

𐀓𐀠𐀢

Mycenaean

Morphology

# ā-stems

.Defective writing system → many endings invisible

.SG: -a = /ā, ān, -ās, -āi/

.PL -a = /ai, ans/, -a-o /-āōn/, -a-i /āhi/, -a-pi /-ā-p<sup>hi</sup>/

•Nom. Pl. *pi-je-ra*<sub>3</sub>, *di-pte-ra*<sub>3</sub> /-rai/ → inherited ending /-ās/ replaced after model of o-stems already in Myc.

•*pi-je-ra*<sub>3</sub> (PY Ta 709.1) beside *pi-a*<sub>2</sub>-*ra* (PY Tn 996.2) /p<sup>h</sup>ihala/ ~ /p<sup>h</sup>ielā/, Alph.-Gr. φιάλη, φιέλη 'cup, bowl, pan'.

•*di-pte-ra*<sub>3</sub> /dip<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>erai/ 'skins, hides' (διφθέρα)

.DU.NOM/ACC.F -ō , *to-pe-zo* etc

.expect \*-eh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub> > \*-ai̯ -- remodelled after δύω? taken from o-stems?

- Cf. Hes. *Op.* 198 καλυψαμένω (Aidos and Nemesis),
- Att. τῷ article DU FEM.
- Cf. Lühr (2000).

.DU.NOM/ACC.M <a-e>

- <e-qe-ta-e> "2 'followers'" /hek<sup>w</sup>etā.../, <we-ke-ta-e> /wergetā.../ '2 workmen'.
- \*-ai-e, i.e. PL+DU-ending? Or old PL \*-ās+e?

# o-stems

.SG <o> /os, on, ōi/, <o-jo> /oio/

.DU <o> /ō/

.PL <o> /oi, ons, ōis/, <o-i> /oihi/

.much discussed: Are there genitives in <-o> beside those in <-o-jo>?

.Argued ever since Luria (1957), as possible remnants of PIE ablatives in \*-ōd.

- Luria, S. 1957. 'Über die Nominaldeklinaton in den mykenischen Inschriften', PP 12, 321–32.

.But no unambiguous examples:

- in Knossos, month-names in -o-jo alternate with short forms in -o, e.g., wo-de-wi-jo-jo vs wo-de-wi-jo, some of which are qualified as me-no 'month' in the gen. sg.
- Short form could simply be the NOM of the month-name, nominative of rubric, even if accompanied by GEN me-no, which is most often spelt smaller, as if an afterthought.

.Also haplography in stems in -jo- is possible (\*-jo-jo → -jo).

.Alternatively, forms in -o may be gen.pl of the festivals which took place in the respective month:

- wo-de-wi-jo, me-no 'in the month of the Wordēwia festival' /Wordēwiōn mēnnos/,
- wo-de-wi-jo-jo could be a derived adj. in gen.sg, like Θεσμοφόριος (μήν) « Θεσμοφόρια.

.Cf. details in Thompson 2017.

.Two apparent cases of instr.pl in -o-pi:

- KN Se 891 *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi*, *o-mo-pi*, describing a decorative feature of a chariot, /elephanteyophi oimophi/ 'with bands of ivory'
  - . cf. δέκα οἴμοι ... κυάνοιο // 11.24 'ten layers/stripes of enamel'
- Place-name *mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi* PY La 635, based on MN in gen.sg + instr.pl of *worwos* 'boundary' (ὄρος)?
- *i-ku-wo-i-pi* KN V(2) 280 is unclear, stem in -ōi-?



.LOC.SG like οἴκοι 'at home' - Myc. /-oi/ possible, but invisible

.Palmer *Interpretation* 330 supposed a LOC.SG in *di-da-ka-re* /didaskalei/ like Gr. οἴκει (Men. frg. 1044 [Kock]).

.KN Ak 784+.



.1	]we-ra-ti-ja	[	]2
.2	]me-zo-e , di-da-ka-re[		]11
.3	]me-zo-e , di-da-ka-re[		]15



- .Short spelling for διδασκαλεῖον? – abbreviated by scribes 103 and 108 as *di*.
- .But cf. *me-za-na wo-ke* /... woikei/ 'in the house of the goddess M.' PY Sh 736:

# PY Sh 736



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*to-ra-ke , a-me-ja-to , o-pa , me-za-na , wo-ke , ne-wo* ZE 5  
/thorakes, Amejantos hopā, Metsanās woikei, newoi ze(ugos) 5/  
"Cuirasses, work of A. in the temple of Metsana, new ones: 5 pairs"

Could be the divinity giving her name to the region Μεσσάνα / Μεσσηνία.

