Mycenaean names in *-to*: the Minoan component in the 2nd millennium BC through the lens of anthroponymy

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Introduction

This article offers an analysis of the pre-Greek proper names in *-to* attested in Linear B. The majority of these names are concentrated in documents from Knossos. More importantly, they reveal certain morphological features which are relatively homogeneous with those of other pre-Greek names. As we shall see, it is often difficult to determine the origin of the proper names with this ending in Linear B, although the non-Indo-European nature of several of them is hardly questionable.[1] The importance of the Mycenaean evidence is due both to the higher frequency of these names compared to alphabetic Greek and to the greater interaction of Greek with the pre-Greek linguistic world in the 2nd millennium.

The survey begins with a brief section on the possible interpretations of *-to* in the light of the alphabetic evidence. It should be noted that the group formed by the terms in *-ntʰo-*, which also have a pre-Greek origin, is excluded from the study, as no anthroponyms with this suffix have been identified. The second section discusses the non-Indo-European proper names in *-to* which appear in Linear B and do not belong to the aforementioned group, and distinguishes between toponyms and anthroponyms. In the third section, these names are compared to those found in Linear A and to other pre-Greek names attested in Linear B. Finally, relevant conclusions are drawn at the end of the article.

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[1] On the methodological problems concerning the identification and interpretation of Greek and non-Greek names in the Linear B corpus, see MEIßNER 2019.

The pre-Greek suffixes related to Mycenaean –to

The ending -*to* reflects different phonetic realities in Linear B, since the syllabograms of the *t*-series denote both the voiceless dental /t/ and the voiceless aspirated dental /tʰ/. In addition, *n*, *r* and *s* in syllabic coda, as well as *i* in several cases, are not represented before the dental consonant.[2] Thus, there is a group of proper and common nouns in which -*to* can represent the pre-Greek suffix -*ntʰo*-.[3] These are mainly toponyms, cf. *a-ma-ru-to* (**TH Of 25**.2, **Wu 58**.γ) Ἀμάρυνθος; *da-*22-to* (**EL Z 1**, **KN** *passim*), which Melena interprets as *Λάβινθος,[4] although it could be a toponym in -*t(ʰ)o*- instead of -*ntʰo*-; *e-ro-ma-to* (**PY An 172**.3-7) *Ἐρόμανθος; *ko-ri-to* (**PY Ad 921**) Κόρινθος; *o-ru-ma-to* (**PY Cn 3**.6) *Ὀρύμανθος; *ra-sa-to* (**KN B(3) 808**) *Λάσανθος?; *ra-su-to* (**KN** *passim*) *Λάσυνθος? The suffix is also attested in some common nouns, cf. *a-sa-mi-to* /asamintʰos/ 'bathtub' (**KN Ws 8497**.γ); *da-pu₂-ri-to* 'labyrinth' (**KN Gg(1) 702**.2, **Oa 745**.2; *da-pu-ri-ṭo*[in **Xd 140**.1);[5] *ti-mi-to* /tirmintʰos/ 'terebinth' in the compound toponym *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* (**PY Cn 600**.7.8.11-15, **Jn 829**.13, **Ma 123**.1, **Na 361**; *ti-ṃị-ṭo a-ke-i* in **PY An 661**.10) – see also *mi-ta* /mintʰā̆/ 'mint' (**MY Ge 602**.5B, **603**.1, **605**.2A.6B, **606**.6).[6] This group of pre-Greek terms has already been studied in detail and will not be considered here.[7] The suffix -*ntʰo*, although also spelled -*to* in Linear B, has not been identified in anthroponyms. Only in the case of *pa-ra-to* (**KN Db 1373**) it is possible to interpret the anthroponym as related to the adjective φάλανθος 'white-haired, bald,'[8] although the readings Πλάτων and *Πάλαστος have also

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[2] On the spelling rules of Linear B, see Melena 2014, 91-128.

[3] I have used the inverted index of *DMic*, and the database *DĀMOS* to search for Mycenaean terms.

[4] Melena 1987, 229.

[5] The term denotes a female divinity, *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* 'the lady of the Labyrinth' (Myc. /dapʰurintʰos/).

[6] For the different interpretations of the Mycenaean terms, see *DMic*.

[7] See, for example, Moreschini 1984, a monograph specific to the suffix.

[8] The adjective seems to be a compound of φαλός 'white' and ἄνθος in the sense of 'hair,' cf. *DELG s. v.* Anthroponyms in -νθο- are also rare in alphabetic Greek and generally correspond to place names and/or common nouns, cf. Moreschini 1984, 99-100. *LGPN* includes 69 anthroponyms in -νθος: slightly more than a third of them are Thracian, mostly ending in -κενθος, cf. Αὐζάκενθος, Ἐπταίκενθος, Μουκάκενθος; a substantial number are compounds with ἄνθος 'flower,' cf. Ἵππανθος, Πύρρανθος, Ῥόδανθος, or are related to other common nouns or place names, cf. Ἄκανθος, Ζάκυνθος, Ξάνθος. It is difficult to find among them anthroponyms of pre-Greek origin that cannot be considered to belong to either of these two groups, cf. Κάλυνθος, Μόλυνθος, Σέανθος.

been proposed. It is therefore preferable to omit it from our analysis, as it is anthroponyms that display the most interesting morphological features, as will be seen below.

