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Ancient Greek and Latin in the linguistic context of the Ancient Mediterranean

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Ancient Greek and late Anatolian languages: from coexistence on the territory to survival in the scholarly tradition¹

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Abstract: During the 1st millennium BCE, Greek language spread throughout Asia Minor, and its diffusion, which is reflected in a large number of local inscriptions found in different Anatolian regions, inevitably led to interactions, at different levels, between Greek and the epichoric languages of Anatolia. Such language contact resulted in several interference phenomena, both unidirectional and bidirectional, that can be observed not only in multilingual inscriptions, where they are most expected, but also in monolingual ones.

Reflexes of such interactions are also found in Greek literary works, as well as in later scholarly sources, especially lexicographic ones of Byzantine times, among which a prominent role is played by Stephanus of Byzantium and Hesychius. This kind of evidence, traditionally referred to as *glosses*, is of special importance for the knowledge of the Anatolian languages themselves, because most of time they are languages of fragmentary attestation.

Through a philological and linguistic analysis of such materials and a discussion on selected cases of language interference, this chapter will provide an overview of the role of the Greek language during the 1st millennium BCE in two particular regions of Anatolia, namely Lycia and

¹ This paper is a result of the project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299). Valerio Pisaniello wrote sections 2.1, 2.1.1., 2.1.2, and 3.1; Stella Merlin wrote sections 2.2 and 3.2. Both authors are responsible for sections 1 and 4.

Lydia, its interactions with the two Anatolian languages, together with the metalinguistic information retrieved from late Greek sources.

Keywords: Lycian, Lydian, Greek language in Anatolia, language contact, glosses.

1. Introduction

It is difficult to precisely date the Greek presence in Asia Minor. As is well-known, a number of Hittite texts of the 2nd millennium BCE mention the Ahhiya(wa)-people in relation to western Anatolia.² However, while there can be little doubt that such a designation corresponded to the Greek Ἀχαιοί,³ it is highly debated both to what kind of political entity it referred – whether a kingdom, a federation, or something else – and where it was actually located, i.e., whether Ahhiya(wa) referred to the Mycenaean kingdoms of the Greek mainland or to peripheral centres located on the coastal areas of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands.⁴

In any case, no documents in a Greek language are currently known from the 2nd millennium BCE Anatolia;⁵ if we except sporadic Greek personal names in Hittite sources, the history of the Greek language in Asia Minor only begins in the 1st millennium BCE for us, as a result of the Greek colonization – traditionally dated to the 11th century BCE – and after the development of the Greek alphabet between the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. The earliest Greek documents from Asia Minor are vase inscriptions dated to the early and mid-7th century BCE.⁶

During the 1st millennium BCE, Anatolia was populated by several local states and kingdoms with which Greek peoples came into contact. In each community, a number of epichoric and foreign languages were employed and interacted with each other, and Ancient Greek became part of this complex picture. Memories and echoes of such interactions are also found in the Greek literature and

2 An updated collection and edition of all of the texts was published by Beckman, Bryce and Cline (2011).

3 See already Forrer 1924: 9. Also note that the place name *Akhalwija-* is attested in the tablet C 914 from Knossos (*a-ka-wi-ja-de*). Note, however, that Egertmeyer (2023) recently suggested that Ahhiya(wa) was not related to Ἀχαιοί, but should rather be identified with the Chios island.

4 See, e.g., Hawkins 1998, Niemeier 1998, Kelder 2004–2005, Steiner 2007, Fischer 2010, Kelder 2012. For a recent overview of the whole issue, see Giusfredi (2021–2022), with further references.

5 While some inscriptions in Linear A were found at Miletus (see Niemeier 2005), as far as we know, no evidence of Linear B script comes from any site of Asia Minor.

6 Cf. Wachter 2001: 210–223.

persist over time until the Byzantine period, many centuries after the Anatolian communities abandoned the use of the epichoric languages.

In this contribution, we will limit our research to two major areas, Lycia and Lydia, which, due to the amount of documentation, allow for a thorough analysis of the complex interactions between Ancient Greek and the local Anatolian languages, both on the Anatolian territory and in the Greek literary and scholarly traditions.

2. Ancient Greek and Lycian

2.1. Ancient Greek in Lycia and its interactions with the Lycian language

Lycian was an Indo-European language of the Anatolian branch belonging to the Luwic subgroup together with the different varieties of Luwian and the Carian language.⁷ The Lycian language is attested by ca. 200 inscriptions roughly covering the whole Lycian territory, the great majority of which are engraved in stone, a limited number on pottery, and a couple on silver containers. In this corpus, one should add several coin legends.⁸ Most of documents are dated between the 5th and 4th centuries BCE.⁹ While ceramic inscriptions and

7 On the position of Lycian within the Anatolian branch, see, e.g., Melchert 2003 and Rieken 2017. On Luwian varieties, see Mouton and Yakubovich 2021.

8 Lycian inscriptions on stone and pottery were first published by Kalinka (1901; siglum: TL), and later republished by Friedrich (1932: 52–90), who also included the coin legends. Those discovered after Kalinka's publication have been collected by Neumann (1979; siglum: N = *nova*, up to N 323), and the whole corpus has been re-edited with some corrections by Melchert (2001a). An updated edition of the whole corpus, also adding some newly discovered texts, can be found in Réveilhac's 2018 PhD dissertation (note that texts published after Neumann 1979 keep the siglum N). Finally, an edition of all the text not included in Melchert 2001a has been provided by Christiansen (2019). An online edition of the Lycian corpus is also available on the website of the eDiAna project (<http://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php>). Lycian coins have been published by Mørkholm and Neumann (1978), Vismara (1989a, 1989b, 1996), and Müseler (2016).

9 There are two graffiti on ceramics from Rhodes predating the 5th century BCE: N 300b, perhaps of the second half of the 7th century BCE, and N 300a, ca. 580–550 BCE. However, they only include a few signs, and the Lycian status of N 300b is far from assured (see Neumann 1979: 10–11). So far, the earliest unquestionably Lycian inscriptions are found on pottery sherds dated to ca. 500 BCE: N 313a, from Xanthos, only includes the personal name *Phnike*, probably explained as the Lycian rendering of the Greek name *Ἐπινικός* (see Neumann 1979: 30), and a newly discovered pithos fragment from the vicinity of Patara only contains the title [*pd*]*dēnehmimi* 'ruler' (see Dündar and Réveilhac 2021). On the other hand, the earliest coin legends in Lycian date to the reign of Kuprili (ca. 480–440 BCE); see Bryce 1986: 51. As for stone inscriptions, they are very difficult to date, except in the not so frequent cases in which an explicit reference to a Lycian ruler is found. Generally, paleographic criteria are followed to date the inscriptions.

coin legends include very short texts, mostly consisting of isolated names and abbreviations, stone inscriptions provide longer and more complex texts, which have been crucial to the understanding of the language.

All of the texts are written in an epichoric alphabet related to the Greek one but the exact nature of such a relationship is not entirely clear, although the assumption that it was an adaptation of a Greek alphabet from Rhodes seems to be quite plausible.¹⁰

The great majority of stone inscriptions include funerary inscriptions generally providing information about who built the monument, his genealogy, and who was allowed to be buried there. However, a limited number of inscriptions belonging to different typologies exist, including votive texts, dedications, decrees, and a long but unfortunately poorly-understood historical-propagandistic inscription. Based on the typology of documents, it appears clear that Lycian was the official language of the region, employed in both the public and private spheres.

The inscriptions attest to two different Lycian varieties: Lycian A, also simply referred to as Lycian, which is found on the vast majority of documents, and a linguistically more conservative variety called Lycian B or, conventionally, Milyan,¹¹ only attested by two poetic inscriptions.

Within the corpus of Lycian documents, some multilingual texts can be found belonging to different typologies, in which Greek is the language that most frequently occurs alongside Lycian, pointing to the important role that this language already played in Lycia before the Hellenistic period. A complete list of multilingual Lycian-Greek documents found in Lycia can be found in Table 1 below. We decided to also include multilingual documents featuring texts not related to each other, clearly pointing to a later reuse of the monument. Although they are not relevant for the current discussion on the relationship between Lycian and Greek, they may provide some insight into how the linguistic landscape of Lycia may have appeared in later times, when the epichoric language had probably entirely been ousted by Greek both from the public and private monumental inscriptions.

Linguistic features and the occurrence of some formulae can also provide an indication as well as architectonic features of the monuments on which the inscriptions are found. However, no criterion is unproblematic (on the whole issue, see Rix 2016: 65–117 and Christiansen 2021, with references). So far, the latest Lycian inscription seems to be TL 35, perhaps to be dated to the reign of Ptolemy II (see Rix 2016: 83).

¹⁰ See, e.g., Kalinka 1901: 5; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 3; Bryce 1986: 54–60.

¹¹ See Quadrio 2012 for the history of this glottonym and, more generally, on the relationship between Milyan and Lycian.

Publication	Provenance	Typology	Remarks
TL 5	Telmessos	funerary	later and unrelated Greek inscription
TL 6	Karmylessos	funerary	corresponding texts
TL 7	Karmylessos	funerary	two later and unrelated Greek inscriptions
TL 8	Karmylessos	funerary	two later and unrelated Greek inscriptions
TL 10	Pinara	funerary	later and unrelated Greek inscription
TL 23	Tlos	funerary	corresponding texts
TL 29a	Tlos	votive	corresponding texts, followed by a signature
N 343	Tlos	dedication (?)	corresponding texts
TL 32	Kadyanda	funerary	corresponding texts (legends identifying depicted figures)
TL 44	Xanthos	funerary / historical-propagandistic	a long Lycian (A) text, followed by a celebrative Greek epigram and an unclear Milyan text.
TL 45	Xanthos	decree	corresponding texts
TL 50	Xanthos	funerary	later and unrelated Greek inscription (2 nd c. CE)
N 324 / N 325	Xanthos	votive	Lycian text with related Greek epigram and short poems
N 311	Xanthos	votive	short Lycian text with related longer Greek epigram
N 312	Xanthos	votive	corresponding texts
N 320	Xanthos	decree	corresponding texts. The stele also features an Aramaic version of the text.
N 341	Xanthos	funerary	later and unrelated Greek inscription (Roman Imperial period)
TL 56	Antiphellos	funerary	corresponding texts
TL 65	Isinda	decree	texts perhaps related, but too fragmentary to be evaluated
TL 70	Kyana	funerary	related Greek text only including the name of the builder

Publication	Provenance	Typology	Remarks
TL 72	Kyana	funerary	corresponding texts. The sarcophagus also includes a second, unrelated Greek inscription
TL 73	Kyana	funerary	two later and unrelated Greek inscriptions
TL 115	Limyra	funerary	unrelated Greek inscription (unless it is a signature)
TL 117	Limyra	funerary	corresponding texts
TL 121	Limyra	funerary	later and unrelated Greek inscription (2 nd c. BCE)
TL 134	Limyra	funerary	related Greek text only including the names of the builder and his wife
TL 139	Limyra	funerary	Greek text on a different tomb perhaps corresponding to the last line of the Lycian text
TL 143	Limyra	funerary	related Greek text only including the name of the builder and his genealogy
N 302	Korydalla	funerary	related Greek text only including the name of the builder and his genealogy

Tab. 1. A full list of multilingual documents from Lycia, ordered according to their provenance. Documents with related texts are emphasised in bold.

In the following sections, we will show the interactions between Ancient Greek and Lycian on the Lycian territory by discussing the relevant documentation – mostly (but not exclusively) including the multilingual inscriptions – arranged, as far as possible, in a chronological order. Indeed, as recently remarked by Réveilhac (2021),¹² the history of the Greek language in pre-Hellenistic and early Hellenistic Lycia can be divided into two stages. Firstly, between the late 5th and early 4th centuries BCE, the Greek language is strictly tied to the poetic genre and public/official use by the Lycian rulers. Then, roughly from mid-4th century BCE, probably as a consequence of the Hecatomnids' establishment in Lycia, it detaches from the poetic genre and spread to the private dimension, being increasingly used, e.g., in funerary inscriptions, finally completely replacing the Lycian language during the 3rd century BCE.

¹² But see also, among others, Gusmani 2007: 17–19.

4.1.1. Ancient Greek and Lycian between the late 5th and the first half of the 4th century BCE

Contacts between Lycians and Greeks probably occurred from at least the Archaic period, as is shown by the ceramic findings at Xanthos.¹³ The earliest Greek inscriptions from Lycia date to the 5th century BCE and are not only coeval with the Lycian ones, but are mostly in connection with them. As pointed out by Réveilhac (2021), in the earliest phase the use of the Greek language in the Lycian cities was restricted to the public inscriptions of the local dynasts and closely linked to the poetic genre.¹⁴ This is clearly shown by the Greek inscriptions from Xanthos found on monuments dated to the reign of Erbbina/Arbinas (ca. 493–480 BCE), son of Xeriga/Gergis, including:

- 1 The so-called “Xanthos Pillar” (TL 44), originally supporting the tomb of a Lycian dynast, probably Xeriga/Gergis, on which one can find a long historical-propagandistic inscription in Lycian A celebrating the military exploits of Xeriga,¹⁵ very difficult to interpret (from 44a, 1 to 44c, 19), a celebrative Greek epigram with a very peculiar metrical structure (44c, 20–31),¹⁶ and a rather unclear text in Milyan (44c, 32–44d, 71);
- 2 The base of a statue dedicated to Leto, with a long Greek hexametric epigram celebrating Arbinas' exploits on face A, followed by an elegiac couplet with the poet's signature, and probably five different short poems

¹³ See Keen 1998: 66, with references.

