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THE SUFFIX  $-υλο/α-$  IN THE MYCENAEAN PERSONAL NAMES

§ 1. The suffix  $-ro/-lo$ , which in Classical Greek does not show great productivity<sup>1</sup>, is quite frequent in Mycenaean personal names. Out of about 2.000 Mycenaean personal names nearly 300 end in  $-ro/-ra$ ,  $-ri/a-jo$ , where this suffix might be expected. In Classical Greek  $-λο-$  is preceded by a short or long vowel with which it forms an independent suffix:  $-ᾱλ(λ)ο-$ ,  $-ελ(λ)ο-$ ,  $-ἰλ(λ)ο-$ ,  $-ολ(λ)ο-$  and  $-υλ(λ)ο-$ . In Mycenaean the ending  $-ro$  is also preceded by the same vowels, but their quantity cannot be seen from the script. As an examination of all the variations with the suffix  $-ro/lo$  in Mycenaean would exceed the limits of a paper, we shall here be dealing only with the suffix  $-υλ(λ)ο/α-$ .

The suffix  $-υλο-$  is represented together with  $-υρο-$  in the ending  $-u-ro$ . It is documented in 38 examples, of which only two are appellatives ( $a-ku-ro$  ἄργυρος and  $me-re-u-ro$  *meleuron*, μάλευρον, ἄλευρον), three place-names ( $pu-ro$  Πύλος,  $ma-to(-ro)-pu-ro$  *Mātropulos* and  $go-ro-mu-ro$  *Bromulos?*), and all the others (33) are personal names. Of eleven examples in  $-u-ra$  three are fragments ( $]nu-ra$ , perhaps  $?ki]nu-ra$  MN,  $]pu-ra$ , poss.  $??ko]pu-ra$ , and  $]su-ra$   $?ri]su-ra$  MN), two nouns ( $a-ro-u-ra$  ἄρουρα and possibly  $me-tu-ra$ ), one or two technical terms ( $ko-u-ra$ , qualifying  $pa-we-a$  φόρφα and perhaps  $ko-pu-ra$ ), one ethnic ( $ze-pu_2-ra_3$  Ζέφυραι), and the other three or four examples are personal names. Derivations from  $-ulo/-uro-$  with the suffix  $-io-$  are represented in the endings  $-u-ri-jo$ ,  $-u-ro_2$ , documented in 14 examples, among which there is only one noun ( $tu-ro_2$  τυρός?), one adjective ( $po-pu-ro_2$  πορφύρεος) and one or two place-names ( $re-pe-u-ri-jo$  and perhaps  $wi-nu-ri-jo$ ). All the other (10 or 11) examples are personal

<sup>1</sup> Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 237 f.; Buck-Petersen, *Rev. Index*, pp. 354 f.

names. Some short forms in *-u* (about two or three), which might have some relation to the names in *-ulo/-uro*, are also to be added here. There are altogether about 50 personal names in *-u-ro/a*, *-u-ri-jo*, of which at least one half contain the suffix *-l*.

These names have already been examined<sup>2</sup>. To some of the earlier interpretations there is nothing to be added, but some of them need certain corrections. Besides, there are names not yet identified, which we shall try to identify here together with some newly discovered names.

§ 2. In the interpretation of these names one encounters the same difficulties as in the other Mycenaean personal names.

a) As has been already pointed out, due to the spelling conventions of the Linear B script, very often both the phonological form and the morphological structure of the names are obscured. In some cases it is difficult to say whether the name ends in *-lo* or *-ro* (cf. below: *a-pa-u-ro*, *ku-ro<sub>2</sub>*, *wi-du-ro*, etc.).

The multiple value of the syllabic signs almost always allows different readings and interpretations of the names. We can be sure in our interpretation, as Dr J. Chadwick often says, «only when we have clear parallels in Classical Greek and the name is long enough to exclude alternative identifications». But the majority of Mycenaean personal names are short, and there is no objective criterion with the help of which we could prefer one explanation to other, since the semantic value of the personal names cannot be confirmed from the context, as is the case with some appellatives. Thus, in their identification only the etymological method can be applied. But it can lead us astray, if we do not keep in mind Greek onomastic patterns and tradition, which are much more important than the theoretical transliterations and deductions of the names.

b) No less difficulty is caused by the comparative onomastic material from the first millennium, because it is not collected in

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Documents*, pp. 414-427; Georgiev, *Lex.*, *Suppl. I* and *II*; Landau, *Personennamen*; Ruijgh, *Etudes*, especially pp. 150, 187, 275; A. Heubeck, «Zu mykenischen Namen und Titeln», *IF* 64, 1959, pp. 119-126, etc.

one up-to-date corpus<sup>3</sup>. If one wants to make sure that a Mycenaean name does not appear in the first millennium, thousands of pages of lexicons, prosopographies and indices of different volumes of *IG* and *SEG* are to be checked.

We must also have in mind the fact that all the names documented in the literature and inscriptions of the first millennium are not of equal value for this purpose: their chronology and frequency, as well as geographical distribution should be taken into consideration. Thus, in some cases, from several different possibilities we can choose the most adequate identification, as Prof. O. Masson demonstrated<sup>4</sup>. But the difficulty is that this method cannot be always applied, since many Mycenaean personal names do not correspond at all to the Greek ones of the first millennium. In any case we must make a difference between certain, probable, possible and doubtful identification of the personal names, just as was done with the appellatives in the *Mycenaean-Greek Vocabulary* by J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach.

c) Although the recognition of the personal names began before the decipherment of the Linear B script by pure structural study of the texts, there are still controversies as to whether some syllabic sign groups are personal names, place-names, professions or qualitatives<sup>5</sup> (cf. below *wi-nu-ri-jo*, *ko-pu-ra*).

d) Together with the Greek personal names in the Mycenaean inscriptions there are also non-Greek ones. It is not always easy to decide whether a particular name is Greek or pre-Greek. Evidently there is a danger not only in the tendency to interpret all the Mycenaean names as Greek<sup>6</sup>, but also in identifying *ad hoc*

<sup>3</sup> Pape-Benseler is out of date and there are mistakes in the reading of some names, as Prof. O. Masson, *SMEA* 2, p. 28, clearly showed. The Reverse index by Dornseiff-Hansen is not free from the same defects either, cf. J. Chadwick, *ClR* 9, 1959, pp. 135 f., O. Masson, *Gnomon*, 1960, pp. 559-566. Bechtel's *HPN* is a valuable handbook, but it does not give evidence for the frequency of the names and it is also incomplete. A great number of new inscriptions with a significant onomastic material have been published since 1917.

<sup>4</sup> O. Masson, «Remarques sur les anthroponymes mycéniens et leurs correspondants au premier millénaire», *SMEA* 2, pp. 27-40.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e. g. the different opinions about *da-mo-ko-ro*, J.-P. Olivier, *Minos* 8, pp. 118-122.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M. Lejeune, *Actes du Ier Congr. Balk.*, Sofia 1968, pp. 311 f.

