

MITTEILUNGEN

A NOTE ON THE LINEAR A TABLET FROM PIRGOS

Students of the Linear A script will be very grateful to Professor Morpurgo-Davies and Mr. Cadogan for their prompt and careful publication of a fragmentary tablet from Pirgos (Kadmos 10, 1971, 105—109, here Fig. 1). Since, as the authors say, the inscription is the first to come from this part of Crete, a few further remarks may be permissible here.

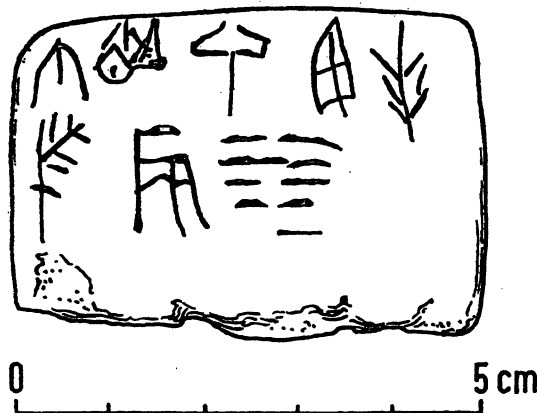


Fig. 1

There is nothing to tell whether our inscription is an isolated entry or the continuation of a list begun on the other side of the tablet. However it is to be regarded, it presents some interesting differences from the normal practice of the Ayia Triadha scribes. At Ayia Triadha the WINE ideogram appears either in the 'heading' (e. g. HT 13.2), presumably indicating the commodity referred to in the remainder of the inscription, or in a list with other ideograms (e. g. HT 28). Here, the ideogram with its numerals follows a word-group. The structure therefore approaches that of the Linear B script and provides what has so far been one of the missing links between A and B. The normal structure in B follows the pattern: proper name — ideogram — numeral. By contrast, A tends to group in a 'heading' the lowest common denominators of the inscription (commodity signs, transaction signs, etc.) and follows them by a list of names or, sometimes, of commodities.

The first five signs on our tablet probably represent a proper name — either the name of the place from which the measures of wine came or the name of the consignor or consignee. It is hardly coincidental that, on the one hand, so many words in the Linear B vocabulary which are identified as toponyms and anthroponyms end with *-te* (dative-locative $-\tau\epsilon\iota$ or nominative $-\tau\eta\rho$) and, on the other hand, a number of words in Linear A (including this one) end with the same sign. This coincidence must encourage the belief that in the two scripts the final *te*-sign has the same morphological or grammatical function.

I cannot pretend to solve the problem posed by the sign immediately preceding the ideogram. The authors are right to wonder whether it is in fact a ligature of L 92 and another sign. At the risk of confusing the issue, I think that, whatever the *structure* of the sign, its *function* is clear enough: it is an adjunct, specifying the type (or, perhaps, the age) of the wine which is being consigned. Similarly on HT 27b two types of wine are differentiated by adjuncts. This suggestion is not of course invalidated by the fact that in the present inscription the adjunct is of the same size as the principal ideogram. In the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 45, 1962, 50 Grumach stated, and proved by examples, that: "in both series [sc. A and B] the 'combined' and 'separate' forms of writing alternate with each other; that is to say, ligature and juxtaposition of the same signs appear next to each other".

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LINEAR B AND NEUTRALIZATION: A STRUCTURAL COINCIDENCE?

A notable anomaly of the Linear B syllabary is that while in general it makes no distinction between the voiced, voiceless and aspirated stops of Greek, it does distinguish between voiced and voiceless dentals, the aspirates being in this case represented by signs of the voiceless set. This distinction is not confined to the simple stop signs, but extends also to the labialized 'complexes'¹, *twe*, *dwe*, *two* and *dwo*. In this respect at least, Linear B is more adequate for the writing of Greek than is the Classical Cypriot syllabary, which consistently ignores distinctions of both voice and aspiration.

Attempts have been made to account for this state of affairs in terms both of the resources which may have been present in the script from which Linear B was derived, and of the usefulness of such a distinction for the writing of Greek. It goes without saying that any explanation of the second type must account for the fact that only the dentals are involved.

