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Year	2008

FULL BIBLIOGRAPHIC DETAILS:
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(pagedate: 2016-03-01)

The syntax and co-occurrence of case functions in Mycenaean texts

Introduction

Our knowledge of Mycenaean verbal morphology and syntax is notoriously defective, owing to the nature of the information in the tablets. Nevertheless, it may be rewarding to sort out what we do have[1]. Most of it, to be sure, must be familiar.

The spelling rules complicate the issue:

(i) *Ambiguities of spelling*

- -*.a* in the first declension may represent nom. sg. f. -*ā/-ă*, nom. sg. m. and gen. sg. f. -*ās*, dat. sg. -*āi*, acc. sg. f./m. -*ān* / f. -*ăn*, nom. pl. -*ai*, acc. pl. -*ans*; and -*.a-o* both gen. sg. m. -*āho* and gen. pl. f./m. -*āhōn*;
- -*.a* in the third declension may represent acc. sg. m./f. and nom./acc. pl. n. -*ă* and acc. pl. m./f. -*ăs*; and in the second declension nom./acc. pl. n. -*ă*;
- -*.o* in the second declension may represent nom. sg. m./f. -*os*, dat. sg. -*ōi*, acc. sg. m./f. and nom./acc. sg. n. -*on*, perhaps instr. sg. -*ō*, nom./acc. du. -*ō*, nom. pl. m./f. -*oi*, gen. pl. -*ōn*, instr. pl. -*ois*, acc. pl. m./f. -*ons*;
- -*.e* in the third declension may represent dat. sg. -*ei*, perhaps instr. sg. -*ĕ* or -*ē*, nom./acc. du. -*e*, and nom. pl. -*es*.

§ 1. The syntax of an introductory formula may or may not be continued in the sequel: instead of accusatives, we have nominatives in the PY Ta tablets, in spite of *o-wi-de* in the introductory clause of Ta 711; in Ta 711 itself, *qo-u-ka-ra* in .2 and .3 is a nominative form (the other forms in -*.a* are formally ambiguous), and in other tablets of this series *ti-ri-po* is visibly a nominative; the nominatives are used here just to *mention* the objects recorded. This 'mention-use' of the nominative is known as, *i.a.*, *pendent nominative*, or *nominative of rubric*. I shall call it 'free nominative'; it is frequently found in inscriptions and papyri. Very often, as in the following examples, such free nominatives are used where we might expect an *accusative*, preceded by a phrase with a transitive verb.[2]

[1] The essentials are listed in Bartoněk 2003: 439 ff.
[2] Cf. K-G I: 45 f.

(ii.a) *Free nominative* (PY Ta)

(PY Ta 711.1 o-wi-de , pu_2-ke-qi-ri , ...

/hō wide P^hugeg^wrīns[3] .../)

- 711.2-3 qe-ra-na , ... , qo-u-ka-ra
  /k^{wh}ernā g^wouk(a)rās/
- 641.1 ti-ri-po , ... **201*^{VAS} 1 (*bis*)
  /tripos/ or /tripōs/[4]
- 709.2 au-te 1
  /austēr/
- 709.3 ti-ri-po , ... **201*^{VAS} 1 (*bis*)
  /tripōs/
- 721.2 ta-ra-nu-we , ... **220* 3
  /t^hrānues/

Likewise, we find the nominative[5] *a-ko-so-ne* /aksones/ twice in PY Vn 10, after the introduction *o-di-do-si du-ru-to-mo*; the case of *e-pi-[•]-ta* (also twice) cannot be made out, but judging by *a-ko-so-ne* as parallel entries, it is most likely a nominative too:

(ii.b) *Free nominative* (PY Vn 10)

.1 o-di-do-si , du-ru-to-mo ,

.2 a-mo-te-jo-na-de , e-pi-[•]-ta 50

.3 a-ko-so-ne-qẹ 50

.4 to-sa-de , ro-u-si-jo , a-ko-ro , a-ko-so-ne

.5 100 , to-sa-de , e-pi-[•]-ta 100 ,

PTT: .1.5 The sign seen in *e-pi-[•]-ta* in both instances is probably not *pu*; perhaps cf. **19*.

(Palaima: [•] = forma quaedam signi **50* = *pu*.)

.1 /hō didonsi drutomoi/ (or /hō didōsi drutomos/) .2 /arm^hoteyōna de $epip^h$uta (?) 50/ .3 /aksones k^we 50/ etc.

