



UNIVERSITAT DE  
BARCELONA

## Lexicon of the Phrygian Inscriptions

Bartomeu Obrador Cursach

**ADVERTIMENT.** La consulta d'aquesta tesi queda condicionada a l'acceptació de les següents condicions d'ús: La difusió d'aquesta tesi per mitjà del servei TDX ([www.tdx.cat](http://www.tdx.cat)) i a través del Dipòsit Digital de la UB ([diposit.ub.edu](http://diposit.ub.edu)) ha estat autoritzada pels titulars dels drets de propietat intel·lectual únicament per a usos privats emmarcats en activitats d'investigació i docència. No s'autoritza la seva reproducció amb finalitats de lucre ni la seva difusió i posada a disposició des d'un lloc aliè al servei TDX ni al Dipòsit Digital de la UB. No s'autoritza la presentació del seu contingut en una finestra o marc aliè a TDX o al Dipòsit Digital de la UB (framing). Aquesta reserva de drets afecta tant al resum de presentació de la tesi com als seus continguts. En la utilització o cita de parts de la tesi és obligat indicar el nom de la persona autora.

**ADVERTENCIA.** La consulta de esta tesis queda condicionada a la aceptación de las siguientes condiciones de uso: La difusión de esta tesis por medio del servicio TDR ([www.tdx.cat](http://www.tdx.cat)) y a través del Repositorio Digital de la UB ([diposit.ub.edu](http://diposit.ub.edu)) ha sido autorizada por los titulares de los derechos de propiedad intelectual únicamente para usos privados enmarcados en actividades de investigación y docencia. No se autoriza su reproducción con finalidades de lucro ni su difusión y puesta a disposición desde un sitio ajeno al servicio TDR o al Repositorio Digital de la UB. No se autoriza la presentación de su contenido en una ventana o marco ajeno a TDR o al Repositorio Digital de la UB (framing). Esta reserva de derechos afecta tanto al resumen de presentación de la tesis como a sus contenidos. En la utilización o cita de partes de la tesis es obligado indicar el nombre de la persona autora.

**WARNING.** On having consulted this thesis you're accepting the following use conditions: Spreading this thesis by the TDX ([www.tdx.cat](http://www.tdx.cat)) service and by the UB Digital Repository ([diposit.ub.edu](http://diposit.ub.edu)) has been authorized by the titular of the intellectual property rights only for private uses placed in investigation and teaching activities. Reproduction with lucrative aims is not authorized nor its spreading and availability from a site foreign to the TDX service or to the UB Digital Repository. Introducing its content in a window or frame foreign to the TDX service or to the UB Digital Repository is not authorized (framing). Those rights affect to the presentation summary of the thesis as well as to its contents. In the using or citation of parts of the thesis it's obliged to indicate the name of the author.

# Lexicon of the Phrygian Inscriptions

Bartomeu Obrador Cursach

Doctoral dissertation supervised and advised by

Prof. Dr. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego Lajara

in

Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Studies,  
Cultures and Languages of the Ancient World  
and Their Lasting Presence

University of Barcelona, Faculty of Philology  
Department of Classical, Romance and Semitic Philology



UNIVERSITAT DE  
BARCELONA

2018



*Als meus pares, Tomeu i Eulàlia,  
com a penyora de gratitud i afecte  
pels capvespres de lectura als terrats.*



## ABSTRACT

Phrygian is a fragmentary Indo-European language recorded in inscriptions found mainly in central Anatolia, dated to between ca. 800 BC and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The main objective of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive analysis of all the Phrygian words attested in these Phrygian inscriptions, using a dictionary structure. The result is an overview of the preserved Phrygian lexicon. Although the Phrygian texts are classified as belonging to one of three stages on the basis of chronology, linguistic features, script and contents (Old Phrygian, Middle Phrygian and New Phrygian), the whole lexicon has been compiled in a single dictionary. Before dealing with the main objective, a catalogue of all the known Phrygian inscriptions was created. Although the Old Phrygian inscriptions were collected by Brixhe and Lejeune (with Brixhe's supplements), other inscriptions not considered in their corpus have been included here. An *editio maior* of the all New Phrygian inscriptions is still lacking and a complete catalogue was needed. Our work on the Phrygian language therefore began with the compilation of this catalogue. The middle stage of Phrygian is essentially attested by a single large epitaph, well edited by Brixhe. Consequently, this dissertation also offers a catalogue of the Phrygian inscriptions on which the study of the lexicon is based. Also addressed are the value of some letters of the Phrygian alphabet, used in the first stage of the language, and the segmentation of the inscriptions which employ *scriptio continua*. Once these preliminary problems have been dealt with, each segmented word is analysed, under one lemma when multiple forms are attested. Together with morphological analysis and examination of context, prior studies are corroborated by the current knowledge of Phrygian, when possible. Information from other fields such as Ancient Greek, the Anatolian languages and general Indo-European studies is also considered. Indeed, the comparative method is essential in this work, although context is constantly consulted in order to avoid purely etymological speculations. Innovative, personal contributions are often given, although many words remain unexplained because of the fragmentation of the inscriptions and the noteworthy abundance of hapax. After the detailed study of each word, a short grammar is built on the basis of the lexicon; this chapter is offered as an updated introduction to the Phrygian language.