The Mycenaean ending -*to* can also represent -το- and -θο-. The first of these suffixes is characteristic of the Indo-European language family as $*$-*to/ eh$_2$-*,[9] but is also attested in pre-Greek words, both in tree names, cf. ἄκαστος 'maple,' πλατάνιστος 'plane,' and in toponyms such as Καίρατος (Cretan river), Σύβριτα (Cretan city), Ταΰγετον (mountain in the Peloponnese). The suffix -θο- is also found in words with Indo-European etymology, mainly with an expressive quality, such as ἄχθος, βρῖθος, πλῆθος, although it is not productive.[10] Moreover, it is characteristic of some pre-Greek terms, names of vessels such as κύαθος 'ladle,' λήκυθος 'flask,' myc. *qe-to* = πίθος 'jar,' plants such as ἀσπάλαθος 'thorny shrub,' λάπαθον 'monk's rhubarb, dock,' and toponyms such as Κάνηθος (mountain in Euboea), Κικύνηθος (Aegean island), Σίμαιθα / Σύμαιθα (city in Thessaly), Σκίαθος (Aegean island).[11]

This article examines the Mycenaean proper names of possible or probable pre-Greek origin ending in -*to* except for those that can be identified as terms in -*nt*^{h}*o*-. As will be demonstrated, they form a relatively homogeneous group, although in most cases we cannot know exactly the phonetic nature of -*to*. In what follows, the proper names in -*to* under study are identified and distinguished into toponyms and anthroponyms.

Names in –to

The Mycenaean proper names in -*to* which have a more or less likely pre-Greek origin and do not belong to the terms in -*nt*^{h}*o*- are divided into two large groups: toponyms and anthroponyms. To these should be added the name of a month, *ra-pa-to* (**KN Fp(1) 13**.1), which apparently shows continuity in Arcadia, cf. gen. sg. Λαπάτω (*SEG* 33 319.3, Orcomenus, 3rd century BC). To my knowledge, there is only one common noun, *qe-to* /k^{u}et^{h}os/ 'jar' (**MY Ue 611**.4, **PY Ta 641**.2), corresponding to alph. Gr. πίθος, of which a neut. pl. diminutive *qe-ti-ja* (**MY Ue 611**.3, **Wt 504**.β) is attested.

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[9] Cf. Chantraine 1933, 299-309.

[10] Cf. Chantraine 1933, 365-368.

[11] Cf. Lindner 1995, 697-698.

All the toponyms are Cretan (nine toponyms), with the exception of *me-te-to-* in Pylos (see Table 1). Among the Cretan toponyms, *wa-to* is attested on painted vases found in Thebes besides Knossian tablets, which indicates the Cretan provenance of the vases.[12] More than half of the toponyms have more or less likely counterparts in alphabetic Greek: *pa-i-to* is clearly identifiable with Φαιστός, while *wi-na-to* can easily be identified with Ἴνατος through the dropping of *w-*; *ra-to* is identified with Λᾱτώ but is interpreted as thematic *Λατός, from the corresponding adjective *ra-ti-jo* (**KN E 668**.2), a more complicated question being that of the quantity of the first vowel, since in its alphabetic form it is usually understood as long by analogy with the theonym Λητώ; *ku-ta-i-to* is identified with Κύταιον, which would imply the dissimilation of the second dental; *ru-ki-to* has been related to both Λύκαστος and Λύκτος, despite the *i* of the Mycenaean toponym; *ti-ri-to* with the Cretan hydronym Τρίτων and the toponym Τρίττα, which according to Hesychius designated Knossos (τ 1434 Τρίτ[τ]α· οὕτως ἡ Κνωσσὸς ὠνομάζετο). To my knowledge, *me-te-to-*, *qa-na-no-to*, *sa-na-to-*, and *wa-to* remain unidentified, and therefore one cannot exclude the possibility that some of them belong to the group of toponyms in *-nt^ho-*.

These toponyms are all thematic, as can be deduced not only from their counterparts in alphabetic Greek but also from the adjectives derived from them: *ku-ta-ti-jo/-ja* (**KN G 820**.3, **Ga 419**.1.2, **673**.1, **Wb 5662**, **X 7897**.b), *pa-i-ti-jo/-ja* (**KN** *passim*), *ra-ti-jo* (**KN E 668**.2), *ru-ki-ti-jo/-ja* (**KN** *passim*), *ti-ri-ti-jo/-ja* (**KN E 749**.3, **Og 833**.3, **X 1385**), *wa-ti-jo* (**KH Ar 4**.1). Their thematic nature is compatible with the semantic function of location which they fulfill in the texts in which they appear, since the ending *-to* can be understood as a nominative of rubric or dative-locative. In the case of *me-te-to-* (**PY An 35**.2) and *sa-na-to-*, the toponym is in the accusative constructed with the allative postposition *-de*.

