

MYC. WO-NE-WE

The word *wo-ne-we* appears three times on the Pylos Cn tablets and once in the Knossos L (?) series in the following places:

PY Cn40.2: Wa-no-jo wo-wo pa-ro po-so-pe-re-i wo-ne-we OVIS^m 75

Cn643.1: A-pa-re-u-pi pa-pa-ro wo-ne-we [OVIS^m] 40

Cn719.12: Wi-ja-we-rja a-ke-ta [wo-ne-]we OVIS^m 100.

The single example of *wo-ne-we* from the Knossos tablets is on a small fragment containing only two words:

KN L (?) 1335:]wo-ne-we[
po-]ni-ki-jc[.

On the PY Cn tablets this word occurs in uniform patterns¹: preceded by a place-name and a personal name (with or without the preposition *pa-ro*), and followed by an ideogram and numerical signs. The ideogram which follows *w.* is always OVIS^m. On Cn 643.1 it is damaged, but the surviving traces of its lower part (cf. *PT II* p. 67) show that here too it represented OVIS^m.

Judging from its ending, the word was formed with the suffix -εύς, and here it has an inflectional form: nom. plur. -ηFες, or dat. sing. -ηFει. Since the suffix -εύς usually denotes men's occupation, Ventris and Chadwick in *Evidence* (p. 97) suggested that *w.* is a description of a man (the preceding person), dat. sing. *woinewei* 'winedealer'². But in the tablets where *w.* is found no other person is qualified with his profession. Besides, the appearance of such an occupation as 'vintner' in texts dealing with small animals would be rather strange. From a consideration of the texts of the whole series, it is clear that *w.*, like *pa-ra-jo παλαιοί*, does not qualify the person (herdsman), but the animals designated by the ideogram³.

¹ The word *wo-ne-we* appears only in the first group of this series. For the classification and interpretation of the PY Cn tablets see: *Docs* 197-201; M. Doria, *Interpretazioni di testi micenei II*, Le iscrizioni della classe Cn di Pilo, Trieste 1958; L. R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford 1963, p. 164-177; Mabel Lang, *Cn Flocks*, Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, 1966, p. 250-259.

² In *Docs* the word was left without identification, but was again taken as a trade or title in the dat. sing. -ewei. (p.412).

³ The same point was noted by A. Morpurgo-Davies, *Mycenaean Graecitatis Lexicon*, s.v.: Vis verbi valde incerta: cum tamen ante symbolum OVIS^m scriptum sit, adject. vel subst. ad arietes spectans videtur. Cf. also Mabel Lang, *o.c.* 258.

M. Doria (*o.c.p.* 24f.) concluded that *w.* denotes a colour 'del colore del vino'⁴ — „in senso figurativo“, and pointed out that the colour of the animals meant for sacrifice played an important part in ancient times. Meanwhile, L. R. Palmer (*Interpr. of Myc. Gr. Texts* p. 168, 464) objected to this explanation because „the etymological identification of *pa-ra-jo* as *παλαιοί* 'old' and *wo-ne-we* *Φοινῆ* *Φεες* 'wine-coloured' do not form a convincing pair of semantic oppositions“. According to him *w.* is a nom. plur., a category of royal cattle, contrasting with *pa-ra-jo* i.e. an age category from **Fóρνον* for *Fάρνον* (?).