Mycenaean personal names as non-Greek. Recently some scholars have gone too far in the interpretation of the Mycenaean names as non-Greek<sup>7</sup>, and for some names several different identifications both Greek and non-Greek have been proposed (cf. *da-ra-mu-ro*, *ko-ku-ro*, etc.).

e) The Mycenaean names for which one cannot find corresponding parallels in Classical Greek are usually taken as non-Greek and even non IE. Undoubtedly, in Mycenaean there are some transparent Greek names, formed in the same way as in Classical Greek, e. g. names in *-μήδης* (*e-u-me-de* Εὐμήδης), *-άνωρ/ -άνδρα* (*a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* Ἀλεξ-άνδρᾱ), *-λαφος* (*pe-ri-ra-wo* Περίλαφος), etc., but there are also some differences. Compounds with ἵππος, which are very frequent in the first millennium, in Mycenaean do not appear at all, although the appellative for horse (*i-go*) is documented and confirmed by the ideogram. Similarly some other stems, widespread in Classical Greek are also absent in Mycenaean, e. g. *-δικος*, *-νικος*, *-σθένης*, etc. Compound personal names in Mycenaean are formed in the same way as in Classical Greek (the components are connected with the vowels *-e-*, *-i-*, *-o-*), but the limited number of Mycenaean compounds, in comparison with that of Classical Greek, is surprising. What is the reason for that? Are we to take all the two- and three-syllabic names which do not have parallels in Classical Greek as foreign, or shall we admit the possibility that in Mycenaean some Greek personal names, different from those of the first millennium, were in use?

The latter possibility cannot be denied. There are even four-syllable names, evidently compounds of a type which looks like Greek, but without exact parallels in later Greek, e. g. *e-ke-nu-wo* (a new reading by J.-P. Olivier instead of *e-ke-to-wo* KN U 4478.12), where the first element *e-ke-* is clear<sup>8</sup>, but the second one, which also appears in *di-ki-nu-wo*, *pi-ki-nu-wo*, *sa-pi-ti-nu-wo*, *ti-mi-nu-wo*, etc. cannot be easily identified<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica (An ethnic and cultural study in West Semitic impact on Mycenaean Greece)*, Leiden 1965, pp. 339-344; A. Scherer, «Personennamen nichtgr. Herkunft im alten Kreta», *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 39, 1965, pp. 57-60.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *HPN*, pp. 182-184.

<sup>9</sup> From the orthographic point of view *νυός* < \**snusos* would correspond to *-nu-wo* of *e-ke-nu-wo*, but in later practice such a name cannot be confirmed.

It is known that every full name can be shortened, and if compounds had later become obsolete, the short names, derived from them, might more easily have become meaningless and disused. Probably in Mycenaean many short names, Greek by origin, were in use, and the awkward syllabic script might have favoured the recording of persons according to their short names. But how are we to explain them?

Obviously the personal names are to be examined not only *individually*, but also according to the *type* to which they belong. The study of the short-name onomastic patterns, which are more constant than the individual forms, may throw some light on this question. The examination of the personal names with the suffix -υλο-, which is used especially for forming short names and hypocoristics, is a contribution to this problem.

§ 3. In Classical Greek there is a great number of short names with the suffix -υλο- and -ιλο-, often used with a hypocoristic gemination of -l-. This suffix has often been examined<sup>10</sup> and scholars in general agree concerning its function in the personal names. There are only some differences regarding its development. According to Locker<sup>11</sup> the personal names in -υλο- were first formed by shortening the two-stem compounds, the first element of which ends in -u and the second begins with l-, e. g. Ἀστύλος from Ἀστύ-λαος, Θρασύλος, from Θρασύ-λαος, and later it was transferred to names which do not contain -u-l-. M. Leumann<sup>12</sup> does not deny this as a theoretical possibility, but he finds that the names in -υλο/α- e. g. Θρασύλος, Ἠδύλος were originally related to one-stem names Θράσος, Ἠδύς, from the adjectives θρασύς, ἡδύς, cf. also κρατύς: Κρατύλος, πραῦς: Πραῦλος, etc. It

<sup>10</sup> E. Locker, «Die Bildung der gr. Kurz- und Kosenamen», *Glotta* 21, 1932, pp. 136-152; 22, 1933, pp. 46-100, especially pp. 60-68; Chantraine, *Formation*, p. 250; Schwyzer, *Griech Gramm.* I, p. 485; A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*, Heidelberg 1917, p. 165; Manu Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1959, pp. 243-250 (*Glotta* 32, 1953, pp. 214-225, the quotations are according to *Kleine Schriften*).

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 243 f.

seems that the final formation of *-υλο* as a separate suffix has been supported by both groups, and Debrunner<sup>13</sup> is perhaps right when he states that it is of «double origin». In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the name is shortened from a compound in *-u-l-*, or the suffix *-lo-* is added to the stem in *-u*, e. g. Ἡδύλος from Ἡδύλαος, Ἡδύ-λογος or from Ἡδυσ.

From the names of *u*-stems this suffix was later transferred to adjectives and nouns of other stems: Αἰσχύλος, Γοργύλος, Δεινύλος, Ξενύλος, Θηρύλος, where the diminutive-hypocoristic meaning is evident. As a suffix of short names it was used *a*) in the names derived from compounds with a divine name in the first element: Βακχύλος, Ἑρμᾶύλος, Ἡρύλος; *b*) with a noun-stem: Πενθύλος, Σημύλος, and *c*) verbal stem: Δερκύλος, Στεργύλος, Νικύλος, etc.<sup>14</sup>. Along with *-υλο/α-* personal names from all these stems appear with a gemination of *-l-*: Βαθύλος: Βάθυλλος, Ξένυλλος, etc., and *-υλο-* is often combined with other suffixes<sup>15</sup>, e. g.: *-ιδ-* and especially with *-ιο-*: Πιθυλλίς, Μικυλίων, etc.

§ 4. Among the Mycenaean names in *-u-ro* there is a certain number in *-ρο-*, which is also an IE suffix, parallel to *-λο-*<sup>16</sup>. Sometimes *-ro-* comes from a dissimilated *-lo-*<sup>17</sup>, cf. ἀλμυρός, λαμπυρός, and in Classical Greek there are cases when the suffix *-ρο-* alternates with *-λο-* in one and the same name, cf. Κόκκαρος: Κόκκαλος.

Since the Linear B script does not make any difference between *l* and *r*, we cannot always be sure whether a Mycenaean name ends in *-λο-*, or *-ρο-*. A similar difficulty appears when the name contains a sign for *-r-* in the stem<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 165. Cf. also Chantraine, *Formation*, p. 250.

<sup>14</sup> For further examples see M. Leumann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 251 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Schwyzer, *Grüch. Gramm.* I, pp. 481 f.

<sup>17</sup> Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 482; M. Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>18</sup> E. g. *e-ra-to* KN Dc 1359+1387 (J. T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, *Cambridge Colloquium*, p. 69) might be: Ἐλατος, Ἐραστος, Ἐράστων, Ἐρατος, Ἐράτων. Ἐλατος is a mythological name. Among all the other variations of historical Greek names Ἐράτων is the most widespread one, cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* I, nos. 5037-5042; *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 955; *SEG* II 303 8, Delphi; III 294 (= *IG* III 1169); *SEG* XI 948. 19, Laconia; XII 115.22, 26, etc. and it is most plausible to identify *e-ra-to* with Ἐράτων, as J. T. Killen and J.-P. Olivier, *loc. cit.*, did.

