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MYCENAEAN AND CENTRAL GREEK

1. The argument

The classification of the Mycenaean dialect is not self-evident, for reasons above all of chronology:¹ we should properly compare Mycenaean (M) with the second-millennium forms of Arcado-Cypriot (AC), Aeolic (Ae), and Attic-Ionic (AI), which we do not have, rather than with the first-millennium forms which we do. Hence the differences of opinion.

There are three main² views on the relation of M to the later dialects:

a. M is closest to AC: Docs., Crossland (185),³ Lejeune (*Atti Roma* 729–30, with reservations), Petruševski (180, 196), Szemerényi (188, 191). Ruijgh (180, 188, 197) and Scherer (*Hdb.* 326) think that M is in fact the second-millennium ancestor of AC.

b. M is closest to Ae: Gallavotti (*Riv. fil.* 1958), Palmer (*Interp.* 64).

c. Although generally South Greek, M is not the direct ancestor of any first-millennium dialect: Chadwick (195), Coleman (176), Cowgill (177, 195; *Anc. IE Dial.* 93), Heubeck (178; *Glotta* 1961), Risch (209).

This paper argues that, at a certain stage, the ancestors of AC, Ae, and M formed an innovating area which we will call Central Greek.⁴ We observe, first, that certain of the well-known isoglosses have been wrongly evaluated (having been taken as innovations when they are only choices, or vice versa); and second, that we can add some new isoglosses not heretofore considered in this context. The result is that M (section 3 below) shares far more innovations with both AC and Ae (section 2) that it does with either AC (section 4) or with Ae (section 5) separately (cf. diagram at end).

Besides this intermediate stage, we notice a considerable number of M independent innovations (section 6). Some of these features occur in hexameter poetry, and confirm the existence of Mycenaean epic.

¹ Cf. e.g. Chadwick, 'Prehistory of the Greek Language', *CAH* II, 10. I thank A. Morpurgo Davies and E. Hamp for useful comments.

² Leaving out such theories as *koiné*, mixed dialect, official language, product of convergence, etc.

³ Page numbers without further specification in this section refer to *Studia Mycenaea* (Brno Symposium).

⁴ The "partly visionary" (Buck, *Gr. Dial.* 8 fn. 7) term 'Achaean' is best avoided, as it has been used in various ways.

2. Agreements between Arcado-Cypriot and Aeolic

The Porzig-Risch theory⁵ ignores AC-Ae agreements since it groups AC with South Greek, and Ae with North Greek. But doubt remains⁶ about the separation of dialects that share the following features:

a. Innovations: i. Split outcome of syllabic resonants. As to the vocalic liquids, Morpurgo Davies (*Atti Roma*) showed that most of the evidence in AC is for a-color. But numerous examples of o-color remain. Attempts to explain them through analogy are not convincing, and no sound-law can account for all cases of o-color (raising).⁷

Plenty of evidence for a similar split treatment of vocalic liquids in Ae may be found in the handbooks, which offer such explanations as Doric (especially for *στροτο-*) or koiné loanwords, and 'mischforms' for the a-color when it does occur.⁸ Lesbian has the highest,⁹ Boeotian the lowest concentration of raised (o-colored) forms.

Wyatt has attempted to show that the raising is differently conditioned in AC and Ae (*SMEA* 13, 1971). This is certainly possible in principle. But problems remain,¹⁰ and Wyatt's theory does not account for certain forms.¹¹ The need to treat separately the development of *r̥ in the two dialects has thus not yet been proven.

As for the vocalic nasals, the handbooks once more provide evidence for a split outcome in both AC and Ae,¹² again with Lesbian seemingly the most free from a-color within Ae (but compare the consonant-stem accusatives in -α(ις), even in isolated forms like *πεδά*; also the alpha-privative).

⁵ Porzig 'Untersuchungen' IF 1954; Risch 'Gliederung' MH 1955.

⁶ Cf. Risch himself, e.g. *Stud. Myc.* 210 "Eine m.E. noch nicht genügend abgeklärte Frage ist die nach den Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Arkadisch-Kypriischen im Süden und dem Äolischen im Norden"; cf. also, for a variety of opinions, *ibid.* 202-5.

