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目

Mycenaean

Morphology

# ā-stems

- Defective writing system → many endings invisible
- SG: -a = /ă, ān, -ās, -āi/
- PL -a = /ai, ans/, -a-o /-āōn/, -a-i /āhi/, -a-pi /-ā-p<sup>h</sup>i/

- 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>iela/, 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. τώ article DU FEM.
  - Cf. Lühr (2000).
- DU.NOM/ACC.M <a-e>
  - <e-qe-ta-e> "2 'followers'" /hekʷetā.../, <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 Nominaldeklination 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.

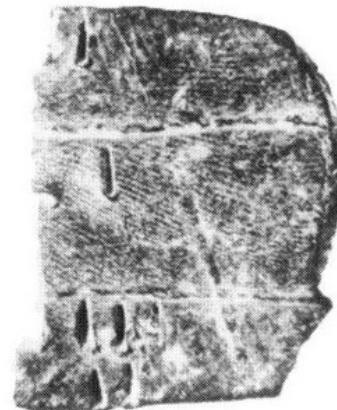
- Also haplography in stems in -jo- is possible (\*-jo-jo → -jo).
- Alternatively, forms in -o may be gen.pl of the festivals which took place in the respective month:
  - wo-de-wi-jo, me-no 'in the month of the Wordēwia festival' /Wordēwiōn mēnnos/,
  - wo-de-wi-jo-jo could be a derived adj. in gen.sg, 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 οῖμοι ... κυάνοιο Il. 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' (ὅρος)?
  - *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* /didaskalej/ like Gr. οἴκει (Men. frg. 1044 [Kock]).
- KN Ak 784+.



.1 ]we-ra-ti-ja [ J2  
 .2 ]me-zo-e , di-da-ka-re[ J11  
 .3 ]me-zo-e , di-da-ka-re[ J15



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

# PY Sh 736



Photograph © University of Cincinnati.

*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>h</sup>i/

- 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, -kʷs.
  - 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*. Or rather dual form /-e/ (NB numeral 2 following), but cf. *pe-ri-ke* 3.
- 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

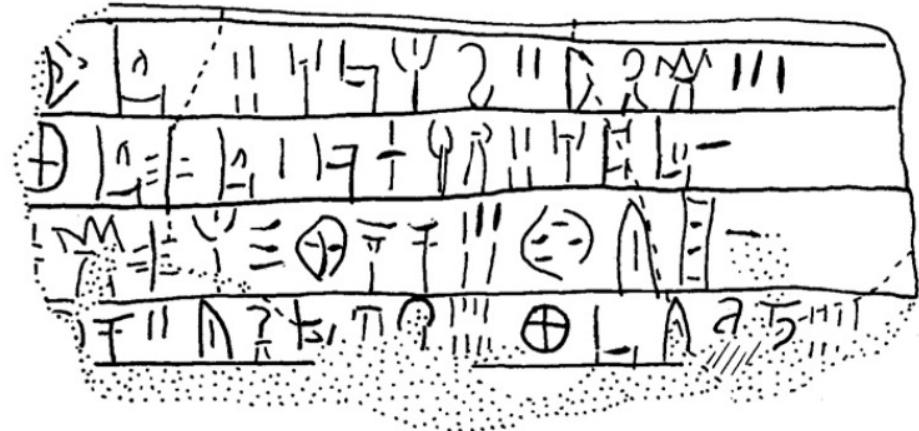
.2 ]ka-ra-te-ra 1 po-ro-ko-wo 4 a-ta-ra 1

.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, ἀμφορεύε(ς) 2, πέλικες 3

κρατήρ 1, προχοῖοι 4, ἄντλα 10

...

# eu-stems

- ACC.SG should be \*-ēu-a
- e-re-de (PY Fr 1228 wa-na-so-i , e-re-de QLÉ+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-ṁ > \*ēm like Zῆv < \*diēm (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 ιερης, φονες after ACC in -ēn, Cypr. i-je-re-se, pa-si-le-se /hierēs, basilēs/

