The Tempo of Greek Polysyllables[/,]

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I have pondered three paradoxes.

1. In those types of Greek verse which admit resolution, especially those which were spoken and not sung, there is a strong tendency for resolved positions to be occupied by the two initial syllables of a word containing three or more[1]). This cannot be accounted for from regular caesuras and bridges inherent in the pattern of the verse, for when the same positions are not resolved no similar limitations on word-shape apply.

2. The avoidance of word-end between the two shorts of a resolved position, and after a long syllable in certain anceps positions, implies that word-end is a factor which adds length to the preceding syllable[2]). This cannot be accounted for by the assumption of any sort of pause between words, for that would destroy the fundamental principle of Greek versification that all words within the metrical period are in prosodic sandhi, irrespective of syntactical breaks (even change of speaker): a final consonant forms a syllable with an initial vowel, and a short final vowel is elided, whereupon the consonant preceding it forms a syllable with the initial vowel following[3]).

3. The recession of the accent in Greek is limited by distance from the end of the word. The ε in ἐάγη, for example, cannot be accented because it is too far from the end. But the ε in ἔᾱγα can be and is accented. Why does . . . ◡ – count as longer than . . . – ◡ for this purpose?

I have elsewhere[4]) proposed in explanation of the first paradox the hypothesis that the first syllables of a long word tended to be uttered more rapidly than the last. Rapidity is the aim under-

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[1]) See W. S. Allen, Accent and Rhythm, 316 f.

[2]) See Glotta 48, 1970, 187–90.

[3]) Cf. J. Kuryłowicz in: Indo-European and Indo-Europeans (Papers presented at the Third Indo-European Conference at the University of Pennsylvania) 421 ff.; Allen 113 ff.

[4]) Gnomon 48, 1976, 7.

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lying other prosodic restrictions on resolved positions (the avoidance of word-end between the syllables, and the avoidance of syllables followed by mute + liquid). Further, it has been observed that where the two last syllables of a word occupy such a position, the vowels are usually adjacent or separated only by ϱ[5]), so that their succession is as rapid as possible short of contraction[6]).

This hypothesis, in particular as it applies to the ends of words, will also resolve my second and third paradoxes. Assume a very slight *ritardo* on final syllables, and all is explained.

Griech. ἀλειτηρός, νηλειτής und die Entwicklung der Wortsippe ἀλείτης

Von Eva Tichy, Erlangen

Zwei der Lexikographie und infolgedessen auch der Sprachwissenschaft durch Textkritik verlorengegangene griechische Ableitungen der idg. Wurzel *h_2leit werden dem historisch gewachsenen System der Wortsippe eingegliedert. An dieser lassen sich zwei Phänomene, die morphologische Umdeutung unter der Anziehungskraft expansiver Bildetypen und der Bedeutungswandel in einem reziproken Verhältnis von Aktion und Reaktion, wiederholt beobachten.

Zu[1]) den bislang ungelösten Problemen der innergriechischen Etymologie zählt das offenbar verwickelte System von Ableitungsverhältnissen, das die einzelnen Glieder der gewöhnlich s.v. ἀλείτης

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[5]) Allen 323f. 327. cf. 331 n. 5.

[6]) In this connexion I mentioned the accentuations εὔκεϱως, δύσεϱως, φιλόγελως, as suggesting that a pair of vowels (at any rate εω) separated only by a liquid might be treated as·a quasi-diphthong.

[1]) Zeichen: * = „nicht bezeugt o. überliefert", d.h. a) nicht belegtes Wort, nicht belegte Bedeutung; b) bei Konjekturen: anderes Lexem konjiziert. ** = „nicht existent", d.h. falscher Ansatz. + = „korrigiert, nicht in dieser Form überliefert", d.h. a) nicht literarisch (nicht an der zitierten Stelle) bezeugte grammatische Form, b) Schreibung korrigiert. Der senkrechte Strich im Wortinneren markiert die zum jeweiligen Zeitpunkt sprachwirkliche Segmentierung. „Vorurgr." bezeichnet nur intern rekonstruierte, aus dem griech. zwecks struktureller Deutlichkeit mechanisch ins idg. Lautbild umgesetzte Formen. — Die Bedeutungsangaben sind auf der Grundlage der Ausführungen von H. Vos, Glotta 34, 1955, 287ff. für die zitierten Stellen gemacht. Das verwendete Material entstammt LSJ m. Suppl., LfgrE A — ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΟΣ, Thesaurus Graecae linguae (1831), den rückläufigen Indizes von Kretschmer-Locker und Buck-Petersen, einer Anzahl