Mycenaean

2 Phonology

\<a\>

- /a, ā/ < *h_2, a, ā (eh_2), m̥, n̥

  – a-qi-ti-ta fem. PN = ἄφθιτα, from the phrase κλέος ἄφθιτον = Ved. śravo akṣitam, PIE *$ḱleu̯os$ $n̥$-$d^hg^{wh}itom$.

  – ma-te /mātēr/

  – pa-te /patēr/ < *$ph_2tēr$

  – a$_2$-te-ro /hateron/ < *sm̥tero-, Cl. Gr. ἕτερο- after εἷς 'one' < *sems.

\<e\>

- /e, ē, ei/: e-ke /ekʰei̯/ ἔχει, pa-te /patēr/ < *ph₂tēr,

- e < *i, mostly in loanwords:

- di-pa ~ δέπας 'cup' (Watkins: from Hluw. tipaš, cf. Cluw. tappaš 'sky', PIE *nebʰos 'cloud', Gr. νέφος, OCS *nebo*)

- *qe-to* 'jar' ~ πίθος

- i-pe-me-de-ja ~ Ἰφιμέδεια – not from *wī- 'power' contrast wi-pi-no-o /wīpʰinohos/ Ἰφίνοος

- A-te-mi-ti / A-ti-mi-ti (Dat./Lok. Sg.) – raising of /e/ /__N?

\<o\>

- po-de /podei̯/, do-se /dōsei̯/

- pa-ro 'from' ~ παρά – why /o/? (ἀπό? Myc. *a-pu*).

- ko-wo 'fleece' ~ κῶας – probably κῶας later new formation replacing *κῶος

- *o > u: *po-ro-du-ma-te* /-dumartei/ beside *po-ru-da-ma-te* /-damartei/ 'housekeeper, administrator', Hom. δάμαρ, -αρτος 'wife' < *dm̥-ar-t-.

   – PIE *$h_2$er- 'to fit', *dem/dom- 'house'.

- prefix /pro-/ as in in ko-re-te : po-ro-ko-re-te /pro-/ = vice-ko-re-te (lat. pro-consul etc.)

- Variant po-ru-? *pru? Expect *pu-ru-.

\<u\>

- tu-ro$_2$ 'cheese' (/turro-, turjo-/)

- e-ru-ta-ra /erut^{h}rā/ 'red'

diphthongs

- /ai/: \<a>, \<a$_3$>, \<a-i> (KN)

  - pa-i-to /P^{h}aistos/

  - a$_3$-ka-sa-ma /aiksma(:)ns/

  - a-na-ta / a-na-i-ta (KN) 'without incrustation' /anaitā/, cf. a-ja-me-no

  - a$_3$-te /aitēr/ 'one who does incrustations'

  - DAT.PL -a-i /-āhi/ < *-ā-si

    - cf. Alb. ABL.PL fjalë 'word' (< Lat. *fabula*): *fjalësh* < *-āsi*

- /ei/ : <e>, <e-i>
  - <pe-i> /spʰeis/ '(to) them', Att. σφίσιν, or /spʰeʰi/ (Arcad. σφέσιν)
- /oi/ : <o>, <o-i>
  - LOC./DAT.PL. -*oihi* <o-i> /-*ōis* <o>
- /au/ <a-u>
  - ka-ra-u-ko /Glaukos/

● /eu/ <e-u>: e-u-da-mo /Eudāmos/, re-u-ko /leu̯ko-/

● /ou/ <o-u>: o-u /ou̯/ 'not', a-ro-u-ra /arou̯ra(ns)/

● /uj/ <u-j>: a-ra-ru-ja /araruja/ < *ar-ar-us-i̯a 'fitted', -υῖα (: ἀραρίσκω, Arm. *aṙnem*, aor. *ar-ar-i*).

– cf. similar context GEN.SG o-st. *-osi̯o > *-oi̯i̯o <o-jo>, Hom. -οιο, Thessal. -οι

Syllabic liquids and nasals

- *r̥, l̥ > ar/al:

- ta-ra-si-ja /tala(n)siā/ 'weight' < *tl̥h$_2$-ti-

    - *telh$_2$- 'to lift'; Lat. tollere, tulī, τλῆναι, OIr. tlenaid, τάλαντον, τλημοσύνη 'patience'.

