THE I/E ALTERNATION IN MYCENAEN GREEK

A. It has been observed¹ that certain words in Mycenaen 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 Mycenaen 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 Mycenaen does not normally write diphthongal i³, so e may represent ei; also that alternations observable in Mycenaen itself are, ceteris paribus, more certain evidence than cases when the alternation is between a Mycenaen and a classical Greek form and depends on our interpretation of the Mycenaen 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 Mycenaen evidence alone):

² But note the classical Greek alternation ei/ı shown in po-se-da-o-mi PY Un 718, Attic Ποσεδονι po-si-da-ı-jo PY Tn 316 Attic Ποσιδόνιον or some similar form derived from the adjective, and see I 2 below.
³ V. Georgiev, Ét. Myc. (VG 8) p. 182, thinks diphthongal -ı is never written, e.g. pa-t-i-lo KN Dm 522+ should be interpreted Φαίδος (from *Φαύδος): see also on -e-jo below E2.
1. «Horse» words: these normally show i (always i-qi-ja = higgia = hetjas = chariot, i-go (peo = '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-sa-a-to-mo PY Fn 50, and interprets as higgidfon | higgia-arithmon (i)'(to) the chariot-fitters: Docs. doubts this, suggesting arthmos ('fellowship') of the e.; Ventris (Experimental Myc. Vocabulary [privately circulated]) originally suggested heq-ion (cf. έπις) 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 hegēs 'company'; finally, Georgiev (Second Supplement = VG 5) suggests that e-ge-o is an error for e-qe-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-ionvos as a reading of the man's name e-za-vo PY Cn 599.

Gallavotti (Documenti e struttura del greco nell' età micenea, Roma 1956 [= CG 1], p. 62, 90, 142) reads e-ge-ta KN As 821+ (generally accepted as heg'etas = έπις, 'follower') as έπιςν, e-po PY Vn 493 as έπιςν (other suggestions are έπος 'word': S. Ja. Lurja, Vestnik Drenej Istorii 1955, p. 27 [= SL 1]; έλος 'butter' or έφος 'skin'; έφος, e-qo-te PY An 724+ as = Latin eques (Docs.: heg'ontes = έπος) and e-qe-si-ja KN Ld 571+ as = Latin equestri (Docs.: heg'onta 'suitable for the class of hequetai? Georgiev = έπος): all these seem very unlikely to be 'horse' words, and the assignment of them (except e-po) to the root of έπος is probably correct. He also suggests that i-go-e-qe KN Gd 0404+ may show both forms of the 'horse' root, or alternatively the second part may be related to έπος (previously suggested by Palmer). Georgiev suggests a compound such as higgia-i-pi (cf. έπος; έφος θεμιστήριον 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 έπος 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 > έπος; v. Ambrosini CG 1 p. 62), but there is no real evidence to show that it does.

2. θεμιτας words: o-u-ki-te-mi, o-u-te-mi KN V 280 are probably to be read ob(χ!) θεμιστας (VG 3 etc.): more dubious are ti-mi-to KN As 821 (gen. thimistos = θεμιστος 'of tribute' Docs.), ti-mi-to-go PY An 218 (Georgiev, Supplément [= VG 4], Ruipérez, MR 5 p. 152, themistogolos = θεμιστοπόλος), ti-mi-to KN Ga 34 (Georgiev, VG 4, θεμίστας θεμιστός), the place-names te-mi-ti-ja PY On 300, ti-mi-ti-ja PY Jo 438+ (both θεμίστας Docs.), but Georgiev, VG 4, proposes to read for the first a[ti-mi-ti-ja] 'Αρταμίτεαι 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-θεμιστος hage(e)j Palmer Trans. Phil. Soc. 1954, p. 48 [= LP 3]; but θεμιστός Voc. p. 86), and the personal name ti-mi-ta KN Dk 1076 (Georgiev, VG 4 θεμίστας disbelieved by Chadwick, Et. Myc., p. 86 [= JC 7]).