⁷ All admitted by Morpurgo Davies, *op. cit.* 810, 812; cf. also Mühlestein's comments, 813. In this paper we assume, following Morpurgo Davies, that a-color is original, mainly because of the general trend towards raising in Mycenaean, and to some extent in AC and Ae (sections 2 b i, 3 b iii, 4 ii, 6 a i below).

⁸ These explanations may of course hold true for certain instances.

⁹ It would be difficult to assert that Lesbian is more isolated from a-colored neighbors than mainland Ae, considering the large amount of Ionic influence admitted since Porzig-Risch in Lesbian.

¹⁰ E.g. he claims that paradigmatic pressure explains the (for him problematic) a-color in *θαυού-*, but ignores that factor for *βροχύ-* (113).

¹¹ E.g. *βροτός* et al., (115), *φαρθένω* (118), *κάρπωσις* (119), etc.

¹² E.g. *όν* beside *άν(α)* in Lesb., Thess., Arc.; *έλκοσι* but *έκαστα* in Arc., etc.

Thus, although the old formulation "vocalic resonants show o-color in AC and Ae" is clearly wrong, i.e. the o-color is not unconditioned, the fact remains that only these two dialectal groups of the first millennium show a split outcome. The merger of some allophones, however conditioned,¹³ of *r̥, ŋ with *or, ro and *o(n) must still be taken as a shared innovation of AC and Ae.

Since the Porzig-Risch theory cannot account for this feature,¹⁴ its supporters try to minimise its importance for classification.¹⁵

ii. ἐξ > ἐς / _C (not Lesbian; also some Doric): avoidance of overlength. ἐκ before a consonant is, on the other hand, just an archaism.

iii. Athematic contracts (not Boeotian). Although IE may have had athematic denominatives,¹⁶ from the Greek point of view forms such as φίλημι are proven innovatory by their analogical length. Nor does it seem that a type in -ᾱμι was inherited from IE.¹⁷

iv. Loss of μετά (not Thessalian, Cyprian; also some Doric).

To these well-known innovations we add three more:

v. *p- > πτ- in certain words (not Lesbian, Boeotian). This must be considered an innovation. Unlike the dental in κτίζω, χθών, etc., the one in πτόλις, etc., has no correspondent outside Greek: the evidence rather is unanimously for *p-. Thus it cannot be taken as the archaic reflex of a lost consonant or type of consonant.¹⁸ Although the mechanics remain unclear, the πτ-forms are etymologically innovatory.

vi. 'From'-words with the dative, not (ablative-)genitive. That this is an innovation in AC is shown by relic-constructions with the genitive.¹⁹ On the other hand, the former occurrence of the construction with the dative in Ae is shown by the relic-construction in Sappho 81 b.4LP . . . ἀστεφανώτοις δ' ἄπυστρέφονται,²⁰ and by Boeotian

¹³ Surely labiality is somehow, though perhaps not exclusively, involved. Several different raisings may actually have taken place.

¹⁴ Noted immediately by Ruipérez, Minos 1955.

¹⁵ Risch: 'Gliederung' 72 (his solution is AI-D-NW common innovation, cf. Ét. Myc. (Gif.) 171, Stud. Myc. 210); Cowgill: AIED 82 (but cf. p. 80); Bartoněk: Minos 1972, 330-1; Wyatt's article is of course another attempt to discount this agreement.

¹⁶ Schwyzler Gr. Gr. I 772-3, 729; Watkins Idg. Gr. III/1, 29-30.

¹⁷ In Vedic, denominatives from ā-stems are all thematic (type *pr̥tanāyāti*; also *pr̥tanyāti*). The relevance of the Hittite factivities in -*ah-* is uncertain, since, although they are clearly athematic, it is not clear whether they were originally *mi-* or *hi-*verbs. Cf. Watkins, op. cit. 39, Kronasser Etymologie 426 ('konsequente Mischflexion'). Cowgill, Lang. 1959, shows that no evidence for *-āmi is to be found in Germanic.

¹⁸ So e.g. Lejeune, Phonétique Historique 39-40.

¹⁹ Cf. Householder, 'paro and Myc. Cases', Glotta 1960, p. 5 fnn.; Morpurgo Davies, Cambr. Coll., p. 194, paragraph 5 and fn. 4.