- pa-we-a /pʰarweha/ 'cloths', Cl.-Gr. φᾶρος < *pʰarwos < *bʰr̥u̯e/os (: *bʰer- 'to carry')

- a-re-pa /aleipʰar/ 'unguent', ἀλείφω

- With /o/ next to labial?

- qe-to-ro 'four' < *k^wet(w)r̥ in qe-to-ro-po-pi /k^wetro-pop-p^{h}i/
'with four feet'.

  - *k^wt(w)r̥ > Alph.-Gr. τρα- in τράπεζα 'with 4 feet' < *k^wt(w)r̥pedi̯a, whence Boeot. τρίπεζα 'tripod'

- to-no /t^{h}ornos/ or /t^{h}r̥nos/ (Heubeck)?

  - NB *t^{h}ronos should be spelled <to-ro-no>.

  - Cf. Hesych. Θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον. to-ro-no-wo-ko /thorno-worgos/, /thr̥no-worgos/, /throno-/? Cf. de Lamberterie FS Penney

- *n̥, m̥ > a
    - te-ka-ta-si /tektasi/ 'builders' < *tektn̥si (cf. τέκτων)
- *n̥ > o next to labials?
    - Cf. a-no-wo-to 'without ears/handles' : οὖς, ὠτός, *an-ows-n̥-to-? Cf. οὔατα 'ears' < *ous̯-n̥-ta.
    - pe-mo, pe-ma < *spermn̥ 'seeds': σπέρμα.
    - 'wheel' only with <o>: a-mo /harmo/, pl. a-mo-ta /harmota/ < *arsmn̥t-
    - 'unguent' only with <a>: a-re-pa-te /aleipʰn̥t-/, but in the compound 'unguent-boiler' both <a> and <o>: a-re-pa-zo-o /aleipʰadzoʰos/, a-re-po-zo-o /aleipʰodzoʰos/

- Risch: -o „mycénien normal" (continued in Arcado-Cypr.) vs „mycénien spécial" (--> Ion.-Att.)

- Chadwick 1976: Myc. special (-a, -ti instead of -si) is Doric.

- Dorians not immigrated around 1200 („return of the Heraclidae"), but already present in Myc. times.

\<j->
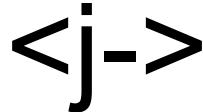
- double treatment as in Alph.-Gr. visible already here: /dz/ and /h/: ze-u-ke-si /dzeuges(s)i/ 'pairs'

- glide: \<i-je-ro> /hijeros/ 'holy', / \<i-e-ro>. Spelling variation or diachronic difference?

  – /ihero-/ < *is-ero- via /ihero-/, then /hi(j)ero-/ with metathesis of /h/.

  – PIE *$h_2$ei̯s(h_2)- 'to impel', Gr. ἰάομαι 'to heal', Ved. *iṣṇā́ti* 'impels', Gr. ἰνάω 'pour' (García Ramón FS Risch)

  – *#i̯ > #h-, but some spellings with \<j-> -- /y/ retained? \<o-te> /hote/ < *i̯ote, \<jo-> / \<o-> /jōs ~ hōs/, ὥς 'so/how'.

  – The pair of agent nouns *ja-ke-te-re, a$_2$-ke-te-re* = *yakestēres/hakestēres* 'menders' suggest that the j-less spellings indicate the change y > h, as in the later dialects.

<j->

- traces of /y/ in Homeric metrics?

  – Similar to /w/ (and /s/~/h/)?