In lists of livestock, as described on the PY Cn tablets, a term for *Fάρνον* as the opposite of *παλαιός* might in fact be expected. In the KN D series other terms are found to record the age of the animals. They are written with abbreviations: *pa.* (= *pa-ra-jo*) *παλαιός*, *pe.* (= *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*) *περυσιν* *Fός*, *za.* (= *za-we-te-jo*) Att. *τῆτες*, Ion. *σῆτες* etc.⁵ But along with them there also occurs the abbreviation *o.* (= *o-pe-ro/-te*) *ὄφελος*, *ὄφείλοντες*, and this does not denote an age category. It is open to question whether *w.* on the PY Cn tablets is so contrasted with *pa-ra-jo* that we must regard it as its opposite. Only on Cn40.1 and 2 do these two terms appear one after the other, and in the other two examples they are separated, or only one of them occurs⁶. It is known that Cn series is composed of tablets with different contexts and purposes, although all of them have cattle ideograms. Even in one and the same tablet separate lines contain different sorts of information. There is reason to suppose that the long lists of the Cn series, where *w.* appears, are compiled from smaller tablets of the type of Cn453 and Cc660, just as Ep from Eb and En from Eo tablets. The smaller Cn tablets, which might have served as a basis for the long lists, could differ, especially if written by different scribes⁷, not only in the completeness of the data, but also in the contents. And this might cause some differences between certain lines of one and the same tablet. In these lists, which contain rather heterogeneous data, *wo-ne-we* need not be the opposite of *pa-ra-jo*, but may denote another category of rams.

Internal evidence would also appear to support such an opinion. The fact that on the surviving Cn tablets we can see flocks se-

⁴ This meaning is accepted also by E. Vilborg, *A Tentative Grammar of Myc. Greek*, Göteborg 1960, p.95, 146; M. I.ang, l.c.

⁵ Cf. J.T.Killen, *Some adjuncts to the SHEEP ideogram on Knossos tablets*, *Eranos* LXI, 1963, p.69—93.

⁶ On Cn643 *w.* is in the first line, and *pa-ra-jo* does not appear in the surviving text of this tablet; on Cn719 *w.* is in the last line (12), and *pa-ra-jo* in lines 4. and 9.

⁷ The Cn tablets were written by several scribes. E.L.Bennett, *Athenaeum* NS 36, p.330, ascribed some of them to hand № 21 and J.-P. Olivier (letter of 10-II 1966) discovered two new hands: № 5: Cn202? 285, 328, 436? and № 6: 643, 655, 719. Moreover some individual lines of these tablets were written by other hands, cf. 1. 8 of 599, the MAN ideogram on 595.2, etc. The tablets containing the word *w.* also belong to different hands: Cn40 to № 21, and Cn643 and 719 to № 6.

parated according to sex, kind and other qualities, led us⁸ to the conclusion that the livestock, collected by the palace officials as a tribute, was deliberately classified in this way and left with some individuals in order to be fed. It is a common practice that the old and weak animals are culled from the standing flocks for trade and slaughter. On the Cn tablets *pa-ra-jo* rams were also separated from the remaining stock of a district, because they could not be kept for the next year.

The composition of the animals (predominantly male) on the PY Cn tablets indicates that the main aim of the palace was probably to obtain fattened livestock for meat. But the palace evidently wanted to extract additional profit from them. Undoubtedly it was interested in the wool, and the term *w.* very likely qualifies the rams according to the kind (colour and quality) of their wool.

The suggestion that *w.* represents an alternative spelling for *ἄρνων*, as the opposite of *pa-ra-jo*, encounters difficulties from both the orthographic and the linguistic point of view.

In later Greek there are formations with *-ιδεύς* for the young of animals, mostly birds, e.g. *ἀετιδεύς* 'a young eagle', *ἱερακιδεύς* 'a young hawk', *ἀλωπεκιδεύς* 'a young fox', etc⁹. Only *σκυλακεύς* 'a young puppy' and *ἐχιεύς* 'a young viper' are in *-εύς*, but apparently they are formed on the analogy of those in *-ιδεύς*. Such formations can hardly be expected in Mycenaean, because all the examples of this kind are later, posthomeric forms, and in Mycenaean there are no words in *-i-de-u*. Besides, a formation with *-(ιδ)εύς* for a young animal, derived from the stem *warn-* would be unusual, because the basic word *ἄρῆν* itself denotes something young.

