

Mycenaean *o-/jo-* (𐀓𐀗𐀚𐀛 / 𐀓𐀗𐀚𐀛)

IAN HOLLENBAUGH

15 May 2020

1 Background on *o-/jo-*

- 1.1 Some kind of demonstrative/relative adverb or pronoun.
- 1.2 Usually translated ‘thus’ or ‘as follows’.
- 1.3 Read as /hō/ and compared to the relative adv. ὡς ‘as, how’ (< *jō-) or the demonstrative adv. ὧς ‘thus’ (< *so-); cf. ὧ-δε ‘thus’, Alcman ὧ-τ’.
- 1.4 Spelling alternation said to be “purely scribal” or “graphic.”
 - Cf. *ja-ke-te-re* and *a₂-ke-te-re* ‘repairmen’ (see Bozzone 2014:14–22 for a discussion of the phonetics and the realization of /h-/ and /y-/ in Linear B).
- 1.5 Hooker 1980:63:
 - Typically text- or clause-initial, almost always immediately followed by verb.
 - Introduces a list of persons/groups and/or quantities of items.
 - Verb fronting: “The presence of *o-/jo-* brings the main verb to the beginning of the sentence.”
 - “But in fact the Mycenaean usage is not closely paralleled by anything in later Greek.”
 - “Function is plain enough”: “It serves as an introductory particle, not only of one inscription but sometimes of a whole set of texts.”
- 1.6 There are also a few, likely related “clitic chains”: *o-da-a₂* (~38x), *o-de-qa-a₂* (1x), and *o-a₂* (1x).

2 The problem with *o-/jo-*

- 2.1 Spelling alternation: *o-* (~14x), *jo-* (~8x).
- 2.2 Generally taken to be derived from the relative stem *jō-, yet almost always treated as functionally demonstrative (‘thus’), rather than relative (‘as, how’)
- 2.3 Gallavotti 1956:72, 74–5, 81–2:
 - 2.3.1 *jo-* forms < relative (*jō-); *o-* forms < demonstrative (*so-).
 - 2.3.2 Would adhere to Myc. spelling conventions (/h-/ < *s- spelled *o-*, /h-/ < *t̥ spelled *j-*, cf. Bozzone 2014:14–22 for discussion).
 - 2.3.3 But difficult to motivate, since the two seem to match in function and distribution.
 - 2.3.4 IBH: Could two adverbs formally distinct develop a similar function?

- Cf. ὡς πέπραται ‘how (i.e., *at what price*) the goods have been sold’ (*PCair.Zen.149* (iii B. C.); cf. *LSJ*, s.v.).
- *?o-wi-de-ta-i* (PY Un 718) ‘as can be seen’ (if sjv. vb. /hō widētai/).

2.4 Alternatively, both forms could be demonstrative, such that *j-* is here spelling /h-/ < *s-.

- May have a parallel in *a-ro₃-jo* (KN So 4437+5127), if from **ari₃osos* (cf. Probert 2008:127).
- This would motivate the demonstrative function (‘thus’) but is a bit unsettling to see *j-* as spelling /h-/ < *s-.

2.5 Otherwise, if, with the majority view, *o-/jo-* comes from the relative **i_o-*, there is a problem of meaning, as Probert (2008:127) points out:

- “Interpretations of *o-/jo-* as an adverb meaning ‘thus’ face the difficulty that Greek does not generally form demonstratives on the relative stem **i_o-*.”

3 Probert’s (2008) account

3.1 Not an adverb at all (not the first to propose this).

3.2 The variation *o-/jo-* is explained as an orthographic convention to differentiate:

- nom.pl.m. *oĩ* (*jo-*)
- acc.sg.n. *ō* (*o-*)

3.3 These would be preposed relative clauses (without resumption).

3.4 Most instances of *jo-* occur as the subjects of transitive verbs (in the plural) and are followed by lists of *persons* or groups of people, often in addition to place names (in 5 out of 8 cases).