A free nominative *in front position* ("theme constituent") is probably found on the PY Eb/Eo tablets: *X e-ke-qe* A PIECE OF LAND, i.e., if *-qe* is the conjunction /k^we/ 'and'[6]; that being

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[3] *P^hugeg^wrīns* rather than *-īs*, to my mind; the derived adjective *pu_2-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* (TH Of 27.3) had been known for some decades before the dative form *pu_2-ke-qi-ri-ne* was attested (TH Gp 119.1). The stem-final *-n-* is of course secondary (nom. **-ī-s* → acc. **-ī-n*, then *-īn-a*, cf. τίν-α, Ζῆν-α; hence, the newly formed stem in *-n-* was generalized).

[4] The regular outcome of **tripods* is *tripŏs*, *tripōs* being analogical after *pōs*. (The monosyllabic noun form *pōs* shows morphological vowel lengthening.)—Hereafter I write *tripōs*, though the choice is evidently arbitrary.

[5] In light of the other items discussed here, there is no good reason to assume an innovative accusative plural in -/es/, as Risch once proposed (1957-1958).

the case, the subject of the finite verb form *e-ke* /hek^{h}ei/ is implicit ('he'/'she', being identical with the referent of the preceding free nominative):

(ii.c) *Free nominative as theme* (PY Eb/Eo)

- Eb 566.A ra-ku-ro , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , [
  /Lak^{h}ulos (*e.g.*), hek^{h}ei k^{w}e k^{h}ek^{h}emenān ktoinān/
- Eb 846 (A) a$_3$-ti-jo-qo , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na (B) pa-ro , da-mo
  /Aithiok^{w}s, hek^{h}ei k^{w}e onāton k^{h}ek^{h}emenās ktoinās paro dāmoi/[7]
- Eo 160.2 a$_3$-wa-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , pi-ke-re-we
  /Aiwaiā t^{h}ehoio dohelā, hek^{h}ei k^{w}e onāton paro Pikrēwei/
- Eo 278 ti-qa-jo , po-me , e-ke-qe , dwo , ko-to-no
  /T^{h}isg^{w}aios poimēn, hek^{h}ei k^{w}e duō ktoinō/

Of a different kind is PY Ep 704.5 (*vide infra*), with a subject nominative followed by two finite verb forms co-ordinated by *-qe* after the second verb: *e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o*; depending on the interpretation of *te-o*[8], *e-u-ke-to* is followed either by a simple infinitive, or by an accusative plus infinitive.

Nominatives as *subject* are naturally found in clauses containing a finite verb form (always third person in the tablets), and such clauses are about the best we can hope for in respect of Mycenaean syntax—*e.g.* verb + subject (nom.) + object (acc.) + predicative complement (if *te-ke* /t^{h}ēke/ means 'installed as'; acc.) in *o-te wa-na-ka te-ke au-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro*. A number of those finite clauses are subordinate clauses introduced by *(j)o-* or *o-te*:

(iii.a) *Nominative as subject in subordinate clauses*

- PY An 657.1 o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a$_2$-ra , e-pi-ko-wo
  /hō wruntoi opihala epikowoi/
- PY Ta 711.1 o-wi-de , pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri , ...
  /hō wide P^{h}ugeg^{w}rīns .../
- PY Vn 10.1 o-di-do-si , du-ru-to-mo , ...
  /hō didonsi drutomoi/ or /hō didōsi drutomos/
- PY Jn 829.1-3 (1) jo-do-so-si , ko-re-te-re , du-ma-te-qe, (2) po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe ,

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[6] There are no indications that κε(ν), κα of the first millennium BC ever contained a labiovelar, unlike, e.g., Ionic κοτε ~ Attic etc. ποτε, or Thessalian κις, and especially Arcadian ϙις ~ Attic etc. τις.

[7] A locative interpretation of *pa-ro da-mo* (/paro dāmoi/ or /paro dāmōi/) is not compelling; one might consider /paro dāmō/ '(X has a piece of land) **from** the *damos*'.

[8] A priori, *te-o* can represent a dative sg., an old ablative sg. form in *-ō* with genitive function, an accusative sg., or a genitive or accusative pl.

ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe , o-pi-su-ko-qe , o-pi-ka-pe-`e-we-qe´ (3) ka-ko , na-wi-jo , ...