## EXTRACTE

El frigi és una llengua indoeuropea fragmentària documentada per inscripcions trobades al centre d'Anatòlia des d'aproximadament el 800 a.C. fins al s. III d.C. L'objectiu d'aquesta tesi doctoral és oferir una anàlisi completa de tots els mots documentats en aquestes inscripcions en forma de diccionari per a tenir una visió de conjunt del que s'ha preservat de la llengua frígia. Malgrat la divisió dels textos frigis en tres estadis prou diferenciats (paleofrigi, frigi mitjà i neofrigi) tant pel que fa a llur cronologia, trets lingüístics, com l'escriptura emprada i els continguts dels texts, tot el material ha estat distribuït en un únic diccionari. Abans de procedir a aquest estudi, però, s'ha confeccionat un recopilació de totes les inscripcions conegudes. Si bé en el cas del paleofrigi aquest a feina fou feta de forma exemplar per Brixhe i Lejeune (i els suplementos posteriors de Brixhe), s'han incorporat algunes altres inscripcions. Per altra banda, la situació de les inscripcions neofrígies era més precària per la manca d'un corpus actualitzat, motiu pel qual començarem la nostra intervenció en aquest punt. L'estadi intermedi consisteix bàsicament en un llarg epitafi ben editat per Brixhe. El resultat és un catàleg crític de les inscripcions frígies (ofert a la mateixa tesi) que serveix de base per a l'estudi lexicogràfic. Altres dificultats prèvies encarades són el valor d'algunes lletres de l'alfabet frigi, emprat en el primer estadi de la llengua, i la segmentació de les mateixes inscripcions en què es fa ús de la *scriptio continua*. Una vegada considerades aquestes qüestions prèvies, s'ha procedit a analitzar cada un dels segments, agrupats sota un mateix lemma en cas de tenir diverses formes d'un mateix mot. Juntament amb una anàlisi morfològica i contextual i, sempre que sigui possible, es consideren les anàlisis anteriors confrontant-les amb el coneixement actual del frigi, el grec antic, l'anatolística i la indoeuropeística en general. El mètode històric comparatiu és essencial en aquesta tasca, si bé el context és constantment considerat per a evitar especulacions purament etimològiques. Sovint, aquest lèxic ofereix noves interpretacions pròpies, encara que per mor de la fragmentació i els hàpax són molts els mots dels quals ben poca cosa es pot dir. Després d'un estudi detallat de cada mot, s'ofereix també un buidatge de les dades que se'n poden extreure en forma de petita gramàtica frígia que serveix com a introducció actualitzada a aquesta llengua.

## Table of Contents

Table of Figures .....	5
Table of Tables .....	6
Acknowledgments.....	7
1. Introduction.....	9
1.1. Purposes, aims and overview .....	10
1.2. Methodology.....	11
1.3. Abbreviations .....	13
1.3.1. Languages and Greek dialects .....	13
1.3.2. Reconstruction, grammar and text .....	13
1.3.3. Greek and Latin Authors and works.....	14
1.4. Conventions.....	15
1.4.1. Linguistic conventions .....	15
1.4.2. Epigraphical conventions .....	15
2. Direct sources for the Phrygian language: the epigraphical subcorpora .....	17
2.1. The Old Phrygian subcorpus.....	18
2.1.1. Contexts of the Old Phrygian inscriptions .....	18
2.1.2. Old Phrygian writing materials.....	23
2.2. The New Phrygian subcorpus .....	27
3. The scripts used to note the Phrygian language.....	31
3.1. The Phrygian alphabet.....	31
3.1.1. The letter CIPPh no. 18: the Phrygian yod, <y> .....	35
3.1.2. The letter CIPPh no. 19: the arrow-letter ↑ .....	35
3.1.3. The letters CIPPh no. 20 and 23: variants of <k>.....	38
3.1.4. The letter CIPPh no. 21: the unparalleled Phrygian “qof”.....	48
3.1.5. The obscure letter CIPPh no. 22 .....	48
3.1.6. The letter CIPPh no. 24: an 8-shaped variant of <b> .....	49
3.1.7. The non-phonetic signs.....	50
3.2. The use of the Greek alphabet .....	52
3.2.1. MPhr-01, the first Phrygian inscription in Greek alphabet.....	52
3.2.2. The Greek alphabet of the New Phrygian inscriptions .....	54
4. The Phrygian language.....	59
4.1. Phrygian phonology .....	59
4.1.1. Vowel system .....	59
4.1.2. The consonant system .....	61
4.2. Morphology .....	69
4.2.1. Nominal and Pronominal Morphology .....	69
4.2.2. Verbal morphology .....	84
4.2.3. Prepositions, preverbs, conjunctions and particles .....	91
4.3. Notes on syntax.....	95
4.3.1. Case uses .....	95
4.3.2. Word order .....	96
4.3.3. Remarks on Lubotsky’s rection rule.....	97
4.4. Lexicon .....	98
4.5. The place of Phrygian in the Indo-European language family.....	101
4.5.1. Phonological isoglosses .....	103
4.5.2. Morphological isoglosses .....	103

4.5.3. Lexical isoglosses.....	104
4.6. Phrygian in contact .....	106
4.6.1. Phrygian in contact with Greek .....	106
4.6.2. Phrygian in contact with the Anatolian languages .....	115
4.6.3. Phrygian in contact with Aramaic.....	120
4.6.4. Phrygian in contact with Old Persian .....	121
4.6.5. Phrygian in contact with Elamite .....	123
4.6.6. Phrygian in contact with Assyrian? .....	123
4.6.7. Phrygian in contact with Galatian.....	123
4.6.8. Phrygian in contact with Latin .....	123
5. Lexicon of the Phrygian inscriptions.....	125
A (a) - A α .....	127
B (b) - B β .....	155
Γ (g) - Γ γ.....	161
Δ (d) - Δ δ.....	165
E (e) - E ε.....	175
F (v).....	189
Z ζ .....	197
H η .....	199
Θ θ.....	201
I (i) - I ι.....	203
K (k) - K κ .....	213
Λ (l) - Λ λ .....	229
M (m) - M μ.....	233
N (n) - N ν .....	247
Ξ ξ.....	253
O (o) - O ο .....	255
Π (p) - Π π.....	265
P (r) - P ρ .....	275
Σ (s) - Σ σ.....	277
T (t) - T τ.....	285
Υ (u) - Υ υ .....	301
Ϛ (y) .....	305
Υ .....	307
↑ .....	309
Acephalous words.....	311
6. The indirect sources: the glosses.....	337
7. Conclusions .....	345
Catalogue of the Phrygian inscriptions .....	347
Old Phrygian Inscriptions.....	349
M - Midas City (Midas Kenti, Yazılıkaya) .....	349
W - West-Phrygia (excluding Midas City).....	355
B - Bithynia.....	361
G - Gordion (Yassıhüyük).....	367
C- Central Phrygia (excluding Gordion) .....	403
P - Pteria (Alacahöyük, Pazarlı and Boğazkale) .....	404
T- Tyana (Tuwanuwa, Kemerhisar) .....	408
K - Kerkenes Dağ.....	410
NW - Dorylaion (near Eskişehir).....	412
Dd - Diverse documents.....	417
HP - Dispersed inscriptions found outside Phrygia .....	418