  – A 51 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλ<u>ος ἐ</u>χεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς : ἐχε- < *hek^{h}e- < *seg^{h}e- (→Grassmann's Law later than this)

  – Γ 230 θε<u>ὸς ὣ</u>ς# : ὡς < *yōs

  – πότνι<u>α Ἥ</u>ρη# (25x) < *sēr- or *yēr-? (cf. Myc. E-ra)

<j->
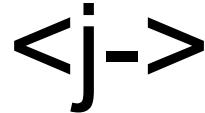
- VyV > VhV?
  - A-e-ri-qo-ta /A(j)eri-k^{wh}ontās/ 'killing in the morning'? like Ved. vasar-han-?
    - If one takes, as Leujeune does, the second member of the compound as /°k^{wh}ontās/ 'striking, killing', a-e-ri-qo-ta could be compared with the Vedic epithet vasar-hā́ 'killing (the demons) in the morning' said of the wind (vā́ta-) in RV 1.122.3.
    - However, vasar-hā́ may also be derived from hā 'to move', i.e. 'rising early' which seems to make better sense as an epithet of the wind, cf. (Jamison und Brereton 2014):I.284 and Jamison's online commentary
    - http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu/

- or φοιτάω 'go to and fro', i.e. °$k^{wh}oit\bar{a}s$?

- First member: Hom. ἦρι 'early, in the morning' < *āeri (cf. ἠέριος 'early') < *$h_2eu̯seri$? [Kiparsky]

- Or Av. *aiiarə* 'day'; *āi̯er-i 'at day' – whence /ā-/? Contrast ᾱριστον 'breakfast' < *$ai̯eri-h_1d-to$- 'Früh-essen'?

- Alternative (Hajnal 1992): *aseri* = LOC of *asōr 'spear', Hom. ἄορ, Ved. así-, Lat. ēnsis, Pal. ḫašira- 'dagger'?,

- 'killing with the sword', cf. also PN *A-o-ri-me-ne* /Ahorimenēs/ (with secondary -o- instead of -e- in the suffix):

- PY Qa 1296 1295 (15) a-o-ri-me-ne , i-je-re-u *189 [

- 'directing his mind to the sword', 'who has the rage of the sword / raging with the sword'~ μαίνομαι/μένος

- Il. 16.74 οὐ γὰρ Τυδεΐδεω Διομήδεος ἐν παλάμῃσι / **μαίνεται ἐγχείη** Δαναῶν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι, 8.110f. ὄφρα καὶ Ἕκτωρ / εἴσεται εἰ καὶ ἐμὸν **δόρυ μαίνεται** ἐν παλάμῃσιν.

- μένος ‚battle rage': μ. ἀνδρῶν the battle-rage of men, Il.2.387; μ. Ἄρηος 18.264.

  – Cf. Kölligan, Daniel. „Myc. a-o-ri-me-ne and Hom. δόρυ μαίνεται". Kadmos 54(1/2) (2015): 31–38.

- retained in to-ro-qe-jo-me-no /trokʷei̯omeno-/ 'turning'

- variation seen in adjectives of material in *-eyos: e-re-pa-te-jo and e-re-pa-te-o /elepʰante(y/h)ois/ 'made of ivory'.

- → does this show the change of /y/ > /h/ /V_V in progress or are the spelling with j-signs historical?

- NB there are no inverse spellings with j-signs e.g. for /h/ arisen from *s.

- Vsi̯V > Vii̯V ~ Vi̯V:

  – Gen. sg. o-st. <o-jo> /oi̯o/ < *osi̯o;

  – Ptc. Perf. fem. -u-ja < *us-i̯a;

  – Fem. PN -e-ja < *es-i̯a : a-ti-ke-ne-ja /Anti-geneia/ ~ Antigonos / Antigenēs.

- Vu̯i̯V : me-wi-jo / me-u-jo 'less'.

- i-je-re-ja fem. of i-je-re-u /hiereus/ ~ /hiereja/ from *-ēu̯-ja? Why different development? Or not derived from stem in -eu-?

- -ry- may be spelled with ro_2 /_o: a-ro_2-e 'better' < *ari̯oses.

- Synizesis in the sequence *RiV: po-pu-ro_2 'purple' < *porp^{h}uri(i̯)os.

- Same development with agent noun suffix -ri-ja/-ra_2.

- Does this imply that /ry/ is retained here, as Lejeune (1972b:156) argues?

- Question of a-ke-ra_2-te: Docs.[3] 234 (Thompson) takes this as aor. ptcp. *agersantes > agerrantes. This would imply that /ry/ > /rr/, and a prs. ptcp. *ageriontes can be excluded here.

