

## A Note on the Date of Grassmann's Law in Greek

By R. JANKO, Cambridge

If the Linear B sign *pte* is < \**pye*, and the change occurred after the borrowing of Linear B from Linear A, not much time is left for the operation of Grassmann's Law before the fall of Knossos, as such forms as *θάπτω* show that it had not operated when the change *py-* > *pt-* occurred.

The Linear B sign \*62 is reliably attested at Knossos with the value *pte*, for example in the word *pte-re-wa* (KN Se 879 etc.), *πελέη*, with the variant spelling *pe-te-re-wa* at KN So 894, the cognate of OHG *felawa*. At Pylos \*62 is found in a number of words where we restore *pte*, e.g. /diphtherā/, /struptēriās/, /rhaptēr/ (the sign is also used for the aspirated stops). There are, however, no certain examples of *pte* spelt out as *pe-te-* at Pylos. The obscure words *a-pe-te-me-ne* (Ta 709); *a-pe-te-u* (a man's name on Jn 692 and elsewhere), and *o-pe-te-re-u* (a man's name on Ea 805 and Eb 294) might not involve dead vowels. But there seems to be no good reason why \*62 should not have the value *pte* outside Knossos.

The sign is unusual in Linear B, in that it represents a cluster of consonants followed by the vowel. But L. R. Palmer has plausibly explained this when suggesting his theory of the basis on which the Linear A syllabary was built: it seems to have had signs for plain, palatalised and labialised series. It is known that the group \**pye* gave *pte* at some date within the history of Greek before the fall of Knossos: thus it is suggested that the sign *pte* in fact represented *pye* when borrowed into Linear B, which evolved by phonetic laws then operative into the *pte* of Knossos. This suggestion has been widely accepted. Similarly the Mycenaean z-series, if these represented *ts/dz* or some other type of geminated affricate, may have been borrowed as a palatalised velar series, *ky-*. The loss of post-consonantal yod thus seems to have taken place at the same time after the two different stop series, as might be expected: if the hypothesis is correct, it must have occurred between the adaptation of Linear B from Linear A (as yet undated, but perhaps in LH I) and the time of the Knossos tablets.

It is a well-known fact that this palatalisation can be shown to have preceded the operation of Grassmann's Law of dissimilation

of aspirates. Thus we find *ταχύς* but *θάσσω*, *θάπτω* but *τάφος*. Palatalisation involved the loss of aspiration where it affected an aspirated stop, as in *κρύπτω* beside *κρύφα* from *\*κρύφιω*. This is best explained by positing an affricate stage with *s* or *š*. W. S. Allen has compared the development of Vulgar Latin *\*sapiat* to Romansch *sapt'a*,  $\text{ } \rangle \text{-pt}^{\text{š}} \text{-} \rangle \text{-pš-}$  as in O. Provençal *sapche* (which loses the *p* to give French *sache*). A stage in *pš* would very probably cause loss of aspiration, just as it is lost in *θρίξ* besides *τριχός*. Had Grassmann's Law preceded this, we would have *\*\*τάπτω* for *θάπτω*, *\*\*τρύπτω* for *θρύπτω*. By comparison with *τάφος* and *τετράτρυπον* respectively we can set up these roots as *\*θαφ-* and *\*θρυφ-* and say that they developed from *\*θαφιω* and *\*θρυφιω* to the historically attested forms before the operation of Grassmann's Law.

If we allow that the fall of Knossos occurred c. 1380, we must conclude that palatalisation was taking place in the 16th. or 15th. centuries B.C., after the adaptation of the Minoan script for Greek speech. This does not leave much time for Grassmann's Law to operate, and if Knossos did fall in c. 1380 we can say with some confidence that it is unlikely to have done so. But by 1200 sufficient time has elapsed, and if we dated the Law later than that it is difficult to believe that, in the more troubled times of the Dark Ages when communications were seriously impaired, some dialect would not have resisted the innovation<sup>1</sup>).

## Überlegungen zu Defektivität und Suppletion im Griechischen und Indogermanischen\*

Von KLAUS STRUNK, München

Bei suppletiver Bezeichnung grammatischer Kategorien innerhalb von Paradigmen treten lexikalische Ausdrucksmittel anstelle von oder in Verbindung mit morphologischen Ausdrucksmitteln auf. Solche suppletiv ge-

<sup>1</sup>) I would like to thank Professor W. S. Allen and Dr. J. Chadwick for discussing this with me. C. T. Ruijgh's different arguments tend to the same conclusion (*Études du grec mycénien*, 1967, pp. 44–6). References: W. S. Allen ap. *Lingua* 7 (1958) pp. 119–20; L. R. Palmer ap. *BICS* 2, (1955), pp. 36–45.

\*) Erweiterte Fassung eines auf der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (1.–2. November 1976) zum Rahmenthema 'Griechisch und Indogermanisch' gehaltenen Referates.