

Word formation, grammar and lexicology

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ON THE INTERCHANGE BETWEEN *l* AND *r* IN LYCIAN AND THE CASE OF PINARA*

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1. Introduction

Among the Anatolian languages, one sometimes finds an interchange between /l/ and /r/. Such an alternation is only sporadically attested in Hittite (cf. e.g. *šiyattariye-* vs. *šiyattaliye-*, *tarupp-* vs. *talupp-*, etc.),¹ while it is much wide spread in the Luwic languages. Particularly, Iron age Luwian shows a pervasive rhotacism phenomenon involving original intervocalic /r/, /d/, /l/, and /n/, although the phenomenon seems to be already attested in Bronze age Luwian.² Indeed, as shown by Rieken/Yakubovich 2010 for Hieroglyphic Luwian, frequent interchange between *d-*, *l-*, *n-*, and *r-* signs between vowels seems to point to a conflation of these sounds, probably pronounced as a flap [ɾ] in the opinion of the two scholars. More recently, Sasseville 2018 suggested that an analogous phenomenon occurs in Lydian, thus regarding rhotacism as an areal phenomenon in the 1st millennium BC. In the following table, we present some evidence for the interchange between *l* and *r* in Hieroglyphic Luwian:³

Change	Original word	Form with ⟨r⟩	Form with ⟨l⟩
<i>l > r</i>	<i>ahuwan(ni)-</i> ‘enemy’	<i>á-ru-ni-i-zi</i>	<i>la/i-ni-zi-</i>
	<i>kaluna-</i> ‘granary’	<i>ka-la/i/u-na-</i>	<i>ka-ru-na</i>
	<i>pals(i)-</i> ‘way’	<i>pa+ra/i-si</i>	<i>pa-la-sa-</i>
	<i>tunikkala-</i> ‘baker’	<i>tu-ni-ka-la-</i>	<i>tu-ni-ka-ra+a-</i>
	<i>wala-</i> ‘die’	<i>wal/i+ra/i-</i>	<i>wal/i-la-</i>
	<i>walla-</i> ‘erase’	MALLEUS- <i>la/i/u-</i>	MALLEUS-x+ <i>ra/i-</i>

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¹ Cf. Melchert 1994: 171f.

² Cf. Melchert 2003: 173.

³ Data from Rieken/Yakubovich 2010.

Change	Original word	Form with ⟨r⟩	Form with ⟨l⟩
<i>r > l</i>	<i>aralla-</i> ‘companion’	<i>ara/i-la-</i> ’	<i>á-lá/i-la-</i>
	<i>ari(ya)-</i> ‘raise’	PUGNUS- <i>ri+i-</i>	PUGNUS- <i>ri+i-lá/i-wa/i</i>
	<i>array(a)-</i> ‘long’	(“LONGUS”) <i>a+ra/i-ia</i>	“LONGUS”- <i>lá/i-ia</i>
	<i>aru-</i> ‘high’	<i>a-ru</i>	<i>a-lá/i</i>

Tab. 1. Rhotacism involving original /l/ and /r/ in Hieroglyphic Luwian.

2. Evidence for interchange between *l* and *r* in Lycian?

Rhotacism is not attested in Lycian, nor, as far as can be seen, in Milyan. However, there seem to be some cases that could provide evidence for a sporadic alternation between /l/ and /r/ in Lycian. Three of these cases involve situations of language contact (i.e. they are examples of mismatch between a Lycian word borrowed from another language and its model, or the other way around), while only one would directly attest such alternation in a Lycian stem.

2.1. Lyc. *atra-/atla-* ‘self’

The only Lycian stem seemingly providing data for an alternation between /r/ and /l/ is *atra-/atla-* ‘self’. However, if we analyse the distribution of the two stems, we notice that the interchange between /r/ and /l/ is not free, because the two stems are in a clear complementary distribution: the one with *r* is found in the accusative singular *atrā*, *atru*, while the one with *l* in the dative singular *atli*, *etli*, the dative plural *atla*, and the genitival adjective *atlahi-*, *etlahi-*.⁴

If we look at the Luwian data, the cognate stem *atr(i)-* ‘person, self’ shows a similar distribution: nominative singular /*atris/* (COR-*tará/i-sa*), accusative singular /*atrin/* ([“COR”] *á-tará/i-i-na*, etc.), accusative plural /*atrinzi/* (COR-*tará/i-zi*), and instrumental /*atlati/* (COR-*la-ti-i-*).⁵ In both languages, /l/ only occurs in the oblique stem.

This distribution could be easily explained through the reconstruction of a PIE *r/n*-heteroclite stem, although in cognate forms found in the other Indo-European languages there is no trace of the *n*-stem.⁶ Indeed, both Hawkins 1989: 190 for Luwian and Hajnal 1995: 110 fn. 99 for Lycian suggested that the oblique stem with /l/ derived from the stem in */-tn-/.⁷ Therefore, *atra-/atla-* can-

⁴ Cf. Melchert 2004: 6.

⁵ See the ACLT. Cf. also the Carian acc.pl. *otrš*, matching Gr. αὐτοῦς in the bilingual inscription C.Ka 5 (Adiego 2007: 392).

