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ON THE MEANINGS OF THE PLACE NAMES IN GENITIVE IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

Abstract: The issue of the syncretism of genitive with ablative in Mycenaean Greek became a subject of discussion upon the decipherment of the Linear B in the 1960's, mainly because of the occurrence of the instrumental ending $-\varphi\iota$ in place names in contexts where one would expect a local case. Fifty-five years after the publishing of Petar Hr. Ilievski's book *The Ablative, Instrumental and Locative in the Oldest Greek Texts*, we revisit this problem with an analysis of the meanings of the place names in genitive in Mycenaean Greek. In view of the significance of the place names, as a semantic category for the local cases on one hand, and the frequent use of the place names in the Mycenaean documents on the other, such an analysis can provide important information regarding the thesis that the ablative in the Mycenaean period of the Greek language was not expressed with genitive forms.

Key words: *Mycenaean Greek, place names, genitive, ablative*

The question of whether the syncretism of genitive with ablative was or was not completed in Mycenaean Greek became one of the most discussed issues when it was observed that, on the Linear B tablets, the ending $-\varphi\iota$, occurs often in place names in contexts where one would expect a local case. In 1961, Petar Hr. Ilievski published his book *The Ablative, Instrumental and Locative in the Oldest Greek Texts*, in which he presented evidence in favour of the thesis that the ending $-\varphi\iota$ in addition to the instrumental-comitative had ablatival function in Mycenaean Greek. Much has been written since on this topic and various analyses of the ending $-\varphi\iota$ and of the local cases in general have been made, the most recent of which is to be found in the *Syntax of Mycenaean Greek* published by José Miguel Jiménez Delgado in 2016.¹

The aim of the research presented in this paper, was to investigate the meanings of the place names in genitive in Mycenaean Greek, bearing in mind the significance of the place names as a semantic category, for the local cases on one hand, and the frequent use of the place names in the Mycenaean documents on the other. Needless to say, any semantic analysis of the Linear B linguistic material is limited in more than one way. In order to be able to discuss the meaning of a place name in genitive one has to be able to confirm: that the particular form is a place name, that it is in genitive, and that there is an appropriate context for interpretation.

¹ See also Petruševski, 1955, 398-399; Lejeune, 1957; Householder, 1960; Morpurgo-Davies, 1960 and 1966; Ruijgh, 1967, 93-95 and 2011, 274-277; Ilievski, 1970; Risch, 1986; Hajnal 154-185; Waanders, 1997, 83-107 and 2008; Bartoněk 161, 444; Thompson 1999 and 2014.

A safe ground in this sense would be:

1. Positive identification of a Mycenaean form with a historical place name, cf. *pu-ro* and Πύλος; *ko-no-so* and Κνωσ(σ)ός; *te-qa-de* and Θῆβαι.

2. Suffixes typical for place names, such as *-wont-*, cf. *a2-ru-wo-te* and Ἀλοῦς; *-ntho-*, cf. *ko-ri-to* and Κόρινθος; *-so-*, cf. *a-mi-ni-so*, and Ἀμνισός.

3. Distinctive genitive endings: athematic stems genitive singular ending *-o*, */-os/*, *-oç*; thematic stems genitive singular ending *-o-jo*, */-oyyo/*, *-oio*; *a*-stems genitive plural ending *-a-o*, */-āhōn/*, *-āων*.

An analysis based on these criteria reveals that, even though more than 350 place names have been identified on the Linear B tablets (c. 100 place names at Knossos, c. 250 place names at Pylos, c. 25 at Thebes),² only few of them can be analyzed as genitive singular forms ending in *-oç* or *-oio* or as genitive plural forms ending in *-āων* and only few of them can be safely interpreted as genitive singular forms ending in *-āç* or genitive plural forms ending in *-ων* on the basis of a context analysis.

If we look at the meanings of these genitive forms, we can observe the following.

