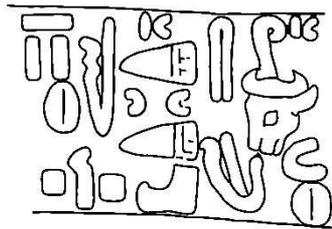


“And I Knew Twelve Languages”



Mossimo Fatti

“And I Knew Twelve Languages”



A Tribute to Massimo Poetto
on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday

edited by
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Cover illustration:

A fragment of the inscription of Yariris: KARKEMIŠ A 15b l. 4 § 20
(from J. D. Hawkins, *CHLI*, Pl. 37)

Page II:

Massimo Poetto at Karatepe, September 2014

The volume has been thoroughly reviewed

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About the Greek-Sidetic “Artemon-inscription” (S I.1.1)¹

Alfredo Rizza
University of Verona

The ancient city of Side in Pamphylia produced a number of epigraphic documents in a local script coding the local language.² The script is alphabetic and has a number of peculiarities if compared to contemporary alphabets (mainly Greek) or older Anatolian ones.³ The language is most plausibly a member of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. Geo-historical considerations suggest an affiliation to the Luvic group in particular, but the material we have at our disposal is scanty: as a matter of fact, we have ten (generally short) inscriptions, a coin legend attested in a handful of variants, and some other documents not completely sure, but surely of little help.⁴ The present writer collaborates with Michaela and Christian Zinko (“Zentrum Antike”, University of Graz), the team of linguists and epigraphers whose task is to review the entire corpus in the Sidetic script, survey the previous literature, and publish a new complete edition. This contribution will concentrate on some problems concerning the so-called “Artemon-bilingual” (S I.1.1),⁵ the first Greek-Sidetic bilingual text to be published,⁶ the discussion of which will lead us to more general questions concerning the Sidetic language, particularly its phonology and the decipherment of the script. It will start with a revision of the Greek section, proceed to describe some persistent problems in the comparison with the Sidetic one, and offer some speculative insights in the interpretation. Massimo Poetto and I had few, but intense, occasions

¹ I wish to thank Gary Holland for reading the manuscript and helping me with English. Used symbols: // = phonemic transcription. \ = morphemic transcription. | | = transcription of one or more letters. N.B. I preferred to refer to “letters” instead of “graphemes” due to the problematic status of the concept “grapheme” (cf. Rizza 2014).

² Bossert 1950 (decipherment); Nollé 2001 (history, corpus edition); Atlan 1968 (coins); Pérez-Orozco 2007 (revision); Kassian 2013 (short grammar).

³ Neumann 1978; cf., recently, Pérez-Orozco 2005; Bernard 2016.

⁴ A scarab with possible Sidetic signs (Rizza 2005, and brief comment in Pérez-Orozco 2007). The so-called “Charaktere des Mnemon von Side” (Nollé 1993: 177-179, with ref.) are not directly documented and cannot be considered a proper “text”.

⁵ A new catalog of the Sidetic inscriptions has been developed for the new corpus edition (Zinko – Zinko – Rizza, forthcoming); cf. Zinko – Zinko 2016: 373.

⁶ Paribeni – Romanelli 1914: No. 94 (col. 128-129).

to discuss about Sidetic, and to chase down Sidetic bibliographic rarities. I hope this contribution can show my wholehearted thanks.

1. The Greek section (Nollé 19)

- 1 [.....]
- 2 ἈΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΘΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ
- 3 ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ

The Greek section is cataloged as inscription No. 19 in Nollé 1993 (Side I, § 4.1. *Monumente der griechisch-römischen Religion*). The object is a rather small altar, most probably made of marble (or some other variety of limestone).⁷

The first line of the inscription is basically lost. The second contains two badly preserved personal names, the idionym and the patronym, and the third line hosts the formula *χαριστήρια* “for thanksgiving,” “thank-offerings.” Probably of the 2nd cent. B.C.⁸

The first of the two personal names has been unanimously read *Ἀρτέμων*, while as many as five hypotheses have been advanced, in the course of time, for the second. Basically only the first letter, A, and the final two, OY, are still to be easily recognized.

