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verbs (*léluka, dédōka, téthēka, heîka*). Given the affinities between the perfect and the aorist during the Classical period, it is not surprising that for some verbs *-k-* may be shared by both paradigms. However, after the Hellenistic period (ca 3rd c. BCE–3rd c. CE), this type of suppletion disappeared and the aorist of the three verbs, *dídōmi, títhēmi* and *híēmi*, became regularized by assuming the *-s-* form (*édōsa, éthesa, áfisa*, also subject to the change of pronunciation during the Hellenistic period).

Finally, an interesting case of suppletion, one that demonstrates that the phenomenon should not be considered as proper to inflection, can be detected in the form variation of the so-called 'linking element' which appears in compounding, namely between the first and the second constituent elements. Tserepis (1902) provides a huge number of compounds where the linking element assumes the form of *-o-* (e.g. *hul-o-tómos* 'wood-cutter'), *-ē-* (e.g. *thalam-ē-pólos* 'chamber maid', lit. 'who comes in the nuptial room'), *-i-* (e.g. *khalk-í-naos* 'temple of bronze'). As argued by Ralli (2008), this linking element originates either from a thematic vowel (*-o-*) or from an inflectional ending. In the early Hellenistic period, *-o-* was spread to all compounds, and subsequently reanalyzed as a semantically vacuous compound marker.

To sum up, the study of suppletion is crucial for both the morphological analysis and the history of Greek, since it may shed light on various structural and highly idiosyncratic tendencies of the language.

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ANGELA RALLI

Syllabic Consonants

Although syllabic → consonants are not unambiguously present at any stage of attested Greek (but see below for the proposal of Heubeck 1972), their development from Proto-Indo-European has received an enormous amount of attention. A set of four syllabic consonants (two nasals, [m̥] and [n̥], one lateral [l̥], and one rhotic [r̥]) are reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European as allophones of their consonantal counterparts (Sihler 1995:§93; Fortson 2010:61–62; Weiss 2010:39–40; Meier-Brügger 2010:230). Sanskrit has phonemic [r̥] and [l̥], although the latter is only attested in one root, *kl̥p* 'arrange' (on which see Jamison 1983:124–125). The development of the syllabic consonants into Mycenaean and later Greek exhibits considerable complexities, which can only be sketched here (see further Meillet 1910; Ruijgh 1961; Lejeune 1972:195–199; Moralejo 1973; Rix 1992:65–67; Sihler 1995:§§93–109; Bartoněk 2003:135; Bernabé and Luján 2006:127–131; Risch and Hajnal 2006:201–218; Thompson 2010:191–192).

1. SYLLABIC NASALS

In word-final position, as well as before a consonant, syllabic **m̥* and **n̥* merge with /a/ or /o/. It is often held that the syllabic nasals merge with /o/ in Aeolic, → Mycenaean, and Arcado-Cypriot, and /a/ in all other dialects (Rix 1976:65; Weiss 2010:94; for a more nuanced view, see Risch and Hajnal 2006:212). So for instance PIE **m̥* in **deḱm̥* 'ten' yields *déko* in → Arcadian, but *déka* elsewhere. Before a → vowel, a glide, or a sequence of laryngeal plus vowel, we find *an* or *am*, e.g. *ánudros* 'waterless'.

A closer look at the data, however, reveals that the distribution of /a/ and /o/ does not correspond so neatly to dialect. Within Mycenaean itself, for instance, we find /a/ in some lexical items and /o/ in others, e.g. *e-ka-ma*, alphabetic Greek *ékhma* 'support', and *a-mo*, alphabetic Greek *hárma* 'wheel, chariot'. The final segment of both words continues **n̥*. In two cases, we find both outcomes: *pe-mo* and *pe-ma* for

alphabetic Greek *spérma* 'seed' (with the latter far more common than the former); and *a-re-pa-zo-o* beside *a-re-po-zo-o*, 'unguent boiler', which are both written by the same hand. Generally speaking, however, the outcome /o/ preponderates in labial environments (Risch and Hajnal 2006:212–213); cf. the outcomes of *$\bar{r}$ in Indic, *ūr* and *īr*, with the former characteristic of labial environments (Sihler 1995:§102).

Risch (1966) argues that the distribution of /o/ and /a/ from *m and *n in Mycenaean is conditioned by diglossia: /o/ is characteristic of the palace aristocracy (or a fossilized scribal dialect), while /a/ is what was found outside the palace walls. Thompson (1997) by contrast argues that we are dealing with a sound change in progress: the outcome of the syllabic nasals is /a/, but in the presence of a labial, it was rounded to /o/. The labial feature was then lost, however, which returned the segment to /a/.