Middle Phrygian Inscriptions .....	421
New Phrygian Inscriptions.....	423
1. Eskişehir (Dorylaion) .....	423
2. Seyitgazi (Nakoleia).....	424
3. Çavdarhisar (Aizanoi) .....	426
4. Üçyüük .....	427
5. Ortaköy (formerly Alikel Yaila, Orkistos) .....	428
6. Bağlıca .....	428
7. Erten .....	429
8. Güney.....	431
9. Beyköyü.....	432
10. Gökçeyayla (formerly Orhaniye and Kilise, near Malos).....	432
11. Bayat (*Etsyena) .....	433
12. Akpınar.....	435
13. Özburun .....	436
14. Göynük .....	436
15. Sopalının köprü .....	437
16. Gezler Köyü .....	437
17. Afyonkarahisar (Akroenos).....	438
18. Sülümenli (Augustopolis).....	441
19. Sülün (formerly Süğlün, Prymnessos) .....	443
20. Bolvadin (Polybotos).....	444
21. Kocaöz (formerly Feleli) .....	445
22. Işıklar.....	447
23. Kuzören (Selmea) .....	448
24. Efesultan .....	449
25. Şuhut (Synnada) .....	449
26. Inlı .....	450
27. İcikli .....	451
28. Sağır .....	452
29. Yukarıkaşıkara .....	452
30. Karadilli.....	453
31. Büyükkabaca .....	454
32. Alcıbar - Senirkent .....	455
33. Yassören .....	456
34. Senirkent .....	457
35. Uluborlu (Apollonia) .....	458
36. Şarkıkaraağaç (Tetrapolis).....	458
37. Akşehir (Philomelion).....	460
38. Doğanhisar (near Hadrianoupolis) .....	461
39. Argıtanı .....	461
40. İlgin (*Lageina) .....	462
41. Mahmuthisar.....	464
42. Söğütözü .....	465
43. Kadınhanı.....	465
44. Ladik .....	466
45. Kurşunlu.....	468
46. Sarayönü .....	468
47. Zıvarıkhan - Altınekin .....	469
48. Çeşmelisebi .....	470
49. İnsuyu.....	471

50. Böğrüdelik .....	472
51. Çarbaşı Yayla.....	473
52. Sarıkaya.....	473
53. Kelhasan.....	474
54. Bulduk .....	476
55. Küçükbeşkavak .....	476
56. Büyük Beşkavak.....	477
57. Kandil .....	479
58. Hatırlı .....	480
59. Kozanlı.....	480
60. Kerpiç .....	483
61. Saatlı - Modanlı.....	485
62. Sinanlı.....	485
63. Davulga (near Amorion).....	489
64. Peribeyli .....	490
65. Aşağıperibeyli (Petinessos).....	491
66. Turgut.....	493
Appendix: Greek inscriptions enumerated in the traditional list of New Phrygian inscriptions .....	495
Abbreviations and Bibliography .....	501
Abbreviations .....	501
Bibliography .....	503
Concordances.....	529
Indices .....	551
I. Common words .....	551
II. Personal names.....	559
III. Divine names .....	562
Maps .....	563

## Table of Figures

Fig. 1 Door-stele from Prynnessos (modern Sülün) containing the New Phrygian text 19.1 (96; Kelp 2013, 80 Fig. 4.10) .....	28
Fig. 2 Photograph of G-145 (Young 1969, pl. 70 no. 72) .....	39
Fig. 3 Photograph of G-115 (Obrador-Cursach) .....	40
Fig. 4 Detail of the façade W-01 with the discussed text (Obrador-Cursach) .....	41
Fig. 5 Weight with the Phrygian inscription G-249 ( <i>CIPPh</i> I, 195 and II, CVI no. 3-4) .....	42
Fig. 6 Detail of <i>daY et</i> in W-01b (Obrador-Cursach) .....	47
Fig. 7 Drawing of G-106 according to <i>CIPPh</i> (I, 101) .....	48
Fig. 8 Photograph of G-106 published by Young (1969, pl. 68 no. 32) .....	49
Fig. 9 Drawing of G-244 according to <i>CIPPh</i> (I, 192) .....	49
Fig. 10 G-346, K-01V and K-01VI+VIIa (Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 155-156 and Brixhe & Summers 2006, 121-122) .....	51
Fig. 11 Capacity signs found on Gordion pithoi with Phrygian graffiti, drawings by R. S. Young (1969) .....	52
Fig. 12 Old Phrygian inscription Dd-102 (Musées d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, inv. no. 023469 © Musées d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, photographer: Monique Delley) .....	119

