An Outline of the Main Compositional Categories in Mycenaean Lexicon

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1. A brief introduction

The basic types of compounds are present in the Linear B texts, where the composition proved to be a productive procedure for enriching the vocabulary. There are an exceptionally large number of compounds with prepositions, as well as verbal governing compounds and exocentric and endocentric compounds. The bibliography pertaining to compounds is very rich and that related to the Greek language is mainly focused on Classical Greek, leaving a marginal space for the investigation of data from Linear B[1]. This fact is obviously connected with the typology of documentation: the written records of Mycenaean texts show a strong uniformity (although sometimes some variation can be found, and on which – since Risch 1966: 150–157 – there is an extensive debate among scholars[2]). That lack of variation has strongly contributed to this fact, because the composition is always perceived as inherent to a specific language (technical and/or scientific), or to the artificial language of poetry (Meillet, Vendryès 1963: 421).

A second point to highlight is the difficulty of a classification[3]: exemplary is the case of compounds with a first prepositional member (*präpositionale Rektionskomposita*). That typology – which occurs both among possessives and determinatives, and among compounds with verbal regency – falls partially into the

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[1] The bibliography about nominal composition in general is immense and impossible to quote. We refer, therefore, to the volume *The Oxford Handbook of Compounding* (Lieber, Štekauer 2009) and the bibliography therein. The scenario is very different for the Mycenaean language, only exceptions are: Meissner, Tribulato 2002; Waanders 2008; García Ramón 2011: 213–251 and 2016: 238–240.

[2] Consani, regarding the sociolinguistic analysis of Mycenean texts, asserts: «L'unico livello, necessario e sufficiente, a rendere conto della modesta variazione attestata dai documenti micenei è quello della variabilità individuale connessa in particolare con il fattore situazionale, orientato tra i due poli del linguaggio tecnico/burocratico usato nella registrazione scritta delle transazioni e il livello di lingua d'uso dall'altra: dunque differenze diafasiche e, si potrebbe azzardare, di registro, che sono le uniche a poter essere connesse con la conoscenza concreta dei fattori esterni in grado di condizionare la codificazione linguistica» (2016: 60).

[3] For a detailed discussion about compounding and classification of compounds, see Tribulato 2015: 13–61.

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category of compounds, which means that the preposition really governs the second member[4].

2. Possessive compounds

The most frequent category of exocentric compounds is that of possessive compounds (*bahuvrīhi*). They are usually adjectives indicating that a given person or entity possesses the quality, or object, identified by the two compositional members. *Bahuvrīhis* are also very frequent in personal onomastics[5].

Many other anthroponyms with *e-u-* as first member are found in all the archives, see for example: *e-u-me-ta* 'having a good μῆτις'; *e-u-da-mo* 'having a good δῆμος'; *e-u-wa-ko-ro* 'having a good ἀγορά', *e-u-na-wo* 'having a good ναῦς'; *e-u-po-ro-wo* 'having a good πλοῦς'.

A huge number of anthroponyms show at first member an adjective (cf. Gr. εὐρύς 'vaste', λευκός 'white', ὀρθός 'straight', φίλος 'loving, friendly' etc.), as in the case of *e-u-ru-da-mo*, *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo*, *e-u-ru-qo-ta*, *re-u-ko-ro-o-pu$_2$-ru*, *o-tu-wo-we*, *pi-ro-ka-te.*

Bahuvrīhis with a first nominal member are numerically lower: in the Pylos archive we have *ke-ro-ke-re-we-o* (Gr. χείρ 'hand' + κλέϝος 'glory') and *a$_3$-pu-ke-ne-ja* (Gr. *Aipy*-γένεια, the name of a woman from *Aipy*); in Mycenaean we have the controversial name *te-o-do-ra*, Gr. Θεοδώρα, which can be interpreted, on the basis of the meaning, as an exocentric compound ('she who has gifts from the gods'), but also as endocentric ('gift of the gods').

Some examples show how slight the border is between the category of *bahuvrīhis* and that of verbal governing compounds. The most interesting case in this sense is represented by compounds with a second member in *-me-de*: because the Mycenaean writing system does not allow the assessment if *e* is short or long, the root may belong to the verb μέδομαι / μήδομαι 'I take care' or to the substantive μῆδος 'care, advice, thought'[6]. Some other residual forms of *bahuvrīhis* are privative compounds (with ἀν- as first member, cf. *a-no-we*, Gr. ἀνῶϝες, 'without handles' or *a-ka-ra-no*, Gr. ἀκάρηνος, 'without head') or compounds with a numeric first member (cf. adjectives like *ti-ri-jo-we* or *ti-ri-po-de*, respectively Gr. τριῶϝες 'with three handles' and τρίπους 'with three feet').