⁶ Cf. DELG: 418 s.v. ἦτροπ. See also Kassian 2000: 81–82 for the etymology.

⁷ See also Melchert 1994: 317. There are some Hieroglyphic Luwian occurrences in which the phonetic complementation may actually point to a stem **atna-*, but they are generally ascribed to the stem *tani-* ‘soul’ (note that forms like acc.sg. COR-*ni-i-na* and abl. COR-*na-ti* would not show any consonant distribution between direct and oblique stems, which is not the case with *atra-/atla-*). See also van den Hout 2002 for a broader discussion. On *tani-* ‘soul’, cf. Giusfredi 2016.

not prove the existence of a sporadic interchange between /l/ and /r/ in Lycian; it would rather show an erratic postconsonantal *n* > *l* change in the Luwic languages.⁸

2.2. Lyc. *Ddeneuele* (PN)

The personal name *Dde/ēnewele*, only occurring in coin legends so far (also abbreviated as *Dde/ēnewel*, *Dde/ēne*, and *Dde*),⁹ has been explained by Shahbazi 1975: 151 as an Iranian name **Daina-vara*- ‘guardian of faith’ (cf. MP *dyn* ‘wr, Parth. *dyn* ‘br, NP *dīnāvar*). However, Schmitt 1982: 385f. rightly pointed that the Middle Persian names should be traced back to an Old Persian preform in *-bara*, not *-vara*, which makes the correspondence with Lyc. *-wele* very problematic. Indeed, not only Lyc. /l/ for Ir. /r/ would be totally unexpected, as shown by the table below, but also Lyc. /w/ for Ir. /b/ is unparalleled. What is actually found as corresponding to Ir. *-bara* is Lyc. *-para* (cf. *Art(t)uṃpara*, *Artuṃpara/i* < Ir. **Ṛtambara*).

Context	Iranian	Lycian
_ C/N	* <i>Arbaka</i>	<i>Arppaxu</i>
	* <i>Arbina</i>	<i>Erbbina</i>
	* <i>Çiçařarnā</i>	<i>Kizzaprřna; Zisaprřna</i>
	* <i>Humarga</i>	<i>Humrxxa</i> (Mil. <i>Umrğga</i>)
	<i>Pārsa</i>	<i>Parz(z)a</i>
	* <i>Ṛšāma</i>	<i>Arssāma</i>
	* <i>Ṛtambara</i>	<i>Art(t)uṃpara, Artuṃpara/i</i>
	* <i>Ṛtaxšaça</i>	<i>Ertaxssiraza</i>
	<i>Vidřna</i>	<i>Widrřna</i>
V _ V	* <i>Ariyamanā</i>	<i>Erijamāna</i>
	* <i>Dārayauš</i>	<i>Ṇtarijeuse/i</i>
C _	* <i>Miθrapāta</i>	<i>Miθrapata; Mizrppata</i>
	* <i>Vātařradāta</i>	<i>Wataprřdata</i>

Tab. 2. Iranian names and their Lycian adaptations, showing the outcome of Ir. /r/.

Moreover, we would also expect Lyc. *Ṇt* as the outcome of an Iranian initial /d/, although the only assured example is Lyc. *Ṇtarijeuse/i* < Ir. **Dārayauš*.¹⁰

⁸ Furthermore, note that the cluster /tn/ is currently not attested in Lycian (cf. Melchert 1994: 297–299). Another example of change *n* > *l* is found in the personal name (*e*)*katamla* (TL 32e; TL 32n, 3–4; TL 45A, 1–2; N320, 2) vs. Gr. Ἐκατόμυος and Car. *k̄m̄ño*-, which, however, can be a trivial case of dissimilation between nasals (but note that no Lycian word shows the cluster /mn/).

⁹ Cf. Melchert 2004: 93 and Réveilhac 2018: 114.

¹⁰ Another evidence may be Lyc. *Ṇtipa*-, which is perhaps a loanword from OP *dipi*- ‘inscription’ (see however the discussion in Schmitt 1982: 386). Conversely, note that an Iranian internal /d/ usually corresponds to /d/ in Lycian (cf. Ir. *Māda* > Lyc. *Mede*; Ir. *Vidřna* > Lyc. *Widrřna*; Ir. **Vātařradāta* > Lyc. *Wataprřdata*), which would be a further argument against the explanation of

Since *Dde/ēnewele* may have some comparanda in the Anatolian onomastics (cf. Sundwall 1913: 67), we could provisionally regard it as an Anatolian name. It does not offer any evidence for an alternation between /r/ and /l/ in Lycian.

2.3. Lyc. *gasabala* ‘treasurer’

The origin of the title *gasabala* ‘treasurer’ is not completely assured, but, according to the most likely hypothesis, it would be a loanword from an unattested Old Persian title **ganzabara-* ‘treasurer’.¹¹ Two difficulties make this explanation problematic: (1) *gasa-* as the rendering of OP **ganza-*; (2) the correspondence between /r/ and /l/.¹²

The first problem has been solved by Mancini 1987: 41–43, who has shown that an Aramaic intermediation can account for the Lycian *gasa-*: some Aramaic forms reflecting OP **ganza-* testify that an assimilation /nz/ > /zz/ occurred in Aramaic, thus providing us with the base from which the Lycian *gasa-* (as well as the Greek γάζα ‘treasure’) derived.

