

## Early Contact Between Phrygian and Greek

Phrygian was an Indo-European language spoken in central Anatolia in the first millennium BCE and the first half of the first millennium CE. The language is attested as Old Phrygian in documents dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE written in a native alphabet. New Phrygian inscriptions date from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE and are written in the Greek alphabet.

### Proto-Greco-Phrygian

The close genetic relationship between Greek and Phrygian has long been recognized and the argument for a common Greco-Phrygian stage is extensively presented in Neumann's *Phrygisch und Griechisch*.

Some important isoglosses include:

- vocalization of inter-consonantal and word-initial pre-consonantal laryngeals:  $h_{1/2/3} / \#\_C, C\_C > e/a/o$ ;
- vocalization of resonant and laryngeal clusters:  $CRh_{1/2/3}C > CR\bar{a}/\bar{e}/\bar{o}C$ ;  $CRHV > CaRV$ ;
- debuccalization of intervocalic and initial *s*:  $s / \#\_V, V\_V > h$ ;
- $K\bar{i} > ts_1, dz_1$ ;
- $T\bar{i} > ts_2, dz_2$ .

### Distinguishing Between Inheritance and Borrowing

Phrygian developments after its separation from Greek:

- $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ ;
- $b^h, d^h, g^h, g^{wh} > b, d, g, g^w$ ;
- $b, d, g, g^w > p, t, k, k^w$ ;
- $h > \emptyset$ ;
- Phrygian palatalization:  $k, g^l / \_i, \_e > ts, dz$ ;
- $ts > ss$ ;
- $ss / \#\_ , \_ \# > s$ ;
- $nt / V\_V, V\_ \# > nn$ ;
- $C_1C_2C_3... \# > C_1 \#$ ;
- vocalization of syllabic resonants.

Some Phrygian lexemes inherited from the Greco-Phrygian stage:

- *anar* 'husband, man', Greek ἀνήρ;
- *auto-* 'self', Greek αὐτό-;
- *kako-* 'bad', Greek κακό-;
- *ke* 'and (enc.)', Greek τε;

<sup>1</sup> NB: not  $k^w$  and  $g^w$ .

- *deos* 'god', Greek θεός;
- *knaik-* 'wife, woman', Greek γυναικ-;
- *meka-* 'big, great', Greek μεγά.

### Early Loanwords into Phrygian

- *akrodman* 'top part of the grave', cf. Greek μεσόδμη 'tie-beam';
  - Greek \*ακρόδμη is not attested, but the derivation and the presence of *d* (for expected Phrygian *t*) are consistent with a loanword from Greek (Brixhe & Neumann 1985: 172).
- *artimis* 'Artemis', cf. Myc. *a-ti-mi-te* (Gusmani & Polat 1999: 156);
- *dum-* 'religious community', cf. Greek δοῦμος (Lubotsky 1997: 118);
- *konno-* 'joint', cf. Greek κοινό-;
  - the Phrygian reflex of *-nī-* is unknown, making it possible this is an inherited word, but if borrowed, its adoption must precede the Greek ονι > οιν shift;
- *kuryaneyon* 'commander?', cf. Greek κοιρανέων;
  - either inherited or a borrowing from the Mycenaean era (Lubotsky 1988);
- *lavagta-* '(a title)', cf. Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta*, Doric λαγέτας;
  - a loanword from Mycenaean (Lejeune 1969);
- *pant-* 'all, every', cf. Greek παντός;
  - the unassimilated *-nt-* assures this is a loanword from after the relevant sound law had ceased being operational in Phrygian;
- *vanakt-* 'king', cf. Myc. *wa-na-ka*, Greek ἄναξ;
  - might be inherited, but the Mycenaean context (*midai lavagtaei vanaktei*) makes it likely this title was borrowed (Lejeune 1969).

### Developments in Phrygian With Parallels in Greek

Phrygian underwent the shift *-ns-* > *-īs-* in prehistoric times: a-stem acc. pl. *-ans* > *-ais*.

- Lesbian Greek underwent an identical development (Buck 1955: 135).
- If the Phrygian development was the result of areal influence from Lesbian Greek, as seems likely, the time of the Lesbian second CL can provide a *terminus post quem* for extensive contact between Lesbian Greek and Phrygian.

The vocalization of syllabic resonants in Phrygian:

- Phrygian *mrotis* and μροσσας most likely reflect \**mṛ-ti-s* and \**mṛ-tī-eh<sub>2</sub>-s* (cf. Latin *mors*, *mortis*).
- The reflex of \**r* in Phrygian must thus have been *ro* at least in a post-labial position.
  - This state of affairs is paralleled in Aeolic, Arcado-Cypriot, and epic Greek (van Beek 2013), but not other dialects of Greek.

## Rs and sR clusters

There are no instances of *sr*, *rs*, *sl*, or *ls* clusters in the Old Phrygian corpus, making it exceedingly likely that Phrygian underwent a development similar to the first compensatory lengthening in Greek, either with lengthening of the vowel or the gemination of the resonant (with subsequent degemination).

There are no lexemes whose etymologies unambiguously require a resonant and sibilant cluster. One likely example is OPh. *śira*, NPh. ζειρα /zīra/. Assuming this word is cognate with Greek χείρ, meaning 'hand', it is possible to postulate the following development:

|          |                      | vocalization<br>root vowel leveling | s > h<br>g <sup>h</sup> > g | g / _e > ś<br>h / V_V > Ø |
|----------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| nom. sg. | g <sup>h</sup> esr̥  | g <sup>h</sup> esar                 | gehar                       | śear                      |
| acc. sg. | g <sup>h</sup> serm̥ | g <sup>h</sup> eseram               | geheran                     | śēran                     |
| gen. sg. | g <sup>h</sup> sros  | g <sup>h</sup> esros                | gehros                      | śehros                    |

The shift to an a-stem must have originated from the accusative, since no other form contains the appropriate vocalism. The stem *śir-* (< \*śēr-) might have been leveled from the same form, but a development along the lines of the first compensatory lengthening in Greek in the genitive is also possible (\*Vhr > V̄r) and would provide additional pressure to level the stem in this manner. At present, the development remains uncertain.

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Revised: 08/09/2018