3. Endocentric compounds

The number of endocentric compounds in the documents is exiguous (cca. 50). This typology of formation can be considered as a class of compounds, although with a high degree of internal transparency, similar to juxtapositions or univerbations. Among personal onomastics, there are very few examples: *me-ri-da-ma-te* or *me-ri-du-ma-te*, Gr. *μελι-δάμαρτες / *μελι-δύμαρτες 'supervisor of

[4] About this, García Ramón defines prepositional compounds as "ipostasi di frasi preposizionali" (2016: 239).

[5] In the typology of documentation, proper and common nouns are obviously the most representative forms.

[6] Cf. Meissner, Tribulato 2002: 303.

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honey', which has as a second member the name δάμαρ or δύμαρ 'supervisor'[7]; the anthroponym *da-i-ta-ro*, Gr. Δαίτραρος or Δαιτάλαρος; the name *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka*, which contains as second member the name ἄναξ 'lord' and as first *πρέσγυς (Attic πρέσβυς) 'old, honoured man'. It is also attested (*hapax*) the ethnic *a-u-to-te-qa-jo* (Gr. Αὐτοθηβαῖος 'self-Theban'), a compound characterised by the combination of the two members on the same reference plan.

The remaining attestations are compounded by prepositions and names (cf. the case of the conclusive formula *ku-su-pa*, Gr. ξύν-πας, a conclusive formula which indicates a total quantity).

It is therefore possible to observe that the number of endocentric compounds appears quite small in Mycenaean; their incidence undergoes a slight increase in the Homeric language and then in classical Greek. An increase in their importance comparable to other Indo-European languages (such as Sanskrit) cannot be attested.

4. Prepositional governing compounds

As stated previously, prepositional compounds are a controversial class. Although there are few doubts about the fact that in Indo-European the preverbs, to be originally intended as autonomous local particles (Cuzzolin, Putzu et alii 2006), had a certain degree of autonomy within the phrasal context, a significant datum is certainly represented by the fact that in Mycenaean Greek the univerbation took place and it is possible to distinguish between adverbs having a function in themselves and preverbs that appear exclusively in composition. In this sense, therefore, Mycenaean Greek arises at a more advanced and less archaic level than the Homeric language, where the situation of tmesis can be found with regularity[8].

Several prepositions[9] have an exact outcome in the 1st millennium Greek both from the semantic and from the formal point of view. Some of them – such as the preposition *me-ta* (Gr. μετά) – recur both as prepositions (*me-ta-qe pe-i*, Gr. μετά τε σφεῖς, 'towards them') and as members of a nominal or verbal compound (*me-ta-ki-ti-ta*, Gr. *μετα-κτίτας, 'who lives next?' or *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, Gr. μετα-κεχυμένα, 'spilled'). Other prepositions are only used in the formation of compounds (cf. *po-ro-* (Gr. πρό) 'vice': *po-ro-de-qo-no*, Gr. *προ-δειπνός 'vice-meal-preparer' (or *προ-δεῖπνον 'starter'?); *po-ro-ko-re-te*, Gr. *προ-κορετήρ, 'vice-governor'; *po-ro-du-ma*, Gr. *προ-δύμαρ, 'vice-chief').

The preposition *a-pi-* (Gr. ἀμφι-, ἀμφίς) has a high frequency in the field of personal names (male / female proper names and craft names), e.g.: *a-pi-qo-ro*, Gr. ἀμφί-πολοι 'servants'; *a-pi-qo-ta* e *a-pi-qo-i-ta*, Gr. *Ἀμφι-χ^{w}όντας (cf. θείνω) or *Ἀμφι-γ^{w}ότας (cf. βόσκω) or *Ἀμφι-χ^{w}οίτας (cf. φοιτάω); *a-pi-da-ta*, Gr. *Ἀμφι-δαίτας (cf. δαίω); *a-pi-me-de*, Gr. *Ἀμφι-μήδης (cf. μήδομαι); *a-pi-wa-to*, Gr. *Ἀμφί-Faστος (cf. Fάστυ). Two female anthroponyms seem to have a connection with divine referents or, according to the context in which they appear, with the religious sphere: *a-pi-do-ra* (Gr. *Ἀμφι-δώρα, cf. δῶρον) and *a-pi-e-ra* (Gr. *Ἀμφι-

[7] For Ruijgh the name has a pre-Hellenic origin (1967: 384–385).

[8] For the problem of tmesis in Mycenaean and Homeric texts, see Morpurgo Davies 1992: 133–156; Duhoux 1994–1995: 187–202; De Angelis 2004: 179–214; Hajnal 2004: 146–178.

[9] For a general survey on Mycenaean prepositions, see Bichlmeier 2014.

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*h*ήρα). *A-pi* is also used as preverb in only two attestations: *a-pi-e-ke* (PY Un 2.2), imperfect tense of ἀμφιήκω ‘I arrive around, and *a-pi-e-qe* (TH Fq 254), imperfect tense of ἀμφι-έπω ‘I am around, I take care’.

