

THE MYCENAEAN CONTRIBUTION TO GREEK ETYMOLOGY

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Note: In this article, tablet references are given by site names (KN = Knossos, PY = Pylos, MY = Mycenae) followed by the alphabetic prefixes used to classify tablets, with the number of the tablet itself, e.g. PY Ta 641. A + after a reference indicates that the word quoted occurs in more than one tablet of the same series. The Mycenaean forms are quoted in Roman transcription, with hyphens dividing off each syllabic group, in accordance with the internationally followed 'Wingspread' convention; reconstructed Mycenaean forms are given in Roman script, without hyphens, to distinguish them on the one hand from the transliterated forms, on the other from attested Greek words, which are quoted in Greek script. The abbreviation Myc. stands for Mycenaean.

In references to books and articles, the full title is given, except where the abbreviation of the periodical is generally known or self-evident. The following abbreviations of works of reference have been used:

Boisacq = Boisacq, É.: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4th edition, Heidelberg 1950.

Docs. = Ventris, M. and Chadwick, J.: *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956.

Ernout-Meillet = Ernout, A. and Meillet, A.: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris 1932.

Ét. Myc. = *Études mycéniennes*, Actes du colloque international sur les textes mycéniens, ed. M. Lejeune, Paris 1956.

Frisk = Frisk, H.: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954 (unfortunately not yet complete).

Hofmann = Hofmann, J. B.: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen*, München 1949.

MGV = Chadwick, J. and Baumbach, L.: *The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*, *Glotta* 41 (1963) pp. 157-271.

Walde = Walde, A.: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd edition, Heidelberg 1910.

One of the most valuable contributions of the decipherment of the Linear B script to Greek studies, is the light which it throws on the etymology of a number of Greek words. It is for this reason that I have found justification for including in this article material which has already been discussed elsewhere, so that the most important evidence may be readily available under one head. Only etymologies have been discussed which have had to be

revised as a result of the Mycenaean evidence, where the evidence itself is reasonably reliable and where identifications with later Greek words have found fairly general acceptance. Where a previously accepted etymology may seem to need revision on the grounds of a personal name alone, this evidence has not been given, since the meaning of personal names cannot be sufficiently controlled by the context, and they are therefore most liable to alternative interpretations.

At first sight the Mycenaean contribution to Greek etymology does not seem to be very spectacular, as in the majority of cases the evidence of the tablets merely serves to confirm the conjectures reached by etymologists on the grounds of comparative study; in these cases it proves the soundness of much of the earlier work. Examples which immediately spring to mind are $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ and $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, where the F postulated on the grounds of the Latin loan-words *oliua* and *clauis* is confirmed by the Mycenaean forms *e-ra-wa*, *e-ra₃-wo* and *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, interpreted as *elaiwai*, *elaiwon* and *klāwiphoros* respectively.¹ In other cases, reconstructions formerly rejected by most etymologists have been vindicated by the evidence of the tablets, as in the case of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, where the proposed connexion with Tokharian A *puk*, B *po*, plural *ponia* 'all'² has been confirmed by the absence of the labio-velar in the Mycenaean forms interpreted as forms of the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, thus excluding the possibility of derivation from the stem **k_uant-*.³ Also, the conjunction *o-te* in PY Ta 711 confirms the reconstruction of a suffix *-te* in I.E. as proposed by Brugmann,⁴ and shows that the conjunction agrees with Cypriot *o-te* (Schwyzer, *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* no. 679) and has no connexion with the enclitic $\tau\epsilon$, Myc. *qe*.