Among the names ending in *-u-ro* with a certain *-ρο-* is the sobriquet *ta-u-ro* KN V 832.2 Ταῦρος<sup>19</sup>, or Τάρων,, cf. *HPN*, p. 418, and probably *ma-ta-u-ro* KN Dv 8151, perhaps Μασταυρος<sup>20</sup>.

With *-ro-* from a dissimilated *-lo-* there is possibly *ra-ku-ro*, nom. PY Eb 566.1/Ep 301.9; dat. Eo 281.2; gen. *ra-ku-ro-jo* PY En 659.15/Eo 281.1 Landau, *Personennamen: Lakuros*, *-ōi*, cf. λάκυρος: στεμφυλίας οἶνος Hsch., or \*Λάχυλος, cf. Λάχων, Λαχίας, related to λαχεῖν, *HPN*, p. 276; *ka-ra-u-ro* PY An 192.8; Jn 750.7 *Kalauros*<sup>21</sup>; *ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ro* PY Ea 56 Ζέφυρος<sup>22</sup>, and perhaps *ru-ro* KN V 832.1; PY Jo 438.6; Sn 64.4 Λύρος.

There are three names in *-o-u-ro*, probably with the suffix *-ro-*: *ru-ko-u-ro* PY Es 729.1, *ru-ko-wo-ro* PY Es 650.v 1, alternative spelling, *Documents, Lukouros*, related to the Arcadian place-name Λουκουρία; *ma-no-u-ro* PY Jn 605+, 692.5, 725.19 and *si-no-u-ro* PY Cn 285.8, which are not identified<sup>23</sup>. For *so-u-ro*, where the suffix *-lo* might also be expected, see below.

In *ko-no-pu<sub>2</sub>-du-ro-* MY Au 102.5 and *ka-ra-u-du-ro* PY Eb 835+ /Ep 705.5 Prof. V. Georgiev (*Suppl. I* and *II s. u.*) saw compounds in *-υδρος*: \*Κνωφ-υδρος, \*Καλα-υδρος < καρα, but we would expect *-u-do-ro* (cf. PY Ta 996.2), not *-u-du-ro* for ὕδρος, and it is to be noticed that *-pu<sub>2</sub>-* in *ko-no-[.]du-ro-* is not readable<sup>24</sup>.

*ki-du-ro* PY An 192.15. According to Prof. Lejeune, *Mémoires*, p. 200 n. 41, it might be: \*Κίνδυλος or \*Σχίδαρος, cf. *ki-da-ro*. Regarding the fact that some personal names are derived from σχιδή cf. Σχιδᾶς, Cyrene, Bechtel (*Spitznamen*, p. 16; *HPN*,

<sup>19</sup> Ταῦρος as a historical name cf. Bechtel, *HPN*, p. 587; Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.* II, XXV, 10 c; (*IG XII 8 327.7*, Thasus, late).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, p. 277, § 839-3 n. 11, and J.-L. Robert, «Bull. épigr.», *REG*, 1961, no. 647.

<sup>21</sup> Landau, *Personennamen*, suggested *Glauros*, cf. γλαυρόν· σεμνόν, or *Krauros*, cf. κραῦρος «brittle, friable», but they are not documented as personal names. *Kalauros* (*Documents*, p. 419) would correspond better, cf. Κάλαιρος, epithet of Poseidon (H. Meyer, *RE X 2*, col. 1550) not derived from καλός and οὐρή.

<sup>22</sup> See E. Risch, *MH 25*, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact Georgiev, *Lex.* and *Suppl. II*, suggested *Man-ouros*, cf. μάνυ· μικρόν and *Sin-ouros* < σίνομαί + οὐρά, but οὐρά is either from \**orsa*, or \**orsua*, cf. Skrt. *ṛsvāh*, which does not correspond to the Mycenaean spelling.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. J.-P. Olivier, *Kadmos 8*, 1969, p. 48.

p. 609): σχιζίας «Mensch wie ein Sphan», it seems that *Skhiduros*, which alternates with \*Σχίδαρος is more probable, but the possibility for a non-Greek name is not excluded either, cf. Lin. A *ki-da-ro*, f.

*ki-u-ro* KN B 801.2; D1 47.1 might also be explained in several different ways<sup>25</sup>.

*se-me-tu-ro* KN Dc 1364, a shepherd's name, is very likely a non-Greek name<sup>26</sup>, cf. *pi-ja-se-me* KN As 1516.19, with Hitt. *pi-ja-*.

§ 5. While the suffix -υρο- can be discovered with certainty only in few Mycenaean names ending in -*u-ro*, the suffix -υλο- is very likely contained in many more examples with the same ending:

*a-pa-u-ro* KN Mc 4463, *Documents: Aphauros? APaulos?*, Georgiev, Landau, *Personennamen: Aphauros*, cf. ἄφαυρος «feeble, powerless». None of these identifications can be confirmed directly from the personal names of the first millennium<sup>27</sup>. However there is some reason for preferring *APaulos*. Personal names are documented both with -υλος (cf. *HPN*, p. 89: Ζεύξ-αυλος *IG* IV 1492.22, IV cent., Αὐλίσκος Paus. 2.31.6; Αὐλίων Chios, Mitt. 13, 171, no. 12, 5) and with Ἄπ(ο)- (cf. *HPN*, p. 62) where an [A]πόλυρος (Eretria, *IG* XII 9, no. 246 B 23, IV cent.) is supposed. A derivative from αὐλός appears in Mycenaean too: *au-ri-jo*<sup>28</sup> KN As 604.2; Da 1080, 1116; Dv 1103 *Aulios* Αὐλίων. The name Πρωταυλος (Termesos, Pisidia, *TAM* III 326) is now read πρωταύλης by L. Robert<sup>29</sup>, but Ζεύξ-αυλος, Δίαυλος (cf. *HPN*, p. 89,609: Athens, IV cent.) give us reason to reconstruct a name *APaulos*,

<sup>25</sup> Cf. M. Lejeune, *Mémoires*, p. 335: perhaps a sobriquet of *ki-u-ro-i*, or related to κίουρος «basket for corn, as a measure», or *ki-u-ro* for *ki-wo-ro* with *wl/wr*: χιλός «green fodder for cattle», or ὁ κίλλος «ass», if it is from \*κιφλός.

<sup>26</sup> A. Scherer, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 39, 1965, p. 59, connected this name with Mitanni *Silme*, Lyc. Πονεσελμος, cf. Zgusta, *op. cit.*, § 1288-4, p. 436, but the second element is not explained.

<sup>27</sup> In an inscription of the IV cent. from Nea Heraclea, near Kavala, Bakilidis, Πρακτικά 1938, pp. 94-6, read a name Ἄπ(αυλ[ος]), but in *SEG* XVIII, 1962, no. 278.1, this was read Ἄπ' Αὐλ[ῶνος].

