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The development of the Proto-Indo-European syllabic liquids in Greek

Beek, L.C. van

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The development of the Proto-Indo-European syllabic liquids in Greek

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Preface

This dissertation is the result of a project titled “Proto-Greek: a reconstruction” funded by NWO (Organisatie voor Nederlands Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek) within the program “Toptalent”. The research was carried out within LUCL (Leiden University Centre for Linguistics) under the supervision of Prof. A. Lubotsky. Originally, the main objective of the project was to establish a relative chronology for the sound changes that took place from Proto-Indo-European, via Proto-Greek, down to the various dialects of Ancient Greek. In the initial stages of the project, I focused on the various waves of palatalizations that took place in the second millennium BC. In the course of my research, however, it gradually became clear that the vocalization of the syllabic liquids was one of the most crucial sound developments: not only for issues of relative chronology, but also for the prehistoric genesis of the four main dialect groups of Alphabetic Greek. When a new solution for the problematic double reflex of **r* started to present itself, I decided to devote the entire dissertation to this topic.

The bold hypothesis underlying this thesis is that -αρ-, not -ρα-, is the regular reflex of word-internal **r* in Ionic-Attic. The idea first took shape in a rudimentary way when I realized that two seemingly independent metrical peculiarities of Homeric Greek had to be related. In view of Wathelet’s article (1966) on the origin of *muta cum liquida* scansion in Homeric words like δράκων and βροτός, it seemed logical to view not only their aberrant scansion, but also the outcomes -ρα- and -πο- themselves, as a trace of the pre-forms with **r*. It also appeared that the word κραδίη is hardly ever preceded by a short vowel in Homer, whereas other words of the same metrical structure make abundant use of this possibility, as discovered by Hoenigswald (e.g. 1991). In combination, these two peculiarities suggested that **r* had been preserved until not very long before Homer. Along with the novel hypothesis came a large number of problems: all Ionic-Attic forms with -ρα- had to be accounted for, and the evidence from all other Greek dialects had to be re-examined. Whether the solutions proposed here are correct or not, they would not have been found without the conviction that Wathelet’s explanation of the Homeric *muta cum liquida* licence somehow had to be correct.

As the title suggests, this dissertation is primarily a work about historical phonology, but this is, I hope, not its only contribution. The solution proposed here for the development of **r* entails a new view on the relation between Epic Greek and the vernacular. The elaboration of the consequences for the prehistory of Epic Greek and for the synchronic understanding of Homer, however, must be left for another occasion.

I am grateful to the support staff of LUCL, in particular to the Institute Manager Gea Hakker, for help and support in practical matters. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to the board of OIKOS (Netherlands Research School for Classical Studies) for kindly allowing me to follow part of their PhD program, including the 2010 Masterclass in Athens. I have learned a lot from my teachers at the Indo-European department of Leiden University: Rob Beekes, Frits Kortlandt, Sasha Lubotsky, Michiel de Vaan, Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Michaël Peyrot; among those at the Classics department, I would like to mention Casper de Jonge and Adriaan Rademaker in particular. I am grateful to Frits Kortlandt for having encouraged me right from the start and for commenting on earlier versions of several chapters. During conferences and Summer Schools, I have learned much from discussions with colleagues and fellow students, of whom Jesse Lundquist deserves particular mention. Finally, I profited from the broad knowledge of Karl Praust and of Velizar Sadovski, who both stayed in Leiden as visiting scholars and discussed various topics from my work with me.

Working on this dissertation would not have been quite the same if it had not been for my friends and colleagues. My thoughts go out in the first place to Alwin, with whom I have shared an office for five years; to Michaël, Guus, and Tijmen: after you left Leiden, lunches simply have not been the way they used to be; and to Casper, for being an academic tutor right from the start. Finally, I thank my wife Annelies for her loving support and care: she alone knows how much time I spent working on this book, rather than with her.

Leiden, November 2013

Abbreviations and conventions

Languages and sources:

Aeol.	Aeolic	Lyc.	Lycian
Alb.	Albanian	MHG	Middle High German
Arc.	Arcadian	Mo-	Modern
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcado-Cyprian	MoE.	Modern English (but E. = Euripides)
Arm.	Armenian	ms(s).	manuscript(s)
Att.	Attic	Myc.	Mycenaean
Av.	Avestan	NWGr.	North West Greek
Boeot.	Boeotian	O-	Old-
c.	century	OHG	Old High German
Class.	Classical	ON	Old Norse
Cret.	Cretan	OP	Old Persian
CS	Church Slavonic	P-	Proto-
Cypr.	Cyprian	Pamph.	Pamphylian
Cz.	Czech	PCelt.	Proto-Celtic
Dor.	Doric	PGr.	Proto-Greek
Du.	Dutch	Phryg.	Phrygian
Fr.	French	Pion.	Proto-Ionic (= Proto-Ionic-Attic)
G.	German	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Gm.	Germanic	Ru.	Russian
Goth.	Gothic	RV	Rigveda
Gr.	Greek	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
Hitt.	Hittite	Skt.	Sanskrit
Hom.	Homer	Sl.	Slavic
Ilr.	Indo-Iranian	Slov.	Slovene
Ion.-Att.	Ionic-Attic	Thess.	Thessalian
inscr.	epigraphic	Toch.	Tocharian
Ir.	Irish	Ved.	Vedic Sanskrit
It.	Italic	W.	Welsh
Ital.	Italian	WGr.	West Greek
Lat.	Latin	YAv.	Young(er) Avestan
Latv.	Latvian		
Lesb.	Lesbian		
Lith.	Lithuanian		

Symbols:

*	reconstructed form	C	consonant
<	developed from	H	laryngeal
>	developed into	L	liquid
<<	analogically developed from	N	nasal
>>	analogically developed into	R	resonant
←	was derived from	V	vowel

|_P penthemimeral caesura
 |_T trochaic caesura
 |_H hephthemimeral caesura
 |_B bucolic diaeresis

Grammatical abbreviations:

1/2/3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	mg.	meaning
A	accusative	mid.	middle
act.	active	msc.	masculine
adj.	adjective	N	nominative
adv.	adverb	ntr.	neuter
aor.	aorist	opt.	optative
athem.	athematic	p.	plural
comp.	comparative	pass.	passive
D	dative	pf.	perfect
denom.	denominative	PN	personal name
du.	dual	prep.	preposition
fem.	feminine	pres.	present
fut.	future	pret.	preterite
HN	hydronym	ptc.	participle
I	instrumental	red.	reduplicated
impf.	imperfect	s.	singular
impv.	imperative	subj.	subjunctive
ind.	indicative	superl.	superlative
inf.	infinitive	them.	thematic
inj.	injunctive	TN	toponym
intr.	intransitive	tr.	transitive
L	locative		

Greek authors: I have generally followed the abbreviations of Greek authors and their works that are used in *LSJ*, with the exception of *Ol.*, *Pyth.*, *Nem.*, and *Isthm.* (instead of *O.*, *P.*, *N.*, *I.*) for the works of Pindar.

Translations: I have provided my own translations of Greek passages, unless otherwise indicated. When using existing translations, I have generally used Wyatt's recent reworking of Murray's Loeb translation of Homer, and Race's translation of Pindar (also in the Loeb series). In all other cases, the source for the translation is made explicit in the text.