The preposition *a-pu-* (Gr. ἀπυ- / ἀπο-) is attested in a single case of a probable craft name: *a-pu-da-se-we*, Gr. *ἀπυ-δασσεύς (cf. ἀπο-δατέομαι ‘I share, I assign). Instead, in the function of preverb, it has many forms from the verb ἀπο-δίδωμι ‘I give back’ (cf. *a-pe-do-ke*; *a-pu-do-ke*; *a-pu-do-si*; *a-pu-do-so-mo*), as well as from the verb ἀπο-χέω ‘I spread’ (cf. the participle form *a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-no*) and from ἄπ-ειμι ‘to be absent’ (cf. *a-pe-e-si*; *a-pe-o*; *a-pe-o-te*; *a-pe-a-sa*; *a-pe-i-si*; *a-pe-e-ke*).

Prepositions *me-ta-* (Gr. μετα-) and *pe-ri-* (Gr. περι-) are mostly represented by personal names: *me-ta-ka-wa*, Gr. *Μετα-κάλFα, *me-to-qe-u*, Gr. *Μετ-ωπεύς; *pe-ri-ra-wo*, Gr. Περί-λαFος, *pe-ri-me-de*, Gr. Περι-μήδης (cf. μήδομαι), *pe-ri-to-wo*, maybe Gr. *Περί-θοFος etc.

The prepositions *e-pi* and *o-pi*[10] are attested in the Mycenaean archives both in the adverbial function and in composition. Compounds with *e-pi* e *o-pi* (Gr. ἐπί) as first member are the most numerous in this category. They contribute to the formation of the following categories:

1. craft names composed of *o-pi* e *e-pi* + nominal root (Killen 1996: 71–82) (cf. *o-pi-te-u-ke-we*, Gr. (*ὀπι)τευχεύς ‘the one who is above / the one who is in charge of τεύχεα’; *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we(-qe)*, Gr. *ὀπι-σκαφε*h*ῆFες, ‘the one who is above / the one who is in charge of ritual tray’; *o-pi-su-ko*; *o-pi-tu-ra-jo*, Gr. *ὀπιθυραῖος, ‘the one who is above / the one who is in charge of the door; *e-pi-qo-i*, Gr. ἔφιππος, ‘equestrian’[11]);

2. anthroponyms (cf. *e-pi-ja-ta*; *e-po-ro-jo*; *e-pe-ke-u:* Gr. *Ἐπι-*h*άλτας (>Ἐφιάλτας, cf. ἐπί-ἄλλομαι ‘I oppress’); Gr. *Ἔπ-horος (Ἔφορος, cf. ἐπί-ὁράω ‘I observe, I notice’); Gr. Ἐπειγεύς (cf. ἐπείγω ‘I press, I track’).

3. compounds such as ἀμφίπολος (cf. *o-pi-ro-qo*; *e-pi-ko-wo* and *o-pi-ko-wo* – De Angelis, Gasbarra 2010: 150–167: the first is an endocentric determinative compound which is attributed to a category of female workers and corresponds to Gr. ὀπί-λοιποι ‘those who are remaining’; the second – alternating between Pylos and Knossos – is a *bahuvrīhis*, Gr. ἐπί-κοFοι, ‘overseers’).

5. Verbal governing compounds

Among verbal compounds it is vital to distinguish between those with a first verbal member[12] and others with second verbal member. In the first group, we can recall compounds which present a transitive relationship between the two elements[13] and most of them are personal names: *a-ke-ra-no*, Gr. *Ἀγγελάνωρ, *Ἀγελάνωρ or

[10] Cf. Deroy 1976: 265–300; Morpurgo Davies 1983: 287–310; Gasbarra 2009: 93–94.

[11] In Mycenaean the category of *e-pi-qo-i* designates workers who take care of the horses, probably deified or sacred animals. Palmer 1983 suggests the interpretation of horses as deity; on the contrary, Aravantinos, Godart et alii consider them only as sacred (2001: 321).

[12] For a recent analysis of Greek verbal-initial compounds, see Tribulato 2015.

[13] Although it is deeply debated, it is more probable that the first member of the compound arises from the third singular person of the indicative present, rather than from an original imperative (the so-called “imperative univerbation”). Cf. Schwyzer 1939; Benveniste 1967: 21–24; Dunkel 1992.

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*Ἀγεράνωρ; *a-ke-ra-wo*, Gr. Ἀγέλαϝος or Ἀρχέλαϝος; *a-ke-wa-ta*, Gr. *Ἀρχεϝάστας; *e-ke-da-mo*, Gr. *Ἐχέδαμος; *e-ke-me-de*, Gr. *Ἐχεμήδης; *e-ka-no*, Gr. *Ἐχάνωρ; **te-ra-u-re-o*, Gr. *Τελαύλης.