(1) NOM.PL.M. RELATIVE FOLLOWED BY PERSONS

- .0 *vac.* [] *vac.*
 .1 **jo-o-po-ro** , a-ro-mo[do-?]šī-mi-jo / pe-se-ro [/ sa-sa-ma]
 .2 pu₂-ke / ma-ra-tu-wo Z 1 [] *vac.*
 .3 pe-ke-u / ku-mi-no-jo[ma-ra-]tu-wo V 1 sa-sa-ma Z 2 sa-pi-de ‘6’
 .4A e-ru-ta-ra[sa-]sa-ma V 1
 .4B ka-e-se-we / ka-na-ko []ma-ra-tu-wo V 1 sa-pi-de 6
 .5A e-ru-ta-ra []
 .5B ke-po / ka-na-ko M []V 1 mi-ta , PE 2 ko-no-a-po-te-[.]
 .6A [] *vac.* []2 .6B [] *vest.* []V 1 DE 1 *155^{VAS}[] *vac.*
 .7 *inf. mut.* [] *vac.* [] (MY Ge 602).

‘(People) **who owed** spice...

Pe-se-ro: [sesame]

Pu₂-ke:

fennel seed Z 1

Pe-ke-u:

cumin []

fennel seed V 1

sesame Z 2

boxes 6
{etc.}'.

3.5 *o-*, however, is followed by lists of *items* (which appear regularly in the nominative (Probert 2008:139) (in 13 out of 14 (15?) cases).

(2) ACC.SG.N. RELATIVE FOLLOWED BY ITEMS

- .1 **o-di-do-si**, du-ru-to-mo
- .2 a-mo-te-jo-na-de, e-pi-[pu-]ta 50
- .3 a-ko-so-ne-qe 50
- .4 to-sa-de, ro-u-si-jo, a-ko-ro, a-ko-so-ne
- .5 100, to-sa-de, e-pi-[pu-]ta 100 (PY Vn 10).

'What the woodcutters **contribute** to the chariot workshop:
trees 50; axles 50.

And the Lousian field (contributes) so many:
axles 100, and so many trees: 100'.

- Lack of agreement between introductory pronoun and specified item shown by *to-sa* (acc.pl.n.) and *a-ko-so-ne* /axonēs/ (nom.pl.m) (*ibid.*:139–40).
- For the (arbitrary) difference between neuter plural *to-sa* and neuter singular *o-*, Probert (2008:140) cites τι δὴ ταύτ' ἐστὶ 'So what (sg.) do these things (pl.) amount to?' (Demosthenes 23.38).

3.6 Suggests spelling of *j-* preserved in nom.pl. due to matching high glide in diphthong /oi/.

3.7 Distinction maintained thereafter to differentiate the two forms in spelling, though both would have started with the same initial sound (/h-/).

4 Problems for Probert (2008)

4.1 General

4.1.1 Strange that we never get acc.pl. *a-*? We do get *to-so* and *to-sa*, by contrast.

4.1.2 Why no resumption?

4.1.3 Why is it the verb, in particular, that is targeted (fronted)? Nothing about preposed relatives seems to require that the verb be initial in its clause.

4.1.4 Co-occurrence of /hō/ with a demonstrative *to-so/-sa* is paralleled in Homer by ὧς. . . τόσσον (e.g., *Il.* v.136 and *Od.* ix.403–4; cf. (15) below), but the relative ὃ seems not to be so used.

4.2 Textual issues

4.2.1 MY Ue 661: *jo-po-ro-te-ke* /jo-protēke/ (πρόθηκε) 'jo- (he) provides' (singular!), followed by amounts (noted as a problem by Probert (2008:158)).

4.2.2 PY An 37: *o-za-mi* (psv. to ζημιώω?) 'o- they are fined'(?), followed by a list of *men*. If this *o-* is a segmentable element, then it is problematic (cf. *Docs*²:41, Probert 2008:148).