²⁰ Perhaps also by Sap. 104a.2LP †φέρεις οἶν, φέρεις αἶλα, φέρεις ἄπυ μάτερι παῖδα.

πρωτηνί.²¹ The presence of the same construction in Pamphylian confirms that this is not an exclusive innovation of AC.²²

vii. *so/to- as relative. Although the usage is widespread from the third century on, only AC and Ae present early examples. Hermann, *Nebensätze* 225–6, disqualifies most of the Doric and Northwest Greek evidence (including Pindar).

b. Choices:

i. The general preference for full-grades is a choice (Boeotian shows its usual tendency towards a-color). In some words, the full-grade is an archaism (θέρσος, κρέτος, ξέρεθρον); in others it may be an innovation (-δέλλοντες²³); in still others, a true choice (ablauting paradigms for ἔρσην²⁴ and ἔρι-²⁵). The result is always to raise (fn. 7).

ii. The subjunctive in -η is the result of a choice (secondary vs. primary endings, as in Vedic), although lately both Watkins (*Idg. Gr.* III.1.60–1, 125) and Kiparsky (*Glotta* 1967, 144) have taken this feature as an innovation (for different reasons). Lesbian -ηι is Ionic influence.

c. Non-evidence. We do not press these features, either because they are weakly attested (i,ii), or because they are archaisms (iii–v):

i. There can be no question of a common AC-Ae treatment of labio-velars: Cypr. *peisei* etc. are too isolated to compare with the Ae labialism (cf. *AJP* 1976, 417, and 1977, 207 fn. 4). Furthermore, the Thessalian delabialisation (κίς) has nothing in common with the AC assibilation (Arc. σίς, ἔξελε; Cypr. *sis*).

ii. Similarly, the Arc. evidence for geminated resonants is too isolated to be used (cf. section 5bi).

iii. ἀπύ beside ἀπό in Arc., Lesbian, Thessalian: mere archaism (cf. Cowgill, *AIED* 82–3).

iv. ὄνε etc. beside ὄδε in Thess. and AC: mere archaism (only Boeotian has actually innovated by losing ὄδε).

v. ἐν + acc.: mere archaism (Lesbian has εἰς from Ionic).

²¹ Meister, *Sitzb. d. kön. Sächs. Akad. Wiss.* 1904, 9.

²² Brixhe, *Le Dial. Gr. de Pamphylie*, Paris 1976, 127.

²³ If this is built on the aorist ἔξελε/*ἔβλημεν (Schwyzer op. cit. 693 fn. 9; 746 fn. 7).

²⁴ Cf. Av. *aršan-* vs. Ved. *r̥sa(-bhā)-*, with alternation in both root and suffix.

²⁵ Thieme's interpretation of this prefix (*Der Fremdling im Rgveda* 159 ff.) should not be considered separately from Bailey's comparison of *doero* with Ved. *dāsa-* (first apud Chadwick, *TPS* 1954 14, also *TPS* 1959, 109, 113).

3. Innovations shared by Mycenaean, Arcado-Cypriot and Aeolic

A considerable number of the AC-Ae shared innovations (2a) are already attested in M. Those that are missing might be later developments (loss of μετά), obscured by the writing (ἐξ > ἐς/_C²⁶), or simply unattested due to chance (*so/to- as relative; preference for full-grade).

a. Innovations:

i. Split outcome of syllabic resonants. Morpurgo Davies (Atti Roma) has presented the situation in M as regards the outcome of *r; Heubeck's attempt to posit a preserved vocalic /r/ in M (Minos 1972) does not account for the a-colored forms (as he admits, p. 73).

The split outcome of the vocalic nasals, particularly near labials, in M is generally admitted.²⁷

ii. Athematic contracts. For *tereja*, cf. section 5ai. *[pu]temeno* may be an athematic present participle from /phutemi/ (with or without analogic length) or a perfect participle.²⁸ *toroqejomeno* is an iterative, not a denominative,²⁹ and is in any case merely an archaism.

iii. *pt-* for **p-* in certain words.

iv. 'From'-words (only *paro* attested) with the dative.³⁰ That this is an innovation is proven by the relic-construction³¹ with the genitive in PY Ea 782: *rukoro eke onato /rawakesijo/ paro moroqorojo kotona pomeno*.

b. Non-evidence:

i. The presence of *apu* in itself means nothing; the loss of *apo* would be an innovation.

ii. *tosone* beside *tosode* is similarly just an archaism.

iii. A raising o > u occurs in AC, sporadically in Lesbian, and perhaps (rarely) in M (if e.g. *dmArt > /damart/ = *dama*; also > /do-

²⁶ *apedoke* cannot be taken as /ap-es-dōke/, cf. section 6aviii.

