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The longest Pisidian inscription (Kesme 2)

In this article, the author offers an analysis of the longest Pisidian inscription Kesme 2 (S 2), recently published by Claude Brixhe and Mehmet Özsait. A segmentation of the scriptio continua is proposed by using a combinatory method. Some connections with the rest of Pisidian linguistic materials and also with other Luwic languages is suggested. However, the inscription continues to be a largely impenetrable text.

Keywords: Pisidian, Luwic dialects, Anatolian, Indo-European, Greek Epigraphy, Asia Minor.

§1. Recently, Claude Brixhe and Mehmet Özsait have edited two Pisidian inscriptions from Asar Kale, a site on top of a hill very near Kesme (Brixhe-Özsait 2013). Kesme is around 30 km NE from Selge, and at a similar distance SE from Adada. The ancient name of Asar Kale is unknown, but according to Drew-Bear and also to the editors, it may be the Μουλασσ//α// (Zgusta KON §861-2 Μουλασσεων ὁ δῆμος) mentioned in an inscription found near Kesme.

One of the two inscriptions (Kesme 1, now S 1 in Brixhe 2016) was already published by Brixhe and Drew-Bear, but that edition was "massacré par l'éditeur", according to Brixhe-Özsait (2013). A new edition is proposed of this four-line, 34-letter text.

The other inscription, previously unpublished, is very impressive: it is a text of thirteen lines, complete, and thus constitutes the longest Pisidian text found to date (Kesme 2, now S 2)[1].

This inscription, together with the other one from Kesme–Asar Kale and two other inscriptions re-edited in the same paper from roughly the same geographical area (the middle course of the river Eurymedon), give us a very new impression of Pisidian. The rest of the Pisidian corpus comprises basically very brief texts from the territory of Tymbriada which contain only personal names. These inscriptions from the middle Eurymedon area, and in particular the longest inscription, offer a different kind of text, which undoubtedly contain a common vocabulary. As we will see, although we might expect to find elements that would confirm the hypothesis that Pisidian is a Luwic dialect — a hypothesis based exclusively on personal names and on the presence of a sigmatic genitive — this new material is practically impenetrable and raises considerable doubts about the exact position of Pisidian among Ancient Asia Minor languages.

Kesme 2 is dated by the editors to the 2nd–3rd century A.D. In fact, this is the date they propose for *all* the corpus of Pisidian inscriptions (the four inscriptions edited in Brixhe-Özsait and the brief epitaphs from Tymbriada).

The inscription is quite well preserved and Brixhe-Özsait's edition and commentaries will serve as a good starting point. My aim in this brief paper is to try at least to segment the words (the text is in *scriptio continua*) to be able to recognize any recurrent elements and to suggest, in a very hypothetical way, some explanations for them. In this regard, I hope I will be able to go slightly further (though not much) than the editors.
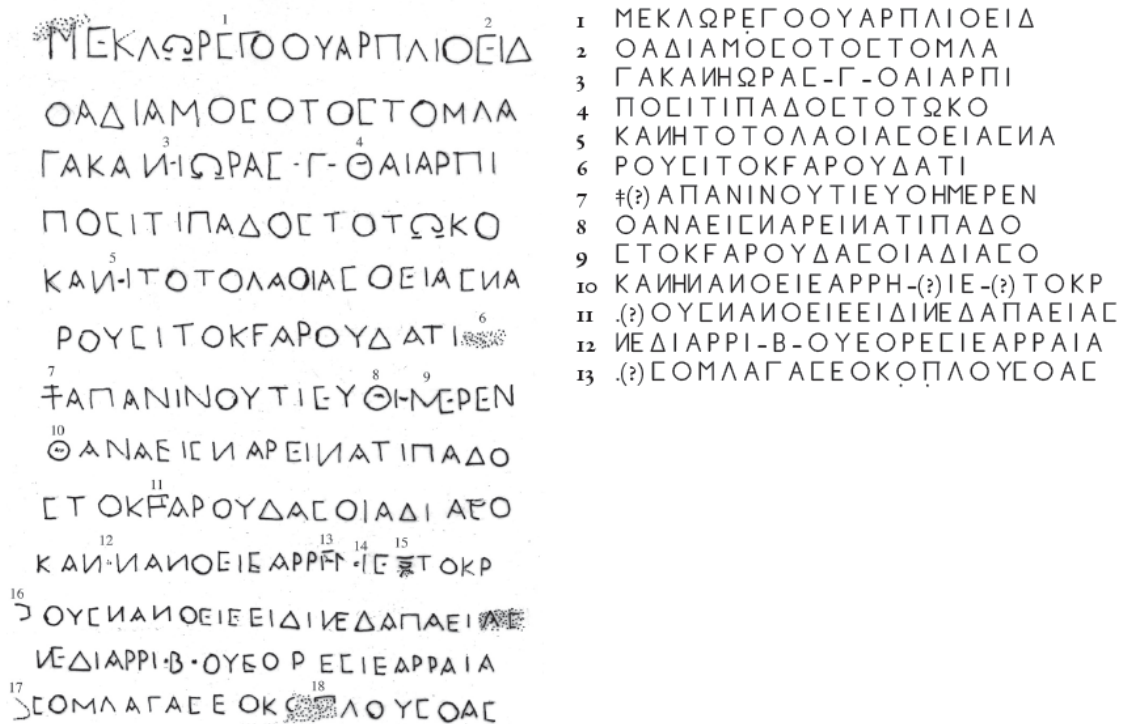
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[1] For these two inscriptions see now also Brixhe (2016: 97–99).

In order to analyse the text, for convenience I will use a Latin *transliteration* of the Greek alphabet used for Pisidian. I recognize that this is not the usual practice: the tradition in Pisidian studies, as it is with neo-Phrygian inscriptions, is to keep the text in the Greek alphabet. But I think that typographically it will be clearer if I use Latin, particularly in order to deal with the two different digammas present in the text (see immediately below).

My transliteration is conventional and should not offer problems. Note the following conventions: η = ē, ω = ō, Ϲ is a variant of semicircular sigma, therefore = *s*. I do not transcribe the peculiar letter ‡ (a *hapax* which is difficult to interpret).

Apart from this last letter, perhaps the most notable feature of this inscription is the coexistence of two digamma letters: the common form Ϝ and the Pamphylian form И. The latter form is clearly differentiated from Ν *n*, so it must be a different letter. For a discussion of their value, see infra. Conventionally, I will transliterate И as <w> and Ϝ as <v>.

