

Linguistic Strategies in Filiation Formulas: Data from Lycian-Greek Bilingual Texts

Stella Merlin – Valerio Pisaniello (University of Verona, ERC PALaC)

1. The Lycian-Greek bilingual corpus

TL 6 (Karmyleessos), TL 23 (Tlos), TL 25a (Tlos), TL 32 (Kadyanda), TL 44 (Xanthos), TL 45 A (Xanthos), TL 56 (Antiphellos), TL 70 (Kyana), TL 72 (Kyana), TL 117 (Limyra), TL 134 (Limyra), TL 139 (Limyra), TL 143 (Limyra), N 302 (Korydalla), N 312 (Xanthos), N 320 (Xanthos).

(emphasis marks the inscriptions useful for the present analysis)

2. Lycian patterns

(1) $PN_1 + PN_2^{gen.} + tideimi$ ‘child’

TL 1: *xudali* *zuhrijah* *tideimi*
nom.sg. gen.sg. nom.sg. ‘child’
‘Xudali, son of Zuhrija’

(2) $PN_1 (f.) + PN_2^{gen.} + tideimi$ ‘child’ / *kbatra* ‘daughter’

TL 27: *merimawaj[e]* *petēnēneh* *tideimi*
dat.sg. gen.sg. dat.sg. ‘child’
‘to Merimawa, daughter of Petēnēne’

TL 25: *tikeukēpre* ... *urtaqijahñ* *kbatru*
acc.sg. GenAdj.acc.sg. acc.sg. ‘daughter’
‘Tikeukēpre, daughter of Urtaqija’

(3) $PN_1 + PN_2^{gen.}$

TL 105: *esete:* *muleseh*
nom.sg. gen.sg.
‘Esete, (son) of Mulese’

(4) $PN_1 + PN_2^{gen.} (+ tideimi) + PN_3^{gen.} + tuhes$ ‘nephew’

TL 113: *pttar[a]zi* *urssm̃[mah]* ... *ddawahāmah* *tuhes*
nom.sg. gen.sg. gen.sg. nom.sg. ‘nephew’
‘Pttar[a]zi, (son) of Urssm̃[ma], ... nephew of Ddawahāma’

(5) $PN_1^{acc.} + PN_2^{gen.adj.acc.} + tideimi$

N 320: *eseimiju* *qñturahahñ* *tideimi*
acc.sg. GenAdj.acc.sg. acc.sg. ‘child’
‘Eseimija, son of Qñturaha’

(6) $PN_1^{acc.} + PN_2^{gen.} + tideimi / kbatru$

TL 28: [... ..] *prijabuhāmah* *kbatru*
[acc.sg.] gen.sg. acc.sg. ‘daughter’
‘[...], daughter of Prijabuhāma’

3. Greek patterns

- ❖ father's name in genitive case, with or without υἰός or παῖς / θυγάτηρ;
- ❖ derived patronymic adjective in -ιος;
- ❖ derived patronymic adjective in -(ι)δᾶς;
- ❖ derived patronymic adjective in -ίων.

4. Filiation formulas in Lycian-Greek bilingual texts

(7) TL 6:

Lyc.	<i>pulenjda</i>	<i>mullijeseh</i>	
Gr.	Ἀπολλωνίδης	Μολλίσιος	
Lyc.	<i>dapara</i>	<i>pulenjdah</i>	
Gr.	Λαπάρας	Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδου	
Lyc.	<i>purihimetehe</i>	<i>pr[ñ]n[e]zijehi</i>	
Gr.	Πυρμάτιος	οἰκεῖτοι	

(8) TL 25a:

Lyc.	<i>xssbezē:</i>	<i>krup[sseh]</i>	<i>tideimi:</i>	
Gr.	Πόρπαξ	Θρύπιος		
Lyc.	<i>purihime[teh]</i>	<i>tuhes:</i>		
Gr.	Πυρβάτους	ἀδελφιδούς		
Lyc.	<i>tikeukēprē</i>	...	<i>urtaqijahñ:</i>	<i>kbatru</i>
Gr.	Τισευσέμβραν	...	Ὀρτακία	θυγατέρ<α>
Lyc.	<i>prijenubehñ:</i>	<i>tuhesñ</i>		
Gr.	Πριανόβα	ἀδελφιδῆν		

(9) TL 45 A:

Lyc.	<i>pixe[s]ere</i>	<i>kat[amla]h</i>	
Gr.	Πιξώδαρος	Ἑκατόμ[νου ...]	