- 4.2.3 KN Gv 863: *jo-e-ke<->to-qo* , *wo-na-si* ‘*jo-* the place has in its vineyards’. If correctly interpreted, this poses a problem (*jo-* cannot be nom. here).
- 4.2.4 KN Fp(1) 14 + 27 + 28 + *frr.*: *jo-te-re-pa-to* ‘*jo-* they delighted (in)’? (‘thus they offered’?), followed by a list of items, not individuals or groups.
- 4.2.5 ?PY Nn 228: *o-o-pe-ro-si* , *ri-no o-pe-ro* ‘What flax/linen they owe, (this is?) the deficit...’. Here we see an acc.sg.n. “internal domain noun” (Probert 2008:144) with *o-*, but the list that follows contains place names plus a quantity of flax, which seems most likely to refer to groups of *people*. Also the added *o-pe-ro* (/ophelos/) ‘deficit’ is awkward and unexplained (again without demonstrative resumption).

4.3 The “clitic chains”: *o-da-a₂*, *o-de-qa-a₂*, *o-a₂*

- 4.3.1 These must *not* be connected to *o-/jo-* (*ibid.*:151), which is perhaps justifiable, given their different syntactic behavior (e.g., do not necessarily front verbs).
- 4.3.2 The *o-* element of these chains must be completely separate, though Probert (2008) makes no particular claims about it.
- 4.3.3 Still, she seems to translate *o-da-a₂* as an “itemizing” particle (i.e., precisely what she claims *o-/jo-* is not).
- PY Aq 64: *o-da-a₂* , *ko-to-na e-ko-te* ‘And the holders of land **as follows**’ (*ibid.*:141–2).
- 4.3.4 If one wishes to unify these two *o-* elements, the data poses a problem for Probert’s (2008) analysis.

- (3) ***o-da-a₂*** , a-na-ke-e , o-pe-ro-te[
ri-so-wa , i-je-re-u] VIR 1
ne-wo-ki-to , i-je[-re-]u , da-i-ja-ke-re-u VIR 1
 {etc.} ...
o-da-a₂ , e-ke-jo-to , a-ko-to-no
pa-ku-ro₂ , de-wi-jo ZE 1
 {etc.} ... (PY Aq 218).

‘And those who are obliged to bring (men?), **as follows**:

Ri-so-wa the priest. . . : one man.

Ne-wo-ki-to the priest, the divider of lands: one man.

...

And those without land are included **as follows**:

Pa-ku-ro₂. . . : one pair’.

- In this example, the list refers to individuals. The second occurrence of *o-da-a₂* may contain a passive verb in the 3rd pl., incompatible with an acc. object, as *o-* would have to represent.
- 4.3.5 Elsewhere, *o-da-a₂* co-occurs with direct objects *in the same clause*, making it difficult to view its *o-* as accusative.

- (4) ***o-da-a₂*** , e-qe-si-jo , do-e-ro , e-ko-si , ***o-na-ta***
 [[ku-su-qa]] , to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 3 V 4 (PY Ed 847).

‘**And o- leases** the slaves of the Follower hold:
and so much seed: 131 ·2 l. wheat’.¹

4.3.6 Other examples of *o-da-a₂* co-occur with the negative, *o-u-*, which is supposed to be avoided with plain *o-/jo-* (Probert 2008:141–4), since one does not need to say things like “What he contributed: nothing” (cf. PY Aq 64 and PY Ng 332).

(5) *o-da-a₂*, *ka-ke-we*, **o-u-di-do-si** (PY Ma 90).

‘**And thus the smiths are excused payment**’.²

4.3.7 In PY Un 718, The fut. sg. verb *do-se* ‘will give’ followed by quantities of items, then two instances of *o-da-a₂*, which are in turn followed by quantities of items.

(6) .1 sa-ra-pe-da , po-se-da-o-ni , do-so-mo
.2 **o-wi-de-ta-i** , do-so-mo , **to-so** , e-ke-ra₂-wo
.3 **do-se** , GRA 4 VIN 3 BOS:m 1
.4 tu-ro₂ , TU±RO2 10 ko-wo , *153 1
.5 me-ri-to , V 3
.6 *vac.*
.7 **o-da-a₂** , da-mo , GRA 2 VIN 2
.8 OVIS:m 2 TU±RO2 5 a-re-ro , A±RE±PA V 2 *153 1
.9 **to-so-de** , ra-wa-ke-ta , **do-se** ,
.10 OVIS:m 2 me-re-u-ro , FAR T 6
.11a -ma
.11b VIN S 2 **o-da-a₂** , wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo , ka-
.12 GRA T 6 VIN S 1 TU±RO2 5 me-ri[
.13 *vac.* [me-]ri-to V 1 (PY Un 718).

