

Annick Payne / Šárka Velhartická /
Jorit Wintjes (eds)

Beyond All Boundaries

Anatolia in the First Millennium BC

BEYOND ALL BOUNDARIES

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THE POPULATION, THE LANGUAGE AND THE HISTORY OF YADIYA/SAM'AL¹

Federico Giusfredi – Valerio Pisaniello

Abstract: In this contribution, we will examine the historical, cultural and linguistic data from the multicultural and multilingual city of Yadiya/Sam'al during the Early Iron Age. We will also examine the peculiarities of the variety of Aramaic that was used in the Sam'alian documents, and argue that it was influenced both in its lexicon and in its grammar by the presence of other languages spoken in the region.

Keywords: Zincirli, Sam'alian, Aramaic, Luwian

1 THE SITE

1.1 The archaeological setting

The Iron Age kingdom of Yadiya² or Sam'al, often referred to using the modern name of its capital city, Zincirli Höyük, is a West-Semitic political formation of the Early Iron Age.

Yadiya/Sam'al was a city-state with a small(?) annexed territory, in the fashion typical of the small principalities of Syria and Southern Anatolia that flourished between the end of the Dark Age (around the 11th–10th century BCE) and the full development of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (in the 9th–8th centuries BCE). While several political formations of this kind usually exhibited either a Luwian or a Semitic prevalent identity (reflected e.g. by the selection of the royal onomastics and/or

1 This paper is part of the project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299). F. Giusfredi has written the sections 1, 2, 6 and 7, while V. Pisaniello is the author of the sections 3, 4 and 5.

2 The form *Y'DY* has been analysed in different fashions by different scholars, with *Yaudi* being the traditional rendering, now to be abandoned, as we will argue below in section 1.2.



Fig. 1. The geographical position of Zincirli (© Valerio Pisanelli).

by the language employed in the sources), the case of Yadiya is very peculiar, in that both the historical and the linguistic and epigraphic data point to a complex pattern of demographics, with an Anatolian and a Semitic component co-existing with each other.

Before the Iron Age, the sources about Zincirli are virtually absent, even though it was certainly part of an area of Hittite influence and even of direct domination at least during the final part of the Late Bronze Age. The tell itself covers a 40ha area not far from the border between Turkey and Syria; stratigraphy identified both Bronze and Iron Age levels of occupation, but the Early Iron Age phase is the one that is best documented not only through archaeological finds, but also through epigraphic materials discovered already during the first excavations in the 19th century (cf. von Luschan 1893). A history of the excavations in Zincirli is provided by Schloen and Fink (2009), who directed the new excavation by the Chicago Oriental Institute.

1.2 The ancient names of Zincirli

The capital city of the small kingdom under discussion coincides with the modern site of Zincirli Höyük. In antiquity, as already mentioned, it seemed to go by at least two different names. This is no isolated case in the multi-ethnic and multilingual setting of Iron Age Syria, especially in those cases in which a mixed-population area had both a Luwian and a Semitic toponym. A very well-known case of this kind of double denomination is Masuwari/Til Barsip (HLuw. *ma-su-wa/i+·ra/i-na*(URBS), Akk. URU.DU₆-*bar-si-ip*)³, capital city of Bit Adini (modern Tell Ahmar), a kingdom held by rulers who also bore personal names that, when recognizable, seem to be Semitic but were written with Anatolian hieroglyphs in Luwian texts (e.g. *'ha-mi-ya-ta-*, probably 'Ammi-Addu *vel sim.*).

The situation in ancient Zincirli was similar, but not identical (and, superficially, it may even appear to be the opposite). The main difference with respect to the famous case of Tell Ahmar is represented by the fact that in Zincirli the language and script of the epigraphs composed by the rulers are generally Semitic (with some exceptions that we will mention in due course), while the names used by the rulers, for a large portion of the history of the Sam'alian dynasty or dynasties, were Luwian. However, this situation and the one in Tell Ahmar are but two different possible outcomes of a similar multicultural precondition.

The most striking feature that makes the situation of Zincirli similar to that of Tell Ahmar is, however, the very existence of two competing geographical names that are employed to refer to the kingdom. The two names, here, are:

Sam'al: Old Aramaic *šm'l*, Neo-Assyrian *sa-am-'a-la-°* (both as a toponym and as demonym). It is employed by the Assyrians to refer to the kingdom, but also by the last local King, Bar-Rākib, in his texts composed in Standard Old Aramaic.

YDY, attested in the documents written in Sam'alian, but also in the Phoenician inscription KAI 24 by Kulamuwa. In general, it is the form employed by all the local rulers who bore Luwian names.

3 TELL AHMAR 3, § 1; RIMA III A.0.102.2: 31.

We wish to argue that this double denomination in antiquity may have reflected the double identity of the kingdom's demographics, with Yadiya being *possibly* a Luwian denomination and Sam'al being a Semitic name, employed both by some rulers and by the Assyrians.

Of course, the linguistic analysis and the meaning of *šm'l* are fairly clear. It means “left” (possibly indicating the North, as suggested by Tropper 1993: 7, based on comparable Semitic material). An analysis of Yadiya as an Anatolian – or at least pre-Aramaic – name is less straightforward. As a matter of fact, even the vocalization is highly tentative. It was proposed by Landsberger (1948), who clearly demonstrated that the traditional reading Yaudi was mistaken and based on an erroneous identification with Akkadian URU *Ya-u/u₂-du*, which actually referred to the kingdom of Juda. Rather than suggesting that the name was indeed etymologically Anatolian, we will limit ourselves to observing that its employment coincided with the phase during which the local rulers employed Luwian names and wrote their texts in Sam'alian. Yadiya, or whatever the exact vocalization was, was in all likelihood a local denomination of the area that predated the Aramaic occupation, and which was abandoned by King Bar-Rākib along with the custom of bearing a Luwian throne-name and using the local vernacular in official inscriptions.

2 THE HISTORY OF YADIYA/SAM'AL IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

2.1 The early phases: 10th and early 9th centuries

The earliest phase of the Iron Age history of the kingdom is unknown. While the not too distant site of Carchemish was already an important Luwian kingdom during the Dark Age, mentioned by Tiglatpileser I as a city of “Great Hattu” at the beginning of the 11th century BCE, there is no mention of Sam'al in any of the available sources, or, at least, none has been discovered so far.⁴ According to Trooper (1993: 10), the establishment of a first Aramaic dynasty on the throne of Zincirli can be dated more or less to the final quarter of the 10th century BCE, with the reign of king *GBR* (KAI 24: 2; we will generally refrain from vocalizing personal and place names unless the vocalization is comparatively proven; however, this name is often normalized as Gabbār). All we know about

4 For the annalistic texts by Tiglatpileser I, see RIMA I A.0.87.1–2001.

GBR is that he was a king (*MLK*) and that he was unable to accomplish anything (*WBL P[L]*), at least according to his fourth successor *KLMW* (Kulamuwa, or Kilamuwa), who mentioned him in his own Phoenician inscription (KAI 24). *GBR*'s first two successors were no better at getting things done: neither *BMH* nor *HYH*⁵ achieved anything. The third successor, *ŠL*, brother of the author of the inscription, was also a disappointment, so *KLMW* can proudly claim to be the one who did what his predecessors were unable to do.

Apart from the rather typical rhetorical figure of demeaning one's own forebears (even when they are one's own kinsmen)⁶, *KLMW*'s accomplishments are basically two. The first is his (probably exaggerated) military success in a difficult political situation:

“The house of my father was in the midst of powerful kings, each (of whom) stretched forth (his) hand to fight (me). But I was in the hand of the kings like a fire that consumed the beard and like a fire that consumed the hand. The king of the Danunians was more powerful than I, and I hired against him the king of Assyria.” (KAI 24: 5–8).

The second accomplishment is, if possible, even more impressive (and less unlikely than the alleged hiring of the king of Assyria as a mercenary!):

“In the presence of earlier kings, the *mškbm* used to bed down like dogs. But I was a father to everyone, I was a mother to everyone, I was a brother to everyone. And whoever had never owned a sheep, I made him the owner of a flock; and whoever had never owned an ox, I made him the owner of cattle, the owner of silver, and the owner of gold; and whoever had never seen a tunic from his youth, in my days was clothed in byssus. And I took the *mškbm*

5 This is the first name attested also in an Assyrian source. A Sam'alian Hajjanu is indeed mentioned by Salmanassar III as a tributary ruler in RIMA III A.0.102.2: 53.

6 The lack of information as regards the relationship between the first three rulers is no legitimate reason to doubt that they were in fact related, so Tropper's claim (1993: 11) that *HYH* was the first ruler to found a dynasty is impossible to either prove or disprove. The adoption of the cult of Rākib-El as dynastic god is no compelling argument either (and there is no way of proving that this had already happened before *KLMW*'s reign).

by the hand, and *they set (their) emotions* (lit. “soul”) (*about me*) as *the emotions of an orphan towards a mother*.⁷ And whoever of my sons shall sit (upon the throne) in my place, if he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer respect the *bʾrrm*, and the *bʾrrm* shall no longer respect the *mškbm*.” (KAI 24: 9–15).

