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The name of Achilles*

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Since antiquity, virtually all attempts to find a suitable etymology for the name of the foremost hero of the Iliad have been limited to Homer and have seldom gone beyond the Greek linguistic material. In this paper, I shall argue that it may be more fruitful to view this old (possibly already Mycenaean) name against an Indo-European background.

The idea that ΑΞΗΛΩΣ (λα), λάς is somehow related to δοκος 'grief' goes back to the very beginnings of Homeric scholarship. It is first mentioned in the scholia, and has been elaborated on by scholars such as Paul Kretschmer, Leonard Palmer and Gregory Nagy; and the basic idea that Achilles' μήνις leads to the δοκος of the Achaeans, or specifically of Achilles' λάς, has enjoyed considerable popularity. The formal side of this etymology, though, rests on rather shaky ground, as will be shown below.

The most recent alternative opinion concerning the etymology of ΑΞΗΛΩΣ (λα) that I know of is that of Françoise Bader, whose reconstructions are: ΑΞΗΛΩΣ (λα); < (see Schindler (1976)), and thus a reconstruction with suffixal -ilo- is legitimate. Moreover, there are several probable examples in Greek of voiceless stops with aspiration caused by h2 (i.e. T > Th / h2).

Neverthecles, the phonetic side of Bader's etymology is problematic: since laryngeal metathesis (H2U > UH2 / C_C) probably preceded laryngeal aspiration, *mgh3-ilo- would most likely have resulted in ΤΥΛΩΣ.

1 I believe that the key to the correct understanding of Achilles' name does in fact lie in the correct assessment of δοκος, with which it has been compared since antiquity; I accept the connection of ΑΞΗΛΩΣ (λα) and δοκος, but I shall try to show that the opinio communis mentioned above is based on a misinterpretation of the name, which may be related to a very archaic Indo-European myth.

As is noted in the standard works on Greek etymology, there is a considerable difference between the meaning of δοκος 'pain, anguish, distress' and the related verbs δοκνωμαι, δοκωμαι 'I grieve, mourn' and what are usually assumed to be its cognates: Go. agis 'fear', OIr. ad-agor 'I am afraid'. Given this discrepancy in meaning, it is worth considering another approach: δοκος is semantically closer to a different PIE s-stem, namely *h2enghes-, attested in Yaw. zarah- 'desperate straits, perilous juncture(?); constricting space(?); Ved. ōmhas- 'distress, trouble' and in derivatives such as possessive *h2enghes-t-to- (L angustus, Lith. akitas) and its substantivization *h2onghes-ti- (OHG angust). These words have been connected with G δοκος before (for example, they are listed alongside Go. agis in Prelwitz's etymological dictionary, although tracing Go. agis back to the same protoform as Ved. ōmhas- is, of course, impossible on formal grounds?), but neither the phonetics of the equation nor its semantics, which might have been decisive in this case, have been paid sufficient attention.

I suggest that δοκος is the result of a contamination of two different s-stem verbal abstracts, formed from IE *h2enghes- 'to be afraid' (Go. agis, OIr. ad-agor) and *h2enghes-8 'to oppress' (G δοκος, Yaw. (ni)hazata, L angus) respectively. The former root seems to have referred to emotions already in the proto-language (fear' in Celtic and Germanic), whereas the latter started by meaning 'to be hard pressed' (in the middle), but apparently quite soon assumed the meaning 'to be in distress, trouble' (both still coexist in L angustiae). Note also the meaning of NHG Angst 'fear', which shows

4 See Rasmussen (1989) 72-123.
5 On the strength of both Germanic (cf. Oth. ὕπνος 'terror', OIr. ag- 'panic') and Old Irish data, the primary if not the only meaning of resulting *h2enghes- should be taken to be 'fear; be afraid of', whereas, vice versa, there is no reason to doubt that 'pain, distress, sorrow' is the only detectable meaning of the Greek forms. Gary Holland's translation of δοκος as 'fear' at II. 13.86-7 is possible but not compelling (1993) 26.
6 See Prelwitz (1892) 69.
7 The Vedic cognate of Go. agis is aghus- 'Gefahr, Leid, aghri- l. Not, Drangsal.'
8 This root is reconstructed as *h2enghes- in LIV 264 on the evidence of (morphologically difficult) Hitt. hamsnu 'fear'; the quality of the nose makes little difference to the etymological suggestions made in this paper.
that the two roots covered very close semantic fields. There is thus enough semantic affinity to make a contamination between them plausible.

