

THE I/E ALTERNATION IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

A. It has been observed¹ that certain words in Mycenaean Greek show an alternation of *i/e*, and that others show *e* where classical Greek has *i*, and vice versa. In attempting to discover the extent and origins of this phenomenon, I propose to make the following distinctions:

Firstly, vocabulary words must be distinguished from proper names: the interpretation of the latter is largely a matter of guesswork, and even when Mycenaean shows forms with both *i* and *e* the possibility has to be considered that we are dealing with two different words, as the context cannot help us.

Secondly, in vocabulary words alternations which occur in the root must be distinguished from those which occur in the suffix, as the latter may be due to morphological causes, while the former usually cannot be².

It must be borne in mind throughout that Mycenaean does not normally write diphthongal *i³*, so *e* may represent *ei*: also that alternations observable in Mycenaean itself are, *ceteris paribus*, more certain evidence than cases when the alternation is between a Mycenaean and a classical Greek form and depends on our interpretation of the Mycenaean form.

B. Cases where an alternation has been proposed in the roots of vocabulary words are as follows (there is no case where an alternation has been certainly proved by Mycenaean evidence alone):

¹ E. g. «Evidence» *Journal of Hell. Studies* LXXIII (1953) (= *Evid.*), p. 00' M. Lejeune, *Etudes Mycéniennes* (= *ML* 5), p. 41; J. Chadwick, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1954 (= *JCS* 3), p. 4; M. S. Ruipérez, *Et. Myc.* (= *MR* 3), p. 119; Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (= *Docs.*), p. 76 ff.

² But note the classical Greek alternation *ei/i* shown in *po-se-da-o-ni* PY Un 718, Attic Ποσειδάωνι *po-si-da-i-jo* PY Tn 316 Attic Ποσειδάων or some similar form derived from the adjective, and see I 2 below.

³ V. Georgiev, *Et. Myc.* (*VG* 8) p. 182, thinks diphthongal *-i* is never written, e. g. *pa-i-to* KN Dm 522+ should be interpreted Φάιδτος (from *Φάριστος): see also on *-e-jo* below E2.

1. «Horse» words: these normally show *i* (always *i-qi-ja* = *hiqq^uia* *ἵππια «chariot», *i-qa* ἵππος 'horse'), but proposals have been made to assign certain words which show *e* to this root, e. g.:

e-ge-a-o(-)a-to-mo KN V 56, *e-ge-o a-to-mo* PY Sn 64: Mühlestein (*Museum Helveticum* XII, 1955, p. 125 [= *HM* 2]) compares *i-za-a-to-mo* PY Fn 50, and interprets as *hiqq^uiāōn* | *hiqq^ui-arthmoi(i)* '(to) the chariot-fitters': *Docs.* doubts this, suggesting *arthmos* ('fellowship') of the *e*.; Ventris (*Experimental Myc. Vocabulary* [privately circulated]) originally suggested *heq^u-eon* (cf. ἔτης) as a reading of *e-ge-a-o*; Ruipérez (*Minos* IV, 1956, p. 156 [= *MR* 5]) suggests that *e-ge-o* is the genitive of *hegos* 'company'; finally, Georgiev (*Second Supplément* [= *VG* 5]) suggests that *e-ge-o* is an error for *e-ge-ta-o*. Whether these suggestions are right or not, no confidence can be placed in Mühlestein's interpretation. He is also quoted by Georgiev (*Lexique* [= *VG* 3]: this work is referred to when no indication is given) as suggesting *Hiqq^uiorwos* as a reading of the man's name *e-zo-wo* PY Cn 599.

Gallavotti (*Documenti e struttura del greco nell'età micenea*, Roma 1956 [= *CG* I], p. 62, 90, 142) reads *e-ge-ta* KN As 821+ (generally accepted as *heq^uetas* = ἐπέτης 'follower') as ἵπποτα, *e-po* PY Vn 493 as ἵππους (other suggestions are ἔπος 'word': S. Ja. Lurja, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1955, p. 27 [= *SL* I]; ἔλφος 'butter' or ἔρφος 'skin'; ἐφ' ᾧ), *e-qa-te* PY An 724+ as = Latin *eques* (*Docs.*: *heq^uontes* = ἔποντες) and *e-ge-si-ja* KN Ld 571+ as = Latin *equestri* (*Docs.*: *heq^uesia* 'suitable for the class of *hequeta*? Georgiev = ἔφια?): all these seem very unlikely to be 'horse' words, and the assignment of them (except *e-po*) to the root of ἔπομαι is probably correct. He also suggests that *i-qa-e-ge* KN Gd 0404 + may show both forms of the 'horse' root, or alternatively the second part may be related to ἔπομαι (previously suggested by Palmer). Georgiev suggests a compound such as *hiqq^uo-ipi* (cf. ἵπος; ἵφον· δεσμωτήριον Hesych.) which would also show an *i/e* alternance in the root: but the word remains very obscure and is useless as evidence. It is to be noted that the common Greek form ἵππος is anomalous, and it would therefore seem plausible that a Mycenaean *i/e* alternation should occur in this word (a possible development being **ekwos* > **ukwos* by assimilation, thence **hukwos* > **hikwos* > ἵππος: v. Ambrosini *CG* I p. 62), but there is no real evidence to show that it does.