The presence of two distinct demographic groups inside a kingdom that was located at the interface between the documentarily Luwian areas of Carchemish and Gurgum and the Aramaic and Assyrian regions of Northern Mesopotamia and Central Syria is intriguing, and even more so if one considers that, while the first four rulers of the city bore Aramaic names and left no texts, starting with *KLMW* the kings that left epigraphic materials wrote in West Semitic languages (Phoenician, Old Aramaic, Samʿal Aramaic) but bore Luwian names, with the sole exception of the last one, Bar-Rākib, who, however, owned a seal written in Anatolian Hieroglyphs (Hawkins 2000: 576).

Dare we assume that *mškbm* and *bʾrrm* corresponded to Luwians and Aramaeans? And if so, which was which? The *mškbm* were, according to *KLMW*’s own narrative, somewhat disadvantaged at the time of his forbears, so that he claims to have made them peers to the *bʾrrm*. Based on contextual evidence, and on the linguistic analysis of both designations, Tropper suggests that the *bʾrrm* were, indeed, the Aramaeans, while the *mškbm* were the populations that lived in Yadiya before the Aramaeans occupied the city. All in all, even if an identification of the *mškbm* with the Luwians remains in part speculative, it is in all likelihood correct. Scholen and Fink (2009: 3) state that the existence of rulers with Luwian names in Zincirli during the Early Iron Age reflects the influence of a Luwian élite. In order to provide a more accurate characterization, we will now briefly examine the language and content of the sources of the successors of *KLMW*.

2.2 The 9th and 8th centuries: rulers, texts and languages

Reconstructing the dynasty of the rulers of Zincirli during after *KLMW* can be tricky. The kings who left inscriptions are three: *PNMW* (I) son of *QRL*, *PNMW* (II) son of Bar-Šūr and Bar-Rākib, son of *PNMW* (II). We do not know much about *QRL*, and one may legitimately wonder

⁷ Tentative interpretation of a rather problematic clause, based on Tropper 1993: 43–44.

whether his unusual name should be interpreted as a Luwian name like the one used by his son. A ^h*ha+ra/i-li-sa* is mentioned in CEKKE, an early 8th century text from the Carchemish area (and almost certainly of Carchemish provenance even if it was found in a different nearby location). This name could be normalized as *Haralli-*, *Harralli-* but also as *Harli-* and, given the tendency towards rendering the Luwian fricative /h/ as a <Q> in Neo-Assyrian (e.g. *Qatazilu* / *Hattusilis*)⁸, it may very well make useful material for comparative purposes. If *QRL* did indeed have a Luwian name, it would be different from the apparently compound names in *-muwa* borne by *KLMW* and the two *PNMW*'s. While this fact should not be overlooked, it is also true that if the name is indeed Luwian, all the members of the ruling dynasty, with the exception of the last, bore Luwian names in their inscriptions. As for Bar-Şūr, the name was clearly Aramaic, but the historical information contained in the Sam'al inscriptions makes it unclear whether he ever reigned. There is indeed a seal (in a private collection) possibly dated to the 8th century BCE in which an 'Ozba'al, servant of Bar-Şūr, is mentioned, though it is not entirely clear if this small object comes from Sam'al (and certainly the official bears a Phoenician name). What we know for sure is that Bar-Şūr eventually succumbed to a usurper, who was then replaced by *PNMW* II, who had meanwhile become a loyal ally of the Assyrians. These data derived from the historical narrative contained in the Sam'al inscription that Bar-Rākib composed for his father early in his reign:

“My father *PNMW* because of the loyalty of his father, the gods of Y'DY sent away from the destruction which was in the house of his father. [...] He (= unknown usurper) killed his father Bar-Şūr, and he killed seventy brothers of his father.” (KAI 215: 1–3 *passim*)

The exact dates of the reigns of the individual rulers are difficult to establish, but a couple of fixed points exist in the generalized chronologies of the Neo-Assyrian era:

8 Quoted in RIMA II A.0.101.1: iii 95; RIMA III A.0.102.2: i 37. The phonetic rendering of foreign names into Neo-Assyrian is all but regular, as shown by imperfect renderings such as *Lubarna* for *Labarna*; nevertheless, the tendency towards rendering a [h] with a q-sign is positively attested. Cf. also *Qalparunda* for *Halparuntiyas* in RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 84; 102.6: iii 12; 102.91: 1. On these names cf. also the voices in *Qalparunda* and *Qatazilu* in PNP 3/1: 1005 and 1010.

King	Period	Assyrian Annals	Absolute chronology events and synchronisms	Relationship with the successor
<i>GBR</i>	10 th or 9 th c.			?
Possibly other unmentioned rulers. 1 st dynastic change?				
<i>BMH</i>	10 th or 9 th c.			?
Possibly other unmentioned rulers. 2 nd dynastic change?				
<i>ḪYH</i>		Salmanassar III ⁹	Paid tribute to Assyria in 857 BCE	Father
<i>Š'L</i>				Brother
<i>KLMW</i>				?
Possibly other unmentioned rulers?				
<i>QRL</i>	Ca. 800–775 BCE			Father
<i>PNMW (I)</i>	Ca. 775–750 BCE			Father
Bar-Šūr	Did he reign at all?			Father
<i>PNMW (II)</i>	Ca. 745–732 BCE		Dead in the siege of Damascus (733/732 BCE) ¹⁰	Father
Bar-Rākib	From 732 BCE	Tiglatpileser III ¹¹		Assyrian conquest of the former kingdom of Sam'al

9 RIMA III A.0.102.2: 53.

10 A local Old Aramaic narrative of these events exists in KAI 215: 16–18 *passim*: “And my father Panamuwa died while following his lord Tiglatpileser, king of Assyria, in the campaigns [...] And he (Tiglatpileser) brought my father back from Damascus to Assyria”. In the Assyrian sources, *PNMW* appears mentioned as ^m*pa-na-am-mu-u/u*₂ as a tributary king for the year 738 BCE.

11 RINAP I 14: 12; 27: 4; 32: 4; 35: iii 17; 47: rev. 8.

As regards *KLMW*, the author of the Phoenician text KAI 24, he was the second successor of his father *HYH*, who was defeated by Salmassar III in 858 BCE (the same tremendous set of campaigns that resulted in the conquest of Bit Adini and other significant kingdoms in the region). If we assumed that this defeat was the end of *HYH*'s reign, it would be hard to imagine that the two rulers who followed, *Š'L* and *KLMW*, ruled for the ca. 60 years until the end of the 9th century, thus connecting the two known series of rulers into a single, complete sequence. One should therefore consider the possibility that one or more names are missing from the sequence of kings who ruled in Sam'al; whether they also bore Luwian names is obviously impossible to establish, though any new epigraphic findings would naturally help us clarify the events of those decades and be more than welcome.

Once the dynasty has been reconstructed as fully as the sources permit, it is interesting to consider in what language the texts were composed and what were the main contents.¹²

Royal texts			
King	Text	Language	Contents
<i>KLMW</i>	KAI 24 ¹³	Phoenician	Royal succession; war against the <i>dnrym</i> ; social reform concerning the two components of the kingdom's demographics.
	KAI 25 ¹⁴	Sam'alian(?) ¹⁵	Propitiatory dedication to Rākib-El.
<i>QRL</i>	-	-	-
<i>PNMW</i> (I)	KAI 214 ¹⁶	Sam'alian	Royal succession, pacification of the kingdom, construction works.
Bar-Šūr	-	-	-
<i>PNMW</i> (II)	-	-	-

12 Other short Aramaic texts exist, mostly inscribed on small objects, e.g. the amulet published by DeGrado/Richey 2017, but they contain no historical information, nor is it possible to understand whether the shorter texts were written in standard Old Aramaic or Sam'alian.

13 Edition in Tropper 1993: 30–49, 153–164. On the relief see now Brown 2008.

14 Edition in Tropper 1993: 50–52.

15 Cf. Gianto 1995: 141.

16 Editions in Sachau 1893: 55–84 and Tropper 1993: 54–97.

Bar-Rākib for <i>PNMW</i> (II)	KAI 215 ¹⁷	Sam'alian	Dedication of the stela; deeds of the ancestors and of the father; relationships with Assyria (Tiglathpileser III); invocation of the deities (including Rākib-El).
Bar-Rākib (own inscriptions)	KAI 216–221 ¹⁸	Old Aramaic	Royal succession, submission to Assyria, self-celebration.
	Aramaic Seal ¹⁹	Old Aramaic	Name and genealogy.
	Silver bars ²⁰	Old Aramaic	Name and genealogy.
	Golden ring ²¹	Luwian	Name.

