'Restsprachen' in Ancient Anatolia: Direct and Indirect Sources, Transmission, and Reconstruction

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1   'Direct' and 'Indirect' Sources: A Common but Non-trivial Distinction*

In this section, the terminology evoked by the title will be described in more detail, particularly focusing on the possible interpretations of direct and indirect sources in relation to languages of fragmentary attestation. It is indeed worth resuming some terminological distinctions that, at first glance, seem quite trivial, but that precisely because of their widespread use in different fields and contexts of research may be subject to different interpretations and need to be clarified according to our purposes.

The distinction between direct and indirect sources can often be found along with other oppositions, such as verbal (written or oral) vs. non-verbal sources; intentional vs. unintentional sources. They may happen to be classified respectively as primary and secondary sources: the former provides first-hand (somehow *original*, despite the complexity that this term implies) and the latter second-hand information (derived).

Moreover, an applicable criterion is that of the contemporaneity of the source with the relevant event, that is, whether it is coeval or not. We could have on one side *immediate testimonies* (etymologically speaking, without any *medium* of transmission), and on the other one, *narrations*, even *reconstructions*, elaborated by a mediator.

It goes without saying that in all disciplines, from archaeology to law, from history to economics, from sociology to linguistics, such distinctions are of crucial importance in order to assess the accuracy as well as the reliability of a given group of sources examined in relation to a specific research question.

What are our research questions? Quite simply, we ask what may be the ways of knowing the Anatolian languages of fragmentary attestation, with particular reference to the languages of the 1st millennium BCE.

On one hand, we have the 'direct' tradition in the linguistic sense, that is, the written evidence in Anatolian languages. For each language, this is different in quality and quantity. For example, Lycian is known from about 200 funerary inscriptions and one long bilingual Lycian-Greek stele, while Lydian is known from slightly more than 100 texts, of which only about 30 can be said to be complete, and Sidetic from a dozen of inscriptions.

It should also be stressed, however, that we cannot claim that written testimonies (such as epichoric inscriptions) are a perfectly faithful mirror of the coeval linguistic reality, because possible literary or stylistic filters always need to be taken into account.

On the other hand, from a linguistic perspective the 'indirect' tradition is represented by the testimonies in other languages that tell us about Anatolian languages of fragmentary attestation. In particular, during the 1st millennium BCE, the coastal territories of Anatolia were inhabited by Greek-speaking communities with whom language contact situations were developed at different levels of intensity. There could also be other indirect sources, namely texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, or other coeval languages that provide useful information in the light of language contact analysis.

For each Anatolian language, the different balance between primary evidence in epichoric languages and secondary quotations in Greek is essential to the knowledge of the languages and indeed to their reconstruction.

In other terms, an important element is the 'relative weight' of the direct linguistic evidence as opposed to the indirect one; the latter is represented by, for instance, Greek glosses of Anatolian languages, understood as metalinguistic information found not only in lexicographical works of the Byzantine period, but also in any earlier author who may have had an interest or need to mention other language uses.[1]

The case of Lydian is of particular interest, because it is a little known language from the local inscriptions but for which we have at our disposal a fairly conspicuous series of lexical glosses, more or less authentically related to Lydian. In this sense, our knowledge of the Lydian language greatly benefits from all the sources that could convey some further information on it, such as the *Lexicon* of Hesychius,[2] as the selected case-studies will show.

1　For details on the scholarly tradition, see, e.g., Dickey (2007) and Montanari, Matthaios & Rengakos (eds.) (2015).

2　Hesychius lived in the 5th/6th century CE and his lexicographic work only survives in a

What has been expressed so far belongs to linguistic criteria, which define the direct/indirect opposition on the basis of the linguistic code in use in a given text and in relation to the language to be studied (and/or reconstructed) in the case of languages of fragmentary attestation.

There is also a philological perspective, which may well be internal to a language: the direct tradition is meant to be composed by all those testimonies intentionally produced in order to convey a specific text, whereas the indirect tradition is formed by those testimonies that convey a text in a 'secondary' way, within another text, or in an unintentional manner. Typical examples of indirect traditions for classical philology include quotations, commentaries, epitomes and summaries, imitations, and also translations.

Quotation or citation seems to occupy a prominent place, at least according the communis opinio, to describe the difference between direct and indirect sources. However, the overlap between the concept of intentionality and the practice of quotation seems neither easy nor self-evident: if an indirect testimony were produced without the intention of handing down a particular text, quotations are certainly retrieved with the intention of referring to a particular work or author, whether mentioned or not. Again, we could distinguish between different types of quotation, which always seems to be endowed with some degree of awareness, however.

As for the languages involved, the indirect tradition, in its various forms, may remain within the same linguistic code (e.g., the Greek scholia to Homer, the tragedians, Herodotus, etc.) or exhibit a change of language (Priscian's Latin grammar on the model of Apollonius Dyscolus, Arabic Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* of Aristotle, etc.).

