

FINAL *LIQUID + LARYNGEAL IN GREEK

ERIC P. HAMP

Twelve instances of the Greek sequence of long vowel + liquid are explained as regularly deriving from IE liquid + laryngeal in final position. Later prehistoric suffixation, obligatory in the case of * -λ, subsequently concealed the regularity of this change by obliterating the word-final position which conditioned it. Numerous cognate forms are explained. The resulting accentuation of κῆρ accords with the IE background which the author has earlier claimed for Greek accents in final syllables.

I have recently¹ offered reconstructions for IE 'near' (**pel-H_a-*) and 'far' (**k^wel-H_a-*), and hope to have clarified these etyma and their reflexes. In the course of that discussion I reconstructed Greek τῆλε as **k^wel-n-e*. My friend Calvert Watkins has drawn my attention to the fact that this reconstruction involves an oversight, since the cluster **ln* should induce lengthening that resulted in the spurious diphthong. Renewed reflexion has convinced me that no principled solution is to be found in conventional known consonant clusters. Thus a fresh departure is called for; the present note represents such an attempt.

1. I have long been persuaded by Johannes Schmidt's analysis of what we would now write **-rH_a* for the precursor of -ωρ. Thus, ὕδωρ < **udrH_a*². Phonetically this **-rH_a* may be understood as a sort of Brugmannian long [*ṝ*] with an open or mid vocalic onset. Let us represent this schematically by [*vṝ*].

Now the forms associated synchronically with τῆλε, are these: τῆλε, τηλοῦ, τηλόθι 'far', τηλόθεν(v) 'from afar', τηλόσε 'to afar'. These are all thematic formations. I have recently³ traced φίλος to a pre-form in final -λ. It seems that thematization was the normal mode of adapting such stems to an emerging canonical Greek shape. Therefore I assume that the early shape of the adverb was **k^wēl*. This stem, when

¹ "Loegr: The Welsh Name for England". *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 4, 1982, 83-5.

² See J. Schmidt, *Die Pluralbildungen der idg. Neutra*, Weimar 1889, p. 195. Here we have ἔλωρ 'booty'.

³ *BSL* 77, 1982, 251-62, esp. 261.

thematized as $*k^w\bar{e}lo-$ gave the endless locative $*k^w\bar{e}le^4$, and ultimately Boeot. $\pi\eta\lambda\omega\iota$, Lesb. $\pi\eta\lambda\omega\iota$ and perhaps Myc. *qere-*.

If now we seek to derive $*k^w\bar{e}l$ from $*k^w\bar{e}lH_a$ we are forced to the conclusion that the long \bar{e} must be attributed to a length induced by $*H_a$. That is, in absolute final after liquid, $*H_a$ did not syllabify to yield alpha, but instead lengthened the liquid.

Thus, on the pattern of neuter plural/collectives such as $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$ we hypothesize the development $*k^w\bar{e}lH_a > *k^w\bar{e}\bar{l} = *k^w\bar{e}v\bar{l}$, perhaps $*k^w\bar{e}al$. The result then merged with the inherited vocalic system as $*k^w\bar{e}l$.

2. The etymon of $\pi\tilde{\omega}λο\varsigma$ 'foal, filly' has been an embarrassment from the beginning. A Dehnstufe, if such a thing ever truly existed, cannot be motivated in an obvious way in this word. Thus a relation (GEW 2.634) $*p\tilde{o}l- : p\tilde{l}-$ (Germanic **fulan-*) has no meaning other than juggling with symbols. However, **fulan-* is perfectly well accounted for as $*p\tilde{l}H-$.

It is customary to reconstruct Alb. *pelë* 'mare' as $*p\tilde{o}ln-$; but that is not the only possibility. We may also derive feminized ($-ë$) *pel-* from $*paln\bar{i}$. Since Alb. *i parë* 'first' must reflect $*par\mu\bar{o}- < *p\tilde{h}\mu\bar{o}- = prH_o\mu\bar{o}-$, we must be prepared to see $*paln\bar{i}$ as $*p\tilde{l}H-niH_a$. This pre-form now agrees with what I have reconstructed⁵ for Welsh *elein* pl. *alaned* 'doe, fawn', $*p\tilde{l}H- > *(p)alH- + an-iH_a$ as if $*p\tilde{l}H\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}$.

We see now that we have assurance for only $*p\tilde{l}H-$ with or without feminizing $*-niH_a$. The way is now clear to regard $\pi\tilde{\omega}λο\varsigma$ as a thematized $*p\tilde{o}l$, and this from $*p(o)v\bar{l} < *p(o)lH$. In light of the other forms perhaps the best assumption is $*p\tilde{l}H$, with a configuration like that of $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$. Note that Myc. *poro* (dual) shows that thematization had already occurred.

