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Mycenaean *a-ke-ra₂-te* and *E-ke-ra₂-wo*

George E. Dunkel, Zürich

1. That the Mycenaean Greek dialect was "streng", i.e. that it had only five long vowels rather than seven like Attic-Ionic, was suggested on the basis of Homeric δῆνεα and τελέεσσα, with their unexpectedly "streng" vocalisms, by C. Ruijgh in 1967.¹ His argument was based not on Linear B but on the givens of the Homeric Kunstsprache: since these forms cannot be Lesbian, Thessalian, or Ionic due to the differing results of the "first"² compensatory lengthening in those dialects, nor Doric due to the aesthetic concept behind the Homeric dialect mix, they must, by exclusion, be Mycenaean in origin.

My contribution to the Festschrift for K. Strunk³ extended this approach to the back middle vowels, suggesting that the unexpectedly "streng" vocalism of Homeric ὦνος, ὦμος and Διώνυσος and of Attic ζωμός and κῶμος, which has provoked various *ad hoc* solutions, could be better understood by assuming that all of these are traces of a "streng" Mycenaean dialect. Like other accepted Mycenaean relics such as ἀρμόζω 'fit' (Attic ἀρμόττω; Mycenaean *a-mo* 'wheel') and pan-Greek ἵππος (Mycenaean *i-qo*), they form coherent semantic clusters (Διώνυσος and κῶμος are orgiastic-hymnic; ζωμός and ὦμος are gastronomic) and pertain to fields of central importance to Mycenaean civilisation: religion, with its hymns and feasts, and economics (ὦνος). But whereas the pre-forms of ἀρμόζω and ἵππος are directly tangible in Linear B *a-mo* and *i-qo*, with their distinctly Mycenaean *-o* and *i-*, this is not the case with the other words mentioned above. Since the Linear B syllabary prevents us from distinguishing whether a mid-vowel due to lengthening is high (thus

¹ Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien 1967, 290 fn. 7 and 363 fn. 53 and frequently since, e.g. in Linear B: A 1984 survey, ed. A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux 1985, 149f.

² Actually the second; the lengthening due to loss of laryngeals was of course earlier.

³ "More Mycenaean survivals in later Greek", in Verba et structurae (Festschrift K. Strunk), hsg. H. Hettrich et al., Innsbruck 1995, pp 1-21.

"mild") or central (thus "streng"),⁴ we can learn nothing from the Mycenaean spelling even when the words in question are in fact attested, as is the case in *e-po-mi-jo* and *Di-wo-nu-so*.⁵ But the same argument by exclusion holds for the Homeric three, while for Attic ζωμός and χῶμος the root-connection thus made possible (**ies-* 'boil', **kems-* 'praise') are superior to those of all preceding attempts. The advantages of this approach are double: a unified explanation for a considerably body of otherwise disparate residue and a surprising insight into Mycenaean phonology from an unexpected angle – one which brings Mycenaean definitively closer to its descendant in the Peloponnese, Arcadian.

However to be complete my argumentation requires one more step: the interpretation of the two Mycenaean words mentioned in the title. This is because the sign *ra*₂ was taken by M. Ruipérez 1972, 157-163, M. Lejeune (BSL 71, 1976, 191-206), and A. Heubeck 1979 as standing for geminate /rra/, which is said to continue both **Ria-* and **Rsa-*. Since Linear B *ra*₂ was soon seen to alternate with *ri-ja*, it was first interpreted, quite sensibly, only as /ria/, aside from C. Gallavotti's 1958 suggestion that the feminine agent-suffix *-ti-ra*₂ be read as /tirra/ (as opposed to *-ti-ri-ja* = /triia/); not until 1970 did Ruipérez suggest that *ra*₂ and *ro*₂ denote not jod-clusters but geminates (1972, 160-3). A. Heubeck argued strongly that *ra*₂ and *ro*₂ never have the values *ria* and *rio* at all (1979, 244, 257). A full *Forschungsgeschichte* will be found in

