THE GROUP *sw IN MYCENAEN

The identification of Linear B signs with the values *dwe, *dwo, *two and *nwa has established the existence in the system of signs for consonant with the semi-vowel *w and vowel; and this may encourage us to regard the labio-velar series (qa, qe, qi, qo) as being in origin velars of this type (*kwa, kwe, etc.). If so, this excludes the possibility that *87 can be kwe; but since it occurs only in the word o-da-*87-ta, where the variant spellings o-da-ke-we-ta, o-da-ku-we-ta and o-da-tu-we-ta are found, it seems reasonable to postulate a value *twe for it. The evolution of the group *kw where a morpheme boundary intervenes between the two elements will have differed from that of p. I. E. *kw (as *ekwos > ἵππος); in classical Greek secondary *kw evolves to κ (λέυκός < *λευκός), but a dialectal tendency to front kw to tw, parallel to ky > ty (> σ), would not be unexpected, and the classical κ is probably due to analogical pressure.

The group *sw can only occur in Greek if s is secondary, since original *-sw- > *w > o (e. g. ἰός 'arrow' < *iswos, cf. Skt. Ḗṣ). The only common word containing secondary sw is ἰός, for which the form ἰός is well attested in the dialects. In Mycenaean it has been identified as the first element of the compound wi-so-wo-pa-na, the second element of which remains obscure.

It would, however, appear that the group *sw occurs in other Mycenaean words, though owing to the nature of the script a written vowel intervenes, so that these cases are hard to distinguish from those where the vowel is genuine and the group *sw is not involved. The total list of words is those containing the sequences: sa-wa, se-we, si-wei, so-wo, su-wa, su-we, su-wi, su-wo.

But from the list of words so obtained we can subtract two obvious groups where the vowel between s and w is a real one: (1) the dative singular or nominative plural of substantives (including proper names) in |-eus/ (e. g. a-we-ke-se-we dative from nom. a-we-ke-se-u = |Awekseus|); (2) compounds in -wo-ko, where
the preceding so belongs to the first element (e. g. ku-ru-so-wo-ko = [khrusoworgos/], to-ko-so-wo-ko = [toksoworgos/]). The remainder may be listed:

- **pi-sa-wa-ta** KN B 1055.2, man’s name.
- **i-se-we-ri-jo** KN B 798.11, man’s name.
- **se-we-ri-ko-jo** PY Sa 753, man’s name (genitive).
- **se-we-ri-wo-wa-zo** PY Fn 324.4, man’s name (dative).
- **a-si-wi-ja** PY Fr 1206, epithet of Potnia, probably /Aswiâ/.
- **a-si-wi-jo** KN Df 1469, PY Cn 285.12, Eq 146.11, MY Au 653.5, Au 657.11; in all cases man’s name /Aswios/.
- **ki-si-wi-ja** PY Aa 77, Ab 194; description of a group of women, probably ethnic; **ki-si-wi-ja-o** PY Ad 675, gen. plur.
- **ki-si-wi-je-ja** KN X 98; context obscure, possibly feminine name.
- **do-ro-qo-so-wo-te** PY Na 384, possibly to be divided between qo and so; place name, probably having the suffix -wont-, so that the vowel of so may be full.
- **e-so-wo-ke** PY Vn 46.9, doubtful reading; in a list of building materials; wo-ke may represent a root noun, *-worges or the like.

From the four names i-se-we-ri-jo, se-we-ri-ko, se-we-ri-wo-wa-zo, su-we-ro-ri-jo, it is tempting to isolate an element /swer/ or /swel/, but no satisfactory Greek etymology suggests itself, and it may be assumed that these names are borrowed from another language.