Here is Brixhe-Özsait's edition:

1 ΜΕΚΛΩΡΕΓΟΟΥΑΡΠΛΙΟΕΙΔ
2 ΟΑΔΙΑΜΟϹΟΤΟϹΤΟΜΛΑ
3 ΓΑΚΑΙΝΩΡΑϹ-Γ-ΟΑΙΑΡΠΙ
4 ΠΟϹΙΤΙΠΑΔΟϹΤΟΤΩΚΟ
5 ΚΑΙΝΤΟΤΟΛΑΟΙΑϹΟΕΙΑϹИΑ
6 ΡΟΥϹΙΤΟΚϜΑΡΟΥΔΑΤΙ
7 ‡(?)ΑΠΑΝΙΝΟΥΤΙΕΥΟΗΜΕΡΕΝ
8 ΟΑΝΑΕΙϹИΑΡΕΙИΑΤΙΠΑΔΟ
9 ϹΤΟΚϜΑΡΟΥΔΑϹΟΙΑΔΙΑϹΟ
10 ΚΑΙΝИΑИΟΕΙΕΑΡΡΗ-(?)ΙΕ-(?)ΤΟΚΡ
11 .(?)ΟΥϹИΑИΟΕΙΕΕΙΔΙИΕΔΑΠΑΕΙΑϹ
12 ИΕΔΙΑΡΡΙ-Β-ΟΥΕΟΡΕϹΙΕΑΡΡΑΙΑ
13 .(?)ϹΟΜΛΑΓΑϹΕΟΚΟΠΛΟΥϹΟΑϹ

§2. The inscription poses several graphical problems which we must address before proceeding any further:

(1) the letter ‡ mentioned above: its value is not clear. Might it be a kind of *z*? Does it have a particular function? Might it be a variant of Ϝ? Brixhe-Özsait (2013) considers this latter possibility but dismisses it. The question remains obscure.

(2) Some examples of *o* may be examples of *θ*. This is a typical crux in Greek epigraphy (and also in late Carian!): the difference between the letter omicron and the letter theta with central dot is not always clear. In this inscription, the editors express their doubts about the following cases: line 3 *oaiarpi / θaiarpi*?; line 7 *...oēmeren / θēmeren*?; line 8 *oan.../θan...*?. In an absolutely conventional way, I use <ô> to reflect the possibility that the letter might be *θ* instead of *o* in the cases mentioned.

(3) Also problematic are the possible confusions between Ϲ = *s* and Ε = *e*. This affects line 1: *meklōreg... / meklōrsg...* (But the editors clearly prefer *meklōreg...*, for contextual reasons). Line 1 *...eid / sid* (but also here the reading *e* is preferred). For the first example, I agree with the

editors: a cluster *srg* seems highly improbable to me (and also all the possible segmentations if we have to deal with two words: *s##rg*, *sr##g*). In the other case, both readings may be acceptable. For this reason, I use a conventional transliteration, parallel to <ô>: I transliterate this ambiguous *e/s* as <ê>.

(4) At the beginnings of lines 11 and 13, the editors note the apparent traces of signs, but conclude that they are probably accidental marks. I accept this latter explanation and will ignore them.

(5) I also accept other solutions suggested by the editors, such as the reading of *p* in the last line.

(6) I also accept the presence of some ligatures, like of И-I = И + H = *nē* in lines 3, 5, 12 or H-И as H + И + E = *ēme* in line 7 .

(7) One cannot be entirely sure that there are no abbreviations in this text. If there are, this would seriously hamper our task of segmentation. I assume, as the only way to begin to analyse the text, that there are no abbreviations.

§3. This is my transliteration:

meklōregoouarplioêid	1
oadiamosotostomla	2
gakawēōras -3 - ôaiarpi	3
positipadostotōko	4
kawētotolaoiasoeiaswa	5
rousitokvaroudati	6
ǂ(?)apaninoutieuôēmeren	7
ôanaeiswareiwatipado	8
stokvaroudasoiadiaso	9
kawēwawoeiearrē -15- tokr	10
(-?)ouswawoeieeidiwedapaeias	11
wediarri -2- oueoresiearraia	12
(-?)somlagaseokoplousoas	13

The only thing that is certain about this inscription is that it contains *numbers*. The editors clearly identify two numerical expressions: in line 3, *-g-* is the Greek number '3'; in line 12, *-b-* is '2'. Brixhe-Özsait (2013) suggests that these numerals may accompany a personal name to express the second or the third person bearing the name, as is usual in Greek epigraphy.

Apart from these two examples, there is another numerical expression: in line 10, IE seems to appear between two horizontal traits, as do the other two numerals (although we must admit that the horizontal trait at the ending of the expression is not clear). Taken as a numerical expression, IE makes sense as 'fifteen'. The editors accept this only as a possibility, but I think that it is the simplest interpretation.

If this interpretation is correct, in this case at least it is hard to accept that this numeral was used in the sense proposed by the authors: '15' is very unlikely to have been used to refer to the repeated use of a name inside a family.

§4. The presence of these numerals is, as I mentioned above, the sole evidence that we can obtain for sure from this obscure text. In what follows, I will try to offer a possible segmentation of the text.

To carry out the segmentation, we have the following tools at our disposal:

1) The numerical expressions allow us to segment correctly before and after these marks. Unfortunately, this procedure offers very limited results, because only three numerical expressions are present; however, in combination with the other tools, it may become more useful.

2) Some elements are repeated along the course of the inscription. We can isolate them, at least in their initial part (the final part may present different endings, so the segmentation is less clear).

3) Inside the inscription we find many vowel clusters, some of them formed by four or even five or six vowels. It is logical to assume that they are the consequence of the meeting of two (or more?) different words, and so one can look for word boundaries inside them. However, as we will see below, this procedure is not without its difficulties.

4) The typology of syllabic structure can also help. This tool merits a further explanation. A simple look at the text suggests that Pisidian was characterized by a predominant presence of open syllables, i.e., syllables with a (C)V structure. Note, for instance, lines 4–5:

> positipadostotōko
> kawētotolaoiasoeiaswa

In these two lines the only consonant clusters are *-st-* and *-sw-*. The rest of syllables follow the structure (C)V. As we will see below, this predominance of open syllables, and consequently the fact that the position of syllable end (coda) is limited to a few consonants, is present throughout the text and can be taken as a trait of the language encoded here.