¹⁴ An exception to this scenario could be represented by a votive inscription found at Phaselis, in Eastern Lycian, also dated before the 4th century BCE, which contains the dedication of a tithe to Athena Polias by two men (TAM II 1184: Νικάνδρος ὁ Νικίωνος | καὶ Πολυαῖνετος | ὁ Πολυκάρτεος | τάθαναίαι τὰι Πολιάδι | ἀπὸ ναυτιλίας | δεκάταν ἀνέθεκαν, ‘Nikandros, son of Nikion, and Polyainetos, son of Polykardeos, dedicated a tithe to Athena Polias from a voyage’). However, this is only an apparent exception, because Phaselis was not a Lycian city but a fully Greek *polis*, founded by the Rhodian city of Lindos in 691/690 BCE and culturally independent from Lycia (See Keen 1998: 233–235; Keen and Hansen 2004: 1140–1141).

¹⁵ The name of the dynast is lost in the Lycian text (we only read that he was the son of Harpagus) and only partly readable in the Greek epigram (l. 5/24 [...]). The possible candidates are Xerēi (cf., e.g., Imbert 1894: 459–461, Childs 1979, Bryce 1986: 97 fn. 126) and, more likely, Xeriga (cf., e.g., Laroche 1974: 145–146, Bousquet 1975, Schürr 2007: 32). In any case, the monument was probably erected by Erbbina (see Réveilhac 2021: 69).

¹⁶ Two hexameters (ll. 1–2), two pentameters (ll. 3–4), two elegiac couplets (ll. 5–8), and four hexameters (ll. 9–12).

in hexameters and elegiac couplets on face B.¹⁷ Faces C and D are occupied by two fragmentary Lycian inscriptions (N 324 and N 325).¹⁸

3. The base of a statue dedicated to Artemis, with a fragmentary Greek epigram in elegiac couplets on the front side, followed by the poet's signature, and a short Lycian inscription on the left side (N 311).¹⁹

Some observations on the Greek language of these poetic inscriptions are in order. The epigram on the Xanthos Pillar is written in the Attic dialect, and had a specific model, because the first line – [ἐ]ξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην [Α]σίας δίχ' αὖ πόν[τ]ος ἔνιμ[ε]ν, 'Since the sea divided Europe asunder from Asia' was a literal quotation of the incipit of an epigram ascribed to Simonides celebrating an Athenian victory against the Persians (FGE 45), transmitted by several literary sources. The rest of the text was also clearly inspired by the same model, which may also justify its peculiar metrical structure. The text also featured some unusual Homerisms that were not found in Simonides' text but instead reflect an independent knowledge and re-elaboration of the Homeric text.²⁰ We do not know who the poet was, because he did not leave his signature at the end of the epigram. Based on the amount of Attic material in the epigram, which is even larger than in Simonides' one, it has been suggested that it was the work of an Attic poet, although one cannot exclude a local poet with a good knowledge of the Attic dialect,²¹ nor a Greek poet of different origin, as is the case of the Greek epigram on the base of a statue dedicated to Leto discussed below. Note that the choice of the Attic dialect may appear to be unexpected, especially after the defeat and death of the Athenian general Melesander in Lycia (430/429 BCE),²² an episode that was also mentioned in the Lycian inscription on the same monument (TL 44a, 44–46).²³ If this choice

17 See Réveilhac 2021: 75–76.

18 For the Greek texts and a commentary, see Bousquet 1975, Savalli 1988, and Hansen 1989: 281–284 (n. 888), with references. For the Lycian inscriptions, one should refer to the editions mentioned in fn. 8 above.

19 For the Greek text, see Bousquet 1975 and Hansen 1989: 284–285 (n. 889), with references.

20 For a thorough analysis, see Cassio 2019: 17–37. See also Podestà 2017: 70–71; Facella 2018.

21 See Cassio 2019: 24, with references.

22 Cf. Thuc. 2.69. On the relationship between Lycia and Athens, see also Keen 1999 and Thonemann 2009.

23 The Lycian text reads: *xbane: ese: trbbēnīmī: teβete: terñ se millasāñtrā: pddēneke: xbanīje: tzedri ebbījedt: hātahe*. Its interpretation is not entirely clear, but see the tentative translation by Schürr (2010: 152): "Bei Kyaneai nieder Trbbenimi warf das Heer und den Melesandros, vor den *ekl*, den kyaneischen, eigenhändig *hātahe*."

did not depend on an Athenian poet, it could be explained as either a mere reflex of the high prestige of the Attic culture in Lycia or as a specific political choice to celebrate Xeriga's exploits against the Athenians by employing both the language and the stylistic modules with which the now-defeated had celebrated their former victories.²⁴

The Greek epigram found on face A of the base of the statue dedicated to Leto bears the signature of the poet, an otherwise-unknown Symmachos, son of Eumedes, who was from Pellana, in Laconia.²⁵ However, despite the Doric background of the poet, the language of the epigram is, again, the Attic dialect, with some Homerisms.²⁶ The only possible Doricism would be φραδῶ in l. 8 instead of the expected φραδῆ.²⁷ Sporadic Doricisms can also be found in the poetic compositions found on face B, for which we do not have poets' signatures (cf. Λατοί in l. 26 and Λατώ in l. 51 vs. Λητώ in l. 9 of Symmachos' epigram).²⁸

The same observations are valid for the short Greek epigram on the base of a statue dedicated to Artemis, although the text is very fragmentary: The Greek dialect employed is again the Attic one, with sporadic Doricisms (cf. Θηροφόννα in l. 2 and παιδοτριβᾶς in l. 7). The name of the poet is unfortunately broken (Ε[...]) in l. 7).

In these Greek poetic texts of the first phase, clearly belonging to the public and official dimension, no influence of the local Lycian language can be detected, nor it would really be expected, because native Greek poets were entrusted with their composition, and there were strong and prestigious Greek literary models behind them. One finds some evidence for Greek influence on Lycian, although limited to sporadic loanwords (all technical terms), in some cases – seemingly

from a Doric dialect (Rhodian?). Besides personal names (e.g., *Milasāñtra* < Μελησανδρος in TL 44a, 45), consider *krzzānase* 'peninsula' < χερσονᾶσος (TL 44a, 53), *trijere* < τριήρης (TL 44b, 22, 23), broken *sttral*[...] < στρατηγός (TL 44b, 18), **(a)gara* < ἀγορά (cf. *(a)garāi* in TL 44b, 62),²⁹ and perhaps *sttala* 'stele'

24 See Réveilhac 2021: 77.

25 Σύμμαχος Εὐμήδεος Πελλανεύς μάντις ἀ[μύμων] | δῶρον ἔτευξε ἐλεγῆα Ἀρβιναι εὐσυνέ[τω]ς, 'Symmachos, son of Eumedes, from Pellana, excellent diviner, capably composed the elegy as a gift for Arbinas.'

26 Note the self-designation of Symmachos as μάντις ἀμύμων.

27 See Bousquet 1975: 146 fn. 20: "Dorisme fortuit, ou influence du datif pluriel courant, qui ne pouvait trouver place dans le vers?". Also note the unexpected form κεχαρμμένα for κεχαρισμένα in l. 17, perhaps a mistake, showing the expected outcome of Lesbian and Thessalian (vs. the Laconian outcome with long vowel and simple consonant; see Mitchell 1984: 734–735).

28 For possible Iranian influences on this epigram, see Herrenschildt 1986.

29 The Lycian text reads *eb[e]l/a garā: zeust*, but a reading *eb[e]l/a-garā: zeust* is also possible. In any case, it is highly likely that the dative *(a)garāi Zeust* adapted the Greek

< σῶλα (TL 44a, 1; 44c, 5, 7),³⁰ although a genuine Lycian etymology is not excluded.³¹

Another Greek poetic inscription was found at Limyra in Eastern Lycia, a city ruled by the king Perikle (370–360 BCE),³² whose name was, of course, the Lycian adaptation of the Greek name Περικλῆς.³³ Not unexpectedly, the text (SEG 41 1382),³⁴ a dedication to Zeus only consisting of two hexameters, is written in the Attic dialect with some Homerisms. The altar on which the inscription occurs is fragmentary, so that we do not know whether a Lycian inscription accompanied the Greek text.

A possible exception to the exclusively poetic use of the Greek language in this phase could be represented by the bilingual inscription TL 65 from Isinda, which is very difficult to evaluate because of its fragmentary status. Both the Lycian and the Greek texts seem to concern a religious regulation, but only one parallel passage can perhaps be identified between the two versions,³⁵ so that it is not entirely assured that it actually was a bilingual document with corresponding texts. It is equally possible that the Greek text was a later addition concerning analogous matters to those dealt with in the Lycian one. In the Lycian text, a certain Xezixa is mentioned, which poses a chronological problem. Indeed, it is debated whether he should be identified as the Xeziga mentioned in the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44), who belonged to the Xanthos dynasty and was Kuprlli's son and Xeriga's uncle. If this were the case, one could suggest that the inscription should be dated to the late 5th or early 4th century BCE. However, this cannot be obvious, because either he could have been a later homonymous (the different spelling could also be significant in this respect) or, if he actually was Kuprlli's son, the text might simply have included references to past events.³⁶ Note that an early date for the Lycian text would also be prevented by the occurrence of a late variant of the letter ε, as pointed out by Adiego (2014: 254). Furthermore, the Lycian

Zeús ἀγοραῖος. Note that the same theonym is also calqued in Lycian as *nelezē*: *Traqn* in N 324, 8 from Xanthos.

30. On these words, see Melchert 2004 and Neumann 2007, with references.

31. Consider the likely existence of a genuine Lycian verb *stla-*, on which see Jasanoff 2010, with references. However, see also Schür 2014.

32. See Keen 1998: 148–170.

33. Oreshko's (2021: 134) reservations and suggestion of an Anatolian etymology seem to be quite unfounded.

34. See Wörle 1991: 203–217; Keen 1998: 161; Réveilhac 2021: 78.

35. Cf. Lyc. *ne=we me=i kumaza* ... 'if the priest(ess) do not ... to him' (ll. 22–23) vs. Gr. ἐὰν δὲ ἡ ἱέρεια μὴ ὑπακούσῃ 'if the priestess will not obey' (l. 40); see Neumann 2007: 175 s.v. *kumaza*.

36. See Domingo Gygas 2001: 88–89.

text includes a second personal name, Pttule: if he should be identified with Ptolemy I Soter, or even Ptolemy II Philadelphus, a dating of the inscription to the 3rd century BCE would be likely.³⁷ All in all, it is very unlikely that TL 65 could attest to a public and non-poetic use of the Greek language in a very early phase, but the extremely fragmentary status of the document prevents any conclusive judgement.³⁸

3.1.2. Ancient Greek and Lycian from the mid-4th century BCE onwards

During the 4th century, the situation of the Greek language in Lycia seems to be changing in two directions: on one hand, Greek detaches from the poetic genre and begins to be employed for other kinds of composition; on the other hand, it widens its domains of use to also include the private sphere, alongside a continuing public use. Such a progressive expansion of the Greek language should probably be connected to the establishment in Lycia of the Carian dynasty of the Hecatomnids, closely related to the Achaemenid Empire.

A public use of the Greek language is attested by some documents from Xanthos dated to the reign of the Carian satrap Pixodaros (340–334 BCE), one of Hecatomnus' sons. The bilingual Lycian-Greek inscription TL 45 is a fragmentary decree including a tax regulation for Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara, and Kadyanda.³⁹ It is also possible that the document was trilingual in origin, also including an Aramaic version of the decree,⁴⁰ as is the case of another decree issued under Pixodaros' rule (and probably by Pixodaros himself, despite its illegibility),⁴¹ the famous Letoon trilingual inscription (N 320), concerning the introduction in Lycia of the Carian cult of the 'King of Kaunos' and related issues. The decree, probably dating to the first year of the reign of Artaxerxes IV (337/336 BCE), included a Lycian and a Greek version that more or less correspond to each other, and a more concise version in Aramaic – one of the

37. See Rix 2016: 306–310, with references.

38. See also the discussion in Réveilhac 2021: 82–83, with references.

39. See Bousquet 1986.

40. One might wonder whether one of the two small Aramaic fragments found at Xanthos (n. 5627 (fr. A) and n. 5743 (fr. B) – edited by Dupont-Sommer (1979) could actually belong to an Aramaic version of this decree (see Merlin and Pisaniello 2020: 192 fn. 32).