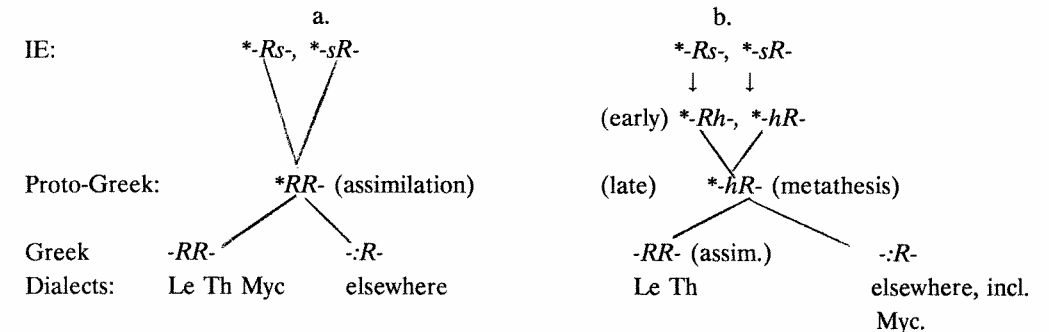
2. A. Leukart 1992, which summarises and further develops the geminate interpretation in an imaginative and coherent manner. Among much else, Leukart attempts to justify all the variant writings of the name *Eker₂wo*, namely *-ra₂-wo-n-*, *-ri-ja-wo-*, *-ra₂-u-n-*, and *-ra-n-*, on the assumption that *ra*₂ stands for /rra/. Compared with the "standard upper class" form of the name which Leukart assumes to be **Hekhe-lāuōn-*, the more recent variants, "modern upper class" **Hekhe-llāuōn-* and "casual modern upper class" **Hekhe-llāun-* (1992, 398), both with "spontaneous" or "analogic" gemination, are obviously nothing more than special assumptions designed to allow *ra*₂ to be interpretable as /rra/.

⁴ Phonologically, the distinction rests of course on whether the new long vowels were "forced" to merge with the inherited ones ("streng") or were "allowed" not to ("mild"); this, too, is unknowable on the basis of Linear B writing.

⁵ Mycenaean *o-no* is of course unrelated to ὄνος < **uos-no-*. Another instance of "streng" lengthening is hidden behind *to-me* (PY Ep 613, 8), instrumental from **to-sm-eh*₁ (Gothic *pamma*).

Despite my discomfort with the "spontaneous" or "analogic" gemination, a type of argument which is taken far more sympathetically in francophone lands than elsewhere,⁶ and with some other of Leukart's phonetic presuppositions as well,⁷ my admiration for his wide-ranging and rigorous study inspires me, in the spirit of American distributionalism of the 1950's, to a "structural restatement" of the same material.⁸

3. **Stematically, two interpretations of the outcome -RR-** (as in Lesbian and Thessalian)⁹ from inherited **-Rs-* and **-sR-* (e.g. *s*-aorists and first persons and other nasal-initial derivatives from roots in final **s*, respectively) are conceivable:



⁶ Some historical reasons for this were discussed by O. Masson, BSL 81, 1986, 217-229.

⁷ Despite the overlap in terminology, there exists no known phonetic relationship, necessary or implicational, between closed vowels and closed syllables (so already Ruipérez 1972, 147 f.). I also doubt the phonetic plausibility of geminate palatalised consonants (**t't'*, **r'r'* etc.) as proposed by Ruipérez 1972, as opposed to palatalised geminates **tt'*, **rr'*; especially **u'u'* is hard to fathom.

⁸ Lesbian Πέρραμος comes in my opinion neither from Ionic *Πρίαμος nor from a proto-Lesbian *Πίρραμος (Leukart 1992, 389). Rather, as one might expect given the island's proximity to Troy, it is just as old as the Ionic variant; its pre-form was *Περί-αμνος, borrowed with Greek morph substitution from Luvian *Pariya-muwas*. The shortened variant *Περί-αμ-ος gave both Lesbian Πέρραμος (desyllabification of *-i-* is a Lesbian specialty), and, with syncope, Ionic Πρίαμος.