# C-stems

- .Nom. Sg. *po-me* /poimēn/, *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/
- .Akk. *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* /pleurōna-de/ 'to Pleuron'
- .Gen. Sg. *po-me-no* /poimenos/
- .Dat. Sg. *po-me-ne* /poimenei/, *ko-re-te-ri* /-ri/
- .Dual Nom. *ti-ri-po-de* /-e/
- .Pl. Nom. *po-me-ne* /-nes/
- .Dat. *pa-si* /pantsi/
- .Instr. *po-pi* /popp<sup>hi</sup>/

.nom.sg. *wa-na-ka*, *to-ra-ka* (TI Si 5; beside *to-ra*), *a<sub>3</sub>-ti-jo-qo* (MN) probably attempts to note the stop in the clusters *-ks*, *-k<sup>w</sup>s*.

- PY Ta 711 .1 *o-wi-de* , *pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri* , *o-te* , ***wa-na-ka*** , *te-ke* , *au-ke-wa* , *da-mo-ko-ro*
- TI Si 5 *to-ra-ka* vs KN Sk 8100 *to-ra* / *ko-ru* /thoraks, korus/ 'cuirass, helmet'

.Also exceptional plene spellings seem to be *ka-ra-te-ra* /krātēr/ 'mixing bowl' MY Ue 611 and *ki-to-na* /khitōn/ KN Ld (2) 785.2

# Acc. pl. in /es/?

- Risch (1958b) supposed alternative acc.pl in <-e> /es/ as in Delphian and Elean:
- MY Ue 611 several names of vessels listed ending in -e, e.g. a-po-re-we /amphorēwes/ alongside *ka-ra-te-ra*.
- If the latter is ACC, the former might be, too.
- But *ka-ra-te-ra* might also be NOM with exceptional plene spelling (or the scribe might simply be inconsistent in using NOM and ACC).

**257** = Ue 611

- .0           ]                   *vacat*  
.1   ]pe-ra   4   a-po-re-we 2   pe-ri-ke 3  
.2   ]ka-ra-te-ra 1   po-ro-ko-wo 4   a-ta-ra 1  
.3   ]pa-ke-te-re 30   ka-na-to 5   qe-ti-ja 10  
.4   ]qe-to 2   ti-ri-po-di-ko 8   ka-ra-ti-ri-jo  
.5                                    ]vac.[



- /\* ... four *drinking-cups*, two amphoras, three *pitchers*,  
... one mixing bowl, four pouring jugs, ten *ladles*,  
... thirty *pa-ke-te-re*, five *baskets*, ten small *qe-to*,  
... two *qe-to*, eight small tripods, seven *ka-ra-ti-ri-jo*.

κύπελλα 4, ἀμφορεύες 2, πέλικες 3  
κρατήρ 1, προχοφοί 4, ἄντλα 10

...

# eu-stems

•ACC.SG should be \*-ēu-a

•e-re-de (PY Fr 1228 wa-na-so-i , e-re-de 𐤀𐤋𐤅+PA V 1, Mn 1411) and ma-se-de (PY Cc 1285, Mn 1411) were interpreted by Lejeune as ACC in \*-ēn, i.e., \*-eu-m<sub>o</sub> > \*ēm like Ζῆν < \*djēm (Lex Stang).

- (If these are place names in the acc., an ending with just -e does not fit into Greek morphology.)

•Some PN / appellatives in -eu- seem to have by-forms in -e:

- ka-ke (PN, KN As 1516) / ka-ke-u (PN/appellat.). If -e = /ēs/ this could be a backformation from the ACC in /ēn/:
- NOM -eus : ACC -ēn → NOM -ēs (as e.g. in o-stems -os : -on)

•Cf. Arcadian ἱερῆς, φονεῖς after ACC in -ēn, Cypr. i-je-re-se, pa-si-le-se /hierēs, basilēs/



.PY Fr 1228



Photograph © University of Cincinnati.

wa-na-so-i , e-re-de    𒀭𒀦𒀭+PA   V  
1

# adjectives

- .**Comparative** formed with -yos-, inflecting as s-stem, e.g., me-zo-a<sub>2</sub> /medzoha/ 'bigger'.
- .NB no trace of Alph.-Gr. comparative suffix -ion- found so far.
- .-tero- with originally contrastive function as in ἡμέτερος 'ours' (as opposed to yours) seen e.g. in *wa-na-ka-te-ro* 'belong to the wanaks' (and not to anyone else).
- .**Superlative** degree is not attested.