The place name in genitive qualifies the word *o-ro-jo*

On the Pylos tablet **Eq 213**, which belongs to the series of land-tenure tablets, several place names in genitive occur: in the third line *e-ri-no-wo-to*, */Erinowontos/*, genitive of *e-ri-no-wo*, perhaps */Erinowons/*, Post-Mycenaean Ἐρινεός, Ἐρινεῦς;³ in the fourth line *ko-tu-wo*, perhaps */Gortuwos/*, genitive of **/Gortus/*, Post-Mycenaean Γόρτυς, cf. *ko-tu-we* on PY Na 908;⁴ and in the fifth line *o-te-pe-o-jo*, a genitive of a place name⁵ with no satisfactory interpretation, but certainly of a thematic stem, because it ends in *-oio*. The place name in the fifth line is preceded by the form *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo*, another genitive singular ending in *-oio* of an adjective *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, */pot-niyaweyos/*, "belonging to Πότνια". It is possible that **o-te-pe-o* is a compound name,

² For the purposes of our analysis, in addition to the many specialized works, the following indexes and general studies on Mycenaean place names were taken into consideration: Cremona, M.V. et al. *La toponomastica Cretense nei documenti in lineare B di Cnosso*. Roma: Edizioni dell' Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1978; Del Freo, Maurizio, "The Geographical Names in the Linear B Texts from Thebes". *Pasiphae* III, 2009[2010], 41-68; McArthur, Jennifer K. "The Place-names of the Knossos Tablets". *A Tentative Lexicon of the Mycenaean Place-Names. Part One*, ed. José L. Melena. *Annexo a Mimos XIX*. Salamanca, 1985; Sainer, Alan P. "An Index of the Place Names at Pylos". *SMEA* 17, 1976, 17-63; Bennett, John. "The Geography of the Mycenaean Kingdoms". *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World. Volume 2*, eds. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies, Louvain-la-Neuve – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011, 137-168; García Ramón, José L. "Mycenaean Onomastics". *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World. Volume 2*, eds. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies. Louvain-la-Neuve – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011, 236-243; Bartoněk, Antonin. *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2003, 424-429.

³ Georgiev, *Lexique* 33; *DELG* I 371; Bartoněk 238; Melena 121, n. 163.

⁴ *Documents*² 557; Bartoněk 278; Melena 121, n. 164.

⁵ *Interpretation*² 89, 218, 439; Sainer 48; *DMic. II* 52-53.

comparable to place names such as *ne-wo-pe-o* (PY Aa 786; Ab 554.B) and *so-ro-pe-o* (PY An 207.14).⁶

The introductory sentence of the tablet reads as follows: *o-wi-de, a-ko-so-ta, to-ro-ge-jo-me-no, a-ro-u-ra, a2-ri-sa*. If we accept the interpretation proposed by Petruševski, it could be transcribed and translated as follows: */hō wide Alksoitās trok^weyomenō arourans Halisā/, "what did Alksoitas saw while Halisa was inspecting (going around) the arable lands".⁷ In the following lines the introductory sentence is replaced with the coordinating expression *o-da-a2*. The typical formula *to-so-de pe-mo, /tosson de spermo/, "so much seed", followed by the ideogram for wheat and a number occurs at the end of each line and denotes the measure of surface/area. All place names in genitive are qualifiers of *o-ro-jo*, probably a term for "region or district", and possibly corresponding with the Post-Mycenaean οἰρών, "region, district",⁸ thus forming a phrase meaning "...The region (district) of ...", cf. Cypr. ἰ(ν) τ(ῶι) οἰρῶνι τῶι Ἀλα(μ)πριῖάται, "in the district of Alampria" (ICS 217,8). The Pylos tablet Eq 213, is obviously not a record of individual land-holdings, but of large portions of arable land belonging to or related to particular places. With regards to their semantics, the phrases consisting of a place name in genitive and *o-ro-jo* are comparable to similar phrases consisting of a personal name, an occupational term or a theonym in genitive and terms related to land tenure such as *ko-to-na, /ktoinā/, κτοίνα*, 'plot', or geographical terms, such as *wo-wo, */worwos/, cf. ὄρος*, 'boundary, land mark'. These genitives express the semantic role possessor and it could be assumed that the place names in genitive in the phrases with *o-ro-jo* express the same semantic role. Their precise meaning however, depends on the precise interpretation of the term *o-ro-jo*.⁹**

In the second and in the sixth line of PY Eq 213 there are two more instances of *o-ro-jo*, preceded by the words *a-ke-re-wa* and *ko-no*, which in the particular context should also be interpreted as place names in genitive. The first one is found on other

⁶ According to Ruijgh, the second part of these compound place names might mean "farmstead", cf. *σν-φεός*, "pigsty" and a place name *Φεά, Φειά* in Elis, see Ruijgh, 1967, 183, n. 429, 260, 269 and 2011, 271; for a different interpretation of *o-te-pe-o-jo* as *Ὀνθεσπέο(η)ιο*, see Delgado 137.