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[12] Cf. Judson 2013.

Toponym	Documentation	Alphabetic interpretation
ku-ta-to / ku-ta-i-to	**KN** *passim*	Κύται(τ)ον
me-te-to	**PY An 35**.2, **Mn 456**.5, **Na 337**, **Vn 130**.11.13	?
pa-i-to	**KN** *passim*	Φαιστός
qa-na-no-to	**KN Da 1351**, **Db 7118**.B, **Dv** *passim*	?
ra-to	**KN D-** *passim*, **Xd 58**	*Λατός
ru-ki-to	**KN D-** *passim*	*Λύκι(σ)τος
sa-na-to-	**KN Fs 2**.B	?
ti-ri-to	**KN** *passim*	*Τρίτ(τ)ος
wa-to	**KN C 902**.3.12, **Co 903**.1, **Np(1) 7423**, **TH Z** *passim*	?
wi-na-to	**KN As(1) 604**.2.3	*Ϝίνατος

Table 1. Pre-Greek toponyms in -*to* included in the study.

There are numerous examples of anthroponyms in -*to* in the Mycenaean texts. A large proportion of these names can be interpreted as Indo-European, for example, *a-ka-to* (**KN Dv 5256**, **Sc 256**) Ἄγαθος or Ἀγάθων; *a-pi-wa-to* and *a-ke-wa-to*, compounds of /-wastos/;[13] and *ne-ri-to* (**PY Cn 131**.4), probably a compound of ἔρις and the negative prefix *ne-.[14] Another clear case is that of *ra-wi-to* (**TH Fq 194**.3), which would correspond to Hom. Λήϊτος, the name of a Homeric hero (*Il.* 2.494, etc.), cf. λήϊτον 'communal house,' although its similarity to *ra-wi-zo* (**KN Db 1245**.B), a clearly pre-Greek name, might indicate that the former etymology is a misinterpretation. Similarly, *qi-ja-to* (**KN Db 1140**.B) could derive from the root of βία 'bodily force, violence' (< IE *$g^u i̯eh_2$- 'to conquer, force'), but could also alternate with another pre-Greek anthroponym *qi-ja-zo* (**KN Dv 1500**.b, **Xe 5899**.1). Finally,]*wo-ro-ṭọ* (**KN Dv 7863**.B; * wọ-ṛọ-ṭọ* in **Do 5010**.B) could be related to ῥόθος 'noise (of waves)' or be a derivative of ῥώννυμι 'to fortify, reinforce.' For this reason, it has not been included on the list, although it might also be the case that the etyma of these two terms begin with *sr*- and not *wr*-.

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[13] Cf. García Ramón 1990-1991.

[14] García Ramón 2022.

The anthroponyms in *-to* that can be classified as pre-Greek are listed in Table 2. All of them occur at Knossos (42 anthroponyms), except for *au-ja-to*, *au-wi-ja-to*, *i̯-ku-to* (**MY**), *e-*65-to*, *pi-wa-to* (**PY**), and *ke-wa-to* (**TH**). Two of these, *ke-ka-to* and *ku-ri-sa-to*, are found at both Knossos and Pylos. The anthroponymic nature of *a-mi-ke-te-to* and]*ma-qa-to* is undetermined, although it is certain that they are proper names. Some of the anthroponyms which appear on the list could have an Indo-European etymology, cf. *a-ke-e-to*, if interpreted as *Ἀλκει-ηήτωρ (-ηήτωρ < ἵημι?); *a-nu-wa-to*, *ke-wa-to*, *pi-wa-to*, possible compounds of /-wastos/?; *au-ja-to* and *au-wi-ja-to*, two ways of writing the same name, which was interpreted by Lejeune[15] as a compound of αὐ(το)- and ἰᾱτωρ 'physician' with regressive dissimilation; *ka-ma-to*, if it is read *Κάματος and interpreted as a derivative formed to the root of κάμνω – note that this anthroponym could alternate with another clearly pre-Greek *ka-ma-so* (cf. *infra*); *ka-mi-ni-to*, if it is a derivative of κάμινος 'oven,' cf. καμινίτης '(bread) baked in oven;' *ke-ka-to*, if it is a derivative of the perfect κέκασμαι 'to excel;' *mi-ka-to*, if it is a derivative of μείγνυμι 'to mix.' Even less certain is the possible Indo-European etymology of *se-wo-to*, which has been related to σεύω 'to set in motion, lead,' although the Mycenaean anthroponym should then begin with *ze-* (< * *ki̯eu-*), as well as that of *ta-ra-me-to*, perhaps related to θάλαμος 'room,' a noun with unclear etymology. Similarly, *i̯-ku-to* might be a derivative of ἰσχύς 'strength,' although this noun also lacks a convincing Indo-European etymology. An interesting case is that of *ru-da-to*, which has been linked to the ethnonym Λυδός from Λυδία, an equation that would contradict the etymology proposed by Beekes: **Luwiy-a-* > **Luwd-* > **Lūd-* > Λυδία,[16] according to which the toponym Lydia derives from the toponym Luwiya recorded in Anatolian cuneiform texts of the 2nd millennium.

