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FURTHER REMARKS ON *A-TE-MI-TO* AND *A-TI-MI-TE**

C. Sourvinou in her article *A-TE-MI-TO* and *A-TI-MI-TE* (Kadmos 9, 1970, 42-7) gives a negative answer to the question: "Is a Mycenaean form *a-te-mi-to* = Artemitos probable?" Her linguistic argument runs as follows: The genitive Ἀρτέμιτος is a West Greek form. Mycenaean belongs — more or less — to the East Greek group of dialects, therefore *a-te-mi-to* = Artemitos could never be a Mycenaean form. I hope to show that her conclusion is wrong since her reasoning contains a false assumption, that of the East Greek/West Greek division.

1. "The genitive Ἀρτέμιτος is a West Greek form"

This statement is true in that it shows the feature which is basic to Sourvinou's argument, the declension in -τ-; this is specific for the West Greek dialects, East Greek showing a declension in -δ-¹. But the -τ- declension is not the only feature which characterizes the West Greek form of this name; it also has the vocalism -α- in the second syllable². In addition we should notice some peculiarities within the West Greek group of dialects that partially contradict Sourvinou's statement, even in the modified form; "the genitive Ἀρτέμιτος is a West Greek form." In Laconian the -δ- declension occurs side by side with the typical West Greek -τ- as

* I must thank Dr. John Chadwick for his valuable help and criticism.

¹ It seems very probable that this τ, δ element is an enlargement and that the name had originally a vocalic inflexion. Instances of it can be seen in a number of dialects, being most frequent in Arcadian and Cretan: Arc. Ἀρτεμῖ (see Thumb—Scherer Gr. Dial. 136), Cret. Ἀρτεμῖν (see Bechtel, Die Griechische Dialekte II 727-8), Arg. Ἀρτεμῖ (see Bechtel op. cit. II 483), Corinthian Ἀρτεμῖν (see Bechtel op. cit. II 247). On the problem of dental enlargements see Chantraine, La formation des noms en grec ancien, 335-48, 111-15, Kühner—Blass, Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache I 421-2 (note 7), Kretschmer KZ 33, 1895, 466f.

² West Greek forms with ε-vocalism are usually late in date and probably due to koine influence. For the dialectal data see Bechtel op. cit., Thumb op. cit., Kretschmer op. cit., Ruipérez, Ártemis, Etimología y expansión, Emerita 15, 1947, 20, Buck, A. J. Phil. 10, 1889, 463f.

early as the 5th century B. C.³ It is true that Laconian is the only West Greek dialect where this happens and it can, therefore, not upset the validity of Sourvinou's generalization, but, none the less, in view of the early date of our examples, an explanation is required. Thumb⁴ attributes this peculiarity of Laconian to the 'pre-Doric' component of the population of the region. This may well be correct, as is also the same explanation offered for the ε-vocalism in the second syllable of the name in Cretan.⁵

2. "Mycenaean belongs to the E. Greek group of dialects"

Miss Sourvinou failed to see that the derivatives of Artemis in the East Greek group of dialects imply an original declension with -τ-, which was palatalized and subsequently assibilated before ι: 'Ἀρτεμίσιον > *Ἀρτεμίτιον. This fact is enough to show that, in this case, the difference — so far as the declension is concerned — between the East Greek and West Greek groups of dialects is relatively recent in date and that originally the -τ- declension characterized both the East and West Greek dialects⁶.

This observation invalidates the conclusion that Miss Sourvinou draws; so far as linguistics is concerned, there is no reason why we should deny the probability of a Mycenaean form Artemitos. Admittedly the spelling rules allow alternative readings and there is no decisive way of establishing which one is correct⁷. Yet, if we choose the reading *a-te-mi-to* = Artemitos, we do not commit a linguistic error as Miss Sourvinou's argument supposes. The dialectal data of the 1st millennium do not prohibit such a reading⁸.

³ See Bechtel, op. cit. II 339—40, Thumb—Kieckers, Gr. Dial. 82

⁴ op. cit. I 82

⁵ op. cit. I 149.

⁶ Kretschmer, op. cit. 469, believes in the chronological priority of the -ις, -τος forms over those with -ις, -ιδος, and points out a general tendency of Greek to replace stems in -τ- by stems in -δ- (cf. Gk. δεκάδ-, Skr. *daśat*).

