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 GLIEP · Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective

## THE ACCENTUATION OF GREEK MONOSYLLABIC WORDS

THOMAS OLANDER  
*University of Copenhagen*

- 1 (Quasi-)minimal pairs: φώς ‘man’ vs. φῶς ‘light’  
 πούς ‘foot’ vs. μῦς ‘mouse’
  
- 2 Not taken into consideration:
  - Pronouns, articles, particles
  - Remodelled and unclear words: γραῦς ‘old woman’, acc. γραῦν, Πᾶν ‘Pan’ (acc. Πᾶνα), πῦρ ‘fire’ (gen. πυρός), σῆς ‘moth’ (acc. σῆτα), χήν ‘goose’ (acc. χῆνα), χθών ‘earth’ (acc. χθόνα), χρή ‘it is necessary’; poetic δμῶς ‘slave’ (acc. δμῶα), θῶς ‘jackal?’ (acc. θῶα), Hom. Τρώς ‘Trojan’ (acc. Τρῶα)
  - Originally monosyllabic words that have become disyllabic: ἀνήρ ‘man’ (acc. ἄνδρα), ἀστήρ ‘star’ (acc. ἀστέρα), ὀδούς / Ion. ὀδών ‘tooth’ (acc. ὀδόντα), ἰχθύς / ἰχθύς ‘fish’, acc. ἰχθύν / ἰχθύν, ὄφρυς / later ὄφρύς ‘(eye)brow’, acc. ὄφρυν / later ὄφρύν
  - Finite verbal forms: epic aor. 3. sg. βῆ ‘go’, aor. subj. 1. sg. βῶ ‘go’, prs. 3. sg. δεῖ ‘there is need’, prt. 3. sg. ἦ ‘say’, epic aor. 3. sg. στῆ ‘stand’, aor. subj. 1. sg. σχῶ ‘have’
  - Words containing a PG diphthong: βούς ‘ox’, acc. βοῦν, Ζεύς ‘Zeus’ (acc. poet. Ζῆν’ / Δία), ναῦς ‘ship’, acc. ναῦν, αἶξ ‘goat’ (acc. αἶγα; but Attic αἶξ), γλαύξ ‘owl’ (acc. γλαῦκα; but Attic γλαῦξ)
  
- 3 Polysyllabic words: Proto-Indo-European long vowels have acute tone (nom. sg. τιμή ‘honour’), contracted vowels have circumflex tone (dat. sg. τιμῆ).

- 4 a SCHWYZER: Circumflex tone is regular. All cases of acute tone are secondary, including *θείς, δούς, μήν, μείς, κτείς, χθών, θήρ, κήρ, χείρ, Κρής, σής, πούς, ῥίς, ῖς, θώς, Τρώς, φώς*
- b BERGER: Acute tone is regular. All cases of circumflex tone are secondary, including *βοῦς, δρῦς, κίς, κρῖ, μῦς, σκῶρ, ὕς / σῦς*.

## 5 Contractions

### a Acute:

- Attic *δάς* 'fire-brand' (acc. *δᾶδα*) – cf. Hom. *δαῖς*
- *κλείς* 'key' (acc. *κλεῖν / κλειδα*) – cf. Ion. *κληῖς*, Doric *κλαῖς*
- *πρών* 'foreland' (acc. *πρῶνα*) – cf. epic *πρηών*

### b Circumflex:

- Att. *νοῦς* 'mind', acc. *νοῦν* – cf. Hom. etc. *νόος, νόον*
- Att. *οῖς* 'sheep', acc. *οῖν* – cf. Hom. *οῖς, οῖν*, Argive *οφίς*
- *παῖς* 'child' (acc. *παῖδα*) – cf. epic *πάις*
- Att. *φῶς* 'light' (gen. *φωτός*) – cf. Hom. etc. *φάος*
- *τρεις* 'three' – cf. Doric *τρέες*

## 6 a \*-|Vn(t)s > -ῶς

- PG *\*|hrins* 'nose' > *ῥίς* (acc. *ῥίνα*)
- PG *\*|mens* 'month' > *μείς* (acc. *μῆνα*; cf. Doric nom. sg. *μής*; alternative Attic nom. sg. *μήν* by analogy with other cases)
- PG *\*|wins* 'sinew, tendon' > *ῖς* (acc. *ῖνα*)
- PG *\*|bants* aor. ptc. 'go' > *βᾶς* (acc. *βάντα*); correspondingly *γνούς* 'come to know', *δούς* 'give', *δύς* 'get into', *εῖς* 'send', *θείς* 'put', *στάς* 'place', *φᾶς* 'say', *φῶς* 'produce' etc.