Moreover, it is important to emphasise that the concept of *direct* in classical philology is a convenient abstraction that does not correspond to a state of greater integrity or reliability of a text: even direct tradition, in fact, is never properly so because it necessarily passes through the mediation of time and processes of transmission. Nonetheless, G. Pasquali's maxim "recentiores non deteriores" reminds us that the most recent testimonies are not necessarily the most corrupt.

The availability of direct sources seems to be the exception rather than the norm, because, in most cases, we have indirect sources that we should consider as mediated and a posteriori reconstructions. We might even exaggerate, but not too much, by saying that direct tradition does not exist, because in fact

single manuscript dated to the 15th century, which also transmits other lexicographic material incorporated in the tradition. See Cunningham (2018: ix–xiii) for details.

there is always a distance that can be evaluated according to a set of parameters (see § 2, below).

These preliminary considerations aim at showing the complexity of the picture and how the distinction between direct and indirect may not always be equally convenient and insightful.

Now considering the general issue of possible references to a given language in a text written in a different one, it is legitimate to ask: how valuable is an indirect source such as a Greek testimony in reconstructing an otherwise unknown Anatolian linguistic unit? In order to answer this question, concerning both individual case-studies and the general theory, we would like to propose a multidimensional and more fine-grained methodology for the analysis and the evaluation of the different elements at work.

Therefore, our new approach will be presented in section 2, including further terminological observations on the notion of 'text'. The distinction between 'Rest-', 'Korpus-', and 'Trümmersprache' will be dealt with in section 3, with particular reference to how to apply these labels to the languages of ancient Anatolia. Section 4 will offer the analysis of some selected Lydian glosses found in the *Lexicon* by Hesychius, in order to show the advantages our multidimensional approach. Finally, a general conclusion will follow in section 5.

2   A Multidimensional Approach

According to our analysis, a given form may be mediated on four different levels:

– Chronological: if one considers the period in which the original text including a given form was produced by its first drafter (not necessarily the author), the form actually attested may be more or less distant in time. Such a dimension should be always taken into account, even though it is not necessarily as significant as the following three.

– Linguistic (and graphical): an expression belonging to a given language may be transmitted by a different language, its form thus being more or less deviating from the original one. Sometimes, the phenomenon only affects the writing dimension: a given form may be the mere transcription of a foreign word in a writing system different from the one usually employed by the language to which that form originally belongs. In other cases, there can be an actual linguistic mediation, which may invest the phonetic, phonological, and morphological dimensions, depending on the degree of adaptation of the foreign word to the structures of the target language.

– Philological: a given form may be attested by a source that belongs to a more or less extensive or complex textual tradition, so that it may have been altered to a greater or lesser extent during the processes of copy and transmission. Such a dimension also includes both ancient and modern editorial intervention and conjectures to the text (the latter should especially be considered when manuscripts and other original sources are not accessible).

– Textual: this spans from the purely metalinguistic explanation by both the author and the interpreters of a text to the literary elaboration of a given form, which may be bent to meet textual needs (e.g., an author may choose to modify the phonetic shape or alter the meaning of an expression for a parodic intent).

The degree of mediation of each form should be assessed by taking into account all of these different levels. Indeed, each of them, taken individually, may not be particularly significant. Specifically, unlike the linguistic, philological, and textual mediation, in the case of chronological mediation the proportional relationship between the chronological gap and the degree of qualitative distance of a given form from its original source is not direct. In other terms, the higher the degree of linguistic, philological, and textual mediation, the larger the distance of a given form from the original one, which is not valid for the mere chronological dimension. Indeed, a wide chronological gap between the material document attesting a given form and its ultimate source does not necessarily imply a lesser accuracy in the transmission, which may have had a more direct path including a lesser number of intermediate steps. Conversely, a source for which the chronological gap is roughly equal to zero (e.g., a document including a foreign word belonging to a language contemporary to the time of the author of that document) may be less reliable because it may display modifications in both shape and meaning of a given form due, e.g., to 'poetic' reasons.

Some additional specifications in terminology are now needed: the first brief one concerns the notion of text, and the second one (see § 3) that of language of fragmentary attestation.

We have so far used the terms *text* and *textual* with a broad and vaguely generic meaning. The discussion on textuality as a theoretical concept is an area of research in its own right that we cannot address here. Text linguistics have become a discipline concerned with texts as complex units, from various points of view: grammatical, communicative, pragmatic.[3]

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3 For a general overview, see Brinker, Antos, Heinemann & Sager (eds.) (2000–2001).