2. 'θέμις' words: *o-u-ki-te-mi*, *o-u-te-mi* KN V 280 are probably to be read οὐ(χί) θέμις (*VG* 3 etc.): more dubious are *ti-mi-to* KN As 821 (gen. *thimistos* = θέμιστος 'of tribute' ? *Docs.*), *ti-mi-to-qa-* PY An 218 (Georgiev, *Supplément* [= *VG* 4], Ruipérez, *MR* 5 p. 152, *themistog^uolos* = θεμιστοπόλος), *ti-mi-56* KN Ga 34 (Georgiev, *VG* 4, Θεμίφαννος), the place-names *te-mi-ti-ja* PY On 300, *ti-mi-ti-ja* PY Jo 438+ (both Θεμιστία *Docs.*, but Georgiev, *VG* 4, proposes to read for the first a] *te-mi-ti-ja* Ἀρτεμίτια) and *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* PY Ma 123, *ti-mi-to a-ke-i* PY An 661 (so *Docs.*; Bennett, *Pylos Tablets* II, now reads, *pi-82 the|imistos hage(e)i* Palmer *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1954, p. 48 [= *LP* 3] but Τμίνθος *Voc.* p. 86), and the personal name *ti-mi-za* KN Dk 1076 (Georgiev, *VG* 4 Θεμιστίας disbelieved by Chadwick, *Et. Myc.*, p. 86 [= *ƳC* 7]).

3. The preposition ἐν: *e* forms seem certain in *e-ne-e-si* PY En 609 (*eneensi* = ἐνεῖσι «are in» *Docs.*), *e-ne-o* KN Uf 625 (ἐνεών 'being in' same), but forms

with *in-* (as in Arcado-Cyprian) have been proposed: e. g. *i-na-ma-ta* PY Ma 126 = *enammata* 'garments' Lurja (*SL I*, p. 14), or ἰν ἄματα (sc. πάντα) Sittig as alternative (doubted by *Docs.*); *i-ku-wo-i-pi* KN V 280 *ing^aoiphi* = ἐγγύους Georgiev, Lejeune (*Revue de Philologie XXX*, 1956, p. 426 [= *ML 4*]; Gallavotti, *CG 1*, p. 92, assigns to the 'horse' root, also *Docs.* — or cf. ἰξός 'waist': compare *e-wi-ku-wo-te* PY Na 604 *Ewinguwoentes*? Georgiev, *VG 5*); cf. also the place-name *i-na-ni-ja* PY An 18 (*Enarnia* cf. ἀρνός Lurja *loc. cit.*: obviously unverifiable) and the proper name *i-65-ge* PY Ju 725 = *Ἐνίπης cf. Ἐνιπέος Georgiev, (*VG 5*), reading 05 as *ni₂* which is disputed. All these cases are dubious.

4. ?] *ra-ge-te-ra* PY Va 15: compare perhaps *ra-qi-ti-ra₂* PY Ab 356 (variously read as ῥάπτριαι, ῥάπτριαι) as suggested by Georgiev (*VG 5*). The former reading is however uncertain, and a comparison of *35-ka-te-re* on the same tablet suggests the second sign may be not *ge* but *ka*.

C. Other cases of apparent vowel alternative *i/e* depend on the interpretation alone: examples of *e* = Greek *ι* are:

1. *a-pe-re-go* KN U 49 (the new *Knossos Tablets* reads *a-pe-re QO*): Georgiev (*VG 4*) suggests *amphileĩpos*.

2. *e-pa₂-na-ge* PY Ua 158: Georgiev (*VG 4*) compares ἰβάνη.

3. *e-te* KN Am 600+: Furumark (*Eranos LI*, 1953, p. 103-120; *ibid.* LII, 1954, p. 18-60, 22 a [= *AF 1*]) suggests ἔτι but there are many alternatives, including his other suggestion ἔθεν, ἦλθε (Lurja, *SL I*, p. 14), ἔστε (Georgiev).

4. *ke-e* PY Aa 93+ (place-name Turner): Georgiev suggests Κίεε or Κίε.

5. *ku-te-so* PY Ta 707, *ku-te-se-jo* PY Ta 713: Ventris (*Eranos LIII*, 1955, p. 118 [= *MV 4*]), suggests *kutesos* (= κύτισος), *kuteseiois*.

6. Suggestions by Georgiev (*VG 3, 4, 5* and *Et. Myc.* p. 63-67 [= *VG 7*]; reading 34 and 35 as *me₂*, he assigns the following to the root of μίγνομι (cf. for all *me-ko-ta* KN L 469 *meisgōta*):

a-35-ka KN Le 786+ *ameisga*

35-ka-te-re PY Va 15 *meisgatēres* (or *Megathersēs*)

34-ke-ja PY Fn 187 *meisgeia*

34-ke-te-si PY Es 645+ *mei(s)ktersi*

34-ke-u PY Ta 709 *meisgeus*

35-ki-no-o PY Vn 46 *Meisgi-noos*

34-20 KN Px 1253 *Meisgōn*

and the following to the root of μισθός:

a-35-to PY La 626 *ameisthos*

34-te PY An 218 *meisthēr* (= μισθωτός)

35-to PY Eb 472 *meisthos* (or *mēstōr*)

34-to-pi PY Vn 130 *meisthophi*

It is to be noted that as Georgiev's reading of the signs (or sign) 34 and 35 is not generally accepted, the above are subject to a double uncertainty.

7. *me-tu-ra* PY Ae 264: *Docs.* compares μίτωλα 'hornless cattle', but Lurja (*SL I*, p. 22) suggests *methoura* 'border country'.

8. *ne-pa₂-sa-pi* KN K 872, *nepa₂sata* PY Fn 324: Georgiev (*VG 4*, p. 7) reads

these as *neiq^usaphi*, *neiq^usatās* (cf. $\nu\phi\omega$). It is to be noted that this suggestion, like 2 and 6 above, involves vowel gradation rather than alternation.

9. *ouge* KN L 641+ is read by Mühlestein (cited *VG 3*) as $\omicron\tau\upsilon$ and *o-ge* PY Cn 4 by Ambrosini (*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, XXV, 1956, p. 67) as $\delta\tau\upsilon$: there seems no objection to the commonly accepted $\omicron\tau\epsilon$, $\delta\tau\epsilon$.