As to the second point, as shown above, an OP intervocalic /r/ normally corresponds to /r/ in Lycian, so that *gasabala* would be not the expected adaptation of an OP noun **ganzabara*. Mancini invoked as a parallel the *lr* interchange in the toponym *Pinale* ~ Πίναρα; however, in this case, a morphological explanation seems to be more likely. Lycian has a class of agent nouns in *-ala-* (< **-é-leh₂*), also used for professional nouns, as well as the Luwian nouns built with the cognate suffix *-alla-*.¹³ Since the word denotes a profession, it is likely that, as per Sasseville 2014–2015: 112 fn. 18, “the word would have been reinterpreted by Lycian speakers as an agent noun in *-ala-*”. Therefore, the unexpected presence of /l/ in the Lycian word would not support the existence of an alternation between /l/ and /r/ in Lycian.

3. The toponym *Pinara*

The city name *Pinale* is found among the epichoric toponyms attested in Lycian inscriptions.¹⁴ From a morphological point of view, it occurs only as a dative-

Lyc. *Sppñtaza* as reflecting Ir. **Spādāza-* (see the discussion in Schmitt 1982: 386f.). A similar distribution can be observed in the Lycian adaptations of Greek names, cf. *Ñiemuxlida* < Δημοκλειδης (with both initial and internal /d/) vs. *Pulenjda* < Ἀπολλωνίδης (but note consistent Lyc. °ā(ñ)tra/e < Gr. ανδρος).

¹¹ Cf. Imbert 1916: 341.

¹² Cf. also Benveniste 1966: 103: “la forme est unique en lycien et n’autorise aucune conclusion, notamment sur le rapport phonétique de *r* et de *l* dans la langue”.

¹³ See especially Sasseville 2014–2015.

¹⁴ For an overview of ancient sources and inscriptions from *Pinara*, see also Lebrun/Van Quickelberghe 2015.

locative plural.¹⁵ Surely related to this name are the nominative singular *Pillewi* ‘of Pinara’ and the ethnicon *Pilleñni* (accusative singular) ‘inhabitants of Pinara’, both morphologically derived from *Pinale*, through syncope of /a/ and assimilation of the resulting cluster /nl/, the latter with the common Lycian suffix *-weñneli-* (Luwian *-wann[ɫ]-*), according to the following sequences: **Pinale-wi* > **Pin(a)-le-wi* > **Pinlewi* > *Pillewi* and **Pinale-weñni* > **Pin(a)le-weñni* > *Pilleñni*.¹⁶

The bilingual inscription TL 25 from Tlos provides us with the correspondence Lyc. *pilleñni* = Gr. ἕκ Πινάρων, thus giving Πίναρα as the Gk. name of *Pinale*. The two toponyms almost perfectly correspond to each other, the only difference being the final vowel and the alternation between /l/ and /r/. This would not be a problem, were it not for the fact that such a correspondence between Lycian and Greek seems to be otherwise unattested, as shown by the following names:¹⁷

Context	Lycian	Greek
V_V	<i>Erttimeli</i>	Ἀρτεμηλῖς
	<i>Idazzala</i>	Εἰδασσαλα
	<i>Mula</i>	Μολας, Μολης
	<i>Mulesi</i>	Μολεσις
	<i>Mullijese</i>	Μολλισις
	<i>Pilleweli</i>	Πίλλις (?)
	<i>Pubiele</i>	Πυβιαλης
	<i>Telebehi</i>	Τελ(ε)μης(σ)ός
	<i>Tilume</i>	Τιλομας
	<i>Trñmile/i</i>	Τερμίλαι, Τρεμιλείς
<i>Xudalijē</i>	Κυδαλη[ς]	
<i>Zzala</i>	Σαλας	
C/N_	<i>Esedeplēmi, Sedeplñmi</i>	Ἀσεδεπλεμις, Σεδεπλεμις
	<i>Hla</i>	Λας
	<i>Mlejeusi</i>	Μλανασις
	<i>Slñmwewe</i>	Σελμαμοας
	<i>Tlawa</i>	Τλως
R_	<i>Aprll°</i>	Ἄπερλαι
	<i>Kuprllēi</i>	Κοπρίλις
_C/N	<i>El[puw]eti</i>	Ἐλποα[τ]τ[ις]
	<i>Hlñmidewe</i>	Ἐλμιδαυα
	<i>Slñmwewe</i>	Σελμαμοας

Tab. 3. Lycian-Greek correspondences showing the outcome of original Lyc. /l/.

¹⁵ See Réveilhac 2018: 148, *contra* Melchert 2004: 50.

¹⁶ See already Kretschmer 1896: 329 fn. 1. Cf. Laroche 1960: 172–174, Melchert 1994: 327, Lebrun 2015: 47.

¹⁷ Data from Réveilhac 2018: 344f. Note Lyc. *Pillewi* = Gr. Πίλλις, probably depending on the Lycian model. In other terms, such a proper name, possibly derived from a Lycian ethnicon, has lost in Greek the original reference to the city. However, the correspondence between the two names is far to be sure, since there is no attestation in any bilingual text.