The pre-Greek character of some of these names is fairly certain, e.g., *su-ja-to* and *su-ki-ri-to*, two masculine anthroponyms related, respectively, to the Cretan place names Συΐα, an ancient city in the southwest of the island, and *su-ki-ri-ta* (**KN Db 1324**.B, **1327**, **Df 1325**.B, **Dn 1092**.2, **Dv 5232**.B; *su-ki-ri-ta-pi* in **KN Dl 47**.2).[17] Note that the second

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[15] Cf. Lejeune 1972, 197.

[16] Beekes 2003.

[17] The Mycenaean form would read *Σύγριτα, which must correspond to Σύβριτα (*Scyl*. 47.25), an ancient city located in the valley of Amari on Crete.

place name is also found in Linear A SU-KI-RI-TA (**PH Wa 32**). The name *ku-pa-nu-we-to* could be related to KU-PA$_3$-NA-TU (**HT 67**a.1-2, **119**.3) or KU-PA$_3$-NU (**HT 1**.3-4, **49**a.6-7, **88**.5, **117**a.3, **122**a.6.7, **PH 31**a.3); *i̯-ku-to* to I-KU-TA (**HT 35**.1-2). Furthermore,]*ma-qa-to* has been linked to Μάρπησσος, the name of a city in the Troad, see also Μάρπησσα, name of a mountain in Paros. This relationship is obscure, but the name could derive from μάρπτω 'to grasp, seize, take,' a verb without a clear Indo-European etymology,[18] cf. μάρπτις 'thief' (suffix -τις). Finally, *si-ja-ma-to* could be a Minoan theonym, as it is attested in **KN Fp(1) 48**.1, where quantities of oil for various divinities are recorded. In any case, *si-ja-ma-to* contains a first element *si-ja-* which also appears in two proper names of pre-Greek origin, *si-ja-ma* (**KN V(7) 1526**.2) and *si-ja-pu$_2$-ro* (**KN As(2) 1516**.11; *si-ja-pu$_2$-*[in **Xf 4492**).

With regard to morphology, most of these names are found in the nominative. However, the prepositional phrase *pa-ro wi-sa-to* (**PY Vn 130**.10) partially confirms that the masculine names are thematic, since the preposition *pa-ro* is constructed in Mycenaean with the locative dative.[19] Three of the anthroponyms are feminine, from which it can be inferred that they are nouns in -ώ:[20] *a-nu-wa-to*, *o-sa-po-to*, and *sa-ti-qi-to̯*. In *ka-*56-na-to*, it is possible that *-to* functions as a derivational suffix, cf. *ka-*56-no* (**KN Df 1219**.B), another masculine anthroponym, in the same way that the apparent theonym *si-ja-ma-to* could be formed to the anthroponym *si-ja-ma* (cf. *supra*). Thus, *-to* seems to alternate with *-so* on the basis of pairs such as the following: *ka-ma-to* : *ka-ma-so* (**KN Mc 4460**.B); *ku-ke-to* : *ku-ke-so* (**KN Dd 1306**.B); *pu-na-to* : *pu-na-so* (**KN C(3) 967**, **979**, **D-** *passim*, **E 843**.6, **X 7556**.B; toponym); see also the toponyms *ru-ki-to* : *ru-ki-so* (**KN Db 1297**.B). It may also be noted that a pre-Greek prefix *te-* might be identified in the masculine anthroponym *te-ki-ri-ne-to*, cf. *ki-ri-ne-to*.

Finally, some of the pre-Greek names in *-to* could be formed on more complex suffixes. A clear example is that of the Cretan toponym

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[18] Quite recently, Nikolaev 2022 has argued that it is related to Tocharian A *märk-* 'to take away' and possibly to Latin *merx* 'commodity.'

[19] It is likewise possible that *si-ja-ma-to* is in the dative singular in **KN Fp(1) 48**.1, cf. *pa-si-te-o-i* 'to all the gods' in lines 2 and 3, although the theonym *pa-de* in line 2 is a nominative of rubric.