- Alternative: form of ἀγγέλλω, e.g. /angēlantes/ or /angellantes/

<w->

- retained throughout:

  - #w-: wa-na-ka, we-to 'year', wo-ze 'works' /w(o)rzei/, wi-pi-no-o…

  - -w-: ka-ra-wi-po-ro, ka-ke-we

  - Cw: wi-do-wi-jo /widwojos/, ke-se-nu-wi-ja /ksenwija/ 'foreign, for export(?)', pe-ru-si-nwo /perusinwon/ 'last year's', ko-wa /korwa/ 'girl'

  - glide: a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo /Alektruwōn/

some implications

- <e-ne-ka> /eneka/, cannot be *enweka, rather *$h_1$nekm 'for reaching, for the sake of'

  – Homeric εἵνεκα does not show lengthening because of loss of /w/, but metrical lengthening.

- question of i-je-re-ja: if /ksenwija/ retains /wj/ or /wij/, why loss of /wj/ in this word if it derives from /ihereus/ 'priest'?

- Thompson Docs[3] 233 concludes: "Nor, as used to be thought, can ἱέρεια 'priestess' be built to the stem of ἱερεύς, in light of Mycenaean i-je-re-ja." -- But what would this basis be? /iheros/ > /iherei̯o-/? → debate about the origin of nouns in -eus.

some implications

- (opi …) o-ro-me-no 'watching':

  – cannot go back to *u̯er- (Lat. *uereor*, Germ. *gewahren*), but *ser-: Av. haraiti, Lat. ob-ser-u-āre, servus 'slave' < 'herdsman'.

  – cf. Hom. ἐπι ... ὅρονται 'sie achten auf, führen Aufsicht'.

- po-se-da-o 'Poseidon' /poseidaōn/ - no trace of digamma. Corinthian ΠοτειδᾱϜων hypercorrect form?

  – IG IV 211 Σιμίōν μ' ἀνέθε̄κε Ποτε(ι)δάϜō̄ν[ι] [Ϝά]ν̣ακτι.

- Also ἥρως without Ϝ: ti-ri-se-ro-e /tris-hērohei̯/, note also <e-ra> Hera.

<s->

- #s- in non-IE words: *se-ri-no* /selinon/ 'sellery'

- -sm- retained in do-so-mo /dosmos/ 'payment'

- -ksm-: a$_3$-ka-sa-ma /aiksmans/ 'spear tips' : αἰχμή

- <s-> /s(s)/ /V_V:

  – ze-u-ke-si /dzeuges(s)i/

  – e-so-to /es(s)ontoi/ 'they will be'

  – ze-so-me-no 'about to be cooked' (PIE *yes-se/o-)

<s->

- /ts/ > /s/:

  – pi-we-ri-si < *-id-si

  – de-ma-si 'skins' < *dermn̥t-si

  – da-sa-to < *datsato 'was distributed' ~ δατέομαι

  – */t(h)i̯/ > /s/: to-so /toso-/ < *toti̯o- 'so much', a₃-sa /aisa-/ 'share' < *aiti̯a-.

    • Unclear if this notes a geminate or not.

\<z->

- **/k(h)i̯/:* ka-zo-e ‚worse' < *kaki̯oses.

- **/i̯/:* ze-u-ko /dzeugos/ ‚pair'. Greek representation of *i̯ /h/ ~ /dz/ due to laryngeal?

- Possible exception to ze-u-ko: e-pi-*65-ko. *65 = ju (cf. i-*65 if i-ju 'son'), hence e-pi-ju-ko /epijugon/, part of the yoke? Conservative spelling?

- **/di̯/:* to-pe-za /torpedza/ < *kʷtu̯rpedi̯a, me-zo = medzōs 'bigger' < *megyōs (cf. μείζων).

- **/gi̯/:* wo-ze /worzei/ < *u̯r̥ĝ-i̯e/o-; me-zo-e < *meĝ-i̯os-e(s); a₃-za /aiza/ 'goat leather'

- some problems:

- wa-na-se-wi-jo seems to presuppose a base form *wa-na-sa 'lady', i.e., *wanaktii̯a? Why spelled with <s->?