41. See Keen 1998: 10: "Given the Carian nature of the cult and the fact that by this time Lycia was under direct control of the Hekatomnid rulers of Caria, it seems plausible that, though the decree is couched in terms to indicate that the Xanthians had requested the setting up of this cult and Pixodaros, the Carian satrap, had merely approved it, in fact what was happening was that a Carian cult was being forced upon the Lycians, as part of a process of Carianization."

administrative languages of the Achaemenid Empire. Here some information provided by the Lycian and Greek text is lacking (mostly related to matters of local administration, such as the names of the local rulers), while some other relevant details not found in the other versions are added (e.g., the date of the decree and the designation of Pixodaros as 'satrap of Caria and Lycia' vs. only 'satrap of Lycia' in the Lycian and Greek versions). Therefore, the Aramaic text should be regarded as quite distinct from the Lycian and Greek ones: it probably was the official document from the point of view of the Achaemenid administration, only recording those data that were relevant for the administrative apparatus of the Empire. Matters of local government in Lycia, less important to the Achaemenid administration, were only recorded in the other versions. For this reason, it is also likely that the Aramaic version was more accurate than the other two in some respect. Particularly, the Lycian and the Greek versions seem to concern the establishment of the cult of two different deities, the "King of Kaunos" (Lyc. *Xñtawat(i)- Xbidēñne/-* = Gr. Βασιλεὺς Καύνιος) and an otherwise unknown deity called *ArKKazuma* in Lycian and Ἀρκεσμία in Greek. Conversely, the Aramaic text has a different formulation, *kndws 'lh' kbydšy wknwth*, 'the King, god of Kaunos, and his colleagues,' which, despite seeming less accurate because it replaces a theonym with a generic expression, was probably more precise. Indeed, in the Anatolian religion, minor deities were commonly organised in circles (the Hittite *kalutti-*) clustered around a main god. Therefore, it is likely that Pixodaros' decree concerned the establishment of the cult of the 'King of Kaunos' and his circle of deities, rendered, in the Aramaic version, by the expression *wknwth* 'and his colleagues'. The puzzling *ArKKazuma*/Ἀρκεσμία could thus be explained as the Lycian and Greek adaptation of a foreign expression meaning the same. Because Pixodaros belonged to a Carian dynasty, the 'King of Kaunos' was a Carian deity, and Carian influences can be detected in the Aramaic text,⁴² it is likely that *ArKKazuma*/Ἀρκεσμία also reflected an originally-Carian form, perhaps a

derivative noun built on the Carian cognate of the Hittite base *arḫa-/irḫa-* (cf. Hitt. *irḫatt-* 'row, series, circle'), as suggested by Carruba (1999).⁴³

Besides Pixodaros' decrees at Xanthos, other public documents in Greek were found at Limyra. Particularly, we could mention a brief honorary decree (SEG 41 1379), probably dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE, that was issued by the 'community' (κοινόν) of the Pernitai to Purimatis, son of Masas (Πυρματίς Μασάτος), because of his valour and righteousness (καλοκάγαθίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκεν) towards the city of Pernis, although the text did not include a complete picture of the events that led to the decree. This individual clearly was Purihimeti, son of Masasa, who also was the "author" of a Lycian funerary inscription found in the nearby (TL 99). Apparently, the decree did not have a Lycian version.⁴⁴

Another, unfortunately very fragmentary, Greek inscription from Limyra (SEG 41 1380), dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE, recorded a letter written to an unknown addressee in response to a former petition from a group of people, perhaps the *polis* of Limyra. As far as can be read, it dealt with issues that were standing 'from the time of Perikle until now' (ἀπὸ Περ[ικ]λέους ἕως τοῦ νῦν, l. 8), perhaps related to religious matters (cf. τὸν τε ἱεροκήρυκα καὶ τὸν ἱερέα in l. 4).⁴⁵ Again, a Lycian version of the document has currently not been found. This document also mentioned the Pernitai, but the context is extremely

43 In his analysis of the Letoon trilingual, Melchert (2018) regarded Carruba's explanation as problematic. He accepted the hypothesis of a derivative built with the Carian suffix *-uma-* but regarded the Carian toponym Ἀργασσα as a better base. Of course, this could be possible, but it would not fit with the Aramaic expression, which should thus be regarded as a quite inaccurate formulation. An alternative solution – although also not unproblematic – has been recently suggested by Vernet (2023), who explains *ArKKazuma* as the Lycian adaptation of a Carian name built with **ara/i-* 'companion' + an unclear element perhaps comparable with HLuw. *hasam(a/i)-* 'mighty'. As for the Greek adaptation, which displays some mismatches compared to the Lycian one, one might think of a folk-etymological association with the Greek adjective ἄρκεσιμος 'helpful' (vel sim.), from ἄρκεσις 'help' (see Rasmussen 1974: 69), attested as personal name, e.g., in a brief message on an amphora sherd from the Athenian agora, dated to ca. 475–450 BCE (Agora XXI B 7: Εὐμελὶς ἡ[ε] | ὅς τάχος, | Ἀρκεσίμος, 'Eumelis, come as quick as possible! Arkesimos'), in an inscription found at Kamiros (Rhodes), to be dated to ca. 268 BCE (Tit. Cam. 17, l. 12: Ἀρκεσίμος Δάμωνος), and in a long inscription from Eretria of the early 3rd century BCE (IG XII,9 245, l. 222: Πολυκλῆς Ἀρκεσίμου). The alleged Ἀρκεσίμου in CIG 9899+ from Frikya (northern Syria) is currently read Ἀρκεσιλάου (see, e.g., Jalabert and Mouterde 1955: 120; Hajjar 1990: 2283; Altheeb 2015: 245).

44 See Wörle 1991: 218–224.

45 See Wörle 1991: 224–234 for a thorough analysis of the text. Cf. also Keen 1998: 159–160.

unclear, and, in general, Wörrle's (1991) explanation of the Pernitai as part of the Limyreans involves some problems.⁴⁶

The Lycian-Greek bilingual religious regulation of Isinda discussed above (11.65) might roughly belong to the same period, or even later, but the text is much too fragmentary to be properly evaluated.

Finally, the bilingual inscription N 343 from Tlos, probably to be dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE, could have been an honorary inscription issued by the city of Tlos to an individual named Pteuna, but the text is extremely fragmentary and very little can be read, so it is also possible that it was Pteuna that dedicated a statue to the city of Tlos.⁴⁷

Besides the public use, as mentioned, during the 4th century BCE the Greek language also spread to a more "private" dimension, beginning to be employed in funerary and private votive inscriptions.⁴⁸ Among these inscriptions, one finds some Lycian-Greek bilingual texts, most of which include roughly corresponding texts as far as their content is concerned (besides TL 32, which only includes Lycian and Greek personal names identifying the individuals on the relief,⁴⁹ see TL 6, 23, 25a, 56, 72, 117, and N 312). In one case, TL 139 from Limyra, one faces a more complex situation, once the Lycian text is compared to the Greek inscription occurring on a different tomb located a short distance away. Here follow the two texts:

- (1) 1. *ebēññē: xupa m=ē=ti prñna[wat]ē tilume: zizahā-*
 2. *mah tidelimi hrppi ladi ehbi: xuxuneje*
 3. *se tidelme ehbi[e] se uwe: ti hrppi tati tike m=ēne*
 4. *tubidi h[p]pñter[us] mähāi: se marazija mññtaha:*
 5. *hññmidewe: mlejeusi: murñna*

'This tomb, Tilume, son of Zizahāma, built it for his wife Xuxune and his sons, and if anyone will put somebody in addition (lit. 'upon'),⁵⁰ the *hññterus*-deities and the court of the *mññti* will strike him. For' Hññmidewe, Mlejeusi, Murñna

- (2) 1. Ἀρμαπίας ἡργάσατο ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ τοῖς οἰκέτοις
 2. Ἐλμιδῶσι καὶ Μλαῦσει καὶ Μορναί

46 Cf. Keen 1998: 160–161.

47 See Christiansen 2020 for a thorough analysis.

48 Although the private dimension of funerary inscriptions is beyond doubt, one should notice that they sometimes included administrative information, such as the penalties imposed on those found guilty of any violation or the agreements made with the local authority (the Lycian *mññti*) and the fees for burial concessions (cf., e.g., Bryce 1986: 71–72).

49 See Adiego 2014: 259–260.

50 For the interpretation of this clause, see Oreshko 2021: 132.

'Armapias made (it) for himself, (his) wife, (his) sons, and (his) household members, Elmidawa, Mlause, and Morna.'

The last line of the Lycian text includes the names Hññmidewe, Mlejeusi, and Murñna, probably in dative case, but with an unclear relationship with the rest of the text (one could think that they were the sons of Tilume, but this is not explicit). The second line of the Greek text includes the same names, seemingly the personal names of the οἰκέτοι found in line 1. Therefore, it is likely that this Greek text was somehow related to the Lycian inscription TL 139, although they clearly were two different texts, as shown by the fact that the name of the builder mentioned in TL 139 is Tilume, while the Greek text mentions a certain Armapias. It has been suggested that line 5 of the Lycian text was a later addition, pointing to a reuse of the tomb,⁵¹ but different solutions are also possible.⁵²

In three bilingual inscriptions, the informative content is weighted heavily towards the Lycian side. Thus, TL 70 from Kyana displays a three-line Lycian text stating that the tomb was built by Sbikaza, son of Xñtanube and nephew of Temusemuta, while the Greek text only reads Σπτιγασα.

Similarly, TL 134 from Limyra includes a four-line Lycian funerary inscription stating that the tomb was built by Masasi for his wife Xuwata and providing other information, whereas the Greek text written below the Lycian inscription contains only of the two personal names mentioned in the Lycian text, Μασα Κοατα, whose inflection is unclear. According to Kalinka (1901: 87), based on the Lycian text, Μασα should be explained as a nominative and Κοατα as a dative. Conversely, Wörrle (1991: 221, 1995: 397) regarded Μασα as a genitive and Κοατα as a nominative, while Réveilhac (2021: 87–88) understood both names as datives, Μασα Κοατα. In our view, it is also possible to merely regard them as Greek uninflected transcriptions of the Lycian names. It is difficult to evaluate these inscriptions, because we do not have much information about who was responsible for the actual drafting of the funerary inscriptions and, more generally, on the sociolinguistic situation of Lycia in the 4th century BCE. One could perhaps speculate that these Greek texts, which cut down to the essentials the information contained in the Lycian text – i.e., to personal names, and in a non-adapted form – reflected the will of the clients to add a Greek epigraph to the Lycian funerary inscription, even when they did not have much

51 See, e.g., Molina Valero 2007: 137–138. Note that lines 1–4 of the Lycian text are written on the beam above the door, while line 5 is written on the door frame just under the beam, and not aligned to the preceding text.

52 See the discussion in Wörrle 1995: 391–392.

As for the opposite path of transmission, i.e., from Greek to Lycian, one essentially finds the same situation observed for the previous stage, with only sporadic (and not assured) Greek loanwords in Lycian texts, such as *sttalu* (provided that it was a borrowing), perhaps the title(?) *manaxine* < *μοναρχία* (only in TL 40a and 40b),⁶¹ and the very uncertain *āmmāma* < Gr. *ἄμωμος* 'blameless'.⁶²

Besides loanwords, some lexical calques – both structural and semantic – can be identified, but the issue is quite problematic. Consider the following forms occurring in the trilingual Letoon inscription: Lyc. *asaxlaza*- (N 320, 9), an agent noun in *-aza*- from a base verb perhaps composed of the preverb *ese-* + *xla(i)-* 'control',⁶³ matching *ἐπιμελητής* 'curator, manager' in the Greek version; Lyc. *epewētlmme*- (N 320, 6, 13–14, 32), convincingly explained by Adiego (1993) as a participle of a verb *epe*=(*e*)*wē*=*tl(e)*- meaning 'move around behind' (*vel sim.*),⁶⁴ corresponding to Gr. *περίουκος*,⁶⁵ and Lyc. *kumehel-* 'sacred' with the specific meaning of 'sacrificial sheep' (N 320, 27), like *ιερεῖον* found in the corresponding Greek passage.⁶⁶ Given the nature of the Lycian corpus, the fact that these Lycian forms only occur in N 320 so far⁶⁷ may suggest that they were calques on the corresponding Greek forms, which appear to semantically roughly match them. However, such an assumption – which is by no means assured⁶⁸ – poses some problems, because several hints suggest

61 See Neumann 1974: 110–111, not unanimously accepted (see, e.g., Oreshko 2020: 32).

62 See Neumann 1974: 109–110, but Starke (1990: 297–298) suggested 'burden, tax' for the Lycian word, followed by Melchert (2004: 3).

63 See Melchert 2004: 6. On *xla(i)-*, see Sasseville 2021a: 103–104.

64 The preverbs *epe* and *ewē* perfectly match the Hittite *appa* and *awan*, while the verbal root *tl(e)-* is traced back by Adiego (1993) to PIE **k^wel-* 'turn' (cf. Lat. *colō* 'dwell').

65 A third example, Lyc. *ahhita*- (N 320, 17), formerly explained as the plural present participle of *ah-* 'be' meaning 'possessions', and thus regarded as a calque on Gr. *ὄνια* *oōnia* (see, e.g., Melchert 2014a: 68, with references), should possibly be ruled out because the sequence *setahhītāl*, previously segmented as *se=tl(e)=ahhītāl*, is currently analysed as *se=tahhītāl*, with *tahhita*- (= Mil. *tashta*-, ultimately < PIE **d^heh₁-*) meaning 'dwelling for cattle' and matching Gr. *οικήματα*. See eDiAna, s.v. **tasgā-* (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1904>), with references.

66 See Oettinger 1981: 11–12; Gusmani 2007: 19; Melchert 2014a: 68. Conversely, Oreshko (2020: 33) suggested the possibility of a trivial development independent from Greek.

67 Note that *kumehel-* also occurs in other Lycian inscriptions (TL 84 and TL 149), but it is not clear whether it could mean 'sacrificial sheep' also there.

