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Dear Miss Kober,

It was extremely kind of you to send me copies of your articles: I'm extremely glad to have them.

I hope I made amends for my -inthos mistake by anticipating its proper genderlessness in my last letter.

I went down to see Sir John last week and discuss the book with him. He seemed a lot older than when I last saw him, and I felt quite glad to be able to help him out a little with his magnum opus.

We also touched briefly on work in general, and I must say that I feel with him that the languages of A, B and mainland are the same. On the other hand, while I've always been keen to argue that all the various forms are alternative name-formations, not inflexions, and that the spelling is purely syllabic, I'm afraid he's probably going too far in this direction. I'm glad he no longer regards  $\text{𐤀}$  and  $\text{𐤁}$  as ideographic, or "power-words", but it would be deadly to assume that, with 1 or 2 exceptions, no word-group in the whole Knossos material is other than a nominative name.

I think you've made out a good case for  $\text{𐤀}$ ,  $\text{𐤁}$  and  $\text{𐤃}$  being connected together grammatically, and it's obviously a very vital point to decide what this connection is. But the fact that other declensions don't suggest themselves seems to show that oblique cases occur very rarely, and that the nominative itself has no fixed ending. I suggest there are 4 possible reasons for a variation in terminal signs:-

- 1) chance correspondence in the initial letters of totally unrelated words.
- 2) alternative name-forming, adjective-forming, "denominal" etc suffixes applied to the same root.
- 3) Case and tense endings proper.
- 4) Alternative spellings of phonetically identical words in different contexts.

I think that (2) will take care of most of the cases in the B vocabulary, but that (3) must also occur, though they are difficult to determine, since:-

- a) Case-endings may be identical in form with name-suffixes,
- b) the same grammatical endings may have different functions, and
- c) the same grammatical function may be expressed by alternative endings.

We can get useful analogies from Etruscan endings, whether or not the language is related- it seems to have, at any rate, a similar build.



Most of the words on the Lemnos inscription end fortuitously in one of the endings -z (-š) , -ai & -io. Let us for the sake of argument equate 𐤆 with -š , and 𐤀 with a syllable consisting either of the vowel i or of some combination of the semi-vowel j . Then we can draw up a highly confusing table of the possible grammatical uses of such endings:-

	š ending	-i- ending
1.	Etruscan zivaš corresponding with Lemnian zivai (dative of an adjective?)	
2.	hamfeš <u>genitive s.</u> BUT the genitive overlaps with the dative in sense.	hamfei <u>dative s</u>
3.	Larəuš <u>gen</u> of masculine name	Larəia(1) alternative <u>gen</u> of same name.
4.	atiš <u>gen:</u> of the mother	atia(1) alternative <u>genitive</u> .
5.	-š, -nš common ending of masc names.	-i -ia common ending of fem names. <u>nominative</u> .
6.	tinš <u>dative</u> "to Jupiter"	tin, tina, tinia alternative forms of nom: "Jupiter"
7.	araš, turiš III aspect of verb	arai, aomai etc (Lemnian) II aspect of verb
8.		Hirmina-ia <u>genitive</u> of gens-name Hirminai hetera-ia <u>nom plural</u> : "serfs"

There's an awful amount of irregularity: the -š ending (? 𐤆) can't very well be a feminine nominative or a nominative plural, but otherwise either ending can represent almost any case in noun or verb.

I gather that you regard the 𐤆 / 𐤏 alteration as a verbal form? We can bring that into our table of ambiguity by making 𐤏 for example a syllable with k , - ke or ku.

	š ending	-c- ending
1.	Laris masculine name formed from base Lar-	Larce other masculine name.
2.	araš turiš III aspect of verb	arce, turce V aspect of verb (perfect)

The verbal ending -ce, -cu ~~can~~ have a consonant element inserted between it and the root: -nce, -sce, -ece (which last might be spelt the same as the complete word tece "placed ") There's an analogy here with endings like - 𐤆𐤏𐤕 , - 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤕 .

Hrozný gets a similar result by considering 𐤀 as -ā, and 𐤆 as -n. Then , by his reckoning, 𐤀 may be:-

1. -ā ending of feminine nominatives
2. -ā , -iā plural ending
3. -ā genitive or dative
4. -ā Permansive 3 person pl of the Piel form of the babylonian verb (!)

𐤆 may be:-

- 1 -n "nunation", emphatic form of the nominative sing.



Comments:

- (a) I've resisted the temptation ~~to~~ in any of these to make either Linear A or B into Greek, Illyrian, or indeed into I-E. I think the spelling of Minoan names (assuming it is a full spelling, as probable) makes it impossible that there was a predominant ending of the nominative case, certainly not one in -s. Unless the names nearly all belong to a language other than that of the inscrr, that rules out all the IE dialects (including Hittite), Lydian and possibly Hurrian (though it isn't quite settled what the function of the "agentive" -s is). That only leaves Etruscan, ?Carian, Lycian, or some other, quite unprecedented language, as points of comparison.
- (b) I certainly don't think there's anything I-E about Etruscan, except by casual borrowing, or by going back to some very pre-I-E stage or development. Admittedly Trombetti enlarges the field of comparison between Etruscan and other languages (particularly Italic) quite bewilderingly - he occasionally cites Tasmanian parallels, which is going a bit far!
- (c) The names from Knossos, Mainland, & Cyclades do seem to conform to a common type. To what language are they referable? Most of them look "Aegean" in type, though perhaps we shall be able eventually to detect in them traces of different ethnic strata - but curiously, nothing Greek seems to appear anywhere, or does it?
- (d) Eteocretan, superficially, looks the sort of language whose nominatives one might expect to end in -s.