/yō dōsōsi korētēres dumartes k^we prokorētēres k^we klāwip^{h}oros k^we opisūkos k^we opiskap^{h}ehēwes k^we k^{h}alkon nāwion .../

- PY Un 267 (1) o-do-ke , a-ko-so-ta (2) tu-we-ta , a-re-pa-zo-o (3) tu-we-a , a-re-pa-te ⟦ , ze-so-me ⟧ (4) ze-so-me-no

  /hō dōke Alksoitās (?) T^{h}uestāi aleip^{h}adzohōi[9] t^{h}ueha aleip^{h}atei dze(s)somenōi/

- PY Ed 847.1 o-da-a_2 , e-qe-si-jo , do-e-ro , e-ko-si , o-na-ta

  /hō d' hā hek^{w}esioi doheloi hek^{h}onsi onāta/

- PY Ta 711.1 ... , o-te , wa-na-ka , te-ke , au-ke-wa , da-mo-ko-ro

  /hote wanaks t^{h}ēke Augēwān dāmokoron/

- ?KN Fp 14.1 a-ma-ko-to , `me-no´ / jo-te-re-pa-to , // e-ke-se-si `OLE´ V 1

  (*jo* + *te-re-pa-to*? or, perhaps, *jo-te* + *re-pa-to*?)

  /A. mēn^{h}os yote ...atos/...aton (???) eks-eisi (?)/

Others are main clauses of the type *X o-na-to e-ke* (PY Ea/Ep), and, with contrasative connector *-de*, *da-mo-de-mi pa-si ... o-na-to e-ke-e* (PY Ep 704.5.6), etc.:

(iii.b) *Nominative as subject in main clauses*

- PY Ea 28 ti-ri-da-ro ra-pte , e-ke , ka-ma

  /T. r^{h}aptēr hek^{h}ei k^{h}amas/

- PY Ep 704.5 e-ri-ta , i-je-re-ja , e-ke , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo , e-ke-e , te-o

  /Erit^{h}ā hiereia hek^{h}ei euk^{h}etoi k^we etōnion hek^{h}ehen t^{h}ehon (?)/

- „ *continued* da-mo-de-mi , pa-si , ko-to-na-o , (6) ke-ke-me-na-o , o-na-to , e-ke-e

  /dāmos de min p^{h}āsi ktoināhōn k^{h}ek^{h}emenāhōn onāton hek^{h}ehen/

Sometimes, we find nominatives used as predicative adjuncts, qualifying the subject, e.g., *ko-to-no-o-ko* and *ka-ma-e-u* in a number of PY Eb and Ep texts, once or twice accompanied by the participle *e-o*:

(iii.c) *Nominative as predicative adjunct*

- PY Eb 377 (A) pa-ra-ko , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me[-na ko-to-na (B) ko-to-no-o-ko

  /P^{h}alaikos (?), hek^{h}ei k^we k^{h}ek^{h}emenān ktoinān ktoinohok^{h}os/

- PY Eb 369 (A) wa-na-ta-]jo , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na (B) pa-ro]da-mo , ko-to-no-o-ko , ...

  /Warnataios (?), hek^{h}ei k^we onāton k^{h}ek^{h}emenās ktoinās paro dāmoi ktoinohok^{h}os/

[9] The exact value of the *z*-signs cannot be recovered with certainty; I transcribe *dz*, *ts*, but maybe the palatal stage ([dʒ], [tʃ]) had no yet passed.

- PY Eb 173.[1] pa-ra-]ko , e-ke-qe , ka-ma , ko-to-no-<o->ko[e-o ...
  /P^{h}alai]kos (?), hek^{h}ei k^{w}e k^{h}amas ktoinohok^{h}os [ehōn]/
- PY Ep 613.11 pa-]ṛạ-ko , e-ḳẹ-qe , ka-ma , ko-to-no-o-ko , e-o
  /P^{h}a]ḷạikos (?), hek^{h}ei k^{w}e k^{h}amas ktoinohok^{h}os ehōn/
- PY Eb 842.A sa-sa-wo , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , ka-ma-e-u
  /S., hek^{h}ei k^{w}e onāton k^{h}amaheus/
- PY Ep 613.8 sa-sa-wo]o-na-to , e-ke , ka-ma-e-u , ...
  /S.]onāton hek^{h}ei k^{h}amaheus/
- 'participium coniunctum', e.g. PY Ta: (to-pe-za) a-ja-me-na + INSTR /torpedza ayaimenā .../; KN Sd: (i-qi-ja) a-ra-ru-ja + INSTR /ik^{w}k^{w}iā\-ai araruia(i) .../; PY Ta: (to-pe-za) qe-qi-no-me-na to-qi-de /torpedza g^{w}eg^{w}īnōmenā tork^{w}idē (or -ei)/

§ 2. Accusatives are mainly used in two functions, both of which occur frequently on the tablets: (1) direct object of a transitive verb (iv.a), occasionally with a predicative complement (iv.b), or with a predicative adjunct (iv.c):

(iv.a) *Accusative as direct object*

- PY An 657.1 o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a$_2$-ra ...
  /hō wruntoi opihala .../
- PY Jn 829.1-3 jo-do-so-si , (XYZ ,) ka-ko , na-wi-jo ...
  /yō dōsonsi ... k^{h}alkon nāwion .../
- PY E- X e-ke(-qe) ka-ma/o-na-to *etc*.
  /...(,) hek^{h}ei (k^{w}e) k^{h}amas/, /~ onāton/ etc.