⁷ See M. Gérard—Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Rome 1968, 46f. and Sourvinou's comments in p. 47, note 8, of her article in *Kadmos* 9, 1970.

⁸ The purpose of this article is to expose the weaknesses of Sourvinou's *linguistic* arguments. To draw firm conclusions from the context for or against the identification of the forms *a-te-mi-to/a-ti-mi-te* with Artemis is very risky indeed, given the numerous ambiguities of this context. The most I am prepared to say is that the context in no way prohibits such an identification. The opinion that these two Mycenaean words stand for Artemis has been very recently restated by A. Heubeck in his review of Gérard—Rousseau's above-mentioned book (*Gnomon* 42, 1970, 811—2).

If the original declension of the name in the East Greek dialects was with *-τ-*, what did cause the change to a voiced dental *-δ-* declension? It seems very probable that analogy with the numerous feminine stems in *-ιδ-* was responsible for the replacement of *-τ-* by *-δ-*. But why did this change not take place in the W. Greek dialects as well? There, it seems, the non-palatalization of *τ* before *ι* (*Ἀρτεμίτιον*) favoured the preservation of *τ* in the inflexion of the noun⁹. On the other hand, in the East Greek dialects the palatalization and subsequent assibilation of *τ* before *ι* that brought about the change **Ἀρτεμίτιον* *Ἀρτεμίσιον*, destroyed the paradigmatic unity between the noun and the derivative. This made it easier for the analogical process to operate, now that the derivative in *-τιον* was no longer there to inhibit it.

3. The vocalism in the dialectal variants of the name

The West Greek group shows as a rule the form *Ἀρταμῖς* (except Cretan, which shows the form *Ἀρτεμῖς* with an *ε*-vocalism probably due to the pre-Doric component of the population). The East Greek group shows the *Ἀρτεμῖς* form. Thessalian shows both the *ε* and *α* vocalism. Boeotian agrees with the West Greek group, so far as its vocalism is concerned, and with the East Greek group in respect of its consonantism (*Ἀρτάμιδος* as early as the fifth century B. C.). The East Greek voiceless dental declension can also be seen in Thessaliotic. In both these dialects (Boeotian and Thessalian) one can see a dialectal mixture explainable in terms of their geographical position. Pamphylian shows an *ι* where West Greek has *α* and East Greek *ε*. Bechtel¹⁰, having in mind the connexions between Pamphylia and Crete (especially in the field of religion: they have in common the cult of *Ἀπέλλων Πύτιος*) posits the Cretan form *Ἀρτεμῖς* as underlying the Pamphylian *Ἀρτιμῖ* with reduction of *ε* to *ι* before the nasal, probably encouraged by the *ι* of the third syllable. It seems probable that the West Greek vocalism of the name with *α* in the second syllable is the result of vowel assimilation

⁹ According to Ruipérez, *op. cit.* 23, W. Greek preserved the *-τ-* declension because it was in this form that the name was taken from Illyrian. The advantage of our explanation is that it does not depend on any etymological assumption, but rather makes use of the internal history of the West Greek dialect group vis-à-vis that of the East Greek.

¹⁰ *op. cit.* II 810.

One could suggest alternatively, as has already been done, the operation of popular etymology¹¹.

To sum up: a Mycenaean form Artemitos is not at all *linguistically* unacceptable. So far as *a-ti-mi-te* is concerned, the question arises whether we have to do with the same word as *a-te-mi-to*. In connection with questions like this, I would like simply to quote Hester's statement — to which I have nothing to add. After having shown that Mycenaean *i* for Greek *ε* seems only to occur in loan words, he makes the following distinction: "Firstly vocabulary words must be distinguished from proper names: the interpretation of the latter is largely a matter of guesswork, and even when Mycenaean shows forms with both *i* and *e* the possibility has to be considered that we are dealing with two different words, as the context cannot help us"¹².

¹¹ See Schwyzler, Gr. Gr. I 256: "'Αρταμις ist nicht aus 'Αρτεμις assimiliert, sondern volksetymologisch auf ἄρταμος bezogen".

Various attempts have been made to find the etymology of the name for 'Αρτεμις. See Ruipérez's above-mentioned article for a summary of the older theories and his own 'Illyrian' one.

¹² Hester: The *i/e* alternation in Mycenaean Greek, *Minos* 1958, 24.