[20] Another possibility is to interpret these names as diminutives in -(ι)ον but this is fairly remote given that the creation of such women's names is post-Homeric, cf. Striano 2017, 460-461. Furthermore, pre-Greek thematic toponyms and common nouns can also be feminine: see, for example, Kober 1942 on names ending in -ινθος.

pa-i-to Φαιστός (**KN** *passim*), which would contain the suffix *-sto-*. The same ending could be present in the masculine anthroponym *ka-da-i-to*, which, as we have seen, apparently alternates with the pre-Greek masculine anthroponym *ka-da-i-so*. However, nothing can be said with certainty, as *ka-da-i-to* could be a name in *-to-*, *-t^{h}o-* or *-aisto-*. Whatever the case, it is likely that *-to* is added to a consonant in other names on the list, cf. *a-du-po-to* and *o-sa-po-to* (/-$p^{(h)}t^{(h)}o$-?), as well as *di-ko-to*, *i-ra-ko-to*,]*ka-mu-ko-to*, and *ta-wa-ko-to* (-$k^{(h)}t^{(h)}o$-?).

Anthroponym	Documentation	Gender
a-du-po-to	**KN C(4) 911**.5	VIR
a-ke-e-to	**KN Da 1195**	VIR
a-mi-ke-te-to	**KN Od(1) 687**.b	VIR?
a-nu-wa-to	**KN Ap 639**.14	MUL
a-tu-qo-te-ra-to	**KN Vs(2) 1523**.4b	VIR
au-ja-to	**MY Au 102**.5	VIR
au-wi-ja-to	**MY Au 653**.4, **657**.2	VIR
di-ko-to	**KN D 411**	VIR
e-*65-to	**PY En 74**.9, **609**.7, **Eo 211**.4, **276**.8	VIR
i̯-ku-to	**MY Oi 705**.1	VIR
i-ra-ko-to	**KN V(3) 466**.2	VIR
i-ro-to	**KN C(4) 912**.6	VIR
ja-ra-to	**KN De 1424**.B	VIR
ka-da-i-to	**KN Uf 5726**.2	VIR
ka-ma-to	**KN Da 1275**.B	VIR
ka-mi-ni-to	**KN De 1260**.B, **Dk(2) 1073**.B	VIR
]ka-mu-ko-to	**KN V(6) 831**.2	VIR
ka-*56-na-to	**KN As(2) 1516**.16	VIR
ke-ka-to	**KN As(2) 1517**.10, **PY Pn 30**.3	VIR
ke-wa-to	**TH Gp 153**.1	VIR
]ki-ma-to	**KN V(3) 7620**.2	VIR
ki-ri-ne-to	**KN Dv 1248**.B	VIR
ku-ke-to	**KN Da 1392**.B	VIR

ku-ma-ṭọ[	**KN V(3) 7512**.2	VIR
ku-pa-nu-we-to	**KN As(2) 1517**.8	VIR
ku-ri-sa-to	**KN Xf 8101**.1, **PY An 5**.7, **Cn 4**.2, **Jn 706**.4	VIR
]ma-qa-to	**KN Fh 378**	VIR?
mi-ka-to	**KN Vc(1) 67**	VIR
na-su-to	**MY Au 102**.2, **657**.8, **660**.1	VIR
ne-o-to	**KN As(2) 1519**.3	VIR
o-sa-po-to	**KN Ap 5748**.3	MUL
pi-wa-to	**PY An 31**.4	VIR
pu-na-to	**KN C(4) 912**.5	VIR
qa-*83-to	**KN Sc 257**.2	VIR
re-me-to	**KN Dd 1106**.B, **Pp 495**	VIR
ru-da-to	**KN X 7677**	VIR
sa-ti-qi-ṭọ	**KN Ap 639**.9	MUL
se-wo-to	**KN Da 1268**.B	VIR
si-ja-ma-to[21]	**KN Fp(1) 48**.1, **U 4478**.1, **X 451**.1	VIR
si-ni-to	**KN Dg 1280**.B	VIR
su-ja-to	**KN M 719**.2	VIR
su-ki-ri-to	**KN As(2) 1516**.12	VIR
ta-ra-me-to	**KN Ce 59**.2a	VIR
ta-wa-ko-to	**KN Od(2) 715**.b	VIR
te-ki-ri-ne-to	**KN Dq(4) 686**.b	VIR
wa-du-[•]-to	**KN As(2) 1516**.8	VIR
wi-sa-to	**PY Cn 328**.12, **Vn 130**.10	VIR
*56-ri-to	**KN Db 1423**.B, **Xe 6020**	VIR

Table 2. Anthroponyms in *-to* classifiable as pre-Greek

Linear A *-TO* and *-TU*: the Minoan origin of *–to*

As we have just seen, the names in *-to* attested in Linear B form a large group of toponyms and anthroponyms. In some cases, a relationship can be established between these names and certain sequences in Linear A, which, in all likelihood, represent proper names. Before proceeding

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[21] The reconstruction *si-ja-ṃạ*[-*to* is plausible in **KN Fp(2) 5472**.2.

further, it should be remembered that the group of terms in -*nt^ho*- found in Linear B, about whose pre-Greek origin there can be little doubt,[22] is not included in our analysis, despite the fact that they are also written with -*to*. The main reason is that no anthroponyms have been identified among these terms. Furthermore, as will become apparent, it is in this type of proper nouns that the most striking features are clearly visible, especially the feminine variant in -ώ, the vocalic variants -*to*/-*tu*/-*ta*, and the alternation with other pre-Greek suffixes on the same base.