§5. Thanks to the numerical expressions, we can recognize *ē i* and *s* as possible word final sounds, and *ô* (recall!: *o / θ* ?), *t, o,* as possible initial word sounds. Look at the corresponding lines:

> gakawēōras -3- ôaiarpi

> kawēwawoeiearrē -15- tokr

> wediarri -2- oueoresiearraia

s as a word final sound is also guaranteed by the last word of the inscription:

> (-?)somlagaseokoplousoas

To these meagre results, we add that *m* can begin a word, as it appears at the very beginning of the text (*meklōrego…*).

§6. Some elements are clearly repeated. Assuming that Pisidian was basically a suffix-inflected language, these repeated elements serve to establish boundaries in their initial part. Note the possible segmentations based on this principle:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamosotosto
> **mlaga**
> **kawē**ōras -3-
> ôaiarpiposi
> **tipadosto**tōko
> **kawē**totolaoiasoeiaswarousito
> **kvarouda**ti‡apaninoutieuôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa
> **tipadosto**

kvaroudasoiadiaso
kawē
wawoeie
arrē -15-
tokrous
wawoeieeidiwedapaeiaswedi
arri -2-
oueoresie
arraiaso
mlagaseokoplousoas

Nota bene:

1) In the case of *tipadosto*, as we will see below, it is possible that *ti* is (part of) a preceding word.

2) The segmentation of *arr⁰* may seem less sure, insofar as only three letters are implied.

These first segmentations offer an interesting result: some repeated sequences appear in immediate contact, which allows us to segment a complete word. This is the case of *mlaga kawē*, or *tipadosto kvarouda…* or *wawoeie arre*, or *kawē wawoeie*. Accepting these segmentations, we can refine our analysis:

meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamosotosto
mlaga
kawē
ōras -3-
ôaiarpiposi
tipadosto
tōko
kawē
totolaoiasoeiaswarousito
kvaroudati‡apaninoutieuôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa
tipadosto
kvaroudasoiadiaso
kawē
wawoeie
arrē -15-
tokrous
wawoeie
eidiwedapaeiaswedi
arri -2-
oueoresie
arraiaso
mlagaseokoplousoas

A first conclusion can be drawn from this initial attempt to isolate sequences: the sound immediately preceding each of these possible word initial sequences is systematically a vowel or (in two cases) an *s*:

mlaga	a
kawē	ē

ōras -3-	s
ôaiarpiposi	i
tipadosto	o
tōko	o
kawē	ē
totolaoiasoeiaswarousito	o
kvaroudati‡apaninoutieuôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa	a
tipadosto	o
kvaroudasoiadiaso	o
kawē	ē
wawoeie	e
arrē -15-	ē
tokrous	s
wawoeie	e
eidiwedapaeiaswedi	i
arri -2-	i
oueoresie	e
arraiaso	o
mlagaseokoplousoas	

This fact strengthens the impression mentioned above that this language favoured the existence of open syllables and drastically limited the presence of consonants at the end of a syllable and of a word.

§7. A trait of this inscription is the presence of vowel clusters, some of them of a considerable length. In principle, they could be used for establishing word boundaries assuming that we are dealing with the meeting of final and initial vowels of different words. But things are not so simple in Pisidian. Firstly, we must keep in mind that two of the most frequent vowels in these clusters are E <e> and O <o> which, in this inscription, can be easily misread instead of Ϲ <s> and Ө <θ> respectively. As we have seen, Brixhe-Özsait (2013) admits these ambiguous readings in one instance of E/Ϲ and in three instances of O/Ө, but in my opinion it is not entirely clear that all the rest of examples of these letters are reliable readings.

Secondly, the spelling practices in the age of this inscription favoured the use of clusters like O + vowel, OY + vowel, and Ω + vowel to represent /w+vowel/, as can be seen in the use of the Greek alphabet to reflect Anatolian proper names, or to write in Neo-Phrygian (see Brixhe-Özsait 2013: 240); EI also represented *i* — as in the contemporary Greek — and intervocalic I could have represented a Pisidian /j/ sound. The use of O, OY to represent /w/ in our inscription[2] is rather puzzling, since we already have two different digamma letters (И, F) to represent this or a similar sound. But it is not phonologically impossible that in this text there may be a triple contrast, like for instance /w/, /v/ and /β/. Note the particularity that there is no letter B in this inscription.

These spelling practices and perhaps also the existence of internal vowel hiatuses may lead to the presence of such clusters *inside* words. This singularity of Pisidian was already observed by Ramsay, who portrayed it amusingly by saying that "The Pisidian Language seems to have delighted in vowels" (Ramsay 1883:74).

Let us look at the vowel clusters in this inscription. In order to avoid excessive speculation I examine only the ones recognized by Brixhe-Özsait (2013) as ambiguous cases of *e/s*, *o/θ*.

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[2] There are no instances of Ω before vowel in this inscription.

I present the examples with three or more vowels, and only with two vowels when the vowels involved are neither *i* nor *u* — i.e., when a hiatus is more probable.

1	ooua	line 1	4 vowels
2	ioei (*or:* iosi)?	line 1	4 vowels (doubtful!)
3	oa	line 2	2 vowels
4	ēō	line 3	2 vowels
5	oaia (*or:* θaia)?	line 3	4 vowels (doubtful!) (if not, 3 vowels: *aia*)
6	aoia	line 5	4 vowels
7	oeia	line 5	4 vowels
8	ieuoē (*or*: ieuθē)?	line 7	5 vowels (doubtful!) (if not, 3 vowels: *ieu*)
9	oa (*or*: θa)?	line 8	2 vowels
10	aei	line 8	3 vowels
11	oia	line 9	3 vowels
12	oeiea	line 10	5 vowels
13	oeieei	line 11	6 vowels
14	aeia	line 11	4 vowels
15	oueo	line 12	4 vowels
16	iea	line 12	3 vowels
17	aia	line 12	3 vowels
18	eo	line 13	2 vowels
19	oa	line 13	2 vowels

The cluster n. 15 in line 12, *oueo*, is a good example of 'delight in vowels': here the cluster appears immediately after the numerical expression (2), and so we are dealing with the beginning of a word. Although behind *oueo…* there may be two words (*ou*, or even *o* could have been independent words in Pisidian), *oue-* is an acceptable initial sequence in Pisidian, as is shown by the divine name (or epithet) Ουεγεινος or Ουεγεινας (Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινῳ, in Tymbriada, SEG 55, 1447, 1448), the place name Οὐέρβη (Zgusta KON §972) and the personal name Ουελλ‖ιος‖ (Zgusta KPN §1151–2). If in all these examples ουε represents /we/ or the like, /weo/ might be an acceptable word initial sequence even though it is not attested in the rest of the Pisidian documentation.

