

Pre-Greek Names

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Παρνασσός, Λυκαβηττός and the ‘foreign phoneme’.¹

As an introduction, I will first make some remarks on Furnée’s (1972) dissertation (under the supervision of F. B. J. Kuiper) which formed the starting point of the present study. This book has been severely criticized and is seldom cited, but I think that this is a grave mistake. People do not seem to have realized that all the conclusions in it are based on an exact analysis of the material, which is always presented in full. Most of Furnée’s conclusions are extremely straightforward. Thus, he already rejected the idea of Pelasgian, i.e., the hypothesis that the Greek substratum would be a dialect of Indo-European (1972: 40-55). This is now generally acknowledged, but much time has been lost in between.

Furnée’s main conclusions may be shortly summarized here.

1. He concluded² (1972:115-200) that Pre-Greek (‘Vorgriechisch’) did not distinguish between voiceless, voiced or aspirated consonants (that is, voice and aspiration were not distinctive features in the language). This is reflected in the fact that we often find variants of the same word with (e.g.) π, β or φ. Such variations occur frequently, and on the basis of them we can draw some conclusions about the phonology of the Pre-Greek language. From the fact mentioned we can already conclude that it was not Indo-European, as there the differences mentioned are always observed. It is true that Tocharian does not have these distinctions, but here the conclusion is that the distinctions were lost, as we are certain that the language was Indo-European. The same could have happened in Pre-Greek, of course, but here we are not certain

¹With ‘foreign phoneme’ I render the German term ‘Fremdphonem’.

²The idea was already put forward by Palmer 1963.

that the language was Indo-European (see below).

2. A second remarkable point is the occurrence of (so-called) prenasalization: a consonant can be found alone or with a nasal added in front of it. This again is a phenomenon not found in Indo-European. In the present article I give an example of this phenomenon.

3. Palmer suggested (1963: 39) that Pre-Greek had labialized and palatalized consonants. The first phenomenon is reflected in the existence of labiovelars, but they developed labiovelars although not always in exactly the same way as the Indo-European. One may think of Myc. *atoroqo* = ἄνθρωπος, which is clearly a non-Indo-European word, which will have been taken from Pre-Greek. The word ξίφος beside Myc. *qisipee* also shows an unexpected development. I have discussed the palatalized consonants in the Festschrift for Kortlandt (2008: 45-56).

4. I collected the Pre-Greek suffixes in my preliminary description of Pre-Greek (at www.indoeuropean.nl under the link Pre-Greek). After my etymological dictionary has appeared I will describe Pre-Greek in full in a separate book. I distinguished 110 separate suffixes, most of which are different from the Indo-European suffixes.

One can conclude, notably from items 2 and 4, that Pre-Greek was a non-Indo-European language.

Taken together the phenomena mentioned above make it well possible to distinguish Pre-Greek words. In the Etymological Dictionary which is now in press at Brill, I distinguished 1300 Pre-Greek words (along with a comparable number of *possible* Pre-Greek words). I have incorporated the words treated by Furnée, and a few more. This means that the Etymological Dictionary will contain the most extensive collection of Pre-Greek words so far.

I also recently announced my ideas in a review of Margalit Finkelberg (2007), where I incidentally failed to mention that royal succession along matrilineal lines is quite doubtful, as observed by Edel (*Class. Rev.* 57, 2007, 433-435).

The following is a good example of the way conclusions can be drawn on the basis of Furnée's results. In my view the conclusion is most simple and straightforward.

As yet the problem of the origin of the renderings $\sigma\sigma$, Att. $\tau\tau$ in Pre-Greek loanwords has not yet been solved. We should note that single consonants ($-\sigma-$ or $-\tau-$) are also found

instead of $\sigma\sigma$, $\tau\tau$. I have tried earlier to establish what happened to the palatalized velars but I did not find an answer then.

I now think that this is not so difficult. It is clear that the developments were often similar to the results of a consonant followed by an i . Thus the phoneme p^y developed in the same way as (IE) pi , giving $\pi\tau$, $\beta\delta$. Similarly, a palatalized dental was represented as $\sigma(\sigma)$ or ζ . If we follow these indications, it is obvious to suppose that $\sigma\sigma$, Att. $\tau\tau$ resulted from a palatalized velar, just like a velar + i resulted in $\sigma\sigma$, Att. $\tau\tau$, as in $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\text{-}\omega$, $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\text{-}\omega$.³ (A short survey of the developments is found in Rix 1976: 91f.). Thus I assume that the foreign phoneme was a palatalized velar in Pre-Greek, which I write as k^y . So, the name was **Parnāk^y*.