Moreover, in recent years, since 1990s, the research that has developed for the digital humanities has called into question a number of definitions of *text*(*uality*) for reasons not only of theoretical and terminological clarity but also of methodology and editing practice. Among other positions, that of P. Sahle (2013) is particularly relevant especially in the field of digital philology: the image of the 'Textrad' show the pluralistic view of the text which can be described, conceptualised, and analysed as a) Idea, Intention; b) Work; c) Linguistic code; d) Version; e) Document; f) Visual sign.[4]

For our purposes, attention will be primarily directed towards the point a) concerning the idea and intention (the semantic content of the text, according to different models), c) the language involved, d) the versions transmitted, in other terms the tradition of a given text, and finally e) the document aspects represented by the physical appearance of the text, that is relevant for the philological side of the analysis.

Such a connection with the model of the 'Textrad' is proposed without seeking an exact match between single definitions but noting the same basic idea of different dimensions interacting with each other.

3   'Rest-', 'Korpus-', and 'Trümmersprache'

The notion of 'Restsprache' is sometimes used to characterise those languages which in various ways are poorly documented or are hardly documentable.

In the first sense (i.e., 'poorly documented'), they are typically extinct languages whose documentation, beyond the quantitative data, fails to fully qualify their grammar and / or their vocabulary. This is the case concerning many ancient Anatolian languages of the 2nd and 1st millennium, both Indo-European and non-Indo-European, including, for the 2nd millennium BCE, Luwian and Palaic (both Indo-European), Hattic and Hurrian (both non-Indo-European); for the 1st millennium BCE, Phrygian, Carian, Lycian, Lydian (all Indo-European). In particular, we are considering the last two, especially Lydian, which we are using to treat some specific cases.

Such 'Restsprachen' are languages documented only through a closed finite written corpus that is partially or fully known to us. In this sense, they can be referred to as 'corpus languages'.

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4   For a comprehensive discussion on the models and theoretical assumptions, see Pierazzo (2016: especially 37–64), with references. For the 'Textrad', see Sahle (2013). Thanks to Anna Cappellotto for these references.
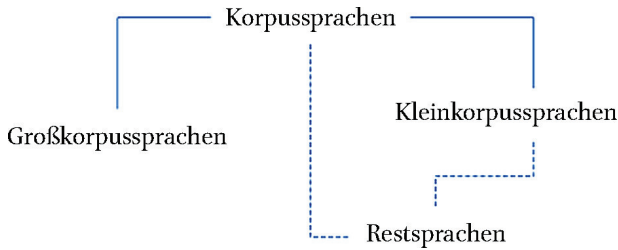
FIGURE 4.1   A tentative taxonomy of the genus 'Corpussprachen'

Corpus languages can be subdivided into at least two types: those that have a written corpus sufficiently rich to let us describe them comprehensively and those whose corpus allows for only a fragmentary and non-exhaustive description. Technically, the notion of corpus languages, or 'Corpussprachen', represents a genus made of species: 'Grosscorpussprachen', or large corpus languages on one side, and 'Kleincorpussprachen', or limited corpus languages on the other. However, even a limited corpus, in purely quantitative terms, if qualitatively good, can allow a more complete description than a quantitatively superior corpus, but qualitatively monotone. Considering this, we may keep the species of 'Kleincorpussprachen' apart from that of the 'Restsprachen', which, by definition, do not allow an organic description of the language. However, the characterisation of each species does not seem entirely unproblematic. If we try to represent a rough outline of this taxonomy, we are forced to decide which criteria would justify the different species and in what relationship they stand among them. A first attempt could be the one in Figure 4.1.

The dashes highlight a certain difficulty in the taxonomic definition of 'Restsprachen' that seems quite evident. A 'Restsprache' might easily be a case of 'Kleincorpussprache', but not all 'Restsprachen' need to be a limited corpus language (in facts, in cases of large monotone corpora, we may get stuck to a limited description). Should we apply a scalar approach, it would not be easy to define whether the gradient should be qualitative, quantitative, or both. Perhaps, it is even useless to try to subsume the 'Restsprachen' into the 'Corpussprachen'. We must emphasise here that, in fact, we would try to understand 'Restsprachen' and the other categories not so much as branches of a taxonomy, but rather as properties that are able to characterise in the first instance types of documentation on one hand and documentation possibilities on the other. About this last point, briefly mentioned before, we believe that with 'Restsprache' we must characterise residuality; languages that are still alive, or half-alive, relegated to increasingly limited uses and situations, without written records, the speakers of which are close to losing active competences, can also be termed 'Restsprachen'.

Not only that, we would deem thus characterisable, at least hypothetically, even those languages that survive only through study, memorisation or retention of written texts intended for performance in certain situations, but the users of which no longer have a spontaneous, subconscious, and creative 'knowledge' capable of responding readily to any solicitation never experienced before.