- PY Fr 1228



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wa-na-so-i , e-re-de      QLÈ+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-qę** , au-to-jo , ka-ma-q , [ to-so-]de , pe-mo GRA[  
"Aithiokw'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-qɑ , to-to , we-to , o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 \*171 3
- .3 ka-do-wo , mo-ro-qɑ , o-u-qe , a-ke-re-se ZE 1
- .4 ru-ro , mo-ro-qɑ , o-u-qe , a-ke-re-se ZE 1
- .5 ku-ru-me-no , mo-ro-qɑ , i-te-re-wɑ , ko-re-te , to-to , wɛ-ʈɔl \_o-a-ke-re-se \*171 6
- .6 pe-ri-mo , ti-mi-ti-ja , ko-re-te , to-to-we-tol \_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. oīo)
  - 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 κις = τις 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-ra2 / 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-kʷis -- but note *o-u-qe* /ou-kʷe/ 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 \*jo- (/hō/ or /yō/ or /yod/?)
- jo-qi (PY Vn(-) 1314) probably /yokkʷi/ < \*yod-kʷid, 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. οῖος)
- 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. Φέξ): 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/	άνά, ἀνάγω
<i>a-pi-</i>	<i>a-pi-po-re-we</i>	/amp <sup>h</sup> ip <sup>h</sup> orēwes/	άμφι, 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>	/Tʰēgʷansde/ 'to Thebes'	-δε
	<i>a-mo-te-jo-na-de</i>	/harmoteiōnade/ 'to the wheelwright's workshop'	

e-	e-ke-ro-qo-no-qe	/enk <sup>h</sup> errok <sup>w</sup> oinōn/ 'wage earners'?	
e-ne-ka	e-ne-ka, ku-ru-so-jo, i-je-ro-jo	/heneka k <sup>h</sup> rūsojo hierojo/ 'on account of the sacred gold'	preposition in Mycenaean vs postposition Alph.-Gr. Ἐνεκα
	e-ne-ka , a-no-qa-si-ja	/heneka anork <sup>wh</sup> asiās/ 'on account of manslaughter' (PY Ea 805)	
	e-ne-ka, o-pa	/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, ὅπιπεύω?
	<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 kʷetropoppʰi 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>w̄h</sup> ā/ 'total'	
<i>me-ta</i> + dat.	<i>me-ta-qe, pe-i</i>	/meta=k <sup>w̄e</sup> 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 ... gʷasileupʰi/ '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>	/oukʷe hāniai posí/ 'and there are no reigns attached'	adverbial use; Arcadocypriot πος
	<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	ύπο
	<i>o-u-qe , pe-qa-to , u-po</i>	'nor is there a floor(?) underneath' (part of a chariot), *peggʷaton < *ped-gʷaton	
<i>we-?</i>	<i>we-ja-re-pe</i>	/hualeipʰes/ 'for smearing on'	Cypr. <i>u-ke-ro-ne</i> /(h)ukʰērōn/

# 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', ἀρμόττω/-όζω

- often PRS and IMPF not distinguishable: pe-re /pherei/, /(e)phere/.
- But in Cl. Greek few augmentless IMPFs, maybe
  - Hes. *Theog.* 10 ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κεκαλυμμέναι ἡέρι πολλῷ / ἐννύχιαι **στεῖχον** περικαλλέα ὅσσαν ἴεῖσαι, 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. κεῖαι, βολεῖτοι, εσετοι, δεατοι, διαδικασωντοι. Cypr. κεῖτοι.

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 /apēsi/ 'x goes away'
- e-e-si KN Ai 63.a, Sd 4422.b /ehensi/ 'they are' < \*h<sub>1</sub>senti.
  - Dor. ἔντι < \*ēnti < \*ehenti; Att. εἰσί /ēsi/ < \*ehensi. Ep. ἔασι < \*h<sub>1</sub>s-ṇti 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. ~ ἔστον?
  - 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 /ktiyensi/ 'they cultivate', 3PL of \*κτεῖμι, Hom. εὔκτιμενος 'well built, cultivated, settled', κτίζω.
- pa-si PY Ep.704.5 3SG 'says' φᾶσί.
- u-ru-to PY An 657.1 /wruntoj/ 'they watch',
  - ρύομαι, ἐρύομαι.
- o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra /hōs wruntoj opihala/ "Thus they guard the coast." (Or imperative /wrusthōn/ 'they shall guard'?).
  - \*u̥er-u-, Skt. varūtar- 'protector', vṛṇóti 'protects', Got. warjan < \*u̥or-éje/o-.