Non-royal texts or texts whose committent is unknown

Reign of	Text	Language	Contents
Bar-Šūr(?)	'Ozba'al seal ²²	Aramaic/Phoenician(?)	Owner's name and title.
?	Pancarlı ²³	Luwian	Funerary dedication text. It <i>may</i> be a royal inscription. ²⁴
?	Karaburçlu ²⁵	Luwian	unclear
?	Ördekburnu ²⁶	Sam'alian	Sacrifice instruction (fragmentary).
?	<i>KTMW</i> inscription ²⁷	Sam'alian	Funerary stela. See below, section 5.
?	Guttman shield ²⁸	Aramaic(?)	Owner's name and title.

17 Edition in Tropper 1993: 98–131.

18 Editions in Tropper 1993: 132–149.

19 Edition in Tropper 1993: 150.

20 Edition in Tropper 1993: 151–152.

21 Edition in Hawkins 2000: 576.

22 Deutsch/Helzer 1995: 75–76.

23 Edition in Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016.

24 Note e.g. the formula at § 3: “The Storm-god raised the hand for me”, which might point to a royal inscription.

25 Edition in Hawkins 2000: 276.

26 Edition in Lemaire/Sass 2013.

27 Edition in Pardee 2009; cf. also Masson 2010.

28 Krebernik/Seidl 1997; cf. also Lemaire 2001.

2.3 Converging features during the reigns of *KLMW*, *PNMW I* and *PNMW II*

While some data are definitely missing and one may not confidently assert that all the events of the history of Sam'al in the late 9th and 8th centuries BCE are well known, it is certainly striking how, starting with the accession of King *KLMW*, quite a few apparent novelties emerge in the form and content of the inscriptions composed by all the members of the Sam'alian dynasty, with the sole exception of Bar-Rākib, who seems to start behaving rather differently with respect to the cultural and linguistic identity of his kingdom.

We propose a list of the peculiarities that emerge during the phase under investigation:

1. The rulers who certainly reigned and left epigraphic documents all bear Luwian names, even though they were very likely born with Aramaic ones. Consider, for instance, that *KLMW*'s father and brother have Aramaic personal names, which means that *KLMW* was probably a throne name. On the other hand, the fact that the author of the *KTMW* non-royal inscription is an official and not a king may indicate that he was a genuine bearer of a Luwian name;
2. The rulers seem to consider themselves members of a consistent dynasty. Even though we do not know for sure if all the names of the kings are currently attested in the sources, all of those who reigned treat the god Rākib-El as a sort of divine protector of the ruling family (his cult is the only feature in this list that was to survive also during Bar-Rākib's reign);
3. While *KLMW*'s longest text is written in Phoenician (a prestige language in the North Syrian area), in his shorter text KAI 25 and then throughout the reigns of both *PNMW*'s and during the earliest phase of Bar-Rākib's, the language employed is Sam'alian, while Standard Old Aramaic was employed in all neighbouring regions starting from the 10th or 9th century BCE.

All these features emerge after *KLMW*'s social reform of the kingdom concerning the status of the *b'rrm* and *mškbm* components of the kingdom's demographics, and seem to decline during Bar-Rākib's mature years, when, quite obviously, the local identity of Sam'al became less and less relevant under the *de facto* cultural and political control of Assyria.

In our opinion, these peculiarities of the Samʿalian documentation, combined with the evidence for a presence of a Luwian component (probably the *mškbm*) provided by the Hieroglyphic Luwian documents found in the area, indicate that the *KLMW–PNMW* dynasty did all they could to reinforce, both by the language and by the contents of their monumental texts, the specific and multicultural nature of the identity of Samʿal.

In order to complete our analysis of the problem under discussion, however, having outlined the history of the area and the contents of the sources and offered an interpretation of some problematic aspects, we will now need to proceed with a better definition of the language we labelled “Samʿalian”, which represents a crucial element of the local corpus on which this study is based.

3 THE LANGUAGES DOCUMENTED IN SAMʿAL: TOWARDS A LINGUISTIC HISTORY

As indicated above, at least five languages are attested in Samʿal: Phoenician, Samʿalian, Old Aramaic, the peculiar Aramaic dialect of the *KTMW* inscription, and Iron Age Luwian.

With the possible exception of the Pancarlı Höyük Luwian inscription (see below), the earliest document we know from the reign of Samʿal is the Phoenician monumental inscription of *KLMW* (KAI 24), dated to the 9th century BCE, which is the only Phoenician inscription found in Samʿal so far. Associated with the reign of the same king is also a much shorter inscription, engraved on a gold sheath, possibly the handle of a sceptre. This inscription has been regarded as Phoenician by Friedrich (1951: 153) and included among the Phoenician texts by Donner and Röllig (KAI 25); it is instead probably written in Samʿalian, a Northwest Semitic language close to Aramaic, as shown by Dupont-Sommer (1947–1948)²⁹.

29 See also Hoftijzer 1957–1958: 117; Koopmans 1962: 16–18; Dion 1974: 16, and Swiggers 1982. However, there is no compelling evidence that the language of this inscription is Samʿalian instead of standard Old Aramaic. We opt for Samʿalian because that is the language we find in the inscriptions of the subsequent kings, whereas Old Aramaic does not appear before Bar-Rākib (with the possible exception of some seals). As an alternative solution, Gianto 1995: 141 suggests that the *KLMW* sceptre is bilingual: the first four lines would be in Phoenician (the translation being “*KLMW*, son of *HY*, has acquired this *smr* for Rakib-El”), whereas the

(1) *smr z qn* (2) *klmw* (3) *br ḥy* (4) *lrkb'l* / (5) *ytn lh r*(6)*kb'l* (7) *'rk ḥy*
 “Nail/Statue that *KLMW*, son of *ḤY*, made for Rākib-El. / May Rākib-El grant him length of life.”

We may wonder why *KLMW* chose to write his monumental, propagandistic inscription in Phoenician, while preferring the Sam'alian dialect for his sceptre. Obviously, they are two very different objects, with different functions, and the two inscriptions had a different audience; but why entrust the Phoenician language, instead of Aramaic or Luwian, with his political message? According to Lemaire, if the abandonment of the Phoenician language in favour of a local Aramaic dialect during the reign of *KLMW* reflects a political change, symbolising the submission to the Assyrians (cf. KAI 24: 7–8: “The king of the Danunians was more powerful than I, and I hired against him the king of Assyria”), then its use should reflect a preceding political situation³⁰:

“l'emploi du phénicien comme langue écrite dans le royaume de Sam'al était ressenti par Kilamuwa comme un signe de soumission au roi de Qué et de dépendance politique et culturelle de la Cilicie. Cela suppose que le phénicien était déjà utilisé comme langue écrite officielle du royaume de Qué, à côté du hiéroglyphique louvite, au moins dès le milieu du IX^e s. même si le hasard des fouilles et des découvertes fortuites en Cilicie n'a pas encore produit d'inscription phénicienne aussi ancienne.” (Lemaire 2001: 189).

However, Brown (2008) suggests that the choice of Phoenician would not have been due to the alleged practice of writing in this language in the North Syrian region in that time – the Phoenician inscription of Azatiwada from Karatepe dates to the 8th–7th century BCE, as does the still unpublished INCIRLI stela, making them somewhat later than the *KLMW* inscription – but it would have contributed to *KLMW*'s self-presentation as a mediator in a region in which several ethnic and social groups interacted, probably in conflict with each other, as seems to emerge from the text. Indeed, Brown clearly shows the complex mosaic of the *KLMW* orthostat, in which the iconography of the king borrows elements from the Assyrian, Luwian, and Phoenician traditions; the

three remaining ones, after a dividing horizontal line, are in Sam'alian.

30 See also Noorlander 2012: 222–223.

language of the inscription is Phoenician, but the script is Aramaic; the king's name is Luwian, but his ancestors bear Semitic-Aramaic names: all seems to point to a clear will of the king to mediate between these different groups. This analysis could be broadly correct; however, the role that Brown assigns to the Phoenician language in this scenario is perhaps underestimated:

“The fact that a non-Assyrian ruler appears dressed almost exactly like an Assyrian king, with the pointy fez hat, is extraordinary in the visual culture of the ancient Near East in the first millennium BCE. I would suggest that, in this instance, the term «elite emulation» accurately describes the use of the image. It would have denoted, to the Assyrian ruling class, acceptance of the growing Assyrian power, and it would have also made it clear to other North Syrian rulers to which camp Sam'al belonged. In other words, it was an unambiguous visual statement reaffirming Sam'al's crucial defection from the anti-Assyrian coalition that had, until Kilamuwa's reign, resisted Assyria's designs on the North Syrian area. However, the use of Phoenician, I would suggest, tempered this statement and signaled that Kilamuwa could also look elsewhere – namely, to the Phoenician cities, which were wealthy and independent at this time and which also had a track record of resistance to the Assyrians.” (Brown 2008: 345).