In view of the fact that the Classical Cypriot syllabary distinguishes an *r*- and an *l*-series, while Linear B does not, though it does not, as Linear B does, distinguish a *t*- and a *d*-series, M. Lejeune² considered the possibility that the same set of signs in an earlier writing system *X, having originally values which were liable to be perceived by Greek speakers either as /*l*/ or as /*d*/, had been assigned the values of voiced dental plosives in Linear B but in Cyprus had been used for the creation of an *l*-series, thus not permitting the creation of a *d*-series as well. But, as Lejeune himself pointed out in the same article, this possibility was ruled out by the fact that the sign \vdash , which in Linear B has the value *da*, was used in Cyprus for *ta/da/tha*, while the sign \dashv , which was *lo* in the Cypriot syllabary, was used for *ro/lo* in Linear B. Thus both syllabaries agree in assigning a plosive value to the sign \vdash , making it likely that it also had a plosive value in the source, although the precise nature of the distinction between it and the forerunner of the Linear B *t*-series can only be guessed at; a difference in articulatory position, irrelevant for the Greek phonemic system, is one possibility. Similarly, the sign \dashv in both syllabaries has the value of a continuant, not that of a plosive.

¹ For this term see M. Lejeune, Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies 1966, 144–148.

² Mémoires de philologie mycénienne I, 327–328

E. L. Bennett³ suggested that the greater frequency of dental consonants in Greek might be responsible for the creation of a separate *d*-series in Linear B, and this possibility was further investigated by I. Fischer, who found similar situations in the scripts used for writing some of the Italic dialects⁴. Valuable as these observations undoubtedly are, there is in the case of Greek another factor which may have had some relevance and seems so far not to have been noticed. This is a peculiarity which affects the Greek dental plosives but not the labials and dorsals. The latter are subject in some positions to neutralization of the voicing distinction. When they occur immediately before another stop, they are voiced or voiceless according to whether that stop is voiced or voiceless, and they are always voiceless before /s/. There is therefore the possibility of an automatic alternation of voiced and voiceless labial and dorsal stops in the same morpheme, as, for example in φλέψ, φλεβός; τέταγμα, τέτακται.

From this alternation the dentals are, for a variety of reasons, exempt. The relevant situations are as follows⁵:

1. Stop + stop. Since the only groups of two stops (apart from geminates) which occur in Greek are those in which the second element is a dental, there was no situation in which a dental could be affected by regressive assimilation to a following stop. Where groups consisting of dental + labial or dorsal would have come about they were avoided, either by metathesis, as in the case of τίκτω < τίτ-κω, or by complete assimilation as in Homeric κάππεσε < *κάτ-πεσε. Complete assimilation of a dental to a following labial was also the situation in Mycenaean, as seen in *po-pi* /*popphi*/ **pod-phi* 'with feet' and *e-ka-ma-pi* /*ekhmaφphi*/ **ekhmat-phi* 'with supports' as against the preserved group of dorsal + labial in *po-ni-ki-pi* /*phoinikhphi*/. A dental stop followed by another dental stop resulted in Greek in /st/ as in ἴστε < **wid-te*: here again there was no opportunity for the alteration of voiced and voiceless dentals.

2. Stop + s. While the labials and dorsals become voiceless in this position, the dentals have gone a stage further and in most dialects have become completely assimilated. The result of a group consisting of dental + s is /s/ in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian, while most other dialects have /ss/ or /tt/. It seems that Mycenaean had already reached the stage of total assimilation, in view of dat. plu. *pi-we-ri-si* beside dat. sg. *pi-we-ri-di*⁶: if the dental before s had been retained here it would

³ Language 36, 1960, 139–140

⁴ Studia Mycenaea, ed. A. Bartoněk, Brno 1968, 65–70

⁵ Cf. M. Lejeune, Traité de phonétique grecque, 1955², 58–68

⁶ Cf. also *ne-ki-ri-de* KN L 1568 marg. beside *ne-ki-ri-si* KN Od 687b; *me-ri-du-ma-si* PY Fn 867 beside *me-ri-du-ma-te* PY An 39, 2 etc.; *a-mo-si* /*harmosi*/ PY An 1282, 1 beside *a-mo-ta* /*harmota*/ KN So 4429 etc. — In the case of *wo-no-wa-ti-si* PY Vn 48,6 and PY Xb 1419 vs. 2 both the reading and the interpretation are uncertain. Chadwick, Minos, 1958, 146 read *wo-no-wa-pi-si* in Vn 49, 6, and suggested

presumably have been written, as is the rule with dorsals and labials before *s*, and also with the labio-velars, e. g. *de-ka-sa-to/deksato/*, *e-ki-si-jo* ethnic adjective of the place-name *e-ko-so*, *di-pi-si-jo/dipsio-/*, *wo-no-qo-so/woinoq^us/etc.*

3. Before nasals dentals do not become voiced in Greek (cf. πόντος, ἔντος), nor do they appear to have done so in Mycenaean: *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* shows the expected preservation of the voiceless dental before the suffix of the perfect mediopassive participle.