<sup>28</sup> Cf. M. D. Petruševski-P. Hr. Ilievski, *ŽA* 8, p. 274; M. Lejeune, *SMEA* 1, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, p. 273.

derived from ἀπό and αὐλός «pipe, flute», which is an IE word with a primary *-lo-* documented in many IE languages (cf. Chantraine, *Formation*, p. 239; Frisk, *GEW s. u.*). For the formation \*Ἄπ-αυλος, cf. ἔναυλος and poss. ἄπ-αυλος «lying alone», Hsch.

Here the name *te-ra-u-re-o* PY Sa 22, gen. *Tēl-aulehos*, might be mentioned, but the meaning of the second element -αὐλης is not the same as in αὐλός (cf. M. D. Petruševski, *Kadmos* 4, p. 125).

*a-ta-tu-ro* PY Cn 436.2; Jn 431.10 is more difficult to identify. To the earlier suggestions<sup>30</sup>, if it is a Greek personal name, here we can add another conjecture: *Ant-aitulos*, derived from ἀντ-αίτέω «demand in return». Ἄντύλος, Ἄντυλλος and Αἰτύλος, are documented (cf. Pape-Benseler *s.u.*), but they are from the Roman period and we cannot put much weight on them. However, there are personal names derived from αἰτέω (cf. Fick-Bechtel, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, Göttingen 1894, p. 49), i. e. αἴνυμαι (*HPN*, p. 30): Εὐ-αίτης (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1*, no. 678, II 41, III cent), Ἐξ-αιτος (Iassos, Dittenberger, *Syll.<sup>3</sup>*, 169.19, V cent.). On the basis of Ἐξ-αιτος, we may reconstruct an *Ant-aitos* and *Ant-aitulos*?, which can be related to *a-ta-tu-ro*.

*da-ra-mu-ro* KN Dv 1220. Both Greek and non-Greek identifications are suggested for this name: H. Mühlestein<sup>31</sup>: *Drāsni ulos* (< Δρᾶσιμυλος to Δράσιμος); E. Risch<sup>32</sup>: *Drāmulos*; A. Scherer<sup>33</sup>: cf. Phryg. Λαμυρος at Bosphorus Να-νοβα-λαμυρος. But Λάμυρος might well be a Greek name, cf. λαμυρός «greedy, wanton», a sobriquet (*HPN*, p. 503). *da-ra-mu-ro* *Drāmulos* is probably related to the verb stem δραμ-(δραμεῖν) from which are derived personal names, e. g.: Ἄδρᾶστος, Ἄδρηστος (*Il.* 2.572, etc.), Myc. *a-da-ra-ti-jo*, patronym. adj. *Adrastios*; Δρά-ιπ(π)ος which according to *HPN*, p. 141 «fällt dem Sinne nach mit Δρόμιππος zusammen»; Δρόμων (Pape-Benseler) which may alternate with *Dromulos* and *Dramulos*<sup>34</sup>, cf. also *do-ro-me-u* Δρομεύς.

<sup>30</sup> Georgiev, *Suppl.*, *s. u.* Ἄτασθ[αλ]-υλ(λ)ος, cf. ἀτάσθαλος; Landau, *Personennamen*, *Antathuros*, p. 160: ἄντα = ἀντί, cf. Ἄνταμένης, ἀντίθυρος.

<sup>31</sup> *Olympia in Pylos*, Basel 1954, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *MH* 12, 1955, quoted by Landau, *Personennamen*.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also δρομαλός attribute of λαγωός, Frisk, *GEW*, *s. u.*

*du-ro* KN Da 1193 is related by A. Scherer (*op. cit.*, p. 59) to Thrac. Δουλας, *Dulus*, but the identification of such a short name is very uncertain.

*ka-pu-ro*[ KN V 961.2, Georgiev, *Suppl. s. u.*, cf. Καμπυλίων, Landau, *Personennamen*, \*Κάμπυλος, or Κάπυρος. *Kapuros* as a theoretical possibility might be admitted, but it is not documented among the personal names. Among other possibilities we can mention Καπύλος (Pape-Benseler) too, but *Kampulos* would correspond best, because the adjective καμπύλος is an ancient word (Hom.) and its stem is used in personal names as a sobriquet. Bechtel (*Spitznamen*, p. 34): Καμπᾶς, Nachträge: Κάμπος (Tegea, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, no. 317.15) shortened from καμπύλος. Καμπυλίων also points to a \*Καμπύλος.

*ke-ku-ro* PY Mn 162.3, dat. Documents: *Kerkulōi* (cf. Κερκύλας), cf. also *ke-ko-jo*, gen. *Kerkoio* from a \**ke-ko Kerkos*, *ke-ki-jo* Κερκίων, adject. patronym. from Κέρκος<sup>35</sup>, and *ke-zo* is perhaps an alternative spelling for *ke-ki-jo*; cf. also *ke-ki*, a sobriquet Κέρκις. The personal names derived from the stem κερκ- are widespread over the whole Greek world and neighbouring countries (Attica, Arcadia, Apollonia, Thessaly, Pella, Byzantium, Philippopolis, Tomi, Cyzicus, Chios, Delos, Tegea, Egypt, etc., cf. *HPN*, pp. 482, 603). The names: Κερκίων, Κέρκις, Κέρκων, Κερκίνος, Κερκίδας, Κερκᾶς, Κέρκυσ are obviously Greek, cf. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 191, although the meaning of this root is disputable: κέρκος οὐρά καὶ ἀνδρείον αἰδοῖον Hsch. As hypocoristics in -ύλος often have pairs in -ίων, on the basis of Κερκίων, as well as Κέρκυσ and Κερκύλας, we can reconstruct the name \*Κερκύλος.

*ko-ku-ro* KN B 803.1. So far two equally possible identifications have been suggested for this name: Landau, *Personennamen*, Γόγγυλος, from γογγύλλος (Aristoph. *Pax* 28) «round» and Lejeune (*Mémoires*, p. 223): Γοργύλος. Besides *Zft. für Numism.* 9, p. 278, 10, *HPN*, p. 486, quoted by Landau, Γογγύλος appears in other inscriptions too, cf. *SEG XI* 377.3, Hermionia (150 B.C.), 405.2, Epid. (150 B.C.), etc. Γοργύλος, Γόργος, Γοργίς, Γοργίας, Γοργώ are also frequent Greek names (cf. Pape-Benseler, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 159). However there is another possibility

<sup>35</sup> Ruijgh, *Etudes*, p. 141.

which seems more acceptable to me: *ko-ku-ro*, *ko-ka-ro*<sup>36</sup> and *ko-ku* very likely form one and the same family.

M. C. Astour<sup>37</sup> recently tried to interpret *ko-ka-ro* as a Semitic name, Ugar. *Kkln*. But there is no need of either Semitic or Anatolian<sup>38</sup> explanations of this name. It is a well known Greek name derived from the stem *κοκκ-*<sup>39</sup>, richly attested over all the Greek world in several variations: *Κόκκαλος*, *Κοκκύλος*, *Κόκκαρος*, *Κοκκάλη*, *Κόκκος*, *Κοκκαλίνη*, as well as with *-ω-*: *Κωκος*, *Κωκαρος*, *Κωκαρίων*, *Κωκίων*, *Κωκᾶς*, etc., cf. Bechtel (*Spitznamen*, p. 41; *HPN*, pp. 593, 595)<sup>40</sup>. The names with *-ω-* *κοκκ-* are not included by Bechtel in this family, but undoubtedly they are also related to *κοκκ-*<sup>41</sup>, as L. Robert (*loc. cit.*) clearly showed.