3. The preposition év: e forms seem certain in e-ne-e-si PY En 609 (eneensi = ένεσο «are in» Docs.), e-ne-o KN Uf 625 (ένεων 'being in' same), but forms
with in- (as in Arcado-Cyprian) have been proposed: e.g. i-na-ma-\(\tau\)a PY Ma 126 = enammata 'garments' Lurja (SL I, p. 14), or \(\eta\)\(\delta\)\(\mu\)\(\alpha\)\(\tau\)a (sc. \(\tau\)\(\alpha\)\(\nu\)\(\tau\)a) Sittig as alternative (doubted by Docs.); i-ku-wo-ti KN V 280 ing\(\delta\)\(\iota\)\(\phi\)\(\iota\)hi = \(\epsilon\)\(\gamma\)\(\rho\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\varsigma\) 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. i\(\epsilon\)\(\gamma\)\(\omicron\)\(\varsigma\) 'waist': compare e-\(\epsilon\)\(\iota\)\(\omicron\)\(\kappa\)\(u\)\(\kappa\)\(u\)t\(\iota\)\(r\)\(i\)\(t\)a\(\iota\) KN V 280 = \(\epsilon\)\(\nu\)\(\tau\)\(\iota\)\(k\)\(a\)\(\iota\)\(\eta\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\omicron\) Ga\(\iota\)\(r\)\(i\)\(g\)\(i\)\(v\) Georgiev, VG 5; cf. also the place-name i-na-ni-go\(\lambda\)\(X\)\(\iota\) An 18 (Eurynia cf. \(\delta\)\(\rho\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\omega\)\(s\)\(\omicron\)\(\sigma\)\(\nu\)\(\eta\)\(t\)\(e\)\(n\)s cit.: obviously unverifiable) and the proper name i-65-\(\epsilon\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\epsilon\)\(\iota\)\(s\) PY Jn 725 — \(\epsilon\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\epsilon\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\omicron\) \(\delta\)\(\omicron\)\(s\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\omicron\) Georgiev, (VG 5), reading \(\delta\)\(\omicron\)\(s\)\(\iota\)\(s\)\(\omicron\) as \(\bar{n}\)\(\iota\) which is disputed. All these cases are dubious.

4. ra-\(\epsilon\)\(\iota\)\(\omicron\)\(\kappa\)\(u\)\(\kappa\)\(u\)t\(\iota\)\(r\)\(i\)\(t\)a PY Va 15: compare perhaps ra-\(\epsilon\)\(\iota\)\(\omicron\)\(\kappa\)\(u\)\(\kappa\)\(u\)t\(\iota\)\(r\)\(i\)\(t\)a" PY Ab 356 (variously read as \(\pi\)\(\alpha\)\(\xi\)\(\pi\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\)\(t\)\(a\)\(i\)\(a\) as suggested by Georgiev (VG5). The former reading is however uncertain, and a comparison of 33-\(\kappa\)\(\alpha\)\(t\)\(e\)\(r\)\(a\) on the same tablet suggests the second sign may be not \(\kappa\)\(\alpha\) but \(\kappa\)\(\alpha\).

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

1. a-pe-re-qo KN U 49 (the new Knossos Tablets reads a-pe-re QO): Georgiev (VG 4) suggests amphi\(\iota\)\(\epsilon\)\(\iota\)\(s\).
2. e-\(\pi\)\(\alpha\)\(\gamma\)\(\nu\) a-\(\gamma\) PY Ua 158: Georgiev (VG 4) compares \(\iota\)\(\epsilon\)\(\lambda\)\(\eta\)\(n\).
3. e-\(\alpha\)\(e\) KN Am 600: Furmark (Eratos LI, 1953, p. 103-120; ibid. LII, 1954, p. 18-60, 22 a [= AF 1]) suggests \(\epsilon\)\(n\) but there are many alternatives, including his other suggestion \(\epsilon\)\(n\)\(\theta\)\(e\)\(n\) (Lurja, SL I, p. 14), \(\epsilon\)\(n\)\(\epsilon\) (Georgiev).
4. ke-\(\epsilon\) PY Aa 93: (place-name Turner): Georgiev suggests K\(\iota\)\(\epsilon\) or K\(\iota\).
5. ku-\(\lambda\)\(\omicron\)\(\iota\) PY Ta 707, ku-\(\lambda\)\(\omicron\)\(\iota\)\(\epsilon\) PY Ta 713: Ventris (Eratos LIII, 1955, p. 118 [= MV 4]), suggests kutes\(\iota\)\(s\) (= \(\chi\)\(\upsilon\)\(\tau\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\iota\)\(s\)), kutes\(\iota\)\(s\)io\(\iota\)s.