Previous analysis based on the recurrence of sequences allows us to resolve some of these clusters, at least partially. This is the case of 4 (*kawē ## ōras*), 12 (*wawoeie ## arrē*) and 13 (*wawoeie ## eidiwedapeias*...). In clusters 12 and 13 we still have a 4-vowel cluster at the end of the word (the same word: *wawoeie*) and the possibility of a further segmentation in two words (*wawo ## eie*, for instance) remains open.

Other clusters will be analysed later, in combination with the more speculative attempt to recognize endings.

§8. As for syllable structure, I have insisted repeatedly that this inscription seems to point to a high predominance of open syllables, and a clear limitation of sounds in syllable final and

consequently in word final positions. This statement can be ratified by the Pisidian inscriptions. A brief look at the subcorpus of brief epitaphs (see Adiego 2012) shows clearly that most of the syllables are open, and that practically only *s* and *r* can end a syllable or a word. The exceptions to this rule are some examples of geminations (for instance, *eddi*) and the letter *ksi*. It is not clear, however, that these clusters should be analysed as heterosyllabic. *ksi* could be a syllabic onset and *dd* may representing a sort of voiced stop (vs. the simple *d* representing possibly rather a fricative). Some examples of alternation *-d-* / *-r-*, i.e., rhotacism of *-d-* between vowels seems to point to a fricative articulation of this sound. Note that a similar rhotacism is present in neighbouring Pamphylian, where it is attributed to a substratum influence (see Brixhe 1976). Certainly, Pisidian onomastics in Greek sources offer a wider range of structures, but it is not clear that all these names, some of them found in contact zones with Phrygia, Lycaonia, etc., should be considered as strictly Pisidian.

In any case, the tendency to present open syllables and to limit the type of consonants in syllable final position in Pisidian suggests that in sequences such as *oadiamosotostomla* (second line of the inscription), segmentations like *oad ## iam ## osot ## om ## la* are highly improbable. Of course, this syllable typology allows us to say how the words *are not* separated, but it is less useful in a positive way: the sequence mentioned admits a great many different possibilities of segmentation even if one gives priority to parsing all the syllables as open: *oadi ## mosoto....* vs. *oa ## dimo ##soto*, etc.

These probable restrictions on syllable finals, combined with the general principle of sonority sequencing in syllable structure, lead us to consider all the clusters of increasing sonority as tautosyllabic. These are the sequences involved and the lines where they appear:

-kl-, -pl-	1
-ml-	2
-kv-	6
-kv-	9
-kr-	10
-ml-, -pl-	13

In the cases of *-ml-*, *-kv-* clusters, this analysis is consistent with the segmentation proposed above on the basis of repeated sequences, as they turn out to appear as possible word-initial sequences. The rest of the sequences constitute negative evidence: they tell us where the words *are not* cut, but it is impossible to establish whether or not they coincide with the beginning of a word.

The examples of clusters of decreasing sonority are dubious, for several reasons:

(1) the only possible example of *n* + obstruent depends on the reading of the second letter: 7–8 *-nô-*, where a reading *-nθ-* would make the sequence heterosyllabic. It is not clear to me whether *n* could really be a word final sound in Pisidian. There are no examples in the rest of the Pisidian inscriptions — although this may be a matter of chance, due to the scarcity of the corpus. Certainly, Pisidian onomastics in Greek sources show a few names ending in *-n*: personal names such as Ιμαν, Ειμαν, Κακκαν (KPN+Zgusta 1970), Μαντουν, Τατιον, and a subgroup of names inflected in -ων, -ωνος (Ζοβαλιων, Θυβρυων [doubtful], Κανδων, Κεριων, Σαλμων, Σιργων, Ταμων, [..]ουλιων; and place names like Κεσβέδιον, Μορδιάιον or Χῶμα Σακηνον. But the genuine Pisidian character of some of these names is highly questionable: Ιμαν, Ειμαν is most probably a Phrygian name, given its frequent appearance in Phrygia; Κακκαν appears in a boundary zone between Pisidia and Lycaonia; Τατιον is a widespread female name attested only once in Pisidia; Μαντουν is doubtful (it may simply be Greek:

see Zgusta KPN §868-1); the place names Κεσβέδιον, Μορδιάιον and Σακηνον are clearly adapted to the Greek inflection, an explanation that could also be envisaged for the curious subgroup of names inflected according to Greek -ων, -ωνος declination. Therefore, the possibility that the final *-n* was missing before the consonant, as happens in Pamphylian, ought to be taken into account; it would make a reading *-nθ-* more unlikely. However, the reading θ offers interesting results from the point of view of the interpretation of the sequence: see below §10.

(2) the segmentation of the examples of *s* + stop (limited to *st*: lines 2, 4, 9) depends on whether Pisidian admitted syllable onsets such as *st- sk-, sp-, sd-, sg, sb-*, etc. which violate the sonority sequencing hierarchy but are present in many languages (for instance Latin, Greek or English). The rest of the Pisidian documentation shows very few examples of *s* + stop onsets:

In indirect sources, only a personal name and a place name begin with στ-: Στανάμοας (Zgusta 1970, §1472a) and Στρουμ//α// respectively; and only a personal name begins with σκ-: Σκραιος. The variants Στλέγα, Εστλεγα of the name of the well- known Pisidian city Selge (Σέλγη) cannot be used as evidence for initial *st-* in Pisidian: as Brixhe rightly stated (Brixhe 1976:289); the original form must have been Selga/Salga or Slega/Slaga. The forms with Στλέγα, Εστλεγα, attested in coins, are the Pamphylian adaptation of the place name and τ is easily explained here as an epenthetic sound (**slega* > *stlega*). Note that Pamphylian was the language spoken in Selge despite its Pisidian location. Consequently, this may be an exclusively Pamphylian treatment.