# pronouns

## .anaphoric:

- *mi* /min/ in *da-mo-de-mi pa-si* /dāmos de min phāsi/ (PY Ep 704); *e-ke-de-mi* PY Na 926
- enclitic; Hom. μιν
- *pe-i* /sp<sup>h</sup>eis/ oder /sp<sup>h</sup>ehi/ DAT.PL, Att. σφίσι, Arc. σφεσιν.

## **.demonstrative:**

.to-jo /tojo/ < \*tosjo:

.PY Eb 156+157: a<sub>3</sub>-ti-jo-qo , e-ke-qe , **to-jo-qe** , au-to-jo ., ka-ma-ø ., [to-so-]de , pe-mo GRA[

"Aithiok<sup>w</sup>s has from the same kama-... so much seed."



.**to-to** /touto/ 'this'? But u-diphthongs are usually spelt out, so rather /totto/ < \*tod-tod? (Docs<sup>3</sup> 246).

.If old, this should be \*tosto. So better /toto/ formed after loss of final /d/? Found anywhere else in Greek?

.to-to, we-to 'this year' (PY Aq 64), also spelled as one word, to-to-we-to -- Maybe dissimilation of two labials in the sequence /towtowetos/ > /totowetos/? NB to-to occurs only on this tablet, written by one scribe only (hand 21); there is no form \*to-u-to vel sim.

.Contrasts with a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro /hateron/, we-to 'the other year', combined with a future form, hence 'next year'.

# PY Aq 64

- .1 ]-re-wi-jo-te
- .2 ]-ja , mo-ro-qa , to-to , we-to , o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 \*171 3
- .3 ka-do-wo , mo-ro-qa , o-u-qe , a-ke-re-se ZE 1
- .4 ru-ro , mo-ro-qa , o-u-qe , a-ke-re-se ZE 1
- .5 ku-ru-me-no , mo-ro-qa , i-te-re-wa , ko-re-te , to-to , wẹ-tọ ㇿo-a-ke-re-se \*171 6
- .6 pe-ri-mo , ti-mi-ti-ja , ko-re-te , to-to-we-to ㇿo-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 \*171 3
- .7a o-a-ke-re-se
- .7b pe-ri-me-de-o , i-\*65 , po-so-ri-jo-no , te-ra-ni-ja , a-ke-re-se , to-to-we-to , \*171 12
- .8 po-ki-ro-qo , e-qe-o , a-to-mo ZE 1

**.possessive:** maybe wo-jo /hwoio/ 'his/her' < \*swosyo (Hom. oĩo)

- PY Eb 472 .A we-te-re-u , o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta , e-ke-qe , o-na-to  
 .B wo-jo , \*35-to , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1 T 3

**.relative/indefinite:** o-u-ki /ouk<sup>w</sup>is/ in o-u-ki-te-mi = *oukis termis* (Documents<sup>2</sup> 475–76) or *themis* (Documents 311). With loss of labial feature of /k<sup>w</sup>/ after /u/, cf. Thessalian κῖς = τῖς extracted from this compound and generalized.

.1	wo-de-wi-jo	
.2	vac.	
.3	vac.	
.4	vac.	
.5	to-pe-za , o-u-ki-te-mi	X
.6	vac.	
.7	vac.	
.8	vac.	
.9	vac.	
.10	vac.	
.11	a-pe-ti-ra <sub>2</sub> / o-u-te-mi	X
.12		o-u-te-mi X
.13		o-u-te-mi X
.14		o-u-te-mi X
.15	e-pi , i-ku-wo-i-pi	

- festival calendar (Meriggi)? NB *wo-de-wi-jo* otherwise attested as month name, ou-khi themis 'it is not lawful'

- against this Chadwick: list of furniture; /torpedza ou-kis termis/ 'a table, and there is no rim', cf. te-mi-dwe on wheel-records /termid-went-/ 'with a t./rim?'. *o-u-ki* < \**ou-k<sup>w</sup>is* -- but note *o-u-qe* /ou-k<sup>w</sup>e/ without dissimilation.

- a-pe-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>: perhaps *amphestria* 'with seats on either side'.

- Note *o-u-ki-te-mi* beside *o-u-te-mi*



.o- 'thus/how' probably from \*i<sub>o</sub>- (/hō/ or /yō/ or /yod/?)