In a number of important cases, the evidence of the tablets necessitates a revision of the generally accepted etymology. There are, for instance, the divine names $\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\varsigma$ and $\eta\rho\alpha$, and connected with the latter, probably also $\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$. I confine myself here to the linguistic evidence. The etymology of the name Hermes has long been a matter of dispute (see Boisacq, Frisk). The most commonly accepted etymology has been a derivation of the name from $\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ 'cairn', as for instance by Wilamowitz 'nach dem Pfeiler der ihn vertritt'⁵ and Nilsson 'der vom Steinhaufen'.⁶ In the Mycenaean form the name of the god appears as *e-ma-a₂* (PY Nn 1357, Tn 316, Un 219). In Tn 316 he appears in context with other divine names in the dative,

1. See MGV s.v. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$, $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

2. Meillet in S. Levi, *Fragments de textes Koutchéens*, p. 38; see also Pedersen, *Tocharisch*, p. 127 f.; Chadwick, *Athenaeum* 46, p. 303; Heubeck, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 63 (1958), p. 136 (hereafter referred to as *IF*); C. Milani, *Aevum* 34 (1960), p. 153; P. Chantraine, *Rev. de Philologie* 36 (1962), p. 10 f.

3. See Boisacq, s.v. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$; for Myc. forms see MGV, s.v. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.

4. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II,² 2, p. 732 (Boisacq).

5. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Glaube der Hellenen* I, pp. 159, 285.

6. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, pp. 474 f.

such as *di-we* and *e-ra*, as the recipient of offerings consisting of a gold cup and a man. In the other cases he is not so obviously divine, apparently being excused a contribution of flax in Nn 1357, and appearing in a list of divine and human names in Un 219. However, the identification with Hermes has found fairly general acceptance.⁷ The absence of the initial F- in the Mycenaean form would disprove the etymology from ἕρμα, if this is from **yers-mn̄* (Boisacq, Hofmann) or **syer-mn̄* (Frisk); but Chantraine argues that the lack of F- does not necessarily preclude the connexion with ἕρμα as the F- postulated for the latter is by no means certain.⁸ Elsewhere he argues that the word is not I.E. at all.⁹ Attempts have been made to give the word a near-Eastern origin (though still remotely I.E.), as by Kretschmer¹⁰ who postulates a connexion with the Lydian river Hermus, and with Lycian personal names in *Erm-*, *Arm-*. The Greek origin of the god has been called in question by writers on Greek religion also,¹¹ and in our attempts to provide an I.E. etymology for his name, 'we must not forget the possibility . . . that his name is not Greek at all' (Rose). The Mycenaean form brings us no nearer to an undisputed etymology of the name, but the lack of initial F- at least shows that any etymology connecting the name with Skt. *vārsma*, 'height, hill', Lat. *uerrūca* 'wart', also 'height', or Lith. *svarūs* 'heavy', Germ. *schwer* should be abandoned.

A F was also formerly postulated for the name Hera, from **HpFa*, showing connexion with Lat. *seruare*, Av. *hauruaiti*; according to this etymology, Hera would mean the 'Mistress', the 'Protectress', as Ἥρωσ would be the 'Protector'.¹² The presence of the F was supported by the form **EpFaōiōiς*, an ethnic derivative of **Hpa* in an Elean inscription,¹³ though doubts had been cast on the correctness of the spelling by the absence of the F in Arcado-Cyprian inscriptions, e.g. Cypr. **Epai*¹⁴, and by the retention of the *-ā* in Attic **Hpa* (contrast Att. κόρη < **κόρFη*). The Mycenaean form *e-ra* (PY Tn 316), in context with *di-we* and other divine names, disproves the proposed etymology from **HpFa* (Frisk).¹⁵ Similarly, the F is absent from *ti-ri-se-ro-we* (PY Fr 1204, Tn 316) interpreted as dative *Trisērōei*,¹⁶ probably the name of a minor deity derived from Ἥρωσ, in the tablets the recipient of oil and a gold cup. Attempts have subsequently been made to provide a new etymology for **Hpa* and Ἥρωσ, connecting

7. *Docs.*, p. 288; Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford 1963 (*Interpretation*), pp. 263 f.

8. Chantraine, *Rev. de Philologie*, 31 (1957), p. 244.

9. Chantraine, *L'Ant. Class.* 22, p. 69.

10. P. Kretschmer, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I, p. 4.

11. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V, pp. 1, 8; H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, p. 146.

12. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* I, p. 237.

13. Schwyzer, *op. cit.* no. 413.

14. Schwyzer, *op. cit.* no. 681.4.

15. *Docs.*, p. 289.