Getting back to ancient Anatolia, we probably face examples of such 'Restsprachen'. Hattic, Palaic, and Hurrian, and perhaps also Cuneiform Luwian, at the court in Hattusa might have been 'residual', confined to their own cultic and textual spheres. The Anatolian languages of the 1st millennium BCE, however, are not so easily classifiable. Lycian and Lydian, for example (but others might have been in the same conditions, like Hieroglyphic Luwian or Phrygian), are documented by limited corpora. The reason for such a limited documentation, however, seems to be of a different origin compared to those of the 2nd millennium BCE. we think that they are at best characterised by the label 'Trümmersprachen' (literaly 'ruins-languages').

J. Untermann (1983) wrote a paper about these concepts, in which he recalls the difference between 'Rest-' and 'Trümmersprachen'. The term 'Restsprachen', strictly speaking, characterises languages documented fragmentarily, but not for the same reasons as 'Trümmersprachen'. In the latter case, fragmentariness is either a historical accident (lost documents) or a historical outcome of a literacy restricted to precise textual functions and domains, and/or document formats (or both). For the concept of 'Restsprachen', however, the focus shifts from the documentation to the status of the language at the time of the production of the documents from which it emerges. The fragmentariness of 'Trümmersprachen' does not depend on residuality as a status. In fact, 'Trümmersprachen' were fully utilised and not at all residual in the use (and/or competences, as we might say today) of the community. The fragmentariness of 'Restsprachen', on the other hand, does not depend on literacy, i.e., on the narrow selection of types of written documents or their accidental loss. Instead, such fragmentariness depends on the status of the language. A 'Restsprache' is a language that is no longer all encompassing; not only might it be disfavoured to produce written texts, but it is also residual in the use of the community. It is a language receding from the imagination and shared belief of a community and thus from its 'foundational texts' (whether written or oral). In such a situation, the original community of the language now residual largely tends to blur its own boundaries with other, arguably more powerful, communities. In fact, Untermann considers cases where the economic, social, and cultural conditions founded on such imagination to ensure preservation in history through the written record to have evidently failed. This is a situation that calls into

question the very system of the language, to the point of losing, not only and not so much, the status of 'language' (which serves the imagination of the community), but the conditions of spontaneous acquisition, leaving only, at worst, textual formulae or scraps of vocabulary to survive.

The case of the Anatolian languages of the 1st millennium BCE, and in particular Lydian, which we chose for our case studies, do not seem to fall perfectly into the category of 'Restsprache'. Historically speaking, the documentation of Lydian starts when Lydia is a regional power (7th–6th century BCE), heir of a great kingdom, and moves into the era of Hellenistic culture. The type of texts we have are funerary inscriptions, some of which clearly witness the status of the tomb owners, so it would be at least difficult to consider such a language residual since the beginning of the documentation. Obviously, over time, it became residual and was eventually abandoned.

4 Some Lydian Case-Studies from Hesychius' *Lexicon*

For the purpose of delving into this type of linguistic data and to show how the study of a given form can be complicated by the different levels of mediation that are involved and interact with each other in the transmission process, the following sections will offer some case studies involving some alleged Anatolian forms found in the *Lexicon* by Hesychius.[5]

4.1 *βάσκε πικρολέα and Related Forms*
In Hesychius' *Lexicon*, the following glosses are attested, which are characterised by a more or less striking formal similarity and for which roughly the same meaning is provided:[6]

β 267 βασαγικόρος, ὁ θᾶσσον συνουσιάζων, παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι
'One having a quick sexual intercourse, in Hipponax.'

β 294 βάσκε· πικρολέα, πλησίον ἐξεθθόαζε λυδιστί
'He rushed out near, in Lydian.'

β 314 βαστιζακρόλεα, θᾶσσον ἔρχου λυδιστί
'Come quickly! In Lydian.'

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5 On Hesychius, see, e.g., Dickey (2007: 88–90).
6 The glosses are quoted as they appear on the Venetian manuscript. References (convention-

κ 4180   κρολίαζε, πλησίαζε θᾶττον
'Approach quickly!'

The second and third glosses are explicitly assigned to the Lydian language, while the first one was credited to Hipponax. The fourth does not display any indication. If the four glosses were actually related to each other, one could regard all of them as Lydian forms found in Hipponax' works, although it is also possible that some of them depended on other sources (e.g., commentaries to Hipponax).[7] Assuming that they all stem from Hipponax, they could be explained either as different forms found in four different passages by Hipponax or as four corruptions that can be traced back to one single form employed by Hipponax, the latter being the generally assumed scenario.