We have direct evidence of the pre-Greek languages in various writing systems, generally from the islands of Crete and Cyprus.[23] Here we are interested in Crete and, in particular, in the texts written in Linear A, since the evidence in Cretan Hieroglyphic is difficult to interpret from a linguistic point of view, as is the evidence in the Greek alphabet which represents a language called 'Eteocretan' spoken in the 1st millennium.[24] The Linear B script derives directly from Linear A, and their similarities are so many that it is generally accepted that the Linear A signs with correspondences in Linear B had phonetic values similar to those of the respective Linear B signs.[25] If we accept this equivalence, we find the following sequences ending in -TO and -TU in texts written in Linear A, which could be related to the Mycenaean names in non-Indo-European -*to*:[26]

→ In -TO

]-ḌỤ-WA-ṬỌ (**KN Za 10**.b), PA-I-ṬỌ (**HT 97**a.3; PA-Ị-ṬỌ in **HT 120**.6), QA-RE-TO (**HT 137**.1-2)

→ In -TU

A-RA-[•]-A-TU (**HT 87**.5), A-RA-TU (**ZA 7a**.1-2), ḌẠ-NA-TU (**ARKH 6**.1), DA-TU (**HT 123+124**a.6-7), JA-DI-KI-TU (**IO Za 2**.1), JA-SU-MA-TU (**SY Za 2**a), KU-PA₃-NA-TU (**HT 67**a.1-2, 119.3),]QE-TU (**HT 41**a.2), MI-TU (**HT 117**a.2),]-MI-TU (**HT 135a**.2),]ṖẠ-NA-

[22] In fact, the name for labyrinth, Myc. *da-pu₂-ri-to*, alph. Gr. λαβύρινθος, has been associated with the Linear A sequence DU-PU₂-RE (**HT Zb 160**, **PK Za 15**), which could be a common noun. See Valério 2007.

[23] Cf. Davis 2010.

[24] Cf. Duhoux 1982.

[25] Cf. Steele & Meißner 2017.

[26] I have searched for the terms in Linear A on http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/LinearA/.

TU (**KH 7**b.2-3), SE-KU-TU (**HT 115**a.3), SI-TE-TU (**ZA 20**.2), SI-TU (**HT Wa 1019** γ, **ZA 20**.3), TE-TU (**HT 7**a.5, **13**.3; TE-TU[ ] in **HT 85**b.2-3), *306-TU (**HT 9**a.2-3, **119**.4, **122**a.6; *306-ṬỤ in **HT 9**b.3).

It should be noted that Linear A syllabograms with the vowel *o* are very rare, which might explain the disparity observed between the two endings.[27] Besides that, it can be assumed from the structure of the texts that most of the words written in Linear A are proper names, whether toponyms or anthroponyms. In any case, there is a clear correspondence with the list of pre-Greek names in *-to* found in Linear B: PA-I-ṬỌ = *pa-i-to*.

In addition to the names in *-to*, pre-Greek anthroponyms in *-tu* are also attested in the Mycenaean texts from Knossos, which could represent an intermediate stage in their inclusion in the Greek declension. I refer to]*wi-ja-na-tu* (**KN Ap 769**.2), a feminine anthroponym, and]*-sa-tu* (**KN Ak 640**.1), an anthroponym of indeterminate gender, as well as]*me-tu* (**KN X 5962**), a proper name, although it is hard to know whether it is an anthroponym or a toponym given the fragmentary state of the tablet. Much more striking is the feminine anthroponym in the dative *ma-tu-ẉẹ* (**KN Ln 1568**.*lat. inf*.b), cf. *infra*. Likewise, a masculine anthroponym *o-tu* (**PY An 5**.5) is recorded in the texts from Pylos, which has been associated with the name of a Paphlagonian king Ὄτυς mentioned by Xenophon (X. *HG* 4.1.3). Be that as it may, pre-Greek names in *-u* are both masculine and feminine. Among the feminine anthroponyms there are clear cases such as *i-du* (**KN Ap 639**.7),]*ja-mi-nu* (**KN Ap 5547**.1), *ke-pu* (**KN Ap 639**.13; *Κῆπυς?, *Κῆβυς?), *ma-ku*[(**KN Ap 639**.3; *Μάχυς?), *pi-ja-mu-nu* (**KN Ap 5748**.2), *ru-nu* (**KN Ln 1564**.4), *ta-su* (**KN Ln 1568**.2; *Θάρσυς?), in addition to]*wi-ja-na-tu*. With respect to the masculine names, we possess doublets which are important for understanding the adaptation of the names in *-u* to the thematic declension, cf. *a-qi-ru* / *a-qi-ro* (**KN Ce 50**.1a.*v*. 1a / **Da 1123**), *ki-mu-ku* / *ki-mu-ko* (**KN Db 1327** / **Dv 1085**.b), *u-su* / *u-ṣọ* (**KN V(3) 7512**.1 / **KH Z 22**), as well as names in Linear A which are adapted as thematic masculine anthroponyms in Linear B, cf. DI-DE-RU (**HT 86**a.3, **95**a.4, b.4) : *di-de-ro* (**KN Dl 9016**.B, **Dv 1504**.B), KA-SA-RU (**HT 10**b.3) : *ka-sa-ro* (**KN C(4) 912**.B, **Dv 1450**.B), MA-SI-DU (**HT 43**.1-2) : *ma-si-dwo*