(10) TL 56:

Lyc.	<i>ixtta:</i>	<i>hlah:</i>	<i>tideimi:</i>
Gr.	Ἴκτας	Λᾶ	

(11) TL 72:

Lyc.	<i>xudali[j]ē:</i>	<i>murāzah[:]</i>	<i>tideimi:</i>
Gr.	Κυδαλη[ς]	...	Μορωζα υἱός

(12) TL 117:

Lyc.	<i>siderija:</i>	<i>pa[r]mnañ:</i>	<i>tideimi</i>
Gr.	Σιδάριος	Παρμένοντος	υἱός

(13) TL 143:

Gr. Κοδαρας Οσαίμιος
Lyc. *xudara:*

(14) N 302:

Gr. Σαπια Μαναπιμ[ι]ος [...]
Lyc. *ssepije:* *mahanepi[jemih:* *tideimi(?)]*

(15) N 312:

Gr. Δεμοκλ[ει]δης Θε[ρ]βεσιος
Lyc. *ñtemuxlida* *krbbe[s]eh*

(16) N 320:

Lyc. *pigesere:* *katamlah:* *tideimi:*
Gr. Πιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω ὑός

Lyc. *eseimiju:* *qñturahahñ:* *tideimi:*
Gr. Σιμίαν Κονδορασιος ὑόν

5. Greek strategies in Lycian-Greek bilinguals

- ❖ The father's name is always in genitive case: no patronymic adjective is involved (forms in -ιος are genitives of *i*-stems, as shown by Πυρμάτιος οἰκεῖτοι in TL 6 and Κονδορασιος ὑόν in N 320).
- ❖ Ὀρτακία and Πριανόβα (TL 25a), Λᾶ (TL 56), and Μορωζα (TL 72) are genitives in -α (*contra* Molina Valero 2009: 783, who regards Ὀρτακία and Πριανόβα as adjectives): they possibly represent the simple transposition of the corresponding Lycian names, but this does not compromise the Greek system, because it knows forms such as the Doric genitives (*-αο > -ᾶ), which spread also in the other dialects, possibly offering the model for a new rule that derives the genitive from the nominative minus -s (cf. Jannaris 1987 [1897]: 108, Schwyzer 1939: 561, Threatte 1996: 83-86).
- ❖ In Greek monolingual inscriptions: Ἐρμενδαδης Τεδικτα (H II 25), Ε[ρμ]απια θυγάτηρ (H II 28), Σέλλιος τοῦ Ποναμοα (H II 33), Κενδας Ασσᾶ υἱ[ὸς] (H II 34), etc.

6. Does Gr. υἰός calque Lyc. *tideimi*?

- ❖ Lyc. *tideimi* = Gr. υἰός: TL 72, TL 117, N 320 (2x)
- ❖ Lyc. Ø = Gr. Ø: TL 6 (2x), TL 45 A, N 312
- ❖ Lyc. *tideimi* = Gr. Ø: TL 25a, TL 56
- ❖ Not evaluable: TL 143 (no father's name in Lycian), N 302 (broken)

- ❖ Cf. also the use of υἰός in the Greek-Latin bilingual inscriptions from Delos, which, according to Adams (2004: 670-677), depends on the Latin pattern and has a sociolinguistically motivated distribution. Could sociolinguistic aspects be similarly taken into account with regard to the use of υἰός in Lycian-Greek bilinguals?

7. Does the lack of *tideimi* in Lycian calque the Greek use?

- ❖ Rutherford (2002: 212): «I would like to suggest that 'interference' has taken places in two directions. In TL i. 6 and TL i. 45 the normal Lycian filiation pattern has been altered in the context of the normal

Greek filiation pattern. In *TL* i. 117 and *XT* the Greek filiation pattern accommodates itself to the Lycian».

❖ **N 312:**

1 Δεμοκλ[εῖ]δης Θε[ρ]βεσιος	Demokl[i]des, (son) of The[r]besis,
2 Λιμυρεὺς ἀγαθῆι τύχηι	Limyorean, for the good luck
3 Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνέθηκεν	to Artemis offered.
4 ἡtemuxlida krbbe[s]eh	Ḥtemuxlida, (son) of Krbbe[s],
5 zemuris ertemi	Limyorean, to Artemis
6 xruwata	votive offerings.

8. The lack of the definite article in the Greek filiation formulas: a case of interference?

❖ According to some scholars, the lack of the definite article in the Greek filiation formulas is a contact-induced phenomenon (cf. Rutherford 2002: 208-209; Dardano 2015: 221).

a. Greek inscriptions from Lycia:

- TAM II 50 (Telmessos): Καλλιτέλης Καλλιτέλο[υ]; Π[ο]λύκλεια Δημητρίου; Διονύσιος Στράτωνος; Καλλιστράτα Καλλιτέλου; Ποσιδώνιος Διογνήτου; Ἀταλάντη Διονυσίου; Ἀδλ[α]σις Μανδαλάσιος; Σιγαδρας Κενδόνιος; Τελήτω Ἀδλάσιος; Δημητρίω Σιγάδρου
- TAM II 232 (Sidyma): Χρύσιππος Ζωσίμου
- TAM II 367 (Xanthos): Ζωσίμω Ἀσκληπιάδου; Ἄρσασις Διογνήτου
- TAM II 531 (Pinarra): Μόνομμα Ἰάσονος; Ἀ[ά]λλα Ἐρμακότου
- ...