The word *ἄρῆν*, *ἄρνός*, Cret. *Ἐρῆν* 'lamb', is to be found on the Mycenaean tablets in the personal name *wa-ni-ko* PY Jn478.4 *Ἐρνίσκος*¹⁰ (cf. Paus. VI, 17.7 *Ἄρνίσκος*) from the stem **warn*¹¹, in the adjective *we-re-ne-ja* PY Ub1318, where leather and leather goods are mentioned, probably *wreneia*¹² (*διφθέρα*) 'lamb's skin',

⁸ Cf. *A Re-Examination of the PY Cn tablets*, Atti e Memorie del I° Congresso Internazionale di micenologia II, Roma 1967, p.92—96.

⁹ Buck — Petersen, *A reverse index of Greek nouns and adjectives*, Chicago, Illinois 1945, p. 27.

¹⁰ VI. Georgiev, *Lexique des inscr. creto-mycén.* s.v.; P. Chantraine, *Finales myc. en -iko*, Proc. Cambr. Coll. p. 169.

¹¹ It has been supposed that this word is concealed in the personal name *wa-na-ta-jo* KN V 466.2; PY Eb369, etc. *Warnataios* (Docs 426), and in the first part of the place name *Wa-no-jo wo-wo* = *Warnoto worwos*, but as a result of the new join of KN Ch5724+X 5953 by J.-P. Olivier, the name of an ox *Wa-no-* appeared, which made this identification serious suspect (cf. Proc. Cambr. Coll. p. 82). The identification of *Wa-no-jo* and *Wa-ni-ko* with *Ἐρνός* was disputed by A. Morpurgo-Davies, cf. Atti e memorie del I° Congr. I, Roma 1967, p. 292, 297, because *Ἐρνός* is a late post-homeric form and it is difficult to assume the existence of such form in Mycenaean.

M.D. Petruševski, Ž.A. XII, p. 294—312 discovered the word *ἄρῆν* in *Wa-na-so-i*, *Wa-na-se-wi-jo* = *Ἐρνασοί*, *Ἐρνασήπιος*.

¹² Mabel Lang, AJA 62, p. 191; A Heubeck, Bibl. Orientalis, 17, 19; J. Chadwick — L. Baumbach, *The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*, s.v. *ἄρῆν*.

and in the adjective *wo-ro-ne-ja* MY Oe111.2 along with the ideogram for wool — ‘lamb’s wool’. The last suggestion, given by L. R. Palmer (BICS 1955,2 p. 36), that this word should be read *worneia* (scriptio plena) or *wroneia* (with metathesis) has been received with some favour¹³.

An alternation of *or/ro* from vocalic *r* is assumed in some words, e.g. *to-no* PY Ta707.1, etc. *thornos*, cf. Cypr. θρόναξ: *to-ro-no-wo-ko* KN As1517.11 **thronoworgos?*; *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* PY Cn595.5, etc., *Matropulo*: *ma-to-pu-ro* PY Mn1412.5 *Mator-pulo* (<*matr-*)¹⁴, although it is not altogether certain that these are corresponding pairs¹⁵. A similar alternation of *or/ro* in *wo-ne-we* compared with *wo-ro-ne-ja* is less certain not only because a word **worneus* from the root **wərn-/*urn-* with the meaning ‘lamb’ does not appear¹⁶ in later Greek, but also because it is very doubtful whether these two words are derived from the same root.

All the Mycenaean words beginning with *wo-n-* are identified with the root *woin-*, and L. R. Palmer accepted this identification for all of them with the exception of *wo-ne-we*, e.g.: *wo-no* PY Vn20.2 ‘*Φοῖνος*’ (cf. *Interpr.* p. 369), *wo-na-si* KN Gv863, in an agricultural context *Φοινάσσι* ‘vineyards’, dat. plur.; *wo-no-go-so* KN Ch897, —1015, the name of an ox *Φοῖνοϋ*¹⁷ (*Interpr.* 464); cf. also the ethnic f. *Wo-no-wa-ti-si* PY Vn48.6; Xb1419v.2 (along with the theonym *di-wo-nu-so-jo*) *Οἰνωᾶτις* from *Οἰνώη*, *Φοινώ*¹⁸. It can hardly be doubted that the form *wo-ne-we* conceals the word *οἶνος* and denotes the colour of wine, like *wo-no-go-so*.

