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Preface

The present thematic issue of the journal is devoted to the Luwic languages of ancient Anatolia. It comprises the revised versions of a selection of talks delivered at the 3rd workshop "Luwic Dialects: Inheritance and Diffusion", which was held at the University of Barcelona in March 2016. The editors are grateful to Professor Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, the convener of the workshop, for being open to collaboration with our journal and facilitating the process of collecting the papers for the thematic issue.

The Luwic languages represent a subgroup of the Anatolian group, which comprises Luwian and its closest linguistic relatives, such as Lycian A, Lycian B, and Carian. All of them were spoken on the territory of the present-day Turkey and the adjacent parts of Syria. Their attestation spans the period from the 20th century BC, when the first Luwian loanwords appear in Old Assyrian texts, to the 3rd century AD, when the last Pisidian inscriptions were arguably produced.

For a long period of time, the Luwic languages remained in the shadow of their more illustrious relative and neighbour, the Hittite language. This is due to the fact that their corpora are smaller and they are, on the whole, less understood. Even the best attested Luwian language cannot be regarded as fully deciphered. Until very recently, there even was no clarity that the Luwian texts preserved in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts reflect one and the same language.

But the situation gradually changes as it becomes increasingly clear that fragmentary as they are, the Luwic languages are essential for reconstructing the Proto-Anatolian state of affairs. The old problem of the Indo-European studies, which consisted in defining the relationship between Hittite and the rest of Indo-European, can be now reframed as comparing the reconstructions of the Core Indo-European and Proto-Anatolian families in order to define their respective archaisms and innovations vis-à-vis their common ancestor. But the work on reconstructing Core Indo-European spans now almost two hundred years, whereas serious attempts to reconstruct Proto-Anatolian date back to the late twentieth century. Few issues related to this reconstruction reached the state of a general consensus, or can be regarded as commonly known to the rest of the Indo-Europeanists.

The reconstruction of Proto-Anatolian must in turn rely on solving specific historical and synchronic issues pertaining to the less known individual languages belonging to the Anatolian group, among them the Luwic languages. The contributions to the present volume serve this overall goal. The papers by Elisabeth Rieken and Mariona Vernet tackle the phonology and morphology of the Luwian language. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego and Zsolt Simon turn to Pisidian, arguably the least known member of the Luwic family. The contribution of Miguel Valério is devoted to assessing the possibilities of areal phonological interaction between the Luwic languages and the early forms of Greek, while José Virgilio García Trabazo offers a new lexical etymology involving the Luwic items.

Hopefully, the publication of these materials will provide a new impetus to Luwic studies, a new burgeoning branch of Indo-European linguistics that could generate some fresh insights for the discipline as a whole.

On behalf of the editors

Ilya Yakubovich

Предисловие

Настоящий тематический выпуск журнала посвящен изучению лувических языков древней Анатолии. В нем опубликованы переработанные версии избранных докладов, представленных на третьем коллоквиуме «Luwic dialects: inheritance and diffusion», проходившем в университете Барселоны в марте 2016 года. Редакционная коллегия благодарна профессору Игнази-Шабьеру Адиего — организатору коллоквиума за готовность к сотрудничеству с нашим журналом и помощь в сборе материалов для тематического выпуска.

Лувические языки представляют собой подгруппу анатолийской языковой общности, включающую лувийский язык и его ближайших родственников, таких как ликийский А, ликийский Б и карийский языки. На этих языках говорили на территории сегодняшней Турции и прилегающих частей Сирии. Их письменная фиксация охватывает период с XX до н. э., когда первые лувийские заимствования появляются в староассирийских текстах, до III в. н. э. — вероятной даты позднейших писидийских надписей.

На протяжении длительного периода лувические языки оставались в тени их более широко известного родственника и соседа — хеттского языка. Причиной этого является меньший объем их корпусов и более темный характер текстов. Даже наилучшим образом засвидетельствованный лувийский язык не может считаться полностью дешифрованным. До последнего времени даже оставалось неясным, отражают ли лувийские тексты, записанные в клинописи и иероглифическим письмом, один и тот же язык.

Однако данная ситуация постепенно меняется, по мере того, как становится ясно, что несмотря на свою фрагментарность, лувические языки играют ключевую роль в праанатолийской реконструкции. Старая проблема индоевропеистики, понимавшаяся как определение места хеттского языка по отношению к индоевропейской семье, может быть теперь переформулирована как сравнение «ядерной» праиндоевропейской и праанатолийской реконструкций с целью определения их архаизмов и инноваций по отношению к общему предку. При этом работа по реконструкции «ядерного» индоевропейского праязыка продолжается уже почти 200 лет, тогда как первые серьезные попытки реконструкции праанатолийского состояния относятся к концу XX столетия. Лишь немногие проблемы данной реконструкции, нашли консенсусное решение или являются общеизвестными для индоевропеистов в целом.

Реконструкция праанатолийского состояния, в свою очередь, зависит от решения исторических и синхронных проблем малоизученных анатолийских языков, среди которых важное место занимают лувические языки. Материалы настоящего тома служат этой общей цели. Статьи Элизабет Рикен и Марионы Вернет посвящены фонологии и морфологии лувийского языка. Игнази-Шабьер Адиего и Жолт Шимон обращаются к материалам писидийского языка, вероятно наименее известного члена лувической группы. Работа Мигеля Валериу затрагивает вопросы ареальных контактов на уровне фонологии между лувическими языками и ранними формами древнегреческого, а Хосе Верхилио Гарсиа Травасо предлагает новые лексические сопоставления с учетом материала лувических языков.

Хочется надеяться, что публикация материалов данного коллоквиума в России послужит делу лучшего ознакомления российских ученых со сравнительно-историческим исследованием лувических языков — новой быстроразвивающейся ветвью индоевропеистики.

От имени редакционной коллегии

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The longest Pisidian inscription (Kesme 2)

In this article, the author offers an analysis of the longest Pisidian inscription Kesme 2 (S 2), recently published by Claude Brixhe and Mehmet Özsait. A segmentation of the scriptio continua is proposed by using a combinatory method. Some connections with the rest of Pisidian linguistic materials and also with other Luwic languages is suggested. However, the inscription continues to be a largely impenetrable text.

Keywords: Pisidian, Luwic dialects, Anatolian, Indo-European, Greek Epigraphy, Asia Minor.

§1. Recently, Claude Brixhe and Mehmet Özsait have edited two Pisidian inscriptions from Asar Kale, a site on top of a hill very near Kesme (Brixhe-Özsait 2013). Kesme is around 30 km NE from Selge, and at a similar distance SE from Adada. The ancient name of Asar Kale is unknown, but according to Drew-Bear and also to the editors, it may be the Μουλασσ//α// (Zgusta KON §861-2 Μουλασσεων ὁ δῆμος) mentioned in an inscription found near Kesme.

One of the two inscriptions (Kesme 1, now S 1 in Brixhe 2016) was already published by Brixhe and Drew-Bear, but that edition was "massacré par l'éditeur", according to Brixhe-Özsait (2013). A new edition is proposed of this four-line, 34-letter text.

The other inscription, previously unpublished, is very impressive: it is a text of thirteen lines, complete, and thus constitutes the longest Pisidian text found to date (Kesme 2, now S 2)[1].

This inscription, together with the other one from Kesme–Asar Kale and two other inscriptions re-edited in the same paper from roughly the same geographical area (the middle course of the river Eurymedon), give us a very new impression of Pisidian. The rest of the Pisidian corpus comprises basically very brief texts from the territory of Tymbriada which contain only personal names. These inscriptions from the middle Eurymedon area, and in particular the longest inscription, offer a different kind of text, which undoubtedly contain a common vocabulary. As we will see, although we might expect to find elements that would confirm the hypothesis that Pisidian is a Luwic dialect — a hypothesis based exclusively on personal names and on the presence of a sigmatic genitive — this new material is practically impenetrable and raises considerable doubts about the exact position of Pisidian among Ancient Asia Minor languages.

Kesme 2 is dated by the editors to the 2nd–3rd century A.D. In fact, this is the date they propose for *all* the corpus of Pisidian inscriptions (the four inscriptions edited in Brixhe-Özsait and the brief epitaphs from Tymbriada).

The inscription is quite well preserved and Brixhe-Özsait's edition and commentaries will serve as a good starting point. My aim in this brief paper is to try at least to segment the words (the text is in *scriptio continua*) to be able to recognize any recurrent elements and to suggest, in a very hypothetical way, some explanations for them. In this regard, I hope I will be able to go slightly further (though not much) than the editors.

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[1] For these two inscriptions see now also Brixhe (2016: 97–99).

In order to analyse the text, for convenience I will use a Latin *transliteration* of the Greek alphabet used for Pisidian. I recognize that this is not the usual practice: the tradition in Pisidian studies, as it is with neo-Phrygian inscriptions, is to keep the text in the Greek alphabet. But I think that typographically it will be clearer if I use Latin, particularly in order to deal with the two different digammas present in the text (see immediately below).

My transliteration is conventional and should not offer problems. Note the following conventions: η = ē, ω = ō, Ϲ is a variant of semicircular sigma, therefore = *s*. I do not transcribe the peculiar letter ǂ (a *hapax* which is difficult to interpret).

Apart from this last letter, perhaps the most notable feature of this inscription is the coexistence of two digamma letters: the common form Ⅎ and the Pamphylian form И. The latter form is clearly differentiated from N *n*, so it must be a different letter. For a discussion of their value, see infra. Conventionally, I will transliterate И as <w> and Ⅎ as <v>.

Here is Brixhe-Özsait's edition:

1	ΜΕΚΛΩΡΕΓΟΟΥΑΡΠΛΙΟΕΙΔ
2	ΟΑΔΙΑΜΟϹΟΤΟϹΤΟΜΛΑ
3	ΓΑΚΑΙΗΩΡΑϹ-Γ-ΟΑΙΑΡΠΙ
4	ΠΟϹΙΤΙΠΑΔΟϹΤΟΤΩΚΟ
5	ΚΑИΤΟΤΟΛΑΟΙΑϹΟΕΙΑϹИΑ
6	ΡΟΥϹΙΤΟΚ𝈦ΑΡΟΥΔΑΤΙ
7	ǂ(?)ΑΠΑΝΙΝΟΥΤΙΕΥΟΗΜΕΡΕΝ
8	ΟΑΝΑΕΙϹИΑΡΕΙИΑΤΙΠΑΔΟ
9	ϹΤΟΚ𝈦ΑΡΟΥΔΑϹΟΙΑΔΙΑϹΟ
10	ΚΑΙΗИΑИΟΕΙΕΑΡΡΗ-(?)ΙΕ-(?)ΤΟΚΡ
11	.(?)ΟΥϹИΑИΟΕΙΕΕΙΔΙИΕΔΑΠΑΕΙΑϹ
12	ИΕΔΙΑΡΡΙ-Β-ΟΥΕΟΡΕϹΙΕΑΡΡΑΙΑ
13	.(?)ϹΟΜΛΑΓΑϹΕΟΚΟΠΛΟΥϹΟΑϹ
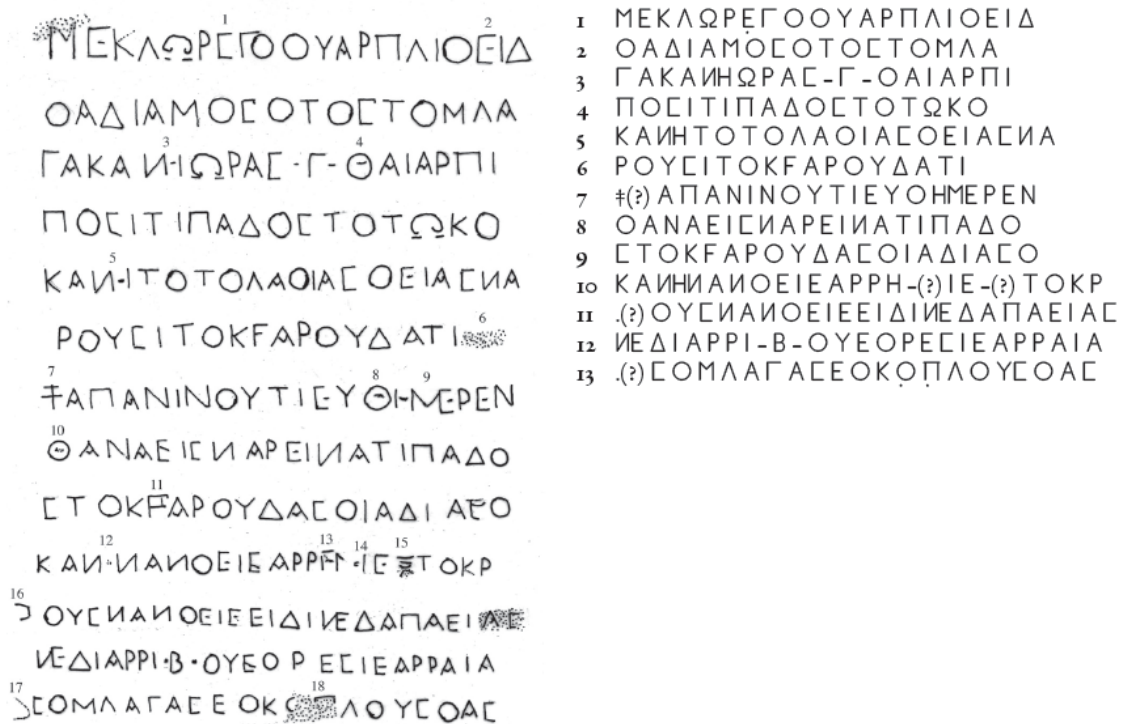
§2. The inscription poses several graphical problems which we must address before proceeding any further:

(1) the letter ǂ mentioned above: its value is not clear. Might it be a kind of *z*? Does it have a particular function? Might it be a variant of Ⅎ? Brixhe-Özsait (2013) considers this latter possibility but dismisses it. The question remains obscure.

(2) Some examples of *o* may be examples of *θ*. This is a typical crux in Greek epigraphy (and also in late Carian!): the difference between the letter omicron and the letter theta with central dot is not always clear. In this inscription, the editors express their doubts about the following cases: line 3 *oaiarpi / θaiarpi*?; line 7 *...oēmeren / θēmeren*?; line 8 *oan.../θan...*?. In an absolutely conventional way, I use <ô> to reflect the possibility that the letter might be *θ* instead of *o* in the cases mentioned.

(3) Also problematic are the possible confusions between Ϲ = *s* and Ε = *e*. This affects line 1: *meklōreg... / meklōrsg...* (But the editors clearly prefer *meklōreg...*, for contextual reasons). Line 1 *...eid / sid* (but also here the reading *e* is preferred). For the first example, I agree with the

editors: a cluster *srg* seems highly improbable to me (and also all the possible segmentations if we have to deal with two words: *s##rg*, *sr##g*). In the other case, both readings may be acceptable. For this reason, I use a conventional transliteration, parallel to <ô>: I transliterate this ambiguous *e/s* as <ê>.

(4) At the beginnings of lines 11 and 13, the editors note the apparent traces of signs, but conclude that they are probably accidental marks. I accept this latter explanation and will ignore them.

(5) I also accept other solutions suggested by the editors, such as the reading of *p* in the last line.

(6) I also accept the presence of some ligatures, like of И-I = И + H = *nē* in lines 3, 5, 12 or H-И as H + И + E = *ēme* in line 7 .

(7) One cannot be entirely sure that there are no abbreviations in this text. If there are, this would seriously hamper our task of segmentation. I assume, as the only way to begin to analyse the text, that there are no abbreviations.

§3. This is my transliteration:

meklōregoouarplioêid	1
oadiamosotostomla	2
gakawēōras -3 - ôaiarpi	3
positipadostotōko	4
kawētotolaoiasoeiaswa	5
rousitokvaroudati	6
ǂ(?)apaninoutieuôēmeren	7
ôanaeiswareiwatipado	8
stokvaroudasoiadiaso	9
kawēwawoeiearrē -15- tokr	10
(-?)ouswawoeieeidiwedapaeias	11
wediarri -2- oueoresiearraia	12
(-?)somlagaseokoplousoas	13

The only thing that is certain about this inscription is that it contains *numbers*. The editors clearly identify two numerical expressions: in line 3, *-g-* is the Greek number '3'; in line 12, *-b-* is '2'. Brixhe-Özsait (2013) suggests that these numerals may accompany a personal name to express the second or the third person bearing the name, as is usual in Greek epigraphy.

Apart from these two examples, there is another numerical expression: in line 10, IE seems to appear between two horizontal traits, as do the other two numerals (although we must admit that the horizontal trait at the ending of the expression is not clear). Taken as a numerical expression, IE makes sense as 'fifteen'. The editors accept this only as a possibility, but I think that it is the simplest interpretation.

If this interpretation is correct, in this case at least it is hard to accept that this numeral was used in the sense proposed by the authors: '15' is very unlikely to have been used to refer to the repeated use of a name inside a family.

§4. The presence of these numerals is, as I mentioned above, the sole evidence that we can obtain for sure from this obscure text. In what follows, I will try to offer a possible segmentation of the text.

To carry out the segmentation, we have the following tools at our disposal:

1) The numerical expressions allow us to segment correctly before and after these marks. Unfortunately, this procedure offers very limited results, because only three numerical expressions are present; however, in combination with the other tools, it may become more useful.

2) Some elements are repeated along the course of the inscription. We can isolate them, at least in their initial part (the final part may present different endings, so the segmentation is less clear).

3) Inside the inscription we find many vowel clusters, some of them formed by four or even five or six vowels. It is logical to assume that they are the consequence of the meeting of two (or more?) different words, and so one can look for word boundaries inside them. However, as we will see below, this procedure is not without its difficulties.

4) The typology of syllabic structure can also help. This tool merits a further explanation. A simple look at the text suggests that Pisidian was characterized by a predominant presence of open syllables, i.e., syllables with a (C)V structure. Note, for instance, lines 4–5:

> positipadostotōko
> kawētotolaoiasoeiaswa

In these two lines the only consonant clusters are *-st-* and *-sw-*. The rest of syllables follow the structure (C)V. As we will see below, this predominance of open syllables, and consequently the fact that the position of syllable end (coda) is limited to a few consonants, is present throughout the text and can be taken as a trait of the language encoded here.

§5. Thanks to the numerical expressions, we can recognize *ē i* and *s* as possible word final sounds, and *ô* (recall!: *o / θ* ?), *t, o,* as possible initial word sounds. Look at the corresponding lines:

> gakawēōras -3- ôaiarpi

> kawēwawoeiearrē -15- tokr

> wediarri -2- oueoresiearraia

s as a word final sound is also guaranteed by the last word of the inscription:

> (-?)somlagaseokoplousoas

To these meagre results, we add that *m* can begin a word, as it appears at the very beginning of the text (*meklōrego…*).

§6. Some elements are clearly repeated. Assuming that Pisidian was basically a suffix-inflected language, these repeated elements serve to establish boundaries in their initial part. Note the possible segmentations based on this principle:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamosotosto
> **mlaga**
> **kawē**ōras -3-
> ôaiarpiposi
> **tipadosto**tōko
> **kawē**totolaoiasoeiaswarousito
> **kvarouda**ti‡apaninoutieuôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa
> **tipadosto**

> **kvarouda**soiadiaso
> **kawē**
> **wawoeie**
> **arr**ē -15-
> tokrous
> **wawoeie**eidiwedapaeiaswedi
> **arr**i -2-
> oueoresie
> **arr**aiaso
> **mlaga**seokoplousoas

Nota bene:

1) In the case of *tipadosto*, as we will see below, it is possible that *ti* is (part of) a preceding word.

2) The segmentation of *arr⁰* may seem less sure, insofar as only three letters are implied.

These first segmentations offer an interesting result: some repeated sequences appear in immediate contact, which allows us to segment a complete word. This is the case of *mlaga kawē*, or *tipadosto kvarouda...* or *wawoeie arre*, or *kawē wawoeie*. Accepting these segmentations, we can refine our analysis:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamosotosto
> **mlaga**
> **kawē**
> ōras -3-
> ôaiarpiposi
> **tipadosto**
> tōko
> **kawē**
> totolaoiasoeiaswarousito
> **kvarouda**ti‡apaninoutieuôêmerenôanaeiswareiwa
> **tipadosto**
> **kvarouda**soiadiaso
> **kawē**
> **wawoeie**
> **arr**ē -15-
> tokrous
> **wawoeie**
> eidiwedapaeiaswedi
> **arr**i -2-
> oueoresie
> **arr**aiaso
> **mlaga**seokoplousoas

A first conclusion can be drawn from this initial attempt to isolate sequences: the sound immediately preceding each of these possible word initial sequences is systematically a vowel or (in two cases) an *s*:

> **mlaga**   a
> **kawē**   ē

ōras -3-	s
ôaiarpiposi	i
tipadosto	o
tōko	o
kawē	ē
totolaoiasoeiaswarousito	o
kvaroudati‡apaninoutieuôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa	a
tipadosto	o
kvaroudasoiadiaso	o
kawē	ē
wawoeie	e
arrē -15-	ē
tokrous	s
wawoeie	e
eidiwedapaeiaswedi	i
arri -2-	i
oueoresie	e
arraiaso	o
mlagaseokoplousoas	

This fact strengthens the impression mentioned above that this language favoured the existence of open syllables and drastically limited the presence of consonants at the end of a syllable and of a word.

§7. A trait of this inscription is the presence of vowel clusters, some of them of a considerable length. In principle, they could be used for establishing word boundaries assuming that we are dealing with the meeting of final and initial vowels of different words. But things are not so simple in Pisidian. Firstly, we must keep in mind that two of the most frequent vowels in these clusters are E <e> and O <o> which, in this inscription, can be easily misread instead of Ϲ <s> and Ꙩ <θ> respectively. As we have seen, Brixhe-Özsait (2013) admits these ambiguous readings in one instance of E/Ϲ and in three instances of O/Ꙩ, but in my opinion it is not entirely clear that all the rest of examples of these letters are reliable readings.

Secondly, the spelling practices in the age of this inscription favoured the use of clusters like O + vowel, OY + vowel, and Ω + vowel to represent /w+vowel/, as can be seen in the use of the Greek alphabet to reflect Anatolian proper names, or to write in Neo-Phrygian (see Brixhe-Özsait 2013: 240); EI also represented *i* — as in the contemporary Greek — and intervocalic I could have represented a Pisidian /j/ sound. The use of O, OY to represent /w/ in our inscrip-tion[2] is rather puzzling, since we already have two different digamma letters (И, Ϝ) to represent this or a similar sound. But it is not phonologically impossible that in this text there may be a triple contrast, like for instance /w/, /v/ and /β/. Note the particularity that there is no letter B in this inscription.

These spelling practices and perhaps also the existence of internal vowel hiatuses may lead to the presence of such clusters *inside* words. This singularity of Pisidian was already observed by Ramsay, who portrayed it amusingly by saying that "The Pisidian Language seems to have delighted in vowels" (Ramsay 1883:74).

Let us look at the vowel clusters in this inscription. In order to avoid excessive speculation I examine only the ones recognized by Brixhe-Özsait (2013) as ambiguous cases of *e/s*, *o/θ*.

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[2] There are no instances of Ω before vowel in this inscription.

I present the examples with three or more vowels, and only with two vowels when the vowels involved are neither *i* nor *u* — i.e., when a hiatus is more probable.

1	ooua	line 1	4 vowels
2	ioei (*or:* iosi)?	line 1	4 vowels (doubtful!)
3	oa	line 2	2 vowels
4	ēō	line 3	2 vowels
5	oaia (*or:* θaia)?	line 3	4 vowels (doubtful!) (if not, 3 vowels: *aia*)
6	aoia	line 5	4 vowels
7	oeia	line 5	4 vowels
8	ieuoē (*or*: ieuθē)?	line 7	5 vowels (doubtful!) (if not, 3 vowels: *ieu*)
9	oa (*or*: θa)?	line 8	2 vowels
10	aei	line 8	3 vowels
11	oia	line 9	3 vowels
12	oeiea	line 10	5 vowels
13	oeieei	line 11	6 vowels
14	aeia	line 11	4 vowels
15	oueo	line 12	4 vowels
16	iea	line 12	3 vowels
17	aia	line 12	3 vowels
18	eo	line 13	2 vowels
19	oa	line 13	2 vowels

The cluster n. 15 in line 12, *oueo*, is a good example of 'delight in vowels': here the cluster appears immediately after the numerical expression (2), and so we are dealing with the beginning of a word. Although behind *oueo…* there may be two words (*ou*, or even *o* could have been independent words in Pisidian), *oue-* is an acceptable initial sequence in Pisidian, as is shown by the divine name (or epithet) Ουεγεινος or Ουεγεινας (Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινῳ, in Tymbriada, SEG 55, 1447, 1448), the place name Οὐέρβη (Zgusta KON §972) and the personal name Ουελλ||ος|| (Zgusta KPN §1151–2). If in all these examples ουε represents /we/ or the like, /weo/ might be an acceptable word initial sequence even though it is not attested in the rest of the Pisidian documentation.

Previous analysis based on the recurrence of sequences allows us to resolve some of these clusters, at least partially. This is the case of 4 (*kawē ## ōras*), 12 (*wawoeie ## arrē*) and 13 (*wawoeie ## eidiwedapeias*...). In clusters 12 and 13 we still have a 4-vowel cluster at the end of the word (the same word: *wawoeie*) and the possibility of a further segmentation in two words (*wawo ## eie*, for instance) remains open.

Other clusters will be analysed later, in combination with the more speculative attempt to recognize endings.

§8. As for syllable structure, I have insisted repeatedly that this inscription seems to point to a high predominance of open syllables, and a clear limitation of sounds in syllable final and

consequently in word final positions. This statement can be ratified by the Pisidian inscriptions. A brief look at the subcorpus of brief epitaphs (see Adiego 2012) shows clearly that most of the syllables are open, and that practically only *s* and *r* can end a syllable or a word. The exceptions to this rule are some examples of geminations (for instance, *eddi*) and the letter *ksi*. It is not clear, however, that these clusters should be analysed as heterosyllabic. *ksi* could be a syllabic onset and *dd* may representing a sort of voiced stop (vs. the simple *d* representing possibly rather a fricative). Some examples of alternation *-d-* / *-r-*, i.e., rhotacism of *-d-* between vowels seems to point to a fricative articulation of this sound. Note that a similar rhotacism is present in neighbouring Pamphylian, where it is attributed to a substratum influence (see Brixhe 1976). Certainly, Pisidian onomastics in Greek sources offer a wider range of structures, but it is not clear that all these names, some of them found in contact zones with Phrygia, Lycaonia, etc., should be considered as strictly Pisidian.

In any case, the tendency to present open syllables and to limit the type of consonants in syllable final position in Pisidian suggests that in sequences such as *oadiamosotostomla* (second line of the inscription), segmentations like *oad ## iam ## osot ## om ## la* are highly improbable. Of course, this syllable typology allows us to say how the words *are not* separated, but it is less useful in a positive way: the sequence mentioned admits a great many different possibilities of segmentation even if one gives priority to parsing all the syllables as open: *oadi ## mosoto....* vs. *oa ## dimo ##soto*, etc.