(iv.b) *Accusative as predicative complement (PC)*

PY Ta 711.1 o-te , wa-na-ka , te-ke , au-ke-wa$_{OBJ}$, da-mo-ko-ro$_{PC(?)}$ (see iii.a)
/hote wanaks t^{h}ēke Augēwān dāmokoron/

(iv.c) *Accusative as predicative adjunct (PA)*

- PY Jn 829.3 ... ka-ko , na-wi-jo$_{OBJ}$, (pa-ta-jo-i-qe , e-ke-si-qe ,) a$_3$-ka-sa-ma$_{PA}$
  a$_3$-ka-sa-ma in a proleptic sense; Panagl (1999: 493) 'epexegetische Apposition'
  /... k^{h}alkon nāwion ... aiksmans/
- ?PY Fr 1225 (1) e-ra$_3$-wo , u-po-jo , po-ti-ni-ja (2) we-a$_2$-no-i , a-ro-pa$_{PA??}$ OLE+*A* S 1
  Perhaps rather *a-ro-pa* = final dative (below, xiii).
  /elaiwon Huboio Potniāi wehanois aloip^{h}ān/ (or /-āi/?)

and (2) accusative of direction, generally with allative (illative?[10]) postposition *-de*:

(v.a) *Accusative of direction* (town/village, district, sanctuary, house, workshop)

- Numerous instances of ACC (place) + *-de*
- Plain ACC is found in some instances, perhaps, when the context sufficiently indicates direction:
  - KN Fp 363.2 da-*83-ja-de / i-je-ro ...
    /D. de, hieron/
    'to D., *to the sanctuary*'?
  - KN Fp 1.7 a-mi-ni-so , / pa-si-te-o-i
    /Amnīson, pansi t^hehoihi/
    'to A., to all the gods'?
    (*da-da-re-jo-de* /Daidaleion de/ in .3; **47-da-de* in .9; datives of recipient *passim*)
  - KN Fp 13.3 u-ta-no , `a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja´
    /U. (or Hu-), anemōn hiereiāi/
    'to U., to the priestess of the winds'
    (**47-ku-to-de* in .1; *au-ri-mo-de* in .2; datives of recipient in .1.2.3)
  - PY Tn v.1 a-ke-qe , wa-tu
    /... agei k^we wastu/
    'and leads to the *wastu*'
  - PY Cn 3.1 jo-i-je-si , me-za-na
    /yō hiensi Metsānān/
    'thus they send to M.'

An accusative of direction usually refers to a place (town/village, district, sanctuary, house, workshop), but we probably also have some instances of a festival word/name; there is nothing amiss with a festival word, if it is used metonymically for the place where the festival is celebrated. The first proposal of this kind concerns *e-wo-ta-de*, interpreted by Milani (1970: 306) as, perhaps, *hewortān de* 'to the festival'; the new tablets from Thebes may present two additional examples (*po-to-a_2-ja-de* and *te-re-ja-de* in Av 104):

(v.b) *Accusative of direction* (festival)?

- KN C 901 e-wo-ta-de BOS^f 20 *ta* BOS 1
  /hewortān de .../
- TH Av 104 (1) ka-zo-de , si-to-ko[ ]ro-na-de VIR 20 (2) po-to-a_2-ja-de VIR[

[10] Waanders 1997: 64 f.

]ḍẹ VIR 10 te-re-ja-de VIR 10

/... Ptōhaia de ... Teleia de/ (?)[11]

There is also one instance of an accusative of respect:

(vi) *Accusative of respect*

PY Ta 641.1 ti-ri-po ... a-pu , ke-ka-u-me-ṇọ[`, ke-re-a_2 , **ẓọḷ*^{VAS}[´]

/tripōs ... apukekaumenos skeleha/

'one tripod cauldron, its legs burnt off' (lit. 'burnt off as to its legs')

Further, there are some instances of an accusative of time:

(vii) *Accusative of time*

- PY Aq 64 (2)]-ja , mo-ro-qa , to-to , we-to , o-a-ke-re-se ... (5) ku-ru-me-no , mo-ro-qa , i-te-re-wa , ko-re-te , to-to ˽ ẓẹ-ṭọ$_L$ ˼ọ-a-ke-re-se ... (6) pe-ri-mo , ti-mi-ti-ja , ko-re-te , to-to-we-to$_L$ ˼ọ-a-ke-re-se ... (7 ff.) *etc*.