It happens that we can prove this. The well-known $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$ is also Pre-Greek (the existing etymological dictionaries hardly ever recognize such facts). In this case we have a variant from Hesychius, $\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\alpha\upsilon$: $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\upsilon$. Apparently the palatal feature was lost after the inserted nasal (prenasalization is a frequent phenomenon in Pre-Greek; see above and cf. Furnée 267-291). This resulted in $\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\alpha$, with a plain velar as predicted. This velar was rendered in Greek with an aspirate, but we saw that aspiration in Pre-Greek was not distinctive. Similarly the first sound is now rendered as a voiced sound (δ - instead of θ -).⁴ A parallel for this phenomenon is seen in $\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\iota\upsilon\alpha$ beside $\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\beta\delta\alpha\iota\upsilon\alpha$ ‘a kind of crab’, which has $\beta\delta$ from p^y . So we have $talak^y a > \theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$, $\text{-}\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$ with $talanka > \delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\alpha$ (for **θάλαγχα?*). So $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$, $\text{-}\tau\tau\alpha$ with $\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\alpha$ shows that the phoneme we are looking for was a palatalized velar. (We can now also discard the suggestion that $\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\alpha$ is Macedonian. Furnée 256 gives the word in a wrong context (248-263), among words where a dental varies with σ and ζ , which represent rather a palatalized *dental*.) In this way we can solve all problems, and it is clear that we have to accept

³The word $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\xi$ is clearly Pre-Greek, in spite of Frisk and Chantraine; but this is irrelevant here.

⁴One might also expect a form **δαλαγγαν*, with voicing after the nasal, as in $\mu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\alpha\upsilon\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$, which Lucien van Beek convincingly explained as a prenasalized form of $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\upsilon\text{-}\acute{\eta}$ (in my Etymological Dictionary).

Palmer's phonemic system. This interpretation shows nicely how important variants (which are not understandable at first sight) may be used for the interpretation of Pre-Greek forms; the variants should always be given, which the existing dictionaries do not do on a regular basis. We should now look for forms where the phoneme is represented by a Greek voiced consonant; we may expect ζ, δδ.

A final note. West in his new book (2007: 8) gives a Luwian etymology for Παρνασσός (with *parna-* 'house'). This proposal must now be rejected because the word contains the 'foreign phoneme'. He even suggests calling Pre-Greek 'Parnassian'. The name itself is acceptable, but the notions involved are quite wrong: there were in my view no Luwians in Greece. We should be spared a new disaster as with 'Pelagian'. Pre-Greek is a completely non-Indo-European language.

Ulixes

I will now discuss the variant forms of the name Odysseus, and their implications for the origin of the name. These forms were given by Wüst 1931 and in the dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine.

A few minor problems may be mentioned first. Forms with δ are only found in the epic and in literary texts: 'Οδυσ(σ)εύς and derivations of it. Next to this, a form with λ is found more frequently, e.g. 'Ολυσ(σ)εύς, 'Ολυτ(τ)εύς, 'Ολισεύς, and Latin *Ulixās*. Etruscan *utuse* confirms the δ.

The interchange λ/δ must go back to variation in the Pre-Greek substrate. This is also the case with the interchange υ/ι, of which Furnée (1972: 364-367) gives many instances. I am not sure about the origin of the initial *U*, but it may be due to the influence of a velar *l*. An interchange ο/υ is found, but not ο/ου. There are also forms with Ω- but there is a frequent interchange ο/ω, so this does not help us to explain the ου. In view of these considerations, the original form in Pre-Greek was probably like 'Ολυσσευ-, 'Ολυττευ-.

The main problem of Ulixes is the *x*. As to the Latin form, it must have been taken from a western Greek dialect form, as seen in Οὐλιξεύς (probably in Ibyc. ap. Diom. Gr. p. 321 K., Hdn Gr.; Plut. Marc. 20, 3). But the Greek form that is

the origin of the Latin *-x-* has not been explained thus far.⁵ The spelling $\sigma\sigma$ /Att. $\tau\tau$ shows that the original sound was a palatalized velar, which I designate as $/k^j/$, and the existence of which in Pre-Greek I demonstrated in the previous section. Pre-Greek had a series of plain stops, and beside these, there were also series of labialized and palatalized phonemes. On the Pre-Greek labiovelars see Beekes 1995/6: 12f. Pre-Greek labialized phonemes such as $/k^w/$ gave labiovelars in the pre-stage of Greek that adapted the substrate words, but it is clear that the $-\xi-$ in Ὀὐλιξέυς does not represent such a phoneme. Therefore, we are left with the possibility of a palatalized velar $/k^j/$, and in fact, this seems to be a good possibility. It is understandable that $-\xi-$ would develop from k^j : a velar element remained, and the rendering with $\sigma\sigma$ shows that it may also have developed an element *s*. There is no reason to consider *-s-* an additional element. Now since it follows from the notation with $\sigma\sigma$, Att. $\tau\tau$ that the original form had a k^j , which was a palatalized velar, I propose that this phoneme was rendered by ξ in some dialects of Greek. No further assumptions are necessary. Thus, the original form of the name of Odysseus was something like **Od/luk^jeu-*.