⁷ This transcription is based on the interpretation of the phrase *to-ro-ge-jo-me-no ... a2-ri-sa* as an instrumental (ablative) absolute, a grammatical construction parallel to the Post-Mycenaean genitive absolute or the Latin ablative absolute, see Petruševski, 1977, 41-42. The predominant opinion, however, is that the form *a2-ri-sa* is not a personal name, but rather a verbal form, an infinitive or a participle or 3rd p. pl. sigmatic aorist, cf. *Documents*² 269; Bader 298, n. 24; Melena 76; Waanders, 2012, 571-572; Bartoněk 241, 308, 327 or that it is a qualifier of the noun *ἄρουρα*, cf. Del Frio, 2005, 151; an adjective, cf. Milani 115, 129; Delgado 174-175, or a name of a geographical area, cf. *Interpretation*² 217-218. As a result, the introductory sentence has been interpreted differently, taking *a-ko-so-ta* as the subject of the participle *to-ro-ge-jo-me-no*, cf. "Thus *a-ko-so-ta* saw during his inspection tour surveying? the fields of ...", see Nightingale 572, n. 11.

⁸ Puhvel, 1958, 62-63; Delgado 62, n. 70. Should we accept this interpretation we have to assume that it is a case of an anomalous spelling of the cluster *-ry-*, cf. Risch, 1983, 375, n.7. For other interpretations of *o-ro-jo*, see *DMic.II* 49.

⁹ On the interpretation of the genitive forms with *o-ro-jo* as genitives of origin, not indicating departure, but rather location, relatedness to a particular place, see Delgado 62.

Pylos tablets as a place name, perhaps */Agrēwā/*.¹⁰ The second word is found on other Linear B tablets only as a plant name, probably *σχοῖνος*, "rush, reed". On the Pylos tablet **Eq 213**, it could be interpreted as a genitive plural */Shoinōn/* of a place name **/Shoinoi/*.¹¹

The place name in genitive qualifies the theonym *po-ti-ni-ja*

Both at Pylos and Knossos there are examples of place names in genitive used to modify the theonym *po-ti-ni-ja*, */Potniya/*, *πότνια*, "mistress, queen, lady". The genitive in *-o-jo* of the place name *da-pu2-ri-to*, */Daburinthos/*, Post-Mycenaean *Λαβύρινθος* occurs once on **KN Gg 702.2**.¹² The genitive in *-o-jo* of the place name **/u-po/*, perhaps **/Ybos/*, cf. Post-Mycenaean *Υβα*, occurs three times at Pylos, on **PY Fn 187.8**; **Fr 1225.1**; **1236.1**.¹³ In all these instances *po-ti-ni-ja* is the recipient of various commodities, such as honey, oil etc. The genitive denotes the specific place to which the deity was connected and it can be said that it expresses a relation in the broadest sense of the word.¹⁴ To determine this relation and the semantic role of the place name in genitive more precisely is not a simple task, because, on one hand, the deity was a mistress, protector, owner of the place, and on the other, the deity was worshipped in that particular place. Therefore, the genitive expresses the semantic role patient or partial affectedness, but it also denotes location. That is why on some of the tablets *po-ti-ni-ja* is modified with an adjective, cf. *po-ti-ni-ja*, *a-si-wi-ja* (**PY Fr 1206**), or a common noun instead of a place name in genitive, and there is at least one example that confirms that the place name can also be in locative or in some other case, cf. *ne-wo-pe-o*, *po-ti-ni-ja* (**PY Cc 665**). In Post-Mycenaean Greek, the noun *πότνια* is usually qualified with a genitive, cf. *πότνια θηρών Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη* (Hom. *Il.* 21.470-471), but it is also described with a theonym in apposition, cf. *ᾧ πότνι' Ἥρα* (A. *Th.* 152).