  /... m^horok^{w}k^{w}ās totto wetos hō agrēsei (?) ... Klumenos m^horok^{w}k^{w}ās I...ās (or loc. I...ai) korētēr totto wetos ~/, etc.

  /totto (or > tosto?) wetos/ is probably distributive: "année après année" (Lejeune 1979: 212 [*Mém*. IV: 240])

- PY Ma 365 (1) ro-u-so ... (COMMODITIES) (2) o-da-a_2 , ka-ke-we , a_2-te-ro , we-to , di-do-si

  /Lousoi ... hō d' hā k^halkēwes hateron wetos didonsi/

  /hateron wetos/ is either distributive, 'every other year', or 'for a second consecutive year', *sc*. if "every other year" was the rule (thus Lejeune 1979: 205 sq. [*Mém*. IV: 233 sq.]—I am not so sure that this can be inferred from the other tablets of this series), but not 'next year' (which would require *do-so-si*)

Moreover, we have one or two instances of the embedded construction *accusative with infinitive*, where an accusative functions as subject of the infinitive; there may also be present an object accusative:

(viii) *Accusative plus infinitive*

- PY Ep 704.5 e-ri-ta , ... , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo , e-ke-e , te-o

  Acc. + inf. if *te-o* = subj. acc. with *e-ke-e*; otherwise, *e-ke-e* is a plain infinitive complement 'she claims to have ...'; *cf. supra*, iii.b

[11] Cf. AGS 2001: 175. However, *po-to-a_2-ja* cannot represent /Ptōhia/; rather, *po-to-a_2-ja* derives from a form **Ptōhā*, which could be the name of the district where mount Ptoion is situated.

- „ *continued* da-mo-de-mi , pa-si , ko-to-na-o , (6) ke-ke-me-na-o ,
  o-na-to , e-ke-e
  /dāmos de min p^hāsi ktoināhōn k^hek^hemenāhōn onāton hek^{h}ehen/
  -mi subj. acc., *o-na-to* obj. acc.

§ 3. Genitives are most of the time used as adnominal adjuncts (*attributive gen.*):

(ix) *Adnominal (attributive) genitive* (possessive, partitive, material, ...)

- (PY An) X's *o-ka*
  GEN. + /hok^{h}ā/ or /ork^{h}ā/ 'command of ...'
- X's *do-de* / *wo-(i-)ko-de*
  GEN. + /dōn de/, /woikon de/ 'to the sanctuary/house of ...'
  (and with ellipse of 'house': TH Of 37.1 *qa-ra$_2$-to-de* /K^{w}alyantos de/)
- *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*
  probably /Athānās Potniāi/, rather than /Athānāi Potniāi/
- *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*
  /Dap^{h}urint^{h}oio Potniāi/[12]
- *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*
  if = /sītōn Potniāi/, not /Sītōi Potniāi/
- *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*
  /Huboio Potniāi/
- (PY E-) *te-o-jo do-e-ro/a*
  /t^{h}ehoio dohelos/, /~ dohelā/
- a combination of partitive and possessive is found, *e.g.*, in:
  PY Ea 59.3 ke-re-te-u , e-ke , o-na-to , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , su-qo-ta-o GRA
  1 Ṭ 8
  /K. hek^{h}ei onāton k^hek^hemenās ktoinās$_{PART}$ Sug^{w}ōtāho$_{POSS}$/
- genitive of material:
  (KN So) *a-mo-ta e-ri-ka*, *a-mo-ta pte-re-wa*
  /arm^{h}ota helikās/, /~ ptelewās/
  'wheels (made) of ...'

However, we also find genitives as regimen of *e-ne-ka*:

[12] Concerning *pu$_2$*, I believe that '1 from 3' (: *p^{h}u*, to the exclusion of *pu* and *bu*) is likelier than '1 out of 3 excluded' (: *pu*, whereas both *p^{h}u* and *bu* are possible). '3' = the three possibilities for the general sign *pu*.