3. A further possibility suggests itself, $\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'sell'. Frisk GEW 2.633 adduces some forms among his comparisons which are important testimony to the presence of a set base: Indic *pāṇate* $< *p\tilde{l}-nā-ti^6$ and Russ. *polón* 'Beute' $< *p\acute{e}ln\bar{o}$ (note the acute syllabic accent) $< *pelH-no-$. ON *falr* can readily be traced to $*p\tilde{o}lH-$. I therefore take $\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ to be a denominational formation, of the type $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$, for which a source $*\pi\omega\lambda\bar{o}- < *\pi\omega\lambda-$ did not survive. In turn, we may bring $*\pi\omega\lambda$ into agreement with Indic *pāṇate* and Russ. *polón* by deriving it from $*p(o)lH$. It seems likely, then, that $*p\tilde{l}H$ 'foal' and $*p(o)lH$ '(?) sale, seller' had different laryngeals.

4. On these grounds a vestigial relation may be seen, perhaps, in $\beta\tilde{\omega}λο\varsigma$ 'clod, lump of earth' and Latin *glēba* and (more distantly) *glomus*⁷. In light of the Latin \bar{e} we would have $*g^w\bar{o}l < *g^w\bar{l}H_e$.

Similarly $\delta\tilde{\omega}\rho\omega\nu$ 'hand span' is now seen to have a like background. In Arcadian $\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ $\sigma\pi\theta\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ ('long hand span') and $\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho[\epsilon]\iota\rho$ we must have $*d_r\bar{H}i-$.⁸ Therefore $\delta\tilde{\omega}\rho\omega\nu$

⁴ Cf. E.P. Hamp. *IF* 75. 1970. 105-6. This instance seems to attest to the survival into earliest Greek of $*-e$ alongside $*-ei$ in this locative function.

⁵ *Studia Celtica* 8/9, 1973/74. 268.

⁶ For $*ln$ see my analysis *Indo-Iranian Journal* 25. 1983. 275-6, esp. footnote 2.

⁷ For the unclear Latin background see Ernout-Meillet *DÉLL* s.v. *glēba*.

⁸ Perhaps Latv. *dūre dūris* 'fist' is directly cognate. But Alb. *dorë* 'hand' is surely $*g^h\bar{e}sr-$, as I have analyzed elsewhere.

is $*d\bar{o}r < *drH$. This is entirely separate in ancestry from δῶρον 'gift' $< *d\bar{o}-ro-n < *doH_0-r(-)$. Κῶλον 'member, leg' is of unclear cognacy, but could reflect a background parallel to that of δῶρον 'hand span'. Note that its use seems strongly poetic.

It seems that we have an old collective buried in εἶδωλον 'image', which Frisk *GEW* 1.452 regards as an old *l*-stem. Therefore I reconstruct $*F\epsilon i\delta\omega l < *ueid-IH_0$. We recover this sequence in such related forms as εἰδάλιμος 'shapely' $< *ueid-IH-i$.

5. κῆλα 'arrows' has been compared to ON *hali* (masc. *n*-stem) 'tail', Indic *śarā-* 'arrow' and *śalā-* 'porcupine quill', and these could reflect $*kol(H)-$ for the Germanic and $*kolH-$ or $*kel(H)-$ for the Indic. However, Mid. Ir. *cail* 'spear' must be $*k|Hi-$ and Skt. *śīla-* 'ear of grain' and *śīlī-mukha-* 'arrow, bee', if related, must reflect $*k|IH-$. Frisk *GEW* 1.838 has remarked that only κῆλα shows a long vowel: "Grundwort somit wohl ein ablautender *l*-Stamm". Pokorny's entry $*kel-$ (*IEW* 552) will surely not accommodate all these properties. The only compact way to explain all the observed data is by positing a base $*kelH$. All of the Indic, Germanic, and Celtic complexities can easily be accounted for by starting with such a base. Moreover, we can now analyze neut. pl. κῆλα as $*k\bar{e}lo- < *k\bar{e}l^9 < *kevl < *kelH$. The oblique cases may well have had $*k|IH-$.