68 See, e.g., Gusmani 2007: 19: "non si riscontra alcuna connessione formale tra la terminologia amministrativa licia rappresentata da *pddēnehmīl*, *asaxlaza*, *epewētlmme* designanti rispettivamente dei sovrintendenti regionali, il governatore di Xanthos e gli abitanti del relativo contado – e le traduzioni greche (*ἄρχοντες*, *ἐπιμελητής*, *περίουκος*), che per la loro genericità semantica fanno pensare a corrispondenze approssimative, nient'affatto istituzionalizzate."

that it was the Greek version of the decree that depended on the Lycian one (see below). Therefore, despite their unique occurrence in N 320, one should perhaps assume that these calques originated independently from the specific context of the multilingual document in which we find them attested. However, once one disengages them from the Greek version of N 320, the possibility opens that the Greek models of these alleged calques could have been different from the forms attested in the Greek text of N 320. In other words, if *asaxlaza*- was not an occasional formation calqued on *ἐπιμελητής* in the context of the Letoon trilingual, but had an independent life in the Lycian lexicon, its model could have been a different Greek word, and *ἐπιμελητής* may simply have been chosen as one of the possible corresponding expressions by the translator of the text. Needless to say, in such a scenario the assumption that they were calques would be quite aprioristic. However, the case of *kumehel-* seems to be hardly dismissible, which raises the following question: does the dependency of the Greek version on Lycian actually exclude the possibility of Lycian calques on Greek? In our opinion, the answer is no. The trilingual stele of the Letoon, indeed, is just the final output of what we can imagine was a complex process of elaboration, as shown by the fact that it included, as mentioned, two different texts of the decree: the more concise official version addressed to the Achaemenid administration, in Aramaic language, and the official version for the local administration, in Lycian and Greek. Conceiving the work of the scribes as a mechanical and straightforward process, first involving the drafting of the Lycian version and then its translation into Greek, is hardly plausible. One should probably understand it as a more dynamic process consisting of a number of stages in which, for instance, scribes with different skills worked together to produce a unified text in two different languages, which opens the possibility of Greek influences on the Lycian version. One could also imagine that some Greek designations for official titles or positions could have reflected specific choices made by the strongly Hellenised Hecatomnid administration, which influenced the Lycian text when the decree was being drafted. One cannot either rule out the possibility that the first draft of the decree – perhaps a concise text only containing general instructions to be implemented by the local administration – was issued in Greek by Pixodaros' office, and the Lycian text we read represented a thorough reworking of such a document carried out after the implementation of the required measures (e.g., the appointment of cult officials). The definitive form of the Lycian text thus produced could then have been translated into the Greek version we read, which could also retain some of the choices found in the first draft. Of course, this is nothing more than a very speculative scenario of how things might have been, but it would allow us to

explain both some phenomena of mutual influence and those cases of significant divergence between the two versions.⁶⁹

Outside the Letoon trilingual, a possible calque is found in the funerary inscription TL 6 from Karmylessos:

- (5) 1. *ebēññē ñtatā m=ene=prñawātē pulenjda mullijeseh se=dapara pulenjdah*
 puri-
 2. *himetehe pr[ñ]n[e]zije hi hrppi lada epttehe se=tideime se=ije ti=(e)seri ta*
 3. *di tike ñtat[a] ebehi me=ije [httēm]i punama00i aladahali: ada ˘*
 4. *τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα ἐργάσαντο Ἀπολλωνίδης Μολλίσσιος καὶ Λαπάρας*
 5. *Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδου Πυρμιάτιος οἰκεῖοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ταῖς ἐσotῶν*
 6. *[κα]ὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις· καὶ ἂν τις ἀδικήσῃ τὸ μνήμα τοῦτο*
 7. *ἐξώλεα [κ]αὶ πανώλεα εἴη ἅotῶι πάντων*

Lycian: 'This burial chamber, Pulenjda, (son) of Mullijese, and Dapara, (son) of Pulenida, household members of Purihimete, built it for their wives and sons; and who lays someone (else) in this burial chamber, the anger of all (be) upon him. For the transfer (of the corpse): 5 *adas*.'

Greek: 'This tomb, Apollonides, (son) of Mollisis, and Laparas, (son) of Apollonides, household members of Purimatis, built (it) for their wives and descendants: if someone will damage this tomb, the complete destruction of everything be on him.'

In this bilingual inscription, in which the Lycian and Greek versions mostly correspond, Lyc. *prñezij(e)*- 'household member' (ultimately built on an unattested Lycian noun cognate of Hitt. *per/parn-*, Luw. *parna-* 'house') is matched by Gr. οἰκεῖος. The latter form also occurs in the Greek inscription dealt with above together with TL 139 (ex. 2). According to Rutherford (2002: 205–206), the Lycian word could be a calque on the Greek form, unless one assumes an independent development. However, as noted by Brixhe (2007: 933), Gr. οἰκεῖος did not have the meaning of Lyc. *prñezij(e)*- in the rest of the Greek world, so that it should probably be regarded as a semantic calque on Lycian.

A likely Lycian semantic calque on Greek could be the Lycian preverb *epi* which, although being cognate of Luw. *appi* 'back' (cf. also Hitt. *appa* 'id.'), in some

instances seems to mean 'upon', like Gr. ἐπὶ,⁷⁰ although its interpretation in most of the contexts remains unclear. *Vice versa*, it has been suggested that the sporadic use of *enl* + dative in some Greek funerary inscriptions to indicate the people for whom the tomb was built, generally expressed by a simple dative elsewhere, was a calque on the Lycian formula *hrppi* 'for' (< *hr(i)* 'upon' + *epi*) + dative. See particularly the bilingual inscription TL 6 from Karmylessos quoted above (ex. 5), in which Lyc. *hrppi lada epttehe se=tideime* is matched by Gr. ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ταῖς ἐσotῶν [κα]ὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις,⁷¹ vs., e.g., TL 56 from Antiphellos, in which Lyc. *hrppi ladi: ehbi se tideime: ehbi:* 'for his wife and his sons' is matched by a simple dative in the Greek version, αὐτῶι τε καὶ γυναῖκι καὶ τέκνοις 'for himself, and (his) wife, and (his) sons'.⁷² The latter example also provides evidence for another possible example of Greek influence on Lycian: the Greek list of beneficiaries of the monument starts with the builder himself, expressed by a reflexive pronoun (αὐτῶι), information that is not explicitly found in the Lycian version, although, of course, the builder of the monument was probably also one of its beneficiaries. In a limited number of Lycian inscriptions, the builder is also explicitly mentioned among the beneficiaries with the formula (*hrppi*) *atli (ehbi)* 'for himself' (lit. 'for his person; for his own self'), which, due to its sporadic occurrence, is regarded as modelled on the Greek formula.⁷³ Of course, one cannot exclude an independent development; however, even in this case, language contact may have favoured its diffusion.⁷⁴

An assured example of Lycian influence on Greek is the occurrence of the word υἱός 'son' after the father's name in genitive case in the filiation formulae of Greek inscriptions, which is probably determined by the almost-consistent presence of the word *tideimi* 'son' in Lycian filiation formulae. Of course, the explicit occurrence of υἱός in filiation formulae was a possible and independently attested strategy in Greek, but it was far less common than the occurrence of the mere father's name in genitive case. In this case, interference simply promoted a lesser but fully grammatical use in Greek. Indeed, its probable interpretation as a calque on Lycian relies on the fact that υἱός mostly seems to be confined

69 On the discrepancies between the Lycian and Greek versions and possible analyses, see, e.g., Storne 2014 and Melchert 2021: 349–359. According to Melchert (2021: 350), the Lycian and Greek texts we read can be the product of "a native speaker of Lycian with an excellent knowledge of Greek," who also "may have had to invent suitable phraseology for which Greek had ready-made collocations and vocabulary that were familiar to him" (p. 359). Such a scenario, quite plausible, is not necessary in contrast with the one tentatively suggested here, because it only concerns the final steps of the composition of the document, and can be easily accommodated with the assumption of a longer redactional phase including preliminary drafts.

70 See, e.g., Melchert 2004: 14 and Melchert 2014a: 68. Such a solution is not accepted in eDiAna, s.v. Proto-Luwic **ōpi* (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=3087>).

71 See Rutherford 2002: 206, with references.

72 However, according to Daues (2009: 56–59), one could also defend the opposite scenario, i.e., Lyc. *hrppi* + dative as a calque on Greek.

73 See also the bilingual inscriptions TL 23 (Tlos) and TL 117 (Limyra), in which the Greek version has *ἑαυτῶι* and the Lycian one accordingly has (*hrppi*) *atli ehbi*.

74 For a broader discussion on this formula and its possible relevance for the relative chronology of the Lycian inscriptions, see Rix 2016: 108–113.

to bilingual texts for which a direct Lycian model was available.⁷⁵ Outside these documents (i.e., in monolingual Greek inscriptions from Lycia), we only found a single example, the inscription H II 34 from Limyra (4th–3rd century BCE),⁷⁶ which structurally perfectly corresponded to a Lycian funerary inscription:

- (6) 1. Τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα κατεσκευάσατο Κενδας Ασφα υἱ[ός] ἐαυτῷ <τ>ε
 2. καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις
 'This tomb, Kendas, son of Assa, built (it) for himself, his wife, and (his) children'

Less straightforward is whether the sporadic absence of *tideimi* in Lycian filiation formulae could depend on the common Greek pattern without αὐτός. Such an explanation seems likely in at least one case, the bilingual inscription H 312 from Xanthos, in which the Lycian version, occurring after the Greek one, seems to be secondary as far as the content is concerned:

- (7) 1. Δेमोकλ[ε]ίδης Θε[ρ]β[ε]σιος
 2. Λιμυρεὺς ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 3. Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνέθηκεν
 4. *ñtemuxlida krbbe[s]eh*
 5. *zemuris ertemi*
 6. *xruwala*
 Greek: 'Demokl[i]des, (son) of The[r]besis, of Limyra, for good luck, dedicated to Artemis.'
 Lycian: 'Ntemuxlida, (son) of Krbbe[s]e, of Limyra, votive offerings for Artemis.'

Again, filiation formulae without *tideimi* also occur sporadically in monolingual Lycian inscriptions, so that one should probably assume that it was a possible although lesser strategy in Lycian. A direct Greek model may have determined the choice of this use rather than the more common one.⁷⁷

Conversely, what cannot be regarded as an interference phenomenon is the absence of the definite article before the father's name in the Greek filiation formulae. Although this absence is sometimes blamed on Lycian, which did not have the definite article,⁷⁸ one should instead notice that it was regular in Greek. Indeed, as shown by Merlin and Pisaniello (2019: 101–103), the situation of

Greek inscriptions from Lycia, as far as definite articles in filiation formulae are concerned, perfectly corresponds to the rest of the Greek world: before a father's name in genitive case, definite articles are consistently lacking when the son's name is not in genitive case, while they consistently occur when the son's name is in genitive case.⁷⁹ To provide just one example showing both cases, in TAM 15 from Telmessos we read Διογένην Διογένου τοῦ Διογένου τοῦ Σωσικλέου, 'Diogenes (son) of Diogenes, (son) of Diogenes, (son) of Sosikles,' in which the article is only lacking between the first name in accusative case and the following name in genitive case.⁸⁰ Furthermore, as remarked by Merlin (2022), in general, the issue of the presence/absence of determiners cannot be merely reduced to the definite article, because all the definiteness strategies should be taken into account, including, e.g., the use of demonstratives and possessives, which, unlike a proper definite article, are present in Lycian. Indeed, once one considers other determiners, some interesting structures can be identified that seem to be characteristic of Asia Minor Greek, which may possibly find an explanation in a language contact perspective.⁸¹

Turning to another type of formulae, some translation phenomena are clearly visible in the curse formulae appended to Lycian and Greek inscriptions. Besides various examples of more or less accurate correspondence between Lycian and Greek curse formulae, one should particularly mention the phrase ἡμάρτωλός ἔστω 'be him guilty!' (against deities, usually θεοῖς (κατα)χθονίοις, θεῶν πάντων, etc.) that frequently occurs in the apodosis of the curse formulae in Greek inscriptions from Lycia (both monolingual and bilingual), because such an expression is specific to this region and does not occur elsewhere. Therefore, it is likely that it depended on Lycian curse formulae with *snimati* 'guilty',⁸² which is corroborated by the curse formulae of the Letoon trilingual (N 320), actually providing the suggested correspondence.⁸³

Interference also affected word order in several inscriptions. We will limit the discussion here to two major examples: first, Lycian funerary inscriptions mostly show a marked OVS order,⁸⁴ with a topicalized object in first position

75 See Merlin and Pisaniello 2019: 97–98 for a broader discussion and further references.

76 See Wörle 2012: 423.

77 For a broader analysis and further references, see Merlin and Pisaniello 2019: 98–100.

78 See, e.g., Rutherford 2002: 208–209 and Dardano 2015: 221. Sciancalepore (2017) provided the same explanation for Greek filiation formulae occurring in inscriptions from Lydia and Caria.

79 See, e.g., Meisterhans 1900: 223–224, Gildersleeve 1911: 266, and Miller 1916, with further references.

80 Further examples can be found in Merlin and Pisaniello 2019: 101–103.

81 See Merlin 2022 for a thorough discussion and examples.

82 See Schürer 2010.

83 Another example of formal match between Lycian and Greek in a formulaic context concerns "no one else" prohibitions expressed in Greek by ἕτερος/ἄλλος οὐδείς/μηδείς or οὐδείς/μηδείς ἕτερος/ἄλλος, corresponding to *kbi tke* or *tke kbi* in Lycian (see Macedo 2021 for a thorough analysis).

84 According to Kloekhorst (2011: 17–18), Lycian unmarked word order was SVO.

anaphorically resumed by clitic pronouns, as, e.g., in the inscription TL 6 quoted above (ex. 5), in which one finds both the clitic pronouns =ene attached to the conjunction *m(e)* and the nasalized preterit form *prñawātē*, originating from pronoun cliticization.⁸⁵

(8)	<i>ebēñnē</i>	<i>ñtatā</i>	<i>m=</i>	<i>ene=</i>	<i>prñawātē</i>
	this.ACC.SG	burial chamber.ACC.SG	CONJ	it	bulld.PST.3rd.SG
	<i>pulenjda</i>	<i>mullijeseh ...</i>			
	PN.NOM.SG	PN.GEN.SG			

'This burial chamber, Pulenjda, (son) of Mullijese, ... built it.'

The same word order is frequently found in Greek funerary inscriptions from Lycia, both bilingual (cf., e.g., the Greek version of TL 6: τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον ἐργάσαντο Ἀπολλωνίδης Μολλίσσιος ...) and monolingual (see, e.g., II II 11 mentioned above; ex. 6).