‘**As far as one can see(?)**, Ekhelāwōn **will give so much** as a contribution:
480 l. wheat, 108 l. wine, one bull, ten cheeses, one sheepskin, 6 l. of honey.
And similarly the village (will give): 240 l. wheat, 72 l. wine, two rams,
five cheeses, 4 l. fat, one sheepskin.
And the military leader **will give so much**: two rams, 72 l. flour, 24 l. wine.
And similarly the estate of the cult association (will give): 72 l. wheat,
12 l. wine, five cheeses, 14 l. of honey’.

- It is generally assumed that *do-so* must be understood with both of the subsequent clitic chains.
- Yet when the verb *do-so* is overtly repeated, *o-da-a₂* does not occur in its clause, and instead *to-so* is found.
- In the introductory sentence, we find *o-wi-de-ta-i*, which, if a subjunctive verb headed by /hō/ (i.e., /hō widētai/), can be interpreted ‘as can be seen’. But if the *o-* is an accusative object, then the interpretation is more difficult.³

1. Similarly (some with sg. *e-ke*): PY Ed 901, PY En 74 (3x), PY En 609 (2x), PY En 659 (5x), PY Eq 36, PY Eq 146 (4x).

2. Similarly: PY Ma 120, PY Ma 123–4, PY Ma 193, PY Ma 221, PY Ma 225, PY Ma 365, PY Ma 378, PY Ma 393, PY Ma 397.

3. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, *o-wi-de-ta-i* could be (ὄφι-δέριτῆι) the dat.pl. to ὄφι-δέριτᾶς ‘sheep skinner’ (δέριω ‘skin, flay’) or ὄφι-δέριτᾶς ‘sheep binder’ (δέω).

4.3.8 The single occurrence of *o-a₂* conforms to Probert's (2008) analysis, though note again the lack of gender agreement between *o-(a₂)* and *wo-no* (ἠοῖνος).

- (7) **o-a₂ , e-pi-de-da-to**
 pa-ra-we-wo , wo-no
 pi-*82-de 50
 me-ta-pa-de 50
 {etc.} (PY Vn 20).

'What is/has been distributed (Pf. mid. ἐπιδέδαστοι)
 the wine of Pa-ra-we:
 50 to Pi-*82
 50 to Me-ta-pa
 {etc.}'.

4.3.9 The single occurrence of *o-de-qa-a₂* (PY On 300) is opaque and lacks a verb.

4.3.10 Cf. also PY Cn 4: *o-qe e-ra-se* 'and he who drove them'(?), if correctly read as nom.sg.m. relative pronoun (/hos/, ὅς).

5 My proposal

5.1 *o-/jo-* is an adverb meaning basically 'thus, as follows' (whether originally demonstrative, relative, or mixed).⁴

5.2 The adverb interacts with the verb, specifically, most often in performative use, where it can be understood as meaning something like 'hereby'.

- (8) PERFORMATIVES IN ENGLISH AND GREEK
- I now **pronounce** you man and wife.*
 - The court **hereby sentences** you to five years.*
 - τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν **κατώμωσ'**_[AOR.] ἦν ἂν εὐορκοῖμ' ἐγώ (Eur. *Or.* 1516–72).
 'I **swear**_[AOR.] by my soul, for which I would keep my oath'.
 - ὄμνυμι**_[PRES.] Γαῖαν . . . ἐμμενεῖν ἅ σου κλύω (Eur. *Med.* 752–3).
 'I **swear**_[PRES.] by Earth . . . that I will abide what I hear from you'.

5.3 Given the nature of the texts, most verbs can be understood as performative, which makes more sense of the present tense, in particular, than alternative accounts.

- (9) PRESENT TENSE PERFORMATIVE IN MYC.
- o-di-do-si** , du-ru-to-mo
 - a-mo-te-jo-na-de , e-pi-[pu-]ta 50 (PY Vn 10)

'Woodcutters **contribute thus** (i.e., **hereby contribute the following**) to the workshop:
 trees 50; axles 50'.