6. Suggestions by Georgiev (VG 3, 4, 5 and Et. Myc. p. 63-67 [= VG 7]; reading 34 and 33 as me\(\omicron\), he assigns the following to the root of \(\mu\)\(\tau\)\(\omicron\)\(\nu\)\(\mu\) (cf. for all me-\(\kappa\)\(o\)-\(\kappa\)a KN L 469 meig\(\omega\)\(t\)a):

| 34-ke-ta KN Le 786 | aimesga |
| 35-ka-re PY Va 15 | meig\(\omega\)\(t\)\(e\)\(s\) (or Meg\(\alpha\)\(t\)hers\(e\)\(s\)) |
| 34-ke-ta PY Fn 187 | meig\(\omega\)ia |
| 34-ke-ta CY PY Es 645 | meig\(\omega\)ktersi |
| 34-ke-ta CY PY Ta 709 | meig\(\omega\)us |
| 35-ke-no-o PY Vn 46 | Meig\(\omega\)i-noos |
| 34-zo KN Px 1253 | Meig\(\omega\)on |

and the following to the root of \(\mu\)\(\sigma\)\(\theta\)\(e\)\(c\):

| 34-ke-ta PY La 626 | aem\(\omega\)\(\iota\)\(s\)h |
| 34-ke PY An 218 | meist\(\omicron\)h \(\(\epsilon\)\(\mu\)\(\sigma\)\(\theta\)\(e\)\(c\) |
| 35-ke-ta PY Eb 472 | m\(\sigma\)\(\theta\)\(e\)\(c\)h (or mest\(\omicron\)h) |
| 35-zo KN Px 1253 | meist\(\omicron\)phi |

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 \(\mu\)\(\tau\)\(\omicron\)\(\nu\)la 'hornless cattle', but Lurja (SL I, p. 22) suggests me\(\theta\)\(u\)ra 'border country'.

8. ne-pa-sa-pi KN K 872, nepa-sata PY Fn 324: Georgiev (VG 4, p. 7) reads
these as *neiq<saphi*, *neiq<satás* (cf. νιφω). It is to be noted that this suggestion, like 2 and 6 above, involves vowel gradation rather than alternation.

9. ouqe KN L 641+ is read by Mühlstein (cited VG 3) as ο<στα and o<qe PY Cn 4 by Ambrosini (Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, XXV, 1936, p. 67) as ο<στα: there seems no objection to the commonly accepted ο<στα, ο<στα.

10. pe-ne-we-ta KN Ld 571+: Chadwick (Docs. p. 318) suggests a derivation from πνας ‘natural grease in wool’, but Georgiev pnewoñta = νεόντα ‘fragrant’.

11. pe-re pe-re-na PY Tn 316: Mühlstein’s (Olympia in Pylos, p. 7 [= HM I]) suggestion phorînas ‘skins’ involves an alternance, though there is no good parallel for Myc. ε — Greek ι, but again there are many alternatives (Palmer, Erato III, 1955, p. 10 [= LP 5], ‘impurities’; Furumark, AF 1 p. 51, cf. ψαρνά ‘dowry’; Docs. ψαρνά ‘to carry’).

12. ge-to PY Ta 641+ may well be πιθον (Bennett) though the etymology is difficult: Ventris has abandoned his alternative suggestion φειλθος, (Archaeology VII, 1954, p. 18 [= MV 2] ‘tribute’ in Docs.