There may also be a formal similarity between the two nouns. Although IE s-stems gave up root ablaut at quite an early stage, the precursor of the s-stem verbal abstract from the root *h₂ems/-mg- could have inherited a stem allomorph *h₂Nm₃- with a zero grade in the root (of the type ós(ißepθí)á < *h₁ds-), which would have given G ॐ, identical to a reflex of *h₂Ng₃-. In Proto-Greek, the zero grades of both stems would thus have looked the same. The formal derivation *h₂Ng₃- > ॐ is possible in view of the fact that Rig's Law apparently did not apply before nasals. It may be convenient to give a selection of examples, since this phonological development will be important for the argument presented below:¹¹

The meaning of

For this partial revision of Lex Rix, see the comprehensive treatment (including a discussion of coun-

10 See Meier-Brügger (1989) for more possible reflexes of s-stems with double zero grade in Greek. In some cases, it is hard to rule out the full grade of the root.

11 For this partial revision of Lex Rix, see the comprehensive treatment (including a discussion of counter-examples) in Nikolaev (2005b).

12 An allomorph of a proterokinetic i-stem adjective *h₂ems-i, *h₂ems-i's 'black'; the retention of the intervocalic -is- is explicable as an analogical levelling in an ablauting paradigm (compare similar phenomena in ἀσθενέω < *h₁sthe- and ἀθάνατος, *tάνατος 'death'; *καθαρέω, *καθαρσ- 'clean'; *καθάρω 'conclude'; *καθάρω 'immerse'). The meaning of ἀναστά - is also ambiguous; see Melchert (1988) 6 n. 14 and Olshach (1999) 270, who argue for 'black'; Puhvel (1987) 237-8 and 2002) stress the gloss 'thief.'

13 The Palaeic word is a hapax in an unclear passage of the Zaparwa ritual (KBo XIX 152 Vs. 112) and its connection with IE *h₂ins-, *h₂ins- (suggested by Eichner (1980) 127 n. 30) is not certain, since other options are available and the development of *g in Palaeic is disputed.

14 The Palaic word is a hapax in an unclear passage of the Zaparwa ritual (KBo XIX 152 Vs. 112) and its connection with IE *h₂ems-, *h₂ems- (suggested by Eichner (1980) 127 n. 30) is not certain, since other options are available and the development of *g in Palaeic is disputed.
equation κέκτατ = mptýum tar– and, more generally, the IE formulaic theme hero slays death, of which Calvert Watkins has seen a precious vestige in Homeric οὐδήνετα δάφνακα II. 5.401 (see Watkins (1995) 396), one cannot help wondering whether ἄξος is the same kind of substitute for the notion ‘death’ (which, as Watkins writes, ‘never surfaces in overt formula’) as ὀδόνθι (some support for this idea comes from the expression οὐδήνεμον καὶ ὁξέαν II. 9.612, 24.128, Od. 2.23, 4.100, 14.40). Homeric usage suggests that ἄξος (and its related verbs ἀχνύμαξα and ἀχοίμαξα) describes the kind of grief one feels for a deceased friend (e.g. II. 16.58 παράκλητος δ’ ἄρ’ ἄξος γένετο φθείρου ἐτάριον; 8.125 τὸν μὲν ἐπέτε’ ἐστιν, καὶ ἀγνώμνους περ ἐτάριον). ἄξος, then, seems to have a particularly close association with death.