There was thus no situation in Mycenaean in which a morphophonemic alternation of voiced and voiceless dentals could have occurred, and this fact may have helped to prevent their identification in the writing system; there was no 'archiphoneme' for the dentals as there was for the other series of stops. In conclusion, the creation of a *d*-series for Linear B probably depended on several factors: the existence in the source of signs which had values originally distinct from the dentals, but close enough to them to be identified as such by Greek speakers, who perhaps had a stop system which made fewer distinctions according to articulatory position; the statistical preponderance of dentals over other stops, and the fact that the *t/d* contrast was not subject to neutralization. At all events, the 'asymmetry' of the representation of the stops in Linear B corresponds not only with a statistical asymmetry in the Greek language, but also with a structural one.

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that it should also be read in Xb 1419 vs. 2 (ap. Gallavotti, *Inscriptiones Pyliae* 1961, 138.) In view of the other clear examples quoted above where *t* does not appear before the *-si* of the dative plural ending it seems unlikely that this is a case of a *-ts-* cluster.

A PROPOS DE L'ILE D'ALASIA

On sait que la vieille controverse qui concerne la localisation du pays d'Alasia, l'Alashiya des sources orientales, n'est pas encore terminée: se trouvait-il en Syrie du Nord, comme quelques 'irréductibles' persistent à le croire¹, ou bien s'agit-il, en définitive, d'un nom ancien de l'île de Chypre, comme le pensent la majorité, sinon la totalité des orientalistes et des historiens²? Sans vouloir donner un historique de la question, même résumé, qui serait inutile³, je voudrais faire intervenir ici un élément nouveau, susceptible de démontrer qu'Alasia était bien une île, et donc très probablement l'île de Chypre.

Dans les sources orientales de la fin de l'âge du Bronze, textes alphabétiques ou cunéiformes d'Ougarit ou bien textes hittites de Boghaz Köy, il est toujours question d'Alasia, ou bien du 'pays d'Alasia', très rarement de la 'ville d'Alasia'⁴, mais jamais d'une 'île d'Alasia'.

Or, on vient de publier (juin 1972) un texte phénicien du VII^e siècle avant notre ère qui vient combler dans une certaine mesure cette lacune. Il s'agit de la seconde tablette d'Arslan Tash (Syrie du Nord); acquise en 1933 par R. du Mesnil du Buisson et demeurée inédite depuis cette date, elle est publiée par cet érudit, ainsi que par André Caquot pour le texte⁵. C'est une amulette portant une conjuration contre un démon. Ce dernier, 'au grand oeil', sorte d'ogre, est représenté sur la tablette; dans le texte, il est qualifié deux fois d'Alasien' ou 'Alasiote', ligne 3 'LŠYY et lignes 5—6, 'Y. 'LŠYY. Comme le rappelle A. Caquot, A. Dupont-Sommer, dans un cours non publié, avait d'abord songé à voir dans le premier passage le nom même d'Alasia, qui est plus anciennement, en ougaritique, 'ALT₁Y, et dans le second passage, une expression signifiant 'l'île d'Alasia', avec le nom phénicien de l'île, 'Y, qui est déjà connu. Cependant, André Caquot a certainement raison de penser qu'il s'agit ici, à cause du double yod, de l'ethnique et non pas du nom de pays: on

¹ En dernier lieu, R. S. Merrillees, *Alasia*, Praktika tou prōtou Kyprologikou Synedriou I, Nicosie 1972, 110—119

² Deux articles bien documentés viennent d'être écrits dans ce sens: J. D. Muhly, *The Land of Alashiya: References to Alashiya in the Texts of the Second Millennium B. C. and the History of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age*, même volume, 201—219; Y. Lynn Holmes, *The Location of Alashiya*, JAOS 91, 1971, 426—429.