14. wi-re-ni-jo etc. KN Sd 0401+; only shows an alternance if ρεφινος ‘of wild figwort’, as suggested in Evidence (p. 100 a); but Palmer’s (Gnomon XXVI, 1954 [= LP 1]) suggestion ρεφινος ‘of leather’ is accepted in Docs.

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

1. dipa PY Ta 641+, generally accepted as δέπας (first suggested by Blegen. Εψ ’Απλ, 1953, p. 000). Mühlstein (Les trépieds de Pylos, privately circulated [= HM 5]) compares the Arcadian place-name Διπάς.

2. mira<2 PY Ta 715 may be connected with μελι ‘ash’ (Ventris, MV 4) if this is not from *μέλης (Schulze), but also possibly with (ο)σφαλς, (ο)μιλος 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-ra<2 suffixes. 4. the -e suffix (= -ης?) 5. the -we-sa / -we-ta / -wi-ta suffixes. 6. various spellings with -α-e, -α-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. 6 below), e.g. a-ko-ro-we-i hakhrowei, a-e-me-de-i Eημήτη we-fe-i = weitei = έτει [but cf. e-re-e PY Jo 438+ with e-re-e PY Jn 829 (locatives of *Eης 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 χαλκης, ke-ra-me-wi MY Oe 125 χαραγης etc.) and sometimes appear elsewhere (po-se-da-o-ni PY Un 718 = Ποσεδώνη). For discussions on this
subject v. Chadwick (JC 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 (*-et) and locative (*-i) endings, in phonetic change (Georgiev loc. cit. suggests -et > ë > 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-ri (loc. cit.) is marked as dative by the following do-so-mo = dooio, cf. po-so-da-o-ne do-so-mo PY Es 646.

2. The -ejo,-eio,-ijo suffixes (for discussion v. Chadwick, JC 3; Lejeune, ML 5, p. 73; Docs. p. 89) may in some cases represent three different classical suffixes (-eto, -eto, -eto; 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 (ije-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, g. genitive singulars of thematic stems invariably show o-jo = -etu). Chadwick thinks that the writing of -ejo is paralleled to this latter, and so always interprets it as -eto, but I am inclined to think that the situation after e is partly paralleled to that after i-e 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. ζοντανο, cf. Furrmark (AP 1 p. 51) that a-re-ja Tn 316 = 'Αλκυ in Arcadia (Docs. compares 'Αρη, 'Αρην Schwyzer, Delectus 665): if either of these is correct it shows that -e-ja, -e-jo can be -eo, -eo-. The occasional spelling in -e-i-ja-jio does not help as -a-i-ja/jo, -o-ja/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 (χάλκιος 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 (JC 7 p. 85) doubts if -kia > -kya > -sa. po-ni-ke-a KN X 1017, po-ni-ki-ja KN Sd 0402+: (= φοινίκα 'painted crimson' Docs.).

po-pu-ko KN L 758, po-pu-re-ja KN L 474. (= χορφώριος Georgiev, Docs.): this assumes that -ro can represent -rho or rho.


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


qo-wi-ja PY Tn 316+: Georgiev etc. suggest g'owia = βάεια.

Other adjectives of material show consistently -ejo, e. g. ku-ke-se-jo v. C 5 above. The apparent partial substitution of the I. E. *-ijo suffix for the *-ejo 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:

\[\text{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 ξυπτα / ξιντα (Docs.)}

\[\text{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).}

\[\text{po-si-da-e-ja PY Tn 316 (Ποσίδαεαν (Evid.) is a proper name, while po-si-da-i-jo on same tablet is probably a place (Ποσίδαν 'shrine of Poseidon ? v. Docs., p. 288). Adrados however reads po-si-da-e-ja as Ποσίδαεα (Emerita XXIV, 1956, p. 399.)}


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

\[\text{a]-ko-so-ni-ja KN Pp 437 = δΣόνα ? Furumark (cited VG 3).}

\[\text{pa-ke-te-ja PY An 18+; the termination is unexpected if from πήκτις, but the word may be an ethnic (Docs.).}

\[\text{po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo PY Jn 3io-f-> po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo KN X 7742 + potniaweios} 'subject to the goddess ηιονυξ' ( Docs., but *ποτναως would be expected.}


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-ra suffix was in Evid. transcribed either -τρια or -ταρα, 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-ra_e 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)ι(λ)α as -ra is not equivalent to -ri-ja, nor is there any reason to link a-ke-ti-ra_e PY Ab 564+, a-ke-ti-ri-ja KN Al 739+ (root uncertain: for suggestions v. Voc., Chantraine, PC 4 p. 100) with a-ke-te-re PY Jn 832 (askετερες? Docs.), a-ke-te-re KN V 118 (see below 4) or ja-ka-te-re PY Mn 11.