Further confirmation that these glosses should be ascribed to Hipponax came up in 1928, with the publication of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus nr. 2174 (= PSI IX 1089),[8] dated to the 2nd century CE, which contains a fragmentary iambic composition by Hipponax describing a (parodic) ritual performance, whose first two readable lines run as follows:

1.   ηὔδα δὲ λυδίζουσα βασκ[
2.   πυγιστί τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[

Since the first edition of the fragment by Coppola (1928), scholars have generally suggested that the first line of this text could be restored through the glosses provided by Hesychius,[9] with some adjustments to match the choliambic verse of the composition,[10] except for Latte (1929), who opted for a fully Greek βάσκ[ε νῦν, θᾶσσον].[11]

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ally provided with Greek letter and progressive number) are to the edition by Cunnigham (2018; 2020).

7   See already Bergk (1853: 604) and Schmidt (1858: 363, 364, 538).

8   Fr. 92 W. (95 Degani); first edited by Coppola (1928). The photograph of the papyrus can be found on the website http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;9;1089 (last accessed on 12 September 2022).

9   Cf. Vogliano *apud* Coppola (1928: 503), Lavagnini (1929) (βάστ[ι κρολέαζε], following a suggestion by Schmidt 1857, who emended Hesychius' βαστιζακρόλεα to βαστικρολέαζε), Diehl (1952: 85) (βάσκ[ι κόρλαζε], followed by Adrados 2010: 50), Knox (1953) (β(ασγ)[ικορλαζε, followed by Whatmough 1956: 76), Degani (1991: 103) (βασκι ... κρολεα).

10   That the verses of the composition were choliambic seems to be assured by Tzetzes, who quoted ll. 10–11 in their entirety (*Exeg. Il.* I 273 C). Both βάσκε πικρολέα and βαστιζακρόλεα have the required number of syllables, if one accepts the synizesis of final -εα, but the short penultimate syllable does not fit with the choliambic verse (unless one assumed some metrical license).

11   See Latte (1929: 387): "Loquitur anus Lydia sed eius verba si quid video Graece relata

The second line of the composition has generally been understood as somehow related to the first line. Specifically, according to Latte (1929: 386), it would include the continuation of the direct speech beginning in the preceding line (βάσκ[ε νῦν, θᾶσσον] πυγιστί τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[πάγωι βῦσον], 'Now come quickly! Plug the asshole with a door bolt like a pederast!' with πυγιστί meaning παιδεραστικῶς), whereas, according to Degani (1991: 104), it would provide a parodic translation 'in the arse language' (πυγιστί, understood as an occasional glottonym built on πυγή) of the preceding Lydian expression.[12]

In order to analyse this complex example according to the criteria dealt with above, one should take into account a number of issues. To begin with, although it is not entirely assured, one should assume that the Lydian forms provided by Hesychius should be traced back to Hipponax, and at least one of them—or, possibly, the preform on which all of them depend—was found in the papyrus PSI IX 1089. Hipponax was born in Ephesus, in Lydia, and worked in the 6th century BCE, when the Lydian language was still alive in the territory, as evidenced by the inscriptions. Furthermore, his works included Lydian words here and there, so the hypothesis that he was the ultimate source of the four Hesychius glosses listed above is surely most plausible.

Starting from this assumption, one should first of all consider the possibility of recognising the Lydian forms underlying the Greek transcriptions provided by Hesychius. Not many attempts have been made in this direction: Brandenstein (1932: 43–44) regarded βαστιζακρόλεα as the most reliable form, reflecting Lyd. *waśtiś dakrola, 'im Laufschritt—marsch'; Haas (1958: 105–107) opted for a Phrygian solution (an adjective baske or its comparative bastiza < *baskʷiza + a verb (pi)krolea); West (1974: 144–145) reconstructed a preform *βασκατικρολελ underlying βασαγικόρος, βάσκε πικρολέα, and βαστιζακρόλεα, which included the Lydian verbal prefix fa- (βα-) and a dative-locative in -l(l)λ (-λελ).[13]

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sunt, ut dubites, utrum de lingua an de sono pronuntiationis agatur. Βάσκε eodem modo dictum, quo alibi ἄγε, ἴθι, ut monendi et excitandi vim dumtaxat habeat".

12   See Degani (1991: 104) ("Lydorum verborum ludicra explicatio"). See also Degani (2007: 41): "dicea in lidio: "Bask … krolea!", ossia, in chiappese, "Il chiappesco portale (tappagli col chiavaccio)!"", a translation that reflects Latte's restoration of the second line. See also Hawkins (2013: 166), who suggested a possible match between παρ[(explained as the preverb παρα-) and the Lydian preverb fa- (= βα-).

13   For a more extensive discussion on these hypotheses, see Hawkins (2013: 157–166). Note that other scholars were sceptical about the possibility of actually identifying Lydian forms behind these glosses. See, e.g., Gusmani (1963: 232): "Quello che segue a λυδίζουσα in 92,1, e di cui ci è conservato solo l'inizio, doveva essere più che una vera formula magica in lidio, un comico guazzabuglio senza senso, magari con qualche parola lidia storpiata. Comunque le due glosse di Hesych. che, certo in forma corrotta, riportano quella formula non presentano nulla che, in base alle nostre conoscenze, possa essere considerato come lidio."