In the 1914 *editio princeps* by Paribeni, the object is described as a “cippus” found in one of the houses of the Cretan refugees who were probably responsible for the destruction of a number of archaeological and epigraphical documents.⁹ Paribeni read in the second line “Ἀρτέμων Ἀθ[ρ]ίππου(?)” Yet the only surely attested personal name beginning with *αθ-* and ending with *-ιππο-* is *Ἀθήνιππος* (or *Ἀθάνιππος*). Later on, Bossert (1950) was the first to be able to decipher the Sidetic script in a firm way. He argued that the name should indeed have been *Ἀθήνιππος*. By this time the stone had disappeared, and Bossert made his claims on the basis of the decipherment of Sidetic that he obtained thanks to another text, the so-called “Apollonios bilingual inscription.” This last document was discovered in 1949, and Bossert could recognize two personal names in the Sidetic line, *pulunio* and *purdurs*,¹⁰ corresponding respectively to *Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδώρου* in the Greek version. The first name is the idionym, the second the patronym. In the “Apollonios-inscription” we also have the patronym which

⁷ Nollé 1993: 276-277 (weiß Marmor); more generally, limestone for the archaeologists of the Graz Mission in Side (2015).

⁸ Cf. Nollé 1993: 277.

⁹ Paribeni – Romanelli 1914: col. 121: “I quali [...] hanno squarciato il fitto velo del bosco, ma hanno anche devastato i monumenti [...]. Il Rott, che passò per Side al tempo del primo stabilirsi dei Cretesi nel villaggio, vide non meno di venti fornaci da calce in attività tra le rovine, e in esse naturalmente erano gli antichi marmi che si spezzavano e si cuocevano.”

¹⁰ Bossert’s original transcription.

was rendered by Bossert as *pulunioas*, corresponding to [τ]οῦ Ἀπολλωνίου.¹¹ Bossert immediately applied his decipherment to the Artemon-inscription and successfully found a sequence a-r-t-m-u-n θ-a-n-p-i(?))-o(??)-s(??) in which the first name perfectly matched Greek Ἀρτέμων. The second name, θ-a-n-p-i(?))-o(??)-s(??), led Bossert to conjecture the reading ΑΘΗΝΙΠΠΙΟΥ in the Greek section. Shortly after, Kretschmer (1954: 18-20) saw in this inscription the attestation of a patronymic Ἀθανίππιος. Brandenstein (1958) accepted the PN Ἀθανίππιος, but he warned that “[...] auch sind Ableitungen mit -ππιος im Hintertglied von Namenskompositen sehr selten” (p. 85). We have to remember that at the time there was no access to the original Artemon-inscription, which was re-discovered only in 1987, and re-edited in 1988 by Nollé. The new collation established that the proper name Ἀθήνιππος was certainly not attested in the inscription:

Die Lesung T. H. Bosserts Ἀθηνίππου paßt nicht in den zur Verfügung stehenden Raum, noch viel weniger der Geistername Ἀθηνιπίου, den W. Brandenstein aufgebracht hat (Nollé 1988: 58).

Nollé suggested the reading Ἀθηνάιου, as he was sure he saw at least the sequence ΑΘΗΝΑ: “bis auf das zweite α ist die Lesung sicher” (*ibidem*). Ἀθηνάιος, however, lacks a correspondence for the letter |p| in the Sidetic name, which at the time was read *Θanpiu-*. This was immediately noticed by Neumann who added a short note to Nollé’s article.¹² Neumann further commented on the name *Θanpiu-*. No doubt the name is morphologically a compound, but while the first member can easily come from Greek Ἀθηνᾶ, the second is quite problematic: he suggested then, and this proved to be quite a fruitful move, taking into consideration the Greek element -βιο- and compared *Θanpiu-* with Ἀθηνόβιος.¹³

After these comments Nollé checked the stone again and found that the correct reading was indeed ΑΘΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ. Since Nollé’s 2001 edition, this reading has been accepted, leaving however some doubts: why do we find here a correspondence of Greek |β| with Sid. |p|? Plausible explanations are available, but we should first be sure of what the document actually shows.¹⁴

In 2015 I have had the occasion to examine the stone in Side and to discuss the question with my colleagues. It seemed almost impossible to recognize anything like |BI| before the final two letters |OY|. On the basis of my autopsy my reading was ΑΘ[?]. Ν[?].. ΟΥ. In 2016, however, we could finally get high quality professional photographs¹⁵ yielding an interesting surprise as remnants which

¹¹ Greek: Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδώρου | [τ]οῦ Ἀπολλωνίου. Bossert 1950: “p-u-l-u-n-i(?))-o(??) p-u-r-d-u-r-st(??) p-u-l-u-ni(?))-o(??)-a-s(??).” This is the starting point of the decipherment.

¹² Neumann 1988.

¹³ Cf. *etiam* Eichner 1988: 49 n. 18.