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

5. Adjectives in -we-ta = -βετα, -vesa = -βεσα are fairly common in Mycenaean (e.g. to-gi-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 wάκ(λ)ωιντα = *Ηάντα; alternatives are wάκεωιτα Lejeune (ML 2 p. 169); cf. δραμετος, 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, A5-?); a-ta-e-nu KN V’d 137, ka-e-sa-me-no PY An 656 (man’s name: Georgiev, VG 4, reads the latter as Aîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîîî î
6. *e-do-me-ne-u* PY En 60 man's name (= 'Iðoµeνες Voc., as Georgiev — or compare Ποµων, Ποµωνίς) cf. *i-do-me-ne-ja* PY Ep 212 woman's name ('Iðoµένεια 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 *'Εφανής*) is erased and replaced by the latter.


11. *pa2-me-si-jo* KN As 1510, *pa2-mi-si-jo* KN Sc 135 (ethnic from Πάµµος 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 Παµµης τον; he cites further *pa34 so* [KN X 328, *pa34 so* KN Dn 1239 (reading 34 as μέ).

12. *pe-re-go-ta* PY Eb 159+, *pe-ri-go-ta-o* KN Dn 42+(men's names) are probably not the same word: Docs. suggests Τηλεφόνης and Περεφότας respectively.

13. *pe-we ri jo* KN As 1517 man's name *Περεριός Georgiev, comparing pi-we ri ja ta PY Jn 389 man's name *Περεριάς Voc. pi-we ri at MY Oe 103 = *Περερίδη.

14. *pu2-ra2-a-ke-re-u* PY Un 228, cf. *pu2-ra2-a-ri-jo* PY Na 425 (v. kereteu above 9): probably place-name (Πολύα Lejeune, Minos IV, 1956 [= ML 3], Φόλα Palmer, LP 4 p. 41) + personal name, in which case cf. *a-ke-re-u* above 3; Georgiev (VG 5) however interprets *Φολάαξρεος (ethnic), *Φολάαξρες (ethnic) respective.


16. *te-pa2-ja* KN Ap 586 woman's name, *ti-pa2-jo* KN As 1517 man's name probably different roots: Georgiev suggests Θησαῖα and Θεσαῖα (or Στιβαῖα 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 Λ 784: the former has been emended to *we-ra-ti-ja*.

G. Single cases of e = Greek t are:

1. *a-e-se-wa* v. above E 6.

2. *ai-ki-de-o* PY Na 529: man's name dat.: cf. Αξτέτων Georgiev (VG 4).


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 'Αθαµάνες Docs.

5. *a2-te-jo* PY An 519: *'Αντιφος or 'Αρτίκος Mühlestein (cited VG 3); Palmer: man's name.