## Table of Tables

Table 1 Gordion (Yassihöyük) chronology according to Rose & Darbyshire.....	20
Table 2 The Old Phrygian inscriptions according to writing material.....	26
Table 3 Comparison between the Old and the New Phrygian subcorpora .....	29
Table 4 Comparison of the Phoenician abjad, Classical Greek and Phrygian alphabets.....	33
Table 5 Chart of Phrygian letters according to <i>CIPPh</i> I, 280 .....	34
Table 6 Suggested classification of the Phrygian letters .....	34
Table 7 Contexts and occurrences of $\uparrow$ .....	37
Table 8 The Phoenician letter <i>gīml</i> and its reflections in other alphabets as hypothetically suggested here.....	38
Table 9 Comparison between W-01b and the common NPhr. apodosis.....	41
Table 10 Shapes of <s> in M-01a.....	46
Table 11 K and Y in B-07 (stele from Daskyleion).....	47
Table 12 The Phrygian vowel system.....	59
Table 13 Phrygian consonant system .....	61
Table 14 Proto-Indo-European stops .....	64
Table 15 Phrygian developments of the PIE velars.....	66
Table 16 The Phrygian treatment of PIE laryngeals .....	68
Table 17 A-stem endings .....	69
Table 18 The o-stem endings.....	71
Table 19 C-stem endings .....	72
Table 20 Possible inflection of the personal name Manes.....	73
Table 21 PIE and Phrygian inflection of the suffix $*-m\bar{n}$ in sg.....	74
Table 22 PIE and Phrygian inflection of the suffix $*-u(e)nt-$ .....	74
Table 23 $*-t\bar{e}r$ inflection in PIE and Phrygian .....	76
Table 24 Inflection of the Phrygian demonstrative pronoun <i>si-</i> , $\sigma\alpha-$ .....	77
Table 25 The inflection of the anaphoric pronoun $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .....	79
Table 26 Inflection of $\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and <i>venavtun</i> .....	81
Table 27 The Phrygian relative pronoun.....	81
Table 28 The Phrygian indefinite pronoun <i>kos</i> , <i>kin</i> .....	82
Table 29 Comparison of Phrygian and Greek $\tau\iota\varsigma$ , $\tau\iota$ .....	83
Table 30 Inflection of the Phrygian possessive pronoun.....	83
Table 31 3sg. and 3pl. imperative endings .....	87
Table 32 Summary of the identified Phrygian prepositions and preverb .....	93
Table 33 Classification of the lemmata considered in the Lexicon of the Phrygian Inscriptions .....	100
Table 34 Comparison of Phrygian features with Greek, Armenian, Albanian and Indo-Iranian .....	105
Table 35 Equivalences between the Phrygian and Greek texts of B-05.....	106
Table 36 Classification of the glosses regarding their relationship with Phrygian.....	344

## Acknowledgments

Writing this PhD dissertation has taken more than four-and-a-half years, from September 2012 to October 2017. During this long period, I have been assisted and accompanied by many people to whom I wish to offer my thanks publicly. First of all, I want to thank my whole family, and especially my parents, who encouraged me to go on in many difficult moments. I reserve special gratitude for Ixiar Iturzaeta Goikoetxea, who accompanied me (and endured stoically) throughout most of the time I spent in Barcelona: eskerrik asko bidai guzti honetan nire alboan izategatik.

Also, I must thank the friends and colleagues who helped me in the task of gathering all the relevant publications: Julia Abajo San Martín, Alicia Calvo Panera, Henning Haselmann, Eva Llabrés Llambies, Carlos Molina Valero and Josep Querol Donat. I reserve special thanks for Diego Corral Varela, who not only assisted me in this work but also gave generously of his time in responding to my endless consultations and mapping the corpus: tibi qui haec omnia passus es gratias maximas ago.

I am indebted to Peter Cottee for his revision of my English. Needless to say, all the possible errors are my own responsibility. I am also grateful to the following scholars, who were solicitous in answering my questions and requests: Alexandru Avram, Scott Branting, Lorenzo d'Alfonso, José Virgilio García Trabazo, Hermann Genz, Annelies Hämmig, Alwin Kloekhorst, Alexander Lubotsky, Julián Méndez Dosuna, Alan Nussbaum, Blanca María Prósper, Marijana Ricl, Marco Antonio Santamaría Álvarez, Simon Zsolt, Ilya Yakubovich and José Ángel Zamora. I must stress the help offered during these years by M<sup>a</sup> Paz de Hoz García-Bellido, who also introduced me to Greek epigraphy and the Phrygian world.

In addition, I want to thank both Mariona Vernet Pons and Elena Martínez Rodríguez, who helped and accompanied me during the research project. I am also grateful to the members of the IPOA, especially Adelina Millet Albà and Lluís Feliu Mateu, for their assistance. Thanks are also due to Ernest Marcos Hierro, who, despite the frenetic activity of his charges, always found time to help me.

I cannot conclude this list without expressing particular gratitude to Ignasi-Xavier Adiego Lajara, who supervised this work. His deep knowledge of Indo-European linguistics and his active research into fragmentary languages over the last decades have filled many gaps in my knowledge, the fruit of my inexperience.

Finally, I must add that, against the backdrop of such a severe financial crisis, writing this dissertation would have been impossible without the doctoral research scholarship granted by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry, and Competitiveness (BES-2013-062696) for my work as part of the research project “Los ‘dialectos lúvicos’ del grupo anatolio indoeuropeo: aproximaciones genéticas y areales” (FFI2012-32672).



## 1. Introduction

ὄκωσπερ σάρμα εἰκῆ κεχυμένων ὁ κάλλιστος κόσμος  
(Heraclitus B 124)

Phrygian is a fragmentary ancient language and much of its corpus remains unexplained, despite the efforts of scholars over the last century. The language is still being deciphered, and new inscriptions and interpretations appear in scientific journals year after year. It is a fact that many difficulties and limitations complicate our understanding of the Phrygian texts, yet it is no less true that Phrygian is edifying in many respects, particularly for the linguistic new information it provides and the historical implications of the texts. This explains why the critical study of Phrygian is increasing among scholars. Mallory and Adams (2006, 37), for example, are explicitly aware of its value, as they state in their introduction to Proto-Indo-European: “of all the minor languages, Phrygian has probably the greatest claim to consideration”.

Nonetheless, only a handful of people are working on Phrygian with full scientific rigour. The explanation for this scenario can be found in the lack of works that provide an introduction to or comprehensive up-to-date study of the Phrygian language. We have excellent editions of the Old Phrygian inscriptions by Brixhe and Lejeune (*CIPPh* and Brixhe’s supplements), but an *editio maior* of the all New Phrygian inscriptions is still lacking. Some Phrygian lexica exist, but they offer arbitrary interpretations<sup>1</sup> or new discoveries in historical phonology invalidate a significant part of them. Indeed, *ad hoc* interpretations are found elsewhere in many lexical approaches to Phrygian. Finally, there is the successful updated grammatical overview of the Phrygian language by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013), but it is a concise work whose findings are to be applied to the whole corpus.