10. *pe-ne-we-ta* KN Ld 571+: Chadwick (*Docs.* p. 318) suggests a derivation from $\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'natural grease in wool', but Georgiev *pnewonta* = $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ 'fragrant'.

11. *pe-re po-re-na* PY Tn 316: Mühlestein's (*Olympia in Pylos*, p. 7 [= *HM 1*]) suggestion *phorinās* 'skins' involves an alternance, though there is no good parallel for Myc. *e* = Greek ι , but again there are many alternatives (Palmer, *Eranos* LIII, 1955, p. 10 [= *LP 5*], 'impurities'; Furumark, *AF 1* p. 51, cf. $\varphi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}$ 'dowry'; *Docs.* $\varphi\omicron\rho\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ 'to carry').

12. *ge-to* PY Ta 641+ may well be $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\iota$ (Bennett) though the etymology is difficult: Ventris has abandoned his alternative suggestion *q^uelthos*, (*Archaeology* VII, 1954, p. 18 [= *MV 2*]) 'tribute' in *Docs.*

13. *we-je-ke-e* PY Sa 487+: Georgiev (*VG 5*) suggests *weiekee* (cf. $\delta\iota\epsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$)? but Lejeune (*Rev. de Philologie* XXIX, 1955, p. 169 [= *ML 2*]) 'of cedar-wood'.

14. *wi-ri-ni-jo* etc. KN Sd 0401+, only shows an alternance if $\varphi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ 'of wild figwort', as suggested in *Evidence* (p. 100 a): but Palmer's (*Gnomon* XXVI, 1954 [= *LP 1*]) suggestion $\varphi\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ 'of leather' is accepted in *Docs.*

D. Cases of Mycenaean *i* = Greek ϵ in vocabulary word roots are very rare: I have been able to find only:

1. *dipa* PY Ta 641+, generally accepted as $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ (first suggested by Blegen. *'Eφ' Αρχ.* 1953, p. 000): Mühlestein (*Les trépieds de Pylos*, privately circulated [= *HM 5*]) compares the Arcadian place-name $\Delta\iota\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$.

2. *mira₂* PY Ta 715 may be connected with $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta$ 'ash' (Ventris, *MV 4*) if this is not from $*\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (Schulze), but also possibly with $(\sigma)\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\zeta$, $(\sigma)\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ v. *Docs.* p. 342.

E. The cases of apparent vowel alternance in suffixes are easier to classify. I shall deal with: 1. dative/locative singulars from consonant stems in *-e* or *-i*. 2. the *-e-jo* | *-e-o* | *-i-jo* suffixes. 3. the *-ti-ri-ja* | *-ti-ra₂* suffixes. 4. the *-e* suffix (= $-\iota\varsigma$?) 5. the *-we-sa* | *-we-ta* | *-wi-ta* suffixes. 6. various spellings with *-a-e*, *-a-i*. 7. possible cases of vowel dissimilation *-e-e* > *-e-i* or *-i-e*, which may be included under this head as being of morphological origin.

1. Dative/locative singular of consonant stems are normally *-e*: but stems in I. E. $*-s-$ nearly always show *-i* (by dissimilation? v. δ below), e. g. *a-ko-ro-we-i* *hakhrowei*, *e-u-me-de-i* $\epsilon\omicron\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota$ *we-te-i* = *wetei* = $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota$ [but cf. *e-re-e* PY Jo 438+ with *e-re-i* PY Jn 829 (locatives of $\epsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ *Docs.*) and *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* with *ti-mi-to a-ke-i* (see B2 above)], and in other roots forms with *-i* are usually preferred at Mycenae (*ka-ke-wi* MY Oe 121 $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\eta\tau\iota$, *ke-ra-me-wi* MY Oe 125 $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\eta\tau\iota$ etc.) and sometimes appear elsewhere (*po-se-da-o-ni* PY Un 718 = $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota$). For discussions on this

subject v. Chadwick (*ƳC* 3 p. 10), Risch (*Et. Myc.*, p. 172 [= *ER* 2]), Georgiev (*VG* 8 p. 181), and *Docs.* p. 85: it is uncertain whether this fluctuation has its origin in the separate I. E. dative (*-ei) and locative (-i) endings, in phonetic change (Georgiev *loc. cit.* suggests $-ei > \bar{e} > \bar{i}$), or in an *i/e* alternance in Mycenaean Greek. The forms that are found cannot be assigned to separate cases (-e dative, *i* locative): for fluctuations in the locative see above, and *po-se-da-o-ni* (*loc. cit.*) is marked as dative by the following *do-so-mo* = δοσμός, cf. *po-se-da-o-ne do-so-mo* PY Es 646.

2. The *-ejo|-eo|-ijo* suffixes (for discussion v. Chadwick, *ƳC* 3; Lejeune, *ML* 5, p. 73; *Docs.* p. 89) may in some cases represent three different classical suffixes (-ειος, -εος, -ιος; v. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I, p. 465).