²⁷ Morpurgo, RAL 1960; Risch, Cambr. Coll. Cowgill took the split treatment of vocalic nasals in M as an independent innovation, AIED 91.

²⁸ Restoration of reduplication is at most "plausible (mais non pas évident)": Chantraine, SMEA 3, 1967, 25.

²⁹ García-Ramón, *Orígenes Postmyceniennes*, Salamanca 1975, 53.

³⁰ For criticism of the instrumental-ablative theory, cf. Morpurgo Davies, Cambr. Coll.

³¹ For a different interpretation of this construction, cf. "Mycenaean *kekemena*, *kitimena*" (Minos 17, 1981), section 8.

mart/ > *duma*), but the environments seem to be different in the three dialects.³²

4. Innovations shared by Mycenaean and Arcado-Cypriot

Far fewer, in comparison, are the innovations shared exclusively by M and AC:

i. The primary mediopassive endings -τοι etc.³³ are often cited as an agreement, but usually taken, by Ruipérez for example, as an archaism. Since the linguistic evidence is ambiguous,³⁴ the decision must be made on methodological grounds. The principle of the *desinentia difficilior*³⁵ should take precedence over mere pattern congruity, and demands that we take -ται/-το etc. as original. Also, a panhellenic (excluding AC) shared innovation is implausible,³⁶ whereas a M-AC shared innovation is easily believable. We thus arrive at the same conclusion, although for different reasons, as Cowgill³⁷ and Palmer.³⁸

ii. Heubeck has presented evidence for a M change $e > i$ / $_n$, agreeing with the one in AC and Pamphylian (Glotta 1961, 161). Thus Homeric πινυτός could be a Mycenaean, as well as an AC (so Hamp, Glotta 1960, 198) loanword. This change is however unrelated to:
a. the phenomenon of section 6ai (*iqo* etc.). b. Lesbian πίσυρες c. e

³² The AC rule is clearly $o > u$ before word-boundary (but cf. also $\acute{o}v-$ < $\acute{o}v-$). The rule in M has been formulated as $o > u$ before labial (Doria, RAL 1963), but there are many counterexamples (ibid. 521 fn. 80; as to *dama/duma*, cf. Lejeune, RPh 1974).

³³ To take *owidetai* (PY Un 718) as a dialectically anomalous 3 sg. mediopassive form (Nagy, Atti Roma 677) is methodologically corrupt. Arbitrary abandonment of adherence to the spelling conventions "will allow every inconvenient form to be set aside, and great liberties can be taken with the interpretation . . . thus destroy<ing> the discipline that we have imposed on the solution. . . ." (Docs. 72)

³⁴ Believable analogic origins for both -τοι and -ται are available. Ruipérez' discussion in Minos 1968 does not change anything, since all agree that -μαι is an archaism, protected by -μῆν.

³⁵ "La grammaire comparée doit se faire en utilisant les anomalies – c'est à dire les survivances – bien plus que les formes régulières . . ." (A. Meillet, BSL 1931 194).

³⁶ The few similar cases involving Attic retentions opposed to panhellenic innovations may be otherwise explained: $\acute{o}\nu\mu\alpha$ may be an Attic innovation (for Common Greek $\acute{o}\nu\mu\alpha$, cf. fn. 32); Cowgill EvfL 156. For Attic $\acute{o}\nu$ as an innovation, cf. ibid. 167–8. Another Attic innovation (vs. retention elsewhere) is the assimilation in $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

³⁷ AIED 81 fn. 14 (laryngeal reasoning).

³⁸ Interp. 62–3 (economy of hypothesis).