.jo-qi (PY Vn(-) 1314) probably /yokk<sup>w</sup>i/ < \*yod-k<sup>w</sup>id, cf. Alph.-Gr. ὅ, τι

# Numerals

.e-me /hemei/ or /hemē/ 'with one (foot)' : -m- still retained

.du-wo-u-pi 'with two', dwo 'two'

.ti-ri-si /trisi/ 'three' (dat/loc)

## **.composition:**

.o-wo- 'single' o-wo-we /oiwowēs/ 'with a single handle' (Alph. Gr. οἷος)

.di-wi- /dwi-/ 'two', di-wi-ja-me-ro /dwi-āmeron/ 'a period of two days'

.ti-ri- (ti-ri-po-de)

.qe-to-ro- (qe-to-ro-po-pi)

.we- '6' (Kret. ἑξέξ): we-pe-za 'with six feet'. (PY Ta 713) adj. modifying to-pe-za.

.e-ne-wo- /ennewo-/ : e-ne-wo-pe-za (PY Ta 713.1.3, 715.1) adj. modifying to-pe-za, 'table with 9 feet'

# Prepositions and preverbs

<i>a-na-</i>	<i>a-na-ke-e</i>	/an-age <sup>h</sup> en/	ἀνά, ἀνάγω
<i>a-pi-</i>	<i>a-pi-po-re-we</i>	/amp <sup>h</sup> ip <sup>h</sup> orēwes/	ἀμφί, ἀμφιφορεύς
<i>a-pu-</i>	<i>a-pu-do-si</i>	/apudosis/ 'payment'	Arcadocypriot ἀπύ
	<i>a-pu-do-ke</i>	/apudōke/ 'gave back'	
	<i>a-pe-do-ke</i>	/ap-e-dōke/ 'gave back'	
	<i>a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-no, ke-re-a<sub>2</sub></i>	/apu=kekaumenos skeleha/ 'burnt away at the legs' (PY Ta 641)	Tmesis? Why word-divider?

	<i>po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja , a-pu , ke-u-po-de-ja</i>	'women belonging to Potnia, formerly belonging to ke-u-po-da' (Ruijgh <i>Études</i> 262) KN G 820	used as adverb 'formerly'?
<i>-de</i>	<i>te-qa-de</i>	/T <sup>h</sup> ēg <sup>w</sup> ansde/ 'to Thebes'	-δε
	<i>a-mo-te-jo-na-de</i>	/harmoteiōnade/ 'to the wheelwright's workshop'	

e-	<i>e-ke-ro-qo-no-qe</i>	/enk <sup>h</sup> errok <sup>w</sup> oinōn/ 'wage earners'?	
<i>e-ne-ka</i>	<i>e-ne-ka, ku-ru-so-jo, i-je-ro-jo</i>	/heneka k <sup>h</sup> rūsojo hierojō/ 'on account of the sacred gold'	preposition in Mycenaean vs postposition Alph.- Gr. ἔνεκα
	<i>e-ne-ka , a-no-qa- si-ja</i>	/heneka anork <sup>wh</sup> asiās/ 'on account of manslaughter' (PY Ea 805)	
	<i>e-ne-ka, o-pa</i>	/heneka hopās/ 'for finishing'? KN Am(2) 821, cf. Docs <sup>3</sup> 450	

<i>e-pi / o-pi + dat.</i>	<i>e-pi-ke-re</i>	/epi=kherrei/ 'in hand'	ἐπί, ὅπιπτεύω?
	<i>o-pi-e-de-i</i>	/opi=hedehi/ 'at her abode'	
+ instr.	<i>o-pi, qe-to-ro-po-pi, o-ro-me-no</i>	/opi k <sup>w</sup> etropopp <sup>hi</sup> horomenos/	'keeping watch over the quadrupeds' -- preposition, tmesis, adverb?
	<i>mu-jo-me-no , e-pi , wa-na-ka-te</i>	/muiomenōi epi wanaktei/ 'on the occasion of the initiation of the king' (PY Un 2)	temporal use of <i>epi</i> , dominant participle as in Lat. <i>ab urbe condita</i> .