The same regularity can be observed in Greek names adapted in Lycian:¹⁸

Context	Greek	Lycian
#_	Λητώ	* <i>Let</i> ^o (cf. <i>Leθθi</i>)
	Λύσανδρος	<i>Lusñ[tr]e, Lusãñtre, Lusãtre</i>
V_V	Ἀλέξανδρος	<i>Alaxssa[ñ]tra, Alixssã[ñtra]</i>
	Μελήσανδρος	<i>Milasãñtra</i>
	Μυκάλη	<i>Mukale</i>
	Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδης	<i>Pulenjda</i>
	Στόλος	<i>Stule</i>
	Καλλιάναξ	<i>Xelijãanaxsa</i>
C_	Ἡρακλῆς	<i>Herikle</i> (Mil. <i>Erikle</i>)
	Ἰητροκλῆς	<i>Ijetruyle</i>
	Δημοκλ[ε]ίδης	<i>Ñtemuxlida</i>
	Περικλῆς	<i>Perikle</i>
	Θερσικλῆς	<i>Terssiyle</i>

Tab. 4. Lycian-Greek correspondences showing the outcome of original Gr. /l/.

As can be seen, both in toponyms and personal names, Lycian ⟨l⟩ always correspond to Greek ⟨λ⟩, whereas Lycian ⟨r⟩ always corresponds to Greek ⟨ρ⟩.¹⁹ Therefore, the case of *Pinale* vs. Πίναρα seems to be isolated. Since, as shown in the discussion above, there is no evidence that an interchange between /l/ and /r/ effectively existed in Lycian, the correspondence between *Pinale* and Πίναρα should be explained in a different way.²⁰

3.1. Pinara in Hittite and Luwian sources

At this point, it is necessary to broaden the scope of our research, taking into account the occurrences of this toponym in the other languages of Anatolia, starting from the end of the 2nd millennium BC.

In Hittite texts, the toponym *Pinali* is currently attested only in the so-called Milawata letter (KUB 19.55+ l.e. 1–6; LNS, CTH 182), probably dated to the reign of Tutḫaliya IV, one of the last Hittite kings. Thanks to the join with KBo 18.117,²¹ we can now read in the first line of the left edge the two cities ^{URU}A-wa-ar-na Ḫ ^{URU}P[i]-na-li-ya – i.e. Xanthos (Lyc. *Arñna*) and Pinara²² –, further shortened in ^{URU}A ^{URU}Pi and ^{URU}A-wa ^{URU}Pi-na.

In Hieroglyphic Luwian, the same two cities are attested in YALBURT and EMIRGAZI inscriptions, also by Tutḫaliya IV, in the following contexts:

¹⁸ Data from Réveilhac 2018: 346–350.

¹⁹ See Réveilhac 2018: 346–350.

²⁰ Note that Neumann 2007: 274 invoked the Lycian stem *atra-/atla-* ‘self’ as a possible comparandum.

²¹ Weeden 2012.

²² According to Weeden 2012: 64, -ya is the enclitic conjunction, despite the presence of Akk. Ḫ.

YALBURT 12

§ 2. *a-wali pi-na-**416(URBS) *tu-pi*

§ 3. *a-wali-mu* |*416-*wali-ni-sa pi-na-**416(URBS) FORTIS.CRUS

‘and (I) smote Pina-**416*, and I the Sun(?) “stood strong” against Pina-**416*.’

YALBURT 13

§ 2. *pi-na-**416(URBS) *ARHA* DELERE

§ 3. *a-wali á-wali+rali-na-**(REGIO) PES₂

‘and (I) destroy(ed) Pina-**416*, and (I) went to Awarna.’

EMIRGAZĪ block B

1.3. *pi-na-**416(REGIO) DELERE-*nú-wali-há à-pa-wali wali+rali-na(REGIO)* PES

‘and I destroy(ed) Pina-**416*, and (I) went to Awarna.’

Hawkins 1995: 80f., 115; 2005: 289f. and Rieken/Yakubovich 2010 provided several pieces of evidence that the hieroglyphic sign **416* should represent a syllable with a lateral. Hawkins suggested ⟨li⟩, while according to Rieken/Yakubovich it should be read ⟨ali⟩ in the 2nd millennium BC. Recently, Melchert 2019 convincingly argued for the reading ⟨li⟩, showing that aphaeresis, which is a widespread phenomenon in Luwian, can easily explain those cases in which *ali-* would be expected. In any case, the form *Pinali* is also confirmed for Luwian, and thus there is currently no Anatolian evidence for a form with /r/.

3.2. Pinara in Greek sources and tradition

As previously said, in the bilingual inscription TL 25 from Tlos we found the correspondence between the Lycian *Pilleñni* and the Greek ἐκ Πινάρων, which implies that (τὰ) Πίναρα (that must have been considered as a *plurale tantum* as far as concerns this particular inscription) is the Greek name of Pinale.²³ By retracing the ancient sources concerning this toponym, we got several pieces of information from Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century CE) in different points of his work on cities and people, transmitted by part of the tradition with the name *Ethniká*. Under the entry Πίναρα it simply said that it is the largest city of Lycia, under the mount Kragos.²⁴ Richer in information is the comment on Pinara appearing under Artymnesos.