> i / _ (a) (*Hiatusstilger*) in Thessalian, Boeotian, Cyprian, Pamphylian, and some Doric. d. Cypr. \bar{e} > i.³⁹

5. Features shared by Mycenaean and Aeolic

a. Innovations: The infinitive *terejae* is perfectly matched by the Lesbian type κέρναν. This is all the more impressive since the 3 sg. *tereja* also has an exact equivalent in Lesbian, whether we take it as containing the secondary ending *-t (type Lesb. τίθη, ὄρη, Hom. δάμνα) or, with Ruijgh (SMEA 15, 1972, 104), as representing a contamination with the thematic type, and standing for /terejai/ (cf. Lesb. γέλαι).

b. Non-evidence:

i. Putative geminated resonants in *akera₂te* etc.: Ruipérez has most recently attempted to show these were common Greek, and thus archaisms in M as well as in Ae (Minos 1970). But his explanation of the alternation *tirija/tira₂* is not convincing (160–1). Thus there is no objection to taking the forms in question as containing compensatory lengthening.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the geminated resonants from sequences of resonant plus secondary yod (type κῦρρον, cf. bii below) attest to the living, innovatory nature of the feature in Lesbian and Thessalian.

ii. The change (*e >) i > y / _V, with this secondary yod having the same effect post-consonantly as inherited *y, is shared by Lesb., Thess., and M. However, whereas post-occlusive secondary yod has had its effect already in M (e.g. *kaza, suza, aiza*), ζα- for δια- is not found in inscriptional Lesbian until very late times. This implies that the developments in Lesbian and M were not contemporary, and that they were parallel rather than shared innovations. It further implies that Hom. ζάθεος, etc., must be Mycenaean, not Aeolic, forms.

iii. The nom. du. in -ō for ā-stem nouns (it is Common Greek for adjectives and pronouns) is normal in M, but the Ae evidence (once in Hesiod) is too isolated for worthwhile comparison, and could have been created by analogy at any time. At most, this is a parallel innovation of M and 'Boeotian'.

³⁹ Cypr. forms like *ptoliwi* are best taken as representing the normal outcome of *-ēwi, with the same transfer of suffix as in Attic πόλεως, rather than as i-stems somehow contaminated by an intrusive digamma.

⁴⁰ For other objections to the assumption of Common Greek geminates, cf. AJP 1977 206 fn. 1. In addition to those, there is of course the panhellenic treatment of *ly as -λλ-.

c. If we objected to intersecting isoglosses, we could take even the phenomena of section 5a as parallel development rather than as shared innovation, basing ourselves on the clear instances in section 5b.

6. Independent innovations in Mycenaean

Independent innovations in M have been categorically denied by Lejeune (*Atti Roma* 728–9), but varying lists of such features have been presented by Cowgill, Heubeck, and Risch, with whom in principle we fully agree. The implication of our view is that M is not the direct ancestor of any first-millennium dialect, but rather disappeared with the Bronze-Age civilisation.

a. Clear independent innovations of M already mentioned in the literature include:

i. $e > i$ before labiality (*iqo*, maybe *dipa*, etc.: cf. Hester, *Minos* 1958). This is yet another instance of M 'drift' towards raising, and here a labial environment is even more clear than in the cases of the syllabic resonants (section 3ai) and of $o > u$ (3biii). Risch opened the door to explaining many of the *i*-forms previously used as evidence for 'schwa secundum' as M loanwords (*Cambr. Coll.*).

ii. The dissimilation of labiovelars (Heubeck, *Glotta* 1961).

iii. $i > y$ /_V: cf. section 5bii (parallel to, but independent of, Lesbian and Thessalian).

iv. Nom. du. in *-o* for *ā*-stem nouns: cf. section 5biii.

v. **huyu/o-* "son" $> /hiyu/o-/$: Heubeck, *SMEA* 13, 1971.

vi. Merger of the outcome of **ky* with that of **gy*, **dy*. This distinguishes M from Pamphylian, which also keeps the outcomes of **ty* (Myc.: $> s$, cf. *apeasa*, *toso*; Pamph.: $> \sigma$, cf. *ῥσα*) and **ky* (Myc.: $> z$, cf. *kazoe*, *zawete*; Pamph.: $> \psi$, cf. *ῠαναψας*) separate from each other, but seemingly without merging the outcome of **ky* with anything, thus not innovating.⁴¹