¹⁴ Photographs and autographs by Nollé have not been published yet.

¹⁵ Zinko – Zinko – Rizza forthcoming.

could be interpreted as |BI| became visible (cf. appendix-images). The image allows one to see AΘ ..NO..OY: between Θ and N, as well as between the two omicrons, there is space for one/two letters and the only attested¹⁶ personal name compatible with those traces is Ἀθηνόβιος. Back in Graz we could profit of the expertise of Dr. Volkert Grieb who kindly helped us and supported, with clear arguments, the reading AΘHNOBIOY.¹⁷ So, until new evidence is brought to our attention, or a most plausible interpretation of the surviving traces is offered, we will maintain the standard reading by Nollé and try to explain the relation between Ἀθηνόβιος and its Sidetic counterpart.

Quite important is the conclusion that a reading AΘHNΠIOY must be ruled out. This variant without the gemination of the /p/ is an attested alternative for ἀθηνιππος, and could have been important for a discussion on the values of the Sidetic letter |p|, about which cf. *infra* § 2.4.

2. The Sidetic section

- 1 deaθono artmon θanpi|N7|s
- 2 mal|N7|adas

In the Sidetic section I provisionally decide to avoid the transcription of N7 because I do not think we have sufficient evidence to make a definitive decision about its decipherment, in particular between the alternative readings that have been put forward: /w/¹⁸ or /y/.¹⁹ Hence the letter will be transcribed ^y/w (about this specific point cf. *infra* § 2.2). The topics under discussion in the following are: (1) the segmentation and interpretation of *deathono*; (2) the PN *θanpi*^y/_w and decipherment of N7; (3) the segmentation and interpretation of *mal*^p/_w*adas*; (4) the letters |p|, N23, N24 and the system of plosives.

2.1. deaθono

Previous interpretations have found either one or two words in this string. Bossert (1950: 10) suggested “?-i(?)a θ-a-n-ā(??)” with a form of the divine name Athena (possibly a dative). Pisani (1952: 89) was the first to foresee the value of the initial letter, but he took the string as a compound formed with Διψία (>Δία, “magna mater”) and Athena. The initial |d| was later deciphered thanks to the evidence in the so-called “Strategen-Inschriften,”²⁰ the definitive reading *dea-* (not *dia-*) was confirmed in Nollé 1988.

Major interpretations of *deathono* are:

¹⁶ Using *LGPN* online [last viewed August 2017].

¹⁷ Zinko – Zinko – Rizza forthcoming.

¹⁸ Ševoroškin 1975.

¹⁹ Schürr 1997.

²⁰ Neumann 1968: 89; Koroljov, apud Ševoroškin 1968: 179 n. 17; Brixhe 1977.

(a) demonstrative plus divine name (Neumann 1968: “*de – aθana;*” Eichner 1988: 49-51);

(b) apposition, or compound member and divine name (Pisani 1952: compound; Ševoroškin 1975: “to the god Athena”);

(c) local adverb (“here”) and divine name (Pérez-Orozco 2007: 136-137).

Similar to (c) we can add now Adiego’s solution (2014: 245): he sees in *de* a preposition, and mentions a possible Carian parallel.

Let us try to highlight some problems: (1) a form *aθono* for Athena is unexpected, there should be apheresis (not to mention the vowels quality);²¹ (2) a demonstrative *de* has no clear parallels; (3) *dea* in the meaning “to the god(ess)” was plausible when the string was incorrectly read *dea* (or *dia*) *θana* (and this reading actually conditioned the interpretation of the Greek version; cf. Nollé 1988). None of these hypotheses, however, are problematic enough to be dismissed with certainty, save perhaps (b). Considering (a) and (c), the latter has the advantage of a plausible parallel in the Lycian adverb/preverb *ñta / ñte*.²²

If we accept the segmentation *de-aθono*, we need to discuss the initial /a/. Actually nothing prevents us from entertaining other tentative interpretations instead of the divine name Athena. For Athena we would actually expect a form beginning with **θan*, as in the proper name *θandor* (I.2.2, cf. Ἀθηνόδορος) and plausibly in *θanpī’/w*. Sid. |o|, moreover, corresponds either to Greek |o| in closed syllable or to Greek |ω|, while for |α| we find Sid. |a|.

The relation between (*a*)*θono* and Greek Athena is unsatisfactory, but alternatives are not easy to find.