- Otherwise, we are forced to read such presents as either habitual ('they are wont to contribute') or progressive ('they are contributing (and I'm watching them do it)!').

4. Perhaps from 'in what way so-and-so contributes' to 'thus so-and-so contributes'.

5.4 In Vedic Sanskrit, the augmentless aorist regularly occurs in performative use, alongside the present indicative.

(10) PERFORMATIVES IN THE *RGVEDA*

- a. *prá te yakṣi*_[AOR.] *prá ta iyarmi*_[PRES.] *mánma* (RV X.4.1a).
 ‘I (hereby) begin the sacrifice_[AOR.] to you and I propel_[PRES.] my thought to you’.
- b. *viśvā pári priyá bhuvad*_[AOR.] *ádha dvitá* (RV IX.102.1cd).
 ‘[Soma] encompasses_[AOR.] all dear things now once again’.

5.5 The general lack of augment in Myc., and the fact that the aorist is favored over the imperfect (of which we have no sure examples), may therefore be explained as an archaism made especially prominent by text type.

(11) AORIST WITHOUT AUGMENT IN PERFORMATIVE USE IN MYC.

- a. .1 **o-do-ke**, a-ko-so-ta
 .2 tu-we-ta, a-re-pa-zo-o
 .3 tu-we-a, a-re-pa-te [[ze-so-me]]
 .4 ze-so-me-no [[ko]]
 .5 ko-ri-a₂-da-na AROM 6
 {etc.} ... (PY Un 267).

‘A(r)xotas **hereby contributes**
 spices to Thuestras the unguent-boiler,
 for unguent which is to be boiled:
 coriander seed 720 l.
 {etc.} ...’

- b. **jo-po-ro-te-ke** *190 100 *155^{VAS}+NI 15
 ‘(He) **hereby provides**: ? 100, spice-jars(?) and figs 15...’.

5.6 The few augmented aorists that are attested do not occur with *o-/jo-* or any of the “clitic chains”.

5.7 Possible minimal pairs are as follows:

(12) AUGMENTLESS AND AUGMENTED AORISTS TO THE SAME VERB WITH AND WITHOUT *o-/jo-*

- a. **jo-a-pu-ḍo[-ke]**
 tu-na-no [(KN Wb 8711, label).

‘(He) **hereby repays**
 (textile)’.

- b. ko-ka-ro **a-pe-do-ke** e-ra₃-wo to-so
 ... (PY Fr 1184).

‘Kokalos **has contributed so much** olive oil ...’⁵

5. This example seems to go against Probert’s (2008:160–1) claim that “clear and likely demonstratives... do not otherwise occur in introductory sentences” and that “main clauses are otherwise very rare in Mycenaean as introductions to a tablet or set of tablets” (arguing that *o-/jo-* cannot be a demonstrative).

c. **o-ze-to**, ke-sa-do-ro *34-to-pi ,
a-ke-a₂ ... (PY Vn 130).

‘Kessandros **hereby takes possession of** ...
wine-jars(?) ...’.

d. ri-jo-ni-jo , / **e-ze-to** , to-ro-qo ... (KN Od(1) 563).

‘Hriōnios **has obtained** a cord (cf. στρόφος) ...’.

5.8 The strong association of the *augmented* aorist with “perfect” meaning (i.e., resultative) is well documented in Homeric Greek (Platt 1891:221–6; Bakker 2005, 1999).

5.9 This again is paralleled in Vedic Sanskrit.

(13) AUGMENTLESS NON-RESULTATIVE AORIST VS. RESULTATIVE AUGMENTED AORIST IN THE *ṚGVEDA*
*út súvar gād*_[AOR.UNAUG.] ...
*á súriyo aruhac*_[AUG.AOR.] *chukráṃ árṇo áyukta*_[AUG.AOR.] *yád dharíto vītáprṣṭhāḥ* (RV V.45.1c,
10ab).

‘The (ideal) Sun **comes up**_[AOR.UNAUG.] ...’