These probable restrictions on syllable finals, combined with the general principle of sonority sequencing in syllable structure, lead us to consider all the clusters of increasing sonority as tautosyllabic. These are the sequences involved and the lines where they appear:

-kl-, -pl-	1
-ml-	2
-kv-	6
-kv-	9
-kr-	10
-ml-, -pl-	13

In the cases of *-ml-*, *-kv-* clusters, this analysis is consistent with the segmentation proposed above on the basis of repeated sequences, as they turn out to appear as possible word-initial sequences. The rest of the sequences constitute negative evidence: they tell us where the words *are not* cut, but it is impossible to establish whether or not they coincide with the beginning of a word.

The examples of clusters of decreasing sonority are dubious, for several reasons:

(1) the only possible example of *n* + obstruent depends on the reading of the second letter: 7–8 *-nô-*, where a reading *-nθ-* would make the sequence heterosyllabic. It is not clear to me whether *n* could really be a word final sound in Pisidian. There are no examples in the rest of the Pisidian inscriptions — although this may be a matter of chance, due to the scarcity of the corpus. Certainly, Pisidian onomastics in Greek sources show a few names ending in *-n*: personal names such as Ιμαν, Ειμαν, Κακκαν (KPN+Zgusta 1970), Μαντουν, Τατιον, and a subgroup of names inflected in -ων, -ωνος (Ζοβαλιων, Θυβρυων [doubtful], Κανδων, Κεριων, Σαλμων, Σιργων, Ταμων, [..]ουλιων; and place names like Κεσβέδιον, Μορδιάιον or Χῶμα Σακηνον. But the genuine Pisidian character of some of these names is highly questionable: Ιμαν, Ειμαν is most probably a Phrygian name, given its frequent appearance in Phrygia; Κακκαν appears in a boundary zone between Pisidia and Lycaonia; Τατιον is a widespread female name attested only once in Pisidia; Μαντουν is doubtful (it may simply be Greek:

see Zgusta KPN §868-1); the place names Κεσβέδιον, Μορδιάιον and Σακηνον are clearly adapted to the Greek inflection, an explanation that could also be envisaged for the curious subgroup of names inflected according to Greek -ων, -ωνος declination. Therefore, the possibility that the final -*n* was missing before the consonant, as happens in Pamphylian, ought to be taken into account; it would make a reading -*nθ*- more unlikely. However, the reading θ offers interesting results from the point of view of the interpretation of the sequence: see below §10.

(2) the segmentation of the examples of *s* + stop (limited to *st*: lines 2, 4, 9) depends on whether Pisidian admitted syllable onsets such as *st- sk-*, *sp-*, *sd-*, *sg*, *sb-*, etc. which violate the sonority sequencing hierarchy but are present in many languages (for instance Latin, Greek or English). The rest of the Pisidian documentation shows very few examples of *s* + stop onsets:

In indirect sources, only a personal name and a place name begin with στ-: Στανaμoας (Zgusta 1970, §1472a) and Στρουμ//α// respectively; and only a personal name begins with σκ-: Σκραιος. The variants Στλέγα, Εστλεγα of the name of the well- known Pisidian city Selge (Σέλγη) cannot be used as evidence for initial *st*- in Pisidian: as Brixhe rightly stated (Brixhe 1976:289); the original form must have been Selga/Salga or Slega/Slaga. The forms with Στλέγα, Εστλεγα, attested in coins, are the Pamphylian adaptation of the place name and τ is easily explained here as an epenthetic sound (*slega* > *stlega*). Note that Pamphylian was the language spoken in Selge despite its Pisidian location. Consequently, this may be an exclusively Pamphylian treatment.

In direct sources, the examples of *st*, *sk*, *sp* are also few and far between:

— In Brixhe's new corpus of Pisidian inscriptions (Brixhe 2016), the only example of initial *st* in an indigenous name is *Staneis, Stanei* in N 33, to be connected to the abovementioned personal name Στανaμoας. In N 34 *st* appears in a purely Greek name, Stephanos. ΜΟΥΟΣΤΟΙΝΑ (N 32) must be segmented *Mouos* (genitive) *Toina* (Brixhe 2016: 90).

— There are no examples of *sk* sequences.

— Of the seven examples of *sp* sequences, four appear in the same inscription (N 37) and must be separated into two different words since the *p* is the initial of the name *Pigerdotaris*. Other example of *sp* appears in a new inscription (N 45) where it is clearly a word-medial cluster: *Ospouna*.

The only two possible examples of an initial *sp* cluster come from S 4: here a sequence *spuadogwesi* appears twice, which raises the possibility that this is in fact an initial cluster *sp*-

(3) The examples of sequences *s* + a voiced second element are equally scarce: there are no instances in the indirect sources, and the only possible examples in the direct ones are N 10 ΟΥΑΝΙϹΒΑΒΟΥ and 32 ΠΑΠΑϹΓΑΛΛΟϹ. For N 10, Brixhe (2016) proposes a convincing segmentation /Oua Nis Babou/, and in the case of N 32, it is difficult to decide between a parsing /Papa Sgallos/ or an alternative parsing /Papas Gallos/. A sequence CΔ in S 3 appears in an impenetrable context.

(4) The clusters *s* + Pamphylian digamma (CИ -*sw*-) in our inscription merit a chapter of their own. We find four examples (lines 5, 8, 11 and 11–12). If this represents a /sw/ sequence, there was no violation of sonority hierarchy, so that even if *st*, *sp* etc. clusters were not permitted in Pisidian, a /sw/ onset could be possible. In any case, the example in line 11 ou**sw**awoeie... must be ruled out, as we have identified a sequence *wawoeie* that also appears in line 10. Two other examples coincide to offer a sequence *swar*: *eia**swar**ousito* and *euôēmerenôanaei**swar**eiwa*... This leads Brixhe-Özsait (2013) to propose the isolation of a word beginning *swarº*. But as we will see below (§10), the options of segmenting *s ## war…* or *sw ## ar* here offer interesting results.

To sum up this discussion of clusters where *s* appears as the first element: the fact that *-s* can be a word-final sound, the fact that this ending could have a morphological value in Pisidian (we know at least from the rest of the documentation that it served to express the singular genitive of proper names) and the fact that *s*C onsets do not seem to have been frequent in that language, makes a segmentation *s* ## C in principle preferable, though by no means certain. Further analysis is needed to qualify this statement.

§9. From here on, we enter a more speculative field. We must try to recognize some recurrent endings in order to identify other possible complete words. For this task, we will take into account the remarks on syllable structure and consonant clusters formulated above.

§9.1. *-to* is a clear word ending. It emerges naturally from the current state of analysis, as it appears in the segmented sequences:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamosotos<u>to</u> mlaga
>
> ôaiarpiposi tipados<u>to</u> tōko
>
> eiaswarousi<u>to</u> kvaroudati
>
> tipados<u>to</u> kvaroudaso

The other examples of *to* sequences as possible word endings are much less clear: in meklōregoouarplioeidoadiamosotosto ## *mlaga*, a segmentation *...to ## sto* seems unlikely in view of the doubts about the existence of *st* onsets in Pisidian. In *kawē totolaoiasoeiaswa*, a *toto laoiasoeiaswa* segmentation would be acceptable but is unverifiable.

§9.2. Another possible ending is *-so*: it can be drawn from the segmentation of repeated elements in:

> kvaroudasoiadia<u>so</u>
> kawē

and in:

> **arr**aia<u>so</u>
> **mlaga**seokoplousoas

The first example is particularly interesting. In ***kvarouda**soiadiaso* it is tempting to segment in turn *kvaroudaso iadiaso*, showing two words in agreement.

Other possible though less clear examples are:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamo<u>so</u> tosto
>
> ...
>
> totolaoia<u>so</u> eiaswarousito

§9.3. A third recurrent element that might constitute a morphological ending is *ti.* It may be recognized in:

> kvaroudati ‡apaninouti euôoēmerenoanaeiswareiwati padosto

where three words may be in agreement:

> kvarouda<u>ti</u> ‡apaninou<u>ti</u> euoēmerenoanaeiswareiwa<u>ti</u> padosto

The first two examples seem quite likely. The third one is more doubtful: it clashes with the fact that *tipadosto* appears once more, which leads us to isolate a word *tipadosto* (see above):

ôaiarpiposi tipadosto

But it is also possible that a word ending in *ti* might precede a word *padosto*. I will assume that both options are possible and I will notate this possibility with a hyphen: *ti-padosto*.

§9.4. *-ie* is another probable ending, which is obtained exclusively from the segmentation of repeated word beginnings and appears concentrated in lines 10–12 of the inscription:

kawē
wawoeie
arrē -15-
tokrous
wawoeie
eidiwedapaeiaswedi
arri -2-
oueoresie

Note that the ending may be generically *-e/-ē*, and would include as possible words in agreement *kawē* and *arrē*.

§9.5. Incorporating the analysis of the preceding possible endings, we can go further with the following (very hypothetical!) segmentation:

meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamoso
tosto
mlaga
kawē
ōras -3-
ôaiarpiposi**ti-padosto**
tōko
kawē
totolaoiaso
eiaswarousito
kvaroudati
‡apaninouti
euôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa**ti-padosto**
kvaroudaso
iadiaso
kawē
wawoeie
arrē -15-
tokrous
wawoeie
eidiwedapaeiaswedi
arri -2-
oueoresie
arraiaso
mlagaseokoplousoas

§9.6. The segmentation in §9.5 begins to offer a series of possible individual words (or at least sequences comprising very short words): *mlaga* (2x), *kawē* (3x), *ōras, toko, tokrous, arri/are.* In *kvaroudati / kvaroudaso* we recognize two clearly related forms, in terms of inflection or of derivation (see below §10). As possible inflected words in *-so, -to* we can recognize *arraiso, (ti)padosto, iadiaso* and the *kvaroudaso* just mentioned.

Obviously, the remaining long chains must contain different words. I will propose some possible segmentations, but we are entering increasingly precarious terrain.

Let us start with the very beginning of the inscription:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamoso

We have already noted that a hiatus can be a clue for segmentation, but the "delight in vowels" of Pisidian advises caution. Here the first cluster *ooua*, with the repetition of *o*, suggests a segmentation *meklōrego ouarplioêidoadiamoso*, where the initial <oua> may be a typical representation of /wa/. The rest of the vocalic hiatuses are less clear, but it is very tempting here to see three words ending in *-o* (and followed by a fourth one in *-so*):

> meklōrego ouarplio êido adiamoso

Here I will also use a hyphen to represent these very hypothetical segmentations:

> meklōrego- ouarplio- êido- adiamoso

The other longest chain is:

> euôēmerenôanaeiswareiwati-padosto

Here the doubts about the exact character of *ô* (= *o*?, *θ*?) hinder the analysis even more. I will return to this question later. On *-sw-*, see immediately below

> euôēmerenôanaeiswareiwati-padosto

Other sequences remain which are shorter but very possibly contain more than one word:

> ôaiarpipositi padosto
> …
> totolaoiaso
> eiaswarousito
> …
> ‡apaninouti
> …
> eidiwedapaeiaswedi
> …
> **mlaga**seokoplousoas

For the first sequence (*ôaiarpipositi* or simply *ôaiarpiposi*), and for the second one (*totalaoiaso*) I cannot propose any solution.

In the third and fifth sequence, we once again find a cluster *-sw-*, as in *euôēmerenôanaei**sw**areiwati-padosto*. Here we are at an analytical crossroad: the three examples, compared one to one, offer two divergent solutions:

1) *euôēmerenôanaei**swar**eiwati-padosto* and *eia**swar**ousito* favour the isolation of a beginning of a word *swar-*

2) but *eia**sw**arousito* and *eidiwedapa**eiasw**edi* share a sequence *eiasw*, to be segmented *eias wᵒ* (eia ## *swᵒ* seems less probable, but see below §10).

To this dilemma, we should add that the remaining example of a -*sw*- is tokrou**sw**awoeie, in which the cluster has to be separated *s ## w*, given that *wawoeie* is a clearly isolated word.

In order to reflect these different options, I use hyphens:

> euôēmerenôanaei-s-wa**r**eiwati-padosto
> eia-s-warousito
> eidiwedapa-eia-s-wedi

Further segmentations of the latter chain are complicated. We can envisage a segmentation *eidi wedapa-eia-s-wedi* and think of an agreement in -*di*. We can also speculate about the relationship between a *wedapa-eia-s* and *wedi*. *eidi wedapa-eia-s wedi* would be an interesting segmentation, but absolutely ad hoc. I prefer to leave the sequence without segmenting.

In ǂ*apaninouti*, the first sign remains a mystery. ǂ*apaninouti* seems to be an inflected form of a stem ǂ*apaninou*- or *apaninout*-, parallel to *kvaroudati*: see below §10. It is impossible to say whether there are one or two words behind ǂ*apaninouti*. It may even be a compound noun (or name) ǂ*apa+ninouti*.

The last sequence, *mlagaseokoplousoas*, begins with a word isolated as *mlaga* in lines 2–3. This would suggest a segmentation *mlaga seokoplousoas,* but it is also possible that here *mlaga* may represent another inflected form, and so *mlagas eokoplousoas* or *mlagase okoplousoas* (the latter supported by the presence of a hiatus) can be alternative solutions. I will represent these alternatives thus: *mlaga-s-e-okoplousoas*.

§10. After this analysis, we attain the following (very hypothetical!) segmentation:

> meklōrego-ouarplio-êido-adiamoso
> tosto
> mlaga
> kawē
> ōras -3-
> ôaiarpipositi padosto
> tōko
> kawē
> totolaoiaso
> eia-s-warousito
> kvaroudati
> ǂapaninouti
> euôēmerenôanaei-s-wareiwati padosto
> kvaroudaso
> iadiaso
> kawē
> wawoeie
> arrē -15-
> tokrous
> wawoeie
> eidi-wedapa-eia-s-wedi
> arri -2-
> oueoresie
> arraiaso
> mlagas-e-okoplousoas

We now enter the most precarious terrain of all. How should we interpret all these possible words and endings?

§10.1. The first step is to look for personal names. This is the sensible decision taken by Brixhe-Özsait (2013). Unfortunately, this inscription, unlike the brief epitaphs from Tymbriada, does not offer at first glance any *tangible* form to be identified as a personal name. Consequently, the connections with Pisidian onomastics are tenuous. This may seem surprising, because in a text of this length we would expect at least some proper names (personal names, place names, god names, and so on). But it is also important to note that Pisidian onomastics was undoubtedly very varied: a good example is the corpus of Greek inscriptions from Termessos IV, which contained unpublished inscriptions with a considerable number of new personal names, many of them difficult to connect, even partially, with previously known names.

This may explain why the results of Brixhe-Özsait (2013) in this terrain are both very limited and also difficult to improve upon. In fact, the connection suggested by these authors, that I take as convincing, depends on the reading of one of the disputed letters in the inscription: in line 8, *ôanaeiswareiwatipado*, with a reading <θ> for *ô*, offers a *θanaei...* sequence that Brixhe-Özsait try to connect with the name of the goddess Athena (Brixhe-Özsait: 243). As these authors point out, the aphaeresis would be comparable to that found in the name of Athena attested in Lycian, Sidetic and Pamphylian. Although the interpretation as 'Athena' looks very attractive (see below §10.4), it may in fact be a personal name based on the name of the goddess: *θanaei(s)* can represent a Pisidian adaptation of the Greek female name Ἀθηναΐς or the Greek male name Ἀθνήαιος. For this latter adaptation, cf. that in Pamphylian the nominative singular -ις, -εις /i:s/ from -*ιος (Brixhe 1976: 100), so *Θάναεις could be the Pamphylian form of Ἀθνήαιος and the basis for a Pisidian *θanaei* (cf. also Pamphylian Θανάδωρος = Ἀθηνάδωρος for aphaeresis and vocalism).

Other reasonable connections proposed by Brixhe-Özsait (2013) are (1) *ōras*, a possible genitive of a personal name *ōra-* = Ωρας, Ουρος < Luwic (and Hittite) *ura-* 'great' (but forms like Lycian *Hura*, where *h* probably < **s*, complicate the dossier); and (2) *ouarplio* = Hittite *warpalli-* '*fort, puissant*' and Ουρπαλος (or Ουρπαλας), an indigenous name attested in Phrygia (Zgusta KPN §1174). Further proposals seem to be more tenuous and remote (see Brixhe-Özsait 2013: 247–248 for all these proposals).

In the following table I offer my own attempt to connect some sequences with Pisidian onomastics:

meklōrego-**ouarp**lio-êido-**adi**amoso	Cf. Οὐαρπειμιου (gen.) (LYC), apart from B.-Ö. connections Απο-**αδι-ς**, Ιδα-**αδι-ς**, Κιδασ-**αδι-ς** (PIS)
tosto	
mlaga	
kawē	
ōras -3-	
ôai**arpi**positi padosto	**Αρπ**ιας (PIS) (< ar+ Anatolian piịa-) Παδα-μουρις / *Παραμουρις[1]
tōko	
kawē	cf. the Phrygian and Lycaonian place names Κάβαλα, Καυαλα and the Misian or Bithynian place name Καυή
totolaoiaso	Τωτων//α// Τωτων//ια, place name PIS

eia-s-**warou**sito	**Ουϱου**-βαις PIS (for the second element, cf. Αλου-παις?? PIS)
	If swarou, cf. Οσβαϱας PIS, Οσβαϱα PIS
kvaroudati	**Κβαϱου**-ης PAM
‡apa**ninouti**	Νινος PIS, Νουθ||ις|| PIS
euôēmeren	
ôanaei-s-wareiwati	If θanaeis = Ἀθηναίος cf. supra. If swarei, cf. Οσβαϱας, Οσβαϱα
padosto	Παδα-μουϱις / *Παϱαμουϱις[1]
kvaroudaso	**Κβαϱου**-ης name of a woman PIS (cf. supra *kvaroudati*)
iadiaso	**Ια**-ζεμις (Μοα-ζημις), perhaps **Ια**+ **αδι**-ς, cf. supra Απο-**αδι**-ς, etc.?
kawē	cf. supra
wawoeie	cf. supra
arrē -15-	
tokrous	
wawoeie	cf. supra
eidi-wedapa-eia-s-wedi	
arri -2-	
oueoresie	
arraiaso	
mlagas-e-oko**plousoa**s	**Πλουσ**ινμης or **Πλουσ**ινμητος (IS), **Πλου**ς (KAR); **Σοα**ς (PIS)
	Pisidian names in -οας

[1] Παϱαμουϱιανος, Παϱαμουϱιανη. Cf. also Παδαμουϱιανος, Παδαμουϱιανη

These attempts at connections (all very tentative) do not necessarily imply that the sequences of the Pisidian text where they appear must be interpreted as proper names. Given that we are comparing stems rather than complete names, and as we cannot deduce from the context whether a proper name is being used, it is equally imaginable that these stems appear here as common lexical elements. Note, for instance, the form *padosto* (2x): the initial part can be compared with the first element of the name Παδα-μουϱις, but it could be a word from the common lexicon (a verb? cf. infra) that shares the stem with a compound name. Incidentally, this is a good example of the difficulties of the comparison: besides Παδα-μουϱις, there exists a variant Παϱα-μουϱις. It is tempting to see in this latter name a dental rhotacism, which is well attested in Pamphylian (Brixhe 1976). However, there is an alternative explanation that destroys any connection with our inscription: Παδα-μουϱις may be a dissimilation from Παϱα-μουϱις, which would be the original form[3].

Perhaps the most suggestive connection I am able to offer is the female name Κβαϱουης (Zgusta 1970, §563a, attested in Cotenna) which seems to be closely related to *kvaroudati* and *kvaroudaso*. The coincidence of the six initial letters is unlikely to be a matter of chance. But how can we explain this connection? Are *kvaroudati* and *kvaroudaso* two differently inflected forms of a personal name? As we will see below, this possibility is not without its problems.

In any case, this connection is partial. The name Κβαϱουης does not appear *tel quel* in the inscription, and this is precisely the clearest conclusion of the search of onomastic material in

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[3] Παϱα- as a first element of compound names is well attested in Anatolian indigenous names, see Adiego 2007: 340 for Carian.

this long text: there are no examples of any known Pisidian proper names. I alluded above to this circumstance when I spoke of the lack of *tangible* onomastic identifications.

§10.2. The search for forms other than proper nouns is even more complicated. Today, we do not know any common Pisidian words, insofar as the brief epitaphs from Tymbriada contain exclusively personal names and the other inscriptions from the middle course of the Eurymedon are as impenetrable as our text. The only way to continue the search is to look for possible connections with the rest of Anatolian Luwic dialects (particularly the best known, Luwian and Lycian), but lacking a clear idea of the specific traits of Pisidian with respect to the other Luwic dialects makes any proposal highly speculative.

Brixhe-Özsait (2013) ingeniously suggest that the word *kawe*, repeated three times, may be related to Luwian *hāwi-*, Lycian *χawa* 'sheep'. If Pisidian was close to Lycian, the connection would be valid, because, as is well known, Lycian *χ* represents a sound /k/. Recall also the Carian gloss κοῖον· πρόβατον, in which κοῖον may come from *κοϝι-ον = Luwian *hāwi-*. If a reference to 'sheep' were present in the inscription, it would be tempting to see in *wawoeie* (or simply *wawo*), repeated twice, the Pisidian word for 'cow' corresponding to Lycian *wawa* 'cow, bovine'. The presence of the two words — probably in a sacrificial context — recalls the appearance of Lycian *χawa-* and *wawa-* side by side in inscription TL 149. It is also interesting that two instances of *kawe* and one instance of *wawo*(*eie*) occur in the proximity of numerical expressions (and the other instance of this latter word is not far away from another numerical expression):

> **kawē** ōras -**3-**
>
> …
>
> **kawē** wawoeie arrē -**15-** tokrous **wawoeie** eidi-wedapa-eia-s-wedi arri -**2-**

Unfortunately, no other indices in the inscription invite us to think that these meanings can be right. Another totally different track to follow would be to connect *kawē* with Lydian *kave-* 'priest' (also attested in Greek inscriptions from Sardis as a loanword καυειν [acc.] 'priestess').

§10.3. Another terrain for speculation is the interpretation of the possible endings. We have recognized three repeated final sequences that might represent morphological marks: *-so, -to* and *-ti* (I leave aside *-eie*, which is less clear to me):

From a "Luwic" point of view, one might suggest linking them with possible "Luwic" morphemes:

1) *-to* could be a 3rd sg (or plural?) preterite ending, related etymologically to Lycian *-te*, Carian *-t*, Luwian *-ta* < *-to*
2) *-so* could be a genitive singular ending = Lycian *-he* < *-so*
3) *-ti* could be (a) a 3rd sg (or plural?) present ending = Lycian, Luwian *-ti* or (b) a dative of a *-t-* or *-nt*-stem (Cf. Lycian *Trqqñt-i*, CLuwian ᵈUTU-*ti-(i)* (*Tiwat-i*)

(1) and (2), if right, would be mutually consistent, insofar as they would coincide in showing the conservation of final *o* where Lycian changes it to *e* and Luwian to *a*. The possible verbs *tosto* and *padosto* 2x) may recall Lycian 3rd preterite iteratives in *ᵒstte* as *astte, qastte, xistte*.

A particular problem is posed by the forms *kvaroudati* and *kvaroudaso*. If both represent a personal name with different inflections, it is not easy to conciliate them: *kvaroudaso* would be a genitive in *-so* (= Lycian *-he*), of a stem *kvarouda-*, but *kvaroudati* would rather be a dative of a

dental or *nt*-stem (*kvaroudat-* or *kvarouda(n)t-*). If we do not accept a sort of heteroclitic inflection *kvarouda-* / *kvaourdat-* (or *kvaroudant-*) we may begin to speculate: *kvaroudati* could be a verb corresponding to a noun (not necessarily a personal name) *kvarouda-*. But this sort of speculation is worthless unless we first establish a firmer analysis of the words. In any case, it is puzzling (though also suggestive) to observe that a stem alternation *kvarouda-* / *kvaroudat-* recalls the *élargissement* in *-t-* of the vocalic stems of personal names in Greek, which was very commonly used in the incorporation of indigenous names (cf. in Pamphylian: Brixhe 1976: 104 ff.). So, in a Greek inscription from Pisidia, we could perfectly imagine a *Κβαρουδατι as the dative of a personal name *Κβαρουδας. The same feature can be observed in ǂ*apaninouti*. If it is a personal name, it would be analysed in a Greek context as a simple dative of a name in -οῦς, -οῦτος (cf. Brixhe 1976: 106). Cf. datives as Ασπουρουτι TAM III, 1 222 from a Pisidian name Ασπουρους (Zgusta KPN §118) or Αλλουτι (KPN §52–2) from Αλλους. Can we conclude that this *élargissement* penetrated into (some forms of the nominal paradigm of) Pisidian? Given the late date of the inscription, the prolonged contact with Greek would support this hypothesis.

§10.4. Finally, in an inscription of this length one might expect the presence of function words (pre- or postpositions, conjunctions, particles). I am afraid I am unable to offer any convincing suggestions. As a purely speculative exercise, I wonder whether the problematical sequence *sw* would be a copulative conjunction, etymologically equivalent to Carian *sb*, Milyan *sebe* 'and', in the following sequence:

euôēmeren ôanaei-s-wareiwati padosto

Once again assuming *ô* = *θ*, we can attempt the following segmentation:

euôēmeren θanaei sw=areiwati padosto

Where *θanaei* and *areiwati* could be datives coordinated by a conjunction *sw*. If *θanaei* represents /θana-i/, then this might be the dative of the goddess name Athena. As for *areiwati*, we could analyse it as another dative of a dental stem /areiwat-/ or /areiwant-/, which would probably be another theonym. Completing this highly speculative analysis, we might see an accusative in *euôēmeren* and a transitive verb in *padosto* (cf. supra our analysis as a possible preterite). If *padosto* had something to do with Lycian *pddẽ* 'place', it would be tempting to translate the entire sentence as "((s)he) placed the *euôēmere-* for Athena and Areiwa(n)t-. The word *euôēmere-* remains obscure. If *ô* must be read θ here, one might think of a Greek loanword (*euθēmere-*), but I cannot suggest direct connections to the Greek lexicon[4].

This analysis would imply that *sw* functions as a proclitic particle, in a way similar to Carian *sb.* Compare the Pisidian example with Carian:

θanaei sw=areiwati

šarnajs | | *sb=taqbos* (E.xx 6)
paraeym : *sb=polo* (E.Me 8)

This analysis may appear convincing at first glance, but I stress that it is only a possibility; we have no grounds for favouring it over alternative interpretations, such as the proposed analysis of *θanaeis* as a genitive of a personal name.

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[4] The closest form I can give is the adjective αὐθήμερος 'made or done on the very day' and the corresponding adverb αὐθημερόν 'on the very day, on the same day, immediately'.