Second, in the following examples from Pixodaros' decrees from Xanthos, one finds very uncommon Greek verb-initial clauses matching Lycian sentences, showing the same marked word order, not counting clitics.⁸⁶

- (9) N 320, Lyc. 12–15 / Gr. 12–14
*s=ed(e)=elin=tātē: teteri: se(j)=epewētlmēl: hrmada: ttaraha: me=xbatē: zā
 ese=xesñtedi: qñtati<=tl>: se=pigrēi:*
 'And the city and the perioeci **transferred** land sections of the city and bound over a plot <that> Xesñtedi and Pigrēi shall till'.⁸⁷

καὶ ἔδωκαν ἡ πόλις ἀγρὸν ὃν Κεσινδηλὶς καὶ Πιγρὴς κατηργάσαντο
 'And the city gave (pl.) the field that Kesindelīs and Pigres worked at.'

⁸⁵ On Lycian nasalized preterits, see Adiego 2015, with references.

⁸⁶ The examples from N 320 are also discussed in Melchert 2021: 357–358, with the suggestion that Greek word order actually depended on Lycian.

⁸⁷ See Melchert 2018 and Melchert 2021 for the analysis and translation of the Lycian text of N 320.

- (10) N 320, Lyc. 30–32 / Gr. 26–28
se=j(e)=hrk(j)=aitē: tasa: mere: ebette: teteri: arñnas: se(j)=epewētlmēl: arñnāi:
 'And the city of Xanthos and the Xanthian perioeci made oaths for these laws.'

καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκους Ξάνθιοι καὶ οἱ περίοικοι
 'And the Xanthians and perioeci made oaths'.⁸⁸

- (11) II 45 A, Lyc. 1–3 / Gr. 1–3
[pñet(e)=ñn=ē pixe[s]ere kal[amla]h arñna se tlawa se p[inale] se xadawāti ...
 'Pixesere, (son) of Katamla, gave it to them, to Xanthos and Tlos and Pinara and Kadyanda ...'

ἔδωκεν Πιξόδαρος Ἑκατό[μνου] Ξανθίοις Τλοίοις Πιναρέοις
 Ἐκνδά[υδέοις] ...
 'Pixodaros, (son) of Hecatomnos, gave to the Xanthians, Tloecans, Pinareans, Kadyandean ...'

Note that, in ex. 9, the dependency of the Greek sentence on the Lycian one (or, at least, on a text such as the Lycian one) would be granted by the Greek plural form ἔδωκαν occurring with a singular subject, whereas the Lycian version provides the probably original model with the expected plural subject.

As a last phenomenon of syntactic interference, it has been observed that the frequent occurrence of καὶ in N 320 probably calqued the frequent Lycian use of the conjunction *se* in sentence-initial position.⁸⁹

We conclude our overview of language and cultural contact between Greek and Lycian in Asia Minor with some remarks on onomastics. The relevance of onomastic data is twofold: on one hand, they had – and still have – crucial relevance for the study of Lycian phonetics and phonology; much of our knowledge of these aspects relies on adaptation strategies of both Lycian names in foreign sources and foreign names in Lycian;⁹⁰ on the other hand, they provide insights into the sociolinguistic situation of the multicultural and multilingual context of the region. Indeed, as far as Greek and Lycian are concerned, the study of personal names provides a fairly parallel picture to the one presented so

⁸⁸ One could also suspect that *a(i)-* 'do, make' in the Lycian version may have triggered the choice of ποιέω 'make' vs. other possible verbs occurring elsewhere with ὅρκος (e.g., the more technical ὀμνῶν 'swear'). One should notice that ποιέω sometimes occurs with ὅρκος (cf., e.g., Xenoph. *De Rep. Laced.* 15.7), so this would be a further example in which a direct Lycian model may have had a role in the choice of one of the possible means of expression of a given concept.

⁸⁹ See, e.g., Blomqvist 1982: 17–19 and Rutherford 2002: 207.

⁹⁰ The bibliography on Lycian onomastics, especially in relation to Greek, is massive: one may refer, among others, to Zgusta 1964, Colvin 2004, Cau 2003, 2005, 2006, Réveillac 2018, and Adiego 2020.

far based on epigraphic documentation: from the 5th to the late 3rd century BCE, epichoric names were prevalent, although Greek names also occurred, and a couple of examples of individuals seemingly bearing both a Lycian and a Greek name were attested (see below);⁹¹ later, the frequency of Greek personal names started to increase, eventually outnumbering the Lycian ones, which, however, did not entirely disappear.⁹²

Although there are several examples of adaptation of names among the different languages more or less directly attested in Lycia (besides Lycian and Greek, one could mention, e.g., Aramaic, Old Persian, and Carian), we will limit the discussion here to only Lycian and Greek, focusing on just a few of the many examples relevant to the issue of language contact.

First of all, a number of Lycian personal names are built with a past participle as second member (e.g., *Mahanepijemi* 'given by the gods' < *mahana-* 'god' + *pijemi*, past participle of *pije-* 'give'), a word formation strategy that, in the broader Anatolian perspective, is quite uncommon, being only attested in Lycia, Caria, and Pisidia. Conversely, such a strategy is very frequent in Greek, so that it is generally assumed that its occurrence in some 1st millennium BCE Anatolian languages probably is due to Greek influence at the structural level.⁹³ Such a hypothesis can be corroborated by a couple of examples of direct translation: (1) in the Letoon trilingual inscription (N 320), one of the rulers installed by Pixodaros in Lycia bears the name *Natrbbijēmi* 'given by Natr' in the Lycian version, but in the Greek text one finds Ἀπολλόδοτος, and it is possible that the Lycian name was calqued on the Greek one, rather than the other way round; (2) in the late Greek inscription TAM II 650 from Kadyanda (1st century CE), an individual bears the Lycian name Ὀρνειπέμις (= **Urnepijēmi*), which is probably the Lycian translation of his father's name Μεγιστόδοτος (Lyc. **urne-* is related to Luwian *uranna/i-* < *ura-* 'great').⁹⁴

A different possible case of translation is found in the bilingual inscription TL 25a from Tlos, in which an individual named *Xssbezē* in the Lycian version bears the name Πόρπαξ in the Greek one. In this case, it is likely that the Greek

91 Although it is quite a different phenomenon, one should mention that double names are sometimes also attested for place names in Lycia. Despite some examples of unexpected adaptations of Lycian toponyms in Greek (e.g., *Plnale* vs. Πίννα and *Zemure* vs. Λίμυρα), consider particularly those cases in which Lycian and Greek employ two radically different toponyms for the same place, such as *Arinna* vs. Ξάνθος, *Wehñte/i-* vs. Φέλλος, and, perhaps, *Erneva(τη)ς* vs. Ἐλευθεραί (on which, see Pisaniello and Meriç forthcoming). See also Schür 2007: 33–34.

92 For a general overview, see, e.g., Schuler 2019.

93 See, e.g., Melchert 2013: 48 and Melchert 2014a: 68.

94 See Schür 2007: 36.

name was secondary to the Lycian one, because Πόρπαξ only occurs here as a personal name,⁹⁵ while *Xssbezē* (and variants) is attested elsewhere in the Lycian corpus.⁹⁶ However, it is unclear whether it was a translation, because πόρπαξ means 'handle (of a shield)', but the meaning of Lyc. *xssbezē* is unknown.⁹⁷ Note that in the same inscription TL 25a, one possibly also finds a partial Hellenization of a Lycian name: Lyc. *Purhimete* is rendered as Πυριβάτης in the Greek version, instead of the expected (and elsewhere attested) Πυριματίας or Ποριματίας.⁹⁸

The latter example leads us to the last issue we will briefly address in this section. In the Greek inscription JHS 15 (1895): 108,18, the same Lycian name *Purhimete* occurs as Πορασματίας, showing the preservation of intervocalic /s/ that in Lycian consistently yielded /h/. An analogous phenomenon is found in the personal name Κονδορασίς vs. Lyc. *Qñturahe-*, both occurring in the Letoon inscription N 320, and in some toponyms, such as *Telebehi-* vs. Τελεβησσός, *Tuburehi-* vs. Τυβερισσός, and *Tuminehi-* vs. Τυμνησσός. Such a situation can be accounted for through multiple solutions; one does not need to find a unique explanation valid for all of these cases. Thus, e.g., Κονδορασίς in N 320, like its Aramaic corresponding form *KDWRS*, may depend on a Carian preform, and *Qñturahe-* could be an independent Lycian adaptation of the same preform.⁹⁹ Instead, in other cases one may suspect that the model for the Greek form was not Lycian but rather Milyan, which preserved intervocalic /s/ (thus, e.g., the Milyan name for Tymnessos was *Tuminesi*).¹⁰⁰

During the 3rd century BCE, Lycian gradually lost ground to Greek, eventually disappearing from epigraphic use. All that remained of the Lycian language in Lycia was restricted to onomastics and sporadic borrowings, along with some

95 In the whole Greek onomastic corpus, it is only found as a dog name in Xenoph. *Cyn.* 7.5.

96 Also note the name Οσσυβας, attested in Lycia in some Greek inscriptions of the Roman period, which could be an adaptation of *Xssbezē*.

97 Hajnal (1995: 35–36 n. 28) tentatively traced it back to the PIE root **sah₂(t)-* 'to bind'.

98 See Colvin 2004: 66–67 and Melchert 2014a: 68. One could also add that the name of *Xssbezē*'s father, *Kruppe* in the Lycian version, is unexpectedly rendered as Θρόπις in Greek (gen. Θρόπιος). Adiego (2007a: 766) regarded it as a Greek name, but, as far as we have seen, it only occurs here in the whole of the Greek onomastic corpus, so that it is likely that it was an original Lycian name. Schür (2007: 34–35) explained the mismatch invoking a sound change, also providing further examples, but one could also suggest that this may be a further attempt to Hellenize the name, given that a noun Θρόπις (but feminine and with genitive in -εως) actually exists in Greek, meaning 'softness, weakness'.

99 See Molina Valero 2004: 1016 and Adiego 2020: 45.

100 On the role of Milyan in Greek adaptations of Lycian names, see also Martínez Rodríguez 2021.

formulae and stylistic modules that continue to characterize the monolingual Greek inscriptions of the later phase. However, traces of Lycian survived in the Greek literature contemporary with and following the time of its epigraphic attestation, also surfacing in the later scholarly tradition.

2.2. The Lycians and Lycian language in literary and scholarly tradition

The Lycians have been present in Greek literature since the very beginning. The region of Lycia (Λυκία) is often mentioned in the *Iliad* (but never in the *Odyssey*).¹⁰¹ Lycians are the last contingent of the Trojan army listed in the so-called Catalogue of the Trojans (*Il.* 2.876–877), a shorter counterpart of the previous Catalogue of ships (*Il.* 2.494–759): the region, said to be ‘far away’, settled around the Xanthos river, is ruled by the kings Glaucus and Sarpedon.¹⁰² As Podestà (2022: 40–41) observed, Lycia in Homer is frequently defined as wide and fruitful, in seeming contradiction with the region of Xanthos river, and this could be evidence of the intersection of two traditions: on one side, the memory of Lukka, which extended across Western Anatolia in the territories of Lydia and Caria, together with, on the other side, the power established in the Xanthos valley during the 8th–7th centuries BCE.

Moreover, Lycia is mentioned once in the Homeric Hymns (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.179), together with Maeonia, namely the Homeric name for Lydia (see section 3.2 below). It also appears a few times in Hesiod and the tragedians, and in the texts of the historians (Hecataeus,¹⁰³ Herodotus, and Thucydides).

As a matter of fact, as the history of the region goes on, the reference to the political, social, and linguistic entity represented by the name of Lycia changes: the ancient Anatolian nationality (probably corresponding to that indicated by the name Lukka in Hittite texts) became a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire during the reign of Darius I (522–486 BCE), then it was Hellenized following the conquest in 334 BCE by Alexander the Great, and finally (43–44 CE) it became

¹⁰¹ The passages of the *Iliad* are the following: 2.877; 5.105; 5.173; 5.479; 5.645; 6.160; 6.171–173; 6.188; 6.210; 6.225; 12.312; 12.318; 16.437; 16.455; 16.514; 16.542; 16.673; 16.683; 17.172.

¹⁰² Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἦρχεν Λυκίων καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων | τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης, Ἐάνθου ἀποδινήμενος, ‘Sarpedon was lord of the Lycians, and blameless Glaucus, far away, from Lycia, from the whirling waters of Xanthos.’

¹⁰³ See Podestà (2019) on Hecataeus, two-thirds of whose fragments are transmitted in the *Ethniká* by Stephanus of Byzantium.

the Roman province of Lycia (united with Pamphylia under the rule of some emperors).¹⁰⁴ According to Bryce (1986: 215):

‘the majority of our Greek and Roman writers knew only of a Hellenised Lycia, or a Helleno-Romanised Lycia, and apparently believed that the Lycian people had never been any more than a refugee offshoot of the early Greek or Aegean civilisations. Even the fact that the Lycians originally had a distinctive language of their own seems to have aroused little or no interest, to judge from the absence of any reference to it in our literary sources.’¹⁰⁵

Nonetheless, memories and echoes of the ancient Anatolian Lycia, its history, and myths, remain in the ancient literary and scholarly tradition even long after its disappearance. This is precisely the concept of ‘survivals’ transmitted by indirect tradition, mediated by both time and language. In this sense, Greek sources can be examined in search of linguistic as well as cultural and historical information about Lycia, its inhabitants, and their aboriginal language.