Since the story of Achilles involves a tension between his mother’s attempts to make him immortal and his own knowledge of his death, the question is then whether it is possible to see in his name a continuation of the same formulaic theme of victory over death. At first glance, this claim seems hard to substantiate, because ἄχλωρ(λ)άεις can, of course, be a hypocoristic shortening of a compound name, which deprives us of almost any chance of discovering the second member of the original compound. This view would be supported by the fact that such hypocoristic names often show a gminated consonant. It might seem that there is rather a high price to pay for giving up Palmer’s account of Achilles’ name, and no obvious gain to be derived from using the formulaic associations of ἄξος. Before we look at what can be gained from this, though, it will be useful to consider whether the formal derivation from ἄχλωρ-λάεις ‘bringing ἄξος to his host of men’ is in fact tenable.

It is true that some independent evidence can be adduced for each of the steps assumed by Palmer and Nagy: (1) a truncated ἄχλωρ-λάεις might have resulted in ἄχλωρ(λ)άεις (cf. Ἀθήνας II. 5.111 and Ἀθηνᾶς II. 16.386); (2) an (expressive?) gemination might have occurred in a shortened name (cf. Χάριλαζας and Χάρηλας with a second member going back to *-lāgos or Περίλας, a by-form of Περίλας); and (3) the suffix -euc, which is common in personal names, might result from *-lāgos (either via substitution or by phonetic development) in the epic name Νηλέους, Attic Νηλεός vs. Myc. ne-e-ra-wo (see Palmer (1963) 78–9). However, there is no evidence amongst Greek personal names for the combination of all three stages: *άχλωρ-λάεις > *άχλωρ > *άχλωρ-λάεις because they are not attested in Greek personal names. This view would be supported by the fact that such hypocoristic names often show a gminated consonant.

It might seem that there is rather a high price to pay for giving up Palmer’s account of Achilles’ name, and no obvious gain to be derived from using the formulaic associations of ἄξος. Before we look at what can be gained from this, though, it will be useful to consider whether the formal derivation from *άχλωρ-λάεις ‘bringing ἄξος to his host of men’ is in fact tenable.

21 As has often been assumed, e.g. by Schulze (1892) 230 n. 2.
22 Cf. Mevvei, ‘EXτφωταικ; ΠΜποκ; ΙΜΠΙΣ; etc.
23 Note, however, that there is a Mycenaean example which might argue against a compound with λάος being the second member: the hypocoristic form of the name we know in alphabetic Greek as Ουναλαος*-δάμος is found in Mycenaean as o-na-se-u (and not to-na-st-e-u, ♀ Ουναλαος).
24 Perpilhou (1973) 172, 241 n. 8 discusses Φίλακες and Φίλες. Note also the forms Κλάωμις and Κλάωμις, both from Κλεομένις, which were kindly brought to my attention by Martin Peters.

addition of -euc). Moreover, the assumption of a hypocoristic name with expressive gemination does not give a satisfactory explanation of the alternation /λ/ ~ /λλ/25 which is very well embedded in the epics and has been exploited by the poet for metrical purposes, nor does it explain why the a priori less convenient variant with double λ (giving a metrical shape ω ≡ (ο)) is the more frequent one.

It thus seems more profitable to try to keep a connection with the formulaic theme hero slays death represented by ἄξος and to look for a possible phonological solution. There is in fact a phonological phenomenon that resembles the alternation /λ/ ~ /λλ/: this is the variance of the type ἄλλως-αράς vs. ἄλλης-ἀρής, which involves an underlying /-λλ/26. The assumption of an underlying *-ηλ- makes it possible both to explain the baffling alternation /λ/ ~ /λλ/ (on which more below) and to reconstruct the original compound in accordance with the formulaic semantics of ἄξος outlined above. I would suggest that the name ἄχλωρ(λ)άεις is derived from a stem *ak/·i/o-27 that goes back to a compound *hwp`g~hi·(h)w`g(h)`o· (saying pain/death), with an i-stem as the first member28 and a development of initial *hwp`g~k > δχι in accordance with the treatment of laryngeals before nasals discussed above.