To these innovations, previously suggested by others, we may add the following:

vii. Metathesis in *rewotorokowo* (= Hom. *λοετροχόος*). For an example of the difficulties caused by taking the M form as archaic and assuming a root **lewO*, cf. Cowgill, *EvfL* 159 (note especially the in-

⁴¹ Good general discussion by Heubeck, *Kadmos* 1971.

explicable a-vocalism in Italic and Celtic). We accept instead a root *lawE/lowE,⁴² and a M metathesis.

viii. Facultative lack⁴³ or incipient loss of augment. First we must note that there are three good examples of augmented verbs:⁴⁴ *apedoke* must contain an augment, because **apudidomi* (and derivatives) was the M technical term for payment to the palace: besides *apedoke*, cf. *apudosi* (never **apedosi*, which would have been possible if the -e stood for the preverb ἐς) and *apudoso*[mo]. The other two are *apeekē* (*ap-e-yéEk-e) and the 3 pl. middle of the simplex of the same verb, *eeto*.

Mycenaean is the only Greek dialect to show this innovation.⁴⁵ Thus if the unaugmented forms in Homer are to be taken as inherited from some kind of spoken Greek (and not as pure *Kunstabildungen*), they must be considered a specifically Mycenaean feature.

ix. Productive feminine noun-forming suffix -*ēja* (e.g. *komaweteja*), sometimes replacing a secondary suffix (heteroclisys: e.g. *posidaeja*).⁴⁶

x. On **kéymeneA* > /kekeyménā/ = *kekemena*, cf. "Mycenaean *kekemena*, *kitimena*" (Minos 17, 1981), fn. 10.

b. Non-evidence: Here we may list Risch's suggestions *eye > *ēja* (MH 1959) and C-stem ac. pl. in -*e* (BSL 1957-8); Heubeck's **thi* > *si* (Glotta 1961; for counterargument, cf. Lejeune Atti Roma 728, 733ff.); and 3 pl. *eesi* as an innovation for **esi* (Strunk, Glotta 1960; for counterargument, cf. Cowgill, EvfL 167-947).

⁴² Non-laryngeal a-vocalism was perfectly common in IE: here we agree with Szemerényi, 'New Look', *Phonetica* 1967 (although we do not share his belief in the relevance of typology for comparative reconstruction). Germanic **laupra-* may still be taken as an o-grade (with Cowgill, who can now add λωερόν to his evidence for such forms), but it can also represent the full grade usually taken by the suffix.

⁴³ R. Schmitt has tried to apply the results of Karl Hoffmann's analysis of the function of the augment in Vedic (*Der Injunktiv im Veda*, Heidelberg 1967) to Mycenaean (KZ 1967).

⁴⁴ All in Pylos!

⁴⁵ Risch, MH 1959, considered the possibility that the augmentless forms were a M independent innovation, but preferred to take them as "eine stilistische Eigenart dieser inventarartigen Tafeln" (224).

⁴⁶ The clearest use of -*ēja* is to form feminine counterparts to masculine gods' names, e.g. *posidaeja*, *komaweteja*, and probably *areja* (in divine asyndeton with *emaa*₂; typologically, cf. Έννύ, Bellona). Functionally, we may compare Rig-Vedic *indrāñī*, *varuṇāñī* "wife of Indra-, of Varuṇa-". Thus *ijereja* may not mean "priestess", but rather "priest's wife".

⁴⁷ Although it is probable that the preform of Gr. ἐστί was *Eesti, I cannot follow Benveniste et al. that therefore no IE roots or words began with vowels. The evidence for each seemingly vocalic-initial morpheme must be considered separately. On overschematizing reconstruction cf. further AJP 1976 417, 419.

c. Mycenaean independent innovations (i, iii, viii in the preceding list) in the Homeric dialect are evidence for the existence of epic (hexameter?) poetry in Bronze-Age Greece (cf. Nilsson, *Myc. Or. Grk. Myth.* 20–2). The vocabulary agreements (*pakana* etc.), by contrast, are only archaisms, and the metrically identical replacements (*temidwe* > *τεμιδόεις*, *amote* > *ἄματα* etc.), are only replacements of archaic, not of specifically Mycenaean, forms.