Hence, *KLMW* would have chosen the Phoenician language to counter-balance the Assyrian element in his propaganda, but there is one important aspect that has not been taken into account. If we look at the last two lines of the inscriptions, three gods are invoked as executioners of the curse against whoever will damage the inscription:

“(15) And whoever shall destroy this inscription, Ba'al-Ṣemed, (the god) of *GBR*, shall smash (his) head, (16) and Ba'al-Ḥammōn, (the god) of *BMH*, and Rākib-El, the lord of the dynasty, shall smash (his) head.”

As noted by some scholars, the mention of three distinct deities, Ba'al-Ṣemed, Ba'al-Ḥammōn, and Rākib-El, as the tutelary deities of *GBR*, *BMH*, and the dynasty of *HY'* and his descendants, respectively, suggests a dynastic change between *GBR* and *BMH*, and between the latter and

HY, which establishes the dynastic line of all subsequent Sam'alians kings. What is important for our discussion on the role of the Phoenician language in the *KLMW* inscription is that the tutelary deities of *GBR* and *BMH* bear Phoenician names. Therefore, we could imagine that the Phoenician element was very prominent during the reign of *KLMW*'s predecessors, although we have no direct evidence for this.³¹ If our assumption is correct, *KLMW*'s choice did not only depend on the necessity of mitigating the "Assyrian-ness" of his self-presentation; it could also represent a direct link to the tradition of the kings of Sam'al. Possibly, it was his final tribute to an old tradition, as Bar-Rākib would do one century later, dismissing the Sam'alian dialect from the epigraphic practice in favour of the standard Old Aramaic after honouring his father *PNMW* II with a long inscription in Sam'alian (KAI 215).

The importance of the Phoenician language in Northern Syria in the 9th century BCE is also testified by the following passage in the inscription KARKAMIŠ A15b §§ 19–22, where Yariris, the regent of Carchemish, professes his writing and linguistic skills:

(§ 19) [...] URBS-*si-ia-ti* | SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti* zú+*ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti*(URBS)
 | SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i a-sú+ra/i*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na-ti*(URBS) | SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i*
ta-i-ma-ni-ti-ha(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ti* (§ 20) 12-*ha-wa/i-'* | "LINGUA"-*la-*
ti-i-na (LITUUS)*u-ni-ha* (§ 21) | *wa/i-mu-u ta-ni-ma-si-na* REGIO-*ni-si-*
i-na-' | INFANS-*ni-na* | ("VIA")*ha+ra/i-wa/i-ta-hi-lá/i-ti-i* CUM-*na* ARHA
sa-ta (DOMINUS)*na-ni-i-sa á-mi-i-sa* | "LINGUA"-*la-ti* SUPER+*ra/i-'*
 (§ 22) *ta-ni-mi-ha-wa/i-mu* (*273)*wa/i+ra/i-pi-na* (LITUUS)*u-na-nu-ta*
 "[...] in the writing of the city, in the writing of Tyre (Phoenician), in
 the Assyrian writing and in the Taimani (Aramaic?) writing. And I
 knew twelve languages. By travelling, my lord raised a son of every
 country for me regarding language, and he caused me to know
 every skill"³².

The so-called *KLMW* sceptre inscription is the earliest documentation of the Northwest Semitic language called Sam'alian (also Ya'udic in older publications), which becomes the language of the monumental inscriptions of the Sam'alian kings until the reign of Bar-Rākib, who,

31 Note that the only inscription found in the Sam'alian region possibly preceding the reign of *KLMW* is the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found at Pancarlı Höyük, but its attribution to a Sam'alian king is uncertain.

32 Translation according to Payne 2012: 87.

as mentioned above, uses it one last time to commemorate his father *PNMW* II before switching to the standard Old Aramaic for his own monumental inscriptions. Bar-Rākib's choice concerning the monumental language should perhaps be seen together with other innovations he introduced, namely the adoption of the external denomination of the reign, Sam'al, replacing the internal one Yadiya, and the break with the Luwian dynastic name tradition, which had characterised all his predecessors (with the possible exception of Bar-Şūr, if indeed he ever was king). These three aspects seem to point to a specific will of Bar-Rākib to acquire a more international flavour, whereby these deletion operations of the local element were possibly aimed at closely linking his throne to the Assyrian one, to which he owed his accession after his father's death:

“Because of the loyalty of my father and because of my loyalty, my lord [Tiglatpileser, king of Assyria,] has caused me to reign [on the throne] of my father, *PNMW*, son of Bar-Şūr” (KAI 215: 19–20)³³.

As far as it can be read, the Ördekburnu funerary stela is also inscribed in Sam'alian. This inscription can be dated to between 820 and 760 BCE (i.e. between *KLMW*'s and *PNMW* I's reigns) based on palaeographical criteria.³⁴ Little can be said about the author of the text, since the inscription is badly damaged and barely legible, but the term *ḥlbbh* ‘power, kingship, succession (or the like)’, the mention of a *mqm mlky* ‘(resting) place of the kings’, and the presence of Rākib-El may point to a member of the royal family,³⁵ possibly a queen, if some female symbols – two spindles – can be recognised as such in the relief surmounting the inscription.³⁶

More difficult is the evaluation of the seal of 'Ozba'al, an official bearing a Phoenician name (Deutsch/Heltzer 1995: 75–76, No 74)³⁷:

l'zb'l· / 'bd brṣr

“(Belonging) to 'Ozba'al, servant of Bar-Şūr.”

33 See also KAI 216: 4–7 and the small fragment KAI 219.

34 Cf. Lemaire/Sass 2013: 126.

35 Note that Rākib-El does not appear among the deities receiving offerings listed in the stela of the official *KTMW* (cf. Lemaire/Sass 2013: 128 n. 169).

36 Cf. Lemaire/Sass 2013: 72–74, 128–129.

37 Provenance unknown; purchased on the antiquities market in Israel (see Deutsch/Heltzer 1995: 59).

The palaeography suggests a date not later than the 8th century BCE, thus strongly supporting the identification of *bršr* with the Sam'alian Bar-Šūr, *PNMW* II's father, who, in consequence, should be possibly regarded as a king. The structure of the inscription is fully parallel to that on the Aramaic seal of Bar-Rākib; however, from a linguistic point of view, we cannot be sure of the language of the text, because of its shortness and the lack of diagnostic elements.³⁸

The recently found *KTMW* stela also belongs to an official (*bd* 'servant'), bearing instead a Luwian name and serving under a king named *PNMW*, probably to be identified with *PNMW* II, according to the palaeography of the inscription.³⁹ The text shows at least two main peculiarities: 1) the list of deities receiving offerings reflects a local Luwian pantheon, whereas the Sam'alian gods we know from royal inscriptions do not appear; 2) the language of the inscription is neither Sam'alian nor Old Aramaic but something in between, displaying features both of the Sam'alian dialect and of the Old Aramaic (see below). The inclusion of this new language in the context of the Sam'alian corpus has been discussed by Pardee, the editor of the text:

“A possible scenario is that Samalian was the archaic dialect of Aramaic used by the royal dynasty at Zincirli, that it was maintained in use for royal inscriptions at least at the ancient cult site of Gercin down to the time of Barrakib, that the new dialect is to be identified as a second, parallel, archaic dialect or a linearly developed form of Samalian used by other strata of society, including royal officials, and that the use of standard Old Aramaic in the inscriptions of Barrakib represents a conscious adoption, at the time of submission to the Assyrians, of the more widespread dialect in current usage in the area” (Pardee 2009: 69).

We will return later to this inscription and its interpretation.

It is highly uncertain whether the bronze plate (a shield ornament) with bucranium and an alphabetic Semitic inscription belonging to the Axel Guttman Collection of Berlin should be included in our corpus; however, according to Krebernik and Seidl (1997: 102–103), its closest parallel is an analogous bronze plate found in Zincirli. The inscription is very short:

38 Cf. Lemaire 2001: 187.

39 Cf. Pardee 2009: 54–57, 59.

[[?]]k[?] rkd̄y rb mšm't
 “[?]k[?]rkd̄y, chief of the bodyguard.”

The only element that can give hints about the language of this inscription is the feminine form *mšm't*, derived from *šm'* ‘to hear’: if it is a singular, the form should be Phoenician, since Sam’alian and Aramaic have the f.sg.abs. ending *-h /-ā/*; if it is a plural, it could be Phoenician or Sam’alian, since Aramaic has *-n*.⁴⁰

Interestingly, according to Lemaire (2001: 187–188), it is possible to read [l]t'rkdy ‘(belonging) to Tarku(n)dī’ (perhaps Tarhunazi) at the beginning of the text, thus retrieving a good Luwian name, which fits well in the Sam’alian milieu. However, as noted above we have no data on the place where this object was found, and its relevance for our discussion is questionable.

