

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANCIENT GREEK LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

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/t<sup>h</sup>/ and /k<sup>h</sup>/ after /s/ is confirmed by early spellings with <t> and <k> in NW Greece and elsewhere: *heléstai* = *helésthai* 'seize (aor. inf. mid.)' (Chaleion, 5th c. BCE), *páskoi* = *páskhoi* 'suffer (3 sg. opt. pres.)' (Olympia, 5th c. BCE). Apparently, /t<sup>h</sup>/ spirantized after /s/ in some areas (Méndez Dosuna 1985:364–366): *apodóssai* = *apodósthai* 'give back (aor. inf. mid.)' (Olympia, 4th c. BCE). The scantiness of <sp> for <sph>, e.g. *aspalísai* = *asphalísai* 'secure (aor. inf.)' (Egyptian papyrus, 1st c. CE), also indicates spirantization of /p<sup>h</sup>/ after /s/, which is confirmed by Modern Greek.

For the fricative pronunciation of /w/, see → Glides.

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## Split

A phonemic split occurs when two allophones of a phoneme cease to be in complementary distribution: each takes on a life of its own and the original phoneme 'splits' into two over time. The process is also called 'phonologization', since an allophone becomes its own phoneme over time.

Split sounds themselves do not change. Rather it is the merger of other sounds in their environment that causes the phonemic status of the sounds involved to change from being predictable conditioned variants of sounds (allophones) to unpredictable, contrastive, distinctive sounds (phonemes). A classic example of a split is the development of a contrast between oral and

nasal → vowels from Latin, where nasal vowels were allophones of oral vowels before nasal consonants, to French, where oral and nasal vowels now contrast. Within Greek, the phenomenon is illustrated by the distribution of /s/ and /z/. It is likely that from an early date /s/ underwent → voicing to [z] before a voiced segment like [d] (via → assimilation). In the fourth century the cluster [zd] developed into [zz] intervocalically and [z] elsewhere. Once this change took place, [s] and [z] were no longer in complementary distribution, and became independent phonemes.

The opposite of a split is a → merger, when two phonemes become one over time. Hoenigswald (1960) uses the terms 'primary split' for (conditioned) merger and 'secondary split' for what I have called split here.

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DAVID GOLDSTEIN

## Stative (and Middle/Medium) Verbs

According to some scholars, Proto-Indo-European (PIE) (→ Indo-European Linguistic Background) had three → voice categories: → active, → middle (→ mediopassive) and stative voice (Oettinger 1976, 1993, Rix 1988, Kümmel 1996, Meier-Brügger 2010). The stative voice was morphologically marked off from the act. and mid. by its distinct personal endings. Semantically, the stative differed from act. and mid. in that it had a stative meaning. The existence of the stative as a separate verbal category in PIE is not generally accepted. See e.g. Jasanoff (1978 and 2003) for an alternative view on the PIE voice system.

The endings of the PIE stative as reconstructed by Kümmel (1996) are:

	Stative		
	Primary	Secondary	Perfect
1 sg.	*-h <sub>2</sub> e-ǰ	*-h <sub>2</sub> e	*-h <sub>2</sub> e
2	*-th <sub>2</sub> e-ǰ	*-th <sub>2</sub> e	*-th <sub>2</sub> e
3	*-o-ǰ/-e-ǰ	*-o/-e	*-e
1 pl.	?	?	*-me
2	?	?	*-(t)e
3	*-ro-ǰ/-re-ǰ	*-ro/-re	*-er/-r