Ancient monographs entirely devoted to the history of Lycia, known as Λυκιστὶκὰ, started to be written between the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, Menecrates of Xanthos plausibly being the first Lycian historian.¹⁰⁶ One of the fragments, transmitted by Antoninus Liberalis (2nd century CE?) deals with the etymology of the name for Lycians, presenting a tradition according to which it derives from λῦκιοι ‘wolves’. According to the legend, the goddess Leto with her children Artemis and Apollo, after being driven by the inhabitants from the Melite spring, was accompanied by wolves to the river Xanthos. There the infants were washed, the Xanthos became sacred to Apollo, and the region, formerly named *temillis*, was named *Lycia* in memory of the wolves who cared for the goddess.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ See Keen (1998) for the relationships between Lycians and foreign rulers. Some reference to Lycia is also attested, beyond Lycian-Greek bilinguals, by monolingual Greek inscriptions from different regions: however, several of them date from the first centuries CE and thus refer to the Roman province of Lycia or Lycia and Pamphylia, not to mention the fact that, meanwhile, Lycia had also become a personal name.

¹⁰⁵ Bryce (1986) is one of the most comprehensive assessments of Greek and Roman sources about Lycia: see, in particular, Bryce 1986: 11–23, on the traditions about the participation of Lycians in the Trojan war, the Bellerophon tradition, and the reference to Τρεμίλαι, and Bryce 1986: 99–114, devoted to the historical background. More recently, Podestà 2022 offers a deep analysis of the ancient Lycian historians, from Menecrates of Xanthos (5th–4th centuries BCE) to Capito of Lycia (5th–6th centuries CE).

¹⁰⁶ On Menecrates of Xanthos, see Podestà 2022: 91–141. For the reference to the *Lyklakà*, see also Bryce 1986: 208.

¹⁰⁷ According to the myth, Apollo’s epithets include Λύκειος and Λυκηγενής, which could refer either to the wolf as a sacred animal to him or to the land of Lycia, the region in which he was allegedly born.

The reference to such an original name is also found in the *Ethnika* by Stephanus of Byzantium under the entry Τρεμίλη: it is first said, reporting a fragment of the 5th century BCE poet Panyassis, that the name of Τρεμίλη is derived from the eponym hero Tremilus; then, according to Alexander Polyhistor, that Bellerophon, having defeated the Τρεμλεῖς, changed their name in Lycians.¹⁰⁸

In these types of texts, there are surely many elements that can lead to a clear and more complete representation of the mythological, historical, and geographical aspects of Lycia. What we are interested in, in this contribution is purely linguistic information and its metalinguistic scope: in the passage of Stephanus mentioned above, we have evidence of a name change for the people. This is a particularly fortunate case, because we have the actual correspondence of the Greek form with the Lycian form *Trm̃mle/i-*, attested in the corpus of Lycian inscriptions, which means 'Lycian' both as an adjective and a noun.¹⁰⁹ The Greek shows an adapted loanword, which is attested in the two morphological variants of the first and third declension: Τρεμίλαι, -ῶν, οἱ as well as Τρεμλεῖς, -έων, οἱ.¹¹⁰ The forms with metathesis are also attested: Τερμίλαι, -ῶν, αἱ (Herodotus, Strabo) to indicate the region (cf. the variant Τρεμλῖς, -ίδος attested by Menecrates of Xanthos *apud* Antoninus Liberalis, see above) and Τερμλεῖς, -έων, οἱ, the latter only attested four times, twice in the grammarian Herodian (2nd century CE) and twice in Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century CE).

The linguistic information we are looking for are usually called "glosses". Before discussing some examples of Lycian (and then Lydian) glosses, it is worth briefly defining the concept of gloss in itself.¹¹¹ In our research, we consider any metalinguistic information about a given language as gloss. In the particular situation we are dealing with, an Anatolian (here Lycian or Lydian) gloss in Greek is essentially a Greek text providing some more or less extended linguistic information about an Anatolian language under consideration. The typical occurrence is a quotation for which a translation is generally provided or can be easily recovered by the context, e.g., "the Lycians called x so-and-so", "this is the name of x in Lycia", *et sim.* This is the case of the "overt glosses": the metalinguistic information about the foreign language is clearly given by the

Greek text, being separated from the purely linguistic flow of the text itself. But there are also "covert glosses", which are more difficult to detect because, as we will see in some examples, they are implicit, and both the co-text and context should be taken into consideration in order to detect them.

Glosses are found, as expected, in all the scholarly literature as glossaries, lexica, commentaries on literary texts, whenever a foreign term or expression needs an explanation. However, glosses are also found in literary texts, of different genres, both in form of overt and covert information. Strabo, for example, provides interesting cases of overt glosses of different languages, such as *Geogr.* 5.4.12, in which it is said that *hirpos* means 'wolf' in the language of Samnites (and this is confirmed by Phaestus: *hirpini appellati nomine lupi quem hirpum dicunt Samnites*), or *Geogr.* 11.14.8, where the author reports that *hgris* means 'arrow' in the Median language.¹¹² It is clear from these examples that the reliability of the gloss as a true indication of a foreign word cannot be completely entrusted to the metalinguistic awareness of the ancient authors, but, on the contrary, must be verified from the point of view of modern research and knowledge of the model languages.

Covert glosses may be such by a twofold path: they can be either foreign expressions employed without any explanation within a literary text as opaque and implicit metalinguistic information. The possible Lydian formula pronounced by a Lydian woman in a parodic composition by Hipponax (fr. 95 Degani)¹¹³ or the (pseudo-)Iranian expressions employed by the Persian ambassador Pseudartabas in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (100)¹¹⁴ belong to the first case. An example of an opaque and implicit gloss is given by the entry Ἰδάρνας (Hsch. ι 168) for which different explanations are provided: it can mean 'castrated' or 'barbarian'; some say that it is the name of a diviner; others that there is a city in Caria named Idarne and the diviners are called by that name.¹¹⁵ The text is highly elliptical and the reader may imagine that a Carian name for the diviners was somehow connected with the city name.¹¹⁶ The difference between the two categories of covert glosses resides in the aim: they could be linguistic expressions inserted in order to reach some stylistic effect,

¹⁰⁸ See Podestà 2022: 267–272; cf. also Merlin and Pisaniello 2020: 190 with fn. 27.

¹⁰⁹ See Melchert 2004: 70, with details on occurrences, related forms (e.g., *Trm̃mills*), and further references.

¹¹⁰ See, e.g., Hesychius τ 1299: Τρεμ[ε]ιλία· ἢ Λυκία.

¹¹¹ This clarification is made necessary by the possible conflict with other definitions, particularly in the context of the Anatolian scholarship (cf., e.g., Pisaniello 2020, with references).

¹¹² See, e.g., Schmitt 2014: 255.

¹¹³ See the discussion in Merlin, Pisaniello, and Rizza (forthcoming-a), with references.

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., Willi 2004, with references.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Photius, s.v. Ἰδάρνατοι (ι 15).

¹¹⁶ See Adiego 2007b: 7–12, 455.

as beauty, elegance, exoticism, but also humor and parody; very differently, a metalinguistic gloss aims to describe a linguistic expression in itself.¹¹⁷

Lycian glosses for which an explicit mention of the Lycian origin is given are in fact, very few. Molina Valero (2010) selected the following: *πίναρα* 'round', *πάταρα* 'basket', *τύμνια* 'wand' by Xanthians, in Lycia; *σιφλός* 'a passive man', a word transmitted by Eustathius, but it is possibly a Greek word used in Lycia during the 12th century CE, *Τζέλυμοι*, a local variant for *Σόλυμοι*, which seems to point to a phonetic variation rather than a genuine gloss; finally *Υλάμοι*, the name of fruits, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, who reported a previous tradition about a Lycian city. This last one could be an example of covert gloss, for which an explicit metalinguistic reference to Lycian is not given by the ancient commentator, but some textual reference is present in the same text and could direct the attention to a possible Lycian word.¹¹⁸

Unfortunately, a clear correspondence as that observed for *Τρεμυεῖς* (see above) is not always available for these lemmas, and careful assessment of all the available evidence is needed. Thus, e.g., Patara and Pinara are two city names, which Stephanus traces back to the alleged Lycian words *πάταρα* 'basket' and *πίναρα* 'round', respectively. The former can actually be connected with an Anatolian word having the same meaning, i.e., the Hittite *pattar* 'basket'.¹¹⁹ Although, of course, nothing can guarantee that this was the true etymology of the Lycian toponym *Pttara*- and did not reflect, e.g., a folk etymological association, the combination between Stephanus' gloss and an independent Hittite evidence makes it likely that Lycian actually had a word *pttara*- (vel *sim.*) meaning 'basket'. Conversely, in the case of Pinara, no comparable form is currently attested in Anatolian, and the fact that the Lycian city name was *Pinale*- further complicates the picture.¹²⁰ The case of *τύμνια* 'stick' is of particular relevance because it appears in Stephanus, under the entry *Τυμνησσός*, a city of Caria, named as such because of the "wand of Tymnessos", since *τύμνια* is the name given by the Xanthians to the wand. Molina Valero (2010: 461–462) suggests that this word could be related to the Lycian verbal root *tub(e)i*- 'strike',

117 From the point of view of the linguistic description, covert glosses could also be represented as phenomena of code-switching: however, because the written dimension always precedes the oral one in the ancient documentation, we conventionally also use the term glosses in reference to possible code-switching phenomena for which we have only written records.

118 To this list, one could add *καδρεμα* 'grain parching' and *ερενα* 'free(dom)', on which see Pisaniello 2021a and Pisaniello and Merlin forthcoming, respectively.

119 See, e.g., EDHIL: 659–660.

120 On this toponym, see Merlin and Pisaniello 2020.

matching the Luw. *dup(a)i*- 'id.',¹²¹ although the required change /bn/ > /mn/ is not attested for Lycian, but only for Greek. Furthermore, the corresponding Lycian toponym is *Tuminehi*-, whose relation to the verb *tub(e)i*- is by no means straightforward. All in all, if one accepted an ultimate derivation from *tub(e)i*-, bringing all these forms together in a consistent picture is a far from easy task.

1. Ancient Greek and Lydian

1.1. Ancient Greek in Lydia and its interactions with the Lydian language

Lydian was an Anatolian language whose exact position within the Anatolian group is still not entirely clear, because of our limited knowledge of the language.¹²² The Lydian corpus is currently composed of little more than 100 inscriptions (many of them very fragmentary) – also including metric texts – and coin legends.¹²³ Graffiti and coin legends are attested since the second half of the 7th century BCE,¹²⁴ but most of the inscriptions are dated to the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. Lydian inscriptions mostly come from Sardis,¹²⁵ the capital of the Lydian kingdom,¹²⁶ and are written in an epichoric alphabet that probably was an adaptation of a Greek eastern alphabet.¹²⁷

As far as the history of Ancient Greek in Lydia is concerned, we will outline a general overview based on the inscriptions discovered so far, although only focusing the discussion on the period of coexistence with the Lydian language

121 See Melchert 2004: 72.

122 See, e.g., Melchert 2003, Rieken 2017, Yakubovich 2022.

123 51 Lydian inscriptions were published by Buckler (1924), which became 53 in Friedrich's edition (Friedrich 1932: 108–123). The reference edition is Gusmani 1964 (= LW), with *Ergänzungsbände*, including 61 inscriptions. Those found in the following years were published separately in different volumes and journals (a full list can be found in LW, Erg. 1: 8). The whole corpus has also been published by Melchert (2001b), and an online edition is currently available on the eDiAna project website (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php>).

124 See LW 49, a graffito from Silsilis (Egypt), and LW 52, a legend found on different coins. Some inscriptions are dated to the 6th century BCE (the pottery inscriptions LW 30, 31, 32, the stone inscription LW 48, and the seals LW 55 and 56), while others date to the late 6th or early 5th century BCE (the pottery inscriptions LW 57, 60, 61, and the graffito LW 58). See Gusmani 1964: 17–18.

125 See Gusmani 1964: 19–20 and Gérard 2005: 21–22.

126 The kingdom of Lydia flourished between the 7th and the 6th centuries, until 546 BCE, when Croesus was defeated by the Persians and Lydia became a Persian satrapy until the conquest by Alexander the Great in 334 BCE. For the history of Lydia in the 1st millennium BCE, see especially Högemann and Oettinger 2018, Payne 2023, and Klinkott 2023: 599–611.

127 On the Lydian alphabet, see, e.g., Gérard 2005: 22–28, with references.

– i.e., roughly between the 5th and 2nd centuries BCE – focusing mainly on the earliest inscriptions.

Currently, the earliest Greek documents from Lydia seem to be some very fragmentary inscriptions found on a number of fragments of column bases in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, all probably bearing the same text, which can be reconstructed as Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν, ‘The king Croesus dedicated (it)’.¹²⁸

- (12) [Βασιλεὺς] Κρ[οῖσος ἀνέθηκεν]
[Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέ]θηκ[εν]
Βα[σιλεὺς Κροῖσος] ἀν[έθηκεν]
[Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκ]εν

These inscriptions refer to the dedication of the columns of the temple by king Croesus, thus can be dated to the period of his reign, between 560 and 546 BCE, and they seem to confirm Herodotus’ statement that “there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas [...] at Ephesus, the golden oxen and the greater part of the columns.”¹²⁹ Plausibly also related to the temple of Artemis is another inscription from Ephesus dated to the 6th century BCE, written on a silver plate in Ionic alphabet and with a partly boustrophedon orientation, which records amounts of money probably allocated to the construction of the temple (*Ephesos* 239).¹³⁰

Other archaic documents of the 6th century BCE from Ephesus include an inscription containing rules for the interpretation of signs through ornithomancy (*Ephesos* 1)¹³¹ and a sacred law concerning sacrifices (*Ephesos* 2), whereas a couple of inscriptions identifying sanctuaries (*Ephesos* 899 and 900)¹³² and another very fragmentary sacred law (*Ephesos* 3) are dated to the 5th century BCE.