The place name in genitive qualifies the official title *ko-re-te*

The 27-th line of the tablet **PY Jo 438** reads *e-ra-te-re-wa-o ko-re-te* *AUR P 6*. This tablet belongs to the series of Pylos tablets dealing with metals, in this case gold. It is a list of personal names and titles of local officials associated with various place names and amounts of gold, probably contributions to the palace.¹⁵

¹⁰ Georgiev, 1956, 40; Ruijgh, 1967, 165 and n. 346; García Ramón 240; *DMic. I* 39-40 and also Del Frio, 2005, 151-152; Nightingale 573.

¹¹ Ilievski, 1958, 310; Ruijgh, 1967, 171; *Documents*² 555 and also Del Frio, 2005, 151-152; Nightingale 573; Melena 98.

¹² *Interpretation*² 238-239; Lejeune, 1966, 139-140 Bartoněk 191, 389, 545; Moerschini 60-67, McArthur 20; Melena 73; see also Duhoux, 2008, 263; García Ramón 234.

¹³ Petruševski, 1963, 301; M. Gérard-Rousseau 230-231; Melena 126.

¹⁴ Delgado 60 and n. 66, Duhoux, 1973, 132 and 2008, 263; Hiller 187-188.

¹⁵ *Documents*² 358-359; *Interpretation*² 288-289; Michailidou 533.

We know that *ko-re-te* is the title of a local official, a "mayor"¹⁶ and we know from other tablets that **e-ra-te-re-wa* is a place name, /*Elatrēwai*/, cf. Post-Mycenaean personal name Ἐλατρεύς.¹⁷ The form *e-ra-te-re-wa-o* is therefore a genitive plural of this place name and the phrase *e-ra-te-re-wa-o ko-re-te* means "the mayor of *Elatrēwai*".¹⁸ The meaning of the place name in genitive modifying the word *ko-re-te* is similar to the meaning of the place names in genitive that modifying the word *po-ti-ni-ja*. The genitive expresses the semantic role patient or partial affectedness. It denotes the place over which the particular official exercises his powers¹⁹ and it alternates with instrumental-ablative on other tablets, cf. *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*, *ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te N 3 (PY Jn 829.17)*. In Post-Mycenaean Greek, the alternation occurs between the genitive and the dative-locative-instrumental, cf. ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν (Hom. *Il.* 1.7), Τενέδοιό τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις (Hom. *Il.* 1.38), and πολέεσσ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἄνακτα (Hom. *Il.* 5.546), ἀρχεν' Ἀργείοισι (Hom. *Il.* 2.345). On the Mycenaean tablets, the noun *ko-re-te* can also be modified with adjectives derived from a place name, cf. *o-du-ru-wi-jo*, *ko-re-te (KN C 902.2)*.

The place name in genitive qualifies other official titles or occupational terms

Two more genitive forms of place names probably have a meaning that is the same or similar to the meaning of the genitive *e-ra-te-re-wa-o*, /*Elatrēwāhōn*/ on **PY Jo 438.27**. These are *pu-ro-jo* of the place name *pu-ro*, /*Pylos*/, Πύλος on **PY An 129.4** and *u-du-ru-wo* of the place name, **u-du-ro/o-du-ro*, **/Odrus/*, cf. Ὀθρυς on **KN V(2) 145.2**.²⁰

The tablet **PY An 129**, as all other tablets in the An series deals with personnel, listed individually or in groups. The presence of the ideogram *VIR* and the forms of the words indicate that it is a list of men, but the particular purpose of the list is not very clear, since there is no introductory sentence, but only two headings consisting of a simple phrase with the preposition *pa-ro*, cf. *pa-ro ti-ki-jo* in the first line and *pa-ro, ka-ke-u-si*, /*paro khalkeusi*/ in the seventh line. The word *ti-ki-jo* has been interpreted as a personal name.²¹ Bearing in mind the dative-locative ending *-si* in the phrase *pa-ro, ka-ke-u-si*, it is probable that the men, listed on **PY An 129**, are or ought to be with *ti-ki-jo* or with the smiths.²² All of them are listed individually by their personal name or occupational title, with the only exception in the fourth line, where a group of 10

¹⁶ On the various interpretations of the word *ko-re-te*, see *DMic. I* 380-381. On the possibility that *ko-re-te* was not a local official, but rather a palatial appointee, see Nakassis 9-11.