<i>ku-su-</i>	<i>ku-su-pa</i>	/ksumpan/ 'altogether'	ξύν, σύν
	<i>ku-su-to-ro-qa</i>	/ksunstrok <sup>wh</sup> ā/ 'total'	
<i>me-ta</i> + dat.	<i>me-ta-qe, pe-i</i>	/meta=k <sup>w</sup> e sphehi/ 'and with them'	μετά
	<i>me-ta-ke-ku-me-na</i>	/metakhekhumena/ 'dismantled'	
	<i>me-ta-ki-ti-ta</i>	/metaktitai/ 'fellow settlers'	cf. μέτοικος

<i>pa-ro</i> + dat.-loc.	<i>pa-ro, ka-ke-u-si</i>	/paro khalkeusi/ 'with/in the charge of the bronzesmiths'	παρά, Lesb. πάρο
+ instr.	<i>pa-ro ... qa-si-re-u-pi</i> (TH Uq 434)	/paro ... g <sup>w</sup> asileup <sup>hi</sup> / 'from the b.'	
<i>pe-da</i> + acc.	<i>pe-da, wa-tu</i>	/peda wastu/ 'to the town'	Arc. πέ, Lesb., Boeot. πέδα, πεδά instead of μετά
<i>po-si</i>	<i>o-u-qe, a-ni-ja, po-si</i>	/ouk <sup>w</sup> e hāniai posi/ 'and there are no reigns attached'	adverbial use; Arcadocypriot προς
	<i>po-si-ke-te-re</i>	/pos-iktēres/ 'immigrants'	



<i>u-po</i>	<i>u-po-o-pa</i>	/hupo hopās/ 'because of renovation/finishing' TH Uq 434	ὑπό
	<i>o-u-qe , pe-qa-to , u-po</i>	'nor is there a floor(?) underneath' (part of a chariot), * <i>pegg<sup>w</sup>aton</i> < * <i>ped-g<sup>w</sup>aton</i>	
<i>we-?</i>	<i>we-ja-re-pe</i>	/hualeip <sup>h</sup> es/ 'for smearing on'	Cypr. <i>u-ke-ro-ne</i> /(h)uk <sup>h</sup> ērōn/

# verb

- .Between 91 (Duhoux) and 124 (Bartonek) forms attested.
- .only 3SG and PL
- .augment securely attested once in a-pe-do-ke beside a-pu-do-ke 'paid'; probably also in a-pe-e-ke (PY An 724) /ap-e-he:ke/ 'released'
- .forms with "Attic" reduplication: a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na /ar-ārmot-mena/ 'fitted', ἄρμότηω/-όζω

.often PRS and IMPF not distinguishable: pe-re /pherei/, /(e)phere/.

.But in Cl. Greek few augmentless IMPFs, maybe

- Hes. *Theog.* 10 ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κεκαλυμμένοι ἥερι πολλῶ / ἐννύχιαι **στεῖχον** περικαλλέα ὅσσαν ἰεῖσαι, cf. West (1989)  
"Starting out from there, shrouded in thick invisibility, by night they **walk**, sending forth their very beautiful voice."

	PE ACT SG	PL	MED SG	PL
them.	-e /-ei/	-o-si /-onsi/	-e-to /-etoi/	-o-to /-ontoi/
athem.	-si /-si/, -ø	-e-si /-ensi/	-to /-toi/	-to /-ntoi/
	SE			
	-ø, -e	-o /-on/	-to /to/	

3SG -to /toi/ as in Arcadian and Cypriot: -μαι, -σοι, -τοι, cf. Ruipérez 1952:

Arcad. κειοι = Att. κείαι, βολεῖτοι, εσετοι, δεατοι, διαδικασωντοι. Cypr. κείτοι.

Preverbs already univerbated: e-ne-e-esi /enehensi/ 'they are inside', a-pe-do-ke /apedōke/ 'gave back', etc. a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-no not a counter argument.

Epic language still has tmesis – chronological paradox? Matter of register?

# Athematic root presents

•a-pe-e-si PY An 614.7 /apehensi/ 'they lack, are not present'

•a-pe-i-si KN Od 666.b /apeῖsi/ 'x goes away'

•e-e-si KN Ai 63.a, Sd 4422.b /ehensi/ 'they are' < \*h<sub>1</sub>senti.

- Dor. ἐντί < \*ēnti < \*ehenti; Att. εἰσί /ēsi/ < \*ehensi. Ep. ἔασι < \*h<sub>1</sub>s-nti ending -ασι taken from perf.

•e-e-to PY An 607.3 /ehentō/ 'they shall be'?

- Syntax unclear, cf. Hajnal (1990).

•e-to PY Va 15.1 /eston/ 'the two of them are', 3SG.DU. ~ ἐστόν?