The Sun (of today) **has mounted**_[AUG.AOR.] the gleaming flood, now that he **has yoked**_[AUG.AOR.]
his golden, straight-backed (horses)’.

5.10 Granted, the difference in meaning between the performative and resultative interpretation is slight in the context of the Mycenaean texts (‘hereby obtains’ vs. ‘has just obtained’).

5.11 The distinction between (augmentless) aorist and present indicative would thus be one of aspect:

(14) CONTRASTIVE ASPECT IN PERFORMATIVE SENTENCES OF MYC.?

a. **jo-o-po-ro**_[AOR.] , a-ro-mo[do-si-mi-jo ... (MY Ge 602).

‘**They are hereby indebted**_[AOR.] spice as a result of the tax ...’.

b. **o-o-pe-ro-si**_[PRES.] , ri-no o-pe-ro
... (PY Nn 228).

‘**They hereby owe**_[PRES.] as a deficit/remaining balance linen:
...’.

- In MY Ge 602, the aorist is accompanied by an explicit statement of result, emphasizing the change-of-state, which is inceptive (i.e., ‘hereby *begin to owe* in response to the tax’).
- In PY Nn 228, the present is accompanied by a “deficit” or balance that *still remains to be paid*. So the state of “owing” can be thought of here as a continuation of some prior debt. This continuation is enacted by this tablet and thus performative (i.e., ‘hereby continues to owe’).

5.12 Similar alternations can be found in Homer (where, however, the augment is regular in dialogue).

(15) ALTERNATION OF PRESENT-REFERRING AORIST AND PRESENT IN HOMER
τίπτε τόσον, Πολύφημ', ἀρημένος ὧδ' ἐβόησας_[AOR.]
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην καὶ ἀύπνους ἄμμε τίθησθα_[PRES.]; (Od. IX.403–4).

‘Polyphemus, why so much distressed **do you cry out(/have you cried out)**_[AOR.] in this way through the ambrosial night and (why) **do you render**_[PRES.] us sleepless?’

5.13 Summary of tense usage with *o-/jo-*:

- Aorist: 11–13 times.
- Present: 8 times.
- Future: 2–3 times.

5.14 The benefit of this account is that it offers explanations as to:

- Why the present is used in such documents (otherwise strange).
- Why the augmentless forms of the aorist are preferred to the near exclusion of the augmented ones.
- Why the aorist is preferred to the exclusion of the imperfect.
- Why the verb, in particular, seems to be targeted (and fronted) by *o-/jo-*.

5.15 Further, if we wish to connect *o-da-a₂* with the plain *o-/jo-*, this poses no problem as it does for Probert’s (2008) account (cf. below).

6 Possible problems and complications

6.1 A couple of aorists with *o-/jo-* seem to be genuinely past-referring or resultative.

(16) PAST-REFERRING AORISTS WITH *o-* IN MYC.

- a. **o-wi-de**, a-ko-so-ta, to-ro-qe-jo-me-no, a-ro-u-ra, a₂-ri-sa,
a-ke-re-wa, o-ro-jo, to-so-de, pe-mo GRA 8
... (PY Eq 213).

‘**Thus (hereby?)** Axotas (**has?) observed** on his tour of inspection (/troqeiomenos/ “turning”), counting the corn-lands of *A-ke-re-wa*; of the loss, so much (acreage of) seed : 960 l. wheat ...’

- b. **o-wi-de**, pu₂-ke-qi-ri, o-te, wa-na-ka, te-ke, au-ke-wa, da-mo-ko-ro
... (PY Ta 711).

‘Thus P. **made inspection**, on the occasion when the king appointed Sigewas(?) to be a *dāmokoros*...’⁶

- There is nothing wrong *in principle* with past referring augmentless aorists, such as *te-ke* in the *o-te* clause.