In direct sources, the examples of *st, sk, sp* are also few and far between:

— In Brixhe's new corpus of Pisidian inscriptions (Brixhe 2016), the only example of initial *st* in an indigenous name is *Staneis, Stanei* in N 33, to be connected to the abovementioned personal name Στανάμοας. In N 34 *st* appears in a purely Greek name, Stephanos. ΜΟΥΟΣΤΟΙΝΑ (N 32) must be segmented *Mouos* (genitive) *Toina* (Brixhe 2016: 90).

— There are no examples of *sk* sequences.

— Of the seven examples of *sp* sequences, four appear in the same inscription (N 37) and must be separated into two different words since the *p* is the initial of the name *Pigerdotaris*. Other example of *sp* appears in a new inscription (N 45) where it is clearly a word-medial cluster: *Ospouna*.

The only two possible examples of an initial *sp* cluster come from S 4: here a sequence *spuadogwesi* appears twice, which raises the possibility that this is in fact an initial cluster *sp-*

(3) The examples of sequences *s* + a voiced second element are equally scarce: there are no instances in the indirect sources, and the only possible examples in the direct ones are N 10 ΟΥΑΝΙΣΒΑΒΟΥ and 32 ΠΑΠΑΣΓΑΛΛΟΣ. For N 10, Brixhe (2016) proposes a convincing segmentation /Oua Nis Babou/, and in the case of N 32, it is difficult to decide between a parsing /Papa Sgallos/ or an alternative parsing /Papas Gallos/. A sequence CΔ in S 3 appears in an impenetrable context.

(4) The clusters *s* + Pamphylian digamma (CИ *-sw-*) in our inscription merit a chapter of their own. We find four examples (lines 5, 8, 11 and 11–12). If this represents a /sw/ sequence, there was no violation of sonority hierarchy, so that even if *st, sp* etc. clusters were not permitted in Pisidian, a /sw/ onset could be possible. In any case, the example in line 11 ou**sw**awoeie... must be ruled out, as we have identified a sequence *wawoeie* that also appears in line 10. Two other examples coincide to offer a sequence *swar*: *eia**swar**ousito* and *euôēmerenôanaei**swar**eiwa*... This leads Brixhe-Özsait (2013) to propose the isolation of a word beginning *swarº*. But as we will see below (§10), the options of segmenting *s ## war*… or *sw ## ar* here offer interesting results.

To sum up this discussion of clusters where *s* appears as the first element: the fact that *-s* can be a word-final sound, the fact that this ending could have a morphological value in Pisidian (we know at least from the rest of the documentation that it served to express the singular genitive of proper names) and the fact that *s*C onsets do not seem to have been frequent in that language, makes a segmentation *s* ## C in principle preferable, though by no means certain. Further analysis is needed to qualify this statement.

§9. From here on, we enter a more speculative field. We must try to recognize some recurrent endings in order to identify other possible complete words. For this task, we will take into account the remarks on syllable structure and consonant clusters formulated above.

§9.1. *-to* is a clear word ending. It emerges naturally from the current state of analysis, as it appears in the segmented sequences:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamosotos<u>to</u> mlaga
>
> ôaiarpiposi tipados<u>to</u> tōko
>
> eiaswarousi<u>to</u> kvaroudati
>
> tipados<u>to</u> kvaroudaso

The other examples of *to* sequences as possible word endings are much less clear: in meklōregoouarplioeidoadiamosotosto ## *mlaga*, a segmentation *...to ## sto* seems unlikely in view of the doubts about the existence of *st* onsets in Pisidian. In *kawē totolaoiasoeiaswa*, a *toto laoiasoeiaswa* segmentation would be acceptable but is unverifiable.

§9.2. Another possible ending is *-so*: it can be drawn from the segmentation of repeated elements in:

> kvaroudasoiadia<u>so</u>
> kawē

and in:

> **arr**aia<u>so</u>
> **mlaga**seokoplousoas

The first example is particularly interesting. In ***kvarouda**soiadiaso* it is tempting to segment in turn *kvaroudaso iadiaso*, showing two words in agreement.

Other possible though less clear examples are:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamo<u>so</u> tosto
> ...
> totolaoia<u>so</u> eiaswarousito

§9.3. A third recurrent element that might constitute a morphological ending is *ti.* It may be recognized in:

> kvaroudati ǂapaninouti euôoēmerenoanaeiswareiwati padosto

where three words may be in agreement:

> kvarouda<u>ti</u> ǂapaninou<u>ti</u> euoēmerenoanaeiswareiwa<u>ti</u> padosto

The first two examples seem quite likely. The third one is more doubtful: it clashes with the fact that *tipadosto* appears once more, which leads us to isolate a word *tipadosto* (see above):

> ôaiarpiposi tipadosto

But it is also possible that a word ending in *ti* might precede a word *padosto*. I will assume that both options are possible and I will notate this possibility with a hyphen: *ti-padosto*.

§9.4. *-ie* is another probable ending, which is obtained exclusively from the segmentation of repeated word beginnings and appears concentrated in lines 10–12 of the inscription:

> kawē
> wawoeie
> arrē -15-
> tokrous
> wawoeie
> eidiwedapaeiaswedi
> arri -2-
> oueoresie

Note that the ending may be generically *-e/-ē*, and would include as possible words in agreement *kawē* and *arrē*.

§9.5. Incorporating the analysis of the preceding possible endings, we can go further with the following (very hypothetical!) segmentation:

> meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamoso
> tosto
> **mlaga**
> **kawē**
> ōras -3-
> ôaiarpiposi**ti-padosto**
> tōko
> **kawē**
> totolaoiaso
> eiaswarousito
> **kvarouda**ti
> ǂapaninouti
> euôēmerenôanaeiswareiwa**ti-padosto**
> **kvarouda**so
> iadiaso
> **kawē**
> **wawoeie**
> **arr**ē -15-
> tokrous
> **wawoeie**
> eidiwedapaeiaswedi
> **arr**i -2-
> oueoresie
> **arr**aiaso
> **mlaga**seokoplousoas

§9.6. The segmentation in §9.5 begins to offer a series of possible individual words (or at least sequences comprising very short words): *mlaga* (2x), *kawē* (3x), *ōras*, *toko*, *tokrous*, *arri/are.* In *kvaroudati / kvaroudaso* we recognize two clearly related forms, in terms of inflection or of derivation (see below §10). As possible inflected words in *-so*, *-to* we can recognize *arraiso*, *(ti)padosto*, *iadiaso* and the *kvaroudaso* just mentioned.

Obviously, the remaining long chains must contain different words. I will propose some possible segmentations, but we are entering increasingly precarious terrain.