³ Voir surtout l'étude de Muhly citée ci-dessus.

⁴ Voir notamment Muhly o. c. 206 (texte d'Ougarit RS 11.875)

⁵ Syria 48, 1971 (paru en 1972), 391—406

avait donc en ougaritique 'ALTY 'Alasia' = phénicien (non encore attesté) *'LŠY, et à côté, ougaritique 'ALTY, variante 'ALDY 'Alasiote' = phénicien (ici) 'LŠYY⁶.

Ces faits sont déjà d'un grand intérêt, puisque la survivance en phénicien du vieux nom d'Alasia, au VIIe siècle, était complètement inconnue; en outre, ce témoignage apporte un point de repère supplémentaire, entre les textes orientaux de la fin de l'âge du Bronze et la dédicace chyro-phénicienne de Tamassos, au IVe siècle, en l'honneur d'Apollon Alasiotas ou RŠP 'LHYTS'. Mais le second passage est encore plus remarquable, puisque le mot signifiant 'île' se trouve accolé à l'ethnique 'Alasiote'; le démon était ici qualifié littéralement comme 'île-d'Alasi-ote'⁸.

En conclusion, il me paraît clair qu'au VIIe siècle, en Syrie, des gens de langue phénicienne connaissaient des 'habitants de l'île d'Alasia'; le voisinage des mots 'île' et 'Alasia' ne saurait être fortuit, et cette expression viendrait nous apporter la preuve souhaitée en faveur de l'identification d'Alasia comme Chypre.

Post-scriptum. Pour une énumération chronologique des données concernant Alasia-Chypre, on consultera désormais la mise au point récente de Paul Åström, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. IV Pt. ID; The Late Cypriote Bronze Age . . . , Historical Conclusions*, Lund 1972; période du Chypriote récent II, vers 1425—1190 et période du Chypriote récent III, vers 1190—1050, la dernière mention d'Alasia figurant dans le fameux récit égyptien d'Ounamon, qui se place après 1070 (voir 772—775 et 777—781).

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⁶ A. Caquot o. c. 401

⁷ O. Masson, *Inscr. chypr. syllab. no. 216* (dans la partie phénicienne, on sait que l'épithète du dieu est un calque du grec, transcrivant une prononciation 'Alahyotas').

⁸ A. Caquot o. c. 403, traduit en raccourci 'l'Alasiote'; il a bien voulu me préciser, par lettre, une traduction mot à mot 'île-d'Alasi-ote' (avec l'ethnique formé à partir du composé 'île-d'Alasia').

THE TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE 'EIRENE' COMMITTEE

This conference was held at Cluj in Romania on October 2—7, 1972. The seventh section, the Mycenological Colloquium, held two sessions, on the mornings of 4 and 6 October, under the general direction of Dr. I. Fischer, Secretary to the Conference. On October 4, Mr. W. C. Brice drew notice to recent progress in the comprehension of the Linear A account tablets concerned with the distribution of rations to various categories of labour. Dr. Jan Bouzek pointed to new evidence of a brief cultural and commercial renaissance in the Aegean in LH IIIC. Dr. Antonin Bartoněk presented a review of the contribution of Linear B interpretations to Greek etymological research, with special reference to the vocabularies of Baumbach and the dictionaries of Chantraine and Frisk.

On October 6, Professor M. D. Petruševski gave a talk on the technical vocabulary of the various trades of the Mycenaean period. Dr. Sebastian Popescu spoke on the past participle active in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek. Dr. Heinz Geiss drew attention to some differences in the usage of Linear B 'abbreviations' between the various archives. Finally, Dr. Mario Doria discussed the interpretation of certain elements in the PY Ta series, *a-pi-go-to*, *ta-ra-nu-ge*, *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi*, and *o-wo-we*. We were privileged to see the Tartaria tablets, which were exhibited and described by Dr. Vlassa, Director of the Archaeological Museum of Cluj.

The Conference was generously received and entertained, under the genial Presidency of Professor C. Daicoviciu. The Philharmonic Orchestra of Cluj gave a special performance to mark the occasion on the evening of October 4, while on October 6 an excursion was arranged to the spacious ruins of Ulpia Traiana.

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