vedic, and Indo-European poets talked about their craft. Mahoney pays special attention to early usages of Greek
ποῦς and Sanskrit pāda- that refer to poetic structure, providing text, translation and (metrical) commentary on various passages, which will undoubtedly prove useful. Along the way, she indicates various points of departure for further study, e.g. parallel developments in Greek and Classical Sanskrit metrical theory and terminology, as well as the association of desire with poetry and the Greek Muses with personified Rigvedic meters.

References


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