Let us start with the very beginning of the inscription:

<p align="center">meklōregoouarplioêidoadiamoso</p>

We have already noted that a hiatus can be a clue for segmentation, but the "delight in vowels" of Pisidian advises caution. Here the first cluster *ooua*, with the repetition of *o*, suggests a segmentation *meklōrego ouarplioêidoadiamoso*, where the initial <oua> may be a typical representation of /wa/. The rest of the vocalic hiatuses are less clear, but it is very tempting here to see three words ending in *-o* (and followed by a fourth one in *-so*):

<p align="center">meklōrego ouarplio êido adiamoso</p>

Here I will also use a hyphen to represent these very hypothetical segmentations:

<p align="center">meklōrego- ouarplio- êido- adiamoso</p>

The other longest chain is:

<p align="center">euôēmerenôanaeiswareiwati-padosto</p>

Here the doubts about the exact character of *ô* (= *o*?, *θ*?) hinder the analysis even more. I will return to this question later. On *-sw-*, see immediately below

<p align="center">euôēmerenôanaeiswareiwati-padosto</p>

Other sequences remain which are shorter but very possibly contain more than one word:

<blockquote>
ôaiarpipositi padosto
…
totolaoiaso
eiaswarousito
…
‡apaninouti
…
eidiwedapaeiaswedi
…
mlagaseokoplousoas
</blockquote>

For the first sequence (*ôaiarpipositi* or simply *ôaiarpiposi*), and for the second one (*totalaoiaso*) I cannot propose any solution.

In the third and fifth sequence, we once again find a cluster *-sw-*, as in *euôēmerenôan-aei**sw**areiwati-padosto*. Here we are at an analytical crossroad: the three examples, compared one to one, offer two divergent solutions:

1) *euôēmerenôanaei**swar**eiwati-padosto* and *eia**swar**ousito* favour the isolation of a beginning of a word *swar-*

2) but *ei**asw**arousito* and *eidiwedapa**eiasw**edi* share a sequence *eiasw*, to be segmented *eias* w^o (eia ## *sw^o* seems less probable, but see below §10).

To this dilemma, we should add that the remaining example of a *-sw-* is tokrou**sw**awoeie, in which the cluster has to be separated *s ## w*, given that *wawoeie* is a clearly isolated word.

In order to reflect these different options, I use hyphens:

<div style="text-align:center">

euôēmerenôanaei-s-wa**r**eiwati-padosto
eia-s-warousito
eidiwedapa-eia-s-wedi

</div>

Further segmentations of the latter chain are complicated. We can envisage a segmentation *eidi wedapa-eia-s-wedi* and think of an agreement in *-di*. We can also speculate about the relationship between a *wedapa-eia-s* and *wedi*. *eidi wedapa-eia-s wedi* would be an interesting segmentation, but absolutely ad hoc. I prefer to leave the sequence without segmenting.

In ǂ*apaninouti*, the first sign remains a mystery. ǂ*apaninouti* seems to be an inflected form of a stem ǂ*apaninou-* or *apaninout-*, parallel to *kvaroudati*: see below §10. It is impossible to say whether there are one or two words behind ǂ*apaninouti*. It may even be a compound noun (or name) ǂ*apa+ninouti*.

The last sequence, *mlagaseokoplousoas*, begins with a word isolated as *mlaga* in lines 2–3. This would suggest a segmentation *mlaga seokoplousoas,* but it is also possible that here *mlaga* may represent another inflected form, and so *mlagas eokoplousoas* or *mlagase okoplousoas* (the latter supported by the presence of a hiatus) can be alternative solutions. I will represent these alternatives thus: *mlaga-s-e-okoplousoas*.

§10. After this analysis, we attain the following (very hypothetical!) segmentation:

<div style="text-align:center">

meklōrego-ouarplio-êido-adiamoso
tosto
mlaga
kawē
ōras -3-
ôaiarpipositi padosto
tōko
kawē
totolaoiaso
eia-s-warousito
kvaroudati
ǂapaninouti
euôēmerenôanaei-s-wareiwati padosto
kvaroudaso
iadiaso
kawē
wawoeie
arrē -15-
tokrous
wawoeie
eidi-wedapa-eia-s-wedi
arri -2-
oueoresie
arraiaso
mlagas-e-okoplousoas

</div>

We now enter the most precarious terrain of all. How should we interpret all these possible words and endings?

§10.1. The first step is to look for personal names. This is the sensible decision taken by Brixhe-Özsait (2013). Unfortunately, this inscription, unlike the brief epitaphs from Tymbriada, does not offer at first glance any *tangible* form to be identified as a personal name. Consequently, the connections with Pisidian onomastics are tenuous. This may seem surprising, because in a text of this length we would expect at least some proper names (personal names, place names, god names, and so on). But it is also important to note that Pisidian onomastics was undoubtedly very varied: a good example is the corpus of Greek inscriptions from Termessos IV, which contained unpublished inscriptions with a considerable number of new personal names, many of them difficult to connect, even partially, with previously known names.

This may explain why the results of Brixhe-Özsait (2013) in this terrain are both very limited and also difficult to improve upon. In fact, the connection suggested by these authors, that I take as convincing, depends on the reading of one of the disputed letters in the inscription: in line 8, *ôanaeiswareiwatipado*, with a reading <θ> for *ô*, offers a *θanaei*... sequence that Brixhe-Özsait try to connect with the name of the goddess Athena (Brixhe-Özsait: 243). As these authors point out, the aphaeresis would be comparable to that found in the name of Athena attested in Lycian, Sidetic and Pamphylian. Although the interpretation as 'Athena' looks very attractive (see below §10.4), it may in fact be a personal name based on the name of the goddess: *θanaei(s)* can represent a Pisidian adaptation of the Greek female name Ἀθηναΐς or the Greek male name Ἀθνήαιος. For this latter adaptation, cf. that in Pamphylian the nominative singular -ις, -εις /i:s/ from -*ιος (Brixhe 1976: 100), so *Θάναεις could be the Pamphylian form of Ἀθνήαιος and the basis for a Pisidian *θanaei* (cf. also Pamphylian Θανάδωρος = Ἀθηνάδωρος for aphaeresis and vocalism).