⁹ Also in one inscription from Arcadian Orchomenos, Schwyzler DGEP 665 (= Buck 1955 Nr. 21), where οφείλοναι (36 f., for Att. ὀφείλουσι 'owe', cf. οφῆλον in DGEP 657 (= Buck Nr. 22) 40) and ε[χρ]ινναν (51 f.) are often taken as archaisms (e.g. L. Dubois, Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien 1986, 84, 88 f.) although the inscription dates from ca. 350.

In the first scenario **-RR-* would have developed by assimilation already within Proto-Greek,¹⁰ but a subsequent shift of **R* to ***: (vowel length) before **R* gave rise to *:-R-* in parallel fashion in all dialects but the relic-areas of (pre-)Lesbian, Thessalian and Mycenaean. The aorist participle *a-ke-ra₂-te* could then be understood as either ἄγγέλλαντες or ἀγέρραντες, from ἄγγέλλω or (Attic) ἀγείρω respectively.¹¹ So¹² argue the proponents of gemination.

If on the contrary Mycenaean was "streng", the development would have to have been as in b. Here the merger of **-Rs-* and **-sR-* continuants would have been due to a late Proto-Greek metathesis of **-Rh-* to **-hR-*.¹³ *-RR-* would be a purely local assimilation peculiar to Lesbian and Thessalian, with all the other dialects sharing the change *h* > : / *V_R*. *a-ke-ra₂-te* would then represent Mycenaean ἀγγήλαντες or ἀγήραντες. In this case neither /rra/ nor /ria/ would be appropriate – which is why this *Stellungnahme* is needed.

4. Palatalised and geminated consonants. The opposition between plain, labialised and palatalised syllables is well-established in Linear B, stretching from *a wa ja* over *ka qa* /kua/ *za* /kia/ and *ta tja twe* to *do dwo* and *de dwe*. As opposed to the principled absence of *qu* (> /ku/) and *zi* /k'i/ (> /ki/), the gaps in these series are probably only accidental. The full system of which our Mycenaean texts present only a random, second-hand sample seems to have originally been created for a language with a thorough-going opposition between plain, palatal, and labialised consonants; it therefore presumably contained **rje*, **tjo* and the like. Note that e.g. *ta₂* = *tja* is still available for use in Linear B even though **tia* had already become *sa* (as in *to-sa* < **toti-h₂*).

In contrast, no signs whatsoever for geminates are known for certain to exist. *-e-ja* for /eja/ from **-esja*, **-eujā* (*A-ti-ke-ne-ja*, *a-ra-ru-ja*) is of course only a special

¹⁰ Whether over an intermediate **h* or not (as Ruipérez plausibly urges, 1972, 139, 145) is in the present context irrelevant.

¹¹ The question of which of these two stems is involved is for us of no importance. Leukart's conviction that only the latter is possible leads him to emend the first word of PY Vn 493 *a-ke-ro* to *a-ko-ro* (1992, 387 fn. 5 and Atti ... del 2° congresso int. di micenologia I, 1996, 311-4).

¹² A less likely alternative would combine the dialectal outcomes of a. with the phonetics of b. Here Mycenaean would innovate together with Lesbian and Thessalian (but not with Proto-Aeolic), rather than merely retaining the Proto-Greek state of affairs.

¹³ So P. Kiparsky, *Language* 43, 1967, 621-3; M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique*, 1972, 129 sets this metathesis before **s* > Greek *h*.

case of the usual non-writing of syllable-final resonants. Such groups of (secondary) double jod survived even into Ionic (epic genitive *-oio*) and Attic, just as stable as the other case of *paene*-pan-Greek geminates, the *-λλ-* which arose from **-li-* everywhere except Cyprus.

Before the interpretation of *ra₂*, *ro₂* as /rra, rro/ rather than /ria, rio/ hardens into a *communis opinio*, the justification for this odd deviation from the otherwise coherent structure of the Linear B syllabary should be re-examined without prejudice.