The root underlying the second member of this compound is not easy to determine.29 There are two possibilities: either the root *(h)w`gth`o· attested in Hitt. walaqazi ‘he strikes’ with transitive meaning,30 or the root *(h)w`gth`o· attested in Tocharian (A subj. wlatir ‘he will die’, A pret. III w不通 ‘he died’) and Greek (τάλων

25 In my view, any etymology of ἄχλωρ(λ)άεις should be able to explain this notorious variation, which is not accounted for either by the analysis as a compound with λάος as a second member or by derivation from a stem *ak/·i/o-.
26 See Solmsen (1901) 127 n. 1.
27 Via the process described by Schindler (1976).
28 As Alan J. Nussbaum has shown (1999), the original pattern of nominal i-stems as first members of verbal-governing compounds with o-grade in the second member such as 1lTo}.ITlopBoc; ‘sacking ships’ is not accounted for either by the analysis as a compound with ἄξος as a second member or by derivation from a stem *ak/·i/o-.
29 Note that neither of the theoretically possible options creates any phonological difficulties for the proposed analysis: whichever root is preferred, the loss of the root-final laryngeal in a putative *(h)w`gth`o· can be explained according to the wewg~ rule (see Mayrhofer (1986) 129) and the loss of root-initial laryngeal by laryngeal loss in composition.
30 The compound *hwp`g~h~(h)w`g(h)`o·- is of the type seen in G διάρκειας ‘chariot-board’, semantically close to verbal-governing compounds with o-grade in the second member such as ηρωίπτως ‘sacking cities’, δευτερον ‘scoring to law and order’, αἰλώτος ‘agits-bearing’ etc.
The name of Achilles

31 If the two roots have to be kept separate, it is probably safer to reconstruct the second member as coming from *h₂ae-xh₁h₁a-, which is amply reflected in Greek, since the intransitive meaning does not prevent the reconstruction of a factitive bahavrrhi compound 'the one who provides death with defeat/death; Tod mit Überwindung/Tod versehen machend.' This view is supported by the formula θανάτω ... ἀλῶναι Il. 21.281, Od. 5.312, 24.34 'to be dead, slain,' which probably preserves the older usage of ἀλω- in Greek.

This etymological solution casts new light on the problem of the alternation λθ~λθι, particularly since the variants χιλες ~ χιλες show a noteworthy distribution in the Iliad (the following statistics are mine):

- the stem χιλα is used 323 times, 44 times in oblique case forms (i.e. 188 rect.: 44 obl. = 4:2:1);
- χιλα- in the nom./ voc. (υ θ ~) shows a strong predilection for the sixth foot (in only 11 out of 188 examples does it begin in the arsis of the first and fill the second foot);
- χιλα- in gen./ dat./ acc. (υ θ ~) usually fills the second foot and ends at the feminine penthemimeral caesura (30 times); 13 times it begins in the thesis of the third foot (after the feminine penthemimeral caesura) and extends through the thesis of the fifth; and once (at ll. 19.89) it begins in the thesis of the second foot and extends through the thesis of the fourth;
- the stem χιλα- is used 134 times, 87 of them in the oblique case forms (i.e. 47 rect.: 88 obl. = 1:1.8);
- it is the oblique stem χιλa- (gen./ dat./ acc. υ θ ~) which is this time far better attested at the verse end (30 times out of 88); in 45 cases it fills the thesis of the second foot and extends through the feminine penthemimeral caesura; eight times the form fills the thesis of the fourth foot and extends through the thesis of the fifth; and four times it is placed in the thesis of the first foot ending in the thesis of the second;
- finally, the stem χιλα- in nom./ voc. (υ θ ~) 27 times out of 47 fills the thesis of the first foot and arsis of the second; 16 times it fills the thesis of the first foot and ends at the masculine penthemimeral caesura; and four times the form begins after the masculine penthemimeral caesura and ends at the masculine hephemimeral caesura.