¹⁷ Georgiev, *Lexique*, 32; *Documents*² 545; García Ramón 241; Hajnal 221-223.

¹⁸ Another possible example occurs on **PY On 300.10**, cf. *e-[]-re-wa-o*, *ko-re-te*.

¹⁹ Cf. Luragi 54-55. For an interpretation of the genitive in similar phrases in Post-Mycenaean Greek as objective genitive see Chantraine 61; Schwyzler 121. For an interpretation of the place names in genitive describing official titles on Mycenaean tablets as genitives of origin not indicating departure, but rather location, see Delgado 62 and also Michailidou 531.

²⁰ On the interpretation of **u-du-ro/ o-du-ro* and **/Odrus/* see Ruijgh, 1967, 185 n. 439; Lejeune, 1966, 140; *DELG III* 778; *DMic. II* 18.

²¹ Perhaps /*Stikhios*/, Στιχίος, see Georgiev, *Lexique*, 71; Ruijgh, 1967, 203; Nakassis 387; *DMic. II* 347.

²² Nakassis 387; Thompson, 2014, 180.

men is described as *za-mi-jo*, *pu-ro-jo*. The word *za-mi-jo* is probably an occupational title, cf. also *za-mi-jo* VIR 9 (KN As(2)1517.v2), though there is no satisfactory interpretation.²³ As for the meaning of the genitive *pu-ro-jo*, Πύλοιο of the place name Πύλος, it could denote the place of origin of the group of men²⁴ or rather the place where they perform their professional activities and services on a regular basis i.e. the place to which their activities and services are related. On the Mycenaean tablets, the occupational titles, just like the official titles, are in some cases modified with ethnic adjectives, cf. *ko-ri-si-jo*, *ra-pte-re* (PY An 207.15), */Korinsiyoi rhaptēres/*.

The Knossos tablet KN V(2)145 lists groups of officials next to place names and certain quantities of an unknown commodity, expressed in numbers.²⁵ The second line of the tablet reads: *u-wo-qe-ne*, *u-du-ru-wo* '4 o 6'. The word *u-wo-qe-ne* is probably an error for *u-wo-qe-we*, the nominative plural of a term for an official title, perhaps */uwokweus/*, cf. ἐπωπεύς, "overseer".²⁶ The genitive *u-du-ru-wo* of the place name **u-du-ro/o-du-ro* describes this term in the same manner as *pu-ro-jo* describes *za-mi-jo* on PY An 129.4 or as *e-ra-te-re-wa-o* describes *ko-re-te* on PY Jo 438.27. The phrase *u-wo-qe-ne*, *u-du-ru-wo* corresponds with the phrase *o-du-ru-we*, *u-wo-qe-we* on KN Co 902.6.

The place name is in genitive instead of locative

There is yet another instance of the place name **u-du-ro/ o-du-ro*, **/Odrus/* in genitive on KN Co 910, a fragment of a palm-leaf shaped tablet, cf. in the first line *o-]du-ru-wo / a-ko-ra-ja[* and in the second line] *CAP^f 190 SŪS^f]*.²⁷ The context of the fragment itself is insufficient to understand the meaning of the genitive, therefore we have to compare the tablet 910 with other tablets of the Knossos Co series. This series lists mixed livestock, sheep, goats and pigs located in various places. The formula of these palm-leaf shaped tablets is very simple. It consists of a place name and the adjective *a-ko-ra-jo*, */agorayos/*, ἀγοραῖος, derived from the noun *a-ko-ra*, */agorā/*, ἀγορά, "collection". The use of this adjective indicates that the flocks were related to the "collectors" activities.²⁸ Forms of the place names *wa-to*, *si-ra-ro*, *ku-do-ni-ja* (KN Co 904.1), interpreted as */Kudōniyā/*, Post-Myc. *Κυδωνία*, and *a-pa-ta-wa* (KN Co 909.1), interpreted as */Aptarwā/*, Post-Myc. Ἀπταρα are ambiguous regarding the case ending. The form, *ka-ta-ra-i* (KN Co 906.1), however, is clearly a locative plural from the place name *ka-ta-ra*, */Katrai/*, cf. Post-Myc. *Κάτρη*.²⁹ On the basis of this and on the basis of the context of the Knossos Co series, it is probable that the place name

²³ For the transcriptions **ζάμοι* and **σάρμοι*, see *DMic. II* 454-455 and also Melena 50.