7. *de-wi-jo* PY An 218+: man's name = Δώτως Mühlestein (HM 1 p. 3).
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8. e-u-we-to nom., e-u-we-to-ro gen. PY Jn 750 = *Εὐείστωρ Georgiev (VG 5), Euètor or Euestor ? Docs.
10. i-pe-me-de-ja PY Jn 316: a goddess? cf. Ἰρμήθεα Evid. (not from FPh), isterdamedja Gallavotti (CG 1 p. 146): cf. following.
11. i-pe-se-za PY Gn 1184 man’s name dat. = *ἲψος(α)σενα(σ) Georgiev (VG 5), *ἴψενα Docs.
13. ke-so PY Cn 328: man’s name = *Χελζων? Σχίζων? Georgiev (VG 5).
15. me-no-e-ja PY Ta 642: Palmer (MINOS V, 1957, p. 63) very tentatively compares Μίνως.
16. me-nu-wea KN V 60+: man’s name = Μνώς Docs. Μνώς Georgiev.
17. me-za-ne v. above E 4.
19. negeu PY Sn 64: man’s name Νηγεύ (>Νεικέος >*Νικέος > Voc., but cf. Νήκεια Docs.
20. o-pe-pa2 PY Cn 570: man’s name dat. 0-πι-γα-ι Georgiev (VG 4).
21. pa-de-we PY Un 219: man’s name dat. *Πανδέης 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. ἐμμε-ε-ο KN Sc 243: man’s name *Φιλ(λ)ιός cf. Φιλείς Georgiev.
26. sa-pag-re-jo KN D 1412+: place-name Σαπάρμα Georgiev (VG 5).
28. we-da-ne-we PY Es 646+: man’s name dat. cf. Ἰδανός Georgiev (VG 5); cf. also we-u-da-ne-ne PY Cn 418.

H. Single cases of i = Greek ε are:

2. a-si-fa-ii-ja PY Ae 134+: place-name, Docs. p. 147 compares *Ασος, 'Ασατάς but Voc. *'Ασαντία.
3. di-du-me-o-[ KN L 588: Διδομίων or *Διδομείων Sittig (cited VG 3); new Knossos Tablets reads di-du-me-o-].
5. e-wi-ku-wu-te v. above B 3.
6. i-ma-di-ja PY En 816: man’s name, *Ερμαδίας Georgiev (VG 5).
7. i-ma-di-jo PY Cn 436+: man’s name *Ερμάδιος 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.
I. The evidence summarized above permits the following conclusions:

1. The contention¹ that most of the certain examples of Mycenaean e = Greek i 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 e 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 (txxoç) the I. E. position is anomalous, and in another (êv, iv) 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 *dhe- ‘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-

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² VG 8.
³ e.g. i-gi-ja, women’s occupational names in -i-ja, e-ke, e-qe-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 = derθao, *ku-te-so = νυτνυς, *qe-to = πιθοι 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-ne-se = Κητιές on the Idalion bronze², and *Σεκύωνοι = Σικύωνοι on the tripod-stand, which may be from the same source as some of the Mycenaean examples, Arcado-Cyprian *iν = others εν, -µνος = -µνος and similar cases are apparently due solely to the position before a nasal³: even in this position Mycenaean parallels are dubious (v. B3, E5, H21) 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» -eι > -i and thence > ι by analogy of the change of *ποιμένει to ποιμένι: but the accepted explanation is -eι > -i > ι for the Mycenaean dative/locatives in -e/i: the Lesbian and Thessalian adjectives of material in -ως and the change of -e- > -t- before α or ο in various dialects, for Mycenaean adjectives of material: and an occasional vowel fluctuation in forming compounds (e. g. 'Αρχι-λοχος / 'Αρχί-λοχος, Τηλίμαχος / Τηλέμαχος) for ai-ke-wa-to etc. F2, de[ ]-ke-se-ra-wo G6, di-65-pa-ta H4. Other cases (e. g. -pi-> -pe- Lesbian etc., -dr-> -dr- Elean, -dr- > -dr- Attic ēstia = others τιταί etc., and I. E. ‘reduced’ grades in Aeolic πίσυρες = Attic τέτταρες, Attic πίτηνημι) seem totally irrelevant.

¹ JCS 3, p. 16.
² Schwyzer, Delectus 679.
³ Examples before other consonants are very uncertain, e. g.: κατεύθως Schwyzer 683,4 is a scriptio inversa for -αν as -έθως would not be the Arcadian form: ε-τι-κu-νε [←*έτικνον ←*έτεκε, κα-μι[ = *ίαμτα = γαμέτα ibid. 685,2 are very dubious interpretations. Pamphilian ζ is ibid. 686 is from *ἐνς (also in Cretan) and Δημίαρα ibid. is presumably the λονή confusion of η/ι.
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 cases\(^1\).

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