§11. In a paper published in the *Actas del IV Coloquio de lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas,* and entitled "Gramática de los plomos ibéricos" my *maestro* Jürgen Untermann concluded his attempt to segment and analyse the long Iberian texts on lead with the following words: "I beg the readers to forget as soon as possible all my hypotheses regarding the meanings of the Iberian words or morphemes. These suggestions are completely subjective and provisional, and they should not restrain the imagination of researchers in their interest to penetrate the secrets that the Iberian leads preserve. Moreover, the author of these lines is always ready to abandon his own hypotheses when new interpretations or new findings reveal them to be unfounded. In my opinion, the indispensable basis of all studies of this kind is the careful segmentation of the texts, and my aim was to draw attention to some pathways along which we can progress in order to accomplish a task that is still very far from having attained satisfactory results" (Untermann 1985–86: 51). Simply replacing 'Iberian' by 'Pisidian', I can think of no better way to conclude my own paper.

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Игнаси-Шабьер Адиего. Самая пространная писидийская надпись (Kesme 2)

В статье автор дает анализ самой пространной писидийской надписи Kesme 2, недавно опубликованной Клодом Бриксом и Мехметом Озсаитом. Предлагается членение *scriptio continua* при помощи комбинаторного метода. Прослеживаются определенные связи с прочим писидийским языковым материалом, а также с другими лувическими языками, однако надпись по-прежнему остается в целом недоступным текстом.

Ключевые слова: писидийский, лувические диалекты, анатолийские языки, индоевропейские языки, греческая эпиграфика, Малая Азия

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Word-internal plene spelling with *<i>* and *<e>* in Cuneiform Luwian texts

Melchert's hypothesis that the cuneiform "orthography" of Hittite was transferred to Cuneiform Luwian by the Hittite scribes was tested with regard to the plene spelling with *<i>*. With our improved knowledge of the historical grammar of Luwian, it could be confirmed. Several cases of plene *<i>* found a new explanation. In addition, the restricted use of plene was described by a limited set of clear rules.

Keywords: plene spelling, Luwian phonology, Luw. *zila*

1. Within the syllabic writing systems of Cuneiform scripts, such as Hittite, the syllabograms include signs representing a single vowel (*V*), combinations of consonant and vowel (*CV*, *VC*), and sequences of consonant — vowel — consonant (*CVC*). Plene spelling is defined as the extra use of an additional unitary vowel sign (*V*) that either precedes or follows an identical vowel. Thus, in word-internal position, plene spelling follows the patterns of CV_1-V_1-V_1C and CV_1-V_1-CV as opposed to the non-plene spellings of CV_1-V_1C and CV_1-CV, respectively. In the case of sequences of two vowels, we find plene spellings such as CV_2-V_1-V_1C, CV_2-V_2-V_1C and CV_2-V_2-V_1-V_1C vs. non-plene CV_2-V_1C (or *Ci-ya-aC* / *Cu-wa-aC* containing the unified signs *<ya>* or *<wa>*).

There are five unitary vowel signs available in the Mesopotamian cuneiform script as adapted for the Anatolian languages: *<a>*, *<e>*, *<i>*, *<u>* and *<ú>*. This article will focus on the function of the plene spelling with the vowel signs *<i>* and *<e>* in word-internal position in Luwian texts transmitted in the cuneiform script.[1]

While little attention has been paid to the distribution and function of plene spelling in Luwian, the same phenomenon has been frequently discussed in Hittite scholarship. The results of these studies may very well be important for Luwian also because, following Melchert (1994: 27; cf. also Kloekhorst 2008a: 118),

> „[t]he documents we have in Hittite, Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian were written by the same scribes working in the same tradition. … without counterevidence we may and should assume that the principles of orthography are the same for all three languages …"

Previous assumptions about the function of plene spelling in Hittite are listed in full detail in Kloekhorst 2014: 13–18. According to these, plene spelling is used for

— marking primary and secondary vowel length under the accent (Hrozný 1917: XII; criticized by Götze 1928: 186 fn. 1; Friedrich 1931: 20; Sturtevant & Hahn 1951: 23),

— marking a glottal stop (Sturtevant 1933: 61–63),
— the disambiguation of *Ce/i* or *e/iC* signs with an overgeneralized use in unambiguous cases (Sturtevant 1933: 62f.; followed by Otten & Souček 1969: 44),
— avoidance of a word consisting of one sign only (except *nu*, *šu* and *ta*) (Sturtevant 1933: 64; followed by Otten & Souček 1969: 49 and generalized for final plene writing in 3-sign words),
— the disambiguation by marking non-dead vowels, the script being on the path to the alphabetic principle (Kronasser 1956: 35 following Pedersen 1938: 5),
— the differentiation of vowel quality in the case of plene *<a>* (Rosenkranz 1959a: 424),
— vowel length and disambiguation of ambiguous *e/i* signs (Oettinger 1979: *passim*),
— marking a secondary effect of the accent on vowel length (Hart 1980: 14f.),
— marking accent (Carruba 1981),
— vowel length including secondary vowel length under the accent, by vowel contraction and compensatory lengthening; also for disambiguation (Georgiev 1983),
— vowel length including secondary vowel length under accent, by vowel contraction and compensatory lengthening (Kimball 1983), but not for disambiguation (Kimball 1983: 7–9),
— vowel length, accent, and disambiguation (Melchert 1984: 83f.),
— marking an initial glottal stop or laryngeal, vowel length in most cases, accent, disambiguation (Weitenberg 1984: 347–350),
— vowel length in most cases, due to accent, but not all accented vowels are lengthened (Melchert 1992),
— only vowel length in most cases (Melchert 1994: 27 and *passim*),
— for differentiation of *<ḫu>* and *<ri/tal>* in the case of *<ḫu-u>* (Kimball 1999: 54–64, 67f.),
— marking an initial glottal stop, reflex of an inherited *$*h_1$* (Kloekhorst 2006; Kloekhorst 2008: 32; Simon 2013: 12–16 referring to Simon 2010; Kloekhorst 2014: 161–170, 330–341, 434–440, 504–508, 529–533; rejected in Weeden 2011: 66f.),
— vowel length due to accent in most cases and the differentiation of vowel quality /o/ and /u/ in the case of plene *<u>* and *<ú>* (Rieken 2005 based on Held & Schmalstieg 1969: 105–109, Eichner 1980, and Hart 1983: 124–132; cf. also Kloekhorst 2008: 35–60; Kloekhorst 2014: 491–539).[2]

It is fair to say that the view of plene spelling as a marker of vowel length and, in the case *<u>* and *<ú>*, as a marker of vowel quality, has gained most supporters and it has also been transferred to Luwian by Melchert (1994: 27 and 2010). However, the latter assumption is not as straightforward as it may seem at first sight. Hittite and Luwian are known to have diverse vowel systems, the main distinction being the lack of /e/ and /ē/ in Luwian. Apart from this phonemic difference, we cannot be sure whether or not the phonetic realization of the respective vowels was close enough between the two languages not to cause any insecurity in the perception of the foreign phonemes and their spelling (cf., e. g., the American English pronunciation of Italian *pizza* with long /ī/ in spite of the existence of /ĭ/ in English, due to the realization of Italian /ĭ/ as a vowel higher than English /ĭ/ and identification as the long, tense /ī/). In addition, it is a well-known fact that scribes often attempt to spell more accurately when using a foreign language. This may result in the hypercorrect use of extra vowel signs and, as a consequence, as "apparent" plene spellings, so to speak.

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[2] Plene spelling is assumed to have no function at all by Pedersen (1938: 5, 34, 194) and Kammenhuber (1969: 175).

2. If plene <i> is really a marker of vowel length in Luwian cuneiform texts, the sources of long *ī* are of prime importance to the question. According to Melchert (1994: 240f.), Luwian word-internal long *ī* arises from accented short *ĭ* in open syllables, from accented long *ī̆*, which in turn may be the outcome of *i through compensatory lengthening, of a rising *i*-diphthong by monophthongization, and of inherited long *ḗ* (in contrast with *ā* < *eh₁). While most of this is uncontroversial, the view that inherited long *ḗ* resulted in *í̄* was challenged by Hajnal (1995: 61–64). He tried to show that *ḗ* and *eh₁* merged into *ā́* in Luwian. Surprisingly, the question is relevant only for three of the words treated here (*ni-i-iš* 'not', *ḫi-i-ru-ú-un* 'oath' and *ki-i-ša-am-ma* 'combed'). In addition to the sources of long *ī* just mentioned, a development of disyllabic *-iya- > -ī-* still observable in the texts seems to be generally accepted (e. g. Plöchl 2003: 20; Melchert 2004: 474; Bauer 2014: 30f.). As a consequence, plene <i> may have multiple sources. In each single case, this source is to be determined. If, with our improved knowledge of Luwian phonology and lexicon, we arrive at a coherent picture for all its attestations within the corpus, Melchert's hypothesis of plene <i> as marker of vowel length can be regarded as confirmed.

3.1. The abstract suffix *-tīl-* in Luw. *pu-u-wa-ti-i-il* 'past' is long known to be the equivalent of Hitt. *-zzīl-* (Melchert 1994: 119f. with references). Hitt. *-zzīl-* goes back to the composite suffix *-tí-lo-* from abstract *-ti-* plus adjectival *-lo-* with apocope of the final syllable. The position of the accent of the Hittite derivative can be determined by both the plene spelling in *-zzīl-* and the apocope (cf. Melchert 2001 and Rieken 2008: 246–9). It stands to reason to assume the same for Luwian *-tīl-*. Accordingly, *-ti-i-il* is a case of lengthening an originally short accented *í* in open syllable parallel to its Hittite equivalent. Based on the root connection proposed by Ivanov (2002), a back projection *bʰweh₂-tí-lo-* '(entity) belonging to being' seems plausible.

The same sound change can be assumed for cases of reduplication. In general, verbal reduplication syllables were accented, in Hittite (see Dempsey 2015: 333–41). They were lengthened in open syllables and spelled plene (Melchert 1994: 131). The same seems to apply for Luwian. Cases of verbal reduplication syllables with plene <i> are the 2ⁿᵈ sg. imp. *ti-i-ta* '?' and the 3ʳᵈ pl. imp. *li-i-la-an-du* 'let them pacify'. The meaning and etymology of the former are not known, but since the 1ˢᵗ sg. prt. *ti-ta-aḫ-ḫ[a]* of the same verb is proof of a stem *tita-*, the forms lend themselves to such an analysis. The latter is related to the noun *līla-/lēla-/lila-* 'conciliation, pacification' attested in Hittite texts (Melchert 1993: 127). This, in turn, is interpreted as a reduplicated thematic noun derived from the verb *lā-/l-* (root *leh₁-* 'loosen, release, remove; cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 523f.; Puhvel, HED 5: 77; Tischler, HEG L/M: 56f.). Since inherited *lí-lh₁-o-* would be reflected by **lílla-* with assimilation of the laryngeal (Melchert 1994: 79–81), both verbal *līla-* and nominal *līla-/lēla-/lila-* must be regarded as a late formations. The frequent forms with *e* in the reduplication syllable either reflect the original Hittite formation (*lé-loh₁- > lḗ-la-*) or are just another example of the "Hittitization" of a Luwian loanword by means of a hypercorrect replacement of *i* with *e* in New Hittite, as suggested by Yakubovich (2010: 326–333; differently Kloekhorst 2008: 524).

Luw. *ti-i-ta-ni* dat./loc. sg. 'breast, teat' follows the same pattern, being related to the participle *titaimma/i-* 'suckling' (differently Kloekhorst 2008: 875–7). Although there is no Old Script attestation of its Hittite cognate *tēta(n)-*, the almost consistent spelling with <te-> and <te-e-> implies that the reduplication vowel *e* is original, different from the Luwian reduplicant with *i*. Thus, Hitt. *tēta(n)-* and Luw. *tīta(n)-* are parallel formations built according to the rules of their respective languages, with different reduplication vowels, which, however, had been lengthened under the accent in the Proto-Anatolian period in either case. The extension with an *n*-suffix is surely another late development common to both words due to contact.

3.2. The negation *ni-i-iš* can be derived from either **nē+* (cf. Dunkel 2014: II 536, **né eh₁*) or **nei+* (cf. Dunkel 2014: II 537f., **né íh₁*) depending on what one accepts as the reflex of **ḗ* in Luwian. Neither account would be problematic for the assumption that plene *<i>* represents a synchronic long vowel *ī*.

A better example of **ḗ > í*, spelled with plene *<i>*, is nom./acc. *ḫi-i-ru-ú-un*, obl. *ḫi-i-ru-ú-t°* (contra Hajnal 1995: 61–64; see above section 2). Following Watkins (1993: 469–73), the word goes back to **h₂ḗr-u-* with accented vṛddhi grade, enlarged by a suffix **-t-*, and can be compared to Gk. ἀρά 'prayer, imprecation, curse' < **ar-w-ā́ < *h₂eru-éh₂*. According to Eichner's Law, long **ḗ* in **h₂ḗr-u-* was not colored in spite of neighboring **h₂*, but developed into *ī* in Luwian (Melchert 2004: 471 fn. 1).

3.3. Long *ī* in Luw. *kīšamma/i-* 'combed' is unexpected from the diachronic point of view. This verb shows consistently a participle *ki-(i-)ša-am-m°* in all of its three attestations, which would fit a root stem as well as a stem in *-a-/-ai-⁽ᵈⁱ⁾*. The plene spelling in the root with *<i>* occurs both in Luwian context (twice) and in the Luwian loanword in Hittite *kīša(e)-*. Since it should be the suffix syllable of *kīša(e)-* that carries the stress, long *ī* must originate in Luwian *ki-(i-)š°*. Melchert (1994: 152) assumes for the Luwian word a denominative formation *kīš-a-/-ai-⁽ᵈⁱ⁾* based on a noun **kīš-a-* with lengthened grade. This would require a derivational chain such as PIE root **kes-* 'to comb' → **kés-o-* 'comb' → **kēs-ó-* 'belonging to the comb, (subst.) comb teeth' → **kēs-eh₂ye/o-* 'to treat with comb teeth, to comb', which is not impossible, but a more economical hypothesis would be preferable. Kloekhorst (2008: 482) operates for Hittite with an ablauting stem **kés-ti/ks-énti*, which would give **készi/kis-ánzi* and with paradigmatic leveling lead to the attested stem *kiš-*. However, this does not work for Luwian. A slight change of this scenario is necessary. Following Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.), we may assume paradigmatic leveling of the root verb **kés-ti/ks-énti* at an early stage resulting in PAnat. **kés-ti/kes-énti* and, by sound change, in PAnat. **kés-ti/kis-énti*. While, in Hittite, only the vowel *i* of the weak stem was extended to the strong stem (→ *kís-tsi/kisántsi <ki-iš-zi/ki-ša-an-zi>*), in Luwian, the root accent of the strong stem of **kás-ti/kis-ánti* also spread to the plural giving **kásti/kísanti*. After the Luwian lengthening of vowels in open syllables (Melchert 1994: 76, 132) had taken place, the plural stem *kís- <ki-i-š°>* replaced **kás-* in the singular. Then, Luw. *kís-* functioned also as the base for the Hittite loanword *kīša(e)-*. Thus, Luw. *kīšamma/i-* 'combed' is perfectly in line with the working hypothesis of this article, but, pace Melchert (1994: 152), is not a case of **ḗ > í*.

An analogous explanation applies to the spelling [(ᵁᶻᵁ*ḫa¹-ap-p*)]*í-i-ša-a-ti*, which is attested alongside eight cases without plene spelling. For its Hittite equivalent *ḫappeššar, ḫappešn-*, Melchert (2013) starts from a paradigm with mobile accent: nom./acc. **h₂ép-s* with oblique stem **h₂ep-s-n-´*. In addition to other uncontroversial phonological changes, **h₂ép-s* receives an anaptyctic vowel *i* (**ḫáppis-*) after the accented syllable in the strong stem. In the weak stem, however, the anaptyctic vowel was inserted before the accented syllable. It then seems to have attracted the accent and developed into *é* in *ḫappés-n-*; cf. Hitt. *teri-*, Luw. *tarri-* (according to Čop's Law; cf. Čop 1970) < CAnat. **téri-* < PIE **tri-*. This is followed by paradigmatic leveling resulting in the attested Hittite paradigm *ḫappešš+ar, ḫappeš-n-*. In Luwian, the equivalent phonological developments would produce a paradigm nom./acc. *ḫáppis*, obl. **ḫappáss-*, which with paradigmatic leveling could give the stem **ḫappís-* for all case forms.[3] Finally, anaptyctic *i* was lengthened under the accent (*ḫappís-* as attested). Apart from the analogy of the Hittite

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[3] The plene spelling of the abl./instr. ending goes back to the contraction of *ó-o* in **-óyodi < *-óyoti* (Rieken 2005) and is generalized throughout all stem classes independent of any secondary accent position.

development, confirmation of the proposed historical derivation comes from the fact that the root syllable never shows plene spelling.

3.4. The denominative suffix *-ī-*[(di)] < *-ē- < *-eé- < *-e-yé-* (pl. *-ai-* < *-e-yó-*; with inherited accented suffix *-yé/ó-*) is found in the 1st sg. prt. *la-ḫu-ni-i-ḫa* 'washed' (← inf. *lāḫuna* according to Melchert 1993: 120). A similar explanation probably applies to]*x-i-ta-an?-al-li-i-ti*, a 3rd sg. prs. of a denominative verb from a noun in *-alla/i-* (David Sasseville, pers. comm.), and to the 3rd sg. imp. *ar-za-zi-i-du* with its variant *ar-š[(a-zi-i-du)]* because of the complexity of its base. In contrast, *tar-ši-i-ta* 'dried' contains the homophonous causative-iterative suffix *-eye/o-* (David Sasseville, pers. comm.). Other possible examples of these stem suffixes, either denominatives or causative-iteratives, are the 3rd sg. prt. *wa-ri-i-ta* '?', attested in broken context, and 3rd sg. prt. *at-ti-i-da* '?'.

3.5. The Luwian adverbs *ku-wa-ti-i-in* 'as, how' and *a-pa-ti-i-i[n* 'thus' taken by themselves would be easily explicable as the combination of the pronominal roots *k^w-* and *ob^h-* with the nominal endings *-óyoti > *-ódi > -ādi* of the ablative plus the ablative particle *-im > -in*, as suggested by Goedegebuure (2010: 86f.). The contraction of the two *i* vowels would naturally result in long *ī* as attested. However, we also find semantically identical forms that feature no final nasal but show long *ī* nevertheless: *a-pa-ti-i* 'thus' and the corresponding form of the proximal stem *zā-*, i. e. *za-a-ti-i* 'thus, in this way'. The only way to account for them is to assume an accent shift to the final syllable by analogy with the dat./loc. sg. in *-ī* (as attested in, e. g., *ta-ti-i* 'for the father' or *iš-ša-ri-i* 'in the hand' and paralleled by Lyc. A *tdi < *tedi* dat./loc. 'who, which' with syncope of the secondarily unstressed root syllable). The same is probably true for the forms underlying *ku-wa-ti-i-in* 'as, how' and *a-pa-ti-i-i[n* 'thus' as well, which may have inherited their long *ī* from *kuwatī* and *apatī*. As a consequence, we cannot be sure whether the long *ī* comes from the contraction of final *-i + *-im* or from lengthening under accent. In either case, *ī* finds an explanation within the known framework.

3.6. As per Melchert (2009: 114), Luw. nom. pl. *zi-i-in-z[i* 'these' goes back to *$\hat{k}oí$ + -ms- + -oi*, i. e. the pronominal nom. pl. *$\hat{k}oí$* (cf. Hitt. *kē* 'these') recharacterized by the nominal nom. pl. ending *-nzi < *-msoi*, which, in turn, is the generalized ending *-ms* of the acc. pl. recharacterized by the pronominal nom. pl. ending *-oi*. The origin of the plene spelled *i*-vowel is thus the product of the monophthongization of an *i*-diphthong. The stem *zi-i-* was also transfered to acc. pl. *zi-i-in-za*.

Due to its fragmentary context, the meaning of the acc. sg. form *zi-i-da-ni-in* is not clear. Melchert (1993: 284) tentatively suggests that it is a derivative of *zita/i-* 'man'. If so, long *ī* in this word goes back to *oi* or *ei* (cf. *zita/i- < *$\hat{k}oi$-ti-* or *$\hat{k}ei$-ti-*, Gusmani 1987/88: 109).

3.7. The suffix of the 3rd sg. prs. verb form *a-an-ni-i-ti* 'treats' is contracted from *-iya- < *-ye/o-* (Melchert 2004: 474). Although attested in a fragmentary context, the form *a-ri-i-it[-* is very probably a form of the verb *ari(ya)-* 'raise'. Its plene spelled vowel is therefore also likely to be a contraction product of the change *-iya- > ī*. Likewise, *ti-i-iḫ-ḫa* '?', also attested in broken context, can be interpreted as a 1st sg. prt., derived from *tiya-ḫḫa*.

A clear case of *-iya- > ī* is *mi-i-ša-an-za* 'flesh', which has a by-form *mi-ya-ša-an-za*.

If Kloekhorst's (2008: 1033, 1036–8) reconstruction of a root *tyeh₁-* 'end' (underlying Hitt. *zinne/a-* 'stop, finish' < *ti-ne-h₁-/ti-n-h₁-*, *zē-* 'cook (intrans.), be cooked' < *tyeh₁-*, *zanu-* 'cook (trans.)' < *tih₁-neu-*) is correct, a root connection with Luw. *zīla* 'subsequently, thereupon' becomes attractive. The Luwian word could then be easily explained as a dat./loc. of a stem *zīla- < *ziyāla- < *tyeh₁-lo-* 'end' *vel sim.*, and the meaning 'towards (its) end' would refer to the state

of affairs mentioned in the previous sentence, whence the grammaticalized function as an adverbial connector. This would provide a new example of *-iya- > ī*.

Yet another environment of *-iya- > ī* can be found in the suffix *-id-*. The sheer number of instances of plene spellings in this suffix shows that they do not occur randomly:

wa-ni-i-ti-i-iš	nom. sg. of *wani/īt-iya/i-* '(made) of rock(?)'; cf. the base word *uwāniya/i-* 'of a rock-face, cliff', and *uwaniyant(i)-* '?' on the same fragment
NA4*u-wa-ni-i-ta-im-ma-an*	nom./acc. sg. n. of part. NA4*uwanīt-ai-mma/i-* 'petrified'
wa-ar-ḫi-i-ta-ti-iš	nom. sg. of *warḫi/īt-ant(i)-* '?'
ma-al-li-i-ta-a-ti	abl. of *malli/ī(t)-* 'honey'
[(*ti*)]*i-ti-i-ta-a-ti*	abl. of *tīti/ī(t)-* 'pupil (of the eye)'
[*d*]*a-a-ni-i-ta*	nom./acc. pl. n. of *dāni/ī(t)-* 'stele'

The accepted analysis of *wa-ni-i-ti-i-iš* is that of an *iya/i*-adjective of appurtenance derived from an *id*-stem /wanid-/ 'stele, rock-face' (Starke 1990: 187). In addition to the unexpected plene spelling of the suffix in Cuneiform-Luwian, Hieroglyphic-Luwian features the strange neuter acc. sg. form ("STELE")*wa/i-ni-za* 'stele' (e. g. in TİLSEVET §5) with the allomorph *-za* (instead of *-sa*) in the secondary ending. The nom./acc. with *-za* occurs in CEKKE side by side with the oblique stem in /-d-/ (§3 acc. STELE-*zi*?! /waniyanza/ and §22 dat./loc. sg. STELE-*ri+i* /waniri/ with rhotacism). It is obvious that what we are facing here is a new example of the analogical spread of the thematic ending *-an* (+ *-za*), which was first recognized by Melchert (2004) for neuter consonant stems and stems in *-ū(d)-*. Parallel to the extension of nom./acc. sg. *ḫīru (with regular loss of final *-d-*) → **ḫīruwan > ḫīrūn* (with syncope), we may assume that nom./acc. sg. *wani developed into *waniyan* (+ *-za*) and, with syncope, further into *wanīn* (+ *-za*). Moreover, the spread of the long suffix vowel of the nom./acc. *ḫīrūn* to the oblique stem *ḫīrud-* → *ḫīrūd-* by paradigmatic leveling, which was suggested by Melchert (2004), is also present in the oblique stem /wanīd-/, as shown by its derivatives *wa-ni-i-ti-i-iš* 'of rock(?)' and NA4*u-wa-ni-i-ta-im-ma-an* 'petrified'.[4] Within Hieroglyphic-Luwian, this development is paralleled by the nom./acc. sg. n. forms *sanawi-sa* (neuter stem in *-i(d)-*) vs. *sanawiyan-za* (neuter stem in *-iya-*) as demonstrated by Yakubovich (2016: 465). The same explanation probably also applies to most of the other cases of Cuneiform Luwian /-īd-/, although it cannot be entirely excluded that in some cases *-īd-* was taken over only in the oblique stem while the nom./acc. sg. n. in *-i* remained intact as attested for nom./acc. sg. n. *malli*, abl./inst. *mallīd-* 'honey'.

In one out of the five cases, i. e. ("STELE")*wa/i-ni-za* 'stele', the unexpected case form in *-inza* indicates that a specific morphological development must be underlying. In another case, *mallī(t)-* 'honey' < **mélit-*, we expect the stress to be on the first syllable because of the application of Čop's Rule (Čop 1970). In two more cases, the plene spelling of both the first and second syllable (*tītī(t)-* 'pupil of the eye' and *dānī(t)-* 'a cult object'), makes necessary an explanation for the plene spelling of at least one syllable in terms of something other than stress. The combined morphological and phonological explanation for the emergence of the suffix *-īd-* suggested above provides exactly this. For one case only, there is no independent evidence for the origin of long *-īd-* proposed here.

3.8. Following Carruba (1982) and Melchert (1990: 199–201), nine words with plene <*i*> in the ending were convincingly interpreted as nom. or acc. forms of adjectives with the appurtenance suffix *-iya/i-*, i. e. with **-iyis*, **-iyin* and **-iyinzi* respectively (see Melchert 1993: s.vv.). Cf.:

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[4] This makes unnecessary Melchert's (2004: 472 fn. 2) own forced explanation invoking a restoration of the stem final dental *wanid-* parallel to *zarza* 'heart' < *zard-sa, which has a completely different phonological shape.

— [*ḫu-*]*i-it-wa-a-li-i-iš* KUB 35.49 iv 13' 'alive'
— [LÚ*lu-u-la-ḫ*]*i-i-iš* KUB 35.49 iv 15' 'of the mountain-dwellers'
— *ta-a-ti-i-iš* KUB 35.49 iv 14', *ta-ti-i-iš* KUB 35.46, 6', *da-a-ti-i-in-zi* KBo 29.55 i 6 'paternal'
— AMA-*i-iš* KUB 35.46, 6', AMA-*i-in* KBo 13.260 ii 30 'maternal'
— GÉME-*i-iš* KUB 35.46, 6' 'of a female servant/slave'
— [*m*]*u-ut-ti-i-iš* KBo 7.68 (+) 69 ii 13' 'having power'

Most of them (with the exception of AMA-*i-in* and [*m*]*u-ut-ti-i-iš*) are attested in the second and third ritual of the MUNUSŠU.GI fKuwatalla. In the same group of texts we also find five attestations of unexpected plene spellings with <i> of endings with *i*-mutation:

— [*i-iš-ša-r*]*i-i-iš* 'hand' (KUB 35.46 ivᵎ 2')
— [*ku-wa*]-ʿ*an*ʾ-*na-ni-i-in* 'eyebrow' (KBo 29.10 ii 6')
— [*ma-aš-ša-na-al-li*]-*i-in* 'divine' (KBo 29.10 ii 7')
— *du-ú-pa-im-mi-i-iš* 'struck' (KUB 32.8(+) 5 iii 28')
— *la-al-pí-i-in*= 'eyelash' (KUB 32.8(+) 5 iii 14')[5]

Two pairs of them come from the same fragment and can be clearly regarded as mistakes in terms of postulated function of the plene spelling since they occur beside multiple examples without plene <i> attested in parallel contexts of the same ritual. What we observe in the first group of examples is an earlier attempt to render faithfully the reflexes of *-iyis*, *-iyin* and *-iyinzi*, which contain either a disyllabic sequence or, more probably, vowel length.