A possible support for such an identification of *w.* is provided by the record from the Knossos tablets where it appears. Although KN L(?) 1335 is a small fragment, and it is difficult to determine the series to which it belongs, the second word, probably an adjective, *po-]ni-ki-jo* *φοινίκιος*, is very significant. Obviously it does not denote age^{18a}.

¹³ A. Morpurgo-Davies, *o.c.* p. 291 with the quoted literature.

¹⁴ A. Heubeck, *Zu einigen Namen auf den Pylos-Tafeln* 1960, Kadmos I, 1962, p. 61f.

¹⁵ A. Morpurgo-Davies, *o.c.* 290f.

¹⁶ According to H. Frisk, *Gr. etym. Wb.* s.v., ἀρνευτήρ, the basic word of ἀ. is not ἀρήν, sondern ἀρνεός aus *ἀρσνηΦος; ἀρνεύω also eig. ‘mache einen Bocksprung’. Ein Zwischenglied *ἀρνεός vorauszusetzen (Bechtel, *Lex.* 63) ist in Anbetracht der stark produktiven Verba auf -εύω nicht notwendig“.

¹⁷ For the correct identification of this word *Φοινώφορος* cf. M. D. Petruševski, *Ž.A.* XI p. 250, and M. Lejeune, *REG* 76, p.6.

¹⁸ Cf. M.D. Petruševski, *Ž.A.* XI p. 278; J. Puhvel, *Mycenaean Studies* Wingspread, Madison 1964, p.169.

^{18a} I am very thankful to Dr John Chadwick for the epigraphical notes on KN 1335. This fragment has been removed from the L class and it is now unassigned (X). Besides, he expressed a serious doubt whether the word *wo-ne-we* is written on this fragment. According to him there is reason to think that KN X 1335 is a Ga tablet, since its hand is now identified by Olivier as № 136, the scribe who wrote Ga tablets between 415 and 423, Og 424 — 427 and a few others (E 749, 849?). In view of that, Chadwick thinks that *po-] ni-ki-jo* is almost certainly a spice of that name, not an adjective of colour; and in line a he assumes some kind of

The identification of *wo-ne-we* with Φοινῆρες 'wine-coloured' is easier to accept from both the linguistic and the historical point of view. The colour of wine is often used as a description of animals and birds. The word Φοινέες is even documented in Hesych. as γοινέες κόρακες. Οἰνιάξ: εἶδος κόρακος. Οἰνάς is a kind of pigeon, (Arist. *H.A.* V, 13, 544b) — χρώμα δὲ ἔχει οἰνωπόν (ap. Athen. IX, 394a), cf. also οἰνιάς — ἡ ἀγρία περιστέρα (Poll. VI, 22). Οἰνάς is also known as a dog's name (cf. Xen. *Cyneg.* 7,5). According to Schol. B. ad Iliadem οἰνοπε βόε are οἰνώδεις εἰς τὸ ὄρν' οἱ δὲ μέλανες. It is also possible for sheep to be called Φοινῆρες 'dark', or 'reddish'. It is well known that there were sheep of this colour, cf. Hom. *Od.* IV, 135; IX, 426; Plin., *N.H.* VIII, 190; Colum. VII, 3,2; Vitr. VIII, 3,14, etc. It may be observed that this kind of sheep with reddish pigment, otherwise called *kavardžik*, i.e. 'curly' a description which characterises the quality of their wool, are still reared in North-Eastern Bulgaria¹⁹.