### b Acute by compensatory lengthening perhaps also in:

- PG *\*|k<sup>h</sup>ers* ? 'hand' > *χείρ* (acc. *χεῖρα*; cf. Doric nom. *χέρς, χήρ*)

### c Counterexamples (circumflex due to emphasis?):

- PG *\*|pants* 'all' → *πᾶς* (acc. *πάντα*)
- PG *\*|hens* 'one' → *εῖς* (acc. *ἕνα*; but cf. *μηδ-εῖς, οὐδ-εῖς*)

7 a Words ending in two consonants:

- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*bēks* ‘cough’ > βήξ (acc. βήχα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*grūps* ‘griffin’ > γρύψ (acc. γρύπα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*rāks* / <sup>\*|</sup>*rōks* ‘grape’ > ῥάξ (acc. ῥάγα) / ῥώξ (acc. ῥώγα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*klōps* ‘thief’ > κλώψ (acc. κλώπα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*psīks* ‘crumb’ > ψίξ (acc. ψίχα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*ptōks* ‘hare’ > πτώξ (acc. πτώκα; but Attic πτώξ)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>(*s*)*knīps* ‘kind of insect’ > (σ)κνίψ (acc. (σ)κνίπα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*sp<sup>h</sup>āks* ‘wasp’ > σφήξ (acc. σφήκα; cf. Doric σφαξ)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*t<sup>h</sup>ōps* ‘flatterer’ > θώψ (acc. θώπα)

b Words ending in <sup>\*|</sup>-*ts* > -ς:

- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*krēts* ‘Cretan’ > Κρής (acc. Κρήτα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*pōts* ‘foot’ > πούς (for <sup>\*|</sup>*pōς*; acc. πόδα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*p<sup>h</sup>ōts* ‘man’ > φώς (acc. φώτα)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*t<sup>h</sup>ēts* ‘serf’ > θής (acc. θήτα)

c Words ending in one or no consonants:

- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*dō* ‘house’ > Hom., Hes. δῶ
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*drūs* ‘tree’, acc. <sup>\*|</sup>*drūn* > δρῦς, δρῦν
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*kīs* ‘weevil’, acc. <sup>\*|</sup>*kīn* > κίς, κῖν (the accentuation κίς in Herodianus Grammaticus is secondary)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*krī* ‘barley’ > epic κρῖ
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*mūs* ‘mouse’, acc. <sup>\*|</sup>*mūn* > μῦς, μῦν
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>*skōr* ‘dung’ > σκῶρ (gen. σκατός)
- PG <sup>\*|</sup>(*s*)*ūs* ‘pig’, acc. <sup>\*|</sup>(*s*)*ūn* > σῦς / ὕς, σῦν / ὕν

8 Law of distribution of tones in monosyllabic words:

Monosyllabic words ending in two consonants have acute tone, words ending in less than two consonants have circumflex tone.

9 Synchronically transparent principle of distribution of tones in monosyllabic words:

If the accusative is disyllabic, the nominative has an acute tone (e.g. nom. ῥίς, acc. ῥίνα; or nom. κλώψ, acc. κλώπα); if the accusative is monosyllabic, the nominative has a circumflex tone (e.g. nom. μῦς, acc. μῦν; or nom. οῖς, acc. οῖν).

**10** Exceptions to the law given in **8** are due to accommodation to the principle given in **9** above:

- PG \**kār* 'goddess of death' → *Κήρ* (acc. *Κῆρα*)
- PG \**k<sup>w</sup>hēr* 'beast' → *θήρ* (acc. *θῆρα*)
- PG \**psēn* 'gall-insect' → *ψήν* (acc. *ψῆνα*)
- PG \**p<sup>h</sup>ōr* 'thief' → *φώρ* (acc. *φῶρα*)
- PG \**p<sup>h</sup>rēn* 'midriff' → *φρήν* (acc. *φρένα*)

**11 a** Formulation in terms of moras:

$$/{}^{\check{V}}/ \rightarrow [\acute{\mu}]$$

$$/{}^{\check{V}}/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\acute{\mu}\acute{\mu}] / \_CC\# \\ [\acute{\mu}\acute{\mu}] / \_(C)\# \end{array} \right\}$$

**b** Phonologisation of tones in monosyllables is the result of:

- the simplification of \*-*ts* to \*-*s*
- the development of \*-*Vns* to \*-*V̄s*
- analogical developments of the type \**θῆρ* → *θήρ*
- contractions of the type *κληίς* > *κλείς*