Therefore, dealing with Phrygian is a near-Sisyphean task: great effort and poor results. Although frustration is always a factor when working with fragmentary languages, Phrygian offers many possibilities that other ancient corpora do not. Its corpus is not closed and many ongoing digs, such as in Kerkenes Dağ, are promising with regard to the appearance of new texts. The context of such texts is more extensively and more effectively studied. From a historical and archaeological point of view, Central Anatolia during the Iron Age is not as obscure as it was and, with specific regard to language and culture, knowledge of the surrounding Anatolian languages and the contents of their preserved inscriptions has increased considerably in the last decades. In addition, the study of the influence of “local cultures” (as Hellenists refer to this phenomenon) on Greek epigraphy in Anatolia also provides useful information that must be considered when analysing a Phrygian inscription.

Unfortunately, leaving aside some significant exceptions, Anatolists and Hellenists ignored the Phrygian question because Phrygian does not belong to the Anatolian branch of Indo-European languages and it is not Greek, although they have much to say on this matter. Indeed, Phrygian texts must be studied in the cultural context of Iron Age and Roman Anatolia and from a comparative Indo-European perspective combined with internal reconstruction. In any case, this information related to the Phrygian world – but not always considered – is relevant in the decipherment of this language.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Martin West’s criticism (2003, 78) of Orel’s book on Phrygian (1997a): “nearly all of this seems to be as arbitrary and ad hoc as much of the exegetical material in Orel’s useful but unsatisfactory work”. Orel also published a Phrygian vocabulary in the journal *Orpheus* (1997b) but this work will be not considered here because it mainly reproduces the vocabulary offered in his book.

## 1.1. Purposes, aims and overview

The main objective of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive analysis of all the Phrygian words attested in the Phrygian inscriptions. As addressed in § 4.6.1.5 and § 6, there are some words transmitted in Greek sources, although their filiation is not always clear and the indirect transmission affects their quality as a source. Therefore, the lexicon contained in the inscriptions must be the basis of any approach to Phrygian, while borrowings and glosses in Greek must be studied in the light of the epigraphic material.

As has been said, this PhD dissertation is intended to fill what some scholars have identified as an important gap in Phrygian studies. Indeed, I agree with Woodhouse, for instance, that this kind of work was needed in our field: “[t]he situation of Phrygian is very similar to that of Lydian. If anyone is looking for a PhD / Kandidat project, I think there is probably room for a book like Gusmani’s *Lydisches Wörterbuch* that would contain not the biased conclusions of one scholar but an annotated compendium of whatever useful interpretations have been advanced for each interpreted word that has been divined in the corpus or corpora” (2009, 176). This first objective is the core of this dissertation and corresponds to chapter § 5.

I must acknowledge the usefulness of Gusmani’s *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (1964) and Neumann’s *Glossar des Lykischen* (2007) as models for building the Phrygian lexicon. However, the lexical tradition of the former Department of Latin Philology and Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Barcelona has provided me with useful examples of how to deal with fragmentary languages.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, my dissertation is not the first analysis of this subject to be defended at this university: ten years ago Morante Mediavilla wrote about the history of Phrygian studies (2007) in an unpublished work where she gives a useful and detailed study of the first approaches to this language.

Nevertheless, before attempting to list all the Phrygian terms preserved in the inscriptions I have had to compile all the known Phrygian inscriptions. This is the key secondary objective of the dissertation. As has been said above, most of the Old Phrygian inscriptions were gathered and well edited in the Brixhe and Lejeune corpus (*CIPPh*) with Brixhe’s supplements (2002a and 2004a). However, some findings were not included. The situation of the New Phrygian inscriptions is more precarious: no critical edition of the whole corpus was published. I endeavoured to remedy this with my master’s dissertation (2013), but since I was unable to corroborate all of the data of the preserved inscription (not the most, by the way), I produced what can be best described as a catalogue, containing critical remarks on the texts. This academic work, with many corrections and additions, forms the basis of the one presented and used here. The full catalogue of the Phrygian inscriptions is given at the end of the dissertation.

Another secondary objective is to present an overview of the Phrygian language as gleaned from the Phrygian inscriptions. This is intended to join together the available data and to identify the *ad hoc* explanations that are inconsistent with the main evidence. The outcome is essentially an overview of the Phrygian language (§ 4) based on the lexicon. During the writing of this dissertation, this exercise proved as useful means of improving the different entries in the lexicon. Finally, in my analysis of the Phrygian lexicon I considered it interesting to devote some pages to the glosses, with the exception of the onomastic ones (§ 6). The main objective of this chapter is to show how our knowledge of the epigraphical lexicon can be used to corroborate the filiation of each entry and their connection with directly transmitted words.

Finally, I conclude the dissertation with indexes of terms from the other languages used here and epigraphical correspondences, in order to make the work easier to use both for scholars accustomed to previous studies in the literature and for those from other fields who

---

<sup>2</sup> I refer to works such as Adiego study of Carian (2007) and the dissertations of Velaza (1991) and Moncunill (2007) on Iberian, among others.

have an interest in Phrygian. Indeed, this dissertation aims to be a useful tool for anyone wishing to discover what Phrygian linguistic materials exist and what we know about these materials.

## 1.2. Methodology

The basis of this study is the epigraphical corpus, because the inscriptions provide a guaranteed source of Phrygian material. Nevertheless, the necessary first step is to “use a correctly-edited and judicious corpus of inscriptions”.<sup>3</sup> For the OPhr. subcorpus I used as a reference Brixhe and Lejeune’s *CIPPh* and its supplements, but I also considered some inscriptions not gathered before (mainly edited by Brixhe himself). The criteria for considering those inscriptions not included in *CIPPh* as Phrygian are as follows: the script must be the Phrygian alphabet, the features of the linguistic material they contain must be consistent with our knowledge of Phrygian, and their contexts must be chronologically defensible as Phrygian. In any case, instances that cannot be fully confirmed are duly noted in the catalogue of inscriptions (§ 7). I followed the enumeration of the OPhr. inscriptions provided in the *CIPPh* and supplements. The only exception is MPhr-01 (W-11), which is not classed here as an OPhr. text because of its exceptional features (a Phrygian text written in the Greek script in the early Hellenistic period). Inscriptions written in Phrygian script are given in transliteration, while those written in the Greek alphabet are given in standardised classical Greek form, although particularities in the shape of the letters are indicated when known.