- o-u-qe , e-to \*35-ka-te-re 2 "And the two are not..."

# Athematic root presents

.e-ne-e-si PY En 609.2 /enehensi/ 'they are inside'

.ki-ti-je-si PY Na 520.b /kdiyensi/ 'they cultivate', 3PL of \*κτεῖμι, Hom. εὐκτίμενος 'well built, cultivated, settled', κτίζω.

.pa-si PY Ep.704.5 3SG 'says' φᾶσί.

.u-ru-to PY An 657.1 /wruntoḯ/ 'they watch',

– ῥύομαι, ἐρύομαι.

.o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra /hōs wruntoḯ opihala/ "Thus they guard the coast." (Or imperative /wrusthōn/ 'they shall guard'?).

– \*u<sub>er</sub>-u-, Skt. varūtar- 'protector', vṛṇóti 'protects', Got. warjan < \*u<sub>or</sub>-éje/o-.

# denominals

.*te-re-ja* PY Eb 149.1 et pass. /telehiā/, /teleiijā/ '(s)he carries out duties'

.athematic inflexion?

.Cf. inf *te-re-ja-e*.

.Why no ending *-si* as in *di-do-si*?

.Ruipérez: subjunctive /telehiāt/ with SE 'shall serve as *te-re-ta*'.

# reduplicated

• *di-do-si* PY Ma 365.2 /didonsi/ 'they give'.

• *di-do-to* PY Ng 319.2 /didoto(i)/ 'gives/is/was given/gave'?

– to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to SA 457 (SA=flax)

• *i-je-si* PY Cn 3.1 /hiyensi/ 'they send',

– \*ieh<sub>1</sub>-: \*ij-ih<sub>1</sub>-énti.



.*i-je-to-qe* PY Tn 316.2 /hi̯etoj=k<sup>w</sup>e/? Unclear.

.Context:

.1 po-ro-wi-to-jo ,

.2 **i-je-to-qe** , pa-ki-ja-si , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe

.3 pu-ro a-ke , po-ti-ni-ja AUR \*215VAS 1 MUL 1

.Most interpret this as a form of ἵεμαι 'to send' – with LOC pa-ki-ja-si?

.Or related to ἱερός 'holy', 'they carry out a ceremony'? Cf. García Ramón 1996.

# PY Tn 316.2



# thematic presents

.a-ke PY Tn 316.3 etc. /agei/ 'leads'

.e-ke 'has' /ek<sup>h</sup>ei/

.e-ko-si 'they have' /ek<sup>h</sup>onsi/

.e-ke-jo-to /enkeio(n)toi/ 'they lie inside', ἔγκειμαι.

- /-ontoι/ or athem. \*-ntoi with development > on as in pe-mo < \*spermn̥. Cf. ion. κείται, κέεται.

.e-u-ke-to-(qe) 'and she declares' /euk<sup>h</sup>etoι-/ ~ εὔχεται, Skt. 3PL *óhate* 'they praise', Lat. *voceo*.

- PIE \*h<sub>1</sub>ueg<sup>uh</sup>-. Red. PRS \*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>ug<sup>uh</sup>- > Skt. oh-, Gr. εὖχ-. Lat. \*h<sub>1</sub>uog<sup>uh</sup>-éie/o- > uou-ē-.

.pe-re /pherei/ 'carries, brings'

# yod-presents

.a-ke-re 'collects' ~ ἀγείρω.

– /agerrei, agērei/ < \*h<sub>2</sub>ger-ie/o-.

.wo-ze 'works' /wordzei/, /wrdzei/

– ~ ῥέζω, ἔρδω < \*ureg-ie/o-/urerg-ie/o-

– Myc. \*urg-ie/o- / \*uorg-ie/o- ~ Arm. *gorcem* / *gorc*?

# nasal present

.*o-pe-ro-si* 'they owe, they shall'

./ophellonsi/ or /ophēlonsi/ < \*ophel-n-e/o-

•Att. ὀφείλω, Dor. ὀφήλω, Lesb., Arkac. ὀφέλλω.

# Root aorists

•a-pe-do-ke with augment – /ap-e-dōke/ (rather than \*ap-es-dōke [Luria])

- LURIA, S.: Zu den neugefundenen pylischen Inschriften (1955–1958). PP 15 (1960) 241–259;

•a-pu-do-ke without augment /apudōke/.