In this connection let us state that the symbol *-j-* in Mycenaean denotes: firstly, a vowel glide which may be written (*i-je-re-u* PY An 218+) or omitted (*i-e-re-u* PY En 74+) (this is its only function after *-i-*); secondly, the second element of an *-i* diphthong (as presumably always after *a, o, e*, e. g. genitive singulars of thematic stems invariably show *-o-jo* = *-οιο*). Chadwick thinks that the writing of *-e-jo* is paralleled to this latter, and so always interprets it as *-ειο*, but I am inclined to think that the situation after *e* is partly paralleled to that after *-i-* in view of the apparently random variations here listed. Palmer (*LP* 3 p. 21) suggests *to-ro-ge-jo-me-no* PY Eq 213 is a present participle (cf. τροπέω), Furumark (*AF* I p. 51) that *a-re-ja* Tn 316 = 'Aléa in Arcadia (*Docs.* compares 'Αρηα, 'Αρειαν Schwyzer, *Delectus*³ 665): if either of these is correct it shows that *-e-ja, -e-jo* can be *-εα-, -εο-*. The occasional spelling in *-e-i-ja|jo* does not help as *-a-i-ja|jo, -oija|jo* also occur. There seems no ground to assume that the distinction is one between I. E. **y-* and **-s-* (*ER* 3, p. 253). See Hampe, *Glotta* XXXV, 1956, p. 290, who has independently come to the same conclusion, and thinks the Homeric parallels (χάλκειος χάλκεος etc.) cited by Chadwick are artificial creations *metri gratia*.

However, one word frequently shows two or three different forms with no apparent distinction of meaning: for adjectives of material compare:

ka-ke-ja-pi KN Sd 0409, *ka-ki-jo* KN So 894: both from classical χάλκεος *Docs.*; Mühlestein (cited *VG* 3) compares further *ka-za* KN M 0452, but Chadwick (*ƳC* 7 p. 85) doubts if *-kia > -kya > -za*. *po-ni-ke-a* KN X 1017, *po-ni-ki-ja* KN Sd 0402+: (= φοινίκεα 'painted crimson' *Docs.*).

po-pu-ro₂ KN L 758, *po-pu-re-ja* KN L 474. (= πορφύρεος Georgiev, *Docs.*): this assumes that *-ro₂* can represent *-rjo* or *rio*.

wi-ri-ne-jo KN Sd 0415, *wi-ri-ne-o* KN Sd 0408+, *wi-ri-ni-jo* KN Sd 0401: v. C 14 above, and for single cases with *i* cf.

ku-ru-so PY Ta 707+ adjective (= χρύσεος in meaning): Mühlestein (*Et. Myc.*, p. 93 [= *HM* 7]) suggests this is derived from χρύσεος via *χρύσιος and interprets *khrus(s)os*, but *Docs.* p. 345 suggests χρυσός is both noun and adjective.

ku-wa-ni-jo PY Ta 714 = κωάνεος, implied by *Docs.* p. 344, and suggested by Gallavotti, *La Parola del Passato* 52, 1957, p. 13.

go-wi-ja PY Tn 316+: Georgiev etc. suggest *g^wowia* = βόεια.

Other adjectives of material show consistently *-e-jo*, e. g. *ku-te-se-jo* v. C 5 above. The apparent partial substitution of the I. E. **-iyo* suffix for the **-eyo* suffix is complete in Lesbian and Thessalian: we may have here an intermediate stage,

or this may be in part a general confusion of *i* and *e*: this latter seems more likely when confusion occurs in cases other than adjectives of material, though here most examples are very uncertain:

ke-se-nu-wi-ja KN Ld 573, *ke-se-ne[we-ja ?* KN Ld 649, *ke-se?nu-we-jo* KN X65 may all be connected with Homeric ξεινία / ξεινήϊα (*Docs.*).

ku-pa-ri-se-ja PY Sa 488 is probably an adjective 'of cypress wood' (*Docs.* etc.), but *ku-pa-ri-si-jo* PY An 657 is probably an ethnic, though Lejeune (*Et. Myc.*, p. 151 [= *ML* 7]) thinks they may be the same word (ethnic).

po-si-da-e-ja PY Tn 316 (*Ποσιδάεια *Evid.*) is a proper name, while *po-si-da-i-jo* on same tablet is probably a place (Ποσιδάϊον 'shrine of Poseidon' v. *Docs.* p. 288). Adrados however reads *po-si-da-e-ja* as Ποσιδαῖα (*Emerita* XXIV, 1956, p. 399.)

qe-ra-si-ja KN Fp 1+: Furumark (*AF* 1) suggests τερατεία (but *Docs.* compares θήρη, θηράσια) cf. *qe-ro₂* KN K 740+ = *q^eelyos* ? cf. τέλωσ (*Docs.* *sq^eeljō* cf. στέλλω ? Palmer, *Eranos* LII, 1955, p. 28 [= *LP* 6 b] *q^eelioi* cf. φάλόν, φάλαρα).

Still more dubious are single examples which show unexpected suffixes, e. g.:

a]-ko-so-ni-ja KN Pp 437 = ἀξόνεα ? Furumark (cited *VG* 3).

pa-ke-te-ja PY An 18+: the termination is unexpected if from πῆκτις, but the word may be an ethnic (*Docs.*).

po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo PY Jn 310+, *po-ti-ni-ja-we-i-jo* KN X 7742: *potniaweios* 'subject to the goddess πότνια' ? *Docs.*, but *ποτνιαιος would be expected.

susa KN F 741+ may = *sukyai* < *sukiai* < συκῆαι 'fig-trees', but may represent σῦκα 'figs' (v. Palmer *BICS* II, 1955 [= *LP* 4] p. 41, *JC* 7 p. 85, *Docs.*).

See also proper names (F 1, 17, 18; G 2, 3, 4, 24, 26; H 2, 3, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25-28, 31).

Against the general confusion which the above seems to suggest may be set the many women's occupational names in *-i-ja* which show no such confusion (*-eja* only from assumed masculines in *-eus*).