This explanation of dialectical features of the *Kunstsprache* which were formerly considered as Lesbian (ζάθεος), Thessalian (πτ-), Arcadian (πινυτός), etc. simplifies, but does not eliminate,⁴⁸ the problem of the origin of the mixture of *einzelndialektisch* features.

7. Conclusion – the place of Central Greek

The later Greek dialectal entity (as established by shared innovations) to which Mycenaean is most closely related is 'Central Greek' as defined in Section 1. This is because Mycenaean shares more innovations with both AC and Ae than with either AC or Ae separately. But M itself cannot be taken as the common ancestor of AC and Ae, because of the large quantity of independent innovations that is contains, of which we find *disiecta membra* all through Homeric and later Greek.

The Porzig-Risch theory cannot account for this, and must therefore be qualified.⁴⁹

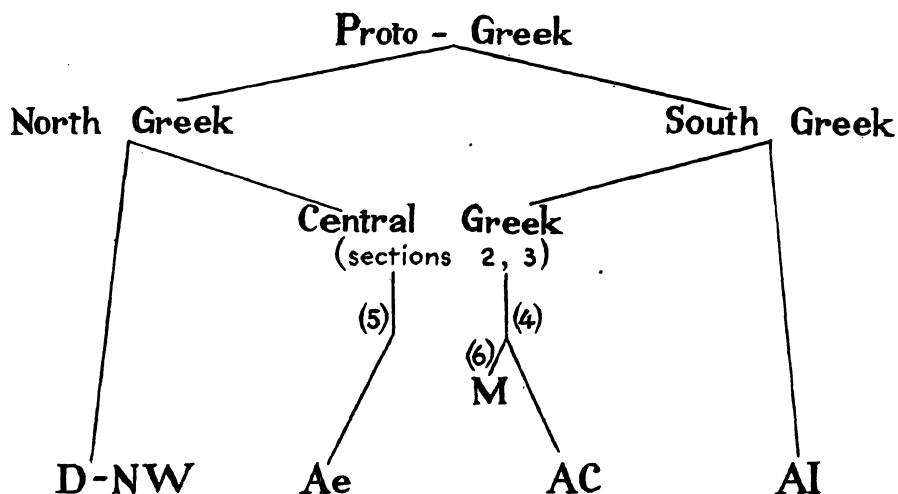
Now, South Greek is defined by a set of early innovations (στ, ἄν, etc.), whereas North Greek is defined only by archaisms, or, at most, choices (αι, *g^wel-): it is a relic area. This means that while South Greek is linguistically real, North Greek is not. Thus the Porzig-Risch theory in no way ties Ae with D-NW as closely as it does AC with AI. N. Greek was short-lived, too: Ae must have split off early enough to develop its exclusive Aeolisms before the Ae breakup. We note also the early difference in choice of -μεν (Ae) vs. -μες (D-NW) in the 1 pl.

Furthermore, while *ti > si is enough to prove that M belongs with South Greek, this is the only early innovation (aside from the choice *ote*) which separates it from second-millennium Ae.

⁴⁸ Until e.g. a M infinitive in *-mena is found. The status of Hom. δάμνα (section 5a) is still unclear.

⁴⁹ Rather than discarded, as does Palmer, *Interp.* 64.

The Porzig-Risch theory maintains that Proto-Greek split up tree-like into North and South Greek, and these in turn into Ae and D-NW, AC and AI respectively. In the light of the above evidence, it is suggested rather that a portion (pre-Ae) of the North Greek relic area broke off⁵⁰ and formed a relatively short-lived dialectal unity (Central Greek, characterised by the innovations of sections 2–3) with a portion (all except what later became AI) of the South Greek innovating area (see diagram below). But, by 1400, Central Greek had itself split up into M, Bronze-Age-AC (with which M had shared a few more innovations: section 4) and Bronze-Age-Ae (with which M probably shared only parallel development: section 5). The period of Central Greek innovation comes between the generally accepted periods of South Greek innovation (early) and D-AI (Wyatt's 'mainstream Greek': TAPA 1970, 607) innovation (late).



⁵⁰ We must assume this anyway, both linguistically (to account for the common-Ae innovations) and historically (since the Aeolians are active in Bronze-Age Greece, while the Dorians have not yet arrived).