16. *Docs.* l.c.; Hemberg, *Eranos* 52 (1954), pp. 172-190.

them with the root **iēr- / iōr-*, found in Gk. ὄρα, Germ. *Jahr* etc.¹⁷ Tempting as this reconstruction may be, it has not been established beyond doubt, and it may well prove that both the goddess and her name, as well as the cognate ἦρος belong to the pre-Greek substratum of belief and language, and that all attempts to provide them with an I.E. etymology are in vain.

As the above examples show, the commonly accepted etymologies have had to be rejected on the grounds of the absence of the F in the Mycenaean forms. Since the F seems to be noted punctiliously in the Mycenaean script, its presence or absence there can be taken as a fairly sure indication of the form of the word at this early period. An important example where the absence of the F has necessitated a revision of the etymology is the preposition ἔνεκα, formerly derived from ἔν- *Fέκα or ἔν- *Fέκα.¹⁸ The use of the word *e-ne-ka* with the genitive in Mycenaean (KN As 821, PY Ae 303, An 37, Ea 805, Eq 59), whatever its exact meaning, makes it hardly likely that the identification with the later ἔνεκα is mistaken, particularly as the group *-nw-* seems always to be written in Mycenaean (cf. *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*, *pe-ru-si-nwa* etc., *ke-se-nu-wo* etc.).¹⁹ Hence the identification has been accepted by most Mycenologists; see in particular the article by Chantraine, who, after earlier doubts, accepts the identification and connects the word with the root of ἐνεγκεῖν (**ə₁n-ek-*), explaining the form as an adverb of the type κάρτα, λίπα, and the rough breathing as analogy of ἔκητι or perhaps rather οὔνεκα (cf. τοὔνεκα without aspiration).²⁰

Another identification which, if correct, would demand a revision of the hitherto accepted etymology, is that of the occupational terms *ra-pte* (PY An 172, Ea 28+), plural *ra-pte-re* (KN Fh 1056, V 159, PY An 209+) and *ra-pi-ti-ra₂* (PY Ab 555) as forms derived from the verb ῥάπτω. The etymology proposed for this word is from **urp-iō* (Boisacq, Hofmann), giving as cognate Lith. *verpiù* 'spin'. The identification of the Mycenaean forms with ῥάπτω has been attacked on the grounds that the meaning of *ra-pte* as 'one who sews' is by no means certain,²¹ and other interpretations have been proposed. So F. Adrados and J.-P. Olivier connect the words with λάμπω.²² The criticism of Winter²¹ takes no account of a tablet found at Pylos in 1957 (Sb 1315) on which the form *ra-pte-ri-ja* occurs. It is an

17. So Schroeder, *Gymnasium* 63 (1956), p. 65 n. 21, 67; Hera as 'Jahresgöttin'; Van Windekens, *Glotta* 36 (1958), pp. 309–11, *Minos* 6 (1958), pp. 158–61, *Die Sprache* 6 (1960), p. 213: 'die einjährige, die junge Kuh'; Pötscher, *Rheinisches Museum* 104 (1961), p. 304: 'die (zur Ehe) Reife'.

18. Brugmann, *IF* 17 (1912), pp. 1 ff.; Boisacq; Frisk, who mentions the Myc. form, but without comment; Bechtel, *Lex.* 115 f.

19. See MGV, s.v. πέρυσσι, ζένος.

20. Chantraine, *Rev. de Phil.* 36 (1962), pp. 15–22; cf. Whatmough, *Class. Phil.* 54 (1959), p. 125.

21. Winter, *AJP* 79 (1958), p. 206.

22. Adrados, *Emerita* 24 (1956), p. 407; Olivier, *A propos d'une 'liste' de desservants de sanctuaire dans les documents en linéaire B de Pylos* (Brussels 1960), pp. 79, 96.

epithet of ἤναια in a list of words concerned with harness, and has been interpreted as *rhapṭēriai* 'with saddlers' work'²³ or 'stitched'.²⁴ Further, there is the form *e-ra-pe-me-na* as a description of textiles in KN L 647, interpreted as *errapmena* 'sewn', which also lacks the F. These forms, which cannot easily be separated from *ra-pte*, *ra-pi-ti-ra*₂, make the identification with ῥάπτω more probable. There would seem to be no reason to reject the identification on the grounds of the spelling of the personal name *wa-ra-pi-si-ro* (MY Au 102; interpreted as *Wrapsilos* and derived by Heubeck from ῥάπτω)²⁵ in view of the uncertainty inherent in the interpretation of personal names.