I admit the phrase "average frequency" is a bad one. Statistical methods will need accurate safeguards in method to give a useful result, and you're probably way ahead of me there. But what I chiefly meant in this context, of a possible clue to :V: by vowel harmony, is this:- taking for example the letters ⌈ and ⌋, if ⌋ occurs among the most frequent letters after ⌈, and if ⌈ also occurs among the most frequent letters after ⌋, then there's a possibility, which can be measured relative to other combinations.

But this particular case I hope won't prove to be frequent in this way. It isn't good statistics yet, but I feel that on general grounds of initial frequency there's a fair chance of ⌈ equalling A. This ties in with frequency in pre-Hellenic and Etruscan words and names, and with the fact that half the "Keftian names" begin with aleph, ⌈, if the Egyptian transliteration is any indication.

I've so far been chary of admitting written long vowels into Linear spelling, because they represent an easy way out for the transliterator of impossible words; but in words which begin for example with ⌈⌈ -, if ⌈ is a, then we might have to read taa- or tā-. If -ia- and -ua- are written -ija- and -uwa- respectively, which is only a guess, then all letters coming before ⌈ might have to have :V: a. -A rather shaky grid possibility.

Going on to consider feminines in -⌈, there is a possibility that ⌈ is also a vowel, and is used to form a long vowel-ending -ī after ⌈, ⌋ etc, rather than that it is part of an ending -ia as I suggested, which I gather may be a recent feature in Etruscan (? due to Italic influence).



This would make  $\square$  either into

- a) a lengthener after a preceding :V: i- ,
- b) or the second element in vowel groups -ui-, -ai-, ?-oi-, ?-ei-.

Initial  $\square$  should be pretty rare, but  $\tau\square$  would have the value ai-. (The group  $\tau\square$  occurring in a position other than initial might be tricky to justify).

Finally one or two ideas on words. I'd be quite happy for  $\tau\omega$  to be a verb: if  $\omega$  represents a past ending in -k-,  $\tau$  would be a monosyllabic verb-root. I couldn't quite gather from Sir John whether he regards the  $\tau\omega$  names as contributors, recorders or recipients. -If not a verb, perhaps at any rate an agent noun.

I was ~~was~~ wondering if  $\omega$  - might not represent a prefixed copula (possibly m-): it might still be worth checking through the words which are written on the same line immediately before  $\tau\omega$ , on the off-chance that they show, if not consistently  $\omega$  -, at any rate :C:  $\omega$  .

If the CS is any indication,  $\tau\omega$  looks rather like palo, unless it is a contracted form of a longer word. In the event of its being a preposition, there is an Etruscan pre-/postposition pul / ep, with a not very clearly defined meaning, sometimes "for" (of persons), sometimes apparently "within" &c. It isn't clear if em u of pul is original or is a way of spelling vocalic l, pl .

The positions of  $\tau\omega$  &c seem to suggest that a meaning "together, altogether" is possible. A number of languages construct this word by a locative construction (en-semble, in-sieme, zu-sammen, till-sammans, to-gether, v-meste &c) and there's a possibility that  $\omega$  and  $\omega$  here represent two alternative forms of a locative ending,  $\tau\omega$  being possibly a shorter form of the word. There's an Etruscan word tusθi generally believed to mean "together" (but subject to the same general lack of certainty), which would fit, assuming, as before, that Etruscan u represents, in part or in whole, an Aegean o. The Etruscan locative ending is -θ, -θi, -t, or -ti.

I tend to suspect that in Linear B words (but presumably not names, owing to the danger of confusion of identical radicals) there's a regular 2-letter contraction in operation, of which  $\tau\omega$  is an example. Otherwise it's hard to explain words like  $\tau\omega$  and  $\tau\omega$ , which seem to be indeclinable in the plural. There's a possible parallel here, in the words do mean "child", in the Etruscan stem hus- "young" ( husiur "sons", huzrnana "youthful" etc). As  $\tau$  occurs internally, it would mean treating Etruscan h as the initial variant of the phoneme X, which isn't unlikely. If  $\tau$  is Xu, then words like  $\tau\omega$ ,  $\tau\omega$  (Sir John thinks ~~this~~ first a verb) may be ethnica, and  $\tau\omega$  may be an example of a -Xu ending alternating with a -t- ending.

That's about the lot for this time. A lot of rather vague possibilities, I'm afraid, all fairly recently thought up. But it's probably better than getting a letter beating you over the head with arguments for passionate convictions.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Ventris



All of which goes to show, I think, that  $\tau$ ,  $\theta$  and  $\psi$ , whatever their correct vocalization, may cover a wide variety of grammatical functions, and yet need not in any given instance be flexional forms at all.