If these statistics are treated as significant, they suggest an original distribution /akʰiλες/ in nom./ voc. > χιλα- > /akʰiλες/ in gen./ dat./ acc. > χιλα-. An early dissimilatory /i/-loss could have taken place in the oblique stem /a.kʰi.λες/ where there were two subsequent syllables with /i/ in the onset, while in the nom./ voc. forms the context was different and the /i/ was preserved in the oblique. This explanation would provide a plausible solution for the epic forms with single -λ- and their distribution.

Such a dissimilation (*υ υ/υ > *o υ/υ) is supported by the following examples:

(<λρος> wool (cf. L urūx (see Solmsen (1901) 188–9))

λλαρ < (or *ρεφαρ or < *ρεφαρ with additional resonant dissimilation (see Blanc (1990));

ήμο < 'to vomit' (cf. L vomit).

All these examples are vowel-initial in Homer and show no trace of an initial digamma. Note also Att. υούμια 'the new moon' instead of the *υουμια that would be expected by the rules of Attic contraction (see Peters (1993) 386–7).

We are therefore entitled to conclude that the first of two /i/-s could occasionally be lost by dissimilation and that it is precisely this sound change that is responsible for the absence of the reflex of the first /i/ in the oblique stem /akʰiλες/.

It is thus possible that the parallel forms χιλες ~ χιλες which the poet could exploit for metrical purposes themselves result from alternating forms /akʰiλες/ ~ /akʰ(υ)λες/ that existed side by side in the decennial paradigm. As one would

31 A new etymology of G (Ionic) elίμην suggested by Ruiperez (2000), who traces this word back to *γεφαρ-< υ- elīμ (also vowel-initial in Homer (e.g. τετέλενος Il. 9.402 = 22.156).

34 If the comparison with *Fεραφ-* made by Janda (2000a) is correct, *ιμερό < *ιμερς (cf. Rix (1992) 227 and, with a different explanation, Peters (1992) 5.312, 24.34 'to be dead, slain: which the poet could exploit for metrical purposes himself result from alternating forms /akʰiλες/ ~ /akʰ(υ)λες/ that existed side by side in the decennial paradigm. As one would

32 At Martin Peters has pointed out to me, there would have been no trigger for a dissimilation at all in the old acc. sg. *akʰiλες < *akʰiλες.

35 Note the recent etymology of *ιμερό < *ιμερς by Michael Weiss (1998).

36 Perhaps already in Mycenaean: see the appendix.

37 It should be stressed, however, that I would not be willing to account for the διλλανή< διλλάνης, πιρρόρος< πιρρόνος alternation mentioned above by the same dissimilation.
expect, the statistical distribution confirms that 'akh(i)dyV- > χαλ- is at home in the oblique cases.39

There is an obvious semantic justification of this etymology: the impending death of Achilles is a significant part of the plot of the IIiad. On the one hand, all of Achilles' heroic deeds are performed against the background of his future death, of which he is well aware (e.g. II. 1.352, 19.328); on the other hand, the reader is constantly reminded that immortality was bestowed upon Achilles in his childhood, through references to his genealogy (τὸν ἀδάνατον τέκε μήτηρ II. 10.404, 17.78), his accoutrements (ἀργυροτοσία τεύχεα II. 17.194) and even his horses (ἵπποι) (διμήριστοι II. 16.866–7).

The death of Patroclus is naturally noteworthy in this connection, since it precedes and, to a certain extent, anticipates and foretells the death of Achilles himself.40 A name 'the one who overcomes death' immediately reminds us of the well-known story of Thetis' attempts to endow her son with immortality by putting him into the Styx. Thus the hero's name could have contained a reference to the whole plot of the epic, possibly even adding to its suspense.