In a number of cases the check on the etymology of a Greek word is provided by the presence or absence of the labio-velar in the Mycenaean form, since it has long been established that Mycenaean has a special series for the labio-velars. Most scholars now also accept the value *qa* for the sign formerly transcribed *pa*₂, since it has become clear that original labials and labio-velars were not confused before *-a*.²⁶ Notable cases here are *πᾶς* (see above, p. 2) and *πάλαι*.²⁷ The early identification of *pa-ra-jo*, *pa-ra-ja* with *παλαιός* in a number of tablets was at first strongly attacked both on etymological grounds (*παλαιός* from **q^wal-*, cf. τῆλε (Boisacq, Hofmann)²⁸) and on grounds of context in the PY Cn tablets,²⁹ but it has now gained almost general acceptance.³⁰ It is found in the tablets as an epithet of men, textiles, chariot-frames, wheels and reins, and perhaps also as abbreviation *pa* applied to women and sheep at Knossos. It is also contrasted with *ne-wa* 'new', as in PY Sa 787 *to-sa pa-ra-ja we-je-ke-a*₂ and Sa 843 *to-sa we-je-ke-a*₂ *ne-wa*, both with ideogram representing wheel.³¹ In the PY Cn tablets, where the meaning 'old' does not seem to fit the context, it is possible that *pa-ra-jo* represents another word, but for the other cases the opposition of *pa-ra-ja* to *ne-wa* seems to put the identification beyond all doubt.

Another example where the presence of the labio-velar in the Mycenaean form enables us to reconstruct a more certain etymology, is found in the word φέρβω. It was hitherto impossible to be certain of its original form, as tentative identification with words in other languages (<**bher-b-*, see Boisacq, s.v. φέρβω) was by no means certain. The presence of the labio-velar

23. Chadwick, *Minutes of the Minoan Linear B Seminar of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 25/5/58; see also M. Lang, *AJA* 62 (1958), p. 191.

24. Palmer, *Interpretation*, p. 328.

25. Heubeck, *IF* 64 (1959), pp. 119 ff.

26. Heubeck, *IF* 63 (1958), pp. 113-138; Chadwick, *Athenaenm* 46, p. 302.

27. See MG V s.v. *πάλαι* and Preface, p. 159.

28. Heubeck, *IF* 63 (1958), pp. 136 f.; *Die Sprache* 4 (1958), p. 90.

29. Palmer, *Gnomon* 29 (1957), pp. 569 f.; Winter, *AJP* 79 (1958), p. 206, n.5; Doria, *Interpretazioni di testi micenei* II, Trieste 1958, p. 22.

30. *Docs.*, p. 403; Heubeck, *Gnomon* 32 (1960), p. 669; Palmer, *Interpretation*, pp. 441 f.

31. M. Lang, *AJA* 63 (1959), p. 131.

in the forms *po-qa* (KN Gv 862, PY Un 138), an annotation to olives, probably = *phorg^wā* 'food', *po-qe-wi-ja* (PY Sb 1315), *po-qe-wi-ja-i* (An 1282) in context with reins and chariots, probably *phorg^weiai* = φορβεία, and *i-po-po-qa-i* (PY Fn 1192) interpreted as *hippophorg^woi'i* 'horse-pasturers', enables us to reconstruct **bherg^w-* as the base of this word.³²