- a-ke-ti-ri-ja beside a-ze-ti-ri-ja 'decorators'? /askētrija-/ ~ ἀσκέω? Maybe -ske- with palatalized -kʻ-, spelled <z>?

- From the opposite perspective: /h/ in Mycenaean < *s and *y word-initially and intervocalically:

- a_2-te-ro /hatero-/ < *sm̥-tero- 'next (year)'

- pa-we-a and pa-we-a_2 /pharweha/ 'cloths' -- what does this variation indicate? Loss of /h/ /V_V in progress?

- Meißner (2007): scribes of Knossos consistently write a glide instead of /h/ after /i/ -- so probably for them /h/ was already lost in this context, e.g. *prisentēr <pi-ri-je-te> /pri(i̯)entēr/ 'sawyer'(πρίω 'to saw')

- By contrast, in Pylos sometimes a glide is written, sometimes not, suggesting that it is in the process of disappearing, e.g. pi-ri-e-te-re /prihentēres/.

- Spellings without glide in Knossos only found on tablets from the room of the chariot tablets (RCT), which are probably older than the other material found in Knossos.

- Word initial /h/ indicated by a_2 in Knossos only in the RCT.

- So probably /h/ was lost earlier in Knossos word-initially and intervocalically than on the mainland.

Grassmann's Law

.post-Mycenaean feature: cf. de Decker (2015: 148-151) and de Lamberterie on *A-mu-ta-wo* (and Kölligan 2023).

.Best examples are probably those based on forms of ἔχω: *a-ni-o-ko* 'charioteer', *wa-tu-o-ko* (PN) and *a-pi-e-ke* (verb), not spelt with glide to block hiatus, which suggests presence of a different consonant: /hāni-hokhos/, /Wastu-hokhos/, /amphi-hekhei/ with /h/ retained despite following aspirate, i.e., unlike Alph.-Gr. τίθημι < *θίθημι.

- de Lamberterie, Charles. 2012. « Sur un anthroponyme héroïque du grec ancien (hom. Ἀμυθάων, myc. a-mu-ta-wo), avec un excursus relatif à la famille du verbe ἔχω et à la loi de Grassmann ». Revue des Études Grecques 125(2):341-363. doi: 10.3406/reg.2012.8099.

- Kölligan, Daniel. 2023. 'Thoughts on Myc. A-mu-ta-wo and PIE *$h_2$meu̯– and *$h_2$meu̯^{h}– "to surpass".'". Papers and Summary of the Discussion Held at the Summer 2023 MASt Seminar (Friday, June 30) - Classical Continuum (Harvard.Edu). https://continuum.fas.harvard.edu/papers-and-summary-of-the-discussion-held-at-the-summer-2023-mast-seminar-friday-june-30/

Stops

- Labiovelars retained:

- qi-ri-ja-to /kʷriato/ 'bought' ~ Alph.-Gr. πρίατο (Od. 4× - only object: slaves, as in Myc.)

- to-ro-qe-jo-me-no : τροπέω 'turn' < *trokʷei̯e/o- : lat. torquēre.

- also /_C:

  – qi-si-pe-e /kʷsipʰehe/ ~ ξίφος,

  – maybe Mo-qo-so = Μόψος = Luw. Mukšaš. KN De 1381.B, PY Sa 774, Phoenic. mpš (later borrowing, after change *kʷ > p). Hitt. mu-uk-šu /Muksus/ (KUB 14.1 rev. 75 „Anklage des Maduwatta").

    - Oettinger, N. 2008: 'The seer Mopsos (Muksas) as a historical figure' in M. Bachvarova, B.-J. Collins, I. Rutherford(eds), Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks, and their Neighbours in Ancient Anatolia. Oxford, Oxbow: 45–56, und Ilya Yakubovich 2015. "Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia" Anatolian Studies 65 (2015): 35–53, British Institute at Ankara.

- *u/u̯kʷ > u/u̯k: *qo-u-ko-ro* ~ βουκόλος, *gʷoukʷolos* (Lat. *anculus /* ancilla 'servant' < *ambʰi-kʷolo-*)

- Dissimilation of two /kʷ/:

  – *qe-re-qo-ta* /kʷēle-kʷʰontās/ 'killing from afar' ~ τηλε-φόντᾱς (e.g. Apollo, τηλεβόλος Pi. P. 3.49 χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ, (Kölligan 2000). Beside this *pe-re-qo-ta*.