Later copyists became confused and, by hypercorrection, added plene <i> in the mutation syllable of the words of the second group. This was probably prompted by the other plene spellings in the same text that the scribes may not have understood properly and interpreted as an attempt to represent the vowel quality instead of quantity. Zsolt Simon (pers. comm.) kindly draws my attention to the fact that the extra <i> in [*i-iš-ša-r*]*i-i-iš* 'hand' is rather compressed compared to the surrounding signs and seems to have been squeezed in secondarily. This may also be interpreted as an indication of the lack of confidence on the side of the scribe.

Confirmation for this hypothesis can be found in cases of unexpected plene spelling of the *i*-vowel within Hittite contexts. Instances of these are:[6]

— :*ku-ra-a-im-mi-i-iš* 'cut' (KUB 51.27 i 7')
— *ši-wa-an-ni-e-eš* '?' (KUB 35.146 iii 8')
— [NINDA]ʿ*lu-wa*ʾ-*am-me-i-en* (a bread) (KUB 25.50 ii 8)
— [NINDA]*la-at-ta-ri-i-en* (KUB 25.50 ii 9)
— *ku-wa-ra-am-mi-e-eš* (KBo 30.168 Rs. 9)

If the Hittite scribes wished to render the words of the Luwian texts, which belong to a foreign language, with special accuracy (see section 1), this could easily result in a hypercorrect spelling by means of an extra <i> vowel sign. On the phonological level, it was not meant to represent a long vowel, but a "proper" /i/, while on the morphological level, plene <i> was used to emphasize the correct Luwian form with *i*-mutation. This explanation would be valid for the attestations of both the second group of words in this section and :*ku-ra-a-im-mi-i-iš* in Hittite context.

In contrast, we may associate the other four spellings of the latter group containing *e*-signs with Yakubovich's (2010: 326–33) scenario of the hypercorrect spread of /e/ in Luwian loanwords in order to avoid non-standard "Luwian" *i*-vocalism in Hittite texts. Thus, the diffusion

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[5] Two more words stem from the same corpus (KUB 35.13, 20' and KBo 9.41 i 5' and *ibid.* 6'), but since neither meaning nor context are known, nothing can be drawn from them.

[6] Courtesy Zsolt Simon.

of /e/ does not only affect lexemes as Yakubovich (2010: 326–333) had suggested, but also grammatical morphemes.

If this is correct, both types of unexpected plene spelling, with <i> and <e>, are due to hyper-correction, the former in avoidance of wrong Luwian, the latter by shunning putative Luwianisms.

The adjectival interpretation of three items is not assured due to their fragmentary contexts, but there is also no counter-evidence. Three more are fragmentary themselves:

— *tar-ga-aš-ša-na-al-li-i-i*[*š* 'of(?) a muleteer'
— [ ]*x-zu-ú-wa-ni-i-iš* '?'
— *wa-ni-i-ti-i-iš* 'of rock(?)'
— *za-ši-i-in*[(-) '?'
— *pa-ri-i-it*[- '?'
— *pa-ri-ˈî*-['?'

3.9. Two more contexts of plene <i> in mutation syllables need consideration. They are due to specific phonological and graphic conditions, respectively.

While the following words are to be classified as *iya/i*-adjectives as well, their bases end in a vowel (*-a-* or *-u-*). With Melchert (1990: 201f.), it is safe to assume that, in this specific environment, the extra <i> sign does not represent vowel length at all, but rather the glide between the first vowel and the mutation vowel (/-ayi-/ or /-uyi-/):

— *a-ar-ra-i-in-zi* 'long'
— *ku-um-ma-i-in-zi* 'pure'
— *pár-la-i-in* 'front (?)'
— *wa-ar-pa-i-in-zi* 'of enclosure'
— *wa-aš-ḫa-i-iš* 'sacred'
— *i-wa-ru-ú-i-eš* 'of *iwaru*-'

The same phenomenon is observable in other morphological contexts as well, e. g. in the 3rd pl. imp. *ap-pa-ra-i-in-du* '?'.

Another group of unexpected plene spellings with <i> is found in the position after <u> and <ú> representing either the labial glide or the labial element of /kʷ/ or /ḫʷ/. For Hittite, Kloekhorst (2014: 134–61) was able to show that plene spellings with <e> such as <Cu-(u)-e-eC> and <Ci-(i)-e-eC> in this position are used to make up for the lack of signs <we> and <ye> (as opposed to existent <wa> and <ya>). Thus, the spellings <Cu-(u)-e-eC> and <Ci-(i)-e-eC> are functional equivalent to <Cu-wa-aC> and <Ci-ya-aC>, respectively. Although Kloekhorst (2004: 430–4) seems to be hesitant to transfer the principle to <i>, it does apply to it as well (in spite of the existence of <wi₅>). As a matter of fact, it offers a convincing explanation for the following spellings with <i> where no long *ī* vowel is to be expected:

— *ku-i-iš, ku-i-in* 'who'
— *ḫa-a-u-ˈe-eš̌* 'sheep'
— *ḫa-a-ú-i-iš* 'sheep'
— [*ḫa-a*]-*ú-i-iš* 'sheep'
— *da-a-u-i-iš* 'eye'
— *da-ak-ku-ú-i-iš,* [*da*]-ˈ*ak/anˋ-ku-ú-i-in* 'dark'
— [*ḫu-*]*i-it-wa-a-li-i-iš* 'alive' (first plene <i>)

Accordingly, the adverb *za-(a-)ú-i-in* 'here' is ambiguous. It may be just another example of the last group, but also a case of the contraction *-(i)ya- > ī*, if it is a combination of *za(-a)-ú-i*

'here' + -*an* 'in' (cf. *pariyan* 'beyond' from *pari* 'forth, away' + -*an* 'in'; for -*an* < **én(i)* see Yaku-bovich: forthcoming). Also in the verb forms *ú-i-it-t*[*a-ri* and *ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ta* the plene spelling with <*i*> after the signs <*u*> and <*ú*>, respectively, does not allow for any conclusions on the length of the vowel /i/.

An important repercussion of the evidence scrutinized in the last two sections is that there is no reason to assume that the *i*-mutation vowel was long (contra Melchert 2003: 187f. and Rieken 2005: 171). The plene spellings attested in the mutated endings find various, but plausible and coherent explanations in their respective contexts.

4. There are several cases of plene spelling with <*i*> that have not been discussed in the previous sections, because nothing can be said about their origin due to the lack of a convincing etymology or morphological analysis. It may, however, be emphasized that in each single case the plene spelling is found in open syllable and no other plene spelling occurs in the word. Therefore, nothing forbids us to assume that the position of the stress was on the plene written syllable, which would then be regularly lengthened. Cf.:

— *ḫal-li-i-na-i*, [*ḫal-*]*li-i-na-i*, *ḫal-li-i-n*[*a-i*] (factitive suffix -*īna*-(*i*))
— *pár-ta-ri-i-na-li-ti*
— *mi-i-lu-uš-ga-an*
— ᴳᴵˢ*ḫi-i-e*[*l-lu-wa*, ᴳᴵˢ*ḫi-i-lu*[-*wa*
— ᴳᴵˢ*ti-i-ra-na*
— *n*]*a-di-i-en-ta*
— *ḫi-i-ša-a*[*l-*, *ḫi-i-ša*[(-*a*)*l*-

5. The second and much shorter part of this article deals with the plene spelling with the vowel sign <*e*>. The use of the sign is surprising given that the phonological system of Luwian as established does not contain a vowel /e/. However, there are 20 instances of <*e*> in the corpus. Interestingly, 10 out of these occur in the context of the sequence <*Ci-e-ya*>[7] instead of expected <*Ci-ya*> or <*Ci-i-ya*>, which normally represents the adjectival or verbal derivational suffixes of the shape *-*ye/o*- (e. g. *na-a-ni-e-ya* 'of the brother' and *a-ni-e-ya-an-t*[*i(-)* part. of *an(n)i(ya)-* 'carry out, treat'). In a single case we find <*Ci-e-a*> with omission of the palatal glide (*wa-ri-e-a*). If the choice of <*e*> is more than just a spelling convention, it should mark an allophone of /i/ that may have arisen by a kind of dissimilation process next to the palatal glide.

An allophonic interpretation is probable also for the attestations of <*e*> in the neighborhood of /ḫ/, which is a typical lowering context;[8] cf. *ši-e-ḫu-wa-en-zi še-e-wa*, *ḫu-u-e-ḫu-u-i-ya*, and *ḫi-e-ru-un*. Obviously, lowering of /i/ precedes the regular loss of /ḫ/ before the labiovelar glide in *še-e-wa* (for the loss see Melchert 1994: 258).

Finally, <*e*> occurs three times in *da-a-i-e-ni* '?' and once in *ši-wa-an-ni-e-eš* '?'. The status as Luwian is dubious in either case (cf. Melchert 1993: 201 and Rieken 1999: 37 contra Melchert 1993: 195). Perhaps the spelling with <*e*> in this phonetic context, which is unusual for Luwian, indicates a Hittite origin of the two words.

Based on the plene spellings with <*e*>, we may thus conclude that Luwian /i/ had an allophone [e], which occurred within the diphthong /iya/ [eya] and before and after /ḫ/.

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[7] After the <*e*> in *lu-ri-e-x*[(KBo 8.130 iii 2') two horizontal wedges that may belong to a <*ya*> can still be seen.

[8] It also causes the lowering of /u/ to [o] in Luwian (Melchert 2010) and to /o/ in Hittite (Rieken 2005 and Kloekhorst 2014, with references). A second option for *ḫi-e-ru-un* would be the lowering of /i/ before /r/, which is a lowering context for /u/ in Hittite as well.

6 Summary. More than 20 years ago, Melchert (1994: 27) brought forward the hypothesis that the scribes in the Hittite capital used the same spelling rules for Luwian as they did for Hittite. In the previous sections, this assumption has been put to a test by scrutinizing all data available for plene *<i>* in Luwian texts. It was shown that, with our improved knowledge of spelling rules in Hittite and Luwian historical phonology and grammar, Melchert's hypothesis was confirmed and can be used as a reliable basis for the investigation of plene spellings with other vowel signs. In general, plene *<i>* in Luwian marks a long vowel /ī/, which arises from original or anaptyctic /i/ under the accent (attested in open syllables; section 3.1 and 3.3), by sound change *ế > í (section 3.2), by contraction of two *e*-vowels via *ế > í (section 3.4) and contraction of two *i*-vowels (sections 3.5 and 3.8), through monophthongization of the diphthongs *oi and probably *ei (see sections 3.6 and 3.2), and by syncope of *iya > ī (section 3.7). In support of the hypothesis., new etymologies (e. g. *zīla*) and morphological analyses (suffixes *-īd-* and *-tīl-*, ending *-īn*) were proposed. However, in addition to the phonological and morphological contexts listed above, spelling peculiarities after vowels (section 3.9), the relevance of origin and transmission, and other sociolinguistic factors for the use of plene *<i>* and *<e>* were taken into account (section 3.8). As a result, it became clear that the vowel /i/ in the *i*-mutated endings is short. Plene spellings in this morphological context find various other explanations that allow us to attribute them to the derivation with the suffix of appurtenance *-ye/o-*, to certain phonological conditions and to hypercorrection.

Plene spelling with *<e>* indicates an allophone [e] of the phoneme /i/ that is limited to the context of the diphthong /iya/ and the position before and after /ḫ/ (section 4).

The rules for the occurrence of spellings with a plene *<i>* and *<e>* extrapolated from the corpus are not always applied with the same degree of strictness, but the evidence for a meaningful usage of this graphic device is clear enough not to discard it hastily.

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Элизабет Рикен. Инлаутные написания plene с <*i*> и <*e*> в клинописных лувийских текстах

Гипотеза Мелчерта о том, что клинописная «орфография» хеттского была передана клинописному лувийскому хеттскими писцами, была проверена на написаниях *plene* с <*i*>. Уточненные представления об исторической грамматике лувийского подтверждают данную гипотезу. Новые объяснения даются ряду случаев написания *plene* с <*i*>. Кроме того, ограниченность применения *plene* описывается при помощи набора четких правил.

Ключевые слова: написания *plene*, лувийская фонология, лувийское *zila*

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Selected Pisidian problems
and the position of Pisidian within the Anatolian languages

This paper presents three problems of Pisidian and their repercussions regarding the position of Pisidian within the Anatolian languages. These problems are the origin of the personal name Γδεβετις (gen.) and related names; the origin of the personal name Μουσητα; and the question whether the dative is attested in Pisidian. The paper argues that Pisidian is a Luwic language: not as a daughter of Hieroglyphic Luwian, but either as a part of the Carian — Lycian — Milyan dialect continuum or as a late form of Milyan.

Keywords: Pisidian, Luwic, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Milyan, personal names

1. Introduction

This paper presents three problems of Pisidian. They are connected by the fact that all of them have repercussions regarding the position of Pisidian within the Anatolian languages, which will be dealt with in §5. These problems are (§2) the origin of the personal name Γδεβετις (gen.) and related names; (§3) the origin of the personal name Μουσητα; and (§4) the question whether the dative is attested in Pisidian.[1]

2. The origin of Γδεβετις (gen.) and related names

Γδεβετις is attested as a patronym in genitive three times, twice as Γδεβετις (in the inscriptions Nos. N13, N14) and once as Γδεβετιε (N12), on the last form see below (§4). As for the etymology of Γδεβετις, Starke 1987: 258 n. 58 suggested that it represents a suffixed form of Γδαβα (N12) (gen. Γδαβος (N10, N11 [*bis*], N27)). In turn, he connected Γδαβα with Γδασας (gen.) (N7), what he identified with Lyc. *xddaza-* 'slave' (so already Lebrun 1983: 68 [not quoted by Starke], 2012: 362; see also Starke 1990: 363 n. 1295a ["wohl"]).[2] Finally, he derived both forms from the root **gda-*, what he identified with the personal name *Ḫadā* attested in Old Assyrian transmission (Laroche 1966 No. 333).[3]

Starke's derivational chain is undoubtedly correct, however, the connection with the Lycian word is problematic, since one would expect †Γδαζας in Pisidian. Thus I find more merit in the suggestion of I. Hajnal, who, without quoting Starke's or Lebrun's derivation, assumed that Γδαβα originates in **hanta-wa-* 'belonging to the front side' (Hajnal 1994: 147 n. 33–34 with 149 n. 40, 2000: 173; similarly Melchert 2013: 35 [**hantawa-* 'foremost, ruling', without quoting

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[1] Pisidian inscriptions are quoted according to the numbering of Brixhe 2016b.

[2] Lebrun 2012: 360 cautiously compared Γδαβα with Lyc. *xddaza-* 'slave' (without explaining the differences), but later (362), as quoted above, he compared Γδασας with this Lycian word.

[3] For the sake of completeness, the outdated etymologies shall also be mentioned: Γδεβετις is an ethnic name due to its *-t-* (Ramsay 1895: 356, 361); Γδεβετις originates in a female divine name "**gʰþōm-*" (Haas 1961: 61); Γδαβος is the Pisidian form of Greek Δᾶος (Ramsay 1895: 360).

Hajnal or the alternative view] and Rieken — Sasseville 2014: 308–309 with different semantics). This suggestion can neatly explain all Pisidian forms:

a) Γδεβετις (gen.) corresponds to Lycian *xñtawat(i)*-, Luwian *ḫandawat(i)*- 'ruler' (see already König 1936: 28 with n.3;[4] Melchert 2013: 35 [not quoting König and spelling Γδβετι-]);

b) Γδαβα continues the adjective **hanta-wa*- 'belonging to the front side' underlying to the verb **hantawa*- 'to rule' (attested in Lycian as *xñtawa*-) underlying at the very end to *ḫandawat(i)*-;

c) Γδασας can regularly continue the frequent formation with *-assa/i*-, i.e. **hant-assa/i*-. The *i*-mutation does not affect the genitive, and that is why there is no trace of the Umlaut expected on the base of Γδεβετις.

Although only the explanation of Γδασας represents a novelty here, it was important to quote the discussion due to its phonological implications that, in turn, contribute to determining the position of Pisidian among the Anatolian languages. Melchert 2013: 35 inferred the following sound changes:

1) regular voicing *t* > *d* after nasal
2) loss of nasal
3) shift of *w* > *v/b*
4) assimilation **kd*- > *gd*-

While the voicing *t* > *d* after nasal is not remarkable in Anatolia, the loss of nasal (more precisely, **-nd*- > *-d*-) and the assimilation **kd*- > *gd*- will have a specific role below (§5.2).[5] Finally, to these changes one must add the *a* > *e* Umlaut caused by the suffix *-ti*-[6] as well as the syncope of the presumably unaccented vowel in the first syllable (cf. also Brixhe 2016b: 112).

3. The origin of Μουσητα

The origin of the name Μουσητα (N4, N5, N7, N23; once Μοσητα (N3)), gen. Μουσητος (N2, N6; once Μοσητως (N1)) is explained from *Muwa-ziti*- (Laroche 1966 Nr. 840) since Houwink ten Cate 1961: 167.[7]

However, Melchert 2013: 39 recognized that Μουσητα cannot be a regular reflex of *Muwa-ziti*- due to the voiceless stop and the vowel written with an eta, to which one must add that the sigma cannot reflect <z>, as it should be spelled with zeta (Schürr forthcoming).[8] Melchert suggests that with the loss of the synchronic compound status (referring to the fact that *Ziti*-, as such, is not attested in the Iron Age), this name was remodelled after Greek masculine names in *-ατης/-ατας*. It must be mentioned at this juncture, as Melchert himself pointed out,

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[4] I owe this reference to Ignasi-Xavier Adiego.

[5] The "shift of *w* > *v/b*", i.e. the exact phonetic value of beta in these inscriptions requires a specific investigation that cannot be accomplished here.

[6] The consistent spelling of these names (and the Pisidian names in general) either with epsilon or with alpha proves that these must have been different phonemes and not a sheer "échange graphique" (*contra* Brixhe 2016b: 113) and, accordingly, they need a linguistic explanation, for which Umlaut is an obvious solution.

[7] See also Zgusta 1963: 479; Starke 1987: 256 n. 51, 1999: cols. 531–532; Brixhe — Drew-Bear — Kaya 1987: 136; Brixhe 1988: 142, 143, 2016b: 115 (none of the last three quoting Houwink ten Cate or Zgusta); Adiego 1992: 32, 2007: 386 (here only "perhaps"); Hajnal 1995: 32 n. 10, 2000: 173 (without quoting anyone); Melchert 2013: 39 (without quoting anyone).

[8] The problem of the voiceless stops was also recognized by Starke 1987: 256 n. 51, but he dismissed it without explanation. Adiego 1992: 32 n. 11 explains the vocalism with the names in °σατης, allegedly continuing names in *-ziti*, which is, however, *obscurum per obscurius*.

that this name is attested not only in Pisidian, but also in Carian (*Mwsat*, Adiego 2007: 386) and in Cilicia (Μωσητας, Zgusta 1964 §1004).[9]

Schürr (forthcoming) disagreed with this suggestion, pointing out that these names did not become Greek, and Greek influence in a Carian name attested in Egypt in the 6th c. BC as well as in a name attested in Pisidia in the 3rd c. AD is not probable. Nevertheless, the names did not need to become fully Greek to absorb Greek influence, and Greek influence is absolutely possible both in 3rd c. AD Pisidia (consider the Greek names with Greek inflectional endings in the inscriptions N10, N31, N34) as well as in Egypt in the 6th c. BC, especially in view of the presence of Greek mercenaries together with the Carians, and that the name itself must have originated from Caria anyway.

The real problem with Melchert's explanation is that it is unlikely that the same remodelling would happen in three different and non-contiguous languages, i.e. in Carian, Pisidian and "Cilician" (probably a late form of Luwian). It is much more probable that it reflects a shared innovation, a shared type of suffixation, especially since as Luwic languages, these languages are closely related to one another. Moreover, a seemingly underlying Luwic *-atta-* suffix is not unknown in the Anatolian languages: it has an equivalent in Lydian in such well-known names as *Aly-attēs*, *Sady-attēs* and even *Maddu(w)-atta*. The Carian name was already analysed as *Mws-at* by Schürr (forthcoming), who connects it with other Carian names showing the same suffix (*Pλat*; *Šdτat*; *Wli/jat* / Ο/Υλιατος [Adiego 2007: 400, 418, 428; Vernet Pons 2012: 148–149]; Σιδυατος), but without providing an explanation for this suffix.[10]

However, Schürr (forthcoming) separates the Pisidian name, since the spelling with an eta instead of an alpha requires an explanation. In fact, this variation is attested in Pisidian, the "only" question is how to interpret the data. The examples are the following:

1) Εια (N9, N14) vs. Ειη (N1, N37, N48)

2) Ναλι (N37) vs. Νηλι (N16, and perhaps N39)

According to Schürr (forthcoming) Ναλι and Νηλι are two variants of the same name, and the eta seems to reflect Umlaut due to the following /i/. While this cannot be excluded *a priori*, the result of the only assured case of *i*-Umlaut shows epsilons (see Γδεβετις above, §2), and epsilons and etas are not interchangeable (Brixhe 1987: 46–49, 2010: 232–233, cf. also 1988: 145). Furthermore, Brixhe — Özsait 2001: 164 cautiously argue that Ναλι and Νηλι have nothing to do with each other, since H already had the value /i/ at that time (cf. also Brixhe 1987: 46–49, 1988: 139, 2010: 232) and thus these are derived by *-li-* from two different and well attested *Lallnamen*, *Na* and *Ni*. Set aside that the precise date of these specific inscriptions is unknown,[11] the situation is nevertheless more complex, for eta had not yet merged with /i/ in the 4th c. AD, when the Gothic, Old Georgian and Old Armenian alphabets were created (Allen 1987: 74–75, cf. also Starke 1987: 256 n. 49: [e] and [i]).[12] In other words, the existence of two different names cannot be proven.

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[9] The frequently connected Lydian Μουσατης (Zgusta 1964 §987a) does not exist, see Schürr 2001: 100 n. 7 with ref.

[10] Vernet Pons 2012: 150 suggested deriving *Wli/jat* from a form with *-ant-*, but in this case we would expect **Wli/jaδ* in Carian (**-nt-* leads to Carian δ, Adiego 2007: 260).

[11] As for No. 16, Ramsay 1895: 354 claimed that it is not possible to date the inscriptions N1-N16, but some of them may be Roman (followed by Borchhardt — Neumann — Schulz 1975: 68, who falsely claim that Ramsay dated these inscriptions based on the shapes of the letters). N37 was dated by the publishers to the 3rd c. AD (Brixhe — Özsait 2001: 156, 166), without providing any arguments.

[12] Melchert 2013: 39 also claims that eta was not an /i/, thus implicitly withdrawing his earlier interpretation when he transcribed the name as "Musita" (Melchert 1994a: 44, 1994b: 127).

The case of the other name, Εια / Ειη, is also instructive (the problem of the spelling variation was already observed by Zgusta 1957: 582, who could not offer a solution). Although Brixhe 1988: 145, 2016b: 115 suggests that Ειη is the Hellenised version, there is no reason to see a Hellenised form in this name. Since there is no external reason to motivate the alpha / eta variation in the spelling of Εια / Ειη and Ναλι / Νηλι, the remaining possibility is that they represent a specific phoneme originating from /a/ that could not have been rendered by the Greek alphabet (perhaps an /æ/). Whatever the exact phonetic realization of this phoneme was, the existence of free variation of alpha / eta proves that the name Μουσητα can be connected with *Mws-at* and the *-atta*-names regularly.[13]

4. Is the dative attested in Pisidian?

Three instances from the inscriptions N1 and N12 were suggested as attestations of dative in Pisidian. The inscription N12 (with a male on the relief) is as follows (in the generally accepted segmentation): Γδαβα Μηνες Γδεβετιε. Those who wanted to see a dative, identified Γδεβετιε as the dative form (see already Sundwall 1913: 117; Zgusta 1957: 605–606, 1963: 480; Haas 1961: 61). However, Γδεβετιε is obviously either a misspelling or the misreading of Γδεβετις (gen.), since it is in the position of the papponym.[14] Note also that not a single instance of the almost fifty grave inscriptions known to date contain a "dedicatory" one (for the alleged exception of the inscription N1 see the following discussion). The inscription N1 on the tombstone of two men and a woman is as follows:

δωταριμοσητωςειηδωτ[α]ριςδωταριενεις

It has been segmented in two different ways and interpreted in three different ways (Table 1):

Table 1. Suggested interpretations of the inscription N1

Δωταρι$_{NOM}$ Μοσητως Ειη$_{NOM}$ Δωτ[α]ρις Δωταρι$_{NOM}$ Ενεις	Metri 1958: 46; Brixhe 1988: 132–133, 136; Brixhe — Özsait 2013: 231; Brixhe 2016b: 78–79
Δωταρι$_{NOM}$ Μοσητως Ειη$_{NOM}$ Δωτ[α]ρις Δωταριε$_{DAT}$ Νεις	Zgusta 1957: 606–607, 1963: 480
Δωταρι$_{NOM}$ Μοσητως Ειη$_{DAT}$ Δωτ[α]ρις Δωταριε$_{DAT}$ Νεις	Zgusta 1957: 606–607, 1963: 480; Starke 1987: 256–258[15]

The segmentation Δωταριε Νεις has the advantage that the patronym (unlike in the case of Ενεις[16]) is an attested name (Νι (N2, N29, and perhaps N39 [Νηι]) / Νις (N9, N17, N29, N42)). The interpretation with two datives has two problems: First, as Brixhe 1988: 145 rightly pointed out, Ειη cannot represent a dative since it is written with an eta, not with an epsilon, and these letters are not interchangeable, as I have just mentioned above (Brixhe 1987: 47–49, 2010: 232–233, cf. also 1988: 145). The second problem is (which is still there if the construction is interpreted with only one dative) that this translation requires one or two deceased, but the relief shows three persons. Thus Starke was forced to assume that the tombstones were not

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[13] The first member (*mws-*) and the Cilician form (Μωσητας) require a separate investigation.