Two other small fragments, perhaps written in Aramaic, have recently been found in Zincirli, but few letters are preserved. Other inscriptions, possibly Aramaic, are found on a couple of amulets from Zincirli.⁴¹

Finally, we also have some evidence of the use of the Luwian language in the reign of Sam'al: 1) a golden seal ring bearing the name of Bar-Rākib (Hawkins 2000: 576), found in the site of Zincirli; 2) a stela with a banquet scene on the obverse discovered at the nearby site of Karaburçlu (5 km north of Zincirli), stylistically dated to the early 9th century BCE,⁴² whose text, running on the left, upper, and right sides, is too damaged to be extensively discussed; 3) the recently published inscription found at Pancarlı Höyük (1 km southeast of Zincirli), which seems to date to the 10th–9th century BCE (see Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 56–60), although the name of its author, probably a ruler,⁴³ is unfortunately lost: it could be an unknown Neo-Hittite ruler unrelated to the Sam’alian dynasties – if we assume that Sam’alian rulers did not use the Luwian language for their monumental inscriptions – or a Sam’alian king, namely *GBR* or one of his successors, thus providing data for the scribal practices in the reign before *KLMW*.⁴⁴ Finally, we should add to this list two so far unpublished Hieroglyphic Luwian doc-

40 Cf. Krebernik/Seidl 1997: 105.

41 On all these inscriptions, see Fales/Grassi 2016: 246–247, with references.

42 Cf. Hawkins 2000: 276.

43 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 65.

44 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 68–69.

uments: a seal stamp found in a 7th-century domestic context⁴⁵ and a fragment of lead strip found in a late 8th- or 7th-century context, “attesting to the continued use of Luwian by some people at Sam'al for everyday purposes”.⁴⁶

4 THE SAM'ALIAN LANGUAGE AS OPPOSED TO PHOENICIAN AND OLD ARAMAIC

Now that we have outlined the linguistic scenario of the kingdom of Sam'al based on its documents, it is worth discussing in greater detail the three main Semitic languages involved – Phoenician, Aramaic, and especially Sam'alian – briefly sketching the distinctive features of their phonology, morphology, and lexicon, before analysing the peculiar case of the *KTMW* stela.⁴⁷

4.1 Phonology

Here we will limit our discussion to the main phonological changes involving the Semitic languages of Zincirli, referring to Tropper (1993: 179–188) for a complete exposition.

Sam'alian shares with Old Aramaic the graphemic representation <q> for the Proto-Semitic lateral *š [tʃ] (although we do not have data on the exact phonetic realization of this <q> in the two languages),⁴⁸ whereas the Canaanite group has <š>.

One of the changes characterising Sam'alian and Zincirli Old Aramaic, although with different modalities, is the dissimilation of emphatic consonants: in a root with *q* followed by another emphatic consonant, *q* dissimilates in the Old Aramaic of Zincirli (**qtl* > *kʔl*), whereas the change affects the following consonant in Sam'alian (**qtl* > *qtl*).⁴⁹ The

45 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 65 n. 54.

46 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 68 n. 82.

47 Most of what follows is based on Tropper 1993, although explicit quotation of this work in footnotes will be limited to some specific points, in order to avoid weighing down the text.

48 See Huehnergard 1995: 278 and Noorlander 2012: 209–211 for a broader discussion.

49 However, according to Noorlander 2012: 213 with n. 27, a root **qtl*, directly reflected in Sam'alian (as well as Arabic and Ethiopian), may have been the original form.

dissimilation of initial *q* is the main distinctive feature of so-called “Mesopotamian Aramaic”,⁵⁰ which includes, beside the inscriptions of Bar-Rākib, two inscriptions from Nērab, the proverbs of Aḥiqar, and the Aramaic docketts on Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform tablets.⁵¹

A regular sound law in Aramaic seems to be the change /n/ > /r/ when it is the second element of an initial consonant cluster (#Cn- > #Cr-): in Zincirli, this change is seen only in *br* ‘son’ < **bn* (the plural is regularly *bnn*)⁵², which occurs in Sam’alian, Aramaic, and also Phoenician (instead of the regular *bn*).⁵³

Other changes involving Sam’alian consonants are: 1) the voicing /p/ > /b/ in *nbš* ‘soul’ (< *npš*), found in all the Semitic languages of Zincirli, in the verbal form *t’lb*, from the root **lp* ‘learn’, and possibly also in *ḥlbbh* ‘reign, succession’, if it derives from *ḥlp* ‘succeed’;⁵⁴ 2) the change /m/ > /n/ in final position; 3) in some contexts, the loss of final -*t*.⁵⁵

Only in Aramaic, /ss/ > /rs/ in the word for ‘throne’, *krs*’ /kursi/ < **kussi*, vs. Phoenician *ks*’ /kussi/ in *KLMW* inscription (in Sam’alian we find only *mšb* for ‘throne’).

Sam’alian agrees with Aramaic on the aphaeresis of the initial syllable in the numeral ‘one’, m. *ḥd* /ḥad/ < **ʾaḥad*; f. *ḥdh* /ḥadā/ < **ʾḥadat*. The

50 Cf. Kaufman 1974: 8–9 and Greenfield 1978: 95.

51 According to some scholars, this change in Aramaic originated from Akkadian. This is highly unlikely, however, as shown by Kaufman 1974: 122. Noorlander 2012: 213 points out that *qtl* is also attested in Arabic and Ethiopian and could have been the original form.

52 Data point to a Proto-Semitic root **bn* for the singular, **ban* for the plural (see Testen 1985).

53 Tropper 1993: 180 regards *br* in the Phoenician inscription of *KLMW* as a loanword. Huehnergard 1995: 278 points out that the occurrence of *br* only before proper names in Sam’alian (in the phrase ‘son of PN’), as well as in the Phoenician *KLMW* inscription, could undermine the evaluation of *br* as a true Sam’alian word. According to Noorlander 2012: 209, it could be an areal phenomenon, although “we cannot rule out the possibility either that /bar/ was a basic kinship term in Sam’alian itself surfacing as the local dialect (and the native language of the scribe) in the Kilamuwa inscription or, perhaps, through borrowing”. However, the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, since areal phenomena must originate in one language before spreading to the languages of the same region. Therefore, *br* could be a common Sam’alian and Aramaic innovation, spread in Phoenician at Zincirli, or an Aramaic innovation, spread both in Sam’alian and Phoenician.

54 This is not a sound law, but a sporadic sound change, as per Noorlander 2012: 207 n. 10.

55 See Tropper 1993: 182.

same phenomenon involves, only in Sam'alian, the particle *mt* 'truly' < **mt*.⁵⁶

Finally, in the Sam'alian word *'šm* 'name' we find prothesis (< **šim*), as well as in Sfire Old Aramaic and Classical Arabic.⁵⁷

4.2 Morphology

4.2.1 Noun

The major features distinguishing Sam'alian from Phoenician and Old Aramaic are found in the noun morphology, the most evident ones being the total lack of the article and the preservation of the case endings in the plural, both of which are generally regarded as retentions.

As is well known, Phoenician has a prepositive article *h-*, whereas most of the Aramaic dialects have a postposed article *-'/-ā/*, also referred to as emphatic state: Sam'alian does not have any article, although in some old studies one finds the claim that it is instead present, though not written.⁵⁸ As for the case endings, both Phoenician and Aramaic show no case distinctions, whereas Sam'alian retains the endings *-w /-ū/* and *-y /-ī/* for the nominative and the oblique of the masculine plural absolute, respectively.⁵⁹ Hence, while Phoenician has the mimation (m.pl.abs. *-m /-īm/*) and Aramaic has the nunation (m.pl.abs. *-n /-īn/*), Sam'alian does not have either.

Furthermore, the feminine singular absolute ends in *-h /-ā/* (< **-at*)⁶⁰ in Sam'alian as well as in Aramaic, vs. Phoenician *-t /-at/*; however, the Sam'alian feminine plural absolute has *-t*, possibly */-āt/*, as in Phoenician (*-t /-ūt/* < *-ōt* < *-āt*), unlike Aramaic, which shows *-n /-ān/*.

56 See Tropper 1992.

57 The feminine relative pronoun *'zh /iqdā/* (see § 4.2.2 below) possibly shows the same phenomenon; however, note that "La prothèse d'*alef* à un pronom dont la base est */d/* est abondamment illustrée en phénicien, avec toute une variété de graphies extravagantes en punique" (Dion 1974: 115).

58 For a summary of this issue see Dion 1974: 135–138.

59 According to Gianto 1995: 142, followed by Noorlander 2012: 224–225, these case endings are not mere archaisms, but result from the loss of the nunation (which should be traced back to Proto-Semitic), in analogy with the loss of the final *-n* in the third- and second-person plural of the imperfect, which in turn would be due to contact with Canaanite. Noorlander also adds the case of the proper name *ḥy()* /Ḥayyā/, *KLMW*'s father, possibly occurring as *Ḥa-ja-a-nu* in the Assyrian sources, but the presence of *-n* in the latter could be a matter of adaptation.