I scrutinize three Greek personal names which do seem to be interesting: Ἡθων, Αἶθων, Ἄθων.²³ The part they share, i.e. -θων, can perfectly be reflected in Sid. -θον-. The initial diphthong/vowels are problematic. In Ἡθων the initial long vowel (or open heavy syllable) should prevent apheresis, but Greek |η| should correspond to Sid. |a| if it comes from original */ā/. Ἡθων is attested in Imbros and Thespias: it is thus probable that |η| goes back to an original /ē/.

Αἶθων is more frequent and widely attested. To equate it with a Sid. **aθon* we need to postulate the passage /aἶ/ > /ā/, which does not seem to be impossible: Brixhe (1976: 37) suggested this development in Pamphylian for preconsonantal diphthongs to explain Pamphylian *αφαστιου*,²⁴ to be compared with Ἀφαιστis.

²¹ Apheresis seems to be, however, not too consistent in the languages of the first millennium, cf. already Neumann 1968.

²² *GdL*, s.v. In Lycian, plosives do not show voice contrast: voice is most probably a conditioned feature. The Lycian cluster of letters |ñt| either codes a (syllabic) nasal plus a dental stop (most probably the voiced variant) or just a dental voiced (perhaps prenasalized) stop (especially in situations like non-Lycian personal names, e.g. Darius, written *Ñtariyeus*). Cf. Melchert 2008: 49; Kloekhorst 2008: 121-123.

²³ Cf. *LGPn* online for attestation.

²⁴ Brixhe 1976: No. 149; Brixhe – Hodot 1988: No. 197.

The treatment seems to find new supporting evidence in other documents, published in the supplements (Brixhe 2013: 177-178), although predominantly in prevocalic contexts.²⁵ Ἀθων is registered in *LGP*N only once²⁶ from imperial time Cyrene. The quantity of the initial vowel is not clear to me. Nevertheless this may be another possibility.

Even if with caution, alternatives are viable. Our analysis configures a prepositional phrase with an anthroponym, something like “for Athon”, which may be integrated in a new understanding of the textual structure of the Sidetic section (cf. *infra*).

One could also look in a totally different direction and compare *thono* with Lycian *θθε-*, *θθēn-*, “votive table, altar:” in this case we suggest a semantic shift from “votive altar” to “offering.” *thono* would correspond to Greek *χαριστήρια* (in the third line of the Greek section). With *dea* we imagine a phrase “toward a (thank) offering,” “as (thank) offering.” This may integrate well with the proposal we will make for *mal^l/w(-)das* (§ 2.3), but the form *dea* would then show an unexplained \a\ (perhaps a clitic?), and complicate the correspondence between Sid. and Lyc. vowels.

2.2. *θanpi^y/w* and the problem of the decipherment of N7

On the correspondence with Greek Ἀθηνόβιος, cf. § 1. Since the works of Ševoroškin (1968, 1975) the best candidates for N7 and N8 have been approximant glides, i.e. /w/ and /y/. Ševoroškin was presumably induced to attribute /w/ to N7 because the letter was previously deciphered as /u/ (Brandenstein 1958). Schürr (1997: 138) proposed instead /y/ and was followed by Pérez-Orozco (2003). Schürr’s argumentation:

Die Lesung des Zeichens « als w (Ševoroškin) geht letztlich auf Bosserts Annahme zurück, daß es den Vokal der griech. Namensendung -ος wiedergebe – aber es erscheint nur nach i, sonst entfällt die griech. Endung.

Vorzuziehen scheint mir daher ein Lautwert j, so daß sich *maljadas* ergäbe, das ein Papponym ohne Entsprechung im griech. Text sein kann.

N7 may be attested also after /e/ (I.1.3 *teme|?|e|N7|²as*),²⁷ but other arguments would support the hypothesis of Schürr and Pérez-Orozco. If the stem of a Greek personal name in *-io-* was “Pamphylian,” i.e. *-iuv-*, we should also note that Pamphylian /iyu/ changes into /ī/ by the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. (Brixhe 1976: § 21.151, § 33). Whether this development can further strengthen the /y/ alternative for N7 is, however, difficult to prove. In any case we expect a short

²⁵ Brixhe actually observes an orthographic phenomenon, the vowel resulting from a diphthong /ai/ might be a little higher and advanced.

²⁶ Online DB ID V1-62624.