Other reasonable connections proposed by Brixhe-Özsait (2013) are (1) *ōras*, a possible genitive of a personal name *ōra-* = Ωρας, Ουρος < Luwic (and Hittite) *ura-* 'great' (but forms like Lycian *Hura*, where *h* probably < **s*, complicate the dossier); and (2) *ouarplio* = Hittite *warpalli-* 'fort, puissant' and Ουρπαλος (or Ουρπαλας), an indigenous name attested in Phrygia (Zgusta KPN §1174). Further proposals seem to be more tenuous and remote (see Brixhe-Özsait 2013: 247–248 for all these proposals).

In the following table I offer my own attempt to connect some sequences with Pisidian onomastics:

meklōrego-**ouarp**lio-êido-**adi**amoso	Cf. Οὐαρπειμιου (gen.) (LYC), apart from B.-Ö. connections Απο-**αδι-ς**, Ιδα-**αδι-ς**, Κιδασ-**αδι-ς** (PIS)
tosto	
mlaga	
kawē	
ōras -3-	
ôai**arpi**positi	**Αρπι**ας (PIS) (< ar+ Anatolian piịa-)
padosto	Παδα-μουρις / *Παραμουρις[1]
tōko	
kawē	cf. the Phrygian and Lycaonian place names Κάβαλα, Καυαλα and the Misian or Bithynian place name Καυή
totolaoiaso	Τωτων//α// Τωτων//ια, place name PIS

eia-s-**warou**sito	**Oυϱου**-βαις PIS (for the second element, cf. Aλου-παις?? PIS)
	If swarou, cf. Oσβαϱας PIS, Oσβαϱα PIS
kvaroudati	**Kβαϱου**-ης PAM
ǂapa**ninout**i	Nινος PIS, Nουθ‖ις‖ PIS
euôēmeren	
ôanaei-s-wareiwati padosto	If θanaeis = Ἀθηναίος cf. supra. If swarei, cf. Oσβαϱας, Oσβαϱα
	Παδα-μουϱις / *Παϱαμουϱις[1]
kvaroudaso	**Kβαϱου**-ης name of a woman PIS (cf. supra *kvaroudati*)
iadiaso	**Iα**-ζεμις (Mοα-ζημις), perhaps **Iα**+ **αδι**-ς, cf. supra Aπο-**αδι**-ς, etc.?
kawē	cf. supra
wawoeie	cf. supra
arrē -15-	
tokrous	
wawoeie	cf. supra
eidi-wedapa-eia-s-wedi	
arri -2-	
oueoresie	
arraiaso	
mlagas-e-oko**plousoa**s	**Πλουσ**ινμης or **Πλουσ**ινμητος (IS), **Πλου**ς (KAR); **Σοα**ς (PIS)
	Pisidian names in -οας

[1] Παϱαμουϱιανος, Παϱαμουϱιανη. Cf. also Παδαμουϱιανος, Παδαμουϱιανη

These attempts at connections (all very tentative) do not necessarily imply that the sequences of the Pisidian text where they appear must be interpreted as proper names. Given that we are comparing stems rather than complete names, and as we cannot deduce from the context whether a proper name is being used, it is equally imaginable that these stems appear here as common lexical elements. Note, for instance, the form *padosto* (2x): the initial part can be compared with the first element of the name Παδα-μουϱις, but it could be a word from the common lexicon (a verb? cf. infra) that shares the stem with a compound name. Incidentally, this is a good example of the difficulties of the comparison: besides Παδα-μουϱις, there exists a variant Παϱα-μουϱις. It is tempting to see in this latter name a dental rhotacism, which is well attested in Pamphylian (Brixhe 1976). However, there is an alternative explanation that destroys any connection with our inscription: Παδα-μουϱις may be a dissimilation from Παϱα-μουϱις, which would be the original form[3].

Perhaps the most suggestive connection I am able to offer is the female name Kβαϱουης (Zgusta 1970, §563a, attested in Cotenna) which seems to be closely related to *kvaroudati* and *kvaroudaso*. The coincidence of the six initial letters is unlikely to be a matter of chance. But how can we explain this connection? Are *kvaroudati* and *kvaroudaso* two differently inflected forms of a personal name? As we will see below, this possibility is not without its problems.

In any case, this connection is partial. The name Kβαϱουης does not appear *tel quel* in the inscription, and this is precisely the clearest conclusion of the search of onomastic material in

[3] Παϱα- as a first element of compound names is well attested in Anatolian indigenous names, see Adiego 2007: 340 for Carian.

this long text: there are no examples of any known Pisidian proper names. I alluded above to this circumstance when I spoke of the lack of *tangible* onomastic identifications.

§10.2. The search for forms other than proper nouns is even more complicated. Today, we do not know any common Pisidian words, insofar as the brief epitaphs from Tymbriada contain exclusively personal names and the other inscriptions from the middle course of the Eurymedon are as impenetrable as our text. The only way to continue the search is to look for possible connections with the rest of Anatolian Luwic dialects (particularly the best known, Luwian and Lycian), but lacking a clear idea of the specific traits of Pisidian with respect to the other Luwic dialects makes any proposal highly speculative.

Brixhe-Özsait (2013) ingeniously suggest that the word *kawe*, repeated three times, may be related to Luwian *hāwi-*, Lycian *χawa* 'sheep'. If Pisidian was close to Lycian, the connection would be valid, because, as is well known, Lycian χ represents a sound /k/. Recall also the Carian gloss κοῖον· πρόβατον, in which κοῖον may come from *κοϝι-ον = Luwian *hāwi-*. If a reference to 'sheep' were present in the inscription, it would be tempting to see in *wawoeie* (or simply *wawo*), repeated twice, the Pisidian word for 'cow' corresponding to Lycian *wawa* 'cow, bovine'. The presence of the two words — probably in a sacrificial context — recalls the appearance of Lycian *χawa-* and *wawa-* side by side in inscription TL 149. It is also interesting that two instances of *kawe* and one instance of *wawo(eie)* occur in the proximity of numerical expressions (and the other instance of this latter word is not far away from another numerical expression):

> **kawē** ōras -**3-**
>
> …
>
> **kawē** wawoeie arrē -**15-** tokrous **wawoeie** eidi-wedapa-eia-s-wedi arri -**2-**

Unfortunately, no other indices in the inscription invite us to think that these meanings can be right. Another totally different track to follow would be to connect *kawē* with Lydian *kave-* 'priest' (also attested in Greek inscriptions from Sardis as a loanword καυειν [acc.] 'priestess').