Artymnesos, city of Lycia, colony of [the people of] Xanthos. The ethnic denomination is Artymneseus. Menecrates in the first book on Lycia tells that the elders divided in three parts the very populated Xanthos; some of them moved on the Kragos and settled on the mountain {colonized} a round hill and called it the city Pinara, that means ‘round’. In fact, they call all round things ‘pinara’.²⁵

²³ It is worth noting that, to the best of our knowledge, in the whole corpus of inscriptions the form Πινάρων appears only once, in fact in this Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription.

²⁴ Steph. Byz. 523, 19–20. Πίναρα, πόλις μεγίστη, ὑπερκειμένη τῷ Κράγῳ ὄρει τῆς Λυκίας. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Πιναρεῖς ὡς Μεγαρεῖς. A useful first orientation among ancient references is offered by the project ToposText: <https://topostext.org/>.

²⁵ Steph. Byz. 129, 1–7. Ἀρτύμνησος, πόλις Λυκίας, ἄποικος Ξανθίων. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἀρτυμνησεύς. Μενεκράτης ἐν ἀ τῶν Λυκιακῶν φησιν ὅτι πολυανθρωπήσασαν τὴν Ξάνθον τοὺς πρεσβύτας εἰς

In Stephanus's explanation, based in turn on Menecrates's book, *pinara* would be the Xanthian, so possibly the Lycian word to indicate 'round things': because the city was established on a round hill, it was called Pinara.²⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have the possibility of checking this hypothesis within the Lycian language, because we do not have any document attesting the form **pinara* as an adjective with the meaning of 'round'.

Moreover, Stephanus reported the testimony of Panyassis (Halicarnassus, 5th century BC) under the entry Tremile, namely the Lycian name of Lycia. Here the name of the region is explained by the eponym hero Tremilis, as reported by Panyassis. Pinaros is one of his sons, mentioned together with Tloos, Xanthos, and Kragos. All these names are also geographical names, respectively indicating a city (Tloos), both a city and a river (Xanthos), and a mountain. It is then said that Bellerophon changed the name of Tremileis in Lycian and finally that Hecateus of Miletus deals with Tremile in the fourth book of the genealogies, of which we now possess only fragments.²⁷

The geographer Strabo (60 BC–21 CE), native of Pontus, mentioned Pinara among the largest cities of Lycia with Xanthos, Patara, Olympus, Myra, and Tloos, referring to the words of Artemidorus from Ephesus, who lived some years before and wrote the *Geographoúmena*, scripts on geography, now lost for us. The passage of Strabo continues with the description of the mount Antikragos, where Karmylessos is, and the Kragos, with eight peaks and a city of the same name. These mountains are the scene of the myth of Chimaera. Below the Kragos is the city of Pinara, which is one of the largest cities of Lycia. Here Pandarus is worshipped, possibly, Strabo concludes, the same Pandarus from Lycia mentioned by Homer.²⁸

τρία μέρη διελεῖν, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Κράγον ἔλθειν καὶ οἰκῆσαι ἐν τῷ ὄρει λόφον στρογγύλον {κατοικίσαι} καὶ καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν Πινάραν, ἣν μεθερμηνεύεσθαι στρογγύλην. τὰ γὰρ στρογγύλα πάντα πινάρα καλοῦσιν.

²⁶ See also Lebrun/Van Quickenberghe 2015: 130 with fn. 9.

²⁷ Steph. Byz. 633, 8–634, 2. Τρεμίλη. ἢ Λυκία ἐκαλεῖτο οὕτως ἀπὸ Τρεμίλου, ὡς Πανύσας ἔνθα δ' ἕναίε μέγας Τρεμίλης καὶ ἔγημε θύγατρα, νόμφην Ὠγυγίην, ἣν Πραξιδίκην καλέουσιν, Σίβρω ἐπ' ἀργυρέω ποταμῷ παρὰ διήεντι· τῆς δ' ὀλοοὶ παῖδες Τλώος Ξάνθος Πίναρός τε καὶ Κράγος, ὃς κρατέων πάσας ληΐζεν' ἀρούρας.

οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τρεμίλεις. Ἀλέξανδρος "τελευτήσας τὰς δὲ τοὺς Τρεμιλέας Λυκίους Βελλεροφόντης μετωνόμασεν". Ἐκαταῖος Τρεμίλιας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ἐν τετάρτῳ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν.

²⁸ Strab. 14.3.3. Ἐξ δὲ τὰς μεγίστας ἔφη ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ξάνθον Πάταρα Πίναρα Ὀλυμπον Μύρα Τλώων κατὰ τὴν [ὑπέρ]θεσιν τὴν εἰς Κιβύραν κειμένην. 14.3.5. ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Κράγῳ Πίναρα ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν μεγίστων οὖσα πόλεων ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Πάνδαρος τιμᾶται, τυχὸν ἴσως ὁμώνυμος τῷ Τρωικῷ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἐκ Λυκίας φασίν. Among Latin sources, Pliny the Elder, during the 1st century CE, mentioned Pinara and Telmessus, as the frontier town of Lycia (*Nat. Hist.* 5.28.101 *ibi Pinara et quae Lyciam finit Telmesus*).