- Assimilation:

  – probably in the case of i-po-po-qo-i /hippopʰorgʷoihi/ beside i-qo-po-qo-i /hikkʷopʰorgʷoihi/ 'ostlers' (regressive assimilation).

- πᾶς: traditional derivation from *$\acute{k}$want- ~ Skt. *śáśvant-* < *saśvant-* 'repeating itself, uninterrupted, complete, all, every' like Gr. ἄ-πας < *sm°-.

- Hence, special development *kwa > *pa already in Myc.? (Docs.[2] p. 81).

- Toch. B/A *po, pont-* 'all' shows that root has *p-, e.g. *ph_2-ént- PTCP of *peh_2- 'to guard, protect' > 'protected, whole' (cf. Germ. *heil* 'safe, unharmed' ~ NE *whole*).

- Status of /b/ in Mycenaean therefore quite marginal:

- not yet development of /b/ from /gʷ/, cf. qa-si-re-u /gʷasileus/ - Alph.-Gr. βασιλεύς

- no examples for epenthetic /b/ in /mr/-cluster as in later ἄμβροτος 'immortal',

- but epenthetic /r/ with /nr/ is found already in Myc. e.g. in a-di-ri-ja-te /andriantes/ 'images of men'.

- loanwords could provide a source for /b/, e.g.

- *pa-ra-ku-we*, the name of a precious material used to decorate items of furniture on PY Ta 715 and Ta 714, also spelt *pa-ra-ke-we* on PY Ta 642, and adj. *pa-ra-ku-ja* describing cloth (KN Ld (1) 575). 'emerald, turquoise'

- related to Akkadian *barrāqtu* (Hesychian gloss βαρακίς· γλαύκινον ἱμάτιον) → /b/ rendered with sign of the p-series? Or rather word with original /b/ adopted with /p/ in Myc.?

- similar problems with da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo (2x), da-pu-ri-to (1x) <> Λαβύρινθος. Source unknown, so we can only speculate.

p/pt

- πτόλις, πόλις; πτόλεμος, πόλεμος.

- later πτ- > ττ- Thessal.: ττολιαρχεντ-, Ττολεμαῖος:

    – SEG 47:717 Thessaly (IG IX,2) : Pelasgiotis : Atrax Μενεττόλεμος Μενεττόλεμος.

    – SEG 43:311 Thessaly (IG IX,2) : Pelasgiotis : Skotoussa Ἀμφιττολεμείοι

- *Po-to-re-ma-ta* /Ptolemātās/, *E-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo* /Euruptolemoio/ GEN.SG 'of Euruptolemos';

- po-to-ri-ka-ta /Ptoli-kastās/ ("renowned/excelling in the city"),

- po-to-ri-jo /Ptoliōn/,

pt/p

- pte-re-wa /ptelewās/ GEN.SG of *ptelewā ‚elm-tree‘,

- pte-no /pternō/ dual of πτέρνη 'sole' (part of the chariot? footboard? -- Goth. *fairzna*, Skt. *pārṣṇi-*).

- Palatal *pj > pt /_e? Cf. πτίλον (Dor. ψίλον) 'feather, down', Myc. *pi-ti-ro-we-sa* (adj. used with *to-pe-za*) 'decorated with images of feathers' (/ptilowe(n)sa/) ~ Lat. pilus 'hair'? Or related to πέτομαι 'to fly' with suffix *(pt-)-ilo-? Substrate word?

- Dunkel 1992: -pt- abstracted from compounds of the type Skt. *bharad-vāja-* 'bringing riches',

- Gr. -Vt.p- > -V.pt- e.g. in *φερετ.πολεμος > φερε.πτολεμος,

- whence new simplex πτόλεμος

- But this compositional type is not attested in Greek - circular argument.

  – Dunkel, George E. 1992. 'Two Old Problems in Greek: Ptólemos and Terpsímbrotos'. Glotta: Zeitschrift Fur Griechische Und Lateinische Sprache 70(3–4):197–225.