3. The *-ti-ri-ja* | *-ti-ra₂* suffix was in *Evid.* transcribed either *-τρια* or *-τειρα*, but the former is now accepted by *Docs.* in all cases, so no question of an alternation arises. *o-ti-ri-ja* PY Aa 313, *o-ti-ra₂* PY Ab 417 seem unlikely to be connected with *o-te-ra* MY Oe 106 (suggested by Chantraine (*Et. Myc.* [= *PC* 4] p. 99): Georgiev (*VG* 4) reads the last as *Ωτ(ε)ιλ(λ)α as *-ra* is not equivalent to *-ri-ja*, nor is there any reason to link *a-ke-ti-ra₂* PY Ab 564+, *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* KN Ai 739+ (root uncertain: for suggestions v. *Voc.*, Chantraine, *PC* 4 p. 100) with *a-ke-te-re* PY Jn 832 (*askētēres?* *Docs.*), *a₂-ke-te-re* KN V 118 (see below 4) or *ja-ka-te-re* PY Mn 11.

4. Chantraine (loc. cit.) tentatively proposes ἀκιστρῖς as a reading of *a₂-ke-te-re* KN V 118, and Georgiev suggests reading the proper names *me-sa-ne* PY Fn 50 as Μεσσανίς, *pa-re* KN L 469 as Φαρίς (Φάλης *Docs.*): none of these suggestions is put forward with any confidence, and together they cannot establish a probability that the *-ις* suffix (common in Mycenaean in women's names, e. g. *mu-ti-ri* PY Ep 212 = Μυρτιλίς *Docs.*) is ever written *-e*.

5. Adjectives in *-we-ta* = *-φεντα*, *-wesa* = *-φεσσα* are fairly common in Mycenaean (e. g. *to-qi-de-we-sa* PY Ta 711, *o-da-ku-we-ta* KN So 0435): Georgiev proposes to read *wa-ra-wi-ta* KN So 0443 as *wāl(l)āwinta* = *ἰλήεντα; alternatives are *wlāwista* Lejeune (*ML* 2 p. 169); cf. ἄρραιστος, or a man's name,

Docs., and here too a prima facie case does not seem to have been made out.

6. Spellings with *a-e*, *-a-i*: for a general discussion see Lejeune (*ML* 5 p. 41 ff.); he suggests that *-a-e-* may represent *a i* in *a-e-se-wa* PY Fn 79 (personal name, Αἰσ-?), *a-ta-e-nu* KN Vd 137, *ka-e-sa-me-no* PY An 656 (man's name: Georgiev, *VG* 5, suggests *Gawēsamenos* cf. γαίων), and *za-e-to-ro* PY An 616 (Mühlestein *HM* 2 p. 130 = διαίτορος 'Truchsesse' etc., Georgiev, *VG* 4, = ζητρός ?), but his attempt to show that *-a-*, *-a-e-* and *-a-i-* alternate in *na-si-jo* KN B 800 (man's name: Georgiev = *Nāsios*), *na-e-si-jo* KN V 147+ (also a man's name) and *na-i-se-wi-jo* PY Jn 692+ (ethnic ? Georgiev, *VG* 5 = *Ναρισιος) is unconvincing as being based entirely on proper names, *po-si-da-e-jo-ijo* v. E 2 above. Final examples: *e-ge-ta-e* KN As 821 may be a dual (*e-ge-ta-i* PY An 607 being a dative plural): *Docs.* compares *we-ka-ta-e* KN X 1044, *mi-to-we-sa-e* KN Sd 0404 (nom. plur. fem.), *to-e* PY Eb 842 (dat. sing. = τῷ ? cf. *toige* PY Na 520 which is probably dative plural: Georgiev (*VG* 5) suggests *to-e* is *thōen* cf. θῶσθαι but the cases are so few and so various that the possibility of scribal error (which may of course, be significant in itself) cannot be ruled out.

7. *Docs.* suggests possible vowel dissimilation in *a-pe-e[si]* PY An 614,]*a-pe-e-si* PY Xn 86 / *a-pe-i-si* KN Od 666 (*apeensi* = ἄπεισι 'are away') and *a-pe-e-ke* PY An 724 / *a-pi-e-ke* PY Un 2 (ἀπιέχει Furumark, *AF* 1, p. 42) if both = ἀπέηχε (they may possibly both = ἀπιέχει, in which case we would have assimilation in the former). The latter case is too uncertain to be of value as evidence: the former is more plausible, though neither the readings nor the assignment of both verbs to the root «to be» is certain. The spelling *a-pe-i-si* would not be normal either from this root or «to go» and cannot of course represent the Attic spurious diphthong. Cf. also the *-s-* stem datives, for which v. 1 above.

F. There remain the proper names: I shall summarize the various couplings and interpretations without commenting on their plausibilities, which is largely a matter of individual opinion. Cases which show both *e* and *i* forms are:

1. *a-da-ra-te-ja* PY Ab 60 'Αδράστεια *Voc.*, cf. *a-da-ra-ti-jo* PY An 656 perhaps the ethnic derived from it, *Docs.*

2. *ai-ke-wa-to* KN Dd 1295+, *ai-ki-wa-to* KN Uf 987— both men's names ἀγχι- / ἀγχε- Lejeune (*ML* 5; Georgiev, *VG* 4, reads the latter as Αἰγίφαστος?) comparing also *a-ke-wa-to* PY An 661 (*Docs.* 'Αρχέφαστος?), *a-ki-wa-ta* KN B 80 (Georgiev 'Αρχιφάστας) and *a-ke-wa-ta* PY Jn 431: these last three are also coupled by Meriggi (*Glossario miceneo* [= *PM* 5]).

3. *a-ke-re-u* PY Cn 441+ compared by Ruipérez (*MR* 3 p. 117) with *a-ki-re-we* PY Fn 79 (dative of 'Αχιλλεύς *Voc.*: add *a-ki-re-u* KN Vc 106) and *a-ke-re-wa* PY Jo 438 'Αχιλλῆφα (but *Voc.* *'Αργηῆφα or *'Αίγελῆφα?; also, Georgiev, (*VG* 5), 'Αγρέφα? v. 14 below.