(x) *Genitive as regimen of* e-ne-ka

- KN Am 821 (1) ... , e-ne-ka , ẹ-mi-to VIR 2 ..., e-ne-ka , `o-pa´ VIR ḷ (2) ... e-ne-ka , `o-pa´ × VIR 1 ...
  /... eneka emmist^{h}ōn ..., eneka (h)opās[13] .../
- PY Ae 303 .a i-je-ro-jo
  .b pu-ro , i-je-re-ja , do-e-ra , e-ne-ka , ku-ru-so-jo MUL 14[
  /Puloi hiereiās dohelai eneka k^{h}rūsoio hieroio/
- PY Ea 59.5 ke-re-te-u , e-ke , <o-na-to ,> e-ne-ka , i-qo-jo GRA 5
  /Krēt^{h}eus (?) hek^{h}ei <onāton> eneka ik^{w}k^{w}oio/
- PY Ea 805 o-pe-te-re-u , e-ne-ka , a-no-qa-si-ja GRA 2
  /O. (Ho-), eneka anog^{w}asiās (anork^{wh}asiās?)/

Adverbial genitives of time are also found, serving as datings by month name:

(xi) *Genitive as adverbial adjunct of time*

- KN Fp 1.1 de-u-ki-jo-jo `me-no´
  /Deukioio mēn^{h}os/
- KN Fp 5.1 di-wi-jo-jo `me-no´
  /Diwyoio mēn^{h}os/
- KN Ga 953.1 wo-de-wi̯-jo-jo , / me-ṇọ
  /Wordēwioio mēn^{h}os/
- PY Fr 1224 pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no
  /Sp^{h}agiānioio mēn^{h}os/
- still enigmatic are: (KN) *a-ma-ko-to me-no*, *ka-ra-e-ri-jo me-no*, *ra-pa-to me-no*, *wo-de-wi-jo me-no*, where the month names evidently are not in the expected genitive forms in *-oio*; (partitive) ablatives in *-ō* are just a possibility.

Bartoněk (2003: 442) also mentions a predicative possessive genitive: *pe-se-ro-jo , e-e-si* /Pselloio ehensi/ (KN Ai 63.a), at present the only instance in the Mycenaean corpus, as far as I can see.

§ 4. Datives of lexical items denoting *persons* most naturally represent recipients (indirect object or beneficiary):

(xii) *Dative of beneficiary/indirect object (recipient)*

[13] Either *hopā* from the root **sep-* ('to take care of'), cf. (ἀμφι-)ἔπειν, Lat. *sepelīre*, etc., or *opā* from the root **h₃ep-*, cf. Lat. *opus*, and perhaps Myc. *a-no-po* if = /anōpos/ 'unworked' (Waanders, *forthcoming*).

- Indirect object in a ‘giving’-context:

  PY Un 267 (1) o-do-ke , a-ko-so-ta$_{SUBJ}$ (2) tu-we-ta , a-re-pa-zo-o$_{IND\ OBJ}$ (3) tu-we-a$_{DIR\ OBJ}$

  /hō dōke Alksoitās T^{h}uestāi aleip^{h}adzohōi t^{h}ueha/

- Lists of recipients *passim* in all kinds of texts registering allocations/distributions, sometimes combined, or alternating, with local adjuncts of direction, e.g.:
  - KH Gq 5 (1) di-wi-jo-ḍẹ di-we *MẸ+RỊ *2Ọ9*^{VAS}+*Ạ*[ ]1 [

    (2) di-wo-nu-so ¸ [ ] 2 [

    /Diwyon de Diwei ... Diwonūsōi ... (Diwōnūsōi?)/
  - TH Gp 127 (1) i-si-wi-jo-i , VIN V 2 [(2) *63-te-ra-de VIN 1[

    /Iswioihi .... *63... de/
  - TH Gp 176 (a) *56-ru-we V 3 ke-re-na-i[(b) *63-te-ra-de , VIN S 1 V[

    /K^{h}oiruei (??)[14] ..., ke-re-nāhi[15] ... *63... de/

There are some instances of a final function of the dative,*e.g. zo-a* /dzohāi/ ‘for boiling’, and, with gerundival (‘dominant’) future participle: *a-re-pa-te ze-so-me-no*:

(xiii) *Final dative (purpose)*

#C(ommodity/quantity) — P(urpose) — R(ecipient)

- KN Fh 343 du-pu$_2$-so / zo-a OLE 15 e-pi-ko-wa ỌḶẸ 1 S 1 V 3

  #RP$_a$C - P$_b$C

  /D...ōi, dzohāi ... epik^{h}owāi .../

  KN Fh 355 qa-ti-ja / zo-a OLE 30

  #RPC

  /K^{w}ātiāi (?), dzohāi .../
- ?PY Fr 1225 (1) e-ra$_3$-wo , u-po-jo , po-ti-ni-ja (2) we-a$_2$-no-i , a-ro-pa OLE+*A* S 1

  #CRPP? (with lower-level first P: [[P]P], although one would then sooner expect a genitive form *wehanōn*; or with epexegetic second P: ‘P, *viz*. P’)

  /elaiwon Huboio Potniāi, wehanoihi aloip^{h}āi/ (or /aloip^{h}ān/? see iv.c)

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[14] The interpretation of *56 as *ko$_2$* (= *k^{h}o*?), at Thebes at least, is still uncertain.