Where there is a preceding vowel, the group sw may sometimes be detected by the alternation of short and long vowels in classical forms, resulting from loss of w; e. g. Att. ἴσος, Ion. ἴςος. Homeric Ἀσίος (B 461), Att. Ἀσία, suggests that Aswios is by no means an unlikely reconstruction of Mycenaean a-si-wi-jo (see above), and this finds support in Hittite Assuwa. But the structure of the syllabary invites us to consider the possibility of a sign with the value swi, and both a-si-wi-jo and a-si-wi-ja are closely paralleled by a-*64-jo¹ (a man’s name KN Sc 261, PY Cn 1287.1 Cn 832.11) and a-*64-ja (once a woman’s name PY Vn 1191.2,

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but elsewhere nom. plur. as description of a group of women, Aa 701, Ab 515; gen. plur. *64-ja-o Ad 315). This is likely to be an ethnic also used as a personal name, and several of the other ethnics in the Aa, Ab series are associated with the Asiatic coast of the Aegean ([Milatiai, Lāmniai, Knidiai]). Thus /Aswiai/ would be a satisfactory addition to the list, and would help to confirm the location of these ethnics, ’Ασία being in origin a name for Lydia. It is impossible to obtain further verification of this hypothesis, since no other example of *64 is recorded.

The name pi-sa-wa-ta would appear to be a derivative in /-ātās/ of the type commonly derived from place names; cf. ne-dā-wa-ta probably = /Nedwātās/ from the river name later recorded as NēΣά. Although there is no certainty about the vowel following s, it is tempting to interpret pi-sa-wa-ta as /Piswātās/, implying the origin *Πίσωα for the classical Πίσα. The variant form with short i, Pindar Ol. 1.18, offers slight support to this hypothesis; and we may speculate on a connexion between this word and the obscure Homeric πίςος ‘meadows’ (O 9, ζ 124) which could well represent an earlier *πίςος.

If this hypothesis is correct, there is an obvious candidate among the unidentified signs for the value swa. A great many suggestions have been made for *82, but sa2 has had most support. If we now amend this to swa, we shall have Piswa as the name of one of the Nine principal towns of the Hither Province. But for reasons I have elaborated elsewhere I am reluctant to place the Pylian pi-*82 as far north as the Alpheios. I prefer to regard this Piswa as a homonym of the Elean name, located not very far north of Pylos. The other well-known classical names found on the tablets which do not fit their known locations in the classical period encourage us to add Pisa to this list, which includes Leuktron, Metapa, Korinthos, etc.

Confirmation of the value of *82 = swa is difficult; the arguments are nearly all the same as proposed by those who interpret-

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3 The reading a-ze-īt-*64-ja in KN L 1568 lat. inf. has proved to be a chimera; the sign is probably a badly written and damaged ri.
ed it as $sa_2$. The feminine divine name $pe-re-*82$ (PY Tn 316.v.5) with its derivative $pe-re-*82$-jo speaks in favour of a value ending in $-a^5$; but $pe-re-sw_2a$ is no more transparent than $pe-re-sa_2$. We might speculate on identifying $[Preswa]^6$ with $\Pi\pi\rho\sigma$- in the first part of the name $\Pi\pi\rho\sigma\varphi\omicron\nu\eta$, which is presumably non-Greek, though perhaps deformed by popular etymology (cf. $\Phi\varphi\rho\varphi\rho\varphi\tau\tau\tau\alpha$).

The man's name $ki-ri-*82$-jo (PY Jn 320.4) will resolve well as $[Kriswaios]$ = classical $K\rho\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$; $K\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ may well be a name of similar structure to $Pisa$. The names quoted above show that there is no objection to non-Greek names beginning $Sw_-$, so $*82$-de (PY Jn 431.12) as a man's name is no obstacle.

To sum up, there would certainly appear to be non-Greek as well as Greek words containing the group $sw$ in use in Mycenaean. It is therefore plausible to suggest the values $sw_2a$ and $sw_1$ for $*82$ and $*64$ respectively, but in default of convincing examples these values must remain hypothetical.

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5 See M. Lejeune, l. c.

6 $[Preswa]$ seems to be excluded by the spelling conventions.