More recently, Schürr (2011: 75–78), taking into account βάσκε πικρολέα and βαστιζακρόλεα, identified the Lydian form *fasqν*—i.e., *fa=*(*i*)*sqν* (sentence initial particle + a likely theonym or divine epithet in accusative case)—behind βασκ-, while ζακρόλεα would match the Lydian adjective *caqrlãν* (unknown meaning). Both *fa=*(*i*)*sqν* and *caqrlãν* occur in the same inscription, LW 14, although in two different sentences. Currently, Schürr's solution is the most credited one,[14] because it provides a plausible formal match with Lydian words occurring roughly in the same context.

However, the match with Lydian seems to only concern the level of the expression. From a semantic point of view, trying to establish a correspondence between what we know about Lydian, what can be read in Hipponax' papyrus, and the meaning(s) provided by Hesychius is a difficult task:

– As far as Lydian is concerned, *fasqν* would include the noun *isq*(*i*)-, perhaps denoting a deity,[15] while *caqrla-* is currently explained as a relational adjective in *-la-* built on the noun *cẽqra-* 'designated property' (vel sim.), the latter understood as a compound of *cẽn*(*i*)- 'designate' and *qira-* 'property' (cf. Hittite *kuera-* 'field parcel', Lycian *tere-* 'district', Milyan *kere-* 'territory').[16]

– Hipponax's fragment, as far as we can read, does not provide any hint on the meaning of the Lydian expression. Even if one accepted Degani's interpretation of the second line, the alleged translation provided by Hipponax would be entirely unreliable for the understanding of the original Lydian expression, given its patently parodic nature.[17]

– The four translations provided by Hesychius are quite consistent with each other, all of them including the idea of quickness (θᾶσσον/θᾶττον and ἐκθοάζω) and three out of four having a verb of motion or approach, which can be reconciled with the συνουσιάζω, 'have sexual intercourse', of the first gloss if we assume a quite trivial metaphorical sexual meaning (actually attested for ἔρχομαι 'come' and πλησιάζω 'approach').

Therefore, Hesychius' explanations can hardly be matched with the current interpretation of the underlying Lydian forms, while the correspondence between Hesychius and its ultimate source, Hipponax, might be more straight-

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14   See, e.g., Högemann & Oettinger (2018: 71–72).

15   See the entry by David Sasseville (2022) in the eDiAna dictionary (https://www.ediana.gwi
        .uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=954; last accessed on 12 September 2022).

16   See the entries *cẽqra-* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma
        =623) and *caqrla-* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=6
        24) by Ilya Yakubovich (2022) in the eDiAna dictionary (last accessed on 12 September
        2022), with references.

17   On the literary motivations behind the use of non-Greek expressions by Hipponax, see De
        Luna (2003: 45–57).

forward if we assume a sexual meaning for Hesychius' explanations, although this is not entirely assured. It is also possible that Hesychius' explanations had a source other than Hipponax, such as a commentary or scholion to Hipponax whose material was later reflected in Hesychius' *Lexicon*. Note that an interpretation including a verb of motion might have been favoured, e.g., by a paraetymological association between βάσκε πικρολέα and the Greek verb βάσκω (cf. βάσκ᾽ ἴθι in the Iliad), which may have already been echoed back by Hipponax (i.e., a conscious adaptation of an original Lydian form to recall a typically epic expression to the Greek ear), but could also have been the product of later attempts at exegesis.[18]

In any case, we probably have a high degree of textual mediation in the transmission, perhaps also located at different levels: Hipponax probably used actual Lydian expressions with a parodic meaning, regardless of their original one, and, over the long period between Hipponax and Hesychius, different sources may have tried to clarify the meaning of the Lydian forms, even beyond the parodic intentions of the Ephesian poet, and such attempts were finally reflected in the *Lexicon* by Hesychius.

The other aspect to take into account is the philological mediation. From the original document by Hipponax (late 6th century BCE) to the manuscript that preserves the *Lexicon* by Hesychius (dated between 1410 and 1430 CE), more than 19 centuries passed, and we have very incomplete data on both the tradition of Hipponax and that of Hesychius. As mentioned, the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus nr. 2174, although having a fragmentary text, provided an important hint on the metrical scheme of the composition, also showing that none of Hesychius' four glosses can fit with it, which points to some troubles in the textual tradition. Furthermore, if one accepted that the four glosses should be traced back to one single expression employed by Hipponax, as is generally assumed based on their formal and semantic similarity, and not to multiple sources, possibly also including commentaries and scholia to Hipponax (a scenario that still remains possible), one should probably take the plurality of outcomes as further evidence that something went wrong across the tradition, as would not be unexpected in the case of Greek transcriptions of foreign forms.