4. *a-te-mi-to* PY Es 650, *a-ti-mi-te* PY Un 219 : respectively gen. and dat. of ἄρτεμις Andrews, cited *Docs.*

5. *de-ko-to* PY Cn 600, *di-ko-to* KN X 57: men's names: comparison in *Docs.*, queried.

6. *e-do-me-ne-u* PY En 60 man's name (= 'Ιδομενεός *Voc.*, as Georgiev — or compare 'Ιδμων, 'Ιδμονίδης) cf. *i-do-me-ne-ja* PY Ep 212 woman's name ('Ιδομένηα *Voc.*).
7. *e-pa-sa-na-ti*, *i-pa-sa-na-ti* women's names PY Eo 247, where the former (read by Georgiev as *'Εφανήτις) is erased and replaced by the latter.
8. *e-te-wa-jo-jo* PY Sa 769 compared with *e-te-wa-no* KN C 913+ (*'Ετεράνωρ Georgiev) and *e-ti-wo-jo* PY Va 15 by Lejeune (*ML* 6) — all men's names. Georgiev (*VG* 4) compares *e-te-wa-jo* PY Xa 639, *e-ti-wa* KN Fs 19 (= 'Ετέρας?) and *e-ti-wa-ja* KN Ap 639 ('Εστιαίων?).
9. *ke-re-te-u* PY Ea 304+ man's name (Κρηθεός *Voc.*) cf. *ke-re-ti-wo* PY Na 547 (a derivative? for *-ēwo?*); for suffix cf. *pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo* below 14.
10. *na-e-si-jo* etc. v. above E 6.
11. *pa₂-me-si-jo* KN As 1516, *pa₂-mi-si-jo* KN Sc 135 (ethnic from Πάμισος Palmer, *LP* 4 p. 40) are probably the same name (*Docs.*): Georgiev *VG* 7 p. 53 also suggests this, or alternatively reads the former as Παμμητίων; he cites further *pa 34 so* [KN X 328, *pa*] *34 so* KN Dn 1239 (reading *34* as *me₂*).
12. *pe-re-ḡo-ta* PY Eb 159+, *pe-ri-ḡo-ta-o* KN Dn 42+ (men's names) are probably not the same word: *Docs.* suggests Τηλεφόντης and Περιφοίτας respectively.
13. *pe-we-ri-jo* KN As 1517 man's name *Πιέριος Georgiev, comparing *pi-we-ri-ja-ta* PY Jn 389 man's name *Πιεριάτας *Voc.* *pi-we-ri-di* MY Oe 103 = *Πιεριδι.
14. *pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u* PY Un 228, cf. *pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo* PY Na 425 (v. *kereteu* above 9): probably place-name (Πόλια Lejeune, *Minos* IV, 1956 [= *ML* 3], Φύλα Palmer, *LP* 4 p. 41) + personal name, in which case cf. *a-ke-re-u* above 3; Georgiev (*VG* 5) however interprets *Φυλααχριοι (ethnic), *Φυλααχρεως (ethnic?) respectively.
15. *te-mi-ti-ja* etc. v. above B 2.
16. *te-pa₂-ja* KN Ap 586 woman's name, *ti-pa₂-jo* KN As 1517 man's name probably different roots: Georgiev suggests Θηβαία and Θιοβαίος (or Στιλβαίος *Docs.*) respectively.
17. *to-te-ja* KN Ak 611 = *to-ti-ja* MY Fo 101 (women's names) = Δώτια Georgiev (*VG* 4; with assimilation of initial consonant).
18. *we-ra-te-ja* KN Ap 618, *we-ra-ti-ja* KN A 784: the former has been emended to *we-ra-ti-ja*.

G. Single cases of *e* = Greek *ι* are:

1. *a-e-se-wa* v. above E 6.
2. *ai-ki-de-o* PY Na 529: man's name dat.: cf. Αϊγίδιον? Georgiev (*VG* 4).
3. *a-me-ja-to* PY Sa 834+: man's name: cf. 'Αμίαντος 'Αμμέας? Georgiev (*VG* 5).
4. *a-ta-ma-ne-we* PY Cn 131: man's name dat. cf. 'Αθαμάνια Georgiev: dat. of *a-ta-ma-ne-u* PY Cn 655 'Αθαμανεύς *Docs.*
5. *a₂-te-po* PY An 519: *Αντιφος or 'Αρτίπους Mühlestein (cited *VG* 3); Palmer: man's name.
6. *de]-ke-se-ra-wo* KN As 1516: man's name: Δεξιλαφος? *Docs.*
7. *de-wi-jo* PY An 218+: man's name = Δίσιος Mühlestein (*HM* 1 p. 3).