The etymology suggested in this paper allows us to look at the problem from another angle. Achilles' immortality and his godlike status are topics too broad to be treated with thoroughness here, but it is worth mentioning the links between Achilles and the Olympian gods, such as the usage of the formulaic word μῆτρας, which is used in the epic only of the gods and Achilles (Watkins (1977) 189), or the striking fact that, in a recently published elegy on Platea by Simonides, Achilles is the subject of the prooimion, otherwise reserved for addressing the gods (West (1993)). There are also some, admittedly circumstantial, pieces of evidence that Achilles was worshipped as a god.41 If we are prepared to admit this evidence at face value and acknowledge the

39 Limitations of space prevent a detailed discussion of Odysseus' name despite its obvious relevance for this problem; and I shall therefore limit myself to a brief exposition of the facts and possible conclusions. The distribution of forms matches that of ἀχλεός – ἄχλαξ τΩνσου – Ὀδυςσεος– in strong case forms is attested 343 times, Ὀδυςσεος- 111 times; while, by contrast, the shorter stem Ὀδυς- is more frequent in oblique case forms: 166 times vs. Ὀδυςσεος- 105 times. At first glance, these statistics might seem unfavourable for the linguistic explanation proposed in this paper. However, the issue of etymology is also crucial in this case. If Ὀδυςσεος goes back to proto-Greek *odudās, as was suggested by Solmsen (1909), then there would be quite a strong likelihood of a purely metrical explanation in both cases, and, in particular, one could argue that the paradigm of Achilles' name could have been modelled on the name of Odysseus. If, however, the proto-form of Ὀδυςσεος contained a sequence *-dās, it is often assumed in recent works (e.g. Wachter (2001) 265–8), such a cluster should have been reflected in West Ionic and Attic as -ττ- and in East Ionic as -ττ-, and in this case metrically desirable Ὀδυςσεος– /Οδυςσεος- would itself be secondary, either by analogy with the variation ἀκλείας – ἄχλας or other cases of epic variation of the type τόξος – τός, ποτός, ποταμός – ποταμος.

40 'The Iliadic tradition requires Achilles to prefigure his dead self by staying alive, and the real ritual of a real funeral is reserved by the narrative for his surrogate Patroclus' (Nagy (1976) 231).

41 This evidence is well known and has been conveniently assembled in Hommel (1980): Achilles was honoured on the island Leuke and in other cultic places in the Northern Pontic area as Σωτήρ, Προσωτής and, by the time of Hadrian, especially as Πνομάρης (45 inscriptions with this epichesis are presently known). The earliest evidence is dateable to the end of the sixth century BC. This cult must have reached the Black Sea quite early, judging by the evidence of Alcaeus (I. 354 Voigt: ἄχλος θεός τὰς Σοφικές μεθέκες [[coni. ync]], which fits neatly with one of the fifth-century BC graffiti from Olbia: Γαλακτος με άνθρωπον ἀχλος λεκοςύκε φεκελίνων, πατες Ποσσού (Dubois (1996) no. 48); for the inscriptive and archaeological evidence, see, e.g., Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov (1993), Dubois (1996) 95–107 and, more recently, Cojocaru (2000). Sanctuaries of Achilles are also known to have existed elsewhere (Erythrai, Epirus, Asia Minor).

However, it cannot strictly be disproved that Achilles came to be worshipped in these parts as a glorified hero of the legend brought by colonists from Asia Minor who were familiar with the epic story. For instance, in a number of literary works the Isles of the Blessed are named as the dwelling place of Achilles after his death (P. N. 4.49; E. Andr. 1165; IT 436), which contradicts the story told in the Nekia but Arktos of Miletus, who in his Aithiopis confirms this location, also tells us that Thetis carried off the body of her son from the funeral and brought him to Leuke, thus connecting the Achilles of the epic story with the Pontic deity. It is unclear whether other literary authorities are referring to the same legend, or if the story told by Arktos is his literary invention (see the discussion in Edwards (1984)). The same is true of Leuke's multiple associations with Hades, the realm of the dead (mentioned by Rohde (1925) 565–7 n. 102). Opinions on this matter are still divided: while some follow Farnell (1921) 280–5 in being critical about any possibility of a 'demoted' god Achilles (see recently, e.g., Sigel (1996) col. 29), others find the cult of Achilles difficult to explain as originating in worship of a hero (Hedreen (1991) 313).