[15] The occurrence of *-ka-ra-na* in Mycenaean (in place names like *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*), if = ... *krānā* ‘well’, ‘spring’, makes the interpretation of *ke-re-na-i* as /krēnāhi/ ‘to the spring nymphs’ very doubtful. This interpretation was proposed by Ruijgh (2003: 225), who considers κρήνη (Att.-Ionic), κρᾱ́νᾱ (West-Greek, Arcadian), κράννᾱ (Aeolic) a Prehellenic loan. If the word has anything to do with κάρα ‘head’, etc., it must be not a loan but an inherited word, for which we expect Pre-Greek **kr(e)s-neh$_2$* > Proto-Greek * *krāhnā* > (most dialects) κρᾱ́νᾱ, (Aeolic) κράννᾱ (the length of the first α cannot be determined). Attic κρήνη can be explained along the lines of Vendryes (1922) as the result of *ā*-dissimilation: ...ᾱ...ᾱ > ...η...ᾱ; in Ionic, κρήνη is entirely unproblematic.

- PY Un 138 (1) pu-ro , qe-te-a_2 , pa-ro , du-ni-jo (2) HORD 18 T 5 po-qa OLIV 4 T 3 V 5
  #... C_a - PC_b
  /Puloi k^weiteha paro Dunioi ... p^horg^{w}āi .../
- PY Jn 829 (1) jo-do-so-si , ko-re-te-re , ... (3) ka-ko , na-wi-jo , pa-ta-jo-i-qe , e-ke-si-qe , a_3-ka-sa-ma
  #CP_a+P_b"C"
  /yō dōsōsi koretēres ... k^halkon nāwion paltaioihi k^we enke(s)si k^we aiksmans/
- PY Ub 1318 (1) au-ke-i-ja-te-we , ka-tu-re-ṷi-ja-i di-pte-ra 4 ...
  #RPC
  /Augēhiātēwei, kant^{h}ulēwiāhi dip^{h}t^{h}erai/
  (7) ... mu-te-we , di-pte-ra , a_3-za , pe-di-ro-i 1
  #RCP
  /Murtēwei dip^{h}t^{h}erā aitsa pedīloihi/
- PY Un 267 (1) o-do-ke , a-ko-so-ta (2) tu-we-ta , a-re-pa-zo-o (3) tu-we-a , a-re-pa-te ⟦ , ze-so-me ⟧ (4) ze-so-me-no
  #RCP (C specified in .5 f.; P with a gerundival participle)
  /hō dōke Alksoitās T^{h}uestāi aleip^{h}adzohōi t^{h}ueha aleip^{h}atei dze(s)somenōi/

Doubtful is the interpretation of the datives as combinations of #RC_a - PC_a or #PC_a - RC_a in the following texts, since there are no satisfactory parallels for such a lay-out in the 'purpose' texts known so far:

- KN F 51v (1) wa HORD T 1 V 1 po-ro-de-qo-no V 2 Z 2 (2) di-we HORD T 1 HORD T 4 Z 1 ma-ḳạ HORD V 6
  #RC - RC - RC - RC? (as stated, #RC_a - PC_a and #PC_a - RC_a are unparalleled)
  /<?>wāi ... prodeik^{w}nōi ... Diwei ... Māi Gāi (?)/
- TH Fq 254 (1) de-qo-no ḤQṚḌ T 1 V 2̣ Z 3 (o-te , a-pi-e-qe⌊ ⌋ke-ro-ṭạ (2) pa-ta ,) ma-ka HORD Ṭ 1̣ V 2 Z 2 a-ko-da-mo V 2
  (3) R[C] - RC - R?(: ḳạ-ne-jo, *recipient* or *receptacle*?)C (4) *etc.*
  #P? (temporal clause) RC - RC - RC - etc.?—cf. the remark on KN F 51v

/deik^{w}nōi ... ... Māi Gāi (?) ... Argodāmōi .../

de-qo-no in .1, preceding the temporal clause and the rest of the text, could be a final dative 'for a meal'; however, if *po-ro-de-qo-no* in KN F 51v is a recipient, 'vice-*de-qo-no*', *de-qo-no* here may also be one, say 'chef de cuisine'.

There is also a dative of time: *we-te-i-we-te-i* in all 13 lines of PY Es 644, the only temporal dative I am aware of (but Bartoněk 2003: 443 "Z.B.", suggesting more examples).

