

The Aorist System of Phrygian

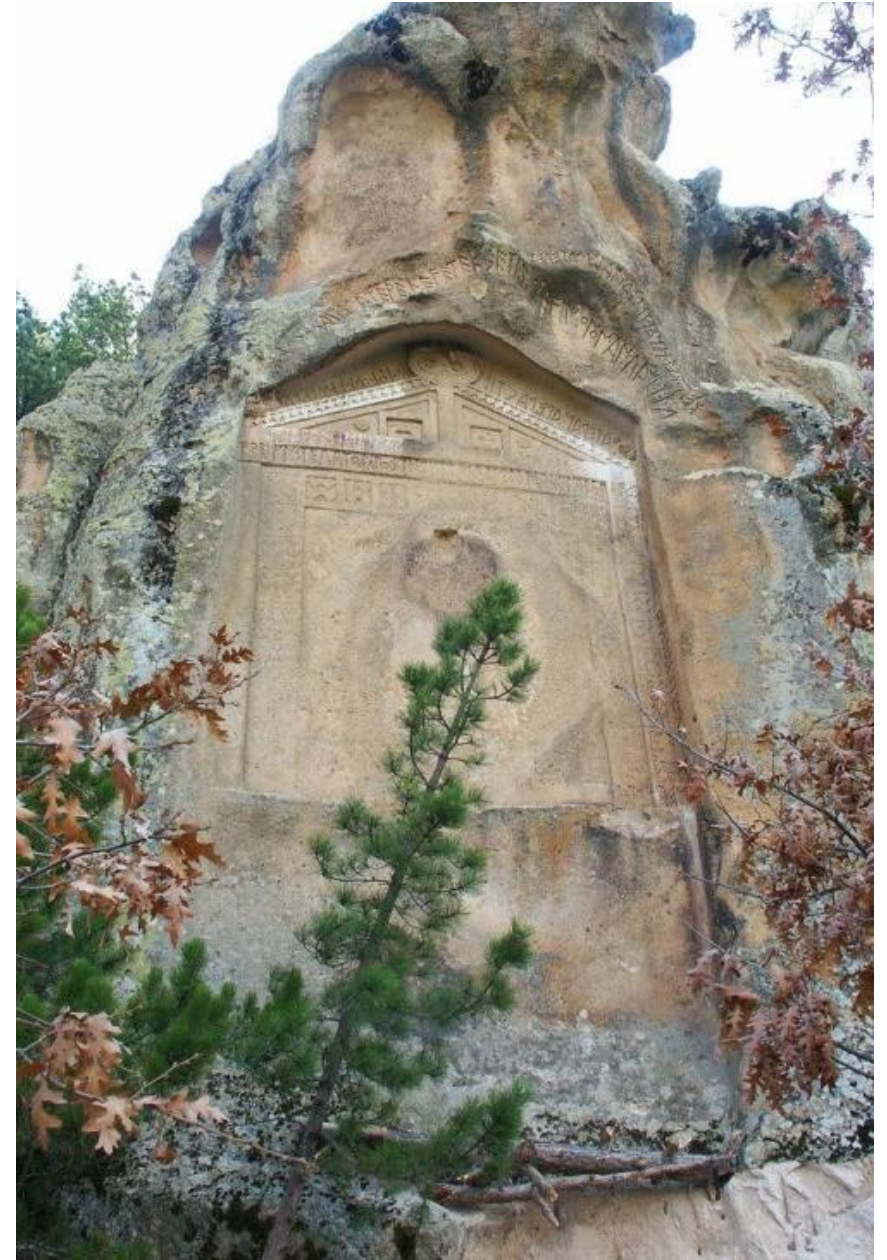
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The Phrygian language

- Attested in two phases: Old Phrygian (8th to 4th century BCE) and New Phrygian (1st to 3rd century CE).
- Old Phrygian:
 - around 400 inscriptions;
 - written in a native alphabet.
- New Phrygian:
 - around 100 inscriptions, mostly malediction formulae;
 - written in the Greek alphabet.