§10.3. Another terrain for speculation is the interpretation of the possible endings. We have recognized three repeated final sequences that might represent morphological marks: *-so, -to* and *-ti* (I leave aside *-eie*, which is less clear to me):

From a "Luwic" point of view, one might suggest linking them with possible "Luwic" morphemes:

1) *-to* could be a 3rd sg (or plural?) preterite ending, related etymologically to Lycian *-te*, Carian *-t*, Luwian *-ta < *-to*
2) *-so* could be a genitive singular ending = Lycian *-he < *-so*
3) *-ti* could be (a) a 3rd sg (or plural?) present ending = Lycian, Luwian *-ti* or (b) a dative of a *-t-* or *-nt-*stem (Cf. Lycian *Trqqñt-i*, CLuwian ᵈUTU-*ti-(i)* (**Tiwat-i*)

(1) and (2), if right, would be mutually consistent, insofar as they would coincide in showing the conservation of final *o where Lycian changes it to *e and Luwian to *a. The possible verbs *tosto* and *padosto* 2x) may recall Lycian 3rd preterite iteratives in ᵒ*stte* as *astte, qastte, χistte.*

A particular problem is posed by the forms *kvaroudati* and *kvaroudaso*. If both represent a personal name with different inflections, it is not easy to conciliate them: *kvaroudaso* would be a genitive in *-so* (= Lycian *-he*), of a stem *kvarouda-*, but *kvaroudati* would rather be a dative of a

dental or *nt*-stem (*kvaroudat-* or *kvarouda(n)t-*). If we do not accept a sort of heteroclitic inflection *kvarouda-/kvaourdat-* (or *kvaroudant-*) we may begin to speculate: *kvaroudati* could be a verb corresponding to a noun (not necessarily a personal name) *kvarouda-*. But this sort of speculation is worthless unless we first establish a firmer analysis of the words. In any case, it is puzzling (though also suggestive) to observe that a stem alternation *kvarouda-/kvaroudat-* recalls the *élargissement* in *-t-* of the vocalic stems of personal names in Greek, which was very commonly used in the incorporation of indigenous names (cf. in Pamphylian: Brixhe 1976: 104 ff.). So, in a Greek inscription from Pisidia, we could perfectly imagine a *Κβαρουδατι as the dative of a personal name *Κβαρουδας. The same feature can be observed in ǂ*apaninouti*. If it is a personal name, it would be analysed in a Greek context as a simple dative of a name in -οῦς, -οῦτος (cf. Brixhe 1976: 106). Cf. datives as Ασπουρουτι TAM III, 1 222 from a Pisidian name Ασπουρους (Zgusta KPN §118) or Αλλουτι (KPN §52–2) from Αλλους. Can we conclude that this *élargissement* penetrated into (some forms of the nominal paradigm of) Pisidian? Given the late date of the inscription, the prolonged contact with Greek would support this hypothesis.

§10.4. Finally, in an inscription of this length one might expect the presence of function words (pre- or postpositions, conjunctions, particles). I am afraid I am unable to offer any convincing suggestions. As a purely speculative exercise, I wonder whether the problematical sequence *sw* would be a copulative conjunction, etymologically equivalent to Carian *sb*, Milyan *sebe* 'and', in the following sequence:

<div align="center">euôēmeren ôanaei-s-wareiwati padosto</div>

Once again assuming *ô* = *θ*, we can attempt the following segmentation:

<div align="center">euôēmeren θanaei sw=areiwati padosto</div>

Where *θanaei* and *areiwati* could be datives coordinated by a conjunction *sw*. If *θanaei* represents /θana-i/, then this might be the dative of the goddess name Athena. As for *areiwati*, we could analyse it as another dative of a dental stem /areiwat-/ or /areiwant-/, which would probably be another theonym. Completing this highly speculative analysis, we might see an accusative in *euôēmeren* and a transitive verb in *padosto* (cf. supra our analysis as a possible preterite). If *padosto* had something to do with Lycian *pddē* 'place', it would be tempting to translate the entire sentence as "((s)he) placed the *euôēmere-* for Athena and Areiwa(n)t-. The word *euôēmere-* remains obscure. If *ô* must be read θ here, one might think of a Greek loanword (*euθēmere-*), but I cannot suggest direct connections to the Greek lexicon[4].

This analysis would imply that *sw* functions as a proclitic particle, in a way similar to Carian *sb.* Compare the Pisidian example with Carian:

θanaei sw=areiwati

šarnajs || sb=taqbos (E.xx 6)
paraeym : sb=polo (E.Me 8)

This analysis may appear convincing at first glance, but I stress that it is only a possibility; we have no grounds for favouring it over alternative interpretations, such as the proposed analysis of *θanaeis* as a genitive of a personal name.

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[4] The closest form I can give is the adjective αὐθήμερος 'made or done on the very day' and the corresponding adverb αὐθημερόν 'on the very day, on the same day, immediately'.

§11. In a paper published in the *Actas del IV Coloquio de lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas,* and entitled "Gramática de los plomos ibéricos" my *maestro* Jürgen Untermann concluded his attempt to segment and analyse the long Iberian texts on lead with the following words: "I beg the readers to forget as soon as possible all my hypotheses regarding the meanings of the Iberian words or morphemes. These suggestions are completely subjective and provisional, and they should not restrain the imagination of researchers in their interest to penetrate the secrets that the Iberian leads preserve. Moreover, the author of these lines is always ready to abandon his own hypotheses when new interpretations or new findings reveal them to be unfounded. In my opinion, the indispensable basis of all studies of this kind is the careful segmentation of the texts, and my aim was to draw attention to some pathways along which we can progress in order to accomplish a task that is still very far from having attained satisfactory results" (Untermann 1985–86: 51). Simply replacing 'Iberian' by 'Pisidian', I can think of no better way to conclude my own paper.

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Игнази-Шабьер Адиего. Самая пространная писидийская надпись (Kesme 2)

В статье автор дает анализ самой пространной писидийской надписи Kesme 2, недавно опубликованной Клодом Бриксом и Мехметом Озсаитом. Предлагается членение *scriptio continua* при помощи комбинаторного метода. Прослеживаются определенные связи с прочим писидийским языковым материалом, а также с другими лувическими языками, однако надпись по-прежнему остается в целом недоступным текстом.

Ключевые слова: писидийский, лувические диалекты, анатолийские языки, индоевропейские языки, греческая эпиграфика, Малая Азия