²⁴ Sainer 52; Thompson, 2014, 180 and also Delgado 62.

²⁵ Hajnal 182-183; Duhoux, 2012, 212.

²⁶ *Interpretation²* 182-183; *DMic.II* 394; Melena 37.

²⁷ KN Co 910 is probably a piece of the same tablet as KN Co 7056, cf. in the first line *] OVIS:f 600[* and in the second line *]SŪS:f 50 BOS:m 2 BOS:f]*, see *CoMIK I* 371 and Firth - Melena 275.

²⁸ *Interpretation²* 184; Killen 122ff. and also Bennet, 1992, 77 and 2011, 149; McArthur 55; Hajnal 196-197.

²⁹ Hajnal 196-197.

in genitive *o]-du-ru-wo* on KN Co 910.1 designates location, the location of the livestock. The genitive, because of its partitive value, was used instead of dative-locative-instrumental to express location in Post-Mycenaean Greek as well, cf. ἦ οὐκ Ἀργεος ἦεν Ἀχαικοῦ (Hom. *Od.* 3.251).³⁰

Conclusion

The semantic analysis of the place names in genitive in Mycenaean Greek shows that the number of forms that can be safely interpreted as place names in genitive on the grounds of morphology, i.e. a distinctive genitive ending, is very small, whereas the scope of the meanings of these forms is limited to possessive and partitive meanings, or more precisely to the semantic roles possessor, patient or partial affectedness and location. It is possible that, when a place name in genitive qualifies an occupational term, cf. *za-mi-jo*, *pu-ro-jo*, */Puloyyo/* on **PY An 129.4**, it actually expresses origin. But, if so, a sense of separation is not implied, but only a qualification or description of the particular person or group of people. All analyzed forms are examples of adnominal genitive, except for one, *o]-du-ru-wo* (**KN Co 910.1**), which is probably an adverbial genitive, the verb "to be" being omitted.

As for the place names ending in *-a*, *-āç* in genitive singular or in *-o*, *-ow* in genitive plural, these forms can be safely interpreted only to the extent that the semantic analysis can safely confirm the genitive as the only possibility for their interpretation in the particular context.

In the case of *a-ke-re-wa* (**PY Eq 213.2**) and *ko-no* (**PY Eq 213.6**), it is quite certain that these forms are genitives of place names, */Agrēwās/* and */Shoinōn/*, because they are qualifiers of the word *o-ro-jo*, and on the same tablet this word occurs three more times, preceded by a form which is safely interpreted as a place name in genitive, cf. *e-ri-no-wo-to*, *ko-tu-wo*, *o-te-pe-o-jo*.

On the other hand, there are several place names ending in *-a*, modifying the nouns *ko-re-te*, "mayor" and *po-ro-ko-re-te*, "vice-mayor", that could be interpreted as genitive singular forms ending in */-ās/*, based on a comparison with the phrase *e-ra-te-re-wa-o ko-re-te*, */Elatrēwā(h)ōn ko-re-te/* on **PY Jo 438.27**, cf. on the same tablet *a-pu2-ja ko-re-te* (line 11), *ti-mi-ti-ja*, *ko-re-te* (line 24), *a-ke-re-wa*, *ko-re-te* (line 28) or on **PY On 300** *ra-u-ra-ti-ja ko-re-te* and *e-sa-re-wi-ja ko-re-te* (line 9), *lte-mi-ti-ja ko-re-te* (line 10) *a-si-ja-ti-ja ko-re-te* (line 11), or *me-ta-pa*, *ko-re-te* **AES M 2** *po-ro-ko-re-te* **AES N 3** on **PY Jn 829.5** etc. But, these place names could equally be interpreted as forms of instrumental-ablative singular ending in */-ā/*, based on a comparison with the phrases such as *e-re-e*, *po-ro-ko-re-te*, */Helehē po-ro-ko-re-te/* on **PY Jo 438.19** and *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*, *ko-re-te*, */Elatrēwāphi ko-re-te/* on **PY Jn 829.17**, cf. also *ka-ra-do-ro*, *ko-re-te* on **PY Jo 438.12** and *ka-ra-do-ro*, *ko-re-te* **AES M 2** *po-ro-ko-re-te* **AES N 3** on **PY Jn 829.11** with *ka-ra-do-ro*, not **ka-ra-do-ro-jo*, a genitive of the place name *ka-ra-do-ro*, */Kharadros/*, *Χάραδρος*.