Among the oldest Greek documents found in Lydia, one also finds inscriptions belonging to the private sphere, such as the funerary inscription on a marble stele from Sardis, dated to the mid-5th century BCE (perhaps even before) on a paleographic basis, which only reads Λεωμάνδρο : εἰμί, ‘I am of Leomandros’ (Sardis 7,1 102).¹³³ Possibly later but still dated to the 5th century BCE is

128 See, e.g., Cook 1987: 17–18.

129 Hdt. 1.92: Κροίσφ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ [...] ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσφ αὖ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί.

130 See Wankel 1979: 1–5 (n. 1).

131 See Cook 1987: 40 (n. 33).

132 See Börker and Merkelbach 1979: 1–2 (nn. 101 and 104).

133 See Buckler and Robinson 1914: 58–61 (n. 20) and Buckler and Robinson 1932: 103 (n. 102). An inscription of the same, quite atypical type is the Pytharchos inscription found in the vicinity of Persepolis, also dated to the 5th century BCE and only reading Πυθάρχου εἰμί (see Benvenuto and Pompeo 2017: 27–28, with references).

another inscription on a marble stele from Sardis (Sardis 7,1 103), unfortunately fragmentary, which could have been a metric inscription (two iambic verses), based on the current restoration of the text:¹³⁴

- (13) [μνήμ'] Ὀξύλο [τῶ – υ]
[– πρὸ]ς τὴν [ὁδὸν] |
[Στράτ]ηγος Ἰ[λου(?)] τῆιδ'
εὐα[γέ]ς εἰ[σατο] |
[The monument] of Oxylos, [(son) of ..., agai]nst the [road, Strat]egos, (son) of
[Ilos(?),] pl[aced here] in full vie[w].

While these are the earliest *original* Greek documents from Lydia, one should mention that there are some considerably later official inscriptions, dated to the Roman Imperial period, whose texts (or part of them) could be traced back to a much earlier date, i.e., to the period of Achaemenid control in Lydia. The first one is the much discussed letter of Darius I to Gadatas,¹³⁵ found in the vicinity of Magnesia on the Meander, on the Carian border: although the inscription clearly dates to the 2nd century CE, the text appears as a letter sent by Darius I (550–486 BCE) to his “servant” (δούλος) Gadatas, an official of the Persian king in Asia Minor, containing a reprimand for failing to properly execute the king’s orders. The second column of the stele included a very fragmentary inscription of the Roman Imperial period concerning Apollo,¹³⁶ thus being seemingly related to Darius’ letter.¹³⁷ The style, terminology, and phraseology of the letter are patently non-Greek, so it is generally regarded as the translation of an original Aramaic document, possibly made already in the 5th century BCE together with the original document. However, some scholars suggested that it is a forgery, made either in the time of Darius I or later in the Roman Imperial period.¹³⁸

134 See Buckler and Robinson 1932: 103–104 (n. 103).

135 First edited by Cousin and Deschamps (1889). Among the numerous studies, cf., e.g., van den Hout 1949, Hansen 1986, Briant 2003, and Lombardi 2010, with further references.

136 See Cousin and Deschamps 1889: 541–542.

137 See lines 22–28 of the letter: φυτουργοὺς γὰρ [ἱεροῦς Ἀπόλλ[ω]νος φόρον ἔπρασσε καὶ χώραν [σ]καπανεύειν βέβηλον ἐπ[έ]τασσε ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν [ν]ῶν, ‘you exacted tribute from the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordered them to dig profane land, ignoring the disposition of my ancestors towards the god.’

138 See especially van den Hout 1949: 144–152 (probably a forgery of the Roman Imperial period to prove the antiquity of the temple of Apollo) and Hansen 1986 (a “political manifesto by the Ionian Greeks against the Persians and their king” forged between 494 and 490 BCE, after the destruction of the temple of Apollo at Didyma by Xerxes, and originally written in Persian).

The second document includes the dedication of a statue to Zeus Baradates by Droaphernes, "satrap" (ὑπαρχος)¹³⁹ of Lydia. The inscription, found at Sardis, can be dated to the mid-2nd century CE, but the first two lines place the dedication in the 39th year of the reign of a king Artaxerxes, probably the second, thus 365 BCE (although Artaxerxes I is not entirely excluded, thus 426 BCE)¹⁴⁰. Particularly, lines 1–5 would include a copy of the original document,¹⁴¹ as would be shown by the large amount of Ionicisms:¹⁴²

- (14) ἐτέων τριήκοντα ἑννέα Ἀρταξέρξεω βασιλεύοντος, τὸν ἀνδριάντα
Δροαφέρνης Βαρ<ά>κεω, Λυδίας ὑπαρχος Βαραδάτεω Δι.
'In the 39th year of Artaxerxes' reign, Droaphernes, (son) of Barakes, satrap of
Lydia, (dedicated) the statue to Zeus Baradates.'

This section is followed – separated by a leaf – by two injunctions, dated to the Roman Imperial period,¹⁴³ but also clearly related to the dedication of the statue, perhaps summarizing materials from the original decree.

A third document one could add is an inscription from Tralles – on the border between Lydia and Caria – that can be dated to the 1st century CE, but the text seems to be a copy of an earlier decree dated to the 7th year of reign of an Artaxerxes, probably the third, given the mention of the Carian satrap Idrieus (thus 352 BCE).¹⁴⁴ The text is a decree of *asylia* for the sanctuary of Dionysus, and it is suspected to be a later forgery, in connection with the general re-evaluation of the rights of *asylia* that took place under Tiberius.¹⁴⁵ From a linguistic point of view, besides Ionicisms (e.g., ἱκετηρίην and the genitive in -εω), one could note some peculiarities, such as the unique Greek rendering of Artaxerxes' name as Ἀρταξέσσεω (gen.), which is closer to the original form compared to the more common Greek form Ἀρταξέρξης,¹⁴⁶ and

139 On the meaning of ὑπαρχος, see Robert 1975: 312–313.

140 See, e.g., Robert 1975, de Hoz 1999: 130 (n. 2.1), Canali De Rossi 2004: 136 (n. 235), Peta 2019: 106–108 (n. 434).

141 It is possible that the original document was written in Aramaic, but an Ionic version may also have existed (see Robert 1975: 310).

142 See the genitives in -εω and the forms ἐτέων, τριήκοντα, and Λυδίας.

143 Cf. Robert 1975: 310 fn. 11: "les parties II et III ne semblent pas susceptibles de contenir des formes ioniennes caractérisées, différentes de la *kolnè*".

144 Cf. lines 1–4: ἔτος IIIIII, μηνὸς ἑβδόμω βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέσσεω ἐξαστραπεύοντος Ἰδριέως.

145 See Sokolowski 1955: 173–174 (n. 75) and Canali De Rossi 2004: 140–141 (n. 240).

146 The name derived from Old Persian **Rtaxšaça-*; cf., e.g., Aram. *rthššš*, Elam. *l/Artak šašša* (with several variants), and Lyd. *Artakšassa-* (see Schmitt 1987).

the verb ἐξαστραπεύω, which is also closer to the Iranian name of the satrap than the common Greek σατραπεύω.¹⁴⁷

The bilingual inscription LW 20 from the temple of Artemis at Sardis¹⁴⁸ can also be dated to the mid-4th century BCE, one of the only two Lydian-Greek bilingual inscriptions found so far. The very short inscription is found on the base of a statue and consists of a dedication to Artemis:¹⁴⁹

- (15) *nannas pakiwalis artimul*

'Nannas, (son) of Pakiwas, for Artemis.'

Νάννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι

'Nannas, (son) of Dionysikles, for Artemis.'

The only noteworthy element is the replacement of the Lydian patronymic *pakiwalis* with Διονυσικλέος, probably a translation, because Lyd. **pakiwa-*, in all likelihood, matched Gr. Βάκχος.¹⁵⁰

Probably not much later, perhaps dated to 330–325 BCE, is the other – also very short – Lydian-Greek bilingual inscription, LW 40, found in the temple of Athena at Pergamon:¹⁵¹

- (16) *es̥y tas̥y f̥acvil partaras malil*

'Partaras dedicated (vel *sim.*) this column to Malis.'

Παρτάρας Ἀθηναίῃ

'Partaras to Athena.'

In this case, one may notice that the Greek text is clearly secondary, because it only includes the dedicator's name and the theonym Athena in dative case, while the Lydian one consists of a full sentence. Quite similarly to LW 20 (ex. 15

147 The name of the satrap in the non-Iranian traditions is generally closer to the Old Iranian **xšaθra-pā-* than its Old Persian reflex *xšaçapāvan-*, probably pointing to Median as the direct source (see Schmitt 2014: 284–285). For the prothesis in ἐξαστραπεύω, cf. perhaps Aram. *hšdrpn* (besides *hštrpn*) and Akk. *ahšadrapannu*. See also ἐξαστραπεύον[τ]ος in some inscriptions from Mylasa in Caria of the 4th century BCE (see Canali De Rossi 2004: 136–140, ns. 236, 237, and 238).

148 See Buckler 1924: 38 (n. 20).

149 Buckler (1924: 38) also noted that "[a]bout a metre to the westward and aligned with this pedestal stands an exact duplicate, on which a 2-line inscription has been carefully erased," later (Buckler and Robinson 1932: 91) adding that, based on its length and position, it could have been a duplicate of the bilingual inscription.

150 See Gusmani 1964: 74–75.

151 See also Buckler 1924: 57–58 (n. 40). For the Lydian text and analysis, we follow Payne and Sasseville 2016, with adjustments by Sasseville 2021a: 524.

above), the Greek version includes a translation, this time of the divine name: the Lydian goddess *Malis* (cf. Hitt. *Maliya*, Lyc. *Maliya*) is equated to Greek *Athena*.¹⁵²

Besides such documents, a parallel “pure” Greek tradition also existed, as is attested, e.g., by the poetic epitaph of Elpis in elegiac couplets (Sardis 7,1 104), probably dated to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BCE, structured in the form of a monologue with an address to a passer-by and displaying some epicisms (e.g., εἰν and ξένε).¹⁵³ Another poetic epitaph in elegiac couplets is that of Matis (Petzl 2019: 226–227, n. 688), also from Sardis, whose suggested date spans from the 4th to the mid-3rd centuries BCE.

A long inscription from Ephesus (*Ephesos* 572), dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE, decrees the death sentence of more than 40 Sardians who profaned the sacred objects and assaulted the *theoroi* from Ephesus.¹⁵⁴ This inscription includes several non-Greek personal names, which show some interesting phenomena of adaptation for which Lydian interference has been invoked (see below).

Much debated is the date of an important public document, the inscription Sardis 7,1 1, which is the copy of a mortgage deed through which Mnesimachus conveyed to Artemis the estate awarded to him by an Antigonos, in order to return a loan that the temple made to him.¹⁵⁵ The inscription is probably dated around the (second) half of the 3rd century BCE, but, if the Antigonos mentioned should be identified as Antigonos I Monophthalmus (382–301 BCE), the original deed can be traced back to the end of the 4th century.¹⁵⁶ What is of interest from our point of view is the large amount of non-Greek, probably Lydian, proper names that the document includes.¹⁵⁷ Apart from these, however, no clear examples of Anatolian influence on the Greek text can be found.

For the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, several monolingual Greek inscriptions, both private and public, are attested from different areas in Lydia.¹⁵⁸ However,

contrary to the Greek texts found in Lycia, the amount of Anatolian interference that can be observed on the Greek language of these inscriptions is extremely limited, with the Anatolian material being restricted to onomastics and sporadic loanwords, only one of which is attested so far in the epigraphic documentation. Indeed, only the Lydian word *kawe-* ‘priest(ess)’,¹⁵⁹ also occurring in Hipponax as καώνης (fr. 3 Degani), has been recognized in some later honourific inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period,¹⁶⁰ in which it occurs as καυειν (acc.sg.), probably *kawin*.¹⁶¹ All of the other assured or alleged Lydian words in Greek – either true loanwords or merely glosses – only occur in the literary and scholarly tradition, with a marked preponderance of forms in the works by Hipponax of Ephesus (6th century BCE).

As far as grammatical interference is concerned, the very few alleged cases that have been suggested so far do not always seem to hold water. Thus, at the phonological level, Oettinger’s (2002) suggestion that psilosis in Ionic and Aeolic could depend on the loss of the initial “laryngeal” in Lydian can no longer be accepted, because Oettinger (2021) himself has shown that the Lydian outcome of an initial “laryngeal” was *k-*, reflected as *κ-* or *γ-* in Greek (cf., e.g., PIE **h₂éu_heh₂-* ‘grandfather’ > Lyd. *Kuka-* > Gr. Γόγης).¹⁶² As for morphology, Dardano’s (2011) hypothesis that the innovative Greek relational suffix *-ιδᾶς/-ιδης*, also employed to build patronymics, could derive from the Lydian suffix *-da-* (< **-ida-* < PIE **-iyo-*) forming relational adjectives (cf., e.g., Lyd. *sfarda-* ‘Sardian’ < **sfar-ida-*) involves a number of problems at different levels, thoroughly discussed by Obrador-Cursach (2021: 61–66),¹⁶³ who also has shown that an explanation in terms of inner-Greek development is available and is probably preferred.