5. The main supporting arguments for the geminates are the following. First, since postconsonantal jod has already disappeared in such clear cases as **pi-* > **pt-*, **di-* > *z-*, **ki-* > *z-*, **ti-* > *-s-* and so on, it must have disappeared after resonants as well (e.g. Heubeck 1979, 244). This *non sequitur* is fully as weak as any conclusion based on mere parallelism. E.g. the other two consonants which were also lost intervocally in Greek, digamma and **s*, clearly developed differently after stop than after resonant, both temporally and phonetically. Thus is it *a priori* quite conceivable that an original **TiV* might have developed further between the creation of the script and the time of our documents without this implying anything at all about the development of **RiV*.

A second argument comes from identifying the *-ra₂-* which alternates with *-ri-ja*¹⁴ with that in *akera₂-te*, to conclude that the continuants of **-ria-* and of **-rsa-* have already merged in Mycenaean (Leukart 1992, 388). But since *-ra₂-* from **-Rsa-* is attested only in the single word *akera₂-te*, the basis for this presumption is none too solid.

Ruipérez mentioned the inadmissability of *ra₂* and *ro₂* in initial position (1972, 160), but this is due, rather than to chance as Ruipérez is prepared to concede, to IE structural constraints: no morphemes began or ended with clusters such as **ri-* or *li-*.

6. Hyperforms. It is remarkable that while Leukart allows himself to reckon liberally with hyperforms and inverse writings in his interpretation of *Ekerawo*, whose etymology is not at all clear, he refrains from doing so at all in the case of *akera₂-te*, where the morphological analysis at least, whatever the stem involved, is clear enough for our purposes. This seems to me to be the wrong way to proceed.

¹⁴ There are to date no examples of *ro₂* alternating with *ri-jo*, but the transparent morphophonemic sequence of the neuter plural intensive/comparative *a-ro₂-a* /arjoha/ provides a quick-and-dirty equivalence.

inscriptions¹⁶ of both the classical languages, as in Latin LOIVQVIOD (*CIL*² I.1, 6.36840; Forum-inscription), PODLOVQVEIQVE (*CIL*² I.550, 2833), OQVOLTOD (*CIL*² I.581, 10.104; SCB) respectively. Hyperforms involving Greek digamma have been collected by O. Masson from Arcadia (Φοφληκοσι, to which add Ηρφαοιοις), Cyprus (*ptoliwi*, *awila*, *towenai*, *-kerewo*) and Corinth (ΠοτεδαΦον, ΔιδαΦον, ΟριΦον; participles Φων, εΦων; also gen. sg. -αΦο) in BSL 78, 1983, 272-4. Labiovelar reflexes led to well-known mix-ups in Arcadian (α τε θεος and απυγεδομνος in *DGEP* 661 = Buck 1955 Nr. 17, οζις = ὅσις in Buck 1955, Nr. 16) as did the plain velars in Cypriot (*apu tai zai*).

Hyper-aspiration, as in *haurio* and *in-halāre*, is a well-known problem in Latin. In Greek this topic is far from having been definitively handled. Many instances of "unetymological *h*-" were collected by Buck 1955 § 58cd from Arcadian (Ηεσκληρος, Ηαν), Argolic (Ηε = η, Ηαισκληπιει), Heracleian (Ηοισοντι, Ηαρνηαις, Ηοκτω, Ηεννεα, Ηαχρο-), Locrian (Ηαγεν, εφαγεσθαι, Ηοποντιον), Delphic (Ηεντε = εστε) and elsewhere (Boiotian Ηιρανα). In my opinion, the problematic aspirates in ὦς 'toward',¹⁷ ἐκὼν, ἔσπερος and the like are not phonological but rather due to widespread hypercorrection; cf. also Attic δέχομαι, παννύχιος etc.

Hyper-urban diphthongs, as in *plaudere* and *aurīga* < *ōs-i-h-g-,¹⁸ and hyper-rustic monophthongs, as in *olla* and *otium* < *au-tio-, are well-known phenomena in Latin. Front diphthongs were prone to hyperiority in the Koiné as well, with its multiple waves of Iotacism, and early Lesbian has its double-hyper αι for Attic *eta* as in αιμυσεων (*DGEP* 619 = Buck 1955 Nr. 25) and the patronymic suffix -ιδαις. In Latin, hyper-rhotacism is seen in the *LASES* of the *carmen Arvale*.