*ma-du-ro* PY Cn 655.18 might also be taken together with *ma-da-ro* KN Db 1368 *Mandulos/Mandalos*, derived from *μάνδαλος*, *μάνδρα* «enclosed space, fold», which is an IE word, cf. Skrt. *mandurā-* «horse stall», *mandirā-* «house» (Frisk, *GEW*, s. u.)<sup>42</sup>. Both *ma-du-ro* in PY and *ma-da-ro* in KN are names of shepherds for which a name derived from this stem would answer well. But *Mada/uros* also is not excluded, cf. *Μάδρος* (*IG V 2*, 387.3, V century), *HPN*, p. 493; *μαδαρός*: *ἀραιόθριξ*, *ψεδνός*.

In Classical Greek there is an alternation of the preceding vowel: *-a-* : *-u-*; *-u-* : *-i-* in front of the suffix *-lo-*, cf. *Δάμαλος* (*SEG XIX* 697.1): *Δάμυλος* (*IG V 2*, 541, 542, 516); *Δορκίλος* (*SEG XXII* 493, Delphi, VI cent.): *Δορκύλος* (*ibidem* 398, 6, Boeotia), *Μένιλλος* (*IG I<sup>2</sup>* 950, 149, Athens 412): *Μένυλλος* (*I<sup>2</sup>* 26.3, c. 448), etc. The same alternation is also noticeable in

<sup>36</sup> *ko-za-ro* is perhaps an alternative spelling of *ko-ka-ro*, *Documents*, p. 420.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

<sup>38</sup> J. Sundwall, «Kleinasiatische Nachträge», *Studia Orientalia*, ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica XV:1, Helsinki 1950, p. 120. L. Zgusta also included the names *Κωκαρος*, *Κωκος*, etc. into his book *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, § 778-1-4, pp. 262 f., but in *Nachträge*, p. 689, he explained that they are «Lallnamen». The names with *-o-*: *Κοκκος*, *Κόκκαλος*, *Κόκκυλος*, etc. according to him, *op. cit.*, § 656, are Greek.

<sup>39</sup> This stem is known not only from personal names, but also from appellatives, cf. *κοκκολογείν* *P. Oxyr.* 1031, *κοκκολόγος*, etc., cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-139; 312-316.

<sup>40</sup> Among the anthroponyms derived from plant-names.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Zgusta, *op. cit.*, § 656, p. 240.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also Car. *Μάνδαλος*, Zgusta, *op. cit.*, § 856-4, p. 287.

Mycenaean personal names. To those mentioned above: *ki-du-ro* : *ki-da-ro*; *ko-ku-ro* : *ko-ka-ro* and *ma-du-ro* : *ma-da-ro*, we can also add: *mi-ka-ri-jo* Μικαλίων: Μικύλος (cf. *HPN*, pp. 485 f.) and Μίκιλλος Ἀχαιὸς ἐξ Αἰγᾶς (*IG* II 2843, III cent.); the name *pa<sub>3</sub>-na-ro* KN DI 928<sup>43</sup>, not identified till now, might be brought into connection with Φανύλος and Φάνυλλος (cf. *HPN*, p. 440), or Φαινύλος, Φαίνυλλα (*HPN*, p. 437) and be identified as *Pha(i)nalos*, to φαίνω. Similarly the name *po-ti-ro* KN V 1002, etc., if it is a MN, connected with Φορτύλος (*HPN*, p. 509) to φορτός, might well be *Phortilos*<sup>44</sup>.

*me-tu-ro* KN C 954+.2 is a newly discovered name (cf. J. T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, *Cambridge Colloquium*, p. 62), prob. *Methulos* cf. Μέθυλλος (*IG* I, 933.25, ante a. 446), quoted by *HPN*, p. 506, together with Μέθων (*IG* VII 1190, Tanagra) and Μεθύστας Μεθύσταιος (*IG* IX<sup>2</sup> no. 244.2, Pharsalus, IV cent.). Cf. also Μεθυμναῖος, epiclesis of Dionysos, derived from μέθυ, which denotes the god of wine (Kruse *RE* XV 2, col. 1395) and Μεθύλιος mentioned by Dornseiff-Hansen, p. 236. The word μέθυ in Mycenaean appears in *me-tu-wo-ne-wo*<sup>45</sup> PY Fr 1202. The MN *me-tu-ro* Μέθυλλος is derived from this stem, as a sobriquet. Bechtel in his *Spitznamen*, p. 61, finds that the family of «Trinkern» consists of many names derived from different stems, e. g. Ἀμφορεύς, Λαγυνίων, Μετρητής, Στάμνος, Χώνη, Κώθων, etc. The Mycenaean name *ko-tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* PY Eb 892.1, etc., dat. *ko-tu-ro<sub>2</sub>-ne* Eb 1347.1, Κοτυλίων, -όνει<sup>46</sup>, and perhaps *a-ra-ka-jo*, Landau, *Personennamen: Arakaios*, cf. ἄρα(κ)ην· φιάλην<sup>47</sup> Hsch. are of the same family.

<sup>43</sup> The reading \*56-na-ro (cf. *KT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 65) is equally possible with a-na-ro.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also the identification of Georgiev, *Suppl. I, s. u. po-ko-ro* PY Cn 45.7, etc. \*Φωκύλος, cf. Φωκλίδης.

<sup>45</sup> Μεθύος or Μεθύων νέφων «at the festival of the new wine», Bennett, *Olive Oil Tablets*, p. 42; L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, p. 126; *Interpretation*, pp. 248, 434, but cf. M. D. Petruševski, «Discussions mycénologiques», *ŽA* 12, pp. 309 f. *me-tu-wo-ne-wo* is a place-name Μεθωνέφων.

<sup>46</sup> M. C. Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 343, relates this name to Ugar. *ktr, ktln, ku?-ti-la-na*, but the stem from which κοτύλη is derived is documented in several IE languages (Pers., Got., Slav.), cf. J. Pokorny, *IEW*, s. uu. \*kēt-, \*kot-, and in Greek both appellatives and personal names from this stem are attested: Κότυς, Samothrace, *IG* XII 8. 196; L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, p. 52; *Noms indigènes*, pp. 80, 81, 197; Κότυς Larissa, *IG* IX 2, 737; Melitea, *ibidem* 206 III d.

<sup>47</sup> Ruijgh, *Etudes*, p. 221, relates this name to the pre-Greek place-name Ἀράκυνθος.