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[27] Steele & Meißner 2017, 102-108.

(**KN Fh 360**.b), QA-QA-RU (**HT 93**a.4-5, **118**.2-3, **122**b.3-4) : *qa-qa-ro* (**KN As(1) 604**.3).

In the case of feminine names in *-to*, we have already seen that they are adapted as nouns in -ώ in Mycenaean, but an example such as the dat. sg. *ma-tu-ẉẹ* would indicate two alternative possibilities, which is somewhat surprising in alphabetic Greek where feminine anthroponyms in *-u-* are rare if not nonexistent.[28] The fact that pre-Greek feminine anthroponyms in *-to/u* are adapted in Mycenaean as nouns in -ώ or *-u-* can be compared to the relatively numerous presence of masculine anthroponyms of the same origin in *-a*. If we focus on the examples ending in *-ta*, among the clearest might be *da-i-pi-ta* (**KN B(5) 799**.1), *i-da-ra-ta* (**KN Xd 154**.4), *ka-ne-u-ta* (**KN Da 1350**.B, **X** 7559), *ki-ma-ta* (**KN As(2) 1520**.4), *ku-wa-ta* (**KN Ws 8754**.β), *ne-o-ta* (**KN As(2) 1516**.13),]*su-*56-ta* (**KN As(1) 5932**.*lat. inf.*), *ta-ta-ta* (**KN Ce 152**.3), *to-u-na-ta* (**KN Dm 1182**, **Dv 1479**), *wi-du-ru-ta* (**KN Ch 5754**), **ṣ6-ni-sa-ta* (**KN As(1) 607**.3). The adaptation of these names as masculine in *-ā-* is relatively straightforward in Greek, given the existence of a particularly productive masculine suffix -τᾱ-. In fact, some of them might be Greek derivatives with this suffix from a pre-Greek toponym *vel sim*. The possibility that in some of them *-ta-* represents -θᾱ- cannot be ruled out either. Finally, feminine anthroponyms in *-ta* of probable pre-Greek origin are very rare, cf. *ka-*56-so-ta* (**KN Ap 769**.1) and]*ja-mu-ṭa* (**KN Ap 5864**.5).

Be that as it may, the existence of masculine anthroponyms in -TA in Linear A cannot be doubted, cf. DA-I-PI-TA (**ZA 8**.5, **10**a.4-5), possibly adapted in Mycenaean as *da-i-pi-ta* (**KN B(5) 799**.1). Some of them have probably been thematised, for example, *ị-ku-to* : I-KU-TA (**HT 35**.1-2) – *ị-ku-to* is attested at Mycenae –, see also *ku-ma-ṭọ*[:]KU-ME-TA (**HT 51**b.1) with differing vocalism, while the pairs *ki-ma-to* : *ki-ma-ta* and *ne-o-to* : *ne-o-ta* could reflect two possibilities. A different but nonetheless significant example is also that of the masculine anthroponym *su-ki-ri-to*, which is related to the toponym *su-ki-ri-ta* / SU-KI-RI-TA.

It should be emphasised that other groups of pre-Greek anthroponyms, namely those ending in *-so* and *-zo*, were adapted in the same way, i.e. masculine in the thematic declension and feminine as nouns in -ώ, alongside the case of a feminine anthroponym in *-u*, cf. *ta-su* (see

[28] Cf. Striano 2017, 453.

above), and several possible examples of masculine anthroponyms in *-a*, cf. *ke-u-sa* (**KN Dl(1) 946**.B), *te-ru-sa* (**KN Dv 1308**.B), *si-za* (**KN As(2) 1520**.6), *ti-mi-za* (**KN Df 1121**.B, **Dk(2) 1076**.B).[29]