²⁷ Reading uncertain.

vowel in an open syllable to drop in Sidetic.²⁸ suppose to start with a stem ending in /-Ciyu/. If both vowels are short, we would expect */Cy/ which is not what we have. There are many possible explanations, all speculative in nature, e.g. secondary anaptyxis (*/Cy/ > /Ciy/). But the problem is that Sidetic may have had an independent development, especially word-finally, not necessarily starting with the Pamphylian glide, perhaps */Cio/ > /Ciu/, a possibility that would support the value /w/ for N7.

Comparative orthographic evidence with contemporary alphabets, mainly Greek, disfavours the presence of two dedicated letters for glides, and in particular /y/, as long as, if a dedicated letter is to be found, it is for /w/. The Lycian alphabet shows dedicated letters for both /y/ and /w/, which are, however, used only for semiconsonants (ascending diphthongs);²⁹ Sidetic would show a generalized application.

We can thus observe that the decipherment of N7 has a number of uncertainties, but a preference for /y/ is generally accepted; it is preferred also in Zinko 2016 (pp. 361-362) as long as this reading allows further interesting comparative observations in the onomastics.

In any case either solutions will not explain the following problem: *θanpī^y/_w* is (till now) the only PN ending in /y/ (or /w/) with a simple sigmatic genitive \-s\, instead of a genitive \-as\. All other personal names whose stem ends in /y/ (or /w/) show a genitive in \-as\: *polonī^y/_was* (I.1.2), *talamonī^y/_was* (I.2.5), *diYnesī^y/_was* (I.2.1).³⁰ Note that the gen. *θanpī^y/_ws* is attested together with *talamonī^y/_was* in the same document (I.2.5).

It is interesting to notice that the correspondence *θanpī^y/_w* with Ἀθηνόβιος might have been “forced.” As a matter of fact, *θanpī^y/_w* can theoretically be (a) Greek, or (b) Anatolian, or (c) mixed Greek-Anatolian: an element **aθāna* of Greek origin plus the member **piya-*, “gift, given” of Anatolian (IE) origin.³¹ Anatolian PNs in *-piya-* known from Greek alphabetic sources are rendered, with preference, using |π| (-πιας, -πις), but also |β| (-βιας, -βιος, -βιης); |β| is, however, typical after a nasal or a nasalization (-vβι-, -μβι-, -vδβι-, but note Ἀρζυβιος =

²⁸ This is based on the comparison between Sidetic and Greek personal names attested in bilinguals, e.g. *Artmon* – Ἀρτέμων (ar.tē.mon), *Pordor* – Ἀπολλόδωρος (a.pol.lē.dō.rē). Cf. also *θandor* (I.2.2), evidently Ἀθηνόδωρος (a.θā.nē.dō.rē). We could try to formulate some restrictions: syncope targets light syllables, perhaps only if unaccented (cf. already Brandenstein 1958). The action of syncope must be somehow limited according to the phonological rules regulating consonantal clusters, either by canceling the rule or by secondary anaptyxis. Forms like *talamonī^y/_was* (I.2.5) should not be too easily used as counterexamples: it is not sure that *talamonī^y/_w* reflects the PN Τελαμώνιος (which, according to *LGPN*, is actually not attested as such in Greek, but only in Sidetic! Cf. Zinko 2016: 367-368). Should it go back to the famous Homeric patronymicon, then it could be a low-integrated diastatic variant (or even a learned borrowing).

²⁹ Melchert 2008: 50.

³⁰ Perhaps *teme*?|e^y/_was (I.1.3, reading uncertain).

³¹ Recently Zinko 2016: 369.

Arzapiya-),³² so we would rather expect **θανβιος/θανβιας/θανβις*; to explain Ἀθηνόβιος in the Greek version we need to imagine a voluntary Hellenization of the name. Back in 1988 (p. 64), Neumann noticed that *thanpiu-* (as it was transcribed at the time) could not go back to a formation in *-piya-* because of the final /-u/ (or /-w/), and this is why he imagined a parallel with Greek Ἀθηνόβιος, which apparently proved to be correct.³³ But once we reanalyze N7 as /y/, the connection with *-piya-* may also be right. A pure Anatolian origin seems to be more difficult: it should derive from something like **tVhān(a)-piya-*.³⁴

2.3. *mal^y/wadas*

The two relevant interpretations of this sequence are:

(a) *malwa – das*, a noun and a verb, “(he) placed/dedicated as thank-offering” (Eichner 1985);³⁵

(b) *malyadas*, a derived noun plausibly to be taken as the name of the grandfather (Schürr 1997: 138; Pérez-Orozco 2007: 127), or as the designation of the place of origin (Pérez-Orozco 2003).