A tempting interpretation which has, however, not been established beyond all doubt, points to the identification of the verb ἄλέω with the root **mel-* and its Ablaut forms **mol-*, **ml-*, which are at the base of words in many I.E. languages connected with grinding, as Lat. *molo*, Early Irish *melim*, Goth. *malam*, Arm. *malem* 'crush', Gk. μύλη; Gk. μύλλω only in sens. obs. The Greek verb ἄλέω, also ἄλευρον, are usually connected with words in other I.E. languages meaning 'flour', as Arm. *alewr*, M. Ind. *ātā* etc. (see Boisacq, Frisk). In Mycenaean, the forms which may show the **mel-* root are *me-re-u-ro* (PY Un 718), a commodity in a list of offerings, interpreted as *meleuron* 'flour' (cf. ἄλευρον, dial. μάλευρον),³³ and *me-reti-ri-ja* (PY An 62+), a description of women, interpreted as *meletriai* 'corn-grinders' (though not without an element of doubt).³⁴ If these forms have been correctly identified, it is likely that the Greek verb ἄλέω (from the **ml-* grade of the root) is to be connected with the 'mill' words in other I.E. languages and in Greek itself, which is a more economical hypothesis than to seek cognates from another root such as that underlying M. Ind. *ātā* where the correspondence is not so clear. The dialect form μάλευρον could also then be explained as contamination of ἄλευρον and **μέλευρον*.

In some cases, the Mycenaean evidence suggests that more than one root has been confused in certain classical Greek words. Several forms in Mycenaean have been identified with the root of τρέπω, though not with absolute certainty. First there is *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* (PY Eq 213), in the heading to a tablet recording amounts of seed. In the context it seems to be a middle/passive participle agreeing with the personal name *a-ko-so-ta*, probably *Axotas*, which has in its turn been taken as the subject of *o-wi-de* 'thus A. saw'. The participle has been interpreted as *troq^weiomenos* from τροπέω, but with uncertain sense: Ventris-Chadwick tentatively suggest 'on his tour of inspection',³⁵ while Palmer suggests *troq^weomenos* 'causing to plough' or *stroq^wheomenos* 'on a tour of inspection'.³⁶ There is also the form *to-ro-qa* (KN Od 563) in obscure context, interpreted as *troq^won*,³⁷

32. Palmer, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 2 (1955), p. 38 (hereafter referred to as *BICS*); Lejeune, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne* I, Paris 1958, (*Mém.* I), p. 310; Chadwick, *Athenaeum* 46, p. 303.

33. *Docs.*, pp. 284, 399; Palmer, *Interpretation*, p. 216.

34. *Docs.*, pp. 158, 399; Chadwick, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1954, p. 14; Chantraine, *Ét. Myc.*, p. 101; Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

35. *Docs.*, pp. 268 f.

36. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

37. *Docs.*, p. 410; Lejeune, *Mém.* I, p. 309.

and the personal name *e-u-to-ro-qa* (PY Jn 478), possibly *Eutroq^{wos}*,³⁸ which alone would be insufficient as evidence, but can be used in conjunction with the other forms. Possibly connected is also *to-qi-de* (PY Ta 642+) with its adjectival derivatives *to-qi-de-jo/ja* (Ta 709, Ta 715) and *to-qi-de-we-sa* (Ta 711), which would be formed from the zero grade of the root with *-or-* from *-r-*. It is found as a decorative element on furniture and has been interpreted as 'spiral'.³⁹ If these forms have been correctly identified with the root of *τρέπω*, it seems to be necessary to reject the connexion with Skt. *trápate* 'be ashamed', O. Lat. *trepit*, usually explained as *uertit* = Gk. *τρέπει* (see Walde, Ernout-Meillet) and to accept the proposed connexion with Lat. *torqueō* (Schwyzer, Meillet). Further support may be given to the etymology with the labio-velar by the synonyms *ἄτροπος/ἀτρεκής*, and by the entry in Hesychius, Cyrp. *εὐτρόσσεσθαι · ἐπιστρέφεσθαι* with Cyrp. *εὐ-* for *ἐπι-* and *-σσ-* from *-q^{wi-}*.⁴⁰ The root **treq^{w-}* would then replace **trep-* as the base of Greek *τρέπω*. On the other hand, there is the possibility that these two roots have been confused in classical Greek. If that is so, the connection with Skt. *trápate*, Lat. *trepit* on the one hand, and Latin *torqueō* on the other, could be retained.