Finally, the pre-Greek character of *-to* becomes obvious when it alternates with other pre-Greek endings such as *-so* (= -σ(σ)ο-): *ka-da-i-to* : *ka-da-i-so*; *ka-ma-to* : *ka-ma-so*; *ku-ke-to* : *ku-ke-so*; *pu-na-to* : *pu-na-so*; *ru-ki-to* : *ru-ki-so*. One could add to the pair *ku-ke-to* : *ku-ke-so* a third element *ku-ke-ṃọ*[(**KN V(4) 5946**.2), with a suffix *-mo* characteristic of the pre-Greek proper names found at Knossos, cf. the masculine *a-nu-mo* (**KN Da 5204**.b, **De 1362**.B, **V(3) 503**.1), *da-na-mo* (**KN E 847**.2), *ki-sa-nu-mo* (**KN Da 1485**), *ku-ke-ṃọ*[(**KN V(4) 5946**.2), *ru-na-mo* (**KN Da 1098**.B, **1277**), and *wi-je-mo* (**KN As 609**.2, **Dv 1266**.B), the feminine *o-ri-mo* (**KN Ap 5748**.2)[30], and the toponyms *da-ta-ra-mo* (**KN Dl(1) 935**.B), *ka-mo* (**KN As(1) 604**.1), *ma-so-mo* (**KN Dl(1) 932**.B, **7721**.B), *qa-mo* (**KN** *passim*), *su-ri-mo* (**KN** *passim*), and *u-qa-mo* (**KN Mc 4454**.B). Outside Knossos one finds the anthroponyms *re-ta-mo* (**PY Cn 285**.3), *wo-to-mo* (**PY Un 1314**.2), and the toponym *ra-mo-* (**TH Of 38**.1), thus far without Indo-European etymology. There is less certainty about the pairs *qi-ja-to* : *qi-ja-zo* and *ra-wi-to* : *ra-wi-zo*, since *qi-ja-to* and *ra-wi-to* are possibly names of Indo-European origin, as seen above. Overall, the importance of *-mo*, *-so* and *-to* in pre-Greek names attested at Knossos and their alternation point to a language(s) which can be qualified as Minoan, and of which only slight traces survived in the Greek of the 1st millennium.

Conclusions

The number of proper names in Mycenaean texts which end in *-to* and have a possible pre-Greek origin is fairly extensive. This pre-Greek ending *-to* coexists with the Indo-European suffix *$-to/eh_2$-*. However, an element such as *-to* is open to different interpretations in Linear B, with regard to both the dental consonant (*t*, *t^h*) and to the presence of a possible preceding *n*, *r*, *s* or *i* in syllabic coda. Thus, we can also mark off a group of also pre-Greek toponyms and common nouns in *-$nt^h o$-* which,

[29] On the pre-Greek names in *-so* and *-zo*, see Jiménez Delgado 2022.

[30] If not to be interpreted as *Ὠριμώ. There are also pre-Greek anthroponyms in *-ma*, probably related to the series in *-mo*, both masculine, cf. *si-ja-ma* (**KN V 1526**.2), and feminine, cf. *ru-sa-ma* (**KN Ln 1568**.3). Linear A includes both names in -MU, cf. KU-RA-MU (**HT 117**a.2-3), and -MA, cf. TU-JU-MA (**HT 117**a.3-4). No syllabogram has been identified for MO in Linear A.

as far as we know, do not exhibit the morphological features of the an-
throponyms in *-to*, i.e. the main subject of this study. On the other hand,
the continuity of the suffix *-to* in the 1st millennium is rather limited,
whether it is in the form of -το- or -θο-.

The pre-Greek ending *-to* is characteristic of toponyms and an-
throponyms found at Knossos and could have a counterpart in some
sequences written in Linear A, the clearest example being *pa-i-to* : PA-I-
ṬǪ. Moreover, this group of proper names presents specific morpholog-
ical features, the most relevant of which is their inclusion in the Greek
declension as thematic nouns, in the case of the masculine names, and
as nouns in -ώ, in the case of the feminine. However, this pattern of
adaptation was not entirely fixed, as there are also feminine forms in
-u and masculine in *-a* which seem to reflect a Minoan language(s).
Additionally, the suffix seems to alternate with other clearly pre-Greek
suffixes, for instance *-so* and *-mo*, with which it shares morphological
features such as the feminines in -ώ and the vocalic variants in *o/u/a*.

It should be noted that, despite the problems of interpreting *-to* in
Linear B, there is some sparse evidence suggesting that the suffix read
/-to-/ in proper names, cf. *pa-i-to* = Φαιστός; *ra-pa-to* = Λάπατος; *su-
ki-ri-to*, anthroponym derived from the toponym *Σύγριτα; *wi-na-to* =
(F)ίνατος (in alphabetic Greek only Ἴνατος is attested without digam-
ma); and, less certain,]*ma-qa-to*, if related, in some way, to μάρπτις,
μάρπτω. It should be stressed, however, that we cannot rule out the pos-
sibility that *-to* also represents other suffixes such as /-tʰo-/, cf. the com-
mon noun *qe-to* /kᵘetʰos/ 'jar,' or even for more complex forms such as
/-st⁽ʰ⁾o-/, /-k⁽ʰ⁾t⁽ʰ⁾o-/ or /-p⁽ʰ⁾t⁽ʰ⁾o-/.

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