To sum up, we can suggest the following scenario: in the 6th century BCE, Hipponax wrote an iambic poem in which he inserted a sentence linguistically

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18   See also Hawkins (2013: 165): "Hesychius, or more likely his sources, may simply have guessed at the meaning from context. Unless they had some source of knowledge about the Lydian language, an idea that seems dubious, guessing would have been the only option available to them".
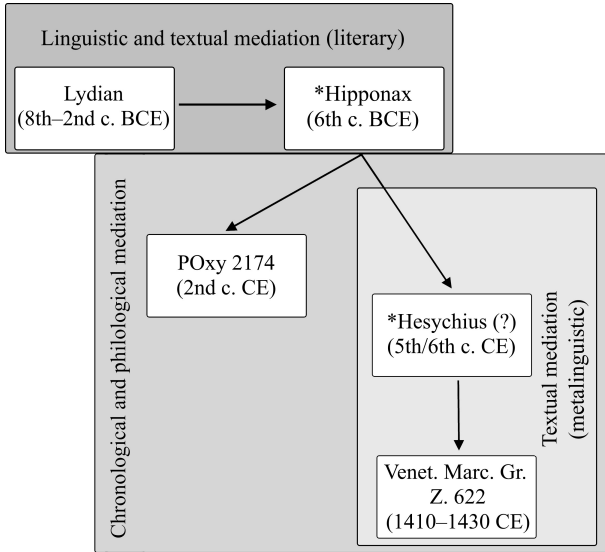
FIGURE 4.2 The transmission scenario of four Lydian glosses
found in Hesychius' *Lexicon*

belonging to the coeval Lydian language, transcribed in Greek characters (per-
haps even with some adjustments to fit the choliambic verse), and probably
with a parodic intent: it was possibly a quite common Lydian expression, but
its original meaning was seemingly distorted by Hipponax into a sexual mean-
ing. The transmission from Lydian to Hipponax was thus mediated on both the
grapho-linguistic and the textual levels: the former concerned the linguistic
expression, the latter its content. We do not have the original text by Hipponax,
which is only preserved by a papyrus of the 2nd century CE, in which either one
of Hesychius' glosses or their preform is only partly readable, βασκ[(with some
doubts concerning the κ): a chronological distance is of course involved, but its
fragmentary status does not allow for a full evaluation of the possible philolo-
gical mediation. Hipponax's expression then reaches Hesychius (5th/6th cen-
tury CE) or one of the other works later included in the manuscript Venet. Marc.
Gr. Z. 622, in which we find four different glosses, none of which are entirely
reliable from a metrical point of view, which would point to a high degree of
philological mediation involving the level of expression. As far as the content is
concerned, textual mediation is of the metalinguistic type, and its degree may
vary according to the extent to which Hesychius' explanations depended on
something directly found in the text of Hipponax or rather are the product of
later exegetical work.

Such a scenario is schematised in Figure 4.2.

Concluding, through this analysis we hope to have shown how complex the transmission of a linguistic expression can be, and how many dimensions of mediation should be considered when assessing the reliability of a gloss transmitted from any source other than the original one. Thus, it is fairly clear that the aim of Hesychius' four glosses dealt with here was to explain the text by Hipponax, in which, probably, some originally-Lydian words (whose expressions did not necessarily match exactly those we read in the manuscript of the *Lexicon*) were employed with a parodic meaning. How valuable are these glosses for the linguist who is interested in the Lydian lexicon? Not very, as far as can be judged based on the current direct knowledge of Lydian: their expressions probably ultimately reflected those of actual Lydian words, but the meanings provided by Hesychius seemingly only reflected the literary elaboration by Hipponax.

Examples such as this should particularly be borne in mind whenever the study of a form transmitted with multiple levels of mediation cannot be supported by direct knowledge of its source language.

4.2 *κοαλδδεῖν and μυτταλυτα*

Two more examples coming from Hesychius may be relevant here. The first is the entry κοαλδδεῖν, explained as Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα (κ 3169). We know that the Lydian term for 'king' is *qaλm(λu)-* reflected in Greek as πάλμυς. κοαλδδεῖν shares the initial labiovelar (Lyd. |q|—Greek |κο|), the vowel and the lambda, the rest is problematic, so that alternative correspondences in Lydian have been proposed, as the one by Heubeck (1959), who took κοαλδδεῖν as reflecting Lydian *Qλdãn-*. This term is probably a proper name recurring in some inscriptions, and was thought to refer to Apollon, but Heubeck argued that it was an appellative of the moon god Men, perhaps a participle meaning '(the) ruling' (βασιλεύων). The interpretation of Heubeck is partially dependent on Hesychius' gloss, because there is no independent evidence for a similar verb 'to rule' in Lydian texts. Furthermore, knowledge about Lydian participles is scanty, so the form is morphologically problematic (for -*nt*- stems cf. Gérard 2005). However, the surely established noun for 'king' is *qaλm(λ)(u)-*. A recent study by G. Loiacono (2020) suggested an interesting solution that would equate κοαλδδεῖν and *qaλm(λ)(u)-*. First, he accepts Vetter's (1959) conjecture according to which λδδ derives from ΛΜ read ΛΔΔ; second, he considers an exchange between ει and υ attested as early as Roman Empire age papyri (Loiacono 2020: 366); κοαλδδεῖν would derive from an original *κοαλμυν, probably the accusative of *qaλmλu*. Another recent study (Payne 2019a, 2019b) proposed a totally divergent solution suggesting that the gloss in the Venet. Marc. Gr. manuscript was misread by the editors: where the editors read