# denominals

- *te-re-ja* PY Eb 149.1 et pass. /telehjā/, /telejjā/ '(s)he carries out duties'
- athematic inflexion?
- Cf. inf *te-re-ja-e*.
- Why no ending *-si* as in *di-do-si*?
- Ruipérez: subjunctive /telehjāt/ 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>-: \*ii-ih<sub>1</sub>-énti.

- *i-je-to-qe* PY Tn 316.2 /hi<sup>j</sup>etoj=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 ἔμαι '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. /agej̥/ 'leads'
- e-ke 'has' /ek<sup>h</sup>ej̥/
- e-ko-si 'they have' /ek<sup>h</sup>onsi/
- e-ke-jo-to /enkej̥o(n)toi/ 'they lie inside', ἔγκειμαι.
  - /-ontoj̥/ or athem. \*-ṇtoj̥ with development > on as in pe-mo < \*spermṇ. Cf. ion. κείαται, κέαται.
- e-u-ke-to-(qe) 'and she declares' /euk<sup>h</sup>etoj̥-/ ~ εὕχεται, Skt. 3PL óhate 'they praise', Lat. voveo.
  - 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. εύχ-. Lat. \*h<sub>1</sub>uog<sup>uh</sup>-éj̥e/o- > uou-ē-.
- pe-re /pherej̥/ 'carries, brings'

# yod-presents

- a-ke-re 'collects' ~ ἀγείρω.
  - /agerrei̯, agērei̯/ < \*h₂ger-je/o-.
- wo-ze 'works' /wordzei̯/, /wrdzei̯/
  - ~ βέζω, ἔρδω < \*uerg-je/o-/uerg-je/o-
  - Myc. \*uṛg-je/o- / \*uorg-je/o- ~ Arm. *gorcem* / *gorc*?

# nasal present

- *o-pe-ro-si* 'they owe, they shall'
- /ophellonsi/ or /ophēlonsi/ < \*ophel-n-e/o-
- Att. ὄφείλω, Dor. ὄφήλω, Lesb., Arkac. ὄφέλλω.

# 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 /kʷriⱑato/ 'bought' (slaves, as in Homer: πρίατο, -άντο only with human object)
- te-ke /thēke/ 'put'

# thematic aorist

- o-po-ro /ophlon/ or /ōphlon/ 'they owed'
  - ὄφείλω, ὥφλον.
- (o-u)-pa-ro-ke-ne-[to /ou paro-geneto/ 'did not appear', παρεγένετο.
- (o)-wi-de 'thus he saw', εἴδον.

# 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. ἤλασσα, prs. ἔλαυνω
- e-re-u-te-ro-se /eleutherōse/ 'freed'
- (ø-)da-sa-to /dassato/ 'distributed', δατέομαι.
- su-ra-se /sulase/ 'took', συλάω, or /ksurase/ 'cropped' (ξύρω)?
- we-ke-se /wekse/ 'brought', φεχω 'drive, bring', \*ȝeǵʰ-.

# perfect, future, imperfect

- **perfect:** e-pi-de-da-to /epidedastoij/ '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 /esontoij/ '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
.5	o-tu	te-ko-to-a-pe
.6	sa-ni-jo	qe-re-me-ti-wo
.7	ku-ri-ṣa-to	mu-ta-pi
.8	〔i-na-pi , ra- <u>u</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[ ]ja VIR [  
.4 rə-ʃi-we-i VIR[ ]1 a-se-é 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>īnōō '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* /tɔrk<sup>widē</sup>/ 'with a spiral',
  - *a-di-ri-ja-te* /andriantē/ 'with a male figure',
  - *ko-ru-pi* /korupp<sup>hi</sup>/ '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  $*g^w\dot{je}h_3-$  :  $*g^w\dot{i}-ne-h_3- > *g^w\dot{in}\bar{o}/o-,$
- thematised as  $*g^w\dot{in}\bar{o}-\bar{o}$  and with /ī/ after  $*g^w\dot{i}h_3-no-$  (type ὑπνος <  $*supno-$ ).
- development of  $*g^w\dot{i}$ :
  - βίος <  $*g^w\dot{i}h_3wo-$  shows /b/ as regular, cf. also βιός 'bow', Skt. jyā-.
  - FUT βέομαι analogical after βίος instead of  $*δέομαι$

- 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 ἐπείγετο **δινωτοῖσιν** κύκλοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
"it was pressed hard by two **whirling** wheels, one on each side"