*mi-ru-ro* KN Ap 482.3; As 1516.5; Da 1127; X 5913 was identified by Georgiev, *Suppl. s. u.*, as Μέρυλλος with a phonetic change of *e* : *i*, but Μέρυλλος is a hapax, and its reading is not certain, possibly Μένυλλος, cf. Pape-Benseler. *mi-ru-ro* might be connected with Μίλων, cf. *HPN*, p. 499: Μίλων Κροτωνιάτης (VI century), related to μιλ(λ)ός βραδύ, χαῦνος Hsch., cf. also Μιλος (Zgusta, *op. cit.*, p. 315, § 917.3) τὸ μῖλος = μῖλαξ, or μιλός «βραδύς». It is well known that Greek personal names, hypocoristics in -ων alternate with those in -υλος, e. g. Bacchylides' father was called now as Μείδων, now as Μειδύλος<sup>48</sup>, and *mi-ru-ro* *Miluros* < \**Milulos* might also be a similar pair to Μίλων.

*pa-u-ro* KN Da 1196 is explained by Landau, *Personennamen*, as *Pauros* to παῦρος «small». Theoretically the identification is possible, but it cannot be confirmed by the Greek onomastic tradition. Φαῦλος, Φάϋλλος from φαφος<sup>49</sup>, would correspond better to *pa-u-ro*. Φαύλος is a quite frequent name, cf. Φάϋλλος Τεγεάτης (*IG* V 2 38.16, III cent.), Φάϋλλος... Φωκεύς (*SEG* I 198.1, Delphi, c. 285), cf. also *SEG* XIX 42.b III 2 [= *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 955]; *SEG* XXI 72.b 6; *IG* XII 5 8124 (Tenos, III cent.), *IG* VII 2716 Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* II, 14123-14130; Mitsos, «Ἀργολικὴ προσωπογραφία», Ἀθήναι, 1952, p. 180, 3 examples, etc.

*ra-su-ro* PY Eb 1147.1/Ep 212.10; En 659.3 is still without a certain identification<sup>50</sup>. Perhaps \*Λάσυλλος, cf. Λᾶσος, Λασύς, Georgiev, *Lex. s. u.*

*si-ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-ro* KN As 1516.11 looks like a compound name; in the second element the noun φῦλον, -φυλος of *HPN*, p. 459, might be concealed, but the first one seems non-Greek<sup>51</sup>.

*so-u-ro* PY En 609.12, Eo 224.2. Georgiev, *Suppl. s. u.*, Σούρων or cf. ?Σουλία NL, Landau, *Personennamen*, *Souros*? Very likely

<sup>48</sup> For other similar examples, e. g. Πολύων: Πόλυλλος, Θηρύων, etc., cf. M. Leumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 f.

<sup>49</sup> *HPN*, pp. 435 f.

<sup>50</sup> According to *HPN*, Λᾶσος (Ἐρμιονεύς, Her. VII 6 VI cent.) is a short name from Λαφό-σοφος. *ra-su-ro* might also be a short name from a compound like \*Λαφο-συλος > \*Λάσυλλος.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. also *si-ja-ma*, *si-ja-ma-ta*, PN *si-ja-du-we*. Among the Mycenaean personal names we may expect hybrid formations both of Greek and non-Greek elements, as in later times, cf. e. g. *Kali-gostz*, *Ano-gostz*, etc. of Greek and Slavonic elements.

this is a non-Greek name too. It seems that Σούρος (κῆ Σουρίνα) Orchomenos (*IG VII 3207*, cf. *HPN*, p. 543) is late, from the Roman period, Σούρων is a Phoenician (cf. Pape-Benseler) and Σουλος a Phrygian (cf. Zgusta, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

*te-ru-ro* KN Dd 1380+, a new reading by J.-P. Olivier, J. T. Killen and J. Chadwick<sup>52</sup>, written in capital signs by hand 117, obviously a MN in -υλος. It might be connected with the verbal stem *stēr-* «hard, fast, firm», cf. στερεός, στερρός, στέριφος and στηρίζω «make fast». Some personal names from this stem are documented, cf. *HPN*, p. 606: Στήρις Στήριος Miletus 282, from στήρον in στήρα τὰ λίθινα πρόθυρα Hsch. *te-ru-ro Stērulōs* might be a short name from a compound like \*Στηρίλαος similar to Ἐχυλλος: Ἐχέ/ι-λαος, Ἀρχύλος: Ἀρχέ/ι-λαος etc.

] *tu-ro* PY Cn 702.3 is perhaps *a-ta]-tu-ro* from the same series.

*wi-du-ro* KN B 79.2 (? cf. Lin. A: *wi-du-ru*). Georgiev, *Suppl. s. u.* Ἰδύλος, *Documents*: cf. Ἰδυρος name of a river. Georgiev is probably right. Several personal names are derived from φειδο-, -φειδης, φείδος (cf. *HPN*, p. 149): Φεῖδυσ (Epiros, Coll. 1346.5, III cent.), Ἰδύλος (Opus, *IG IX 1* no. 287.1), Εἶδων (*IG II 5* no. 1233 b III.10, IV cent.), Βειδύλος (*Inscr. Cret.* III no. IV 10.2), and we can admit in Mycenaean a F(ε)ιδύλος too.

*wi-su-ro* KN Dd 1284. Both Georgiev, *Lex. s. u.*, and Landau, *Personennamen*, suggested \*Φισυλος related to \*Φισ- and Landau, *Personennamen*, pp. 162, 209, tried to explain the second element with the verb συλλάω «to plunder». But Ἰσυλλος is a documented name, derived from φισο- to φισφος, Att. ἴσος cf. Fick-Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 130: Ἰσυλλος (Tanagra, *IG VII* no. 1040, III cent.), *HPN*, p. 227-8: Ἰσυλλος... Ἐπιδαύριος (*IG IV 950.1*, III cent.). Ἰσύλ(λ)ος is a short form from a compound like φισό-λαος (*IG VII 2717*), and Myc. *wi-su-ro* may be identified with Ἰσύλος (without asterisks).

<sup>52</sup> The reading can be proved from the photographs of the joined fragments Dd 1380+Dv 7151 (cf. J. T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, *Cambridge Colloquium*, p. 70) in the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room at Cambridge. I am most obliged to Dr. John Chadwick for giving me the opportunity of working in that Room from 6th of January till 15th of February 1969.

§ 6. The identification of the names in *-u-ra* is almost impossible. Some of them are very likely non-Greek, e. g.:

*da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra* KN V 479.3, cf. also *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra-zo*, which occurs in the same list V 479.1 and Dv 1173; *ki-nu-ra* PY Qa 1301, perhaps Κινύρας (cf. Κινύρης *Il.* 11.20,) related to κινύρα «a stringed instrument played with the hand», to Hebr. *kinnōr* (cf. Frisk, *GEW s. u.*) and *ra-su-ra* MY V 569.3, J. Chadwick, *MT III*, p. 65: non-Greek name (cf. *ra-su-ro*).

Only in *ko-pu-ra* KN Lc 5998 the suffix -υλλα might be supposed, but the status of this name is not clear. In the Lc series the words are usually technical terms, e. g.: *ko-u-ra*, *tu-na-no*, *to-u-ka*, etc., or ethnics: *ku-do-ni-ja*, *ri-jo-ni-ja*, *tu-ri-si-ja*. *ko-pu-ra* is parallel to *a-ra-ka-te-ja* and *e-ro-pa-ke-ja*, which are women's trades<sup>53</sup>. If the same word is contained in KN V 958.4 ??*ko-]pu-ra*, then it might be a personal name *Korpulla(s)*, related to καρπός < \**qr̥pos* with a reflex -or- < *r̥*, cf. κρώπιον; Καρφυλλίδης, Κάρπων, Καρπίνος, Κάρπος etc. (*HPN*, p. 234).