³⁰ Luraghi 60-61; Chantraine 58; Schwyzler 123.

Similarly, *a-ta-na* in the phrase *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (KN V 52) could be interpreted as a genitive singular form /*Athanās*/, based on a comparison with the phrases such as *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo*, *po-ti-ni-ja* (KN Gg 702.2) or *u-po-jo*, *po-ti-ni-ja* (PY Fn 187.8; Fr 1225.1; 1236.1), but it could equally be interpreted as a dative singular form, in apposition to the noun *po-ti-ni-ja*, based on a comparison with Post-Mycenaean evidence.

The semantic analysis of the place names in genitive in Mycenaean Greek shows that none of the genitive forms, which can be safely interpreted as place names in genitive on the grounds of morphology, i.e. a distinctive genitive ending, expresses separation, a semantic role typical for the ablative.

As regards place names ending in *-a* or *-o*, there are forms occurring in contexts that imply separation, on tablets that record commodities or people (individuals or groups), moving from different localities to the palace or somewhere else. Typical in this sense is the Pylos tablet **An 1**, where rowers from several places are going to *Πλευρών*, cf. in the first line *e-re-ta*, *pe-re-u-ro-na-de*, / *i-jo-te*, / *eretai Pleurōnade iyontes*/, "rowers going to Pleuron". The place name *ro-o-wa* in the second line, as well as other place names in the following lines, denotes separation, but whether *ro-o-wa* is in genitive and ends in *-ā̄c*, or is in instrumental-ablative and ends in *-ā̄*, we do not know. What we do know, however, is that *ri-jo*, *po-ra-pi*, *te-ta-ra-ne*, *a-po-ne-we* are not forms of genitive. Therefore, the interpretation of the place names ending in *-a* or *-o* as forms of genitive in contexts that imply separation is possible to the extent that there are no other place names in the same context in cases other than genitive.

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SUR LES SIGNIFICATIONS DES NOMS
DE LIEUX EN GENITIF EN GREC MYCENIEN

(Résumé)

La question du syncrétisme du génitif avec ablatif dans le grec mycénien a fait l'objet d'une discussion après le déchiffrement du linéaire B dans les années 1960, principalement en raison de l'apparition de la désinence du cas instrumentale $-\varphi\iota$ dans les noms de lieux dans des contextes où on s'attendrait à un cas local. Cette discussion reste toujours d'actualité. Vu l'importance des noms de lieux en tant que catégorie sémantique pour les cas locaux d'une part et l'utilisation fréquente des noms de lieux dans les documents des archives mycéniens, d'autre part, nous avons effectué une analyse sémantique des noms de lieux en génitif en grec mycénien.

L'analyse des significations des noms de lieux en génitif dans le grec mycénien montre que le nombre de formes, qui peuvent être interprétées avec certitude comme un nom de lieu en génitif sur la base de la morphologie, c'est-à-dire d'une désinence du génitif distinctive, est très faible, alors que la portée de la signification de ces formes est limitée à possessives et partitives et, plus précisément, aux rôles sémantiques possesseur, patient ou affectation partielle et lieu. Il est possible que lorsqu'un nom de lieu en génitif qualifie un terme professionnel, cf. *za-mi-jo*, *pu-ro-jo* (PY An 129.4), il exprime l'origine. Mais, si tel est le cas, la séparation n'est pas sous-entendue, mais seulement une qualification ou une description d'une personne concrète ou d'un groupe de personnes. Aucune de ces formes n'exprime la séparation, le rôle sémantique typique de l'ablatif.

En ce qui concerne les noms de lieux se terminant par $-a$, $-\bar{a}\zeta$ en génitif singulier ou en $-o$, $-\omega\nu$ en génitif pluriel, ces formes ne peuvent être interprétées de manière sûre que dans la mesure où l'analyse sémantique peut confirmer en toute sécurité le génitif comme la seule possibilité pour leur interprétation dans le contexte particulier.