The first vowel is often considered to be a prothetic vowel. This depends on its identification with Hatt. $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$ (which is also the name of the father of Herodotus), and Lydian $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\varsigma$; but Zgusta 1964: 272 rejects the connection. On a prothetic vowel *o-* in Pre-Greek see Furnée 1972: 375.

In conclusion, I see no reason to consider the name Illyrian, since all forms can be explained without difficulty within the framework of Pre-Greek. As to the Latin form, it is most probable that it was taken from the Doric of one of the dialects of Southern Italy. A well known example is Latin *machina*.

So we have found a threefold representation of a Pre-Greek phoneme in Greek, or twofold if one takes $\sigma\sigma$ and $\tau\tau$ together as one earlier phoneme. The essential elements are $\sigma\sigma$, $\tau\tau$ and ξ . There are more instances of this series of representations. The following is a rather complicated instance (the forms are given at Furnée 129, 286, 349, 379, 393): the

⁵The suggestion that it may be due to an Oscan development is no explanation in my view.

family of words belongs to ‘buck, he-goat’ (Hom.).⁶

We find variation of the vowel as ϵ or a , which I shall here neglect for the moment (the a is predominant and, to my mind, original). Further we find variation in the consonantism: $\acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ ‘sheepskin’ ($\acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ Hp., Gal.), $\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\sigma}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ Hsch. ($\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ Theognost. Kan. 14), $\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ (sch. Ar. Nub. 72) with $\sigma\sigma$ reduced to single σ , and also $\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\theta}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ Hsch., which I think represents a phoneme $\tau\tau$. Then there is a form $\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\lambda\eta$ ‘sheepskin’ Hsch., which I find difficult to explain. It seems clear that the vowel was syncopated, and perhaps the $-\theta-$ was secondary. Cf. also $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota \cdot \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota \mu\eta\lambda\omega\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$ (‘sheepskins’) H., where the vowel was syncopated as well. Beside these forms, we find a participle $\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota \cdot \delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\tau\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ H., which must be due to a metathesis of $\acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda-$, with additional aspiration in $\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda-$, and besides $-\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\lambda-$ with syncopated vowel. Furnée (1972: 129 fn. 52) gives $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\kappa\lambda\omicron\nu$ beside $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\xi\alpha$ as a parallel for this phenomenon.

So the forms essential to our problem are $\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\lambda-$, $\acute{\iota}\theta\theta\epsilon\lambda-$ and $\acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda-$, which show precisely the three representations which we encountered in the name of Odysseus, and for which we established a Pre-Greek phoneme $/k^{\nu}/$. Therefore, I reconstruct a preform $*ik^{\nu}al-$ with a palatalized velar. However, the last group presents a problem, in that the language of Homer has a form with $-\acute{\xi}$. Is it a loanword from a western dialect? Or did the $\acute{\xi}$ also appear elsewhere (e.g., in Anatolia)? I see no way to answer these questions at the moment.

Furnée (1972: 286 fn. 72) gives a couple of other instances of the phenomenon:

- 1) $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$ ‘waste’ (Pherecr.) beside $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$ ‘twig’ and $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu \cdot \xi\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$, (‘dry stick’).
- 2) $\kappa\iota\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$ (Democr.) with $\kappa\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$ (Jo. Gramm.) ‘highway robber’
- 3) $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (Hippiatr.) next to $\kappa\rho\iota\acute{\xi}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (Poll.) ‘enlargement of a vein, varicocele’.

I wonder whether $\acute{\xi}\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$, Att. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$, and $\acute{\xi}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ belong

⁶In antiquity the meaning of the word was not clear. It was supposed to be a normal adjective (like ‘quick’, with a false etymology: $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\alpha}\iota \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ H.), but this is wrong, as the word is Pre-Greek. The passage in Δ 105 clearly means ‘from the/a goat (called) *ixalos*’.

to this group as well. The last word could continue Pre-Greek **k'um*.

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