§ 7. The personal names in *-u-ri-jo/-u-ro<sub>2</sub>* were recently discussed by Ruijgh, *Etudes*, pp. 150, 187, 275, and here only few notes can be added. Of 10 examples with this ending only three contain -υρο-: *a-ku-ri-jo* KN As 609.3, probably *Argurios*; *sa-u-ri-jo* KN As 1516.21 Σάυριος (-ίων), patronym. of Σαῦρος and *tu-ri-jo*, poss. Θύριος (-ίων), cf. Πύλαιος.

*k-ro<sub>2</sub>* KN U 4478.17; PY Ea 814; gen. *ku-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo* KN B 822. *Documents*, Landau, *Personennamen: Kurios, Kuriōi, Kurioio*; Georgiev, *Suppl. II*: Κύλλος, Ruijgh, *Etudes*, p. 275: Κύλλος (cf. κυλλός) like *ko-ro* Χῶλος. Both Κύριος and Κύλλος are possible, but if we take into consideration the place where these two relatively late names appear, priority is to be given to Κύλλος. Κύριος is attested at Mytilene (*IG XII 2*, 323, cf. *HPN*, p. 513), and Κύλλος is more widespread: there are examples from Crete: Κύλλων (Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.* I, p. XV) and Κυλίας (*ibidem* I, pp. XXXI, 30), as well as from Argos: Κυλλίας (*IG IV 618*, II 2). Besides the examples from different places (Bechtel, *Spitznamen*, p. 30; *HPN*, p. 492; Robert, *Noms indigènes*, pp. 253 f.), the

<sup>53</sup> Cf. J.-P. Olivier, *Kadmos* 8, p. 51.

hypocoristic Κύλλος appears at Hypata *IG IX 2*, 15.4,7; 24.4, and at Lamia Κύλος *IG IX 2*, 62.14. Therefore the identification Κύλλος is to be preferred.

All the other 6 examples are very likely in -υλ(λ)ιο-:

*au-ri-jo* KN As 604.2; Da 1082, 1116; Dv 1103: Αὔλιος, Αὐλίων see above *s. u. a-~~pa~~-u-ro*.

*ko-tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* nom. PY Eb 892.1; Ep 301.13; Jn 431.2; Cn 436.6; Eb 839.1; dat. *ko-tu-ro<sub>2</sub>-ne* Eb 1347.1 Κοτυλίων, -όνει, see above *s. u. me-tu-ro*.

*pa-ku-ro<sub>2</sub>* PY An 218.10; Jn 750.8. Of several suggestions (cf. Landau, *Personennamen*) the most probable identification seems Πάχυλλος, Ruijgh, *Etudes*, p. 275: \*Φαχυλλος from παχύς < \*φαχύς.

*u-ro<sub>2</sub>* KN Db 5367 Ὑλλος (*Il.* 20.392; *IG II 983*, I 76, III cent.), cf. also *u-re-u* Ὑλ(λ)εῦς, *u-ra-jo* Ὑλαῖος to ὕλη.

*wa-du-ri-jo* PY Jn 725.24 Ἠδύλιος (-ίων), cf. Ruijgh, *Etudes*, p. 150.

*wi-nu-ri-jo* PY An 610.8. It is not certain whether it is a place-name, ethnic, profession, or personal name.

*wi-tu-ri-jo* KN X 770, *Witulios*, -ιῶν, cf. Ἴτυλος Ruijgh, *loc. cit.*

§ 8. Along with -ιο-, in Classical Greek the suffix -υλο- is sometimes combined with other suffixes too, e. g.: -ιδ-, cf. γογγυλῖς: γογγύλος (Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 216 f.), Πραυλλῖς, etc., and there are some back-formations from -υλο- > -υς, type Ξένυς: Ξενύλος, Κριθύς: Κριθύλος, (cf. *HPN*, p. 52, 482; M. Leumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 f.). There are also hypocoristics in -ῦς, gen. -ῦδος, e. g. Γερῦς (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 33*, I 17, V cent.) to Γέρων (cf. Bechtel, *Namenstudien*, Halle 1917, p. 15; *HPN*, pp. 478 f.), but they are probably not connected directly with the names in -υλο- (cf. Locker, *Glotta* 32, pp. 88 f.).

In Mycenaean there is not enough evidence for the conglutination of -υλο- with other suffixes besides -ιο-. The MN *pu-ri* is the only example where -υλις might be expected (cf. Georgiev, *Lex. s. u.*: Φύλλις), but it also might be identified with Πύρις (*Documents*, Landau, *Personennamen*, A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca*, pp. 40, 51).

In Mycenaean Greek there are both men's and women's names in *-u* and it is difficult to say whether they (especially the women's names) are all Greek or pre-Greek, since a great number of names in *-u* occur in Linear A, which cannot be explained as Greek (cf. A. Heubeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-39). However there are two names which can be related to the corresponding forms in *-ulo/uro*: *ko-ku* KN DI 1240 Κόκκυς: *ko-ku-ro* Κοκκύλος and *ra-ku-* KN V 653.3: *ra-ku-ro*, perhaps like Βάθυς: Βαθύλος, cf. also Φεΐδυς to Myc. *wi-du-ro* Φ(ε)ιδύλος, etc.

§ 9 A. It is believed that the suffix *-lo-* in pre-Hellenic times was in extensive use, and this has left traces in Greek and in some directions it «even shows a modest productivity»<sup>54</sup>. Its origin is not disputable. It is an inherited IE suffix which appears in all IE languages. But with regard to the meaning and function, as well as the development and use of this suffix in Greek, there are some ambiguities. In some IE languages (Slav., Arm., Toch.) verbal adjectives of the type Slav. *bylz* are formed with this suffix. In Greek only rare adjectival forms in *-lo-* (type μαινόλης) have the character of participles<sup>55</sup>.

The most characteristic function of *-υλο-* in Classical Greek is the formation of diminutives. At first sight it seems that the diminutive function, which is noticeable in other IE languages (Lat., Got., Lith.) had already developed in the common IE. But the special studies of Wrede<sup>56</sup> on the diminutives in German, that of F. Conrad<sup>57</sup> in Latin, and E. Locker<sup>58</sup> in Greek, show that the diminutive meaning of the *-υλο-* suffix developed in historical times from the personal names, hypocoristics, which very likely existed in the common IE, and in meaning are closely connected with diminutives.

It is noticeable that in Homer there are only some adjectives in *-υλο-*, e. g. ἀγκύλος, καμπύλος, στρογγύλος, αἴσυλος etc.

<sup>54</sup> Buck-Petersen, *Rev. Index*, p. 354.

<sup>55</sup> Chantraine, *Formation*, p. 237.

<sup>56</sup> Ferd. Wrede, *Die Deminutiva im Deutschen*, Marburg 1908.