Because of the similarity between the Phrygian and Greek scripts and the occurrences of words in both the OPhr. and NPhr. subcorpora, the value of most of the Phrygian letters is known. However, some letters lack a direct counterpart or are used in a different way. Such cases are dealt with in chapter § 3.1, where I discuss the status of the sign and the assigned phonetic value through the contexts in which they appear. Although I deviate from the traditional interpretation of *CIPPh* letters no. 20 and 23, which I consider mere variants of <k>, I did not transliterate them in order to show where these discussed letters appear.

As has been said, NPhr. is more problematic because a judicious corpus of inscriptions is lacking (see also § 2.2). I have had to work with my own catalogue. New findings are excellently edited by Brixhe and Lubotsky in collaboration with other scholars but most of the inscriptions are only known through copies. Unfortunately, I was unable to see for myself the preserved impression of the NPhr. inscription 11.2 (18). Since the traditional numbering of this corpus is defective (Brixhe 1999, 286), I renumbered the inscriptions according to the place where they appeared, starting from North-West Phrygia. Nevertheless, I also provide the old numbering in order to facilitate the use of this work.

All inscriptions considered in the catalogue are introduced by number and with a brief description based on prior editions. After the inscription itself, I have added a critical apparatus with the most relevant alternative readings. While the insertion of this apparatus is not frequent in Old Phrygian, since the *CIPPh* improved on previous editions, for New Phrygian I chose to be more exhaustive due to the lack of a prior critical corpus.

Another matter that must be considered before working with the Phrygian lexicon is determining the segmentation of the texts, since *scriptio continua* occurs elsewhere in the Phrygian corpus. Indeed, establishing word boundaries is a difficult task in a language that has not been fully deciphered. I followed the *CIPPh* method and Lubotsky’s reference work on B-01 (1993b). When a sequence does not occur more than once, the segmentation is based on morphological and orthographic reasoning. However, sometimes the data to detect a boundary are lacking.

---

<sup>3</sup> I take the formulation of this basic criterion from Valério 2016, 32, which is, in turn, mainly based on Pope 1999 and Duhoux, Palaima and Bennett 1989.

The lexicon in chapter § 5 is based on the suggested segmentation. I grouped the various attested forms of the same word in a single entry to avoid redundancy. However, “calling lemmata” with the all forms are also given in order to redirect the reader to the place where the word is analysed. Note that many calling lemmata are preceded by a *crux* to indicate that the segmentation is no longer deemed valid, despite being commonly found in prior works. In the case of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, the sg.nom. is the preferred lemma form. However, very often the sg.nom. is lacking, in which case the most frequent form is chosen as the lemma.

Unfortunately, we do not know the original order of the Phrygian alphabet. Nevertheless, since some words written in Phrygian script also occur in Greek script and must be studied together, I preferred to merge the lexicon of all corpora following the common Greek order. Of course, the result is an artificial order of the lemmata, as follows:

<i>a</i> / α	<i>v</i> / ƒ	<i>l</i> / λ	<i>p</i> / π	χ	Ψ Υ
<i>b</i> / β	ζ	<i>m</i> / μ	<i>r</i> / ρ	ψ	φ <sup>2</sup>
<i>g</i> / γ	η	<i>n</i> / ν	<i>t</i> / τ	ω	ʔ <sup>2</sup>
<i>d</i> / δ	θ	ξ	<i>u</i> / υ	ϣ	.
<i>e</i> / ε	<i>k</i> / κ	<i>o</i> / ο	φ	↑ Ƨ Φ	

Note that although I consider Ψ and Υ to be variants of <k> and ↑, and Ƨ and Φ can be equated to Greek ζ, I have preserved the traditional position of these letters in this lexicon to reflect what appears in the inscriptions.

Each lemma is followed by the word class, given in brackets (noun, adjective verb, conjunction, preposition, PN, etc.), and the suggested meaning, if it is known. In each entry, I first give the variants of the word according to the subcorpus to which they belong, in the given alphabetical order. A morphological analysis is also provided for each variant, when known. After this, the class, the context(s) and the origin of the word are discussed. Since purely etymological approaches are essentially speculative if they are not corroborated by the context of the inscriptions, the discussion of each word takes into account the available linguistic, historical and material evidence for each word. With regard to etymology, *ad hoc* interpretations are avoided in the light of the general knowledge of the language presented in chapter § 4. At the end of each entry I have attached a list of references in which the word is discussed. Generally, the oldest references (prior to Haas and Lejeune) are omitted. However, they are considered if they have been corroborated recently or remain the sole reference for a particular word. Works by Ramsay and Calder are commonly listed because of their significance.

Since Phrygian is an ancient Indo-European language, the comparative method and the historical reconstruction are fundamental to its analysis. For this reason, I used constantly updated Indo-European lexica. With regard to Proto-Indo-European forms, verbal roots are quoted according *LIV*<sup>2</sup>, nouns *NIL* and particles *LIPP*. Pokorny’s *IEW* is also quoted. In general, I only provide Greek, Latin and Sanskrit forms in order to avoid large lists of cognates, although other languages are often considered. In any case, Greek is the most useful comparative language, so Greek etymological dictionaries (basically *EDG* and *DELG*) are fundamental to this work.

Finally, the Anatolian corpora are frequently considered. Indeed, the information contained in the Anatolian corpora and the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions from Anatolia often provide suitable parallels for the cultural context of the Phrygian inscriptions. Even calques are found in many formulae. Although word-for-word bilinguals are lacking, some themes are found elsewhere in Anatolia from the Iron Age to the Roman imperial period. When the theme of an inscription is identified because some words of a sentence are known, these parallels, in combination with internal reconstruction, can shed light on unclear words. This method, which

is used in other fragmentary ancient languages (such as Italic languages and Etruscan),<sup>4</sup> is especially productive for curses and funerary formulae.