2. Syllabic Liquids

The syllabic liquids *r and *l also develop /a/ and /o/ vocalism, but in this case the liquid is always preserved as a consonant on the margin of the → syllable (see further O'Neil 1969). Thus there are four possible outcomes for each sonorant: *ar*/*ra* and *or*/*ro*, *al*/*la* and *ol*/*lo*. As far as the vocalism is concerned, this is again often held to fall out along dialectal lines: /o/ in Aeolic, Arcado-Cypriot, and Mycenaean, /a/ elsewhere (Rix 1976:65–66). So beside Lesbian and Boeotian *strotós* 'army', we have Attic-Ionic *stratós*, both of which continue PIE *$str̥tós$ (cf. Sanskrit *str̥ta-*, Avestan *sərətō*). Morpurgo Davies (1969) has shown that the distribution, as with the syllabic nasals, is not so neat. She argues that in fact the normal development in Arcado-Cypriot is *r > *ar*/*ra*, whereas the development to *or*/*ro* happens only under certain conditions.

As for the variation between *ar* and *ra* or *al* and *la*, one view is that *ar* and *al* are the outcomes word-internally before vowels, glides, sequences of laryngeal plus vowel, and word-finally; while *ra* and *la* develop word-internally in all other environments (so *stratós* above; see Rix 1976:65–66). Exceptions to this pattern are sometimes explained by → analogy to full- and lengthened-grade forms (→ Root Structure (and Ablaut)). So the expected outcome of zero-grade *$k̑r̥d$- 'heart' is Homeric *kradíē*. The metathesis in Attic *kardía* is thought to have been induced by analogy to either lengthened-grade *$k̑ērd$-, which

we have in *kêr* (nom.) and *kêri* (dat.), or full-grade *$k̑erd$-, which is found in Germanic, e.g. Gothic *haírtō* (see Lejeune 1972:196; Rix 1992:65; Meier-Brügger 2010:231). Sihler (1995:§95) states flatly, however, that the conditions determining the alternation have not been established. The alternation between *ra* and *ar* or *la* and *al* may have been to some extent conditioned by speech tempo and register. As such, the precise conditions of their distributions may be unrecoverable.

Heubeck (1972) argues that the spelling variation that we find in the toponym *ma-to-pu-ro* and *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* 'Mother Pylos' reflects a scribal attempt to represent [r̥] (see further García Ramón 1985; Bernabé and Luján 2006:130 as well as Risch and Hajnal 2006:202–203 offer arguments against this view). The Homeric formula *androtêta kaì hḗbēn* 'manliness and youth' (*Il.* 16.857 = 22.363) has given rise to similar claims: the first two syllables are in light positions in the meter (→ Syllable Weight), which presents no problem if we can assume a sequence *$anr̥$ (see Wackernagel 1916:172, and more recently Janko 1992:11, Watkins 1995:499, Hackstein 2002:5–7, Haug 2002:49–67, Fortson 2010:254–255; Tichy 1981 and Berg 1978 argue that we are dealing with a metrical, and not a prosodic, archaism; for a different tack altogether, see Barnes 2011). Such a claim raises the question of when the syllabic consonants were lost on the way from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Greek, for which see Haug (2002:61–62) (→ Proto-Greek and Common Greek).

The situation with the long syllabic liquids (e.g. *$\bar{r}$) is murky. First, these segments were extremely rare; second, it is not always clear if we are dealing with a long syllabic consonant or a sequence of syllabic consonant plus laryngeal, i.e., with *$r̥H$, which one expects in the zero-grade forms of *seṭ*-roots, for instance. Generally the outcome of a syllabic consonant plus laryngeal in Greek is consonant plus long vowel, with the vowel quality determined by the laryngeal, e.g. *$tl̥h_2tó$-* (from *$telh_2$-* 'bear, carry') > Dor. *tlātós* 'patient' (→ Laryngeal Changes). See further Rix (1970), Lejeune (1972:198–199), Risch and Hajnal (2006:216–218), Fortson (2010:62), and Meier-Brügger (2010:251–255).

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DAVID GOLDSTEIN

Syllable Weight

Like a great many languages, Ancient Greek distinguished two types of → syllable, *heavy* and *light* (also called *long* and *short*). A light syllable in any language is one that ends in a single short → vowel: *be, pa, tro, i*. All other syllables are heavy, i.e., those with long vowels, → diphthongs, or final → consonants: *bē, pai, tron, iks*. Like modern French, a word-final consonant in Greek was pronounced together with the next word if the latter began with a vowel, so that *tòn ándra* 'the man' (acc.) would be syllabified [tò.nán.dra], with the first syllable being light. This provided vowel-initial words with syllable onsets and minimized the number of coda consonants in the language.

A more advanced notion of syllable weight uses the notion of *mora*, an abstract unit of weight or → length. Syllable onsets have no moras; codas and short vowels have one; diphthongs and long vowels have two:

ho	hē	hai	ton	tōn
|	∧	||	||	∧|
μ	μμ	μμ	μμ	μμμ

Monomoraic syllables are light (short); all others are heavy (long). The evidence for trimoraic (so-called 'superheavy') syllables in Greek is weak (Déniz 2011) except for the fact that long vowels and diphthongs can occur with codas:

aíks   'goat'
\|\|∨
μμμ

aikh.mé͂   'point of a spear'
\|\|∨
μμμ

ôm.mai   'I have been seen'
∧\|
μμμ

ēŋ.gel.ka   'I have reported'
∧\|
μμμ