Against (a) we can invoke the *scriptio continua*, the evidence that the decipherment /y/ for N7 seems to be better than the previously proposed /w/, and the recovering of a typical Sidetic formula with idionym – patronym – papponym (following Schürr 1997). Against (b) we can notice that the reading /y/ is not confirmed, that we would lack a correspondence for Greek χαριστήρια, that the *scriptio continua* argument is invalid as long as also the Greek section is inconsistent in this respect,³⁶ and that the hypothesis is “weaker.”

The reading *malyadas* is “weaker” as compared to *malwa das* because the latter implies hypotheses on both nominal and verbal morphology, thus covering a wider spectrum of the Sidetic code. This argument is methodological in nature, but can easily be misunderstood as an attempt to force the data. In what follows, a double possibility will be considered: a “minimalist” one, which assumes Eichner’s hypothesis with caution, and a “maximalist” one, which tries to bring together, what seems to be the best at the present state of our knowledge, of both (a) and (b) (cf. *infra*).

The “minimalist” interpretation leaves the text with all uncertainties: *mal^y/w(a-)das*, but admits that Eichner’s hypothesis has a great advantage in keeping the textual parallelism between the two sections;³⁷ the “maximalist” one accepts

³² Houwink ten Cate 1965: 175-177.

³³ Cf. *supra* § I with ref.

³⁴ Goetze (1954: 78) reports a Cilician PN attested in Semitic documents: *T’nyy*, but what he states about its origin, “*T’nyy* (i.e. prob. *Tuḥana-piya*)” is rather uncertain.

³⁵ Cf. *etiam* Neumann 1992 (*malwadas*, “thank-offering”).

³⁶ There is no blank space between ΑΡΤΕΜ²ΩΝ and ΑΘΗ²ΝΟΒ²ΙΟΥ.

³⁷ I.e. the correspondence between χαριστήρια and *malwa(das)*. We can assume this correspondence also accepting the reading /y/ for N7, but we would need to look for other comparative support.

the segmentation in noun and verb, but changes the value of N7 to /y/: *malya das* – in so doing we face a possible mention of the Anatolian goddess Maliya, who corresponds to Greek Athena.³⁸ *Malya* should be in the dative; consequently *ma-ly(a)* and *athon-* must belong to different declensions. The verb *da-* should be compared with the Lycian verbal stem *ñta-* (< *ñta-ta-* “hineinlegen,” *GdL*, s.v. with ref.), originally a verb with preverb (cf. Hitt. *anda dai-*). This may be the second correspondence between Sid. |d| and Lyc. |ñt|. ³⁹

Our “maximalist” interpretation of the Sidetic text of the Artemon bilingual is:

- 1 de aθono⁴⁰ artmon θanpiys
- 2 malya das

- 1 For[?] Athon[?],⁴¹ Artmon (son of) Thanpi
- 2 placed/dedicated (this) to Malya (Athena)

2.4. The letters N8 (|p|), N23, N24, and the system of stops

In this section we go back to the problem of the double correspondences of Sid. N8, |p|, with both Greek |π| and |β|. Greek-Sidetic correspondences for the letter N8, |p|, are attested in I.1.2: *poloni*^{y/w} ≈ *απολλωνιος*; *poloni*^{y/w}as ≈ *απολλωνιου*; *pordors* ≈ *απολλοδωρου*. An almost certain correspondence with Greek |π| is attested in I.1.3 as well: e|N24|pel ≈ *ευεμπος*.

The reading AΘHNOBIOY in I.1.1 adds the correspondence to Greek |β|. We need to consider that scholars have suggested the value /b/ for the Sidetic letters N23 or N24 (cf. *infra*).

How should we treat the fact that Sid. |p| corresponds to both Greek |π| and |β|? The double correspondence of Sid. |p| may reflect either a phonematic property or an orthographic variation. In the first case we would primarily think of a lack of distinctiveness in voice for bilabial stops, in the second, of some sort of diachronic change in orthography. Let us discuss the first interpretation. If we suppose that voice is not contrastive, and [p] and [b] are allophones, we should consider at the same time that other plosives seem to exhibit a voice/voiceless opposition. In particular, dental stops in Sidetic may contrast a voiced /d/ to a voiceless /t/. The former is Sid. N12, |d|, the latter Sid. N11, |t|. Sid. |t| is assured by the following correspondences: I.1.1 *artmon* ≈ *Ἀρτέμων*; I.1.3 *teme*?|e|?|as ≈ *τεμεριζευς*. We can add *istratag* (Greek *στρατηγος*, *στραταγος*), attested in I.2.1 and I.2.2 (the two “Strategen-Inschriften”). Sid. |d| comes from the correspon-

³⁸ About Malya / Malis and Athena in first millennium Anatolia, cf. Serangeli 2015 (Lycia), Payne – Sasseville 2016 (Lydia, new reading “Malis” in LW 40), Parker 2016 (cultic and cultural presence of Athena in Anatolia).