§ 5. There probably were separate locative forms in *-ai* and *-oi*, distinct from datives in *-āi* and *-ōi*, in the singular, although we cannot be absolutely certain. There seems to be no such distinction in the singular of the third declension, nor, obviously, in the plural of all three declensions (*-.a-i*, *-.o-i*, *-si* for dat. *and* loc.). I pass the locative in silence.

§ 6. The instrumental case, formally recognizable in the plural (*-pi* /-p^{h}i/, *-.o* /-ois/ as against dat. *-.o-i* /-oihi/; I believe it is very plausible that Mycenaean still had separate instrumental forms in the singular, too, in *-ā*, *-ō*, and *-e* or rather *-ē*—which I shall write hereafter—though this cannot be proved: the forms in question can also be datives 'instrumenti'), may (in theory) have several functions: instrumental *stricto sensu*, comitative, and ornative[16]; the ornative function is abundantly present in the Mycenaean texts, either construed with a verb form (usually a perfect participle), or construed as an attributive adjunct:

(xiv) *Ornative instrumental*

- Frequently in combination with participles like *a-ra-ru-ja* 'fitted', *a-ja-me-no/a* 'inlaid':
    - KN Sd 4405.b]i-qi-ja , / po-ni-ki-ja , ... , a-ra-ru-ja , a-ni-ja-pi
      /ik^{w}k^{w}iā p^{h}oinikiā ... araruia ān^{h}iāp^{h}i/
      '... fitted with reins'
    - KN Sd 4403.b]i-qi-ja ⌊ ⌋ / a-ja-me-na , e-re-pa-te , ...
      /ik^{w}k^{w}iai... ayaimenai elep^{h}antē/
      '... inlaid with ivory'
    - PY Sa 287 a-ku-ro , de-de-me-no , ROTA *ZE* 1
      /argurō dedemenō/
      '(2 wheels) bound with silver'

[16] Waanders 1997: 69 ff.

- PY Ta 713.1.2 to-pe-za , ... , qe-qi-no-me-na , to-qi-de
  /torpedza ... $g^w eg^w$īnōmenā $tork^w$idē/
  '... enlivened (painted? carved?)[17] with a spiral'
- PY Ta 642.2 to-pe-za , ... , e-re-pa-te , a-ja-me-ṇạ , qe-qi-no-to , au-de-pi , ko-ru-pi-qe
  /torpedza ... $elep^h$antē ayaimenā, $g^w eg^w$īnōtoi[18] $audesp^h$i $korupp^h$i k^we/
  '... inlaid with ivory; it is painted/carved with *audeha* and helmets'

- Attributive orn. instr.:
  - PY Ta 715.1 to-pe-za , ku-te-se-ja , e-re-pạ-te-jo , e-ka-ma-pi , ...
    /torpedza kuteseyā $elep^h$anteyois $hek^h$$map^h$i/
    'an ebony table with ivory handles (? stays?)'
  - PY Ta 641.1 ... , ti-ri-po , e-me , po-de , ...
    /tripōs hemē podē/[19]
    'a tripod cauldron with one leg'
  - PY Ta 707.1 to-no , `ku-te-<se->jo´ , ku-ru-sa-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , o-ni-ti-ja-pi 1 ...
    /t^hornos kuteseyos k^hrūsāp^hi opikelemniāp^hi (?) ornīt^hiāp^hi/
    'an ebony seat with golden back (?)[20] with bird-motif'

Ablative function of the instrumental[21] cannot be demonstrated with certainty, nor categorically rejected; in phrases like *o-pi ... qe-to-ro-po-pi*, the instrumental clearly has *locative* function.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that Mycenaean presents a few *ablative forms* in *-ō* < *-*ōt* (**-o'et*), formally identical with instrumental forms in *-ō* < *-*oh₁*, but paradigmatically equivalent with the genitive. *If* instrumental forms could have ablative function, the assumed *morphological* merger of ablative and instrumental in the singular of the second declension may have triggered the *functional* merger. This is not the occasion to restart the discussion, however.

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[17] Cf. Jones 1958, Heubeck 1966.
[18] A finite form *$g^w eg^w$īnōtoi* is more probable than a verbal adjective *$g^w eg^w$īnōtos*, which should not have reduplication.
[19] Bartoněk's "Dat. <u>*respectus*</u>" (2003: 443) looks like a slip of the key-board (the next section ending with "Acc. respectus"), but apparently is not (B.'s answer to my question at the Colloquium).
[20] The plural form may imply that more parts of the chair are meant, e.g., back + side supports.
[21] Expounded by Ilievski (1961), after Gallavotti and Petruševski.

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