Other consonants that come into the running for  $\tau$  are, it seems to me,  $n$ - or  $\theta$ -.

Tentatively, I'd interpret the  $\tau$   $\theta$   $\psi$  series as  $-t$ .  $-tiia$   $-tiš$ . But I'm not certain whether we should assume that a final consonant was written with an  $-e$  vowel, as in Cypriot, or with an  $-o$  (as  $\tau$  might indicate if it equals  $\text{XXX} -l$ .) But it's probably dangerous to argue from Etruscan analogies here, because it's likely that a lot of actually-pronounced final and interconsonantal vowels have been eliminated in time by a strong stress accent.

The reduplication of some final letters is interesting, especially  $\tau\tau$ : I wonder whether it really represents a double sound, and might not rather be a way of indicating some peculiarity of pronunciation (? nasalisation - compare Cypriot's inability to write  $n$  before a consonant). I feel that one of the common Minoan name-endings should represent an  $-athos$  /  $-anthos$  variation, possibly tabbed on rather loosely, but I can't suggest which one it should be.

The reduplication of  $AA$  seems to be an argument against it being a pure vowel. On the other hand the sign  $\square$  seems well suited to it. Incidentally, Sir John lent me Hrozný's articles, and I see that he also reads  $\square$  as  $ma$ , with the meaning "and" (as I hinted very unsurely in my last letter) but in the suffixed position and not in the initial, which he regards as a determinative. But the rest of his stuff is so off the beam that his unexpected agreement turns me against the idea. If  $\square$  and  $\square$  have an adverbial or conjunctive use (Hrozný reads  $mapa$  "further, also" for the latter) they could equally well be  $ita$ - and  $ipa$  for Etruscan words of analogous function.

$\square$   $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  look to me like real case-endings. If  $\square$  is  $si$ , then the group could be (a) the genitive or dative of 2 singular or plural nouns, (b) a noun and an adjective. Here the meaning "and" for  $\square$ - might be arguable, though if  $\square$  is a vowel, and the second word a plural adjective (cf Etruscan:  $clenaraši nacnvaiaši$  "of or to his dear sons"), some form of the Etruscan pronoun  $est$ - might be more the sort of thing:

$i \ \$ . te ia \ \$ i \ ? ?$

Of course  $\square$  might still mean "and" without necessarily having to equal  $ma$ .

I see that Pugliese-Carattelli refers in his bibliography to Bertoldi's surmise of the existence of a "mediterranean" plural in  $-ar(a)$ , which I'd guessed myself to exist in the word  $\acute{a}kapa$ , and possibly in others of the same series:  $\phi\acute{a}lapa$  etc. Perhaps this plural ending is to be considered more applicable to things occurring in pairs, sets or groups than the possible plural ending  $-ia$ . The name for Crete (I suppose it is Crete now, and not Arzawa) may be a case of a plural word varying between both endings, Kaftar(a) giving rise to the Semitic forms, Kaft(a)ia to the Egyptian.



I hope my experiments with phonetic values don't seem too completely arbitrary to you - I feel some of us must try out some hypotheses of linguistic relationship in order to clarify the possibilities.

But I agree with Sir John that any deductions from correspondences in the first 2 or 3 signs of name-radicals with those of Anatolian names don't really get us anywhere, because their structure is such that one can find a parallel to almost any combination of syllables.

What books did you find useful in looking over Carian and Lycian? I can't find anything that's much use at all - and I have the feeling Sundwall's breakdown of Asianic names often tries to divide into Lycian elements things which may have nothing to do with the Lycian language.

On the whole Lycian and its neighbours have for me a decidedly 'Vorderasiatisch' look, whereas, with Schachermeyr and Pauli, my intuition, for what it is worth, sees Minoan and Etruscan as "ägäisch im engsten Sinne".

I have a suspicion that it is a half-Nazi ideology that makes the central European blokes see everything in the 2nd millenium from a vantage point in Hattusas, to feel that heavy-handed Nordics must have had a hand in every worthwhile cultural manifestation, and to put down all sorts of casually connected linguistic phenomena to the all-pervading influence of Luish.

We aren't able to trace historically any language of the ancient world ~~which became~~ in the process of becoming a so-called "mixed" language - by its vocabulary and morphology becoming merged with that of another language - all that we can say is that trading terms, flora and fauna, and cultural terms (practically exclusively nouns, all of them) get taken over in large numbers under given conditions, when languages suddenly move into a new geographic and cultural sphere. It's awfully easy to think of the Anatolian languages of the 1st millenium as a series of "mixtures" crystallised out from the melting-pot of the languages of the 2nd millenium - but I think it's a lot safer to assume that all the languages we know have developed slowly through the period, along their own independent lines of evolution in the main, and that any divergences, such as between Etruscan, Lycian and Lydian, or between Hittite and the "normal" I-E vocabulary, must be measured in units of a thousand years, rather than by the scale of a few centuries that separate the last Minoan inscriptions from the languages of the Classical period.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Ventris