³⁹ Pérez-Orozco 2007: 132.

⁴⁰ Or, less convincingly, *dea θono*.

⁴¹ Or, less convincingly, “as thank-offering.”

dence *pordors* ≈ *απολλοδωρον* in I.1.2. Sid. |d| and |t| appear in the same inscriptions (I.1.1, I.2.1, I.1.3, I.2.2, I.2.5). They are attested in the same phonemic environment: word-initially, e.g. *de(-)a(-)θono* (I.1.1), *teme|?|e|?|as* (I.1.3), probably *anaθema(-)tas* (I.2.1, I.2.2), *mal^l/wa(-)das* (I.1.1); word-internally, e.g. *pordors* (I.1.2), *artmon* (I.1.1); after /s/, e.g. *sdi|N18|s* (I.1.3), *istos* (I.2.4); word-finally, e.g. *(-)o(-)sad* (I.2.1), and possibly *sat* (I.2.4).⁴² Such a situation seems to speak against distributional allophony.

For velar/dorsal stops we have an almost sure letter: Sid. N19 |g| (loanword *istratag*, I.2.1, I.2.2) and at least two different proposals for /k/.

Assuming the opposition /d/ vs. /t/, we would observe a phonological system lacking or showing gaps in voice contrast in stops. Similar phenomena are well known and it is typologically interesting that, when a system shows some classes of stops with voice contrast and some without, it is always for the dentals that voice is pertinent. So such a system with voice/voiceless contrast only in one class of plosives could be similar to the following:⁴³

-	t	k
b	d	-

This scheme would fit our situation rather well. We have a highly probable contrast /d/ – /t/, represented by a graphemic contrast |d| – |t|, and a double correspondence of the letter |p| to both /b/ and /p/. Now the only assured velar |g| could be hypothetically assigned to both /g/ and /k/. The following table illustrates this scenario:

voice	labial	dental	dorsal	(uncertain)
+	p	d	g	g
-		t		k ^{??}

On many occasions, however, scholars identified letters for /b/ and /k/ other than |p| or |g|. In particular N23 (iconically 'P') and N24 (iconically 'ϑ'). Ševoroškin (1975) proposed the value /b/ for N23 ('P') and /k/ for N24 ('ϑ'). This proposal was accepted by some scholars, but was not included in the sign list of both Neumann 1978 and Nollé 2001. Differently from Ševoroškin, Meriggi (1978) hypothesized a reading /b/ for N24 ('ϑ'); the same was done by Pérez-Orozco (2003), who added the proposal for N23 ('P') as /k/. Comparing Ševoroškin 1975 and Pérez-Orozco 2003 we thus get inverted values for the same letters. Pérez-Orozco (2003) actually

⁴² The “Hercules relief” (I.2.4) is not well preserved. The string *sat* is still visible in the second line and almost at the end of the surviving surface, but some other letters may have been present after |t|.

⁴³ Maddieson 2013.

considers a fricative value /v/ for N24 (p. 107) based on some problematic evidence in I.1.3 (Ευεμπολος-bilingual). The hypothesis is, however, relevant and does not disturb the outline of the phonological oppositions sketched above, in accordance with the double correspondence of Sid. |p| with both Greek |π| and |β|. The text I.1.3 was not available during our visits in Side. It should be stored in the Antalya Archaeological Museum. The reading of the inscription is difficult: even if the documentation available is, relatively speaking, good (Brixhe – Neumann 1988; Nollé 2001), different hypotheses have been put forward for the interpretation of single letters.⁴⁴ The interpretation is consequently uncertain, especially for the Greek-Sidetic correspondence of letter N24. It is, however, of great interest as it allows speculation about personal names with interesting results. In particular it offers the reading *tbiat/tviat* in the stele I.2.6 discovered in 2010 (Zinko – Zinko 2016), a reading that finds a parallel, for the initial consonant cluster, in the Anatolian onomastics (Zgusta 1964: 507 “τβιον”) more easily than *tkiat* (assuming the value /k/ for N24, as in Ševoroškin 1975). Pérez-Orozco’s (2003: 106-107) identification of N23 ('P') with /k/ is more speculative in nature, therefore it will be considered more uncertain.