[14] It is a misspelling according to Ramsay 1895: 361 (implicitly); Brixhe — Drew-Bear — Kaya 1987: 149; and a misreading according to Brixhe — Özsait 2013: 231; cf. also Metri 1958: 47. Brixhe 2016b: 83 already transcribes it as Γδεβετις (cf. Brixhe 2016b: 120).

[15] Similarly already Haas 1961: 61 (although segmenting Δωταρι Ενεις), and Lebrun 2012: 359, 360 (cautiously: "peut-être").

[16] N41 may show a name Ηνες that might be connected with this name, but its segmentation is not assured and the connection is problematic phonologically, cf. Brixhe 2016b: 40–41, 94.

prepared individually but bought from a prepared set and the inscription was engraved only later. Although this is not impossible, it would definitely be strange and note that there is no other instance for a dative (his other example with Γδεβετιε is false, see above). But even if a mistaken combination could have happened, it is obvious from a methodological point of view that those solutions should be preferred where the inscription and the depiction are consistent with each other.[17] Since the tombstone has been lost, Starke also tries to undermine the credibility of Ramsay's descriptions (1987: 257 n. 54), even though the problem at hand concerns only the depth of the incised letters, not the overall description or the distinctions between men and women.[18] Finally, Starke's family reconstruction (mother Δωταρι, child Ειη, daughter Δωταριε from the second marriage of Δωταρι) again absolutely contradicts the gravestone (two females and one male instead of the depicted two males and one female).

Thus two possibilities remain: first is the reading and translation of Metri and Brixhe (Δωταρι_NOM Μοσητως Ειη_NOM Δωτ[α]ρις Δωταρι_NOM Ενεις), with the conclusion that Δωταρι is a male name, Ειη is a female one (unless Δωταρι can be used for both genders [Brixhe 1988: 132–133, 136 also allowed that Δωταρι may be both a male and a female name, which was denied by Starke 1987: 257, because he believes this can happen only with *Lallnamen* and hypocoristic names], but one of the Δωταρις must be male in this case, too). A second possibility is that we choose the better segmentation but with nominatives (Δωταρι_NOM Μοσητως Ειη_NOM Δωτ[α]ρις Δωταριε_NOM Νεις). Due to the formal difference between Δωταρι and Δωταριε this would probably mean that the males are Δωταρι and Ειη and the female is Δωταριε (this gender attribution has already been suggested by Zgusta 1957: 606–607, 1963: 480). Both interpretations allow to explain the tombstone as a family tombstone (in the first case one of the Δωταρις is the father, the other one is the husband of Ειη;[19] in the other case there is a father, Δωταρι, and his wife Δωταριε, and their child Ειη), thus a decision cannot be made on these grounds (although the latter solutions seems to me a more typical family tombstone and thus a more probable solution). But whichever solution is the correct one, it is clear that there is no assured attestation of dative in the Pisidian inscriptions.

5. The position of Pisidian among the Anatolian languages

5.1. The proposals until now

Pisidian was not included in Oettinger 1978 on the internal classification of the Anatolian languages, because at that time he did not consider its Anatolian status proved (1978: 75 n. 9), and it is not included in the forthcoming paper of E. Rieken on Anatolian dialectology either, since it is too poorly attested. Nevertheless, some scholars formulated an opinion regarding this issue.

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[17] The reliefs and the inscriptions published until 2016 were overall consistent (there might have been only one exception [Starke's other example with Γδεβετιε is false, see above], a Greek inscription (Ῥόδων, Νικόστρατος, Νικόστρατος υἱός, Brixhe — Gibson 1982: 157–158, No. 10]) with the depiction of two males and a female, which, however, may be explained by the simple assumption of a phonetically well motivated spelling mistake, i.e. Ῥόδων instead of Ῥοδώ, since the disappearance of the final nasal was no surprise at that time, Brixhe — Gibson 1982: 158 n. 50). Nevertheless, as an anonymous reviewer kindly reminded me, the new inscriptions published in Brixhe 2016 contain several inconsistent cases, that require further research.

[18] The options mentioned in Ramsay 1895: 357 (Δωταριενεις as an ethnic / political unit name or yet another genitive) is not compatible with the three deceased, since then only two names remain in nominative (Δωταρι and Ειη).

[19] Theoretically one could imagine that the two male Δωταρις were two husbands of Ειη, which is not impossible, but a shared tombstone does not sound very probable.

First, Zgusta 1963: 480–481 claimed that Pisidian is a Luwic language (to use the modern terminology) and within this group it is more closely related to Lycian. He based his opinion on the geographical position of Pisidian, the origin of Pisidian names, and alleged parallels between the Lycian and Pisidian nominal paradigms, i.e. zero ending in nominative, the similarity of the genitive (both to be discussed below), and the similarity of the dative ending (Lycian *-ije* vs. Pisidian *-e*), but we have already seen that this dative ending does not exist (§4).

Second, Neumann (1978: 874 n. 6, 880 n. 11) suggested cautiously ("dürfte") that Pisidian and Sidetic stand closest to each other. He called attention to a passage in Livius (35, 13 "*ad Pisidas, qui circa Sidam incolunt*") on the one hand, and to the zero ending of nominative singular and the *-s* ending of the genitive singular shared by Pisidian, Sidetic and partly Lycian on the other hand. Although the remark of Livius is highly interesting, nothing follows from it, since it does not specify the relationship of the Pisidians and the Sidetans, and we do not know anything about the history of this situation either. In other words, this is a very interesting possibility, but a linguistic analysis is still needed to confirm or to reject it. The morphological arguments will be dealt with in detail in the following.

Third, Starke 1999 (cf. also 1997: 457, 468) argued in detail for the Luwian character of Pisidian, more precisely that it continues the Hieroglyphic Luwian dialect (or in current terminology, the Iron Age Luwian dialect). Probably this is the basis of the statements of Melchert 2003a: 10, 2003b: 177 (who believes that Pisidian may be a late form of Luwian or a distinct dialect, but it is impossible to determine) and Lebrun 2012: 353 (who considers Pisidian a "direct heiress" to Luwian), but neither of them quote their sources. Starke's methodology is not clear, but he speaks about four "gemeinluwische" innovations shared by Pisidian, Lycian and Milyan, which implies a closer relationship, either in genetic or in areal sense as well as about two characteristics common with Hieroglyphic Luwian (1999: cols. 530, 532). The four innovations are as follows:

a) ă > e (Pisidian <ε, η>) (also in Starke 1987: 256 n. 49)

b) s > Ø /V_#

c) n > Ø /i_ (leading to the syncretism of nom. and acc. sg. of the mutated stems: Μηνι (N31, N38), gen. Μηνες (N12)) (for Μηνι as an *i*-mutated stem and, accordingly, Pisidian as a Luwian language see already Starke 1987: 256);

d) abandonment of the *-ḫḫi*-conjugation

Unfortunately, two of Starke's arguments are wrong, and one has a different explanation: First, it cannot be judged, if Pisidian abandoned the *-ḫḫi*-conjugation or not, since not a single Pisidian verb form has been identified until now (the new inscriptions from Selge and Kesme and Değirmenözü [Brixhe 2016b: S1-S4 with refs.]), unknown at the time of Starke's paper, may include verb forms but they are still unintelligible, for a segmentation attempt of S2 see now Adiego 2016).

Second, the name Μηνι is obviously theophoric,[20] but the *i*-mutation is not a derivational suffix, thus this *-i-* should have another explanation, for instance the ubiquitous *-iya-* adjectival / appurtenance suffix with the similarly ubiquitous contraction. Moreover, the genitive is attested twice as Μηνις (N31, N4), which points to an original *i*-stem (and to Μηνες as a probably secondary spelling / pronunciation; it is an inverse spelling according to Brixhe 1988: 144–145). But even if we assume for the sake of the argument that Μηνι is an *i*-mutated stem, nothing proves that the nominative and the accusative singular merged, since there is no identified accusative until now. Moreover, nothing points to the loss of a final /n/ after /i/ in Pisidian.

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[20] Brixhe — Drew-Bear — Kaya 1987: 150; Brixhe — Özsait 2001: 164; Lebrun 2012: 360 (*contra* Starke 1987: 256 n. 50a connecting it with Luwian compound names with *Mana-* as their first member).

Third, there is no evidence for a general change *ă > e* in Pisidian. On the one hand, as we have seen above (§2), secondary <ε> is due to *i*-Umlaut (and the alpha/eta change probably has a completely different explanation, see §3). On other hand, there are many Pisidian words that maintained their /a/ (cf. e.g. below under the discussion of the origin of the Pisidian vocabulary).

Thus, only the loss of postvocalic final /s/ remains as an argument — but this is an argument that separates Pisidian from Hieroglyphic Luwian. Although this loss can be explained as secondary from Hieroglyphic Luwian final /-s/, of course, this can be done only if the relationship of the two languages is otherwise proved. The identification with Hieroglyphic Luwian is, however, based only on the following characteristics:

a) There is a genitive case in Pisidian, thus it cannot continue Cuneiform Luwian (or with today's terminology, Kizzuwatna Luwian);

b) The contraction *ya > i* in the oblique cases of the *i*-stems is shared only by Hieroglyphic Luwian and Pisidian, see gen. Δωτ[α]ϱις.

The problem with these two arguments is that they are not characteristic enough. The genitive case has been retained in all the Luwic languages, save Kizzuwatna Luwian, thus it does not tell us too much about the position of Pisidian. This specific contraction is just yet another case of the widespread *-iya- > -i-* contraction and thus, again, it is not helpful.

Finally, Starke 1987: 259 argued that the Pisidian word for 'girl' is an *i*-stem and not *a*-stem, as in Lycian, thus it stands closer to Cuneiform Luwian (but not continuing, as per above). This is based on his identification of Δωταϱι as the Pisidian word for 'daughter' (Starke 1987: 258–259, 1990: 347; followed by Schürr 1999: 25 [who later retracted it] and Lebrun 2012: 360). However, this identification is very probably wrong, since this name must refer to a male, at least once (see §4 above, inscription N1) and also appears in the compound name Πιγεϱδοταϱις (five times, N37), referring exclusively to males in papponyms (see already Schürr 2006: 1560 n. 2). Note also, that a derivation from Proto-Indo-European **dʰuégh₂tr* / *dʰugh₂tr-* 'daughter' (on the form see Kloekhorst 2011) is also problematic phonologically, due to the initial consonant as well as the different vocalism, and Starke has not provided any explanation for these. In other words, this word cannot be used as an argument the way Starke did. But even if it means 'girl', it shows the suffix *-i-* from *-iya-*, which does not exclude the possibility of an *a*-stem.

To sum up, there is no argument for identifying Pisidian as a daughter language of Hieroglyphic Luwian. Actually, if someone looks at the map this is not surprising at all: Pisidian was spoken a long way away from assured Luwian speaking territories (separated by Lycaonia), thus the question whether Pisidian originates from Hieroglyhic Luwian does not even come up.

5.2. The material

The classification of Pisidian must obviously remain very tentative due to the lack of evidence. This is especially true because the sparse evidence at hand does not allow using the classical method, i.e. detecting shared exclusive (morphological) innovations. Currently we can work only with shared isoglosses that admittedly have lower demonstrative value. In the following these isoglosses will be presented from the field of inflectional and derivational morphology as well as historical phonology (summarized in a table at the end).

Within the inflectional morphology, the zero nominative and the sibilant genitive ending in the singular are paralleled by Milyan, Carian and Sidetic (note that the dative singular and the *i*-mutation are not attested in Pisidian, as per above and §4). While the prehistory of the nominative is beyond doubt (loss of final *-s*), this is not the case with the genitive, except that

the final -*s* of the genitive cannot continue an earlier final -*s*, i.e. it must originate in *-*sX*.[21] Melchert repeatedly assumed the suffix of the genitival adjective to be *-*asso/i*-, where the deletion of the final -*s* would have been followed by the deletion of the last unaccented vowel (1994a: 44–45, 1994b: 127, similarly but cautiously Hajnal 2000: 182); Melchert 2012: 278 n. 10 later allowed the possibility of the genitive ending *-*oso* as well. This possibility was chosen already by Brixhe 1988: 142–143, who rightly pointed out the lack of agreement between the possessor and possessed which would be a requirement in the case of the genitival adjective (cf. also Brixhe 2016a: 33). Nevertheless, Brixhe — Özsait 2001: 161–162 (cf. also Brixhe 2016a: 33) suggested yet another source, the genitive ending attested in Cuneiform Luwian -*ašši*, Hieroglyphic Luwian /-as(s)i/, Carian -*ś*, Sidetic -*s*, and probably reflecting PIE *-*osyo* (Melchert 2012: 278–279; cf. also Yakubovich 2010: 39–45). It is hard to choose between these alternatives from a Pisidian point of view, since both are possible, as long as we do not know more about the loss of the final vowels in the prehistory of Pisidian.

As for the derivational morphology, the suffix *-*iya*- in -*i*- is simply too ubiquitous and the suffix -*at*- is attested also in Lydian (cf. above, §3), thus, again, it is not helpful.[22] If the analysis of Δωταριε as a derivation from Δωταρι suggested above (§4) turns out to be correct, then there is a suffix -*e*- too, whose prehistory, however, is completely unclear at the moment.

While the historical phonology of Pisidian shows some widespread and thus not helpful changes (the contraction of -*uwa*- and -*iya*-), as well as specifically Pisidian changes (*-*nt*- > -*d*-; the epenthetic vowel in *ouper*-, *piger*-, for the identification of this change see Adiego 2012: 20), there are some more restricted changes shared by other Anatolian languages, which can be summarized as follows (cf. Table 2):

Table 2. Shared isoglosses of Pisidian

Pisidian	Milyan	Lycian	Carian	Sidetic
nom. sg. *-*s* > -Ø	x	–	x	x
gen. sg. –*s*	x	–	–	–
syncope of an unaccented vowel	x	x	?	?
a > *e* Umlaut by /i/	x	x	x	–
laryngeal *k-, -*g*-	x	x	–	?
no lenition in the suffix -*ti*-	x	x	?	?

a) the presumably unaccented first vowel was syncopated (just like in Lycian, Milyan and, perhaps, in Carian) — or at least the words of these languages originating in *hant- share the same history;

b) -*i*- caused Umlaut (*a* > *e*), just like in Lycian and Carian;

c) Starke 1987: 258 n. 58, cf. 1990: 642 claimed that the initial laryngeal is continued in Pisidian as <γ>. While this is possible, one must mention Melchert's alternative view (2013: 35),

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[21] Starke 1999: col. 532 suggested the restoration of the genitive ending, which can be excluded only if the attested Pisidian ending can be derived regularly from an earlier genitive ending, and surely this is the case, whichever suggestion applies.

[22] One may, however, object that according to Rieken *apud* Miller 2013: 121 Fig. 3 and Rieken (forthcoming) Lydian was a Luwic language, thus this suffix is a feature of the Luwic languages (for an opposing view on Lydian see e.g. Yakubovich 2010: 6). Unfortunately, the relationship of Lydian with the Luwic languages requires further research.

who sees a secondary assimilation in it: *kd- > gd-. If the suggestion to connect the first part of Ουγοιδις (N37, 3x) with the Luwic element uḫḫa- is correct (Simon 2014: 185), then it shows that one of the reflexes of the intervocalic laryngeals was <γ>. Since this is the voiced counterpart, one expects *k- in initial position, exactly what Melchert proposed. Interestingly enough it would show a laryngeal system identical to that of Lycian, but different from Carian (cf. Simon 2011; Brosch 2016).

d) Pisidian did not lenite the consonant of the suffix -ti- (just like Lycian).

Finally, the lexicon also calls for some comments. Set aside the *Lallnamen*, the theophoric names, the foreign names, and the names with unintelligible components, the remaining ones show a typical Luwic vocabulary:[23]

Γδαβα / Γδαβος	< *hantawa- (as per above, §2)
Γδασας	< *hantassa/i- (as per above, §2)
Γδεβετις	< ḫantawat(i)- (as per above, §2)
Μουα (N34, N38) / Μουος (N23, N32)	< muwa- (Brixhe — Drew-Bear — Kaya 1987: 159)
Ουγοιδις	< uḫḫa- (Simon 2014: 185)
Ουπερ-δοταις (N13)	< upra- (as per above, §5.2)
Ουρζες (N34 [2x], cf. also Ατουρζˀε (N33))	< urazza- 'greatest' (suggested here, for this meaning see Yakubovich 2013, esp. 160–161)
Πιγερ-δοταρις	< *piḫra- (as per above, §5.2)

6. Conclusions

1. There is no evidence for a specific connection with Hieroglyphic Luwian (*contra* Starke). Although most of the features could be explained as late, secondary developments from Hieroglyphic Luwian, the non-lenited consonant in the suffix -ti- argues against it, not to mention the geographic distance.

2. Nothing supports that Pisidian has anything special to do with Sidetic (*contra* Neumann), thus the remark of Livius seems to have a different background. The only assured shared feature is the loss of final -s, but this happens in Milyan and Carian as well.

3. It is probable that Pisidian belongs to the Luwic subgroup (as was already suggested by Zgusta). Nevertheless, lacking enough evidence about the morphology of Pisidian, this is based only on its clear Luwic vocabulary, more precisely, on the Pisidian names that originate in Luwic vocabulary.[24]

4. There are two possibilities regarding its position within the Luwic languages:

a) a member of the Carian — Lycian — Milyan — Pisidian dialect continuum, where the fine differences could be exemplified by the different reflexes of the genitive ending as well as those of the laryngeals;

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[23] Note that Ουα (42) is a *Lallname* "Wa" (with Brixhe — Özsait 2001: 169) and not the Luwian word *wawa/i-* 'cow' (*contra* Lebrun 2012: 360). A full analysis of the entire Pisidian onomastic material is still a desideratum.

[24] In other words, there is still a theoretical possibility that the underlying language is not Luwic or not Anatolian or not even Indo-European that was later culturally or linguistically Luwicized (in the former case these names would show only the emulation of the Luwic culture and not the underlying language, in the latter case the names would represent only a borrowed vocabulary). Nevertheless, a non-Indo-European language is not expected in Pisidia in the first centuries AD. As a non-Anatolian language only Phrygian could be assumed, but this is morphologically not possible, since the Phrygian genitives are quite different. Thus the only real alternative is a non-Luwic Anatolian language.

b) considering that practically all features are identical to those of Milyan, one may entertain the idea that Pisidian is a late successor of Milyan and both differences (the rise of the epenthetic vowels in *ouper-* and *piger-*, and *-nt- > -d-*) are only due to a later development in Pisidian.

Lacking substantial Pisidian material it is obviously impossible to choose between the alternatives and prudence dictates to opt for the dialect continuum. One can only hope that the recently found longer Pisidian texts will improve the understanding of the position of Pisidian among the Anatolian languages.

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Жолт Шимон. О некоторых проблемах писидийского языка и о его месте среди других анатолийских языков

В статье рассмотрены три проблемы писидийского языка и их влияние на определение положения писидийского внутри анатолийских языков. Эти проблемы таковы: происхождение личного имени Γδεβετις (род. падеж) и связанных с ним имен; происхождение личного имени Μουσητα; вопрос о том, засвидетельствован ли в писидийском дательный падеж. Автор полагает, что писидийский — лувический язык, но не потомок иероглифического лувийского, а либо часть карийско-ликийско-милийского диалектного континуума, либо поздняя форма милийского.

Ключевые слова: писидийский язык, лувические языки, иероглифический лувийский, милийский язык, имена собственные.

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Über luw./heth. ᵈ*Mar(ku)waya-* 'Dunkle Gottheit(en), Unterweltgottheit(en)' und ai. *mr̥gá-* 'Wildtier' als Reflexe schamanistischer idg. Vorstellungen

The theonyms Luwian ᵈ*Marwaya-* / Hittite ᵈ*Markuwaya-* 'Dark Deities, Deities of the Netherworld' are compared with Old Indian *mr̥gá-* 'wild beast'. For both linguistic traditions an Indo-European etymology is proposed as **m(e)r-gᵘ(h₂)-ó-* 'walking in obscurity' or 'going to disappearance'. The proposal is checked with the parallel of IE **su̯eh₂l-gᵘ(h₂)-ó-* > OInd. *svargá* 'heaven' as part of an ancient Indo-European poetic / cosmological contrast.

Keywords: Luwian, Hittite, Old Indian (Vedic), Indo-European, Poetic Language, Etymology.

Der vorliegende Beitrag[1] stellt ein Versuch zur etymologischen Deutung des Theonyms Luw. ᵈ*Marwaya-* / heth. ᵈ*Markuwaya-* 'Dunkle Gottheit(en), Unverweltgottheit(en)' dar. Unserer Vorschlag kombiniert sowohl die linguistische und die anthropologisch-religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven.

1. Luw. ᵈ*Marwaya-* / heth. ᵈ*Markuwaya-* 'Dunkle Gottheit(en), Unterweltgottheit(en)': Belege und Bestimmung[2]

Die Belegstelle des betreffenden Theonym ist doch nicht sehr unfangreich. Wir finden es in folgenden Stellen:

Keilschriftluwisch:
N.Pl.C. *mar-u̯a-a-in-zi* KUB 54.65 ii 11'.
D-L.Pl. ᵈ*mar-u̯a-i̯a-an-za* KUB 24.9 ii 27' (+ dupl. 24.11 ii 8'); Ritual der Malli gegen Behexung; cf. Melchert, *CLL* (1993: 142); Tischler, *HEG* 5–6, L-M (1990: 152 f.).

Hethitisch:
Dat.Pl. ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ·ᴹᴱˢ*Mar-ku-u̯a-i̯a-*[*aš* KUB 54.78 Rs. 6.
(Dat.Pl.?) ᵈ*Mar-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš* KUB 7.38 Vs. 6; cf. Tischler, *HEG* 5–6, L-M (1990: 139).

Hieroglyphenluwisch:
Nom.Pl. (DEUS)*mara/i-wa/i-i-zi-i* KULULU 2, C 1 § 6; Hawkins, *CHLI* (2000: 487–488, Plate 272); zur neuen Transliteration, vgl. Hawkins (2004); cf. *Luwian Corpus* (07.03.2016, 16:55).
Nom.Sg. Adj. ("DEUS")*ma-ru-wá/í-wá/i-ni-sa* KAYSERİ § 8; *CHLI* 472–475 (Plates 262–263); cf. Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* (2008: 562), s.v. *maru̯āi-* 'to blacken' (?).

Betrachten wir jetzt einige der wichtigsten bzw. bedeutendsten Textbelege des Terminus:

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[1] Im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes FFI2015-68467-C2-C-P, AEI/FEDER, UE verfasst.

[2] Belege: vgl. van Gessel (1998: 299–300) und Haas (1994: 468).

(1) KUB 54.65 ii 9'-13' (+ KUB 7.54 iii 2–9) (Hethitisch):

(9') *nu-za a-da-an-zi nu* EN.SISKUR *a-ku-u̯a-a*[*n-na* ...] (= A iii 2) / (10') *nu* ᵈ*I-i̯a-ar-ri-in* 3-*ŠÚ e-ku-uz*[*-zi* ...] (= A 3–4) / (11') (no § in B) *ŠA* ᵈ*I-i̯a-ar-ri* ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ.ᴹᴱˢ*mar-u̯a-a-in-zi* (var. [*ŠA* ᵈ*I-i̯a-a*]*r-ri* ᵈ7.7.BI) [x-*ŠU e-ku-zi*] (= A 5–6) / (12') EGIR-*an-ta-ma nam-ma* ᵈ*I-i̯a-ar-ri-in* 1-*ŠU* [...] / [...] x.UD *ekuzi* (= A 7–9)

"They eat. The client [requests (?)] something to drink. He drinks (to) ᵈYarri three times. [He drinks (?) (to)] the *marwai*-gods of Yarri (var.: the Heptad of Yarri)] […] times. And Afterwards [he drinks (?) (to)] Yarri once more. He drinks (to) […]" (Güterbock & Hoffner, *CHD* L-N, 1980: 201).

Vgl. die Übersetzung der Zeile 11 bei Tischler, *HEG* (1990: 152): 'trinkt den *m.*-Göttern des Yarri x-mal'; mit weiterer Bibliographie (*ibidem*, 152 f.).

(2) Tabal, KULULU 2 (Hieroglyphenluwisch):

(§ 5a) ("SA₄")*sa-ni-ti-pa-wa/i-mu-u* ¦HWI-*sà-*´ (b) *ni-pa-wa/i-sa* ¦MAGNUS+*ra/i-za-sa* (c) *ni-pa-wa/i-sa* ¦¦ [x-x]-*sa-ti-sa* (d) *ni-pa-wa/i-sa* ¦HWI-*sà-pa* ¦[*HWIʔ*]-*sà-*´ ¦CAPUT-*ti-sà* (§ 6) ¦*wa/i-ru-ta* ¦(DEUS)*sà-ta-si-i-zi* ¦¦ ¦(DEUS)*paʔ+ra/i-wa/i-i-i-zi-i* ¦("*256")*tà-sá-za* ¦*a-ta* ¦"CRUS"-*tu* (§ 7) ¦*wa/i-ru-ta* ¦¦ ¦*á-pa-sá-*´ ¦("SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM") *sa-s*[*a*]*-za-*´ ¦*tu-wa/i-tu-u* ¦*á-pa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ni-i*

"(He) who shall disturb me, whether he (be) a great man, or he (be) a [little?] man, or whatsoever man he (be), for him may Santa's *marwainzi*-gods attack the memorial, and for him may they set their seal on his house!" (Transkription und Übersetzung nach Hawkins 2000: 488).

1. d ¦*ni-pa-wa/i-sa* ¦*hwa/i-sà-pa* ¦‹*hwa/i?*›-*sà-*' ¦CAPUT-*ti-sà*

C 1 § 6 ¦*wa/i-ru-ta* ¦(DEUS)*sà-ta-si-i-zi* ¦¦ {¦(DEUS)*mara/i-wa/i-*

i-zi-i} ¦"*256"-*tà-sá-za* ¦*a-ta* ¦"CRUS"-*tu*

2 § 7 ¦*wa/i-ru-ta* ¦¦ ¦*á-pa-sá-*' ¦("SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM")

sa-s[*a*]*-za-*' ¦*tu-wa/i-tu-u* ¦*á-pa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ni-i*

(Transkription desselben Stückes nach dem *Luwian Corpus*[3], nachgeschlagen am 07.03.2016).