<sup>57</sup> «Die Deminutiva im Latein», *Glotta* 20, 1931, pp. 75-84.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. n. 10.

which do not have any diminutive meaning. The first nouns with this suffix appear in Aristophanes, but still without a diminutive meaning. A certain number of ancient nouns with this suffix are technical terms: κόνδυλος, δάκτυλος, σφόνδυλος (Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 239 f.). The nouns in -υλος with a diminutive meaning, mostly animal and plant names, are of later times, e. g. ἄρκυλος a small ἄρκτος, κογχύλη a small κόγχη.

The question of how this meaning was developed in Greek has been discussed by Locker (*op. cit.*), and M. Leumann (*op. cit.*). It is quite acceptable that the diminutive meaning of the suffix -υλο- was transferred to the appellatives from the short personal names which originate from the earliest times (cf. Skrt. *Bhanula-h*, OGall. *Teutalus*, etc.) and not *vice versa*. The personal names, hypocoristics, in -υλ(λ)ο- are also the main source for the development of the typical diminutive suffix -ύλλιον<sup>59</sup>. The formations with this suffix (μειρακύλλιον, etc.) especially frequent in the family life<sup>60</sup>, do not appear in Homer<sup>61</sup>. The first examples of appellatives in -ύλλιον occur in Aristophanes.

B. Comparing the use of the suffix -υλ(λ)ο- in Classical and Mycenaean Greek, we can note the following:

a) It is remarkable that in Mycenaean appellatives in -υλο- and -ύλλιον do not appear, as in the earliest alphabetical Greek texts. Only some adjectives might be discovered in the personal names. *ka-pu-ro* καμπύλος, which appears in Homer (*Il.* 3.17, etc.) and *pa-ku-ro*<sub>2</sub> παχυλός, documented later (Arist. *EN* 1094b 20) are especially characteristic.

On the other hand there are other appellatives in -υρο-, cf. *a-ro-u-ra* ἄρουρα, *a-ku-ro* ἄργυρος, *po-pu-ro*<sub>2</sub> πορφύρεος, which have parallels in the earliest use of this suffix<sup>62</sup>.

b) There are about 20 personal names in -υλ(λ)ο-, -υλιο- which are identified with more or less certainty, and probably

<sup>59</sup> M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 243, 250.

<sup>60</sup> For the doubling of the consonants in the words of the family life see P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris 1956, p. 16; cf. also W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in ιον*, Weimar 1910, pp. 256 f.

<sup>61</sup> It was explained (cf. M. Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 242) as a stylistic avoidance of forms of the family life in epic.

<sup>62</sup> Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 221 ff.

there are some others among the unidentified ones; thus, of about 50 examples in *-u-ro/a*, *-u-ri-jo* at least one half contain the suffix *-l-*. The percentage of *-υλο* vis-à-vis *-υρο-* names is nearly the same as in Classical Greek.

c) The Mycenaean personal names in *-υλ(λ)ο-*, *υλ(λ)ιο-*, evidently hypocoristics and short names, as well as patronymics, are derived:

α) From adjectival or noun stems in *-u*, e. g.: *wa-du-ri-jo* < *ῥάδυ-*, *pa-ku-ro<sub>2</sub>* < *παχυ-*, (cf. Skrt. *bahú-*), *me-tu-ro* < *μέθυ*, *\*medhu*, *wi-tu-ri-jo* < *ῥίτυς* «edge of the shield», cf. Lat. *vitus* and perhaps *wi-su-ro* < *ῥισῥ(ο)-* (cf. Skrt. *viṣu*) with a vocalized *ῥ* in front of *-l-*, *pa-u-ro* < *ῥαῥ(ο)-*, cf. *ῥαῦσις*, *-εως*, *ῥαυστήρ*, *ῥαύω*.

β) From other nominal stems: *ke-ku-ro* < *κερκ-ο-*, *ko-ku-ro* < *κοκκ-ο-*, *mi-ru-ro* < *μιλ(λ)-ο-*, and perhaps *ia-su-ro*, a short name from a compound such as *\*Λαφο-συλος*.

γ) From verbal stems: *a-ta-tu-ro* < *ῥάντ-αιτέω*, *da-ra-mu-ro* < *δραμεῖν*, *ka-ru-ro* < *κάμπτω*, *te-ru-ro* < *\*stēr-*, *στηρίζω*, *wi-du-ro* < *ῥειδ*, *-ῥιδ-*, shortened from a compound such as *(F)ειδεσίλαος*.

δ) There are some names related to nominal and verbal stems with the original IE suffix *-l-* which originates from IE: *au-ri-jo*, *a-ῥa-u-ro* to *αῦλο-*, *ko-tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* to *κοτύλη*, cf. OSl. *kotzlz*, *ku-ro<sub>2</sub>* to *κυλλός* < *\*(s)kel-*, *\*kul-*, cf. *κυλίνδω*, *ma-du-ro*, (cf. Skrt. *mandurá-?*), *?-ῥu<sub>2</sub>-ro* perhaps to *φύλον*, OSl. *bylz*, *u-ro<sub>2</sub>* to *ύλη*.

d) It seems that some alternations of the preceding vowel in front of *-l-*: *-u-:-a-*; *-u-:-i-* are noticeable in Mycenaean, the same as in Classical Greek, cf. *ko-ku-ro* : *ko-ka-ro* *Κοκκυ/αλος*, *ma-du-ro* : *ma-da-ro* *Mandu/alos?*, *mi-ka-ri-jo* *Μικ(κ)αλίων*: *Μικύλος*, *ῥa<sub>3</sub>-na-ro* : *\*Φα(ι)ναλος*: *Φα(ι)νύλος*, *ῥo-ti-ro* *\*Φορτιλος*: *Φορτύλος*, etc.

e) Personal names derived from compounds with a divine name as a first element, which are frequent in Classical Greek, do not occur among the names of this group. But theophoric names are extremely rare among other types of Mycenaean personal names.

§ 10. In spite of all the difficulties in the interpretation of the Mycenaean personal names, a large number of evident Greek names can be identified. The Mycenaean personal names, because of their great number (two thirds of all the Mycenaean words), represent an important source for the Mycenaean-Greek lexical stock, although the data extracted from them are meagre and often uncertain. From the *Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary* by J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach one can see that many of the Mycenaean Greek stems are represented by personal names with more examples than with appellatives, and there are stems known exclusively from personal names.

The study of the Mycenaean personal names is of great importance not only for the Mycenaean Greek vocabulary, but also for the morphology, word-formation and historical development of Greek. From the analysis of the personal names with the suffix  $-\upsilon\lambda(\lambda)\omicron-$ ,  $-\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron-$  one can see that, despite all the differences, the Mycenaean personal names together with the classical ones represent one indivisible whole. These names, as well as those in  $-\iota\lambda(\lambda)\omicron-$ ,  $-\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ <sup>63</sup>, give us reason to conclude that in Mycenaean many short names and hypocoristics were in use. They are concealed in the great number of two- and three-syllabic names, in the interpretation of which we should not always expect foreign names.

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. A. Heubeck, *IF* 64, 1959, pp. 119-126.