

THE GROUP *sw* IN MYCENAEAN

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 (λελυκῶς < **λελυκ-ῶς*), but a dialectal tendency to front *kw* to *tw*, parallel to *ky* > *ty* (> σσ), 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* > ∅ (e. g. ἰός 'arrow' < **iswos*, cf. Skt. *iṣuh*). The only common word containing secondary *sw* is ἴσος, for which the form ῥίσφος 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-wi*, *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 */Aswiā/*.
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-go-so-wo-te PY Na 384, possibly to be divided between *go* 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-wi-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 Ἰσίοϛ (B 461), Att. Ἰσίοϛ, suggests that *Aswios* is by no means an unlikely reconstruction of Mycenaean *a-si-wi-jo* (see above), and this finds support in Hittite *Aššuwa*. 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-jo*¹ (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,

¹ A suggestion made long ago by C. Gallavotti, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 30 (1958) pp. 1-2.

but elsewhere nom. plur. as description of a group of women, Aa 701, Ab 515; gen. plur. *a-*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 (*Milatai, Lāmniai, Knidiai*). Thus *Aswiai* would be a satisfactory addition to the list, and would help to confirm the location of these ethnics, Ἄσῖα being in origin a name for Lydia². It is impossible to obtain further verification of this hypothesis, since no other example of *64 is recorded³.

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

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 *sa*₂ has had most support⁴. 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-

² See my note in *Minos* 5 (1957) p. 126.

³ The reading *a-ze-ti-*64-ja* in KN L 1568 lat. inf. has proved to be a chimera; the sign is probably a badly written and damaged *ri*.

⁴ See especially M. S. Ruipérez, *Minoica* pp. 359-364; M. Lejeune, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne* I, pp. 206-210.

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-swa* is no more transparent than *pe-re-sa*₂. We might speculate on identifying *|Preswa|*⁶ with Περσ- in the first part of the name Περσεφόνη, which is presumably non-Greek, though perhaps deformed by popular etymology (cf. Φερρέφαττα).

The man's name *ki-ri-*82-jo* (PY Jn 320.4) will resolve well as *|Kriswaios|* = classical Κρισσαῖος; Κρίσα 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 *swa* and *swi* 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 *|Perswa|* seems to be excluded by the spelling conventions.