Evidence for a Graeco-Phrygian branch of Indo-European

- Phrygian and Greek both belong to a single branch of Indo-European.
- Vocalization of laryngeals: $*\#h_{1/2/3}C > *\#e/a/oC$; $*Ch_{1/2/3}C > *Ce/a/oC$:
 - $*h_1su > ev, εὐ$; $*h_2nēr > αναρ, ἀνήρ$; $*h_3nh_3mn > onoman, ὄνομα$;
 - $*d^h_1so- > devo-, θεό-$; $*ph_2tr- > πατρ-, πατρ-$; $*h_3nh_3mn > onoman, ὄνομα$;
- debuccalization of $*s$: $*VsV > *VhV$;
- 3sg middle imperative ending $*-sd^hō(d)$:
 - OPh. *-do*, NPh. *-δου*; Gr. *-σθω*;
- pronoun $*auto-$:
 - OPh. *avto-*, Gr. *αὐτό-*;
- masculine *a*-stem paradigm:
 - e. g. OPh. *mekas*, Gr. *μέγας*.

Phrygian aorists: the attested active forms

- All attested forms are in the 3rd person singular.
- Indicative active aorist:
 - *ebaes* 'spoke',
 - *edaes* 'placed',
 - *eparkes* 'inscribed',
 - *estaes* 'erected',
 - *etoves* 'gave',
 - εδαεσ 'placed',
 - εκανεσ 'dug',
 - επαρκεσ 'inscribed',
 - εσταεσ 'erected'.

Phrygian aorists: the attested middle forms

- All attested forms are in the 3rd person singular.
- Indicative middle aorist:
 - *edatoy* 'caused to be placed',
 - *egertoy* 'caused to take?',
 - *eketoy* 'caused to be made',
 - *ektetoy* 'caused to be acquired',
 - *epaktoy* '?',
 - *estatoi* 'caused to be erected'.
- The ending is *-toi*, which looks and must have originally been primary. It must have spread to the aorist system secondarily.

Phrygian aorists: the basics

- In the indicative mood, the aorists are used to refer to an action in the past.
 - °M-01b *baba* [...] *sikeneman edaes* "Baba [...] placed this niche."
 - °B-07 *smanes* [...] *estaes* "Manes [...] erected (it)."
 - πινκε τας δακερης ονομανιαις [...] *εδαεξ* "These five named pieces [...] he placed.",
 - *ενεπαρκεξ δετουν* "He inscribed the monument."
- As in the other tenses, the middle voice in the indicative mood is used to form a causeless causative construction meaning "to have/get something done":
 - °B-07 *va knays manuka odeketoy* "His wife Manuka had (it) made."
 - °B-01 *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy* "Mother Kybele herself had the community acquired."
 - °W-01a *bonok materan* [...] *vrekun tedatoy* "Bonok [...] had the Mother placed as a monument."

Synchronic description

- In the active voice, the structure of the known aorists is the following:

OPTIONAL PREVERB + AUGMENT *e-* + VERBAL ROOT + *-es*

- *e-da-es*, *en=e-park-es*, *e-sta-es*, *e-tov-es*

- In the middle voice, the structure of the known aorists is the following:

OPTIONAL PREVERB + AUGMENT *e-* + VERBAL ROOT + (THEMATIC VOWEL) + *-toi*

- *t=e-da-toy*, *e-ger-toy*, *od=e-ke-toy*, *e-kt-e-toy*

The diachronic situation: root aorists

- Original root aorists: *e-ba-es* 'spoke', *e-da-es* 'placed', *e-da-toy* 'caused to place', *e-ger-toy* 'caused to take', *e-pak-toy* '?', *e-sta-es* 'erected', *e-sta-toi* 'caused to erect', *e-tov-es* 'gave'
- A simple proportion *eda-es* : *eda-toy* or *esta-es* : *esta-toi* suggests that *-es* is the bare aorist ending.
 - *-toy* is known to be an ending from other verbal forms (e. g. *mederitoy*, αββερετοι)
- The root in old root aorists is in the full grade in both the active and the middle: *ba-* < **b^heh₂*, *da-* < **d^heh₁-*, *ger-* < **g^her-*, *pak-* < **peh_{1/2}k-*, *sta-* < **steh₂-*, *to-* < **deh₃-*.
 - This must be a Phrygian innovation: Greek preserves zero-grade in root aorist middles (cf. ἐθέμην, ἐδόμην).
 - The spread of the full grade must postdate the Phrygian palatalization to explain *ger-*.
 - Sequence of developments: act. **g^her-* : mid. **g^hr-* > **dzer-* : **gr-* >> **ger-* : **gr-* >> **ger-* : *ger-*.

The diachronic situation: sigmatic aorists

- Original sigmatic aorists: *e-park-es*, ε-κav-ες
 - Unfortunately, no attested middles.
- The root in old sigmatic aorists is in the lengthened grade in the active: *park-* < **pērk-* 'to scratch', *kane-* < **k^wēnh₁-* 'to dig'.
- How to interpret *-es*? As a suffix continuing *-s- or as an ending, as the root aorists suggest?