60 See § 4.1 for the loss of the final *-t*.

4.2.2 Pronoun

Sam'alian shows some peculiarities also in the pronoun system: the first-person singular independent pronoun is *ʾnk(y)* /*anōkī*/ as in Phoenician (possibly /*anākī*/ in Sam'alian⁶¹), while Aramaic has the shorter form *ʾnh* /*anā*/.

Conversely, in the third-person masculine singular of the suffixed pronoun Sam'alian agrees with Aramaic having *-h* both for the possessive and the accusative form, whereas Phoenician has *-∅* /*-ô*/ (< **-a-hū*) for the first and *-y* /*-yū*/ (< **-hū*) for the latter.

The masculine singular demonstrative pronoun is *zn(h)* /*dīnā*/ in Sam'alian and *znh* in Aramaic, but *z* /*zī*/ in Phoenician; the relative pronoun is *z(y)* /*dī*/ in Sam'alian and Aramaic, but *š* in Phoenician. In addition, Sam'alian developed a feminine relative pronoun *ʾzh* /*iḏā*/, totally absent in Phoenician and Aramaic. The relative-indefinite pronouns are *mn* 'who(ever)' and *mh* 'what(ever)' in both Sam'alian and Aramaic, vs. Phoenician *my* 'who(ever)' and *m(/h)* /*mū*/ 'what(ever)' (< *mō* < *mā*),⁶² but Sam'alian also shows the compound pronoun *mz* 'whatever' (< *mh* + relat. *z*), corresponding to the Phoenician *mš* (< *m* + relat. *š*), which, according to Tropper (1993: 278), is a calque on the Sam'alian form.⁶³

4.2.3 Verb

In the verbal domain, we find some Phoenician-Sam'alian isoglosses, such as the possible preservation of the N-stem,⁶⁴ totally lost in Aramaic (except for the dialect of the Deir 'Allā inscription, which however shows several Canaanisms⁶⁵); possibly the Gt-stem built with an infix

61 Cf. Tropper 1993: 185–186. According to Noorlander 2012: 219–220, it could be a Phoenician loanword.

62 These are also interrogative pronouns, but in Sam'al they are documented only as relatives and indefinites.

63 The only Phoenician occurrence is in the *KLMW* inscription (KAI 24: 4), but it is also found in Neo-Punic (cf. Krahmalkov 2000: 266; 2001: 111).

64 However, there is one single (albeit uncertain) example in Sam'alian. See also Noorlander 2012: 220–221, who also suggests the possibility of a Phoenician loanword (thus already Gianto 1995: 143). Note that the loss of the N-stem is regarded by Huehnergard (1995) as one of the distinctive features of Aramaic in respect to the other Northwest Semitic languages; therefore, the correct evaluation of the Sam'alian example is crucial to understanding the relationship between Sam'alian and Aramaic.

65 KAI 312, cf. Hackett 1984: 62.

-*t*.⁶⁶ (which seems to be an innovative feature⁶⁷) whereas Aramaic has a prefix *t*- (with the exception of the Old Aramaic-Assyrian bilingual inscription from Tell Fekheriye⁶⁸); the precative with the prefix *l*-, lost in Aramaic (once again apart from the Tell Fekheriye inscription); and the first-person singular perfect suffix *-t(y) /-tū/*, vs. Aramaic *-t /-et/*.

In other features, Sam'alian agrees with the rest of Aramaic: the third-person feminine singular and plural perfect have the shape *qtl* /*qatalat/* and *qtl* /*qatalā/*, respectively, whereas in Phoenician we find /*qatala/* (/at- only when followed by a suffixed object pronoun) and /*qatalū/* (i.e. the extension of the corresponding masculine form).⁶⁹

4.2.4 Conjunctions and particles

Beside the copulative conjunction *w*-, Sam'alian has a conjunction *p*(*ʿ*), generally introducing a new topic,⁷⁰ of which we find one instance in an Old Aramaic inscription of Bar-Rākib (KAI 216: 18), where it is probably an isolated Sam'alian loanword.⁷¹

In Sam'alian, the *nota accusativi* is *w**t*-, attested in KAI 214: 28 and in the *KTMW* stela, l. 2 (in both cases followed by the third-person singular pronoun *-h*), whereas in Phoenician and Aramaic we find *ʾyt* (also *ʾt* in Phoenician). In later Aramaic dialects a compound particle *lwt* is sometimes found, but *w**t*- never occurs alone.

Among the languages attested in Zincirli, the particle *gm* 'also, even' occurs only in Sam'alian. Outside Zincirli, this particle is found only in Hebrew and Moabite,⁷² but not in Phoenician, which would have been a more likely source for a loanword.⁷³

66 The only example in Sam'alian is *ytmr* in KAI 214: 10, from *'mr* 'to say', which, according to Tropper 1993: 67–68, 212, probably reflects /*yitamVr* / < **yitamVr*. In *KLMW* Phoenician inscription (l. 10) we find *ytlk'n*, which seems to be best explained as a Gt-form of the verb *hlk* 'to go' (see Tropper 1993: 39–41).

67 According to Lieberman 1986: 614–617, the original form had a prefixed *t*-affix, which, in some languages, becomes an infix through metathesis.

68 KAI 309, cf. Lipiński 1994: 35.

69 Cf. Krahmalkov 2001: 160–162.

70 See Tropper 1993: 241–242 for a full listing of its functions.

71 For a comprehensive study of this conjunction among the Semitic languages, see Garbini 1957, who suggests that it represents an Arabic innovation that then spread in the Syrian area.

72 In some Aramaic dialects, *gm* occurs as a Hebraising variant of *p* (cf. CAL).

73 According to Dion 1974: 177, "L'usage de *gm* en yaoudien doit donc remonter à une période de communauté linguistique préhistorique avec la souche de l'hébreu et du moabite".

4.3 Semitic loanwords and calques

4.3.1 Sam'alian/Aramaic loanwords and calques in the Phoenician Kulamuwa inscription

In the Phoenician inscription of *KLMW* we find some Sam'alian or Aramaic loanwords and calques. As we have already seen, the word for 'son' is *br* instead of Phoen. *bn* and 'soul' is *nbš* instead of Phoen. *npš*.

Among the verbs, *nzq* 'to damage' and (maybe) also *šht* 'to crush out' can be regarded as Sam'alianisms or Arameisms, since they do not occur outside the *KLMW* inscription. As for *hzy* 'to see', quoted as a loanword by Tropper (1993: 278), we should note that it also occurs in a Phoenician graffito from Abydos (KI 38).

Furthermore, the Phoenician compound pronoun *mš* 'whatever' is possibly calqued on Sam. *mz* (see § 4.2.2) and *bmtkt* 'in the midst', occurring only in the *KLMW* inscription, could be a calque of Sam'alian *bmšh/t* or Aramaic *bmšt* (vs. Phoen. *btkt* in KAI 10: 5)⁷⁴.

4.3.2 Sam'alian loanwords in Bar-Rākib Old Aramaic inscriptions

Some Sam'alian words are possibly found also in the Aramaic inscriptions of Bar-Rākib, but, in general, their status is more difficult to evaluate than those occurring in Phoenician.

According to Tropper (1993: 282), the noun *nbš* 'soul' is a Sam'alian loan also in Aramaic; however, it occurs elsewhere in Old Aramaic, and thus we cannot exclude the opposite path.⁷⁵

Conversely, as mentioned before, the conjunction *p*, with only one occurrence in Zincirli Old Aramaic, is most likely an isolated loanword from Sam'alian.

Another possible Sam'alian influence is seen in the Aramaic verbal form *hytbh* 'I made it better' (KAI 216: 12, cf. Sam. *hytbh* 'he made it better' in KAI 215: 9), since in the later Aramaic dialects the H-stem of a Iy verb is remodelled in analogy to the Iw verbs.⁷⁶ However, the two forms are also distinguished in other Old Aramaic inscriptions (Tell Fekheriye and Sfire).

74 Tropper 1993: 278 suggests that also the noun *lpny* 'predecessor' should be regarded as a possible calque on Aram. *qdmny*, but the latter does not appear in Zincirli Old Aramaic, and the former, although as an adjective, occurs elsewhere in the Phoenician corpus (see Krahmalkov 2000: 262).

75 See Noorlander 2012: 218–219.

76 See Tropper 1993: 136.

More problematic is the case of Zincirli Old Aramaic *ršt* 'I ran' in KAI 216: 8: the root does not occur in Old Aramaic, and becomes *rhṭ* in the later dialects; however, it does not actually appear in Sam'alian, because *rṣ* in KAI 215: 12 is restored after the Aramaic inscription of Bar-Rākib (the two passages are almost identical, but we cannot know for sure the form of the verb).