Arrian (2nd century CE), Greek historian and governor on behalf of the Roman Empire, also mentioned Pinara among other cities, when he tells that Alexander invaded Lycia and, after the surrender of Telmessus, crossing the river of Xanthos, the cities of Pinara, Xanthos, Patara, and about thirty other smaller towns were surrendered to him.²⁹

Finally, the testimony of Ptolemy (Egypt, c. 100–175) mentioned the city in the Greek form Πίναρα, providing us with its geographical coordinates: Πίναρα. 59°50' . 36°25' (*Geogr.* 5.3.5).

Moving to the epigraphic material, in addition to the already mentioned bilingual inscription TL 25 reporting the phrase ἐκ Πινάρων, several inscriptions show the expected form with the ⟨ρ⟩ in Greek in words such as, apart from Πίναρα,³⁰ Πινάριος, Πιναρεύς, Πιναρεῖ, Πιναρίδι, Πιναρίδα etc. In most of the cases, one inflected form of the personal name Πινάριος could be etymologically related both to the city of Pinara and to the river Pinaros, in Cilicia. What is important to stress is the fact that, almost always, the form contains the ⟨ρ⟩.

Thus, the presence of ⟨ρ⟩ is highly systematic, except from an isolated attestation of the Greek name Πίναλος, this time with an ⟨λ⟩, mentioned in a long inscription from Sydima, belonging to the empire of Commodus (161–192 CE), son of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Here the hero Pinalos is quoted together with his brothers Tlos and Kragos, the three sons of Tremiles and Praxidike, in a passage reporting the same genealogy attributed to Panyassis.³¹ It is also worth noting that the attestation of the hero's name with the ⟨λ⟩ does not correspond to a similar variation in the name of the city and its inhabitants, still attested as Πιναρεῖς with the ⟨ρ⟩ in the same few lines (as well as in B1, 16). This is the only testimony at our disposal of a possible alternation in Greek between the /r/ and the /l/, not concerning the city name, but the name of the eponym hero. While not having enough elements in support to this hypothesis, we can conjecture that a possible local tradition, not attested anywhere else, had survived during centuries and appeared again in the time of Commodus.

²⁹ Arr. *An.* 1.24.4. ἔπειτα εἰσβαλὼν εἰς Λυκίαν Τελμισσέας μὲν ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, περάσας δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμὸν Πίναρα καὶ Ξάνθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἔλαβε καὶ ἄλλα ἐλάττω πολισμοὶ ἐς τριάκοντα.

³⁰ Once attested in a list of cities, possibly mentioned as *asyllia* of the temple of Hekate, in one inscription coming from Caria, ref. Lagina 13.

³¹ TAM II 174, A.1, 15–B.1, 2:

τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶ[ς] καὶ Τλωεῖς καὶ
Πιναρεῖς γενεαλ[ογίαν τὴν Τρεμί]-
[λ]ου καὶ Πραξιδικῆς, ἐξ ὧν Τλω[ο]ς καὶ
[Κ]ράγος καὶ Πίναλος ἀνήκοντα.

For a discussion and comment on this genealogy also related to the figure of Neoptolemus (as reported in an epigram preserved by Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγρίαι) and the mythological chronicle of the city of Sydima, see Barbantani 2007: 80f. with references. See also Podestà 2017: 64, 69.

3.3. Pinara in Aramaic inscriptions

Turning to the 1st millennium BC, in two Aramaic fragments from the Letoon of Xanthos we find *B'LY PNR* ‘citizens of Pinara’,³² where the name of the city shows /r/ as well as in Greek.

Therefore, one might wonder if there is any further evidence of a correspondence between Lycian /l/ and Aramaic /r/. Unfortunately, there are not many Lycian names showing the treatment of /r/ and /l/ in the Aramaic inscriptions from Lycia. Data available, mostly coming from the Letoon trilingual inscription of Xanthos (N 320), are summarised in the following table:³³

Lycian	Aramaic
<i>Arñna</i>	'WRN
<i>Eriñmeli</i>	'RTMWŠ
<i>Katamla</i>	KTMNW
<i>Leθθeli</i> ‘of Leto’	L'TW
<i>Pigesere</i>	PGSWD[R]
<i>Qñturaheli</i>	KDWRS
<i>Trñmili</i>	TRMYL
<i>Zēmure</i>	ZYM[WR] (?) ³⁴

Tab. 5. Lycian-Aramaic correspondences.

As far as can be seen, although the data are very scanty, nothing legitimises the statement that a Lycian /l/ becomes /r/ in Aramaic. We should however note that, in most cases, the Aramaic form is quite different from the Lycian one and seems to depend on another language, which, according to Molina Valero 2004, is Carian.³⁵ Nevertheless, even a Carian intermediation cannot account for /r/ in the Aramaic form, because, as far as we know, Carian did not take part in the rhotacism phenomenon.