7. Hyperforms in Mycenaean? Several graphic alternations in Linear B could conceivably contain hyperforms. Some involve, as we might expect from the preceding, the labialised velars (*p/qe-re-qo-ta*, *i-po-po-qo* for **i-qo-po-qo*; *Ko-pe-re-u* for **Ko-qe-re-u*) as well as the palatalised ones (*a-ke-ti-ri-ja* beside *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*),

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Whether jod and jod-signs are ever involved in hyperforms in Mycenaean depends on one's stand on the development of intervocalic jod in that dialect. For most, this was in the process of becoming *-h-*, for which reason it was sometimes written as *-j-*, sometimes as *-h-* (using the sign *a₂*), and sometimes not at all (slightly differently Heubeck 1979, 2243). This eminently reasonable interpretation is accepted by all but E. Risch, who believed that intervocalic jod was still completely intact in Mycenaean.²⁰ This is one of the few places in Greek linguistics where the *communis opinio* has not followed Risch.²¹

But we are interested in post-liquidal jod, for which early Linear B had various complex signs, including *ro₂* and *ra₂*. Clear instances of the unjustified use of *ro₂* (whether = /rio/ or /rro/) for simple *ro* include *pi-ti-ro₂-we-sa* for /ptilo-/ (Heubeck 1979, 246 f.) and the name *Ko-tu-ro₂-(ne)* if this is Κοτύλων from κοτύλη 'cup' (Heubeck 1979, 245).

¹⁹ Not likely for the labiovelars, cf. *qo-u-qo-ta*, *i-qo-e-qe*, *qe-qi-no-me-no* etc.

²⁰ From Gif in 1956 (Kleine Schriften 377 f., 389; cf. also ibidem 440-2, 505 f., 517-26, 559 fn.) at least through Nürnberg in 1981 (Res Mycenaee, ed. A. Heubeck and G. Neumann 1983, 385-9).

²¹ I. Hajnal has tried to explain away some obvious counterexamples to Risch's idea. Because he can not take *e-e-to* as the third plural aorist middle of ἔημι 'they were sent', Hajnal suggests that it is a mediopassive (!) injunctive of εἰμί and means "(so und so viele) werden es wohl sein" (MSS 51, 1990, 46). How does this vague supposition fit in with the otherwise highly specific, yes-or-no diction of the tablets? This stylistic inconcinnity alone renders the further argument unacceptable, even aside from the implausibility of **hes-* in the mediopassive (here Homeric and Sapphic ἔσοο [cf. F. Sommer, Schriften aus dem Nachlaß, ed. B. Forssman 1977, 150 f.] should at least have been mentioned). Again, since for Hajnal *A-e-ri-me-ne* cannot possibly contain ἤρι 'early' from **āier-i*, he suggests taking its first element as ἄρι (Mykenaika, ed. J.-P. Olivier 1992, 285-301). This means that the names *A-e-ri-me-ne* and *A-o-ri-me-ne* (which Hajnal justifies at great length in IE terms, even though it is a normal inner-Greek formation) stand in free variation - also unparalleled in Mycenaean. The same self-inflicted problem is the real justification for the implausibly complex Risch-Hajnal view of the Stoffadjectives in *-e(j)o-* (Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch, ed. G. Dunkel et al., 1994, 77-109), with its "monosyllabically pronounced *-e-o-*" (E. Risch, Kleine Schriften 525 f.) and the like.

¹⁶ Leaving aside the Alexandrian meddling with the Greek of non-Attic authors, producing such chronological incongruities as Alcman's παρσένος and phonological ones like Sappho's φιλημμι.

¹⁷ I compare this with Vedic *ā* 'toward' from **o-h₂o*, on which see my paper in: Syntaxe des langues indo-iraniennes anciennes (Colloquium Sitges 1993), hsg. E. Pirart, 9-27.