•a-pe-e-ke /ap-e-hēke/ 'released'

- cf. MÁTÉ ITTZÉS, The augment in Mycenaean Greek, *Acta Ant. Hung.* 44, 2004, 143–150

•de-ko-to /dek-to/ 'took, received' – or /deksto/?

.do-ke /dōke/ 'gave'

.po-ro-te-ke /pro-thēke/ 'put in front'

.qi-ri-ja-to /k<sup>w</sup>rījato/ 'bought' (slaves, as in Homer: πρίατο, -αντο only with human object)

.te-ke /thēke/ 'put'

# thematic aorist

.o-po-ro /ophlon/ or /ōphlon/ 'they owed'

– ὀφείλω, ὥφλον.

.(o-u)-pa-ro-ke-ne-[to /ou paro-geneto/ 'did not appear', παρεγένετο.

.(o)-wi-de 'thus he saw', εἶδον.



# sigmatic aorist

.a-ke-re-se, future /agrēsei/ or aorist /agrēse/ 'will collect/collected'.

.de-ka-sa-to /deksato/ 'received'

.e-ra-se /elase/ 'drove', aor. ἤλασα, prs. ἐλαύνω

.e-re-u-te-ro-se /eleutherōse/ 'freed'

.([o-])da-sa-to /dassato/ 'distributed', δατέομαι.

.su-ra-se /sulase/ 'took', συλάω, or /ksurase/ 'cropped' (ξύρω)?

.we-ke-se /wekse/ 'brought', φεχω 'drive, bring', \**ueg<sup>h</sup>*-.

# perfect, future, imperfect

**.perfect:** e-pi-de-da-to /epidedastoi/ 'has distributed', ἐπιδατέομαι.

**.future:**

- (jo-)a-se-so-si PY Cn 608.1 /asēsonsi/ 'they will fatten', Aeol. ἄσαι.
- do-se /dosei/ 'x will give'
- (jo-)do-so-si /dōsonsi/ 'they will give'
- e-so-to /esontoi/ 'they will be'

## .imperfect?

.(te-ko-to) a-pe /tektōn apēs/ ‘the carpenter was not present’, /apēs/, Dor. Aeol. Arc.-Cypr. ἦς ‘was’ < \*e-h<sub>1</sub>es-t? (Ventris/Chadwick)

.Differently Docs.<sup>3</sup> s.v.: "te-ko-to-a-pe, PY An 5. **Prob. PN** [place name] (Killen 1999b). te-ko-to-na-pe, PY 49 = An 18+, [Cr 868?]. Alternative spelling."

Killen, J. T. 1999b. ‘Mycenaean te-ko-to-(n)a-pe’, *Minos* 31–32 (1996–97) 179–85  
[=Economy and Administration II.687–93]

.1	e-ta-je-u , te-ko-to-a-pe	VIR 1
.2	wi-do-wo-i-jo , te-ko-to-a-pe	VIR 1
.3	to-ro-wi-ka , te-ko-to-a-pe	VIR 1
.4	po-ru-to te-ko-to-a-pe	VIR 1
.5	o-tu te-ko-to-a-pe	VIR 1
.6	sa-ni-jo qe-re-me-ti-wo	VIR 1
.7	ku-ri-ša-to mu-ta-pi	VIR 1
.8	[i-na-pi , ra-u-ta 2 VIR 1 ]	
.9	vac.	
.10	vac.	

# PY An 18

.1 e-re-u-te-ri-  
.2 **te-ko-to-na-pe** VIR [  
.3 i-na-ni-ja VIR 1[ ]a VIR [  
.4 r̥e-ʃi-we-i VIR[ ]1 a-se-e VIR 1  
.5 vac.  
.6 te-re-ne-we , **to-ko-do-mo a-pe-o** VIR 1  
.7 i-na-ne VIR 1 **te-ko-to-na-pe** 1  
.8 vac.  
.9 qo-u-ko-ro ti-no VIR 90  
.10 vac.  
.11 pa-ki-ja-si , to-so , te-  
.12 VIR 254[ ] vac.

to-ko-do-mo a-pe-o /toik<sup>h</sup>odomos ape<sup>h</sup>o:n/

hence also te-ko-to-na-pe /tekto:n ape:s/?

# participle

- ex. *qe-qi-no-me-no* (García Ramón 1999)
- Heubeck: "mit aufgemalten, geritzten oder eingeschnitzten Ornamenten dekoriert"
- also perf. pass. 3sg. *qe-qi-no-to*
- Hom. δινωτός 'decorated'?
- /g<sup>w</sup>e-g<sup>w</sup>īnōmeno-/ from a verb \*g<sup>w</sup>īnóō 'provide with \*g<sup>w</sup>īno-', from βίος 'life', i.e. 'vivify, make look lively, adorn'?