4.3.3 Phoenician/Canaanite loanwords in Sam'alian

As we have seen, some Sam'alian forms agree more with Phoenician than Aramaic (e.g. the first-person singular independent pronoun *'nk(y)*), but, since they are in general conservative features, it is uncertain if we should speak of Phoenician influence on Sam'alian or rather if they are inherited features retained in Sam'alian.

According to Tropper (1993: 66), Sam. *mšb* 'throne' could be a Canaanite loanword, if it represents /môṭab/ < **mawṭab*, since the change /aw/ > /ô/ does not seem to occur. However, as Tropper notes, other vocalizations are possible. In any case, we can exclude a Phoenician loanword, since the Phoenician word for 'throne', also occurring in the *KLMW* inscription, is *ks*'.

4.3.4 Akkadian loanwords in Sam'alian

Two Sam'alian words could be Akkadian loans: *snb* (a unit of weight), from Akk. *šinip(u)*,⁷⁷ and possibly *nš* 'oath', from Akk. *nīšu* (but highly uncertain).⁷⁸

As shown by Kaufman, Sam'alian *prs* (a measure of capacity)⁷⁹ and *šql* 'shekel'⁸⁰ should not be considered as Akkadian loanwords.

5 THE *KTMW* STELA

In 2008, the expedition of the University of Chicago discovered a new inscribed stela, belonging to an official bearing a Luwian name, "*KTMW*, the servant of *PNMW*" (probably *PNMW* II, according to palaeographical criteria). The language of the inscription, as stated before, is in between Sam'alian and Aramaic, since as Sam'alian it does not have

⁷⁷ Cf. Kaufman 1974: 103, 152.

⁷⁸ Cf. Kaufman 1974: 153.

⁷⁹ Kaufman 1974: 80.

⁸⁰ Kaufman 1974: 29.

the definite article, but as in Aramaic loses the case endings. For these reasons, Pardee (2009: 69) speaks of “a second, parallel, archaic dialect or a linearly developed form of Sam’alian used by other strata of society, including royal officials”.

However, since certain other linguistic features shown by this text clearly point to Sam’alian – the first-person singular independent pronoun *ʾnk* in l. 1 (cf. § 4.2.2), the precative particle *lw* in l. 8 (cf. § 4.2.3), and the *nota accusativi wt-* in l. 2 (cf. § 4.2.4) – it is unlikely, in our view, that the language of the *KTMW* stela represents a parallel dialect. More plausibly, we should explain the loss of case endings in terms of variation within Sam’alian, possibly under Aramaic influence.⁸¹

Furthermore, the text shows some Luwian influence, which should not be surprising in an inscription made for a Luwian official.⁸² From a cultural point of view, we should note that the pantheon of the inscription is fully Luwian, although the names of the gods are partly Semiticised:

(3) ... šwr . lhdd . qr/dpd/rl . wybl . lng(4)d/r . řwd/rn . wybl . lřmř .
wybl . lhdd . krmn (5) wybl . lkbbw ...

“A bull for Hadad *QR/DPD/RL*, a ram for *NGD/R řWD/RN*, a ram for řamř, a ram for Hadad of the Vineyards, a ram for Kubaba.”

Some of the Semitic gods we find in the Sam’alian inscriptions – first and foremost Rākib-El – are missing here. Our list starts with an otherwise unattested hypostasis of Hadad/Tarhunza, who bears the epithet *QR/DPD/RL*, possibly reflecting Luw. **řarpatali-* ‘ally’ as per Yakubovich (2011: 181). The identity of the following deity is rather unclear: *contra* Pardee (2009: 61), who doubtfully opts for the reading *ngd* ‘officer’, Masson (2010: 53) suggests that the writing *NGD/R* could represent the Luwian deity Nikaruhas/Nikarawas,⁸³ who ultimately is the Sumerian goddess Ninkarrak/Gula, as shown by Gelb (1938). Her determiner, *řWD/RN*, is more problematic: possible explanations include ‘provisions’

81 Cf. Noorlander 2012: 228–229. Another difference is the demonstrative pronoun *znn*, occurring in ll. 8 and 9 of the *KTMW* stela and so far unattested in the Sam’alian language of the royal inscriptions.

82 Unlike the Luwian names of the Sam’alian kings, which were probably only dynastic names, it is likely that *KTMW* was the real name of the owner of the stela.

83 The spelling *NGR* suggests a reading **Nigar*, not fully corresponding to the Luwian name. The same deity possibly occurs in Sfire I: 10 (*nkr* = **Nikkar*), according to Barré 1985: 208 n. 20.

(Aram. *šwd*), ‘hunts/hunters’ (Aram. *šyd*), and possibly ‘mountains’ (Hebr. /šūr/, but Aram. *ṭwr*). According to Masson, since Nikaruhās/Nikarawas is usually associated with dogs, ‘hunters’ seems to be the best solution.⁸⁴ Conversely, according to Fales/Grassi (2016: 208), the most likely reading would be *ngd šwdn* ‘ufficiale delle cacce’, which may indicate another common Anatolian deity, the stag-god Runtiya. The other gods do not present particular problems: Šamš is the Sun deity, Haddad of the Vineyards is the Luwian *tuwarsassis Tarhunzas*, sometimes occurring in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions,⁸⁵ and *KBBW* is the Anatolian goddess Kubaba,⁸⁶ also found in the Ördekburnu funerary stela (l. 6).

From a linguistic point of view, beside the aforementioned possible loanword *QRPD* < Luw. **ḥarpatalli*-, we should mention the case of *nbš* ‘soul’. The word occurs twice in the inscription, first in the final part of the offering list, and then at the end of the text:

(5) ... *wybl . lnbšy . zy . bnšb . zn .*

“and a ram for my ‘soul’ that (will be) in this stela.”

(10) ... *wyh(11)rg . bnbšy*

“He is also to perform the slaughter (prescribed above) in (proximity to) my ‘soul’.”

Against Pardee’s (2009: 54) translations, quoted here, which imply that the soul of the deceased remained in the stela after having left the body,⁸⁷ Hawkins (2015) suggests that *nbš* ‘soul’ represents a loan translation of Luw. *atr(i)*- ‘self, image’, referring to the representation of *KTMW* on the stela.

84 As an alternative, we may suggest that *šwrn* are the ‘Tyrians’, although we have not found any evidence of the goddess Ninkarrak/Gula in Phoenician. Alternative explanations, such as *ndg šwrn* ‘officer of the Tyrians’ or *ngr šwrn* ‘herald of the Tyrians’, are possible, but equally unattested as divine epithets.

85 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zá-na tu-wa/i+ra/i-sá-si-i-na* in SULTANHAN § 2, *tu-wa/i+ra/i-sa-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* in SULTANHAN § 8, and (VITIS)*tu-wa/i+ra/i-«sa-si-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-na* in BOR § 4.

86 According to Younger 2009: 166–170, the spelling *KBBW* could reflect an Assyrian vocalization /kubābu/, matching the pseudo-logographic writing *kū-KÁ* (= *kubā-bu*) occurring in personal names in Neo-Assyrian documents.

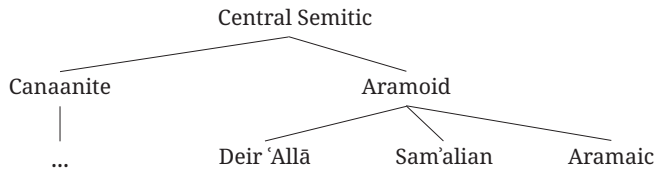
87 See also Melchert 2010. The translation of *nbš* as ‘funerary monument’ given by the CAL for this passage should be rejected.

Finally, Masson (2010: 55) suggests that *w't* ‘and now’ (*w-* + ‘*t*’) in l. 6, elsewhere unattested in Sam’alian, could correspond to Luw. *zila* and *ziladuwa/zilatiya* ‘then, subsequently’, “qui ouvrent le propos final des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques au II^e et au I^{er} millénaire”. However, Pardee (2009: 63) notes that a similar form, *wk't*, occurs in Sfire Old Aramaic (KAI 224: 24), and the use of the conjunction *w-* plus the word ‘now’ is well attested in the Northwest Semitic languages as a mark of transition from topic to comment.

All in all, the language of the *KTMW* stela can be provisionally considered as a diastratic variety of Sam’alian, which shows some innovative characteristics compared to the language of the royal inscriptions, as well as a noticeable Luwian influence.