### 1.3. Abbreviations

#### 1.3.1. Languages and Greek dialects

Aeol.	Aeolic	Lyd.	Lydian
Alb.	Albanian	MBret.	Middle Breton
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcado-Cyprian	MHG	Middle High German
Arm.	Classical Armenian	MoE	Modern English
Att.	Attic	MPhr.	Middle Phrygian
Av.	Avestan	Myc.	Mycenaean
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	NPhr.	New Phrygian
Cret.	Cretan	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
Cypr.	Cyprian	OHG	Old High German
Dor.	Doric	OE	Old English
El.	Elean	OIr.	Old Irish
Etr.	Etruscan	ON	Old Norse
Gaul.	Gaulish	OP	Old Persian
Gm.	Germanic	OPhr.	Old Phrygian
Go.	Gothic	PA	Proto-Anatolian
Gr.	Greek	Pamph.	Pamphylian
Hitt.	Hittite	PGm.	Proto-Germanic
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian	Phr.	Phrygian
IE	Indo-European	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Iran.	Indo-Iranian	Russ.	Russian
Ion.	Ionic	Skt.	Sanskrit
Lacon.	Laconian	Thess.	Thessalian
Lat.	Latin	ToA	Tocharian A
Lesb.	Lesbian	ToAB	Tocharian A and B
Luw.	Luwian	ToB	Tocharian B
Lyc.	Lycian		

#### 1.3.2. Reconstruction, grammar and text

abl.	ablative	e.g.	for example
acc.	accusative	EN	ethnonym
act.	active	encl.	enclitic
AD	<i>anno domini</i>	fem.	feminine
adj.	adjective	fn.	footnote
adv.	adverb	fthc.	forthcoming
aor.	aorist	fut.	future
athem.	athematic	gen.	genitive
BC	before Christ	H	any PIE laryngeal
c.	century	id.	idem
ca.	circa	ind.	indicative
cf.	compare	ins.	instrumental
conj.	conjunction	ipv.	imperative
dat.	dative	loc.	Locative
DN	divine name	LP	Late Phrygian period
DO	direct object	MP	Middle Phrygian period

<sup>4</sup> See a brief explanation of this method (developed by Olzscha and Pallottino) in Agostiniani 1982, 38-39, who obtained very successful results.

masc.	masculine
med.	middle
n.	neuter
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique
opt.	optative
p.	page
p.c.	personal communication
pcl.	particle
perf.	perfect
pers.	personal
pl.	Plural
PN	personal name
poss.	possessive

ppp.	passive past participle
pres.	present
prep.	preposition
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
pass.	passive
ptc.	participle
rel.	relative
subj.	subjunctive
sg.	singular
s.u.	<i>sub uoce</i>
them.	thematic
<i>uel sim.</i>	or similarly
voc.	vocative

### 1.3.3. Greek and Latin Authors and works

A.	Aeschylus	Plin.	C. Plinius Secundus (major)
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persae</i>	<i>HN</i>	<i>Historia Naturalis</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	Ps.-Plu.	Plutarchus
Alcm.	Alcman	<i>Fluv.</i>	<i>De Fluuiis</i>
AP	<i>Anthologia Graeca</i>	Od.	<i>Odyssey</i>
Arist.	Aristoteles	<i>Orph. Fr.</i>	<i>Orphica Fragmenta</i>
Ar.Byz.	Aristophanes Byzantius	Ov.	Ovidius
Arn.	Arnobius	<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
Cic.	Cicero	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De Legibus</i>	Paus.	Pausanias
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus	Philyll.	Philyllius
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromateis</i>	Pi.	Pindarus
Cons. VII	Constantinus VII	<i>N.</i>	<i>Nemean</i>
D.S.	Diodorus Siculus	Plato	Plato
EM	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>	<i>Cra.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>
Erot.	Erotianus	S.	Sophocles
Eur.	Euripides	<i>Fr.</i>	<i>Fragmenta</i>
<i>Ba.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>	<i>OC</i>	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>
Eust.	Eustathius	Socr.Sch.	Socrates Scholasticus
<i>Ad Il.</i>	<i>Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem</i>	<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica.</i>
H.	Hesychius	St.Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius
Hippon.	Hipponax	Str.	Strabo
Hdt.	Herodotus	Th.	Thucydides
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	Verg.	P. Vergilius Maro
Iuu.	Juvenalis	<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneis</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae</i>	X.	Xenophon
Liv.	Titus Livius	<i>HG</i>	<i>Historia Graeca (Hellenica)</i>

## 1.4. Conventions

### 1.4.1. Linguistic conventions

>	becomes by regular phonological development
<	reflects by regular phonological development
(?)	meaning uncertain
*X	a reconstructed item of a proto-stage
<X>	spelled with the symbol X
/X/	the phoneme X
Y≧X	clitic element
Y-X	morphological segmentation of a word: prefixes, suffixes, endings, etc.
#	word final

### 1.4.2. Epigraphical conventions

<αβ>	Characters erroneously omitted by the engraver. Restored or corrected by the editor.
[αβ]	Letters missing from the original text due to lacuna. Restored by the editor.
[.]	A lacuna or gap in the inscription, not restored by the editor, extent known. Each dot counts as one estimated letter.
[ ]	A lacuna or gap in the inscription, not restored by the editor, extent known but difficult to calculate a number of letters lost.
[--]	A lacuna or gap in the inscription, not restored by the editor (extent unknown).
[-?]	Unknown if a lacuna or gap must be suggested to the inscription.
{αβ}	Letters in the text considered erroneous and superfluous by the editor.
[[αβ]]	Deleted letters by the engraver and legible.
α(β)	Abbreviation in the text, expanded by the editor.
αβ	Characters damaged or otherwise unclear in the text, ambiguous outside of their context.
α <sup>?</sup> β <sup>?</sup>	A very dubious reading.
...	Traces of letters on the surface, insufficient for restoration by the editor.
α β	Line feed or, when the text is read in more than one face, the corner.
<i>uac.</i>	Space left empty ( <i>uacat</i> ) on the stone. In OPhr. context it is not given in italics.
α • β	Use of interpuncts, the number of dots used is the same in the inscription (•, :, ;, ï).
α β	Word boundary considered by the editor. When in the inscription spaces are used for that purpose it is specified.
αβ	Ligature of letters.
ᾱβ̄	Letters corrected by the editor.
←	Sinistroverse line. Unless otherwise noted, the following lines are also sinistroverse.
→	Dextroverse line. Unless otherwise noted, the writing is supposed to be dextroverse. This sign is only used after sinistroverse mark. Unless otherwise noted, the following lines are also dextroverse.
→	Arrow incised.
☿	<i>Hedera</i> .
⊕	Cross.