.*qe-qi-no-me-no* said of *to-no* and *to-pe-za*

.with INSTR of type of decoration,

- *to-qi-de* /tork<sup>w</sup>idē/ 'with a spiral',
- *a-di-ri-ja-te* /andriantē/ 'with a male figure',
- *ko-ru-pi* /korupp<sup>h</sup>i/ 'with helmets'

.Homer: δινωτός: Paris' bed (Γ 391), Idomeneus' shield (N 408), Penelope's chair (τ 56).

.Schadewaldt: 'gedrechselt, gerundet, mit Wirbeln'.

.δινωτός with INSTR of material (χαλκῷ, ἐλέφαντι, ἀργυρῷ), not motive.

- old nasal present of  $*g^w\check{i}eh_3-$  :  $*g^wi-ne-h_3-$  >  $*g^win\bar{o}/o-$ ,
- thematised as  $*g^win\acute{o}-\bar{o}$  and with  $/\bar{i}/$  after  $*g^wih_3-no-$  (type ὕπνος <  $*supno-$ ).
- development of  $*g^wi$ :
  - βίος <  $*g^wih_3wo-$  shows  $/b/$  as regular, cf. also βιός 'bow', Skt. *jyā-*.
  - FUT βέομαι analogical after βίος instead of  $*\delta\acute{e}ομαι$



- regular form \*βινωτός would look as is from βινέω 'futuo'
- hence folk-etymological connection with δινέω 'to swirl', PIE \**dyeh*<sub>1</sub>- 'to hurry' (Hom. δίεται)
- Posthomeric texts connect δινωτός with δινέω, e.g. Parmenides frg. 1.7/8:
  - δοιοῖς γὰρ ἐπείγεται **δινωτοῖσιν** κύκλοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
"it was pressed hard by two **whirling** wheels, one on each side"

# noun

- C-stems show forms with <-i> and with <-e> which could stand for LOC and DAT (-ei) respectively -- on the mainland these seem to be used interchangeably.
- In Knossos, -i is restricted to -s-stems. Forms with -e could also represent PIE instr e.g. on PY Ta 641 e-me po-de (broken tripod) 'with one foot'.
- In the s-stems forms spelt -e-e alternate with forms spelt -e-i also at Knossos, and it is a curious fact that the former predominate in place-names, the latter in personal names.
- Risch: -ehē instr with ablative sense, appropriate to place-names, vs -e-i = dative.
- This would align with place names in -pi, i.e. formally instr with ablative sense.
- Against this: PY Jn 829 pa-ki-ja-pi is found in the same function as s-stem locative e-re-i.

.Syncretism of dat+loc and instr+abl unlikely, cf. KN Ld(2) 787 ki-to-pi (describing cloth) if this is /khitomphi/ 'for tunics', i.e. formal instr used in dative sense, and TH Uq 434 pa-ro, te-qa-jo-i [] qa-si-re-u-pi: dat pl adjective here modifies a noun in the instr pl.

.→ Looks similar to syncretism in later Greek with dat, loc, instr merging into a single case.

.But in Myc. instr still separate case for expressing instrumental meaning: -p<sup>h</sup>i is restricted to the plural (unlike in Homer) and not found with the o-stems (only 2 exceptions).

.Instr. Sg. with ablative function with place names?

.*me-ta-pa* /-ā/ 'from Metapa'? \*-eh<sub>2</sub>-(e)h<sub>1</sub>?

.*e-ra-te-re-we* (PY Ma 333) parallel to *pa-ki-ja-pi* (PY Ma 221.1), → instr. in separative function, \*-e $\underset{\sim}{u}$ -eh<sub>1</sub>?

.instr. of collective, \*-e $\underset{\sim}{u}$ -eh<sub>2</sub>, with derivational suffix \*-eh<sub>2</sub>- originally not present in oblique cases? (Cf. GEN.PL *e-ra-te-re-wa-o*)

r-

.Instr. Sg. °ka-ra-o-re:

- second member of compound in *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re* PY Ta 707.2+ 'with a siren's head'
- place-name *o-no-ka-ra-o-re* 'donkey's head'?  
/-krāhōr-ē/, \**kr̥h<sub>2</sub>s-ē/ōr* 'thing on the head'.