A comparison of some Turkish documents from 16th — 19th cent. dealing with the same subject as the Mycenaean cattle tablets, may support to some extent both the meaning of this term for sheep and the possibility of it appearing in these texts. From such a document of 16th cent., 1576/1577, National Library, Sofia, № 6038, which represents an assessment in sheep from several districts in Bulgaria, we can see that some districts were assessed in so called *kavardžik* 'curly' sheep, or *bakar karmiz* 'copper red' sheep, so named from the colour of their fleeces. Thus, 857 *celep* (people responsible for supplying the Turkish administration and army with meat) from the district of Sofia were obliged to provide 35,185 *kavardžik* (*bakar karmiz*) sheep; 150 *celep* of Berkovitsa — 5,055 *kavardžik* sheep, etc. From some districts ordinary sheep were demanded²⁰. Although the collected livestock was meant for consumption, from these Turkish documents one can see that the collectors had also to look after the wool, skins and other products. In any case these records may throw important light on the Mycenaean cattle tablets.

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A form *woineus* for *wo-ne-we* was assumed at the very beginning of the decipherment of these texts. The question is only: Is an adjective. A slight gap between *-we* and the broken edge suggests that the end of the word falls here; but *wo-* was broken and there could easily have been other signs in front of it. Therefore he tried to restore a name such as [*e-ta-*]wo-ne-we (cf. L 584.2, etc).

However there are some objections to this statement too: 1. As an argument against the Ga assignment of the fragment X 1335 is its find-spot in the Domestic Quarter together with the main sheep archive; whereas the Ga tablets in question come from the Corridor of the House tablets and adjacent areas right the other side of Palace. 2. Unless the joining pieces are found, there will always be some doubt about the restoration of [*e-ta-*]wo-ne-we.

¹⁹ Т. Савов, *Развитие на овцевъдството в България до освобождението ѝ от илѝрско робство*, Известия на Инст. по животновъдство X, София 1959, п. 378f.; — *Развитие на овцевъдството в България*, София 1964, БАН, p. 104f.; P. Белевска, *Овцевъдство*, София 1964, 266f.

²⁰ Cf. T. Savov, *o.c.*

tival meaning possible for a form in -εύς? — It has already been noticed that the suffix -εύς, which is productive during the whole history of the Greek language, is widely represented²¹ in Mycenaean. Here we find almost all the kinds of noun formed with this suffix in Homer and in later times. Out of about 200 words, in which the suffix -εύς in different case forms can be discovered, nearly two thirds are personal names²². In some of them well known historical and mythological personal names may be easily recognized, e.g.: *a-ki-re-u* Ἀχιλλεύς, *a-re-ke-se-u* Ἀλεξεύς, *do-ro-me-u* Δρομεύς, *e-pe-ke-u* Ἐπειγεύς, *ke-re-te-u* Κρηθεύς, *ko-pe-re-u* Κοπρεύς, *po-ro-te-u* Πρωτεύς, *po-ro-u-te-u* Πλουτεύς, *ro-te-u* Ροντεύς, *te-se-u* Θησεύς, etc., (but more of them have no certain identification). Titles of religious and social functions are also formed with this suffix in Mycenaean: *i-je-re-u* ἱερεύς, *qa-si-re-u* βασιλεύς, different trades and professions, as: *ka-ke-u* χαλκεύς, *ka-na-pe-u* (κ)γναφεύς, *ke-ra-me-u* κεραμεύς, etc., the names of vessels: *a-(pi)-ro-re-we* ἀμ(φι)φορῆΨες, *ka-ra-re-we* κλαρῆΨες²³, ethnics, names of demes and classes of occupation: *e/o-ko-me-ne-u* Ἐ/Ὀρχομενεύς, *e-re-e-u* Ἐλεεύς²⁴, *ku-te-re-u-pi* χυτρεΰφι, etc.