b. Inscriptions from Greece:

- IG I² 909,1 (Attica): Χσάνθιππος Ἀρρίφρονος
- IG XII, 9 245 (Euboea): Θεόδοτος Φανέου, Φιλώνιχος Κεφάλου, Ποδώνυμος Εὐμαρείδου, Πύθαρχος Ἀντιάλκου, etc.
- IG VII 2721 (Boeotia): Θιοτέλεις Μνασίππω, Μνάσαρχος Πί[νθ]ωνος, Θιόδωρος Μνασάρ[χω], etc.
- ...

❖ Meisterhans (1900: 223-224): «Auch der anaphorische Artikel bei Personennamen (vor dem Vaternamen) ist der offiziellen Sprache fremd [...] Ausserhalb der offiziellen Sprache erscheint aber vielfach der Artikel [...] Immer steht der Artikel, auch in Dekreten, wenn der erstere der beiden Namen (der Name des Sohnes) schon ein Genetiv ist. In diesem Fall musste die Zusammenhörigkeit der beiden Namen äusserlich durch den Artikel angedeutet werden».

❖ Gildersleeve (1904, II: 266): «The masculine or feminine article with the genitive merely shows connexion. *ὁ* is commonly *son*, and *ἡ* commonly *daughter*, but the precise relation is to be determined from the context. The construction is not used in official documents except in the genitive case, in which the article is obligatory».

❖ See also Miller (1916) on the Greek Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

SON	ART	FATHER
Nom./Acc./Dat.	–	Gen.
Gen.	+	Gen.

c. In Lycia:

- TAM I 5 (Telmessos): Διογένην Διογένου **τοῦ** Διογένου **τοῦ** Σωσικλέου

- TAM I 73 (Kyana): Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀλεξίου
- TAM II 40 (Telmessos): Μοσχίωνος τοῦ Πεδετέριος
- ...

9. Conclusions

- ❖ All the Greek filiation formulas involve a genitive: no patronymic adjective was found.
- ❖ It is likely that υἰός in the Greek filiation formulas calques Lyc. *tideimi*. Conversely, the lack of *tideimi* in Lycian is more difficult to evaluate, but it could depend on the Greek custom at least in N 312.
- ❖ The lack of the definite article in Greek filiation formulas is fully consistent with the Greek epigraphic practice, being definitely not a contact-induced phenomenon.

References

- Adams, J.N. (2004), *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge.
- Dardano, P. (2015), Le iscrizioni bilingui licio-greche nel loro contesto socio-storico: tipi e funzioni a confronto, in G. Marotta, F. Rovai (eds.), *Ancient Languages between Variation and Norm (= Studi e Saggi Linguistici 53/2)*, Pisa, pp. 207-226.
- Gildersleeve, B.L. (1904), *Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes*, New York – Cincinnati – Chicago.
- H II = Wörrle, M. (2012), H II. Die griechischen Sepulkralinschriften von Limyra, in J. Borchhardt, A. Pekridou-Gorecki (eds.), *Limyra. Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike*, Wien.
- IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- Jannaris, A.N. (1987 [1897¹]), *An Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as written and spoken from classical antiquity down to the present time. Founded upon the ancient texts, inscriptions, papyri and present popular Greek*, Hildesheim.
- Meisterhans, K. (1900), *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, Berlin.
- Miller, C.W.E. (1916), Note on the Use of the Article before the Genitive of the Father's Name in Greek Papyri, *The American Journal of Philology* 37/3, pp. 341-348.
- Molina Valero, C. (2009), Syntaxis comparada de las inscripciones bilingües greco-licias, *Interlingüística* 18, pp. 779-788.
- N = Neumann, G. (1979), *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*, Wien.
- Rutherford, I. (2002), Interference or Translationese? Some Patterns in Lycian-Greek Bilingualism, in J.N. Adams, M. Janse, S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*, Oxford, pp. 197-219.
- Schwyzler, E. (1939), *Griechische Grammatik. Auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik. Erster Band. Allgemeiner Teil – Lautlehre – Wortbildung – Flexion*, München.
- TAM = *Tituli Asiae Minoris*.
- Threatte, L. (1996), *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions. II. Morphology*, Berlin – New York.
- TL = Kalinka, E. (1901), *Tituli Lyciae lingua lycia conscripti (= TAM I)*, Wien.

Note: The project PALaC has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299).