¹⁸ On this word see my contribution to the forthcoming Festband 125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz, ed. M. Ofitsch and Ch. Zinko.

Parallel to these, I propose that *ra*₂ was sometimes used "inversely" for simple /ra/ - perhaps in *Ekerawo* and definitely in *akerate*.

8. *E-ke-ra₂-wo*. Leukart starts from the unexplained presumption that the basic form of the name of this important individual - priest of Poseidon, king of Pylos, or both, in his view - was *Hekhe-lāu-ōn* (1992, 391, 393, 395, 398). If one finds a spelling *-ri-ja-* for /lla/ hard to believe (Leukart 1992, 400, after Heubeck), it is possible to accept both Leukart's etymology and his general social analysis but still account for the orthographic variation in a different way.

If we admit that the Mycenaean writing system was not only itself imperfect, but that it was non-optimally exploited as well, then the explanation for the unexpected *ra*₂ will indeed be sociolinguistic, but it will have nothing to do with gemination, whether spontaneous or analogic, or with the "casual" articulatory habits of the Pylian modern upper class. The Mycenaean scribes were not phoneticians! *Ekerawo* was simply a high-prestige person and his name demanded fittingly prestigious graphemics. And compared with plain *ra*, the sign *ra*₂ was rarer, more exclusive, and *ipso facto* more prestigious. *Ekerawo* would thus be a **purely graphic hyperform** for the correct *Ekerawo*, implying, in this case, nothing as to the actual pronunciation. The variant with *-ri-ja-* is also a hyperform: an inverse historical spelling with *ri-ja* substituted for the prestigious *ra*₂ because this was known to have once noted /rja/.²²

However Leukart's etymology and social analysis represent but one among many possible interpretations. If they happen not to be correct, there is no shortage of other analyses, especially if *ra*₂ can stand for /ra/ as well as /rja/: *Hekhe-lāu-ōn* 'holding the booty' (Attic λεία), *Hekhe-laiu-ōn* 'subduing the left'; *Egeri-āuōn* 'awakener'. cf. Ἐγέρτιος;²³ *En-khe(i)ri-āuōn* '(holding) in his hand = under control'; *Enkhe-lāuōn* 'Lord of eels', ...

9. *a-ke-ra₂-te*. This is the only place where *ra*₂ is known to represent the outcome of **Rsa* rather than of **Ria*, which is reason enough for caution. For me it is also a hyperform, as suggested already by M. Lejeune, Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, ed. L. Palmer and J. Chadwick 1966, 148 = Mémoires de philologie

mycénienne III.103. Here no particular social justification is obvious, only the understandable confusion of a linguistically untrained native speaker when confronted with the lengthening due to **Rs*-clusters as compared with that due to **Ri* after **e*, *i*, *u*. Whereas the present **ageriō*, **agerieis* would be written as *a-ke-ro₂*, *a-ke*rje* (cf. § 4), its unaugmented²⁴ aorist **ager-s-m*, *-s* etc. would after the "first" compensatory lengthening and the renewal of the ending-system have become **agēra*, *-as* and so on, which would have properly been written as *a-ke-ra* and so on. Hypercorrection would have introduced the use of the palatalised *r*-series from the present into the aorist, leading to the historically unjustified writing *a-ke-ra₂-* for the aorist stem.

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- A. LEUKART 1992: "Les signes *76 et *68 et le nom du grand prêtre de Poséidon à Pylos", in: Mykenaika, ed. J.-P. Olivier, 387-405.
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- M. RUIPÉREZ 1972: "Le dialecte mycénien" in: Acta Mycenaea (= Minos 11, 1972), 136-166.

²² Rather than for "expressive" /lla/ with Leukart 1992, 394, 395, 400.

²³ On the suffix *-āuon-* see Ruijgh, Minos 9, 1968, 109-155 = Scripta Minora I, 240-286.

²⁴ The nearly total loss of the augment is an independent innovation of the Mycenaean dialect which lives on in Homer.