Another typology of compounds with first verbal member is the so-called τερψίμβροτος type, e.g. names that present insertion of *-ti-* or *-si-* after the verbal root[14]. Some anthroponyms are relevant for this purpose: *ma-na-si-we-ko*, Gr. Μνησίεργος, *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti-lāwos*/ cf. Gr. Ὀρσίλαος, ne-ti-ja-no /*Nesti-ānōr*/ cf. Gr. Νέσσανδρος. Compounds with second verbal constituent are widely attested. The explained relationship is: first member object of the second verbal one. This category includes many forms, all of which show the *o*-grade of verbal root and seem to be considered as action names. These forms are trade names, not yet properly embedded as functions, but rather as generic indicators.

The main category is represented by compounds in *-wo-ko* /-Fοργος/ or *-o-ko* /-οχος/, including: *ku-ru-so-wo-ko* Gr. *χρυσο- Fοργός 'the one who works gold'; *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, Gr. *ἀμπυκ-Fοργός 'the one who makes bands (or wheels?)'; *ku-wa-no-ko-wo-i*, gr. κυανο-Fοργός 'the one who works κυάνος'; *de-ku-tu-wo-ko*, Gr.*δικτυ-Fοργός 'the one who makes nets'; *i-je-ro-wo-ko*, Gr. *ἱερο-Fοργός 'the one who officiates the rite'; *ko-to-no-o-ko*, Gr. *κτοινο-hόχος 'the one who owns a land'; *a-ni-o-ko*, Gr. ἀνίοχος 'the one who holds the reins, charioteer'.

6. Some final remarks

As stated at the beginning of the paper, the scope of study was to highlight the typologies of compounds in Mycenaean, as well as their relationship with 1st millennium Greek.

As evidenced, despite the valuable contributions[15] on Mycenaean published in the last few years and the considerable number of new acquisitions of texts, the composition results have been scarcely investigated, because many works are focused on Classical Greek and literary language. So, the first consideration is that nominal composition exhibits an interesting development despite the bureaucratic-administrative lexicon of Linear B archives. This paper has intentionally left aside the sociolinguistic aspect connected with composition, because it is highly controversial in relation to Mycenaean in general[16], and absolutely inconsistent in evaluating this specific topic, considering that compounds are present in all the lexical categories (proper names, trade names, adjectives etc.).

Finally, we also pay attention to the fact that many adjectives or nouns compounded in Mycenaean texts[17] are formally identical to the Homeric epithets

[14] Lejeune (1972: 65) observes that in the Homeric poems *-τι-* forms (without assibilation) are absolutely residual. In Mycenaean the *-ti-* forms can be interpreted as archaism (cf. García Ramón 2016: 220–221).

[15] Cf., among others, Bartoněk 2003 and 2008; Duhoux, Morpurgo Davies 2008–2014; Del Freo, Perna 2016.

[16] We are referring to the debated question of the preservation of two distinct dialects within Linear B tablets, on which see Risch 1966: 150–157.

[17] Cf. the adjective *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, variously attested in Knossos, Gr. *ποικιλ-ώνυκα 'with nails of different colours'; or the adjective *po-ru-po-de-qe*, attested in PY Ta 722.1, Gr. *πολυ-πόδει (τε) ο, used in the description of an item of furniture.

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(*bahuvrīhis* as λευκώλενος ‘white-armed’, ῥοδοδάκτυλος ‘rosy-fingered’, μεγάθυμος ‘great-hearted’, χαλίφρων ‘light-minded’ etc.). So, the comparison between Mycenaean Greek and 1st millennium Greek confirms a close and coherent link between these two linguistic stages both in the mechanisms of compounding and in the typology of material used.

All the categories of compounds (exocentric, endocentric, and verbal or prepositional governing compounds) have strongly correspond with the compositional modalities of alphabetical Greek, and that fact testifies to a continuity between 2nd and 1st millennium BC. That continuity may change: we can find anthroponyms that show a stability (cf. *te -o-do-ra*, Gr. Θεοδώρα), others that do not appear in classical Greek, but that are linked to Homeric or mythological names, and, finally, others (few examples) that do not find evidence in the modalities of formation, but of course in the material used.

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Abstract

Composition is the tool to create new words with which some ancient Indo-European languages are particularly endowed, and much has been written, for example, about Greek, Sanskrit or Latin. This paper concentrates on the 2nd millennium Greek (Mycenaean Greek), highlighting how all the main compositional categories are recognisable in comparison with the 1st millennium Greek. Through an analysis (with appropriate examples) that briefly reviews all the compositional categories (possessive and endocentric compounds, prepositional and verbal governing compounds), we will try to demonstrate how nominal composition shows an important development despite the bureaucratic-administrative nature of the lexicon of Mycenaean archives.

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