Nicht sicher zu deuten — aber wahrscheinlich doch eine Ableitung des *Marwaya*-Theonym — ist die folgende adjektivische Bildung ("DEUS") *marwawani-*:

(3) Tabal, KAYSERI (Hieroglyphenluwisch):

(§ 6) [*ní-pa*]-*wá/i* [... (B) / (§ 7) [...] ¦(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-z*[*a*]-*sa₄* ¦*á-pa-sa₄-ri+i* ¦ASCIA(-) *na-pa-*[*ri+*]*i* (C) ¦("*273")*tu-pi-ti-í* / (§ 8) ¦("DEUS")*ma-ru-wá/í-wá/í-ni-sa-pa-wá/í-tu-ta* ("DEUS")*ni-ka-*[…*-s*]*a*[… (D) …]x-*ru* / 4. (§ 9) ¦*wá/í-tu-u* [… ¦¦ …] / (§ 10) *í-sà-tara/i-la-ti-pa-wá/í-tu-wa/i-t*[*a* … (C) …] / (§ 11) *wá/í-tá-*´ ¦(DEUS)*ku+*AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-*´ ¦POST-*na* ¦FORTIS-*wa/i-i* / (§ 12) ¦*á-ta*(B)-*há-s*[*i-zi*]-*pa-wá/í-na* ¦DEUS-*ni-zi-*´ ¦*á-ta-*[…]-*i-zi* (A) [*AR*]HA-´ ¦*á-tà*‹-*tu*›-*u*

"or(?) … / [him] Tarhunzas shall smite with his axe, / for him may Maruwa-ean Nika[ruha]s […], / and for him […] […], / and for him they [shall come up(?)] from their throne, / [and him] Kubaba shall attack behind, / and him may the gods of the ATAHA-, the … (ones), eat up." (Transkription und Übersetzung nach Hawkins 2000: 473).

Zur Bestimmung des Wesens der *Mar(k)uwa̯ia*-Gottheiten als "Gottheiten in der Tiefe der Erde" spielt wahrscheinlich der obengenannte *Ritual der Malli gegen Behexung* (KUB 24.9) eine bedeutende Rolle, indem diese Gottheiten als in der Tiefe der Erde wohnend beschrieben werden.[4]

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[3] web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/ (Stand am November 2016).

[4] Vgl. Tischler, *HED* (1990: 152): "Dem Nom. (funktionell Akk.) Pl. *mar-u̯a-a-in-zi* entspricht nämlich ein Dat. Pl. (vergöttlicht) *mar-u̯a-i̯a-an-za* im Ritual der Malli gegen Behexung. Dort (KUB 29.9 ii 27') bricht die weise Frau Brot für diese Gottheiten, die – wie aus dem Kontext hervorgeht – in der Tiefe der Erde hausen: 1 NINDA.SIG *A-NA* ᵈ*Mar-u̯a-i̯a-an*<-*za*> (Dupl. 11 ii 8' ᵈ*Mar-u̯a-i̯a-an-za*) *pár-ši-i̯a* ...".

2. Altindisch *mr̥gá-* 'Wildtier' als idg. **m(e)r-gᵘ(h₂)-ó-* 'Dunkelheit-läufer'
oder 'der in das Schwinden gehende'. Kontrast mit **su̯eh₂l-gᵘ(h₂)-ó- > svar-gá-* 'Himmel'

Anderswo haben wir vor kurzem[5] eine neue etymologische Deutung zu Altindisch *mr̥gá-* (m.) 'Wildtier, Wild, im Wald lebendes Tier, Antilope, u.a.' (RV+) vorgeschlagen, ein Wort der, samt der bedeutenden Ableitung *mārga-* m. 'Weg, Pfad, Fährte, Methode' (RV-Kh.+) — wohl ursprünglich *'Wildpfad' — eine betrachtende Rolle in der vedischen und sanskritischen Tradition gespielt hat. Nach dem Wörterbuch von M. Mayrhofer[6] ist das Wort noch etymologisch unerklärt. Trotzdem, wir sind der Meinung, daß verschiedene Belege des Wortes im R̥gveda[7] eine neue Etymologie erlauben. Einige der wichtigsten wären die Folgende:

(4) RV 1.38.5:

mā́ vo mr̥gó ná yávase / jaritā́ bhūd ájoṣyⁱaḥ / pathā́ yamásya gād úpa

"Verhüte, daß euer Sänger unwillkommen wird / wie ein *wildes Tier* auf der Weide, / daß er auf dem *Pfade Yamas* hin wandelt." (Witzel & Gotō 2007: 74)

"Let your singer (, o Maruts,) not be displeasing to you, like a *wild animal* in a pasture, and let him not go along the *path of Yama*." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 146)

(5) RV 1.105.7:

aháṃ só asmi yáḥ purā́ / suté vádāmi kā́ni cit / tám mā viyanti ādhíyo / vŕ̥ko ná tr̥ṣṇájam mr̥gáṃ / vittám me asyá rodasī

"Ich bin der, der früher / über den ausgespreßten (Soma) dies und jenes redete. / Diesen, mich, verfolgen die Sorgen / wie ein Wolf das durstige *Wild*. / — Wisset von mir in dieser Lage, ihr beiden *Weltflächen*!" (Witzel & Gotō 2007: 186)

"I am one who used (always) to speak some (speeches) at the pressing. But cares (now) pursue this same me, like a wolf a thirsting *wild beast*. — Take heed of this (speech) of mine, you two *world-halves*." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 251)

(6) RV 1.190.4:

asyá ślóko divî̄yate pr̥thivyā́m / átyo ná yaṃsad yakṣabhŕ̥d vícetāḥ / mr̥gā́ṇāṃ ná hetáyo yánti cemā́ / bŕ̥haspáter áhimāyāṁ abhí dyū́n

"Sein Ruhm zieht am Himmel, auf der Erde dahin. / Wie ein Rennpferd soll der genau Bewußte, der die Wundererscheinung trägt, soll ihn (den Ruhm) lenken, / wenn diese Geschosse des Br̥haspati, wie (die Geschosse) *für Wildtiere*, / auf die *Himmel(swelten)* gehen, wo die erstaunliche Fähigkeit der Schlangen ist." (Witzel & Gotō 2007: 344)

"When his signal-call speeds in heaven and on earth like a steed, the discriminating one [= Br̥haspati?], bringing wondrous apparitions, will control it, like a steed— / as also when these missiles [= words] of Br̥haspati, like the charges *of wild beasts*, go to the *heavens* that possess serpentine wiles." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 396)

(7) RV 7.87.6:

áva síndhuṃ váruṇo dyaúr iva sthād / drapsó na śvetó mr̥gás túviṣmān / gambhīráśaṃso rájaso vimā́naḥ / supārákṣatraḥ sató asyá rā́jā

"Varuṇa steigt hinab in das Meer wie der Tag, wie der weiße Tropfen, das kraftvolle *Tier*. In tiefen Worten (gepriessen), *über den Raum erhaben*, führt der König alles dessen, was ist, seine Herrschaft zu gutem Ende." (Geldner 1951: II 259)

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[5] García Trabazo 2016; vgl. auch García Trabazo 2016a.

[6] Mi., nu., dard., ni., pā. *maga-* 'deer' (schon RV °*maga*° 'deer' […], *magga-* m. Pfad, Weg, usw. […]. - Iir., jav. *mərəγa-* m. […], np. *murγ*, oss. *marǧ* u.a. 'Vogel', waxi *mεrg* f. 'female ibex' [...]. Der Ursprung von iir. **mr̥gá-* '(wildes) Tier' ist unklar. [...] Hierher der Dämonenname *mŕ̥gaya-* (RV 4.16.13; 8.3.19; 10.49.5)? Unklar RV 2.38.7 *mr̥gayás-* [...] (Mayrhofer, *EWAia*, 1992–2001: II 370 f.).

[7] Text des RV gemäß der metrischen Ausgabe von van Nooten & Holland 1994.

"Like heaven, Varuṇa has descended to the river — he, the powerful *wild animal*, like the bright drop; he of deep recitation, *who takes the measure of the airy space*; he the king of what is, whose lordship offers good passage." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 994)

(8) RV 10.180.2ab:

mr̥gó ná bhīmáḥ kucaró giriṣṭhāḥ / parāváta ā́ jaganthā párasyāḥ

"Im Gebirge hausend wie das furchtbare umherschweifende *wilde Tier*, bist du *aus fernster Ferne* gekommen." (Geldner 1951: III 400)

"Like a fearsome *wild beast*, living in the mountains and roaming wherever it wants, you (, Indra,) have come here *from the farther distance*." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1655)

(9) RV 5.29.4:

ā́d ródasī vitaráṃ ví ṣkabhāyat / saṃvivyānáś cid bhiyáse mr̥gáṃ kaḥ / jígartim índro apajárgurāṇaḥ práti śvaśántam áva dānavaṃ han

"Darauf stemmte er ja *Himmel und Erde* noch weiter auseinander / (und) versetzte, sogar verhüllt, *die Bestie* in Furcht. / Während Indra den Vielfraß wiederholt mit Spott traktierte, / schlug er gegen den schnaubenden Dānava zu und streckte ihn nieder." (Witzel, Gotō & Scarlata 2013: 248)

"After that he propped *the two world-halves* wide apart; even while enwrapped, he set the *wild beast* [= the serpent] to fearing. / Repeatedly taunting the gulper, Indra smashed the snorting Dānava back and down." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 691)

(10) RV 1.145.5ab:

sá īm mr̥gó ápⁱyo vanargúr / upa tvací upamásyāṃ ní dhāyi

"Er, das in den Wassern wohnende *Wildtier*, der Waldgänger, / wird *auf die oberste Haut (der Erde)* niedergesetzt." (Witzel & Gotō 2007: 272)

"This *wild beast* of the waters that roams in the woods (= Agni) has been installed *upon the uppermost skin*." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 322)

Noch eine Bedeutung von *mr̥gá-*, gleich der Mehrheit der iranischen Belege (vgl. avestisch *mərəγa-*), ist "Vogel" (*wild bird*):

(11) RV 9.32.4:

ubhé somāvacākaśan / mr̥gó ná taktó arṣasi / sī́dann r̥tásya yónim ā́

"*Auf beide* schauend rinnst (rennst) du, Soma, flüchtig wie ein *Wild*, dich in den Schoß der (Opfer)ordnung setzend." (Geldner 1951: III 29)

"O Soma, looking down *on both (worlds?)*, like a great *wild bird* launched in flight you rush, / settling down on the womb of truth." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1263)

(12) RV 10.136.6:

apsarásāṃ gandharvā́ṇām / mr̥gā́ṇāṃ cáraṇe cáran / keśī́ kétasya vidvān / sákhā svādúr madíntamaḥ

"*Auf der Fährte der Apsaras', der Gandharven, *der wilden Tiere* wandelnd*, die Gedanken verstehend, ist der Langhaarige ihr süßer, gar entzückender Freund." (Geldner 1951: III 370)

"*Ranging in the range of the Apsarases and the Gandharvas, *of the wild birds*,* / the long-haired one is their sweet, most exhilarating comrade, who knows their will." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1622)

Aus den vorhergehenden Belegen wird möglich etwa vier verschiedene Bedeutungsnuancen von *mr̥gá-* zu unterscheiden:

1. Das *neutrale Wert* von "**Tier**" oder "**Wildtier**" (Texte 4–8)
2. Referenz zur "Schlange" **Vr̥tra** (Text 9)
3. Referenz zu **Agni**, das Feuer (Text 10)
4. Die Bedeutung (Wild-) "**Vogel**" (Texte 11–12).

Um eine Grundbedeutung hinter solchen semantischen Vielfalt zu gewinnen, könnte ein Vergleich mit der Anatolischen Tradition nützlich sein. Und gerade der heth. Text des 'Großen Weges der Seele' (CTH 457)[8] bietet, unserer Meinung nach, wichtige vergleichbare Elemente, sowohl inhaltlich als sprachwissenschaftlich. Zuerst, die *liminarische* Funktion oder 'Brücker-funktion', die von den Tieren übernommen wird: die Biene, der Adler, der Ziegenbock, der Widder sind "schamanistische" und "numinose" Tiere, die die Seele in seiner Jenseitsreise begleiten. Und zweitens, die Bestimmung des 'Weges der Seele' im selben Text als "der Weg der die Sachen verschwinden läßt" (*the road that makes things disappear*):

(13) KUB 43.60+ i 26–30:

[Z]I-*an-za-ṷa-kán* ZI-*an-za-ṷa-*[*k*]*án u-ri-iš* (27) *ku-el-ṷa-kán* ZI-*an-za u-ri-iš da-an-du-ki-eš-*[*n*]*a-aš-kán* (28) ZI-*an-za u-ri-iš nu ku-in* KASKAL-*an ḫar-zi* (29) *u-ra-an* KASKAL-*an ḫar-zi mar-nu-ṷa-la-an* KASKAL-*an ḫar-zi* (30) *ša-an-za-pa* KASKAL-*ši* LÚ.KASKAL-*la-aš ḫa-an-da-a-it*

"«The soul is great! The soul is great!» (27) «Whose soul is great?» «The mortal's (28) soul is great!». «What road does it have?» (29) "It has the great road. It has the road that makes things disappear." (30) The man of the road (psychopompos?) has got it ready for the road." (Archi 2008: 172 f.)

Somit ist es doch möglich, wie schon allgemein anerkannt, heth. *mar-nu-ṷa-la-an* KASKAL-*an* (KASKAL-*an* = *palšan) als "Weg des Verschwindens" zu verstehen.[9] Der Epithet *marnuṷala-* wird aus dem Verb *marnu- / mernu-* 'verschwinden lassen' hergeleitet, seinerseits das Kausativum von *mer- / mar-* 'verschwinden; vernichten; sterben' (lat. *morior* usw.). Die Parallelen mit den r̥gvedischen Belegen für *mr̥gá-* (Texte 4–12), wie gesagt, sind nicht gering, vor allem wenn wir die Kontexte in Betrachtung ziehen. In den obengenannten Passagen erscheinen *zwischen Sternchen* die Wörter bzw. die Zusammenhänge die erlauben den Terminus *mr̥gá-* auch in Beziehung mit einer sakralen oder transzendenten (vielleicht sogar 'schamanistischen') Konzeption zu erfassen. Eine idg. Etymologie für altindisch *mr̥gá-* 'Wildtier' scheint also möglich — da die älteste Bedeutung der Wurzel **mer-*[10] anscheinend 'verschwinden

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[8] KUB 43.60+. Bearbeitungen bei Watkins (1995: 284-287) und zuletzt bei Archi (2008: 172-174), aus dem die folgende schlicht modifizierte Umschrift und Übersetzung stammen: (1) [x-x-x-x-*a*]*z* GUD-*uš šu-up-pa-at-ta* UDU-*uš* / (2) [*šu-up-pa-a*]*t-ta ne-pí-iš šu-up-pa-at-t*[*a*] (3) [KI-*aš*ˀ *šu-up-pa-a*]*t-ta ul-la-a-pa ka-da-an-ki* (4) [x-x ᵈ]*a-an-du-ki-iš* ZI-*an-za* (5) [*ku-ṷa-pí-i*]*it-še-pa ú-it-ta* ḪUR.SAG-*i-ku-ṷa-at-ša-an* (6) [NI]M.LÀL-*at ú-da*ᵎ*-ú ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ù* (7) [*ták-š*]*a-an-ni-ku*ᵎ*-ṷa-<at->ša-an* NIM.LÀL-*at da-a-ù* (8) [*na-*]*at pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ù ku-i-ta* (9) [*te-r*]*i-ip-pí-az-ma na-at* NIM.LÀLᴹᴱˢ *ú-da-an-du* (10) [*na-*]*at pí-di-iš-ši ti-an-du* NIM.LÀL *te-ri-i̯a-aš* UD-*aš* (11) *mi-i-ú-ṷa<-aš>* UD-*aš* KASKAL-*an pa-a-an-du na-pa i-i̯a-tar-mi-it* (12) *ú-da-an-du ták-ku a-ru-na-az-ma na-at la-ḫa-an-za* (13) *ú-da-ú na-at-ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú* (14) *ták-ku* ÍD-*az-ma na-at ḫu-ṷa-la-aš ú-da-ú* (15) *na-at-ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú* § (16) *ku-i-ta na-pí-ša-az-ma na-at ta-pa-ka-li-i̯a<-aš>* (17) *ḫa-ra-aš*ᴹᵁˢᴱᴺ *kad*ᵎ*-du-ud ú-da-ú i-la-li-an-za kad-du-uš-mi-it* (18) *ṷa-al-ḫa-an-za e-eš-du* MÁŠ.GAL-*ša-an ša-ap-pu-it* (19) *ṷa-al-aḫ-du* UDU.NITA-*an* SIᴴᴵ·ᴬ-*an-da ṷa-al-aḫ-du* (20) *an-na-ša-an* UDU-*uš ti-it-ti-it-te-it ṷa-al-aḫ-du* (1) "[…]. the ox is sleeping. The sheep (2) [is sleep]ing. Heaven is sleeping. (3) [Earth is sleep]ing … (4) […] the mortal soul (i.e. the soul of the mortal). (5) [Wher]e did it come for it? (If) it is on the mountain, (6) let the bee bring it and put it in its place. (7) (If) it is on the plain, let the bee bring it (8) and put it in its place. What is (9) from the ploughed field, let the bees bring it (10) and put it in its place. Let the bee(s) go a journey of three days, (11) of four days, and let them bring my plenty. (12) If it is from the sea, let the (migratory) *lahanza*-duck (13) bring it and put in its place. (14) But if it is from the river, let the swan(?) bring it (15) and put it in its place. § (16) But whatever is from the sky, let the hare-grabbing(?) (17) eagle bring in (his) offenses (i.e. talons). Let the desired one be (18) struck with their offenses (i.e. talons). Let the he-goat strike her (19) with his *sappu*-horns. Let the ram strike her with his horns. (20) Let the mother-sheep strike her with her nose."

[9] Vgl. Kloekhorst (2008: 577 f.): *marnuṷala-* (adj.) 'to make disappear'. Nach Kloekhorst (*ibidem* 578) ist der Verbalstamm wahrscheinlich auch in hluv. ᴰᴱᴸᴱᴿᴱ*m*[*a*ₓ]+*ra/i-nu-w*[*a/i-* ...] (KARKAMIŠ A28g 1. 2.) bewahrt, zu interpretieren als die phonetische Schreibung von DELERE-*nuṷa-* 'to cause to disappear, to destroy'.

[10] Pokorny, *IEW* (³1994: I 735); Rix, *LIV* (2001: 439 f.); Wodtko & alii, *NIL* (2008: 488-491).

(> sterben)' ist — und als ein (thematisiertes) Rektionskompositum *$m̥$-$g^u(h_2)$-$ó$- 'der in der Dunkelheit läuft'[11] zu verstehen, seinerseits aus einem möglichen Wurzelkompositum *$m(e/o)r$-$g^u(e)h_2$- 'der Weg des Verschwindens', 'Jenseitsweg', 'dunkler Weg', *'Wildpfad' (vgl. *mārga-* 'Weg, Pfad, Fährte, Methode') hergeleitet.[12]

3. Luw. ᵈ*Marwaya-* / heth. ᵈ*Markuwaya-* 'Dunkle Gottheit(en), Unterweltgottheit(en)' als mögliche weitere Vertretung von idg. *$m(e)r$-$g^u(h_2)$-$ó$-?

Eine auffällige Parallelbildung zu *mr̥gá-* wäre das Wort *svargá-* (*suvar°*) m. 'Himmel' (RV [10.95.18]+), *svargá-* (AV+), *svargyà-* (YV+) 'himmlisch'; als *svar-gá-* 'zum Sonnenlicht gehend; das Gelangen zur Sonne'[13] mit *svàr-* n. 'Sonne, Sonnenlicht, heiterer Himmel' (idg. *$séh_2u̯l$- / *$sh_2u̯éns$*: vgl. lat. *sōl*, got. *sunno*, aks. *slъnьce* usw. 'Sonne') + *gā-*[1] (*gam-*?) 'gehen'.[14] Sowohl *mr̥gá-* 'Wildtier' als *svargá-* 'Himmel' wären also alte (thematisierte) Wurzelkomposita mit *-$g^u(h_2)$-$ó$- als Hinterglied[15]; seinerseits aus *g^ueh_2- 'den Fuß aufsetzen, treten' (*LIV* 205, *NIL* 174–175, *IEW* 463 ff.).

Vor kurzem wurde auch möglich eine wichtige griechische Parallelbildung zu diesen kosmologischen Dualismus (Hell vs. Dunkel)[16] hinzufügen. Und nämlich nach der von Alexander Nikolaiev[17] vorgeschlagenen Etymologie wäre Hom. ἀάατος als *$n̥$-seh_2-$u̯n̥t$-o- 'not having sun(light)' zu verstehen:

(14) *Ilias* Ξ 271 (West):
ἄγρει νῦν μοι ὄμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ
"come on (and) swear to me now by the ἀάατο- waters of the Styx"

Das Wort erscheint als Epitheton des Wassers der Styx: "the practice of swearing by the waters of the Netherworld is likely to be inherited: we find it [also] in Vedic India and in the *Poetic Edda*".[18]

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[11] Die angesetzte Bedeutungen 'Dunkelheit-läufer', 'in das Schwinden gehendes (Wesen)', 'in Jenseits gehendes (Wesen)' sind zu verstehen als Versuche oder Annäherungen zu einem 'schamanistischen' oder 'liminarischen' Begriff, und waren nicht – wie die breite Verwendbarkeit von *mr̥gá-* im Veda nahelegt – zur Bezeichnung des 'Wildtieres' oder 'Antilope' beschränkt.

[12] Wobei das Vorderglied als ein Wurzelnomen *mer-/*mor-/*$m̥r$- zu begreifen wäre; wahrscheinlicher vielleicht *$m(o)r$-, etwa wie in *$m(o)r$-d^hh_1-$ó$- 'todbringend' > lat. *morbus* 'Krankheit' (Bammesberger *apud* Wodtko & alii 2008: 491). In der späteren Literatur findet man noch ab und zu weitere Belege die relevant für die Diskussion sein könnten; z.B., ai. (klass.) *mr̥ga-jala-* n., 'deer-water' → 'mirage'; *mr̥ga-tr̥ṣ-* (usw.) 'deer-thirst' → 'mirage, Fata Morgana' werden vielleicht verständlicher unter Aufnahme des Begriffes des 'Schwindens'.

[13] Janda 2005: 258–285.

[14] Vergleich mit gr. ἠλίβατος 'steil, schroff' bei Meier-Brügger 1994: 226.

[15] Vgl. Scarlata 1999: 107f.

[16] Vgl. auch Janda (2005: 275–278): aav. *xᵛarənå* Y 51.18, jav. *xᵛarənah-* (Yašt 19). [Der Zamyād-Yašt] unterscheidet zwei Formen des *xᵛarənah-*, welches "a half-personified light phenomenon of heavenly origin, a sort of halo or nimbus" […] bezeichnet. [...] Der Anlaut *xᵛ-* der avestischen Form kann lautgesetzlich [...] aus uriir. *$su̯$-* entstanden sein; [...] Die [...] wahrscheinlichste Deutung hat schon Skjærvø (1983) aufgezeigt: In urir. *$hu̯arnah-$* [...] fand eine Dissimilation *$hu̯$ > f* zu *farnah-* [...] statt" (obwohl die Entwicklung *xᵛ > f* wird heutzutage als spezifische Neuerung des "Medischen" Dialekt betrachtet). Zu av. *xᵛarənah-* ist natürlich Lubotsky (1998) erwähnenswert. Das uriir. Transponat ist also gemäß Janda (2005: 276) als *$su̯ar-nas-$* anzusetzen (< idg. *-nes- 'davonkommen, unbeschadet heimkehren', *LIV* 454 f.): Das "Davonkommen" überwindet Tod und Krankheiten (nhd. *ge-nesen*), zielt auf Rettung und Erlösung und führt zum Licht (*$s[h_2]u̯ol-$*). Auch nach Janda (2005: 257-286), sowohl ὄλβος 'Segen, Fülle, Glück, Wohlstand, Wohlergehen, Gedeihen' als die Ableitung ὄλβιος 'gesegnet, begütert, glücklich' wären Reflexe eines *$su̯ol$-$g^u(h_2)$-o-.

[17] Nikolaiev 2012/13.

[18] Nikolaiev 2012/13: 196.

Als formulares / kontrastives Element wäre also möglich, luw. ᵈ*Maruai̯a-* / heth. ᵈ*Mar-kuu̯ai̯a-*[19] 'Dunkle Gottheit(en), Unterweltgottheit(en)' als eine weitere Vertretung der verbalen Basis **mer-* / **mor-* 'verschwinden (→ sterben)', entweder als von idg. **merg^u-* 'dark' (zu vergleichen mit an. *myrkr* 'dark', *mjǫrkvi* 'darkness', asächs. *mirki*, ae. *mierce* 'dark')[20]; oder tatsächlich — parallel zu altindisch *mr̥gá-* — auch aus idg. **m(e)r-g^u(h₂)-ó-*, etwa 'die aus der Dunkelheit kommende (Gottheiten)'.

Zu vergleichen wäre auch das — wahrscheinlich verwandte — luwische Verb :*maruu̯ai-*, ein ἅπαξ λεγόμενον unbekannter Bedeutung, aber interessanterweise auch in einem liminarischen Kontext verwendet:

(15) KBo 6.29 ii 10–13:

nu-mu ᵈ*IŠTAR* ᵁᴿᵁ*Ša-mu-ḫa* GAŠAN-*I̯A* (11) *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta nu ša-ra-az-zi* (12) *kat-te-ir-ra-i̯a an-da* :*ma-ru-u̯a-a-it nu ne-pí-iš* (13) *te-kán-na kat-kat-te-nu-ut*

"und Ištar, meine Herrin kam mir zu Hilfe, sie *vermengte* (*durcheinander*) / *trennte* (?) Oben und Unten, sie ließ *Himmel und Erde* niederknien" (Tischler, *HEG* II/5–6 L-M, 1990: 151).

Beide mögliche etymologische Lösungen für anat. ᵈ*Mar(k)uwai̯a-* — entweder **merg^u-* 'dark' oder **m(e)r-g^u(h₂)-ó-* — stellen m.E. eine mögliche Verknüpfung mit den alten prähistorischen schamanistischen Vorstellungen dar.

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[19] Zur Deutung der morphologischen Derivation wäre nützlicher ein Stammauslaut -*ai̯*- anzusetzen, etwa wie Kloekhorst, (2008: 560): "C[uneiform] Luw[ian] ᵈ*Maru̯ai-*", oder (*ibid.* 563) "If Luw. ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ·ᴹᴱˢ*Maru̯āinzi* and Hitt. ᵈ*Markuu̯ai̯a-* are really cognate, we have to reconstruct a P[roto] Anat[olian] form **marg^uai-*". Der angebliche vokalische Stammauslaut im heth. ᵈ*Markuu̯ai̯a-* hat eigentlich keinen sicheren Grund, da die Belege wahrscheinlich nur Dat.Pl. auf -*aš* sind. Es handelt sich also um das gemeinanatolische *ai*-Suffix (vgl. Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 54, 92).

[20] Kloekhorst (2008: 562 f.), s.v. *maru̯ai-*.

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Хосе Верхилио Гарсиа Травасо. Хетто-лувийские ᵈ*Mar(ku)waya-* ʿТемные божества, божества подземного мираʾ и древнеиндийское *mr̥gá-* 'дикий зверь' как отражения индоевропейских шаманистических представлений

Лувийский и хеттский теонимы, соответственно ᵈ*Marwaya* и ᵈ*Markuwaya*, «Темные божества, божества подземного мира» сравниваются с древнеиндийским *mr̥gá-* 'дикий зверь'. Для обеих лингвистических традиций предлагается индоевропейская этимология: от **m(e)r-gᵘ(h₂)-ó-* «Идущий во тьме» или «Идущий к исчезновению». Это предположение как часть индоевропейского поэтическо-космологического противопоставления проверяется параллелью **su̯eh₂l-gᵘ(h₂)-ó-* > др.-инд. *svargá* «небеса».