6. We are now in a position to offer a very simple solution to the problematic word κῆρ κηρός fem. 'death' or 'fate'¹⁰. Frisk gives (*GEW* 1.843) in general a very satisfactory account of the Greek testimony relative to this noun. Ramat reports (*op. cit.* 138-9) Frisk well, giving also certain justified reservations which have been expressed. I think we can now dispose of those reservations completely. Ernout and Meillet objected to connecting κῆρ with κερᾶζω because the latter demands a disyllabic root; as we shall see, that is precisely the form of root we are accepting for κῆρ. Ehrlich's apophonetic reconstruction for the weak cases, e.g. gen. sg. $*k\bar{a}r\acute{o}s$, may well have looked dubious to traditional scholars who thought they were dealing with a long-vowel monosyllable of the type ὦπ-; but the shape he posits is exactly what we should now predict. Beekes (*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 36, 1977, 5-7) has with his customary acumen probed the weaknesses in earlier proposals to explain the stem vocalisms of κῆρ, Κῆρες, Κᾶρες and ψῆρ, ψάρ, and rejects a root noun $*C\bar{e}r$, $*C\bar{r}\acute{o}s$; but apart from the weak suggestion of a non-IE origin he has no positive constructive theory to offer. Beekes accepts Lee's and Ramat's rejection of a relation to κερᾶζω, and also denies (6) the possible derivation of κῆρ from the latter root, which we here propose. Ramat offers (145) an excellent improvement on the semantic derivation of κῆρ: Rather than the nomen agentis which Frisk assumes, Ramat cites Chantraine on such deverbal root-nouns, which

⁹ If κῆλον is related to this etymon it must have been derived after this stage.

¹⁰ On the semantics of this important noun see D.J.N. Lee, *Glotta* 39, 1961, 191-207, and P. Ramat, *AGI* 50, 1965, 121-52, esp. 139-47. Without taking sides between these two analysts and earlier scholars on the priority of semantic directionality between 'fate' and 'death' or 'Death', it seems to me that the attested range of meaning can be plausibly approached either from κερᾶζω 'destroy' or from OIr. *do:cer* 'it fell' (cf. German *Unfall*). Chantraine *DÉLG* 526, I note, finds Lee's further arguments and conclusions "déraisonnables".

are expected to be abstract or concretized nomina actionis but rarely nomina agentis. This value perfectly suits the meanings 'fate' and 'death', and 'Death' must represent a secondary personification. For the root itself, however, I cannot accept Ramat's proposal (142), following Lee (*op. cit.*), that we have *(s)ker(ə)- 'cut' here, since I do not see that this gains any direct semantic advantage, and it leaves the root shape in doubt. I therefore accept the traditional attribution to κεραιζω.

On this basis let us proceed to the reconstruction. I submit that we have here an original neuter root-noun *kérH_a, whose gen. sg. would have been *krH_a-ós. These would then have given quite regularly *kévr̄ kr̄ ós > *kér karós. At this point, the vocalism as well as the alternation, quite apart from any value of personification, would have encouraged adherence to the non-neuter model of θήρ, ἄήρ, etc. Thus we have the feminine κήρ, as well as Pindar's κήρες and κής. In the weak cases a levelling of this solitary paradigm introduced length throughout, thus yielding the Lesbian and Spartan κᾶρι and κᾶρα; we cannot say anything about Hesychius's κάρθάντος. The institutionalized Attic θύραζε Κᾶρες may simply be an old folk confusion, based on something like an ignorant hearing of the Spartan or Aeolic variants and interpreting this as another instance of the Attic η for long alpha. But it may also reflect older competing oblique forms. It is seen that our theory readily accounts for all observed, discussed, and plausibly proposed forms of κήρ.

7. Furthermore, the accent of κήρ is seen to be interesting. We are fortunate to have κῆρ 'καρδία' < *kērd (= Hitt. *kēr*, Arm. *sirt-*, etc.) to contrast with κήρ. It is apparent that *kévr̄ was resolved as kēr at a time anterior to the known historical application of the rules of contraction (e.g. φάος φώως > φῶς ≠ φῶς φωτός). On the other hand, the barytonic syllabic pattern of *kévr̄, which results in a historic acute, precisely accords with my expectations for prehistoric early Greek which I sketched ever so briefly in footnote 1 to the reference mentioned in note 4 above. That is, a prehistoric falling accent (in terms of morae, $\acute{V}V$) yields a historic acute in final syllable, while a prehistoric rising ($V\acute{V}$) yields a final circumflex in historic attestation. This assumption for final syllable accent oppositions enables us, notably, to correlate the acutes and circumflexes of thematic and \bar{a} - stem noun inflexions in prehistoric Greek with the paroxytones and oxytones, respectively, of athematic (consonant, or third declension) mobile noun inflexions; in this way, we have but a single mobile accent pattern for all nouns in Indo-European. The Lithuanian evidence, so far as it goes, agrees with this.