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the Greeks inherited the IE myth of a victory over death: the unsuccessful attempt made by Orpheus immediately comes in mind, but note also the Thracian myth of Dionysos-Zagreus killed and devoured by the Titans but later resuscitated (Paus. 3.37.5; Nonn. 6.537.26). However, the latter myth, although taken to be archaic by such authorities as Dodds (1957) 155–6 amongst others, was regarded by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1932) 2.193 as a Hellenistic invention.
46 Kazansky (1999) is inclined to see here a scribal error of the type of derivative.


48 In contrast.

49 E.g.

50 See Meier-Briigger (1997a) (with references) for this type of derivative.

The dialect does not preserve *-a-wi- in Mycenaean. First, it is probable that *-w/ was assimilated in Mycenaean to */-w/ in the Anlaut of the second compound member. The dialect does not preserve */y/ in all positions: it is important in this connection that the assimilation */y/ > */i/ (cf. *je-re-ja) after a front vowel is of Mycenaean date.44 Leukart (1999) has recently suggested that */n-*/ might also have resulted in geminated */m-*/ in Mycenaean.

The development */y/ > */i*/ (at least for certain sociolinguistic varieties of Mycenaean) was first proposed by Perpillou.45 His only example was re-ne-ja (PY Ub 1318.7), as opposed to usual we-re-ne-ja 'lamb's [wool]'46. However, Maurice (1998) added re-ne-ri/xes/ and re-si (*/geresi/ or */gënsi/) (KN Lc 561), with an uncertain reading of the first sign. Further evidence comes from personal names (which in any case constitute the majority of Mycenaean vocabulary known to us):

- ri-zo (KN B 800, As 1517, PY An 22) should evidently be read as *rittizö)i, i.e. *Pikia (cf. CyP. Pikas), and compared to pikâ 'root', Lesb. piôdia, which47 are thought to continue IE */ýhjádiHl/ (Go. wáirts, W gwýyq) in some way;48

- it seems reasonable to read re-ka-ta (KN B 806) as *irgátaHa/, and the name can be derived from the verbal root of (*/)rýyýmu 'I break', amply attested in personal names;49

- ru-ta; (KN Dz 5994) has traditionally been compared with Cretan Pútnos, mentioned at II. 2.648 (cf. Pótnos A. Suppl. 150 'delivering, saving'). *ýrHjá-ti-o- < *ýrHjá-ti-o- can be an old formation of the type tíjóns 'idle, vain'; tíjósia 'herd of swine', ýplítóns 'struck by lightning'46 or a hypocoristic to a name like 'Pótnólos'. In either case, the initial */y*/ in the root *ýrHjá-u- 'to protect' is assured.

51 It may be relevant for this problem that Greek dialects in general do not preserve */-w-*/ in initial */-u*-clusters (e.g. Dor. Δά 'I wish' with constant λ, compared by Meier-Briigger (1985) to B 303 4 n. 5 with IE */ýhjá-ti-o-*/ in contrast to the treatment of */ýr-*/.

52 See Heubeck (1963) 194: *otýhjál/ < */(k)otýhjá-ogés/ 'aux oreilles dressées' (Lejeune (1972) 81 n. 2); cf. Att. oć, Dor. oć.

53 *ýrHjá-ti-o-, *ýrHjá-ti-o- is preserved in *ýrHjá-ti-o- in Mycenaean: Heubeck quotes fortwóweš/ (nom. o-tu-wo-we (PY Jn 658+))53, which contains óthóc, from the IE root *ýrHjá-dh-/54, the most credible reconstruction for óthóc in my view being *ýrHjá-dh-/ýrHjá-ud- (Dehn 1972) 81 n. 2). There is another Mycenaean derivative of the same root that lacks */ýr-*/. Accordingly, */y*/ is preserved in Mycenaean wo-we (Hom. óthóc, Att. óthóc, Corc. óthóc 'frontier') and wo-do-we, but lost in o-tu-wo-we and o-ti-jo.55

Since the initial vocalism of a-ki-re-u is also unproblematic, /a/ being the standard Mycenaean reflex of initial */N-C-*, the Mycenaean evidence does not contradict the etymology proposed above.