8. *e-u-we-to* nom., *e-u-we-to-ro* gen. PY Jn 750 = *Ἐδρίστωρ Georgiev (*VG 5*), *Euētor* or *Euestor*? *Docs.*
9. *e-zo-wo* v. above B 1.
10. *i-pe-me-de-ja* PY Jn 316: a goddess? cf. Ἰπεμήδεια *Evid.* (not from κῖφι), *ipermedeja* Gallavotti (*CG 1* p. 146): cf. following.
11. *i-pe-se-wa* PY Gn 1184 man's name dat. = *Ἰφι(σ)σευα(σ) Georgiev (*VG 5*), *Ἰφεφασ *Docs.*
12. *kà-e-sa-me-no*, v. above E 6.
13. *ke-zo* PY Cn 328: man's name = *Χέζων? Σχίζων? Georgiev (*VG 5*).
14. *35-ki-no-o v. above C 6.
15. *me-no-e-ja* PY Ta 642: Palmer (*Minos V*, 1957, p. 63) very tentatively compares Μίνως.
16. *me-nu-wa* KN V 60+ man's name = Μινύας? *Docs.* Μενύας Georgiev.
17. *me-za-ne* v. above E 4.
18. *34-zo v. above C 6.
19. *negeu* PY Sn 64: man's name *Nēgeus* (>*Νεικεύς >*Νικεύς)? *Voc.*, but cf. Νήπεια *Docs.*
20. *o-pe-pa₂* PY Cn 570: man's name dat. *O-pi-qa-i* Georgiev (*VG 4*).
21. *pa-de-we* PY Un 219: man's name dat. *Πανδίφης Georgiev (*VG 4*).
22. *pa-re* v. above E 4.
23. *pe-re-ta* PY Jn 658+: man's name *Φιλήτας or *Φερήτας Georgiev (*VG 5*), Πλείστας *Docs.*
24.]*pu₂-re-o* KN Sc 243: man's name *Φυλ(λ)ιος cf. Φυλεύς Georgiev.
25. *samatijo* KN Ap 639: woman's name *Σαμίνθιος Georgiev, but the new *Knossos Tablets* reads *samatijo*: v. H 14.
26. *sa-pa₂-re-jo* KN D 1412+: place-name Σφαίρια? Georgiev (*VG 5*).
27. *se-to-i-ja* KN L 654+: place name Σίτεια? Meriggi (*PM 5*), but Σητοία *Docs.*
28. *we-da-ne-we* PY Es 646+: man's name dat. cf. Ἰδανός Georgiev (*VG 5*); cf. also *we-u-da-ne-we* PY Cn 418.

H. Single cases of *i* = Greek ε are:

1. *a-65-ma-na-ke* KN Fs 3: dat. of. *Ἀνεμάναγες Georgiev *VG 4* (reading 65 as *ni₂*) cf. ἀνώγω or ἀναξ.
2. *a-si-ja-ti-ja* PY Ae 134+: place-name, *Docs.* p. 147 compares *Ἄσσα, Ἄσεάτας but *Voc.* *Ἀσιαντία.
3. *di-du-me-o[* KN L 588: Διδουμίων or *Διδουμείον Sittig (cited *VG 3*); new *Knossos Tablets* reads *di-du-me-o[-*.
4. *di-65-pa-ta* KN L 1568: man's name? = *Δινεπαντα(ς) Georgiev (*VG 4*, reading 65 as *ni₂*).
5. *e-wi-ku-wo-te* v. above B 3.
6. *i-ma-di-ja* PY En 816: man's name, *Ἐρμαδίας Georgiev (*VG 5*).
7. *i-ma-di-jo* PY Cn 436+: man's name *Ἐρμάδιος Georgiev.
8. *i-mi-ri-jo* KN Db 1186: man's name Ἰμέριος? *Docs.*
9. *i-na-ni-ja* v. above B 3.
10. *i-65-ge* v. above B 3.

11. *i-ra-ta* PY En 659+: woman's name? *Ἐρατα Georgiev (*VG* 5).
12. *ko-pi-na* PY Ep 617: woman's name Κόπεννα? Georgiev, but *Κόπινα *Docs.*
13. *mi-ru-ro* KN Ap 482+: man's name Μέρουλλος Georgiev (*VG* 4).
14. *ni-me-ti-jo* KN K 815: personal name? Νεμεσιών or Νημέρτιος Georgiev; the new *Knossos Tablets* reads *sa-me-ti-jo*: v. above G 25.
15. *o-ki-ra* PY Cn 285: man's name cf. Ὀκέλλας Georgiev (*VG* 4).
16. *pa₂-mi-ja* PY Ea 543+ place-name or ethnic: *Φαρφεα? Georgiev.
17. *pa-wi-no* KN B 799: man's name Φαωῖνος = φαεννός Georgiev.
18. *pi-82* PY Ma 225+: place-name, Φεῖα or Φεαί? *Docs.*, reading 82 as *ja₂*; Carratelli, *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana* p. 5, suggests Πίσα.
19. *pi-ri-u-wo-no* KN B 803: man's name = Φιλέων? Georgiev (*VG* 4).
20. *pi-sa-wa-ta* KN B 1055: man's name = *Πεισαφατας Georgiev (*VG* 4).
21. *po-mi-ni-jo* KN V 503+: man's name = Ποιμένιος, Ποιμέναον Meriggi (*PM* 5), but Ποιμνίων Georgiev.
22. *pu₂tija* PY An 656+, *putija* PY An 340: man's name Πυθίας? Mühlestein, *Die oke-Tafeln von Pylos*, Basel 1956, p. 13; cf. nos. 2 and 22 above.
23. *ge-ri-jo* KN Ag 1654: man's name Τήρειος? Meriggi (*PM* 5), but Θηρίων Georgiev.
24. *qi-si-ta* KN Dv 1264: man's name *Τεισίτας Georgiev (*VG* 4).
25. *ra-ni-jo-ne* PY An 207 nom. plur. masc.: cf. Ἀήνος λενεών? Georgiev: place-name *Docs.*
26. *re-pi-ri-jo* PY Eq 146: man's name *Docs.*, cf. Λέπρεον, Λεπρέος.
27. *ri-jo-no* KN Ap 629: man's name gen. Λέων or place-name locative Λεώνοι Georgiev.
28. *si-ja-pu₂-ro* KN As 1516: man's name, *Σιαφιλος or *Θεαφιλος Georgiev (*VG* 4).
29. *ti-mi-za* v. above B 2.
30. *ti-ri-jo* PY Cn 4 man's name: cf. Στειρία (place name) Georgiev (*VG* 4), but cf. Θριούς (place-name) *Docs.*
31. *tu-ri-ja-ti* PY En 659.5: place-name, Θυρεᾶτις, Mühlestein (cf. nos. 2 and 22 above).