6 SAM’ALIAN AS A LUWIAN-INFLUENCED VARIETY OF ARAMAIC?

In his work on the genealogical tree of the Semitic languages, Huehnergard (1995) proposed a rather flat *Stammbaum*, which he derived by critically assessing the limited number of regular distinctives on which more fine-grained models were based. In his view, Sam’alian would not be a sister-language to Aramaic, but the two would simply derive from common Proto-Northwest-Semitic, together with Proto-Canaanite. Previously, Tropper had proposed a more complex model for the genealogical representation of Northwest Semitic, which, as far as Aramaic was concerned, reconstructed a phase of *Uraramäisch*, from which *Früharamäisch*, the mother-language to *Sam’alisch* and *Altaramäisch* had derived. More recently, Kogan (2015: 600) tried to combine Huehnergard’s pessimism with the data that Tropper had highlighted and proposed a relabelled version of the tree, which we reproduce:



What all of these models have in common, however, is an approach that relies entirely on the internal comparative method, without taking into consideration the possibility that intense phenomena of interference and contact may have shaped some of the local varieties of the Aramaic, or Aramoid, languages. If, however, we consider the peculiar features of Sam'alian, it is immediately evident that two types of such traits emerge: those that are in common with Phoenician, but not with standard Old Aramaic (dark green background in the table), and those that are opposed to both (pale green):

Feature	Phoenician	Sam'alian	Old Aramaic
Article/definiteness marker	h-	∅	' (∅ in 'Umq and Deir 'Allā)
f.sg.abs.	-t /-at/	-h /-ā/ < *-at -t /-ât/ (?) (III inf.) -y /-î/ (III y) -w /-û/ < *-ût	[-h /-ā/] [-y /-î/ (III y)] [-w /-û/ (III w)]
f.pl.abs.	[-t /-ût/]	-t /-āt/	[-n /-ān/]
Case endings	∅	nom.pl.abs. -w /-û/ obl.pl.abs. -y /-î/ nom.pl.cs. -y /-ay/ (?) obl.pl.cs. -y /-ay/ nom.pl.pron. -∅ /-û/ obl.pl.pron. -y /-ay/	∅
Mimation /nunation	m.pl.abs. -m /-īm/	∅	m.pl.abs. -n /-īn/
N-stem	preserved	preserved(?) (1x)	∅ (exc. Deir 'Allā)
Gt-stem	t-infix	t-infix	t-prefix (exc. Tell Fekheriye)
Precative	l- + jussive	l /lû/ + jussive	∅ (exc. Tell Fekheriye)

The grammatical features that are common to Phoenician and Sam'alian may or may not be induced by contact. Indeed, since both languages are Northwest Semitic, all shared morphs may have been inherited independently. However, since Sam'alian is either a variety of Aramaic or a language closer to Aramaic than to Phoenician, this picture seems unlikely. Given the number of shared traits in the table, and the geographical exposure of Sam'alian to the Phoenician language spoken, for instance, in the area of the Orontes and in Cilicia, it seems more likely that some of these common grammatical features were, in fact, induced locally by contact.

As for the other two main peculiarities of Sam'alian (morphological inflection of the noun and absence of definiteness marking suffix -), they are not shared by any other Northwest Semitic language of the region. However, as outlined above in sections § 1–§ 3 and § 5, the co-existence of the local Aramaic population with a Luwian demographic component important enough to be the object of *KLMW*'s social reform is well documented in the history of the city. While a small number of Luwian loans and loan translations in the Semitic inscriptions of the city-state have already been discussed above (sections § 3 and § 5), we would like to emphasize that the two grammatical features that oppose Sam'alian to the other Northwest Semitic languages of the area are, in fact, shared by Luwian, and that they may have been borrowed from it:

Article / Definiteness-assigning device				
Luwian	Sam'alian	Neo-Assyrian	Old Aramaic	Phoenician
∅	∅	(∅)	-'	h-

Case system				
Luwian	Sam'alian	Neo-Assyrian	Old Aramaic	Phoenician
yes	yes	(unclear)	no	no

Whether this influence was “active” – inducing Sam'alian to produce innovative categories – or “passive” – tending to make the language retain archaic categories resistant to innovation – is debatable. Morphological case inflection almost certainly existed in Proto-Semitic, so the

influence of Luwian would have induced Sam'alian to maintain it while other varieties of Northwest Semitic throughout the region underwent morphological decay.⁸⁸

While the hypothesis that Luwian influenced the morphosyntax of the Sam'alian language, and not just the lexicon, cannot be proved in a conclusive fashion, the data collected in this paper strongly indicate that, unless one were to defend the unlikely idea that no contact-phenomena existed in a multi-cultural and multilingual area such as the region of Zincirli, grammatical interference involving Aramaic, Phoenician and Luwian is a model that can successfully account for the rather complex pattern of evidence deriving from the sources.

7 APPENDIX: THE READING OF THE NAMES OF *PNMW* AND *KLMW*

The vocalization of the personal names *PNMW* and *KLMW*, deliberately omitted in this contribution, is problematic. As for the first, Assyrian evidence would point to a reading *Panamuwa*:

^m*pa-na-am-mu* [^{KUR}*sa*]-*ma-al-la-a*-[*a*] (RINAP 1.35 iii 17)

^m*pa-na-am-mu-u* ^{URU}*sa-am-'a-la-a-a* (RINAP 1.14: 12; 1.27: 4; 1.47: r. 8)

^m*pa-na-am-mu-ú* ^{URU}*sa-am-'a-la-a-a* (RINAP 1.32: 4)

While this is certainly possible and consistent with the consonantal pattern attested in Aramaic, it does not admit a clear interpretation in Luwian. While the *-muwa* element is quite unproblematic, the initial *pana-* (probably *panna-*, if it is indeed a disyllable in a compound) is unrecognizable given the current state of our knowledge of the Luwian lexicon. A Greek fragment from Limyra, possibly dating to the 4th century BCE, however, contains an anthroponym that is in all likelihood connected:

88 As for East Semitic, the variety of Akkadian that was possibly in contact with Sam'alian is Neo-Assyrian, which, in all likelihood, had already dropped the oppositional case-system that was still present in earlier phases, and was probably on its way to becoming a chancellery language. This was probably a consequence of the diffusion and influence of Old Aramaic and Empire Aramaic. Thus, it is extremely unlikely that Akkadian played a role in inducing Sam'alian to retain its nominal inflection.

Σελλιος τοῦ Ποναμοα (H II 33; Limyra, 4th century BCE (?))

In this case, the name presents an o-vocalization which might go back to the Luwic form *Puna-muwa* instead. The name *Puna-muwa* is indeed attested in Lycian in Üsümlü (= TL 35: 12 cf. Neumann 2007: 292), while a Carian *punm[-]ś* is recorded by Schürr (2003: 95) and Adiego (2007: 405).

While we cannot reach a conclusive solution, it is important to note that the regularity in the Assyrian rendering of Luwian vowels is all but perfect, and cases of exchange of /a/ and /u/ are attested (at least with *Lubarna* for *Labarna*, cf. Simon 2018: 128). At the same time, the rendering in Lycian/Greek is not very regular, but the evidence from Lycian and Carian argues strongly for *u*-vocalization.

We will limit ourselves to conceding that both reconstructions are still possible but wish to add that if the reading were indeed *Puna-muwa*, a connection to Luwian “all”-words *puna-* and *punata-* would be possible, which would make the name interpretable as a compound with the meaning ‘Force of everyone/thing’ or, perhaps, an exocentric ‘Almighty (*vel sim.*)’.

As for the second name, *KLMW*, the traditional reading is *Kula-muwa*, with a connection to the Luwian substantive for ‘army’, *kwalan-*. In this case, the corresponding form in a Greek inscription from Delphi corroborates the hypothesis of such a vocalization:

FD 3, 4: 74[2] (Delphi, 50–75 AD; Daux 1984: 403–405)

- 1 Δελφοὶ ἔδ[ωκαν — — — — — καὶ — — — — — τοῖς]
- 2 Κολαμοα Τα[ρσεῦσιν, αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις],
- 3 προμαντείαν, [προξενίαν, προ]ῆ[κίαν, ἀσυλίαν, προ]-
- 4 εδρίαν, ἀτέλε[ίαν, γᾶς καὶ οἰκί]ας ἔνκ[τησιν καὶ τᾶλ]-
- 5 λα τείμα ὅσα τῶς [καλοῖς κ]αὶ ἀγαθο[ῖς ἀνδρασι]
- 6 δίδοται ὑ ἀρχοντ[ος Μην]οδώρου [τοῦ Μηνο]-
- 7 δώρου, ὑ βουλευ[όντων traces — — — τοῦ — —]- κλέους καὶ
Εὐκλ[εῖδα τοῦ Ἀστοξένου].

In conclusion, the personal name *PNMW* may have had a vocalization *Panamuwa-* or *Punamuwa-*, the former supported by Akkadian evidence (in which, however, the vocalization of foreign names does not always match the model), the latter supported by data from Greek, Lycian and Carian as well as by a possible etymology (and thus, possibly,

to be preferred). As for *KLMW*, both the etymological analysis and the Greek occurrence from Delphi indicate a reading *Kulamuwa-*.

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