ει, the manuscript shows α. Therefore, the gloss should be read κοαλδδᾶν, thus easily reflecting *Qλdãn-*. The reading κοαλδδεῖν, however, is sure: ει in Hesychius' manuscript is written in a ligature that could resemble the shape of α, but in this manuscript is clearly different from the shapes of α.

The second example is μυτταλυτα· μεγαλου (μ 1992). This gloss is connected to the Luwian stem *muwattalla/i-* 'strong, powerful, great'.[19] Bergk (1866: 756), in the third edition of his *Poetae lyrici Graeci*, compared this gloss to the attestation of a couple of problematic words, †μεγάστρυ† and Μυτάλιδι in a well-known fragment of Hipponax (7 Degani).

> ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον
> καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω †μεγάστρυ† στήλην
> καὶ μνῆμα Τωτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος

> 'Go through the country of the Lydians, to the mound of Attale, the monument of Gyge, the stele of … and the memorial of Tos, the king …'

That Hesychius' gloss might come from this text can be derived from the fact that a μεγάλου, or μεγίστου, explaining Μυτάλιδι is perhaps the only reason (intrusive error) for the corrupted μεγάστρυ of the preceding line.

The gloss of Hesychius becomes, in fact, a source to be taken into consideration for the restitution of the Hipponax text. The form μυτταλυτα, however, cannot be explained by the genitive singular. Latte's (1966) edition postulated a lacuna after μεγάλου, confirmed in the revision by Cunningham (2020). An alternative proposal is to consider the gloss as corrupted and emend it according to the genitive in the explanation. We postulate a Greek genitive form μυτταλυτος, so no longer an original Anatolian form, but the form of a Greek loanword from Anatolia. The emendation can affect the attestation in Hipponax, to be emended into μυτάλιδος: this combined conjecture produces a perfectly understandable text in Hipponax: καὶ μνῆμα Τωτος μυτάλιδος πάλμυδος, 'and the tomb of T., the great king' (cf. Rizza 2001 for details).

Admittedly, this proposal might seem a little convoluted, but it has, we believe, the merit of seriously considering the depth and stratification of the traditions that affect the remains of the ancient Anatolian languages and their traces in Greek literature.

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19 Cf. Milyan *mutali-* 'mighty'. About *muwa-*, see recently Martínez Rodríguez (2021) with references.

5   Conclusion

Looking at linguistic data from ancient Anatolia, the categories of 'Rest-' vs. 'Trümmersprachen' and 'Rest-' vs. 'Corpussprachen', though convenient, are not without problems, nor is the traditional distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' sources.

For this last distinction, in particular, we started our discussion observing that different traditions and approaches move from concepts of direct and indirect (or mediated), primary and secondary sources, that are not totally overlapping, especially considering the linguistic and philological points of view. Therefore, it seems much more useful for the purposes of our research to arrange sources and testimonies following a new multidimensional approach able to consider at the same time the different types of mediation: these are the chronological, linguistic, philological, and textual mediations.

Each mediation should be assessed both separately and in relation to the others.

As an example, a Lydian gloss in Hesychius could be very distant in chronological terms and come from repeated mediations, but might not necessarily be linguistically unreliable. However, the distance present in the material record cannot be ignored.

Thus, the four Lydian glosses dealt with in section 4.1, which can be traced back to Hipponax, possibly have some degree of reliability as far as the expression of the original Lydian forms is concerned. Conversely, as for the level of the content, they probably cannot be used to establish the meaning of the underlying Lydian forms, because the function of the explanations found in Hesychius' *Lexicon* was to elucidate the text of Hipponax, and the latter probably used those Lydian forms regardless of their original meaning for a parodic intent.

The examples in section 4.2 clearly show that the manuscript tradition and the various mediations both operate in obscuring the understanding of the glosses and of their possibly-related source texts and source language forms.

In essence, to conclude, we hope to have shown some guidelines that might help us to refine our linguistic hypotheses, after careful philological sifting of the sources, in a complex framework of relations of which some aspects are still being explored.[20]

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