I. The evidence summarized above permits the following conclusions:

1. The contention¹ that most of the certain examples of Mycenaean *e* = Greek *ι* are in proper names or words not of Greek origin seems correct as far as roots are concerned, and to apply also to *i* = Greek *ε* which is rare: in the roots of I. E. origin for which an alternation has been postulated the evidence is very inconclusive. The fact that in one root (ἴκκος) the I. E. position is anomalous, and in another (ἐν, ἰν) the Greek dialects differ, is probably largely responsible for the interpretations, which thus lose much of their weight

¹ *Docs.*, p. 76.

as evidence for an alternation: in a third root (θέμις) Chadwick has suggested to me that the generally accepted assignation to the root **dhē-* 'put, place' may possibly be incorrect, but I find this unconvincing: for the suffix cf. δόναμις.

2. It may be argued from the above that the frequent occurrence of an *i/e* alternation in I. E. suffixes is probably due to the independent causes discussed above. Risch¹ suggests that the origin is phonetic except in the *-e-jo* / *-e-o* / *-i-jo* suffixes and the *-e* / *-i* dative-locatives.

3. If the above statements are correct, it follows that proper names which show an *i/e* alternation in the root are unlikely to be of I. E. origin: in connection with Georgiev's statement² that 70 % of the proper names in the tablets are of I. E. origin, this throws doubt on many of his own interpretations cited above. These names are too uncertain to allow argument in the opposite direction (i. e. that the appearance of an alternation in proper names of I. E. origin is an argument for its occurrence in vocabulary words): further, it is to be noted that Mycenaean *i* = Greek ε seems as common as *e* = Greek ι, which is not in accordance with the pattern of vocabulary words.

4. The fact that many words appear in one form only³ is an argument against the general phonetic (or graphic) confusion of *i* and *e* suggested by Risch⁴ and Ruipérez⁵: furthermore, even in words of supposedly foreign origin it seems difficult to explain how confusion could occur both ways if these words are all from the same language (for example, if *e* in that language was a closer vowel than Mycenaean *e* and was represented in Mycenaean by either *e* or *i*, surely *i* would always appear as *i*): the possibilities that we have to deal with two languages, or one language which did not distinguish *i* and *e*, are purely hypothetical.

5. Notwithstanding this, there are enough certain or almost cer-

¹ *Et. Myc.* (= *ER 3*), p. 253.

² *VG 8*.

³ e. g. *i-qi-ja*, women's occupational names in *-i-ja*, *e-ke*, *e-ge-ta*.

⁴ *ER 3*, p. 253.

⁵ *MR 4*, p. 118.

tain cases of an *i/e* alternation in the roots of words which have no certain I. E. derivation to show that fluctuation does exist and may have an influence on words of I. E. origin: note especially *di-pa* = δέπας, *ku-te-so* = κύτισος, *qe-to* = πίθοι and the proper names *e-do-me-ne-u/i-do-me-ne-ja*, *e-pa-sa-na-ti/i-pa-sa-na-ti* which are fairly certain because their length reduces the possibilities of coincidence.

6. It remains to compare various special cases of *i/e* alternation in classical Greek (as done by Chadwick¹) to see if these provide explanations in whole or in part for the phenomena listed above. Unexplained are the proper names *e-ta-li-o-ne* = Ἰδάλιον and *ke-ti-e-ve-se* = Κιτιῆρες on the Idalium bronze², and Σεκυώνιοι = Σικυώνιοι on the tripod-stand, which may be from the same source as some of the Mycenaean examples, Arcado-Cyprian *iv* = others ἐν, -μινος = -μενος and similar cases are apparently due solely to the position before a nasal³: even in this position Mycenaean parallels are dubious (v. B3, E5, H2I) and the mediopassive participle invariably shows *-me-na*, *-me-no*. Partial parallels are perhaps provided by the Arcadian datives of *-s-stems in -ι if, as Risch⁴ suggests, these are a «hyperurbanism» -εῖ > -ει and thence > ῖ by analogy of the change of *ποιμενει to ποιμένι: but the accepted explanation is -εῖ > -ῖ > ῖ) for the Mycenaean dative/locatives in *-e/i*: the Lesbian and Thessalian adjectives of material in -ιος and the change of -ε- > -ι- before α or ο in various dialects, for Mycenaean adjectives of material: and an occasional vowel fluctuation in forming compounds (e. g. Ἀρχίλοχος / Ἀρχέλοχος, Τηλίμαχος / Τηλέμαχος) for *ai-ke-wa-to* etc. F2, *de?]-ke-se-ra-wo* G6, *di-65-pa-ta* H4. Other cases (e. g. -ρι- > -ρε- Lesbian etc., -ιρ- > -ερ- Elean, -ι- -ι- > -ε- -ι- Attic ἔστια = others ἰστία etc., and I. E. 'reduced' grades in Aeolic πίσυρες = Attic τέτταρες, Attic πίτνημι) seem totally irrelevant.

¹ *JC* 3, p. 16.

² Schwyzer, *Delectus* 679.

³ Examples before other consonants are very uncertain, e. g.: κατέθισαν Schwyzer 683.4 is a *scriptio inversa* for -ιαν as -έθεσαν would not be the Arcadian form: *e-ti-ku-ne* [= *ἔτικον [= ἔτεκε, *ka-mi*] [= *ἰαμιτα = γαμετά ibid. 685.2 are very dubious interpretations. Pamphilian ἰς ibid. 686 is from *ἐνς (also in Cretan) and Δημητρία ibid. is presumably the κοινή confusion of η / ῖ.

⁴ *Et. Myc.* (= *ER* 2), p. 172.

7. To summarize: an *i/e* alternance has been shown to exist in Mycenaean, but it is very tenuous in words of I. E. etymology: when parallels are quotable from classical Greek, these can usually be explained as special cases¹.

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