Apart from Sid. N24 (‘v’) occurs the new stele I.2.6 nine times (plus an uncertain one). Three attestations are surely intervocalic: *a>as₂e*, *pe>i^{y/w} as₂e*, *ʒne>ars₂(-)* (I.2.1);⁴⁵ not sure in I.2.5 (intervocalic in Zinko 2016, with the reading *toba₂nremar*); the other five occurrences are instances of the same formative element that occurs three times in I.2.5 and twice in II.1.1, namely |N5|N24|a|N18|- (iconically *Y>a↑-*), where the letter N5 ('Y') is supposed to be the vowel /u/,⁴⁶ but some doubts have been raised by Schürr (2016), who would prefer /w/. In any case, the typical context of occurrence for N24 is that of a syllable onset, close to the nucleus (it precedes a vowel in most if not all of the cases). In the recently discovered stele I.2.6 it occurs in the aforementioned form *tviat* (*tbiat/tviat*). The consonant cluster in the onset speaks in favor of a fricative value for N24, in accordance to the cross-linguistic tendency of increasing sonority in onset clusters (any fricative, i.e. [+cont], is taken to be more sonorous than any other [-cont], like stops).

Summing up, at the present state of the decipherment, Sidetic seems to have a system of stops where only the dentals show phonemic opposition in voice. The letter N24, recently transliterated with |b|, represents more probably a fricative, so perhaps it should be transliterated with |v|.

In first millennium Anatolia voicing in stops is not a pertinent feature in Lydian as well as in Lycian.⁴⁷ Looking back at the second millennium it is not totally clear

⁴⁴ Cf. Nollé 2001: 640-641 with ref.; Pérez-Orozco 2003: 107.

⁴⁵ 'ʒ' iconically reproduces letter N25, for which a value /z/ was suggested (Pérez-Orozco 2003).

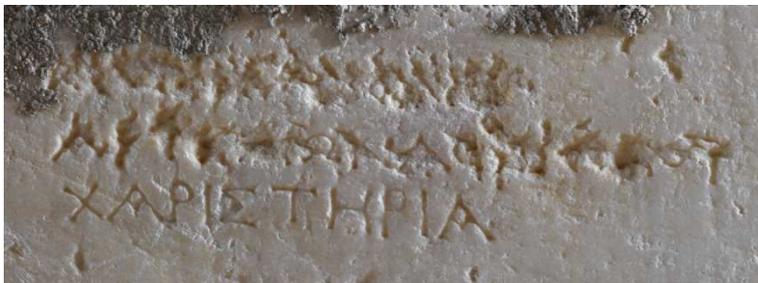
⁴⁶ For a connection with Luvian *upat-*: Melchert, apud Pérez-Orozco 2007: 128.

⁴⁷ Lycian: Melchert 1994; 2008; Kloekhorst 2008; 2013 (all with ref.). Lydian: Melchert 1994; 2008; Gérard 2005; Rizza 2013 (all with ref.).

whether voicing (or another feature such as tenseness, or length)⁴⁸ was contrastive in the stop systems of Hittite, Luvian, and Palaic outside the intervocalic position. A very similar situation is also reconstructed for Hurrian. Anatolian languages of the first millennium B.C. show consistent phenomena of syncope: this may have induced new phonemic oppositions in original intervocalic positions in different ways in the single languages. Sidetic may show the formation of a voice opposition starting in the dental stops, but the topic is still highly speculative and demands further research.

Conclusions

In this essay I have tried to outline some persistent doubts in the decipherment of Sidetic. Not only the letter N7, but also the segmentation and the interpretation of the text under scrutiny still challenge our knowledge of the script and the language. I hope I could offer here a balanced view of the situation: concerning N7 in particular, I would like to say that if N7 is /w/, we should simply keep with Eichner’s interpretation (1985; 1988; 1993); but if we take it as /y/, we should further speculate on the interpretation of the text. We have to remember, however, that N7 might be neither /w/, nor /y/, but at the moment there are no better hypotheses. Finally, the new interpretation of the text adds interesting elements: a more complex textual structure, the mention of the goddess Maly(a) in Sidetic texts in addition to Lycian and Lydian ones, the proposal of a coherent phonological interpretation.



⁴⁸ Fortis-lenis opposition in Hittite and other PIE Anatolian second millennium languages: recently Pozza 2011, with ref.; Kloekhorst 2014 (esp. Part II).

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