Thus we may assume that the phonetic development was as follows:

*k ^l ērd	>	*k ^l ērd	>	*kē ^l rd	>	*kē ^l r	>	κῆρ
*k ^l erH _a		*k ^l evr̄		*k ^l eər		*k ^l ēr		κήρ
*gh ^u ^l eH _r	}	*gh ^u ^l ēr		*gh ^u ^l ēr		*k ^h ^l ēr		θήρ
*gh ^u ^l ēr								

In other words, finals of the type of κήρ conserved the phonetic place of syllabic prominence in the same initial portion (first mora) of the syllable formerly occupied by the ancestral short vowel, while diphthongs (in the Lithuanian sense) before a syllable - final consonant (which subsequently dropped) displaced the prominence to

the later portion (second mora) of the syllable. This placement of the prominence was contextual (allophonic) until the loss of final obstruents, when the phonetic difference became phonologized. Thus, with the loss of *-d in *kē¹rd this formal type and *k¹ēr (>κήρ) joined the opposition in ultima accentuation which was inherited from the contraction of differently accented vowel sequences in pre-IE.

8. The inverse of the relation seen in κήρ : κεραΐζω < *kerH_a is now, I submit, discernable in the pair στήρ-ίζω 'fix, support, prop': στερεός 'stiff, firm, solid', which I derive from *sterH_c(-). Of στήρ-ίζω Frisk remarks (GEW 2.797) "seit alters... zu στερεός u. Verw. gezogen; die Einzelheiten bleiben indessen unklar". We may agree with Frisk in regarding (GEW 2.791) στερεός as *στερεFός; in that case we have apparent *sterH_c-uó-. Then στήρ-ίζω would be a verb 'to supply with something solid' formed on an old noun *στήρ < *stévr < *stérH_c.¹¹

In this fashion I hope to have supplied some of the clarification which I have called for in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 40, 1981, 36¹².

9. It now seems reasonable to suggest a pairing of a more speculative sort: τηρέω 'watch' gives the appearance of being derived from a noun τηρο- just as πωλέω 'sell' should be from *πωλο-. It is really not so important that τηρός 'a guard' is a hapax that may be a back formation; rather we may see here a native speaker's confirmation of our intuition that τηρέω is a denominal resting on a noun *τηρο- < *τήρ, which could actually have been a nomen actionis like κήρ. Therefore I reconstruct *tevr̄ < *terH. Of course, *k^werH would be equally possible.

Now we are reminded of τέρας plural Ep. τέραα 'portent, marvel, wonder', i.e. 'something seen, observed, worth watching'. This seems clearly to be *térH_s (or *k^wérH_s), and our root is *t/k^werH_a-.

10. We now summarize our findings. We have identified the following early Greek etyma:

- *-rH_a heteroclite neut. nom. -acc. pl./collective = *-r-H_a (ὑδωρ, τέκμωρ, πέλωρ)
- *-lH_a neut. nom.-acc. pl./collective = *-l-H_a (εἶδωλον)
- *plH 'foal, filly, young equine' (πῶλος)
- *g^wlH_c 'clod' (βῶλος)
- *klH_c 'member' (κῶλον) (?)
- *drH 'hand breadth' (δῶρον)
- *p(o)lH '(?) sale, seller' (πωλέω)
- *kelH 'sharp pointed weapon or missile' (κῆλα)
- *k^welH_a 'far' (τῆλε)
- *kerH_a 'fate, decline, falling' (κήρ)
- *sterH_c 'firm object' (στήρ-ίζω)
- *t/k^werH_a 'a watch(ing)' (τηρέω)

¹¹ And in that case στήρ-ίζω would be of a formation independent of any possible relation to στήριξ-, a relation which troubles Chantraine *DÉLG* 1056.

¹² Note, however, that in that analysis I have already divorced the etymon of στερεός from that of στεῖρα: this distinction would hold true even if one did not wish to accept my analysis of στεῖρα. Chantraine, however, treats (*DÉLG* 1048) στερεός and στεῖρα together; here I must differ.

In absolute final position, Indo-European

1. *liquid + laryngeal in zero-grade imparted a preceding *o vocalization in pre-Greek; and then
2. *laryngeal was realized as lengthening of the vowel preceding the liquid.

Later prehistoric suffixations, obligatory in the case of *-λ, then concealed the regular Auslaut nature of these developments.

E. Hamp
The University of Chicago
The Department of Linguistics
1010 E. 59 str.
Chicago Illinois 60.637
U.S.A.