It is noticeable that among the different kinds of nouns in -εύς, both in later Greek and Mycenaean, there are appellations which qualify animals according to some characteristic sign, as: Ion. οὐρέύς Att. ὄρεύς 'mule'; *τραπεζεύς* 'dog, fed from its master's table'. To these we can add the above mentioned γοινέες = Φοινέες 'κόρακες' Hesych. It seems that as well as *wo-ne-we* ΦοινῆΨες the Mycenaean terms: *ai-mi-re-we* and *e-ka-ra-e-we* KN Dm passim, belong to the same category.

The interpretation of the last two terms is even more difficult, because corresponding words in later Greek are not documented.

²¹ Docs 86, 100; O. Szemerényi, *The Greek Nouns in -εύς*, *Μνήμης χάριν P. Kretschmer II*, Wien 1957, p. 159—181; E. Vilborg, *o.c.* p. 93—95, 145f.; O. Landau, *Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen*, Göteborg 1958, p. 178ff.; V. Georgiev, *Die griech. Nomina auf -εύς und die baltisch-slavischen Verba auf -ájuj / -íjo*, *Lingua Posnaniensis VIII* 1960, p. 17—29; K. Marot, Βασιλεύς, *Acta Antiqua*, Acad. Scient. Hung. X, 1962, p. 175—185; M.D. Petruševski, *Die griech. Nomina und die kleinasiatischen Ethnika auf -εύς*, *Linguistique Balkanique VI*, Sofia 1963, p. 19—24; J. Chadwick — L. Baumbach, *The Myc. Greek Vocabulary*, p. 19f.; C.J. Ruijgh, *Etudes sur le grec myc.*, p. 164f., 181, 247ff.

²² An exact calculation of the forms in -εύς is difficult, because not all the words in which this suffix has been supposed are yet identified and it is impossible to determine with certainty whether some of them are personal names, place-names or appellatives. In round numbers there are about 130 personal names, about 50 different appellatives and ethnics and about 20 place-names.

²³ *Ke-mi-ge-te-we* MY Wt503 'khermiquiteves' (cf. *χερνιπτωμαί*) J. Chadwick, *Eranos* 57, p. 4; J. Chadwick — L. Baumbach, *o.c.* p. 224, 257; but M.D. Petruševski *Ž.A.* XV, 116, reads *ke-mi-ge-te-re* *χερνιπτῆρες*.

²⁴ It is thought that the number of the ethnics in *-eus* is smaller than that of the place-names, and in the Greek of the first millenium the proportion is opposite, cf. M. Doria, *Aspetti della toponomastica micenea delle tavolette in lineare B di Pilo*, VII Congr. Internaz. di Science Onomastiche, Firenze-Pisa 1961, p. 426.

²⁵ In Docs p. 210, 386 *ai-mi-re-we* is connected with αἰμύλος 'wheedling'; M. Lejeune, *Parola del Passato* 1962, p. 409 suggested *αἰμίλειός.

A satisfactory identification for *ai-mi-re-we* has not yet been found²⁵. The identification of *e-ka-ra-e-we* = ἐσχαραῖνες²⁶ was rightly rejected by M. Lejeune²⁷, because when a noun in -εύς is derived from an *a*-stem, then the vowel *-a-* is elided both in later Greek and in Mycenaean, cf. σφαγεύς/σφαγή; κωπεύς/κώπη, *ko-to-ne-we* κτοινῆ-νες/*ko-to-na* κτοίνα, etc. There are a few examples in *-a-e-u*, e.g. *ka-ma-e-u* καμαεύς, *za-ma-e-wi-ja*, derived from a **za-ma-e-u*, etc., but they are very likely neuters in *-as*²⁸. Therefore M. Lejeune (*o.c.*) suggested a new identification of *e-ka-ra-e-we*: *ἐγγραῖνες (from γράω 'gnaw', 'eat') with the meaning „bêtes à lengrais“, which corresponds well as a description of rams. Although these terms have not got a definite identification, one thing however is quite clear. The same as *wo-ne-we* on the PY Cn tablets, these two terms on the KN Dm tablets qualify rams and represent a kind of adjective in accordance with their meaning.