6. Note that here the aorist *te-ke* ‘placed’ (ἔθηκε), being contained within a subordinate temporal clause, *cannot* be interpreted as performative. Similarly, the present indicative in a (general?) relative clause found in PY Vn 1314 (*jo-qi...pe-re* ‘what(ever) he brings’) must have a generic/habitual (or progressive?) interpretation, not performative. Thus, though several verbs without *o-/jo-* can be interpreted as performative (and two or three with *o-/jo-* are probably best interpreted as non-performative), we may be certain that performative is not a necessary interpretation of all Mycenaean verbs, since many others (virtually all without *o-/jo-*) have clearly non-performative functions, such as simple preterital or general present readings. This suggests that the observed correlation of *o-/jo-* with the performative use is not coincidental (even if it is not absolutely uniform).

- The augment is dispreferred in past narration in Homeric (Chantraine 1948 [2013]:484).
- This again matches Vedic usage, where the augmentless aorist is strongly preferred in mythic past/narrative contexts, alongside the imperfect (Avery 1885:330).

(17) AUGMENTLESS AORIST IN PAST NARRATION IN THE *ṚGVEDA*
*āvīr bhāvann úd atīṣṭhat*_[IPF.] *parāvīk*
*prāti śronā sthād*_[AOR.INJ.] *vī anág acaṣṭa*_[IPF.] (*RV* II.15.7bc).

‘The shunned one **stood up**_[IPF.]

the lame one **gained firm footing**_[AOR.INJ.]; the blind one **gained clear vision**_[IPF.].

- The problem lies in the fact that here the adverb *o-* cannot easily be read as ‘hereby’, so we must admit that this adverb was not used exclusively in performative contexts but was also compatible with simple preterital contexts in its basic meaning ‘thus, as follows’.

6.2 KN Gv 863: *jo-e-ke* <-> *to-ḡo* , *wo-na-si* ‘thus (hereby?) the place has in its vineyards’. If correctly interpreted, this poses a problem, as it did for Probert’s (2008:159–60) account.

- Since this appears to refer to a permanent state rather than one attained at the present moment, the verb is unlikely to be performative.
- By contrast, *o-da-a₂* with change-of-state *e-ke* / *e-ko-si* (cf. (4) above) is fine in the meaning ‘(person/people) hereby obtain(s)/gain(s) possession of’.
- *o-da-a₂* with negative *o-u-di-do-si* (cf. (5) above) is also fine, in the meaning ‘(people) are hereby excused payment (for)’.

6.3 The adverb *jo-* (never *o-*) occurs with the future tense, as in *jo-do-so-si* (PY Jn 829).

- This also seems fine as a performative, in the meaning ‘they are hereby bound to contribute’.
- Future performatives are again paralleled in Vedic Sanskrit (with the subjunctive):
 - *prá nú vocā* ‘Now I (shall) proclaim’ (*RV* VI.59.1a).
 - Contrast the far more common augmentless aorist *prá nú vocam* ‘Now I proclaim’ (e.g., *RV* VI.8.1b).

Abbreviations

*Docs*² See Ventris, Michael, and John Chadwick. 1973.

References

- Avery, John. 1885. The Unaugmented Verb-Forms of the Rig- and Atharva-Vedas. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11:326–361.
- Bakker, Egbert J. 1999. Pointing to the Past: Verbal Augment and Temporal Deixis in Homer. In *Euphrosyne: Studies in ancient epic and its legacy in honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis*, edited by John N. Kazazis and Antonios Rengakos, 50–65. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- . 2005. *Pointing at the Past: From Formula to Performance in Homeric Poetics*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies.

- Bozzone, Chiara. 2014. Initial “Yod” in Greek and the Etymology of Gk. ι(‘ππος ‘horse’. In *Proceedings of the 24th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Los Angeles, 26-27 October 2012*, edited by Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine. Bremen: Hemen.
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1948 [2013]. *Grammaire homérique, Tome I: Phonétique et morphologie*. 2nd ed. Edited by Michel Casevitz. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Gallavotti, Carlo. 1956. *Documenti e struttura del greco nell’età micenea*. Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo.
- Hooker, J.T. 1980. *Linear B: An introduction*. London: Bristol Classical Press.
- Platt, Arthur. 1891. The augment in Homer. *Journal of Philology* 19:211–237.
- Probert, Philomen. 2008. Mycenaean *o-* is accusative; *jo-* is nominative. *Glotta* 84:126–168.
- Ventris, Michael, and John Chadwick. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.