The Mycenaean evidence is further complicated by other forms showing a labio-velar which might possibly be connected with the above. J. Kerscheneiner, followed by A. Heubeck,⁴¹ interprets *to-ro-qa-jo-me-no* as *tropheio-meno-*, participle from **τροφέω* from root **dhreg^wh-*,⁴² to which Heubeck attaches the meaning 'gewachsen, geerntet'. He further connects with this word forms like *to-ro-qa* (KN Fh 358+) and *ku-su-to-ro-qa* (KN B 817, PY Ec 411, Er 880). *to-ro-qa*, a word used to describe oil, is by most scholars derived from the root of *τρέφω* (**dhreg^wh-*), in the sense of 'food', 'for consumption'⁴³ or 'Ernte'.⁴⁴ The problem of *ku-su-to-ro-qa* is rather more difficult. It is used to introduce summations and the meaning is something like 'aggregate', closely approximating to the meaning of later *συστροφή*. Heubeck derives this word also from the root of *τρέφω*, as a compound of *to-ro-qa* in the sense of 'Gesamtnahrung' or 'Gesamternte',⁴⁴ while most other scholars connect it with *στρέφω*.⁴⁵ Either the derivation of *συστροφή* from *στρέφω* is to be abandoned, or the etymology of *στρέφω* from **strebh-* should be revised. As there are no really satisfactory cognates showing the

38. This could also be *Eutroq^whos* from **dhreg^wh-*; see Heubeck, *IF* 63 (1958), p. 123.
39. *Docs.*, p. 336.

40. *Docs.*, p. 410; Palmer, *BICS* 2 (1955), p. 44.

41. J. Kerscheneiner, *Münchener Studien* 6 (1955), p. 61; Heubeck, *IF* 63 (1958), pp. 119 ff.

42. Earlier proposed by Meillet, see Boisacq, s.v. *θρόμβος*.

43. *Docs.*, p. 410; Palmer, *BICS* 2 (1955), p. 39, *Interpretation*, p. 459; Meriggi, *Glotta* 34 (1956), p. 4.

44. Heubeck, *IF* 63 (1958), p. 120.

45. *Docs.*, p. 408; Chadwick, *Athenaeum* 46, p. 303; Palmer, *Interpretation*, pp. 218, 432; Pisani, *Paideia* 12 (1957), p. 170, suggests connexion with *troq^{w-}*.

root **strebh-* in other I.E. languages, except perhaps Latin *strebula*, an Umbrian loan-word meaning the flesh round the thigh of the sacrificial animal (see Walde, Ernout-Meillet), the second alternative is perhaps preferable. Or have we here also a case of the confusion of more than one root in Greek?⁴⁶

The decipherment of the Linear B script has by no means solved all problems of etymology; sometimes the Mycenaean form raises new problems, as in the case of *qe-to* (PY Ta 641, MY Ue 611), the name of a vessel, with its diminutive *qe-ti-ja* (MY Ue 611, Wt 504). This was at first joyfully equated with Greek *πίθος*, until it was pointed out that the identification was in conflict with the generally accepted etymology of *πίθος* from **bhidh-* (cf. Lat. *fidelia*, Icelandic *biða* 'pot for butter').⁴⁷ In view of the fact that there is no evidence of the size of *qe-to* on the Mycenaean tablets, and in the absence of a better attested etymology, we are forced to leave the equation *qe-to*/*πίθος* with a large question mark.

46. For a further possible case of the confusion of more than one root in Greek, see MG V, s.v. *ὑφείλω, ὑφέλος*. The verbal forms identified as forms of *ὑφείλω* do not show the F usually postulated for the word, and it is therefore possible to connect them with the form *o-pe-ro*, apparently used in the tablets to denote a deficit and probably formally equivalent to *ὑφέλος*. It is not clear whether Myc. *o-pe-ro* 'deficit' and Homeric *ὑφέλος* 'help, assistance' originated from two different roots, or whether the different meanings developed from an original sense of 'that which is needed'.

47. For a fuller discussion of the difficulties, see Chadwick, *Studia Classica* 2 (1960), p. 62 f.; for the alternation of *i* and *e* in Mycenaean, see D. A. Hester, *Minos* 6 (1958), pp. 24-36.

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