In view of the fact that in later Greek the suffix -εύς is used to form nouns, it seems that an adjectival meaning for formations with this suffix seems to be aberrant. But it is to be noticed that the formations in -εύς are very varied²⁹, and the adjectival meaning is not impossible for some of them in both Mycenaean and later Greek, cf. βοεύς, οἰκεύς, etc. M. Lejeune has also found that „rien n' exclut qu'un nom en -εύς puisse faire en quelque sorte fonction d'adjectif en mycénien“³⁰.

It is well known that the nouns in -εύς mostly denote an occupation, profession or title of men. With this meaning the suffix -εύς approaches the suffix -της/τηρ, used for forming nomina agentis. The closeness of these two suffixes can be seen in their alternation in the same word, as: οἰκεύς: οἰκέτης from οἶκος, cf. Myc. *ko-to-ne-we* PY Be995 κτοινῆνες : *ko-to-ne-ta* PY Eb901.1 κτοινέτας, possibly *e-ro-pa-ke-u* KN As4493.2: *e-ro-pa-ke-ta* MY Fo101.9 (cf. *MT. II*, p.107³¹).

But just as this suffix alternates with the suffix -της/τηρ, so there are examples in which it alternates with the typically adjectival suffix -ιος, thus showing that this suffix may have an adjectival function too. Examples with such alternation occur in Homer, cf. the personal name of Odysseus' goatherd Μελανθεύς : Μελάνθιος, and they are more numerous in Mycenaean, even more nume-

²⁶ G. Puglise-Garratelli, *Parola del Passato IX*, 1954, p. 220; cf. also L.R. Palmer, *Interpr.* p. 181, 414.

²⁷ M. Lejeune, *l.c.*

²⁸ Idem, *o.c.p.* 410.

²⁹ In view of all the formations with this suffix, M. Leroy, *A propos des noms en -εύς et de quelques traits communs au grec et à l'iranien*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philol. et d'Histoire Orientale et Slaves XI*, 1951, Bruxelles, p. 225 says: il s'agit d'un ensemble fort varié tant au point de vue sémantique qu'au point de vue formel“.

³⁰ M. Lejeune, *o.c.* p. 409.

³¹ Cf. also the ethnic *e|o-ko-me-ne-u* PY Ea780, Nn831.8: *e-ko-me-na-ta-o* PY An218.11.

rous than those of -εύς: -της/-τηρ, e.g.: *Ka-ri-se-u* KN As1516.9; As5866.1; PY Jn431.22; MY Au102.3 χαρισ(σ)εύς: *Ka-ri-si-jo* PY Jn706.16 Χαρίσιος (or-ων) derived from χάρις, stem χαριτ-, cf. χαρίσιος; *Po-i-te-u* KN Da1083 Φοιτεύς: *Po-i-ti-o* KN Da1314 Φοίτιος?? *Po-te-u* PY An519.7; Cn45.13 Ποντεύς: *Po-ti-jo* KN KN B 804.3 Πόντιος: *Pu-te-u* PY Jn431.12 Φυτεύς?: *Pu-ti-ja* PY An340.10; Qa1294. The same alternation might be assumed in *A-ki-re-u* KN Vc106, *A-ki-re-we* PY Fn79.2 Ἀχιλλεύς and *Ja-ki-ri-jo* PY Xa1387, cf. *Pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-re-u* PY Nn228.3: *Pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo* PY Na425, a place-name or ethnic. Although the examples quoted are personal and place-names, this alternation is significant³². It may indicate that the original meaning of -εύς was close to that of the possessive adjectives.