The diachronic situation: sigmatic optatives

- Sigmatic optatives, showing the suffix *-si/e-*, are derived from optatives of sigmatic aorists:
**-s-* + **-ih₁-*
- The suffix *-si-* attaches itself to synchronic temporal-aspect stems: e. g. *ege-se-ti*, where *ege-* is the present stem.
- In at least two examples, we may be dealing with actual archaisms:
 - *umniset* < **umn-id-s-ih₁-*;
 - *tekiseton* < **tek-id-s-ih₁-*.
- This suggests that at least prehistorically, **-s-* was the sigmatic aorist suffix.

The diachronic situation: thematic aorists

- Original thematic aorists: *e-kt-e-toy* 'caused to be acquired', *lak-e-do* (imperative) 'may he be seized'.
 - The semantics of the middle aorist are currently not understood and only *lakedo* is known as an example.
- The root in *ektetoy* is in the zero grade: *kt-* < **g^hd-* 'to acquire' (cf. Gr. *χαλδάνω*).
 - Previous proposals linked *kte-* to the root **tkeh₁-* 'to rule, gain, acquire', but Phrygian did not undergo dental-velar metathesis.
- The root in *lakedo* could be in any of the ablaut grades: *lak-* < **sl(e/ē)h₂g^w-*.
- The category of thematic aorists evidently synchronically exists in attested Phrygian, at least in the middle voice.

The origin of *-es*

- Should we interpret *-es* as a suffix or as an ending?
 - Impossible to answer until an aorist form in anything other than 3sg is found.
- The desinence *-s* is unlikely to have any origin **other** than the **-s-* suffix of the sigmatic aorists.
- What is the origin of *-e-*, then?

The origin of *-e-* in *-es*

- An *a priori* attractive possibility is that *-e-* in *-es* is the thematic vowel.
 - Since the thematic aorists are still attested in the middle voice, the category was evidently not eliminated.
 - One may compare the OCS new aorist in *-ox-ъ*.
- Why would *-e-* appear before the sigmatic suffix, however?
- A crucial Phrygian sound law: $*-Cs > -C$
 - cf. **wanaks* > OPh. *vanak*;
 - would delete the sigmatic element in 3sg from all roots ending in a consonant: $*CeCs > *CeC$;
 - 3sg **epērks* would surface as the obviously defective ***epar*, not as the transparent *eparkes*.
- If 3sg forms were insufficiently characterized, they would need to be re-sigmatized somehow.

A possible relative chronology

	Early PPh.			OPh.	
2sg sigm. aor.	<i>CēC-s</i>	<i>CēC-s</i>	<i>CēC</i>	<i>CēC-es</i>	<i>CēC-es</i>
3sg sigm. aor.	<i>CēC-s</i>	<i>CēC-s</i>	<i>CēC</i>	<i>CēC-es</i>	<i>CēC-es</i>
2sg them. aor.	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>
3sg them. aor.	<i>CC-e</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>	<i>CC-e-s</i>
2sg root aor.	<i>CeC-s / CV-s</i>	<i>CeC-s / CV-s</i>	<i>CeC / CV-s</i>	<i>CeC / CV-s</i>	<i>CeC-es / CV-es</i>
3sg root. aor.	<i>*CeC / CV</i>	<i>*CeC / CV</i>	<i>CeC / CV</i>	<i>CeC / CV</i>	<i>CeC-es / CV-es</i>

Similar to the proposal of Gorbachev (2005).

Alternative proposals

- Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018):
- *-es-* originates in **-s-e-s*, which would develop into **-h-e-s* > *-e-s* after a vowel, whence it would spread;
 - problematic, since it would require another **s* > **h* development after the Proto-Graeco-Phrygian stage; but cf. the paradigmatically restored and then preserved **s* of the sigmatic optatives: **-s-ih₁-* > *-sī-*.
- Kortlandt (2016):
- *-es* is a clitic originating in the demonstrative pronoun **h₁e/i-*;
 - does bypass the **-Cs* > *-C* issue for the sigmatic aorists: **-Cs es* > **-C es* > **-Ces*;
 - but there is no Phrygian pronoun ***es*: only *⁺is/ις* is actually known; the syntax is strained.

Conclusions

- Synchronic attested Phrygian preserved the three original forms of the aorist, but merged some of them in certain parts of the paradigm.
- The active and middle voices are likely to have levelled ablaut grades.

Thank you for your attention.

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