³² Fr. A (n° 5627), 3; fr. B (n° 5743 = N 319), 5 (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1979). The two fragments seem to be contemporary to the Letoon trilingual inscription N 320. Fr. B also includes a very fragmentary Lycian text, and it is possible that both fragments originally belonged to two different trilingual Lycian-Greek-Aramaic inscriptions (we might wonder if one of the two fragments could belong to the Pixodaros' Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription TL 45, where the citizens of Pinara are mentioned).

³³ We do not take into account Iranian words, which however do not present unexpected correspondences.

³⁴ Cf. Vernet/Vernet 2015.

³⁵ This would not be strange in the case of the Letoon trilingual, since it deals with the institution of a Carian cult devoted to the ‘King of Kaunos’, whose Aramaic name, *kndws/š 'lh' kbydšy*, does not match perfectly Lyc. *xñtawat(i)- xbidēñne/i*, being instead closer to the likely Carian designation (i.e. *kδous* and perhaps a genitival adjective built on the Carian name of Kaunos, as per Molina Valero 2004: 1015f.).

3.4. Looking for an explanation

While an interchange between /l/ and /r/ may be regarded as unproblematic, because it is often found in the languages of the world, we think that its appearance in a consistent series of regular correspondences may require an explanation other than a sporadic sound change fixed in a tradition, although obviously such a solution cannot be completely ruled out.³⁶

As we have shown in § 2, there is no evidence for an *l/r* alternation in Lycian, neither a direct internal one, since the allomorph with /l/ of the stem *atra-/atla-* ‘self’ probably goes back to a preform with /n/, nor an indirect one, arising from language contact phenomena, because *Ddenewele* is not an Iranian name in °*bara* and the /l/ in the OP loanword *gasabala* ‘treasurer’ has a good morphological explanation. Therefore, Lycian cannot account for the forms with /r/, and different possible explanations should be considered.

As mentioned, in ancient sources the Greek form of the city and its inhabitants is always based on the form Πίναρα, with a ⟨ρ⟩. A unique case is the name of the hero Πίναλος instead of the most common Πίναρος in one late inscription, dated to the end of 2nd century CE.

The most interesting etymological explanation comes from one gloss of Stephanus of Byzantium who tells, quoting Menecrates, that *pinara* is a Xanthian word, possibly an adjective, which means ‘round’. Because the city lies on (or/and at the foot of) a round hill, it received the name of Pinara, through a process of metonym. However, if this explanation perfectly fits with the Greek form, it does not explain on the contrary the Lycian name *Pinale*, unless considering some *l/r* alternation in Lycian, which however is not evidenced. Or, it must be admitted that the Lycian name of the city was not related in Lycian itself to the word which means ‘round’, which is currently not attested.

What could explain such an anomalous correspondence between the Lycian *Pinale* and the Greek Πίναρα? We could imagine some association with the similar word πινάρως, except this one is oxyton, which means ‘dirty’:³⁷ however, none of the sources recorded a possible etymological link with this word. Another possibility is the analogical formation by means of the suffix -ρα, found also in Πάραρα, Μύρα, Λιμύρα. Consequently, there are two possible linguistic solutions that can intersect: on one side, the folk etymology related both to the Greek adjective πινάρως, not even mentioned by the ancient sources, both to an unknown Lycian word as suggested by the text of Stephanus; on the other side, the analogy with other city names found in the same region of Asia Minor. Both of these processes could be plausibly applied in the toponomastics.

³⁶ In this respect, we owe to Prof. Ran Zadok the suggestion that the change /l/ > /r/ in the case of Pinara may have been favoured by the presence of /n/ in the adjacent syllable.

³⁷ Cf. Zgusta 1984: 494f.

A different kind of solution may involve the presence of an intermediate language in the transmission of the toponym, or even a different source. Besides Greek, the Aramaic name of the city also shows /r/, so that, theoretically, nothing prevents us regarding the Aramaic form as the source of the Greek one. However, this would only shift the problem, because, as previously mentioned, Aramaic *PNR* does not find a convincing explanation in a Lycian-Aramaic language contact scenario. Therefore, the relationship between the Greek and the Aramaic forms remains unclear: either of them may have been the source of the other, but they may also have been independently derived from the same source.

If we look for languages in which the change /l/ > /r/ is well attested, and which therefore may represent a plausible source for the forms with /r/, two possible solutions arise. The first one is Luwian, which, as mentioned, attests a widespread rhotacism phenomenon. However, such a solution seems to be unlikely both from a chronological and a geographical point of view, because Luwian is not attested after the 7th century BC and no Luwian inscription has been found so far in Lycia. Of course, it is not impossible that Luwian was also spoken in that area, and that a rhotacised variant of a toponym, competing with the Lycian one, was fixed in a local tradition, later becoming the source for the Greek and Aramaic forms, but such a scenario would imply several assumptions totally unsupported by data.³⁸

A different solution may involve Old Persian, where a change /l/ > /r/ seems to be regular,³⁹ so that an Old Persian outcome with /r/ may have been the source at least of the Aramaic *PNR*. However, as rightly pointed out by Schwartz