Perhaps a more plausible example of morphological interference could be the genitive in *-δος* in Greek adaptations of Lydian personal names found in an

152 See also, e.g., Serangeli 2015 and Warbinek and Giusfredi 2023.

153 See Robinson 1923.

154 See Wankel 1979: 6–9 (n. 2).

155 See Buckler and Robinson 1912 for a thorough analysis of the text.

156 For the date of the document, see, e.g., Debord 1982: 244–251 (for previous different suggestions, see Buckler and Robinson 1912: 22–26 and Buckler and Robinson 1931: 5–6). For the reasons that may have prompted the copying of the original document almost a century later, see Descat 1986.

157 See Buckler and Robinson 1912: 28–52 and Cuny 1913.

158 Among the earliest documents, we could mention, e.g., a law about debt (ca. 297/296 BCE) and a lease tender (ca. 290 BCE) from Ephesus (Wankel 1979: 8–27, nn. 3 and 4), a boundary stone from Philadelphia (de Hoz 1999: 157, n. 5.12; 279–267 BCE), and a couple of ex-voto inscriptions from Sardis (Sardis 7,1 87; first half of the 3rd century

BCE) and Thyateira (de Hoz 1999: 160, n. 5.25; 276/275 BCE). Other texts of the 3rd and 2nd centuries can be found, e.g., in de Hoz 1999 and Petzl 2019.

159 On this word, see eDiAna, s.v. *kawe-* (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=212>).

160 Cf. Sardis 7,1 51 I; Sardis 52 I–II (126–127 CE); Sardis 53 (1st–2nd century CE); Sardis 54 II (1st–2nd century CE).

161 See, e.g., Buckler and Robinson 1913: 361–368, Masson 1950, Hawkins 2013: 183–187. For another possible Anatolian loanword surfacing in later Greek inscriptions from Lydia, see Pisaniello 2021b.

162 See eDiAna, s.v. **Héu_h-eh₂-/*HuH-éh₂-* (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1500>).

163 To the objection presented by Obrador-Cursach, one could also add that the phonetic value of the Lydian letter usually transliterated as <ɖ> is not entirely assured. According to Oreshko (2019b), e.g., it should be interpreted as /j/.

inscription from Ephesus (*Ephesos* 572; cf., e.g., Ἀταδος, Καρουδος, Σαπλαδος, etc.). As suggested by Kearns (1994), if one considers the alternation between δ and λ occasionally found in Greek adaptation of Lydian names (cf., e.g., Ἀλυάττης/Ἀδυάττης),¹⁶⁴ such an ending could reflect a Hellenization of the Lydian suffix *-li-* building relational adjectives that replaced the genitive singular (cf., e.g., *pakiwališ* 'of Pakiwas' in the ex. 15 above).¹⁶⁵ However, an inner-Greek explanation also remains available, as suggested by Obrador-Cursach (2021: 65 fn. 28).

Little can be said for the opposite path of interference, i.e., from Greek to Lydian. Lydian texts include some divine names surely borrowed from Greek (Lyd. *Lew-/Lef-* < Gr. Δεύς [dialectal] and Lyd. *Lamētru-* < Gr. Δημήτηρ), which, however, can only attest for relevant cultural interactions between Greeks and Lydians, which were mutual, if Gr. Βάκχος and Ἄρτεμις were actually derived from Lyd. *Pakiwa-* and *Artimu-*.¹⁶⁶ Outside onomastics, no Greek lexical material has been identified in Lydian inscriptions so far.

At the textual level, it is possible, as per Melchert (2014b: 71), that Lydian "talking inscriptions" on seals and objects such as *manelim*, 'I am of Manes' (LW 56),¹⁶⁷ reflected a Greek model (cf. Leomandros' inscription above), while the possible Greek influences on the metrical structure of the Lydian poetic inscriptions are more uncertain.¹⁶⁸

As is the case with Lycian, Lydian also gradually gives way to Greek and disappears from epigraphic usage, its only survival in the region in later periods being, as far as we can see, personal names and very sporadic loanwords – e.g., *καυειν* 'priest(ess)', a technical term – in the local variety of Greek. Nevertheless, the memory of the Lydian past remained in the region even in later periods, as witnessed by the re-erection of monuments, statues, and stelae with Lydian inscriptions in Roman Sardis between the 2nd and 4th centuries CE, as well as the possible recovery of local cults, which have convincingly been explained as a reaction to the destruction of pagan holy places that had accompanied the process of Christianization of the region.¹⁶⁹

164 Such an alternation should probably be explained in the framework of the so-called "rhotacism" that affected Luwian, Lydian, and Pamphylian in the 1st Millennium BCE, on which see Sasseville 2021b, with references.

165 See Gérard 2005: 84.

166 See, e.g., Högemann and Oettinger 2018: 74–80.

167 See Gérard 2005: 105, with references, for the explanation of the form.

168 See Melchert 2014b: 71, with references.

169 See especially Rojas 2019: 35–43. Cf. also Pisaniello 2021b.

1.2. The Lydians and Lydian language in literary and scholarly tradition

The case of Lydia is very different from that of Lycia: first of all, direct and indirect evidence are inversely balanced. If for Lycian we have a significant number of inscriptions (although it is still a language of fragmentary attestation) together with some bilinguals able to illuminate the relations between Lycian and other languages, in particular Greek, for Lydian we have an even smaller number of texts, some almost incomprehensible. Therefore any "external" information is most valuable in understanding the language. The Lydian glosses, part of this portion of the evidence, are in fact far more numerous than the Lycian ones. Nonetheless special caution must be exerted, as we shall see, when faced with the term 'Lydian'.

To begin with, the name Lydia is not present in the Homeric poems, in which the name Maeonia is found instead.¹⁷⁰ In contrast, the reference to the name of Lydia (Λυδία) is well attested in the Greek lyric poets, including Sappho, Alcaeus etc. thus showing a sort of complementary distribution of mentioning Lycia and Lydia in the epic and lyric traditions.¹⁷¹ According to Herodotus (1.7) the name of Λυδοί has been given to the people, previously known as Μάλοες, by an eponym king named Lydos, son of Atys. Van den Hout (2003) has attempted an Anatolian reading of the Greek word Μάλοες, proposing an etymology that may link it to the Lydian toponym *Maddunnašša* attested in Hittite sources: the Lydian basis **madun-* would be derived from **may-un*, showing the Lydian change **y > d*, in turn from **mai-won* (with the same suffix corresponding to the Luwian *-wann(i)-*). This would be a possible model form for the Greek ethnonym Μάλοες.¹⁷²

Gusmani's *Lydisches Wörterbuch* includes a list of 46 glosses (Gusmani 1964: 271–278), for which a connection to the Lydian language has been proposed by ancient scholarship. Of these, 24 are regarded as assured Lydian glosses, 5 are falsely attributed to the Lydian language by the ancient sources, and 17 are signaled by a question mark indicating the possibility that a given word is a Lydian gloss, although the text is highly corrupted and philologically uncertain.

170 Maeonians are mentioned in, e.g., *Il.* 2.864–866; 5.43. According to some ancient traditions, Homer himself comes from Maeonia, a tradition that continued until the 19th century (e.g., *colui per lo cui verso | Il meonto cantor non è più solo* 'who for whose verse the Maeonian cantor is no longer alone' in G. Leopardi, *Canti*, 2.21–22, in reference to Dante who stands beside Homer).

171 This is by no means a rigid scheme: Pindarus, e.g., mentioned both Lycia and Lydia.

172 See also Melchert 2008: 154. However, Oreshko's (2019b) hypothesis that the Lydian letter <d> represented /j/ would change this scenario.

Among the assured Lydian glosses, Gusmani reported, e.g., λαβρυς 'double axe', λαίλαξ 'tyrant', μωλαξ 'wine', τεγουν 'stealer'.¹⁷³ However, it should be stressed that even the value of these glosses is not completely equal: we have, for example, an Anatolian counterpart of τεγουν, visible in the Hittite verbal root *taya-* 'to steal', hence the Greek form could easily be explained by the Byzantine reading of <γ> as the approximant [j]. On the contrary, there is no attested Lydian word that could have been the model for μωλαξ (Hsch. μ 2030): of course, this is not to deny that μωλαξ is a true gloss, but to record that its reliability cannot be verified.

The word ζακυνθιδες is among the pseudo-glosses: this word, supposed to be the Lydian name for turnip or, according a different tradition, round gourd, is in fact derived from the toponym Ζακύνθος.¹⁷⁴ However, the basic word does show indeed a possible "foreignness", because it is formed with the suffix -νθος, for which, since Kretschmer (1896), an Anatolian origin, or an Anatolian parallel, has been invoked.¹⁷⁵

One of the most corrupted gloss is κοαλδδεν (Hsch. κ 3169): in addition to some difficulties in the transmission of the text, for the interpretation of the gloss two have been the Lydian candidates proposed by scholars, namely *qalm(λ)u-* 'king' (Gr. πάμις), and *qldān-*, a proper name of a god or a man.¹⁷⁶ The definitive answer is not self-evident and cannot be easily retrieved from the testimony of Hesychius.

Hawkins (2013: 155–193), in a monograph devoted to the language of Hipponax is its entirety, analyzed a dozen of possibly Lydian words detectable in his iambic compositions, e.g., ἀρφύτνον 'discus', καύης 'priest', πάμις 'king'. Hipponax of Ephesus (6th century BCE) probably represents the most frequent reference in the Hesychian Lydian glosses: this means that the *Lexicon* of Hesychius comments first and foremost on the Hipponax' text and, because the only manuscript we have for this work is layered, it cannot be considered as the faithful mirror of the Lydian language. Diversely, Hipponax lived in a time coeval with the Lydian attestations and may in fact report some linguistic forms in use by the Lydian language, although his intent is probably never metalinguistic, but always literary.¹⁷⁷

173 See Gusmani 1964: 275–277, with details on sources and further references.

174 See Gusmani 1964: 273.

175 See, e.g., Chantraine 1933 and Hawkins 2010, with references.

176 Ἰκοαλδδεν· Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα. For a detailed discussion of the philological and interpretative problems, see Merlin, Pisanelli, and Rizza forthcoming-b, with references.

177 This is probably true even when his text appears as metalinguistic at first sight, such as in the fr. 2 Degani: Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μητιονιστὶ Κανδαύλα, 'Hermes dogthrotter, in Maeonian *Candaula*'. On this topic, see See Merlin, Pisanelli, and Rizza forthcoming a.

To further complicate the picture of the analysis of the Lydian glosses, the very meaning of 'Lydian' in the scholarly tradition is not obvious, as mentioned at the beginning. A complementary observation comes from the adverb λυδιστί which is in fact attested very rarely with the meaning of 'in the Lydian language' but more often with a more generic 'in the Lydian manner or style'. Moreover, the reference to Lydia found in some glosses seems primarily to demand a cultural and geographic reading, rather than an exact linguistic one: in other terms, when Hesychius reports that, e.g., βάκκαρις 'unguent from asarum' (β 107) and καρύκη (κ 915) 'spicy elaborated sauce' are, respectively, a Lydian perfume and a Lydian food, the reference is first and foremost to the product and not to the word that denotes it. This does not preclude the possibility that such products also concealed a Lydian name, but we have no certainty of this.¹⁷⁸

The general impression is that the reference to Lydia, very different from that to Lycia, appears in the Greek sources as a sort of hyperonym, with the general and collective meaning of Near East, highly characterized by those features of richness, opulence, and sophistication with which Greeks, from the Persian wars onward, used to represent in a unified way the variegated world of the Near Eastern people and civilizations.

4. Conclusion

To conclude this overview on the relationships between Ancient Greek and late Anatolian languages, limited here to Lycian and Lydian, a summary of the most relevant issues can be sketched.

In Lycia, the use of Greek probably started with native Greek professional poets who composed celebrative poems for the local rulers, to become then widespread and expand its scope to include the private sphere, as shown, e.g., by the large number of funerary inscriptions. In these texts, one can see a local variety of Greek with several Lycian interferences involving different levels of analysis. Bilingual documents show interesting contact phenomena: although some of them were perhaps confined to single documents and should probably be explained as occasional translation strategies, others also occur in monolingual Greek inscriptions from Lycia, and can possibly be regarded as structural features of the local variety of Greek.

What we face in Lycia is a play of mutual interference between Lycian and Greek, which were actors of a dynamic dialogue without unidirectional relations. The linguistic output of this interaction was almost never the creation

178 For further details, see Merlin 2020: 490–492; 501–503.

of agrammatical forms, but rather the promotion of fully grammatical structures – although rare and marginal – that could better match the ones of the other language.

At the end of this process, however, Lycian gave way to Greek, at least as far as the epigraphic use is concerned: what remains of this Anatolian language on Lycian territory was mostly onomastics and a few borrowings. In the late scholarly tradition, the Lycian language is very little represented, being essentially limited to a small number of glosses – not always explicit and not necessarily reliable – mostly explaining toponyms in Stephanus' *Ethniká*.

As for Lydia, Ancient Greek was employed in both the public and the private spheres from the very beginning. Differently from Lycia, the interaction between Greek and Lydian is far more limited: only two very short bilingual documents are found, and contact phenomena are essentially restricted to a few borrowings and onomastics; no assured examples of grammatical interference can be detected. On the other hand, one can see a major lexical interference, although often for parodistic purposes, in a local Greek author, Hipponax of Ephesus, who is responsible for the bulk of the Lydian glosses in the later scholarly tradition, especially Hesychius.

The analysis of such glosses reveals that "Lydia" also was a generic designation for "Near East", representing, in both the literary and scholarly tradition, a set of features involving fashion, cosmetics, and music.

Our perspective in this paper has essentially been limited to linguistic data, which needs to be implemented with those from other disciplines, such as history and archaeology, and should also be supplemented with a comprehensive analysis of the use of Greek in the entire Anatolian environment, which was an interconnected, borderless world.

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