

## ANCIENT MACEDONIAN VOICED AND SPIRANT OBSTRUENTS

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G. Babinotis has given us<sup>1</sup> a lucid review of the theories proposed for the development in prehistoric or preliterate times of the obstruents of Ancient Macedonian; and he has accompanied this critical account with a resourceful and principled proposal for a solution. Surely his formulation is in the main correct, his reasoning follows the sort of directions that present-day linguistics indicates and his conclusions take proper account of the total known history of the Greek language. The purpose of this note is to point out an additional consideration or two and a pair of alternate developments which may be considered in arriving at an acceptable ulterior version of Babinotis's solution.

1. In Hadzidakis's theory there is no need to avoid a violation of Grassmann's law in the case of κεφαλά, since we can start out directly from \*kephalā. As I have pointed out in *Ricerche linguistiche* 6, 1974, 234 footnote 1, and 235 (Addendum at proof), the pre-form for this etymon may be reconstructed \*kephH-.

Parallel to the forms for «bone» which I have shown (KZ 97, 1984, 197-201, esp. 198-200) to be \*Host- (or \*ḡest -), potentially extended by \*-u(r), \*-H/n- ~ \*(o)i (-) ~ -l-, partially mirrored by μέγα μεγάλο - ἄγα- ἄγαμαι ἄγάλλω - ομαι ἄγαλμα beside Armenian *mec* (a-stem), ON *mjok*, Welsh *ma-on* «nobles» (with plural suffix), and ON *mikill* ~ *mykill*, OE *mycel*, Gaulish *Maglo-*, and Latin *magnus*, we might expect beside Latin *cap-ut* and κεφαλή = Tocharian A *špāl* with the derivational \*-l- extension, the remains of a heteroclit *\*kephH* > Albanian *qafë* «nape, ζβέρκος» in alternation with \*keph-. In fact I believe we may now adduce this last form in the hitherto unexplained Mediaeval Welsh (from the 14th century on) *cun* (also *cuniad*) «lord, chief, ruler = arglwydd, pennaeth, llywawdwr» with its derivative *cunin* «royal, brenhinol». The fact that *cun* is an appropriate synonym to κεφαλή is easily demonstrated within British Celtic: The modern Welsh *pen* «head» also means «beginning, end» and «chief, principal» inter alia; it gives rise to a large number of idioms. A common metaphoric extension or kenning attached to Mediaeval Welsh and Breton *penn* «head» was «chief, ruler»; among the prominent derivatives was Welsh *pendefig* «prince» < *k<sup>w</sup>enno* + *tamikos*, whose Middle Breton cognate *pinvizyc* meant «rich». In short, British Celtic *penn* has simply displaced and continued *cun*. We are therefore perfectly justified in reconstructing by known sounds laws: *cun* < \**kounos* < \**keuno* < \**kephn-*; cf. *hun* (fem.) «sleep, nap» < \**sounā* < \**suḡnā* (neut.) < \**supno-* = ὕπνος.

1. «The question of mediæ in Ancient Macedonian Greek reconsidered», in *Historical Philology: Greek, Latin, and Romance*, edd. Bela Brogyanyi and Reiner Lipp. Amsterdam: Benjamins 1992, pp. 29-40.

Thus we have *\*k(e)p-*, *\*kepH*, *\*kepn-*, *\*kepl-*. There can be no doubt of the reconstruction *\*kepH/n-*, *\*kep(H)-l-*. We therefore start with the sequence *\*kepH- > keph-*.

2. Babiniotis is correct (p. 32) § 3 (3): «The change of MA > M has a prerequisite: the change of two crucial phonetic features, those of voicing and aspiration; and it cannot be effected at a single stage».

I also agree with his insistence (p. 35, § ii) that the change MA > TA applies to the whole of Greek even though we have now removed the need for Grassmann's law from κεβαλά. In fact this change permits us to include κεβαλά.

3. Babiniotis then proceeds to argue that the MA > TA change which applies to Greek also holds for Italic, as others have argued. However, it is also possible to erect a principled argument for MA > VS in Italic as J. Untermann has done, and as I found an explanatory assumption for the statement of the development of medial *\*s* (*Glotta* 50, 1972, 290). I would not like to foreclose that possibility. Proto-Germanic (p.36) also illustrates the change of MA > VS (except after nasal).

4. If we continue from MA > TA in Greek, as in § 2 above, we may then apply the TA > SS formulation with intervening affricates (p.38) following the hypothesis of Hadzidakis.

5. The remaining step of SS > VS may now be taken, accepting Babiniotis's plausible interpretation of β, δ, γ in Macedonian. This phonetic development would be a kind of lenition.

The series for Macedonian now becomes:

IE \*MA > Greek TA > \*affricates > Later Gk SS > Maced. VS

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