Ключевые слова: лувийский язык, хеттский язык, древнеиндийский язык, индоевропейские языки, язык поэзии, этимология.

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Λαβύρινθος and word-initial lambdacism in Anatolian Greek

The lexical pair formed by Mycenaean *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* and later Greek λαβύρινθος presents a contrast between Linear B *d* and alphabetical λ in a position where one would expect to find a similar sound represented. This orthographic inconsistency has been taken as a synchronic fluctuation between /d/ and /l/, both optimal adaptations of what is assumed to be a non-Greek (Minoan) sound in *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-*. In turn, it has been proposed that this "special" and wholly theoretical sound, which according to some suggestions was a coronal fricative, was behind the Linear A *d* series. Here it is argued that there is actually no evidence that /d/ and /l/ alternated synchronically in Mycenaean Greek, and that therefore the /l-/ of λαβύρινθος is more likely the result of a later shift. Starting from this premise, it is hypothesized that λαβύρινθος derives from a form closer to Mycenaean *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-*, an unattested *δαβύρινθος, that underwent a shift /d-/ > /l-/ in Southern or Western Anatolia. The proposed motivation is the influence of some local Anatolian language that prohibited /d/ word-initially. The same development is considered for λάφνη and λίσκος, which Hesychius glossed as Pergaean (Pamphylian) forms of standard Greek δάφνη 'sweet bay' and δίσκος 'discus, quoit', and possibly also for the Cimmerian personal name *Dugdammê*/Λύγδαμις. Of course, this hypothesis has implications for our perception of the Linear A *d* series and certain open questions that concern the Aegean-Cypriot syllabaries.

Keywords: λαβύρινθος; Mycenaean Greek; lambdacism; Anatolian; Lygdamis; Linear A

1. Linear B *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* , alphabetical Greek λαβύρινθος and the alleged /d/ ~ /l/ alternation in Mycenaean Greek

The pair formed by Linear B *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* and later Greek λαβύρινθος constitutes one of the most discussed sets of lexical items among Aegeanists.

The alphabetical form, λαβύρινθος, is first attested in the work of Herodotus (2.148), which dates from the 5th century BCE. It refers to a vast, partially underground mortuary complex located in Egypt, near the Lake Moeris. Later, the word appears in inscriptions from the temple of Apollo at Didyma, in Caria (ca. 218 BCE).[1] There, it designates two stairwells of the temple that consisted of a double flight of steps (Montegu 1976: 304). If not for their own winding, these architectural features may have been termed λαβύρινθος because their ceiling was carved with a meander pattern (Fontenrose 1988: 38, n. 15). Generally speaking, the word came to refer to "a large building consisting of numerous halls connected by intricate and tortuous passages" (Liddell and Scott 1940), and accordingly Hesychius glossed the word as κοχλιοειδὴς τόπος 'spiral place' (Latte 1956). We can assume that a general sense of 'sinuous architectural feature' was what led Herodotus to use λαβύρινθος to describe the Egyptian complex, whereas the stairwells at Didyma received this designation either because of their shape or decoration.

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[1] See inscriptions no. *Didyma* 84 and 86 (McCabe 1985).

The Linear B form was unveiled after the decipherment of the script in 1952. In the clay tablet KN Gg(1) 702 it is part of the phrase *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* 'to the Lady of *D*.' which registers the offering of a honey jar to a goddess named thus, alongside an identical gift 'to all the gods' (*pa-si-te-o-i*) (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 310). The same female divine name appears also in a more fragmentary text, KN Oa 745, and a broken form *da-pu-ri-to*[is attested in tablet KN Xd 140, most likely representing a variant spelling of *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* or a related form. Already Palmer (1955: 40) proposed to interpret *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* as *Λαβυρίνθοιο ποτνία(ι) 'Lady of Labyrinthos (dat.)'. In the Linear B tablets, the word *po-ti-ni-ja* /potnia/ 'mistress' is frequently preceded by an epithet and sometimes written as one word. When this is the case, the preceding word is thought to be usually a place name, or a noun in the genitive: *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (MY Oi 701) /Athānāi Potniāi/ 'Lady (of) Athānā (dat.)'; *e-re-wi-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (PY Vn 48.3), of uncertain meaning, but possibly with a place-name in the genitive; *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* (MY Oi 701) 'Lady of the Grain(s) (dat.)'; *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (PY Fn 187; Fr. 1225, 1236), again possibly with a toponym in the genitive (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 545, 574; Aura Jorro 1985: 160; Trümpy 2001). Therefore, *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* is interpreted as the genitive of a place called *da-pu₂-ri-to-*, closely comparable to λαβύρινθος.

What the word meant by Mycenaean times (ca. 1450–1200 BCE) and what this place was exactly remains a matter of debate, the most notable suggestions being 'palace sanctuary' (Evans 1921: 6)[2] and 'cultic cave, subterranean sanctuary' (Cagiano 1958: 48–52 and Faure 1964 apud Sarullo 2008; Montegu 1976: 304)[3]. Be it as it may, the problem that I would like to treat here is essentially phonological, not semantic. Since the 1950s, the indisputable equation of *da-pu₂-ri-to-* and λαβύρινθος has generated much discussion. The debate stems from the unexpected Linear B spelling of the initial sound of the word with *d*, which consistently represents /d/ in native Mycenaean Greek words, instead of the expected *r*, which transcribed both /r/ and the liquid /l/. The hypotheses that have been advanced to account for this inconsistency have ramifications for several open questions in Aegean and Anatolian studies, and this is the reason why they merit a reassessment.

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[2] Elsewhere (Valério 2007) I have argued for a connection between Linear B *da-pu₂-ri-to-* and the Linear A sequence *du-pu₂-re* (but cf. also Biligmeyer 1989). Linear A *du-pu₂-re* is attested as part of the compounded sequence (*j*)*a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re* in two inscribed stone libation vessels (PK Za 8 and 15) from the peak sanctuary at Petsophas (Palaikastro, Eastern Crete). In the Archaic period, the same site was home to the cult of Diktaian Zeus (in reference to the Mountain of Dikte, where according to later myths Zeus was born). Since the Linear B texts from Knossos mention a Cretan deity called *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* 'Diktaian Zeus' already in the Late Bronze Age, I suggested that Linear A (*j*)*a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re* signified 'Master of/from Dikte' in Minoan, and *du-pu₂-re* on its own 'master, ruler'. I also proposed, as a corollary, that a Minoan derivative of *du-pu₂-re*, plus a suffix */-ntʰ-/, was borrowed into Mycenaean Greek as *da-pu₂-ri-to-* 'royal place > palace'. This proposal, however, echoed certain speculations of Evans (1921: 6), following Mayer and Kretschmer's idea that λαβύρινθος was etymologically linked to Zeus of Labraunda, a Carian locality (Kretschmer 1896: 404). By evoking also the word λάβρυς 'axe' (according to Plutarch the supposed Lydian source of Labraunda), Evans identified the Labyrinth with the Bronze Age 'palace sanctuary of Knossos'. Since this identification draws strictly on formal resemblance, it cannot demonstrate any association of Linear A *du-pu₂-re* and Greek *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* ~ λαβύρινθος with the semantics of kingship (*contra* Valério 2007), so I no longer favor this view (see now Valério 2015 and the following note here).

[3] This second interpretation is not too far-fetched, considering that the meaning 'sacred hypogeum' (or sim.) would account well for Herodotus' use of λαβύρινθος in his description of an Egyptian underground mortuary building. In this case, Linear A (*j*)*a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re* might either refer to the 'Cave of Dikte' where the later Zeus was said to have been born, or mean 'Diktaian god' (cf. Linear B *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*), if *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* stems from a Minoan word that literally signified 'godly (place) > sanctuary'.

2. Suggestions of a special sound from an Aegean substrate language

Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 310, 538) proposed the identification of the Linear B place-name (sic) *da-pu₂-ri-to-* with λαβύρινθος 'Labyrinth' with a question mark. Like Palmer (1955: 40) and Heubeck (1957: 151), they considered that, if the equation was true, then the *d ~ λ* alternation must be the reflex of an "intermediate" sound of a non-Greek Aegean language. For Yakubovich (2002: 109), one possibility is that this foreign sound was identical with the coronal fricative /ð/. Davis (2014: 204–210) builds on this suggestion and argues for an underlying Minoan phoneme /θ/ that also possessed a voiced allophone /ð/. Kassian (2010: 362, n. 31) considers a lateral affricate /tɬ/.

Lejeune (1958: 327–328) came up with a slightly different hypothesis, in which the different spellings are not taken as alternative scribal choices for spelling an alleged non-Greek sound in Linear B, but rather the *direct consequence* of such sound. He linked the inconsistent orthography of *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* and λαβύρινθος to two intriguing features of the Mycenaean syllabary that meant the underrepresentation of two phonemic contrasts of Greek. On the one hand, Linear B possessed a single series for the two Greek liquids, the lateral /l/ and the rhotic /r/, transliterated as *r* by convention. On the other hand, the script did not mark the voicing opposition in any of the stop series, with the exception of the coronals, whereby *d* transcribed voiced /d/ and *t* was used for voiceless /t, tʰ/. As an attempt to account for both "anomalies", Lejeune hypothesized that the model of Linear B, the Linear A script, possessed three series: *r* = /r/, *d* = /l/ and *t* = /t/, respectively. Still according to Lejeune, this Minoan /l/ possibly was very close to the Greek stop /d/ in terms of articulation. Thus, the Mycenaeans might have borrowed the theoretical Linear A *d* = /l/ for writing Greek /d/, while choosing to employ Linear A *r* for the two Greek liquids, /r/ and /l/. Lejeune supported this hypothesis by adducing some 'Aegean' words with interchanging δ and λ in their spellings that had intrigued scholars since the 19th century — particularly the name of Odysseus (Homeric Ὀδυσσεύς and Ionian Ὀδυσσῆος ~ Οὐλιξεύς/ης, Ὀ/Ωλυσ(σ)εύς, Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς, Ὀλισεύς⁴) and the pair δάφνη ~ λάφνη 'sweet bay', which will be of importance below.⁵ It is to be noticed that the hypothetical /l/ that Lejeune pondered as the sound behind Linear A *d* has also been proposed to be the first sound of a Minoan word borrowed into Mycenaean Greek as *da-pu₂-ri-to-*. Therefore, the tacit implication of his hypothesis is that, *synchronically*, Linear B *d* would represent a Minoan lateral (in borrowings and non-Greek onomastics) in addition to the Greek stop /d/.

Lejeune formulated his idea with utmost caution and underlined that it could not be demonstrated. In fact, he took notice of two possible counterarguments (Lejeune 1958: 328). On the one hand, certain Linear A sequences had close equivalents in non-Greek personal names in the Linear B tablets, and these pairs revealed a direct correspondence LA *d* > LB *d* (cf. e.g. Linear A *ku-ku-da-ra* vs. Linear B *ku-ku-da-ro*). On the other hand, Lejeune noticed two interesting developments in the Cypro-Greek syllabary, used on Cyprus during the first millennium (for the ancient local Greek dialect) and likely derived from Linear A indirectly, through the Cypro-Minoan syllabary (ca. 1500–1050 BCE). In Cypro-Greek, a syllabogram that was

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⁴ See Liddell and Scott (1940) and Chantraine (1999: 775). Most of the forms with λ occur in Greek vases and were compiled already in Kretschmer (1894: 146–147).

⁵ The pair Linear B †*ka-da-mi-ta* ~ alphabetical Greek καλαμίνθα 'catmint, mint' (found in Furnée 1972 and reproduced e.g. in Kassian 2010: 362, n. 31) must be excluded as a potential example of Linear B *d* = alphabetical λ. The form †*ka-da-mi-ta* was the old reading of a Mycenaean sequence from tablet MY Ge 604. It has been corrected to *ka-da-mi-ja* and is rather to be compared to κάρδαμον, καρδαμίς 'garden cress (*Lepidium sativum*)' (Bennett 1958: 81, n. 5; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 549). I am thankful to Maurizio Del Freo for the relevant references.

clearly derived from Linear A *da* was used as *ta* /da, ta, tʰa/. At the same time, Linear A *ro* was the likely source of Cypro-Greek *lo* /lo/, whereas the Greek syllable /ro/ was written with another series that represented exclusively /r/ and had no antecedents in Linear A.[6] These pieces of evidence imply that Linear A *d* transcribed a coronal obstruent and that *r* was its single liquid series, thereby making Lejeune's hypothesis very difficult.

3. Synchronic variation or change?

Often not underlined in treatments of *da-pu(₂)-ri-to-* ~ λαβύρινθος is the fact that the pair does not represent a *synchronic* variation in spelling. Rather, *da-pu₂-ri-to-* is separated from λαβύρινθος by more than seven centuries. As remarked above, the two forms have been taken as evidence of a /d/ ~ /l/ alternation in Mycenaean Greek under the influence of a substrate language, yet the evidence supplied in support of this notion all comes from much later alphabetical material, such as Ὀδυσσεύς ~ Ὀλυσσεύς. Conversely, no examples of Linear B words in which *d* = /d/ and *r* = /l/ interchange are available. For example, we never find ****ra-pu(₂)-ri-to-* in Linear B. In other words, there is no proof that /d/ and /l/ ever alternated in words borrowed into Greek as early as the Late Bronze Age. We also lack any compelling example of interchanging *r* and *d* in Linear A > Linear B pairs of sequences.[7] Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the Linear B *d* series represented anything other than /d/. Even when *d* was used in transcriptions of foreign names or loanwords, we should expect it to represent a foreign sound that was adapted to the Greek phonology and was pronounced by most native speakers as /d/. Thus, we ought to reconstruct Mycenaean *da-pu(₂)-ri-to-* as /dapʰúrintʰos/ (see already Lejeune 1972: 57, n. 3). It must be noticed, incidentally, that there is no *unequivocal* evidence that Linear B *p₂*, even in alternation with *p*, stood for anything other than the aspirated /pʰ/.[8]

Once it becomes clear that there is no indication of a synchronic variation of /d/ ~ /l/ in Mycenaean words, we must consider the possibility of a diachronic phenomenon. In other words, we must explore the idea that only in post-Mycenaean times did the /d/ of *da-pu(₂)-ri-to-* shift to /l/, yielding λαβύρινθος.

4. Word-initial lambdacism in Greek forms from Anatolia?

It is interesting that the variant with λ- first appears in the work of Herodotus, who was a native of Halicarnassus, in Caria (southwestern Anatolia). The reason I emphasize this is that Anatolia is also the source of the two glosses by Hesychius that are frequently cited as instances of δ ~ λ variations and comparanda for λαβύρινθος (e.g. Heubeck 1957: 152; Ventris

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[6] Recently, Steele (2014) also reevaluates Lejeune's hypothesis.

[7] With Davis (2014: 206), we can take note of Linear A *da-ri-da* vs. Linear B *ra-ri-di-jo* 'of/belong to *ra-ri-d-*', but without any guarantee that the words compared are related.

[8] As I have argued elsewhere (Valério 2015: 332, n. 6; 2016: 201–202), there is a possible way to account for the discrepancy between Linear B *p(₂)* = /pʰ/ and alphabetical β in *da-pu(₂)-ri-to-* ~ λαβύρινθος. One can entertain that two competing Mycenaean forms existed, /dapʰúrintʰos/ and */dawúrintʰos/, which reflected two different Greek adaptations of a foreign (Minoan) word containing a voiceless labial fricative. One suitable typological parallel is provided by Mongolian, which adapts Russian [f] variably as [pʰ], [pʲʰ] or [w] in loanwords (Svantesson *et al.* 2005: 31). In this scenario, the theoretical Mycenaean */dawúrintʰos/ would have been the source of λαβύρινθος. For *w* > β, cf. Linear B *mo-ri-wo-do* /mólivdos/[(?)] vs. later alphabetical Greek μόλυβδος ~ μόλιβος 'lead'.

and Chadwick 1973: 310): *λάφνη* = *δάφνη* 'sweet bay' and *λίσκος* = *δίσκος* 'discus, quoit'. Both are attributed by the Hellenistic lexicographer to the speech of the inhabitants of Perge, a city in southern Pamphylia (Latte 1956). Is it a coincidence, then, that there is some connection to Anatolia in the three cases (*λαβύρινθος*, *λάφνη* and *λίσκος*) in which lambdacism takes place in initial position?

A further similar case is presented by the name of a Cimmerian or Scythian warlord who raided parts of Anatolia in the 7th century BCE. The individual in question is mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform sources as *Dugdammê ~ Tugdammê*, but as *Λύγδαμις* in the writings of Kallimachos (3rd century BCE) and Strabo (*Geo.* 1.3.21, 1st century BCE) (Kuhrt 1987: 187). It is true that other historical figures existed, Greek and Carian, who bore the name *Λύγδαμις*: an Olympic champion from Syracuse (mid-7th century BCE); a tyrant of Naxos (mid-6th century BCE); and two rulers of Halicarnassus, respectively the father and the son or grandson of Artemisia (Tokhtas'ev 2007: 611–612).[9] This has raised suspicions that the name is Carian, not Cimmerian (Iranian?), but regardless of its popularity in Anatolian and Greek-speaking circles, this does not mean that it must be disconnected from the name of the Cimmerian chieftain, *Dugdammê*. We may compare the widespread use of the name of the ill-famed Hunnish ruler Attila, even today, in countries like Hungary and Turkey. Ultimately, the etymology and source of *Λύγδαμις* may not be too relevant, as it is undeniable that the name circulated widely in Asia Minor. Thus Kuhrt (1987: 187), crediting an oral suggestion by S. Karwiese (1984), contemplates difficulties "in rendering the specific sound of an Anatolian language" as the cause for the change *T/D- > Λ-*. We may build on this suggestion and hypothesize that *Dugdammê* became **Lugdam(m)i* (or similar) in an Anatolian language that prohibited initial /d/, and the latter form was then captured as *Λύγδαμις* in the Greek alphabet.

We can do more to substantiate the hypothesis that *λαβύρινθος*, *λάφνη*, *λίσκος* and possibly *Λύγδαμις* owe to an Anatolian tendency to realize word-initial /d-/ as /l-/. Lydian and Lycian both had phonotactic restrictions for /d/ in word-initial position (see Pedersen 1945: 42; Melchert 1993: 249, 252; Van den Hout 1995: 133) and we know that Lydian adapted the Aeolic Greek divine names *Δαμάτηρ* 'Demeter' and *Δεύς* 'Zeus' as *lamētru* and *lewś/lefś*, substituting /d/ with /l/ (Melchert 1994: 335, with references).[10] The suitable typological parallel from a contemporary language is provided by Yaqui, a Uto-Aztecan tongue of northwestern Mexico, which reportedly replaced foreign [d] with either [r] or [l] in words loaned from Spanish: cf. Yaqui *lios* < Spanish *Dios* 'God' (Estrada Fernández 2009: 834, 844–846).

In terms of articulation, the substitution of [l] for a dental stop is unsurprising. A lateral approximant is essentially a coronal sound articulated with occlusion, the latter being the most salient feature of stops (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 182–183). We might expect Greek [d] to have been adapted as Lydian [t], which is its voiceless counterpart and exists as a phoneme in the latter language. Yet the preference for [l] over [t] seems plausible if we assume that the feature of voicing was perceptually favored by speakers of Lydian, or of any other Anatolian language, when adapting foreign [d]. From this perspective, [l] obviously has the advantage.[11]

I therefore find it likely that Pergaean *λίσκος* and *λάφνη* correspond to standard *δίσκος* and *δάφνη* as uttered by native speakers of a local Anatolian dialect with such phonotactic re-

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[9] I am thankful to Zsolt Simon for this reference.

[10] It is to be noticed that already Popko (2008: 136) compares *Dugdammê > Λύγδαμις* with the Lydian adaptation of Greek δ- as *l-*.

[11] Compare for example Nahuatl, another Uto-Aztecan language of Mexico: Spanish *Dios* was borrowed as *tios* certainly because Nahuatl prohibited [l] in initial position; conversely, [l] was allowed medially, so we find Nahuatl *expala* for Spanish *espada* (cf. Bierhorst 1985: 122, 321).

strictions.[12] Likewise, a virtual *δαβύρινθος, cognate with Mycenaean *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-*, may have been the Ionian form used in Western Anatolia, including Herodotus' native Caria, before a local variant λαβύρινθος emerged amongst speakers who had Greek as second language and an Anatolian dialect as their mother tongue. It would not be too surprising to find a secondary dialectal form such as λαβύρινθος in literary works (Herodotus) and official temple inscriptions (Didyma) instead of a more conservative *δαβύρινθος. Languages often retain two distinct words with the same etymology, one standard, and the other dialectal but borrowed into standard speech. We may compare modern Spanish *huelga* [welɣa] 'strike; repose' vs. *juerga* [xweɾɣa] 'spree, binge' (cf. Pountain 2003: 283), the latter originally a Western Andalusian form. Occasionally, dialectal forms may even completely replace standard ones.

Since Caria is the area connected with the first examples of λαβύρινθος and may be where the form emerged, we need to account for another possible obstacle. Unlike Lydian or Lycian *d*, the fricative nature of Carian *d* is much more uncertain. Adiego (2007: 245–249) argues that, as in the other two Anatolian languages mentioned, Anatolian /d/ may have become voiceless /t/ (written *t*) in initial position in Carian. In this case, *d* might represent a fricative as well. Examples of word-initial Carian *d* are scarce, not just in the Carian documentation, but also in the indirect evidence of Greek-written onomastics. Moreover, some of the existing examples could be the outcome of underrepresented initial vowels (cf. *dquq* = Ιδαγυγος). Yet not all of the cases can *beyond doubt* be analyzed along these lines, and the evidence for Carian is not as positive as that of Lycian or Lydian (Adiego 2007: 245–246). Pending further discoveries, the lack of initial /d/ in Carian should be considered as unconfirmed. In any event, it remains possible that λαβύρινθος comes not from Caria, but rather from another Anatolian-speaking region in Southern or Western Asia Minor, for example Pamphylia or Lydia.

5. Final remarks

I hope to have shown that there is no compelling basis to assume that the contrast between Linear B *d* and alphabetical λ in *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* ~ λαβύρινθος reflects a "special" Minoan phoneme that underlay Linear A *d* — be it a coronal fricative /ð/, a lateral affricate /tɬ/, or even a lateral coronal fricative /ɮ/. Rather, it is much more economical to interpret λαβύρινθος and other Greek forms as the result of a relatively late and localized shift /d-/ > /l-/, possibly as the result of contact with Anatolian languages during the 1st millennium BCE.

The implications are manifold. First, we should be wary of past etymologies of *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* ~ λαβύρινθος involving forms with initial /l-/, such as the Carian epithet Λαβρανδεύς 'of Labraunda' and the alleged Lydian word λάβρυς 'axe' (Kretschmer 1896, Evans 1921), Greek λαύρα 'alley, lane, passage' (Smith 1859, Güntert 1932), and even λάβιρος · βόθυνος 'hole' (Smith 1859), the latter from Hesychius' lexicon (see Latte 1956). As argued above, Linear B *da-pu*(₂)*-ri-to-* most probably reflects a noun */dapʰúrintʰos/, in turn related to Linear A *du-pu₂-re*, a word of uncertain meaning but connected to the religious sphere.[13] Secondly, there are important ramifications for our understanding of the Aegean and Cypriot syllabaries, namely

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[12] Dressel (1965: 187) and Brixhe (1976: 83, n. 16) associate the δ- > λ- shift in Pergaean λάφνη and λίσκος with the rhoticism (δ > ϱ) of Pamphylian Greek, whereby /l/ and /r/ would be alternative outcomes of a weakened */d/. However, as Brixhe himself notes, rhoticism affects particularly intervocalic -δ- in Pamphylian (and a similar shift occurred in Luwian as well). Thus, it cannot be evoked to account for the words in question here without making additional assumptions.

[13] See nn. 2 and 3 above.

Linear A, Linear B and Cypro-Minoan (see Valério 2015, 2016). It is a key point that there is now no serious obstacle to the notion that the Linear A *d* series transcribed a voiced coronal obstruent /d/.[14] Finally, the present results are of consequence for questions relating to linguistic interactions between the Aegean and Anatolia in the 2nd millennium BCE.

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[14] For a more detailed argument, see Valério (2016: 203—209, 226, 288—293). The more probable interpretation of Linear A *d* as a coronal obstruent agrees well with the evidence that signs ultimately derived from the Linear A *d* and *t* series appear to be merged in the Cypro-Greek *t* = /d, t, tʰ/ series, likely as a result of developments in Cypro-Minoan. Steele (2014) also revisits the problem of the dental and liquid series in the Aegean-Cypriot syllabaries, along with Lejeune's hypothesis. In addition to the scenario upheld here, she considers another possibility: Linear B *d* and *t* were the product of the splitting of what was a single coronal series in Linear A; in parallel, this single series was inherited by Cypro-Minoan and then by Cypro-Greek. This hypothesis is less likely given the comparatively greater number of (probable) Linear A *d* and *t* signs in comparison to the counterparts in Cypro-Minoan and the Cypro-Greek syllabary. This apparent reduction is more suggestive of a merger of two coronal series on Cyprus.

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Мигель Валериу. Λαβύρινθος и анлаутный ламбдацизм в анатолийском греческом

В статье утверждается, что пара линейное B *da-pu(₂)-ri-to-* ~ греч. λαβύρινθος не отражает синхронного варьирования /d/ и /l/ в микенском греческом, и появление /l-/ вызвано позднейшим переходом. Выдвигается гипотеза, что λαβύρινθος происходит от незасвидетельствованного *δαβύρινθος, где переход начального /d/ в /l/ произошел в южной

или западной Анатолии под влиянием некоего местного языка, в котором начальный /*d*/ был невозможен. То же объяснение предлагается для λάφνη и λίσκος, которые Гесихий глоссирует как пергейские (памфилийские) формы греческих δάφνη «лавр» и δίσκος «диск», и вероятно также для киммерийского имени Dugdammê/Λύγδαμις.

Ключевые слова: λαβύρινθος; микенский греческий; ламбдацизм; анатолийские языки; Лигдамис; линейное A

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Hi-inflected verbal *CóC*-stems
in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian[1]

In Luwian, as in Hittite, the *CóC*-stem formation is the counterpart of PIE. perfect *C_1e-$C_1óC_2$-. In Proto-Anatolian, the PIE. perfect shows very few traces of reduplication; principally, it shows only the *o*-ablaut. Structurally, the Hittite *-hi* verbs are best compared to the PIE. perfect *$ųoid$- 'to know', which was unreduplicated. While this situation has been examined in depth in the case of Hittite, a study of this kind focusing specifically on Luwian is still lacking. This article aims to explore this issue for Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian.

Key words: *-hi* verbs in Luwian, Anatolian verbal morphology, Anatolian unreduplicated perfect stems.

1. Introduction

It is well known that the conjugation of the Hittite finite verb is dominated by two sets of endings in the active singular, present and preterit, with no functional difference: these are known as the *-mi* conjugation and the *-hi* conjugation.