³⁸ Consider however the city name 'WRN 'Xanthos' in the Aramaic version of the Letoon trilingual, which is closer to Hittite and Luwian *Awarna* than to Lycian *Arñna*, although, in this case, a Carian intermediation cannot be excluded (this toponym is not attested in Carian so far, but it seems that an intervocalic /w/ is somehow preserved, cf. e.g. *kδou-* < **Hntaw*^o- as per Adiego 2007: 260). Incidentally, also note that Greek sometimes shows unexpected adaptations of Lycian names, especially when an intervocalic /s/ is involved: this sound is generally not preserved in Lycian, but it is sporadically found in Greek adaptations (cf. Lyc. *Purihimete-* vs. Gr. Πορασυματις in Davies 1985: 108, 18, beside "regular" Ποριμάτις, Ποριματις; Lyc. *Qñturahe-* vs. Gr. Κονδορασις in N 320; Lyc. *Telebehi-* and *Tuminehi-* vs. Gr. Τελημισός and Τυμημισός, etc.). In this case, however, a possible model language may be Milyan, which preserves the intervocalic /s/ (cf. Mil. *Tuminesi-* 'Tymnesos'). But Milyan cannot account for the interchange between /l/ and /r/. Finally, note that, if Sasseville 2018 is right on rhotacism in Lydian, a solution involving this language becomes theoretically available, but at present it would perhaps pose more problems than it would solve.

³⁹ Cf. e.g. the Old Persian name of Babylon, /bābiru-/, and its derivative relational adjective /bābiruviya-/ 'Babylonian' (Schmitt 2014: 148f.), as well as the name of the city Arbela, OP /arbajra/, Elam. *harbera* vs. Babylonian *Arba'il* (Schmitt 2014: 134). Cf. also the name of the Lycians found in the Elamite Persepolis Fortification tablets, clearly derived from Lycian *Trñmile/i-*: *Turmir(iy)ap*, *Tarmir(iy)ap*, *Turmurap*, but beside the less frequent forms *Turmil(ay)ap*, *Turmulap*, *Turpilap* (cf. Hallock 1969: 764f. for the occurrences; see Schmitt 2003 and especially Tavernier 2015, with a discussion on the different sources).

2008, the issue of /l/ in Iranian is much more complex than it seems (especially concerning the outcomes of a PIE *l), and the Old Persian cuneiform script also had a sign for /l/, restricted to some foreign proper names, which makes an adaptation with /r/ in Old Persian less obvious. Furthermore, we should probably not overestimate the role of Old Persian in Lycia, because the number of Iranian loanwords in Lycian is very limited – the only assured ones being the titles *xssadrapa* ‘satrap’ and *gasabala* ‘treasurer’⁴⁰ – and because both onomastic and archaeological data are too scarce to support the hypothesis of a significant Persian presence in Lycia.⁴¹

All in all, if we are not dealing with a sporadic sound change, folk etymology and analogy with other toponyms of the area are the most plausible solutions.

4. Conclusion

When language contact is involved, phonetic correspondences between two languages are not expected to be fully regular and cannot be always described by systematic phonetic rules. Therefore, in several cases, we may be satisfied if at least some clear tendencies are discernible. However, when a large set of examples allows us to observe a systematic correspondence between two languages in contact, the appearance of one single divergent case should not be dismissed too quickly. This is actually what happens in a seemingly insignificant case of mismatch between the Lycian and the Greek form of the toponym discussed in this paper, which cannot be solved invoking an alleged interchange between /l/ and /r/ in Lycian because, as we have shown, there is no evidence for such a phenomenon.

Of course, further research is needed in order to untangle this complex situation of language contact, with the hope that other data will help us to elucidate it; however, it is possible that the problem concerning the unexpected correspondence between Lycian *Pinale*, Greek Πίναρα, and Aramaic *PNR* cannot be solved univocally. On the one hand, other languages for which an outcome with /r/ was phonetically regular could be involved, but this hypothesis remains unsupported by any linguistic data. On the other hand, the morphological processes of analogy or folk etymology can indeed have taken part in the transmission and even possible commixtures, without being entirely responsible for such an eccentric correspondence. Moreover, as Melchert 2019: 357, fn. 4 states: “this place name is unlikely to be Indo-European”,⁴² and, because

⁴⁰ Also note that *xssadrapa* reflects the Median outcome of Old Iranian *xšaθra-pā- (vs. Old Persian *xšaçaṣpāvan-*; cf. Schmitt 2014: 284f.), found in several other languages, while *gasabala*, as mentioned, shows Aramaic intermediation.

⁴¹ Cf. Bryce 1986: 158–163 and Keen 1998: 61–66, 76–79.

⁴² Note that Melchert’s discussion is focused on the correspondence between the final vowels in the Luwian, Lycian, and Greek forms of this toponym, which is regarded as “unproblematic” (contra Melchert 2003: 181 fn. 12).

the study concerns the toponomastics, it involves, as a matter of fact, various processes both of language and cultural contact and, if it were the case, of word transmission in a historical and geographical scenario.

To conclude, it is important to highlight that if the alternance between the Lycian *Pinale* and the Greek Πίναρα admits a variable amount of plausible explanation, this evidence can in no way be taken into account in favour of an alternance between /l/ and /r/ in the Lycian language.

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