The relation of -εύς to the Slav. possessive suffix *-ovb/ovb* has already been pointed out³³, and the possessive character of numerous ethnics, especially those of pre-Greek origin, has also been stressed³⁴. In Hom. and later Greek this suffix is regularly used for forming nouns, but it is very likely that earlier it was applied to the formation of adjectives too. In both Mycenaean and later Greek there are derivatives in -εύς which characterise a person or a thing. Their meaning is very close to that of the adjectives. A comparison with some examples from the Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic languages³⁵ may support this meaning. J. Wackernagel (cf. *Kleine Schriften* I, p. 298) pointed out some parallels of -εύς in Sanskrit and Lithuanian with a purely adjectival meaning: *vājayú* 'güterreich', *udanyú* 'Wasser enthaltend', *vandhurāyú* 'einen Wagensitz habend'³⁶, etc., Lith. *bedzius* 'in Not befindlich', *snarglius* 'rotzig', etc. The Greek nouns in -εύς which designate a locality or a thing characterised by something, e.g. *δονακεύς* 'thicket of reeds' (*δόναξ*), *φελλεύς*

³² It is also important to point out that there are many derivatives with -εύς from the stems in *-io/-ia*, mostly personal names and ethnics, e.g. *do-ri-je-we* PY Fn867.5 ΔωριήFei; *pe-di-je-we* PY An654.1 ΠεδιήFec, cf. *pe-di-je-wi-ja* < *ΠεδιήFios, cf. also: *o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u*, *ro-u-si-je-wi-ja*, *tu-si-je-u*, etc.

³³ Brugmann—Thumb, *Griech. Grammatik*, München 1913, p. 182.

³⁴ M.D. Petruševski, *Die griech. Nomina auf -εύς* (n. 21) p. 32f. Cf. also Ž.A. XV, p. 288 for the original possessive meaning of οἰκεύς.

³⁵ The suffix -εύς has often been the subject of profound studies both in the past and recently. Its meaning and the morphological peculiarities are well clarified. But there are problems especially concerning its origin. According to some scholars this suffix is peculiar to Greek and without equivalent in the other IE languages, cf. C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago — Illinois 1948, p. 201f., 316; Buck — Petersen, *A reverse index of Gr. nouns and adj.* p. 27; P. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec*, Paris 1947, p. 99; E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*, Berlin 1937, p. 143, etc. But its Indo-European origin cannot be denied. Parallels to this suffix can be seen both in Iranian and Balto-Slavic languages.

³⁶ It is noticeable that some Mycenaean nouns in -εύς denote also 'possessors', e.g. *ka-ma-e-u* 'qui *ka-ma* habet', cf. A. Morpurgo-Davies, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Ko-to-ne-we*, nom. plur. from **ko-to-ne-u*, has probably the same meaning as *ko-to-no-o-ko*, i.e. 'qui *ko-to-na* habet'.

'stony ground' (φελλός), κωπεύς, usually in plur. κωπέες 'pieces of wood fit for making oars' (κώπη), etc. belong to the same category. All this proves that an adjectival meaning for *wo-ne-we* = ΦοινῆFες 'wine-coloured', as well as for *ai-mi-re-we* and *e-ka-ra-e-we*, words which qualify rams, is quite possible and normal.

Skopje.

P. Hr. Iliovski.

FLATUS CUPRESSORUM

Primo vere

Florentes amygdali
solari luce involutae
respirant effundentes
tenerum castumque odorem

Et oculi
teneritate tacti
palmis lacrimosis
niveum mulcent florem

Flatus cupressorum

Sedentes cum corde in luce oscillantes sub cupressis
in paeninsula sancti Stephani olim sub pinis
circumdati immensitate maris
omnia praeterita sentimus in ruinis

At
audientes sonorum cantum cicadarum
in umbraculis parvis
timidae animae excitatae
cum alis lucentibus cantilenis cantoribus Solis
in spem volant collustratam aeternitate

Et poesis
Et poesis instar Semelae
quotidianis flammis flammulisque
constanter moritur
cum formositas splendidior
inopinate in humano corde oritur

Zagreb.

T. Smerdel.