Luwian (Hieroglyphic Luwian and Cuneiform Luwian) has one verbal conjugation comparable to the Hittite *-mi* conjugation, and some (though very few) traces of a second *-hi* conjugation. A brief examination of Luwian (and also of Lycian and Palaic) indicates that the minor Anatolian languages do not show a distinction between the *-mi* and *-hi* conjugations within the active category, which is crucial in Hittite; in contrast, it seems that their present stems generalized the *-mi* series, while the preterite stems generalized the *-ha* series:

Table 1. Present and preterite verbal endings of the *-mi* and *-hi* conjugation in Luwian

Present	Cuneiform Luwian		Hieroglyphic Luwian	
	-mi	*-ḫi*	*-mi*	*-ḫi*
act. sg. 1	-ụi		-ụi	
2	*-ši, -tiš, -šši*	*-šši, -ti*	*-si, -tis*	
3	*-ti, -tti-*	*-(a)i*	*-ti, -ri,*	*i, ia*
pl. 1	-unni			
2	-ttani[?2]		-tani	
3	-anti		-nti	

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[2] See Melchert 2003: 192.

Preterite	Cuneiform Luwian		Hieroglyphic Luwian	
	-mi	*-ḫi*	*-mi*	*-ḫi*
act. sg. 1	*-ḫa, -ḫḫa*	*-ḫḫa*	*-ha(n)*[3]	
2	*-š*		*-ta*	
3	*-ta, -tta*	*-tta*	*-ta, -ra*	*-ta*
pl. 1				
2				
3	*-a(u)nta*		*-a(u)nta*	

But a closer look at the data (see *table 1*) shows that Luwian shares the same feature in the endings of present and preterite: there are two sets of endings which correspond to the *-mi* and *-hi* conjugations (see Morpurgo-Davies 1980 and 1982). This observation is especially evident in the 3sg present endings, since the same phenomenon is attested in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian and probably in Lycian (for Lycian, see Vernet *in print*). It is precisely this 3sg present that I have used as the basis for my compilation of the Luwian *-hi* verbs in order to focus on the *-hi* inflected verbal *CóC*-stems documented in Luwian, as I will explain in the following sections (2 and 2.1).

2. *-hi* verbs in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian (3sg.pres. *-i, -ia*)

In their studies of the *-hi* verbs in Anatolian, scholars seem to have focused almost exclusively on Hittite, or at least have taken Hittite *-hi* inflected verbs as their point of departure. The contributions of Eichner 1975, Oettinger 1979, Jasanoff 2003, and the study on the Hittite verbal stems presented by Kloekhorst 2008 are examples of the interest this issue has raised in Hittite studies. But as far as I know, despite the contributions by Morpurgo-Davies (1979) and Yoshida (1993), a study of this kind focusing specifically on Luwian is still lacking.

In order to study these characteristics focusing on the *-hi* conjugation in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, I began by producing a compilation of all the *-hi* inflected verbs in Luwian, and then used it to try to identify the verbs which show *-hi* inflected verbal *CóC*-stems. As mentioned above, since the only way we have of knowing whether a verb follows the *-hi* inflection in Luwian is the 3sg present ending in *-i* (and not *-ti, -ri*, which follow the *-mi* inflection), all the verbs for which this *-i* ending is attested were included.[4] I used the following reference works: for Cuneiform Luwian, Melchert's dictionary (1993), the *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon*, and Yakubovich's online *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* (henceforth ACLT); for Hieroglyphic Luwian, Hawkins 2000, and once again Yakubovich's *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts*.

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[3] The distinction CLuwian made between *-ḫa* and *-ḫḫa* (lenited *vs.* non-lenited) in the first person singular preterite cannot be found in HLuwian due to its imprecise writing system. However, the fact that the writing system of HLuwian does not reflect this distinction does not mean necessarily that it would have not existed in HLuwian (see. Melchert 2003: 192; Yakubovich 2015, § 6.5, and Melchert *forthcom.*). Lycian, a Luwic language of the first millennium closely related to Luwian, still documents a double ending for the first person singular preterite: *-gã* and *-χã, -χa* (see Vernet *in print*).

[4] For CLuwian I also consider the likelihood (observed by Melchert 1993: iv) of a CLuwian second singular *-hi* present ending *-ti* beside the third singular ending *-(a)i*, which only occurs in three verbs: *lāla-*, *nana-* and *waliya-*.

2.1 *CóC-stems in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian

In Luwian, as in Hittite, the *CóC-stem formation is the counterpart of PIE. perfect *C₁e-C₁óC₂-. In PA., the PIE. perfect shows hardly any traces of a reduplication syllable, only the o-ablaut. Nevertheless, a few examples have a reduplication syllable and may have had a PIE. perfect origin. But structurally, the Hittite -hi verbs are best compared to the unreduplicated PIE. Perfect *ṷoid- 'to know' (documented in Ved. véda, OAv. vaēda, Gk. οἶδα, Goth. weit 'he knows', see LIV²: 666), which comes from the PIE. verbal root *ṷeid- 'to see' (see Lat. uīdī, Gk. εἶδον 'I saw' < root aorist *ṷeid-/ ṷid-, or Lat. videō, Goth. witan 'to see' < *ṷeid-eh₁-, etc. s. LIV²: 665–666; for Latin see de Vaan 2008 s.v. videō). According to Kloekhorst (2008: 137), PIE. ablaut *o/Ø underlies all the ablauting -hi verbs attested in Hittite. But whereas the situation in Hittite has been well investigated by scholars (see Sec. 2 above), as far as I know, a study of -hi inflected verbal *CóC-stems focusing specifically on Luwian is still lacking.

In my opinion, the situation of Luwian is similar to that of Hittite: we have very few examples of a reduplicated stem (< PIE. perfect *C₁e-C₁óC₂-),[5] and we also find some cases of unreduplicated *CóC-stems which are -hi inflected and may have had a PIE. perfect origin. According to the data I have compiled, in Luwian there are six examples of this stem formation:

— CLuw. lā, HLuw. la- (i) 'to take'
— CLuw. paị- 'to give', (HLuw. piya- 'id')
— HLuw. was- 'to buy'
— Probably PLuw. *zahha- (cf. HLuw. zahhanuwa 'to attack')[6]
— Maybe CLuw. paš- 'to swallow' (see pappaša- 'id.')
— Maybe CLuw. tā- 'to stand' and HLuw. ta- 'id.'

These examples are important because it has sometimes been debated whether Hittite and Luwian or the Luwic languages really had etymologically connected -hi inflected verbs. In the light of this study, it seems evident that there did indeed exist inherited -hi verbs in both branches, although the examples are few; we will see this in detail below.

In what follows I present the list of -hi inflected verbs with a *CóC-stem formation. For each verb I indicate the passages where a 3sg pres. in -i/-ia ending is attested, because this is

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[5] The data I have gathered suggest that Luwian has a few verbs which show reduplication of the stem and have cognates in Hittite, and they are most certainly inherited. These examples can be interpreted as coming from PIE. perfects *C₁e-C₁óC₂- but also as reduplicated historical stems from a basis attested in Luwian, as for instance:

— CLuw. and HLuw. mammanna-i 'to see' (< PIE. perfect *me-món/mn-, although it could also be analysed as a reduplicated historical stem from CLuw. manā- (ti) 'to see').
— CLuw. nana (i) 'to lead' (reduplicated form of cognate of Hitt. nā(i)-i / *ni- 'to turn, lead, send'. In my opinion, a parallel cognate of derivative is Hitt. nanna-i / nanni-).
— HLuw. sasa- (i) 'to release' (redupl. form of sa- (i) 'id.' (CLuw. and HLuw.); cognate of Hitt. sai-i/si- 'to impress, to seal' (Eichner 1983: 48-66) and sissa i-/ssis- 'to impress' < PIE. *seh₁(i)- 'säen, loslassen' (LIV²: 518), cfr. Lat. serō, Goth. saian, Lith. séju, OCS sějǫ 'to sow').
— HLuw. tatta- (i) 'to stand' (maybe < PIE. perfect *ste-stoh₂ or instead, a reduplicated stem formed in historical times).

Luwian has other instances of reduplicated -hi inflected verbal stems, such as in ililha- (i) 'to wash (off)' (CLuw.), but with obscure etymology. In other examples, such as in CLuw. pupulla['to write', or HLuw. puballa- 'to scribble', which do have reduplication of the stem, it is not possible to determine if they follow a -hi conjugation or not. In all these examples it is not possible to reconstruct either a PA. or PIE. etymology or an inherited -hi conjugation; consequently, they cannot be analysed as stems inherited from PIE. perfects.

[6] In this case, as in the following example, I must reconstruct a PLuw. -hi stem which is only indirectly documented in Luwian (via a derivative verbal stem), but is well attested in Hittite as a -hi verb.

how we know whether or not a verb follows the *-hi* conjugation. I also indicate whether it is attested in Cuneiform or Hieroglyphic Luwian, or in both, and finally I give an etymology of the verb, indicating its Anatolian cognates and its PIE. origin whenever possible.

§1. *la-* (*i*) 'to take' (CLuw. *lā-* and HLuw. *la-*)
Melchert 1993: 120; ACLT s.v.

Cuneiform Luwian: no examples of 3sg. present are attested, whereas in HLuwian there are a great many examples (see the section below). The logogram CAPERE is frequently used for rendering the root. CLuwian shows long *ā* in the stem in some instances: 3sg. pret. act. *la-a-at-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-ad-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *la-a-an-du*), just as in Hitt. *dā-/ d-* 'to take' (see the etymology of this section below).

Hieroglyphic Luwian:
KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 20: *wa/i-tà-tá-'* ¦*za-a-ti-i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti-i ARHA* ¦**CAPERE-*i***
'(and) takes them away from his Karkamišean Tarhunzas,'

Also documented in: BOROWSKI 3 § 9; ARSUZ 2 §23 (s. Yakubovich ACLT s.v.); BOY-BEYPINARI 2 § 19; ANCOZ 7 B § 4; KARKAMIŠ A15b § 12; ALEPPO 2 § 13; ALEPPO 2 § 18; KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 20; BOROWSKI 3 § 9; ARSUZ 2 § 23 (s. Yakubovich ACLT s.v.); ANCOZ 7 B § 4; KARKAMIŠ A15b § 12; III. ALEPPO 2 § 13; ALEPPO 2 § 18; KÖRKÜN 4 § 8; ARSUZ 1 § 23 (s. Yakubovich ACLT s.v.); KÖTÜKALE 5 § 5; KARKAMIŠ A6 § 28; KARKAMIŠ A6 § 30; KARKAMIŠ A6 § 27; KARKAMIŠ A4a § 12; ASMACIK l.1–2; KELEKLİ 3 § 2; HAMA 5 1 § 1; HAMA 4 § 8.

ETYMOLOGY: PIE. *deh₃-* 'to give', cfr. Skt. *dádāti*, Av. *daδāiti*, Arm. *tam*, Gk. δίδωμι, Lat. *dō, dare*, OLith. *duosti*, OCS *daxъ* 'he gave'.
Anatolian cognates: Hitt. *dā-ⁱ / d-* 'to take, to wed, to decide', a *-hi* verb. Pal. unclear: *daḫḫa* '?' (1sg.pret.act); CLuw. and HLuw. *lala* 'to take' show a reduplicated verbal root; Lyc. B *da-* 'take' ?.

The exact morphological interpretation of Hitt. *dā-ⁱ / d-* 'to take, to wed, to decide' has caused some debate among scholars. Eichner (1975: 93f.), followed by Oettinger (1979: 500f.), contends that this verb was middle in origin and that 1sg.aor.midd. **dh₃h₂á* and 2sg.aor.midd. **dh₃th₂á* regularly yielded Hitt. **daḫḫa* and ***datta*, on the basis of which an active paradigm was built: *dāḫḫi, dātti, dāi*, etc. In a similar way, Melchert (1984: 25) proposed that 3sg.pres.midd **dh₃-e/o* should be reinterpreted as a stem **dh₃e/o-* + zero ending, which caused the spread of this thematic stem in the singular, yielding **dh₃e/o-h₂ei, *dh₃e/o-th₂ei, dh₃e/o-ei.* But Eichner's assumption that **Ch₃C* > Hitt. *CāC* has no parallels; nor does Melchert's construct of a thematic *-hi* verb.

In my view, Kloekhorst's interpretation fits better. According to him, Hitt. *dā-ⁱ / d-* 'to take, to wed, to decide' was not originally middle, but a normal *-hi* inflecting root-present, and just like all *-hi* verbs it shows an original **o* grade: **doh₃-h₂ei, *doh₃-th₂ei, *doh₃-ei, *dh₃-u̯éni*, etc. These forms regularly yield *dāḫḫe, dātti, dāi, tumēni*, etc.

The same interpretation should be applied to CLuw. *lā-* 'to take', which still shows a long root vowel, and HLuw. *la-* 'id.', a *-hi* verb.

Lyc. B. *da-* 'take' ? is attested in the following passages (Melchert 2004; Neumann 2007):
pret. 3Sg *date* 55,3.
imv. 3Sg *dadu* 44d 36.

Shevoroshkin (2002: 138ff.) analyses it as a verb with the meaning 'take', equivalent to Hitt. *da-* 'take' according to Neumann (2007 s.v.). Since all the Anatolian languages show *-hi*

conjugation, and since Lyc. B 3sg pret. does not indicate otherwise (there are no traces of lenition in pret.3sg), in my view (Vernet *in print*) it is highly plausible that this verb has inherited the *-hi* conjugation. Since these forms show a *-hi* inflection and are cognates, this verb must have been inherited and reconstructed for PA. It also seems plausible that it had an *o-ablaut.

§2. *pai-* (*i*) 'to give (?)' (CLuw.)
Melchert 1993: 163; ACLT s.v.

CLuw. *pai-* < *PA. *pói-*. Cfr. CLuw. and HLuw. *pia-* 'to give', a *-hi* verb, Lyc. *pije-* 'to give' < thematicized stem **piio-*.

ETYMOLOGY: Cognate to Hitt. *pai-^{i}* / *pi-* 'to give', which clearly shows an ablaut *pai-* / *pi-* and a *-hi* inflection and Lyc. *pije-* 'to give'. In my opinion, and also according to Kloekhorst (2008: 615) this situation should also be reconstructed for PA. Luw. *piya-* and Lycian *pije-* generalized the thematicized stem **piio-* with zero grade of the stem. However, CLuw. has preserved some Ištanuwian forms that reflect the full grade of the root *pai-* < **pói-* 'to give'.

As far as the PIE. etymology is concerned, the verb is generally explained as a univerbation of the preverb *pe-* + *$(h_1)ai-$* or *$(H)ei-$*, connected with Toch. B *ai-*, Toch. A *e-* 'to give' and Gk. αἴνυμι 'to take'. Lyd. *bi-* 'give' (Gusmani 1964: 78) would then come from PIE. *$h_1ai̯-$* 'geben; nehmen' (LIV^2: 229). Kloekhorst (2008: 615) prefers to reconstruct another root, and proposes *h_1ep-* 'to seize, to grab' as is clear from Alb. *ap-* 'to give' and Germ. *$geb-$* 'to give' (< *$ga-$* + *h_1ep-*), and reconstructs a present stem *h_1p-oi-* / *h_1p-i-* for PA. **pói-* /*pi-*.

In my view, since Hitt., CLuw., HLuw. and Lyc. show *-hi* inflection of the verb, this inflection together with an *o-ablaut should also be reconstructed for PA.

§3. *was-* (*i*) 'to buy' (HLuw.)

Hieroglyphic Luwian:
KULULU lead strip 2 §1, 2: 68 OVIS-*na* ¹*la-li-sá* ¹*mara/i-sà-ta-ia* ¦*pi-ia-i* ¦*ku-ki-sà-ta-za* ¦*kwa/i-za* ¦ ***wa/i-si-i*** '68 sheep Lalis gives to Marasatas, so that he will buy them for the KUKISATI'S'

ETYMOLOGY: In my view, a cognate parallel of Hitt. *u̯āš-^{i}* 'to buy', which already shows *-hi* inflection in the oldest forms, as in HLuwian. In this case a PA. *-hi* inflected verb must be reconstructed from PIE. *$u̯ós-ei̯$* (see Kloekhorst 2008: 980 who does not mention the example of HLuw.), with the following IE. cognates: Skt. *vasná-* 'price', Gk. ὧνος (n.) 'price', Lat. *vēnum dare* 'to sell', Arm. *gin* 'price' < *$u̯esno-$*. Hitt. *ušniie/a-^{zi}* reflects a zero grade of the same root. In NS texts, a derived stem *u̯āšiie/a-^{zi}* can be found.

§4. PLuw. **zahha-* (cfr. HLuw. *zahhanu(wa)-* (*i*) 'to attack')

In my opinion, HLuw. *zahhanu(wa)-* 'to attack' is the causative of a basis stem **zahha-*, not attested in Luwian but a parallel cognate to Hitt. *zāḫ-^{i}* / *zaḫḫ-* 'to hit, to beat', a *-hi* verb. According to Oettinger (1979: 446) and Kloekhorst (2008: 1020), it is likely that the *-hi* conjugation was the older one in Hittite. Kloekhorst (2008: 1020) reconstructs a root *$t̯ieh_2-$* for Hitt. *zāḫ-i* (< *$tióh_2-ei$*) and connects it to Gk. σῆμα 'sign', Gk. σῶμα 'corpse', σῖτος 'grain, food'. In Luwian the base verb **zahha-* of *zahhanu(wa)-* is not attested, but since a derivate of it can be found and is well attested in Hittite, it is likely that an *o-ablauting *-hi* verb in PA. existed as the origin of all these Anatolian cognates.

§5. CLuw. *paš-* 'to swallow' (see *pappaša-* (i) 'swallow') (Melchert 1993: 165) (CLuw.)

Cuneiform Luwian:
Pres3Sg: ***pa-ap-pa-ša-i***: *KBo* IV 14 iii 37 (+ *arḫa*).

Etymology: CLuw. *-hi* verb *pappaša-* is a reduplicated variant of CLuw. *pašš-* 'to swallow' (3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ta*, inf. *pa-aš-šu-u-na*) and Hitt. *pāš-ⁱ* / *paš-* 'id.' < PIE. **peh₃(i̯)-* 'trinken' (LIV²: 462; from a present stem **poh₃-s-ei* / **ph₃senti*, see Kloekhorst 2008: 649).

Hitt. *pāš-ⁱ* / *paš-* 'to swallow' shows *-hi* inflection together with some forms with *-mi* endings. However, the *-hi* inflection should be considered as the original one (in this regard, see Kloekhorst 2008: 649). Judging by the *-hi* infection of *pappaša-* (i) 'to swallow' and Hitt. *pāš-ⁱ* / *paš-*, it is likely that the same *-hi* inflection operated in CLuw. *pašš-* 'to swallow' (as occurs, for instance, in CLuw. *sa-* 'to release', HLuw. redupl. *sassa-* 'id.' and Hitt. *sai-ⁱ* /*si*, all three cases being *-hi* inflected), although no 3sg.pres. example that might confirm it is documented for CLuwian. If this is true, a *-hi* inflection with *o*-ablaut for **pāš-/ paš-* should be reconstructed for PA.

§6. *tā-* (*i*) and *ta-* (*i*) 'to stand' (CLuw. and HLuw. respectively)

Cuneiform Luwian *tā-*:
3sg.Pres. ***ta-a-i*** (*KBo* XXIX 31 iv 6 (?)).

Hieroglyphic Luwian *ta-*:
KARATEPE 1 Hu. § XLVIII 261–272: *wa/i-na* ¦*i-zi-sa-tu-na* **ta-ia** ("FLUMEN")*há-pa+ra/i-sá* ¦OMNIS.MI-*i-sá* ¦(ANNUS)*u-si mara/i* BOS.ANIMAL-*sá* (*486)*kwa/i-tu-na-ha* (OVIS.ANIMAL) *há-wa/i-sá* ¦"VITIS"(-)*há+ra/i-ha* OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-sa* 'and every river-land will begin to honor him: by (?) the year an ox, and at the cutting (?) a sheep and at the vintage a sheep'

KARATEPE 1 Hu. § LXXV 408–412: (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa-wa/i* (DEUS)SOL-*ha kwa/i-ri+i á-la/i-ma-za* **"CRUS"-*i*** 'as the Moon's and the Sun's name stands'

Also documented in: KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 18; ALEPPO 2 § 25; SULTANHAN 2 § 38; SULTANHAN F1 § 40; BABYLON 1 5 § 10; YUNUS (KARKAMIŠ) § 4 (s. Yakubovich ACLT); TİLSEVET (alias EKİNVEREN) 3 § 6; KARKAMIŠ A18h § 4; CEKKE 11; KARATEPE 1 Ho. §XLVIII 261–272; HİSARCIK 1 § 3; SULTANHAN § 39; SULTANHAN § 21; KARKAMIŠ A5a §12; BOROWSKI 1, 2 (s. Yakubovich ACLT); KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 18; ARSUZ 2 (AMUQ) § 5 (s. Yakubovich ACLT); KARKAMIŠ A5a § 13.

Etymology: < PIE. **(s)teh₂-* 'wohin treten, sich hinstellen' (LIV²: 590; IEW 1004–8), cfr. Ved. *ásthāt* 'ist getreten', Arm. *er-t'a-* 'gehen', Gk. ἔστην 'trat, stellte mich hin', etc. Morpurgo Davies (1987: 205–228) connected the Luwian *tā-* and *ta-* verbs with Hitt. *ti̯e/a-* 'to step, to go stand'. Lyc. *stta-* 'to stand' is controversial (see the section below).

For CLuw. *tā-* and HLuw. *ta-*, LIV² reconstructs a PIE. perfect stem **ste-stóh₂/sth₂-*, whereas in Kloekhorst's view (2008: 880) they come from a present stem with *o*-ablaut **(s)tóh₂-ei*, which in my opinion fits better, judging by its *-hi* inflection. In these examples, the loss of its *-ḫ-* can be explained by analogy with all other forms of the paradigm where **h₂* is dropped in preconsonantal position (see Kloekhorst 2008: 880). Lyc. *stta-* 'to stand' is a matter of controversy among scholars, who consider it to be either a loanword from Gk. ἵστημι or a verbal form inherited from PIE. **steh₂-*; maybe, as Neumann suggests (2007: 333), following Oettinger, it is a reduplicated form **ste-ste* (< **steh₂-*) > dissimilation **ste-te* > *stte-* with geminated consonant. In any case, the original verbal stem of Lyc. clearly differs from the verbal stem of Luw. *ta-*.

As for Hitt. $ti\underbar{i}e/a$- 'to step', the details of its reconstruction are also controversial. Since the beginning of Hittite studies it has been debated whether $ti\underbar{i}e/a$-^{zi} goes back to PIE. *d^heh_1- 'to put' or *$steh_2$- 'to stand'. Given that Morpurgo Davies (1987) explained that Luw. $t\bar{a}$- was used in similar contexts to Hitt. $ti\underbar{i}e/a$-^{zi}, in my view the connection with PIE. *$steh_2$- fits better. For Hitt. $ti\underbar{i}e/a$-^{zi} Kloekhorst reconstructs a present stem *$(s)th_2$-$\underbar{i}e/o$-, but in my opinion it is better to consider Hitt. $ti\underbar{i}e/a$-^{zi} as an 'Umbildung eines hi-Verbs *$t\bar{a}i : tiyanzi$', as proposed by Oettinger (1992: 236). In this case, a -hi inflection for this verb could be reconstructed for PA.

3. Conclusions

This article shows that the situation of the inherited -hi inflected *$C\acute{o}C$-stems in Luwian is very similar to Hittite. As in Hittite, in Luwian these stems represent the counterpart of PIE. perfect *C_1e-$C_1\acute{o}C_2$- and are to be compared to the unreduplicated PIE. perfect *$\underbar{u}oid$- 'to know'. This article has shown that in Luwian there are still some inherited verbal stems of this kind which have cognates in Hittite: in both cases they are -hi inflected, show o-ablaut, and are etymologically related: CLuw. $l\bar{a}$, HLuw. la- (i), da- 'to take'; CLuw. $pa\underbar{i}$- 'to give', (HLuw. $piya$- 'id'); HLuw. was- 'to buy'; probably PLuw. *$zahha$- (cfr. HLuw. $zahhanuwa$ 'to attack')[7]; maybe CLuw. $pa\check{s}$- 'to swallow' (see $pappa\check{s}a$- 'id.') and maybe CLuw. $t\bar{a}$- 'to stand' and HLuw. ta- 'id.'

The etymological connection between Hittite and Luwian -hi verbs cognates is relevant here because it has sometimes been debated whether Hittite and Luwian really had etymologically connected -hi inflected verbs. The results of this research indicate that this is true, at least in the case of the -hi inflected *$C\acute{o}C$-stems, although the examples are few.

Language abbreviations

Alb.	Albanian	Hitt.	Hittite	OLith.	Old Lithuanian
Arm.	Armenian	Lat.	Latin	PA.	Proto-Anatolian
Av.	Avestan	Lyc.	Lycian	Pal.	Palaic
Anatol.	Anatolian	Lyc. B	Lycian B (or Mylian)	PIE.	Proto-Indo-European
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	Lyd.	Lydian	PLuw.	Proto-Luwian
Germ.	Germanic	Luw.	Luwian	Skt.	Sanskrit
Goth.	Gothic	OAv.	Old Avestan	Toch. A	Tocharian A
Gk.	Greek	OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Toch. B	Tocharian B
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian	OIr.	Old Irish	Ved.	Vedic

Bibliographical Abbreviations

ACLT: Ilya Yakubovich (ed.). 2013–2016. *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* (on-line dictionary of CLuwian and HLuwian). Available: http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/ [accessed 12.11.2016].

HED: see Puhvel, Jaan. 1984-. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin / New York / Amsterdam: Mouton.

KBo: *Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazkoy* (KBo 1–60, 1916–2009).

KUB: Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköi (KUB 1–60, 1921–90).

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[7] In this case, as in the following example, I must reconstruct a PLuw. -hi stem which in Luwian is only indirectly documented (*via* a derivate verbal stem), but is well attested in Hittite as a -hi verb.

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Мариона Вернет. Глагольные основы *hi*-спряжения на *CóC в клинописном и иероглифическом лувийском

В лувийском, как и в хеттском, образование от корня типа *CóC представляет собой аналог праиндоевропейского перфекта **C_1e-C_1óC_2-*. В праанатолийском праиндоевропейский перфект не демонстрирует практически никаких следов редуплицированного слога (хотя примеры этого имеются); в принципе он демонстрирует только *о*-аблаут. Структурно хеттские *hi*-глаголы лучше всего сравнивать с изолированным праиндоевропейским глаголом **u̯eid-* «знать», который не был редуплицированным, но принимал окончания перфекта. В то время как в хеттском эта ситуация тщательно изучена, соответствующего исследования на лувийском материале до сих пор не существует. Статья ставит целью рассмотреть данное явление в клинописном и иероглифическом лувийском.

Ключевые слова: *hi*-глаголы в лувийском, анатолийская глагольная морфология, анатолийские нередуплицированные перфектные корни.