## 2. Direct sources for the Phrygian language: the epigraphical subcorpora

Traditionally, the Phrygian epigraphical material is divided into two separate subcorpora: Old Phrygian (or Paleo-Phrygian) and New Phrygian (or Neo-Phrygian).<sup>5</sup> There are several reasons for this division. The two kinds of inscriptions attest to different stages of the Phr. language, they are written in two different alphabets, the materials themselves are highly dissimilar, and even the locations of the findings differ.

The Old Phrygian subcorpus as considered here (see the Catalogue) consists of 395 inscriptions of many different typologies found across a huge area and dated between ca. 800 and 330 BC. At the start of this period Phrygia was an independent region (though it is unclear if such a political organisation ever existed as one unified state) but it fell under the Lydian Hegemony (beginning at some point toward the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC)<sup>6</sup> until the period of Persian rule, which lasted two centuries (ca. 540-330 BC).<sup>7</sup> Although *CIPPh* and its supplements (Brixhe 2002a and 2004a) contain most of the known OPhr. inscriptions, some entries consist of non-verbal graffiti. For this reason, W-103, G-208, NW-101a, NW-107 and NW-115 are excluded from the present compilation. By contrast, other Phr. inscriptions not included in *CIPPh* (nor in the supplements) are considered here. In any case, most were also edited by Brixhe (sometimes in collaboration with other scholars),<sup>8</sup> so their consideration as Phr. is endorsed by the main authority in this field. Texts not considered by Brixhe are restricted to three seals<sup>9</sup>, two graffiti from Kerkenes Dağ<sup>10</sup> and one isolated graffito on an orthostat.<sup>11</sup> In addition, an unpublished text on a block stone is included.<sup>12</sup> Because of the importance and influence of *CIPPh* and its supplements, its enumeration is followed in this dissertation, with only the non-verbal entries omitted. Then, texts not hitherto included are added to this enumeration. On it, *CIPPh* divided the material into epigraphical areas denoted by the initial of the given name, thus: M- of Midas City, W- of West Phrygia, B- of Bithynia, G- of Gordion, C- of Central Phrygia, P- of Pteria,<sup>13</sup> T- of Tyana, NW- of North West Phrygia (Dorylaion), Dd- of *Divers Documents* and HP- of *hors de Phrygie*. A new area is added here: K- of Kerkenes Dağ. It must be added that most of the OPhr. inscriptions are preserved in museums or, when monumental, *in situ*.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> The terms Paleo- and Neo-Phrygian were mostly used in the earliest works devoted to Phrygian (see, e.g., Ramsay 1905), while Old-Phrygian and New-Phrygian are now more common (especially after the publication of Lubotsky's papers). On the formation of the Phrygian corpus and the first approach to the language, see the exhaustive research by Morante Mediavilla 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Details of this Lydian period are mainly lost, see Payne and Wintjes 2016, 31-37.

<sup>7</sup> A very useful and up-to-date comprehensive overview of Phrygian history between 900 BC and 100 AD is provided by Thonemann 2013, who expands on the classic overview of Phrygian in the Iron Age by Barnett 1967.

<sup>8</sup> W-11 in Brixhe & Sivas 2002. M-11, M-101, W-13 and W-102 in Brixhe & Sivas 2003. W-12, W-101 in Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011. G-346 in Liebhart & Brixhe 2009. NW-120 - NW-139 in Brixhe & Sivas 2009. K-01, K-101, K-102, K-103 and K-104 in Brixhe & Summers 2006. HP-02 and HP-115 in Brixhe & Keles 2011. B-08 in Brixhe & Vottéro 2016.

<sup>9</sup> G-347 (first published by Körte & Körte 1904), P-108 (Bittle & Güterbock 1935, 79-80) and HP-116 (Boehmer & Güterbock 1987, 86). Genz (2009, 310) claimed that these seals contain a Phr. text, although no reading is available.

<sup>10</sup> K-102, K-103 and K-104, which have been published in the bulletin of the on-going dig, *Kerkenes News*, and on the website of the archaeological project (with good photographs).

<sup>11</sup> HP-01 (Börker-Klähn 1994).

<sup>12</sup> NW-01. Although I was able to view them in November 2015 at Eskişehir Museum, I cannot provide a good reading of the few letters that are legible.

<sup>13</sup> Although it is not a good identification, see § 2.1.1.

<sup>14</sup> Lost inscriptions are B-04, P-01, P-101, T-01 and T-02.

The New Phrygian subcorpus is greatly restricted in space and time: entries are dated to between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and appear only in the western part of ancient Phrygia.<sup>15</sup> The subcorpus consists of 117 funerary inscriptions, most of them curses against desecrators added after a Greek epitaph. Two other differences with respect to the OPhr. corpus are that for the NPhr. inscriptions the Greek alphabet was used and most have been lost, so they are only known through the testimony of the first compilers.<sup>16</sup> These inscriptions form a very consistent and homogenous subcorpus, very different to the one found in OPhr. The traditional numbering of the inscriptions consists of a number assigned to mark the time of discovery, following Ramsay's first collections.<sup>17</sup> Here, however, the inscriptions are arranged according to the place in which they were found and each city has a number, which is followed by a second number for each inscription.<sup>18</sup>

A third stage of the Phr. Language, Middle Phrygian (MPhr), is sometimes also considered. It is represented by a single inscription found in Dokimeion (MPhr-01 = W-11), a Phr. epitaph consisting of six hexametric verses (Lubotsky 2017) written in eight lines. It is dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, close in time to the Macedonian conquest, and can be considered the first Phr. text written in the Greek alphabet. Its phraseology has some echoes of the OPhr. epitaph B-07 but it anticipates phonetic and spelling features found in the NPhr. subcorpus (see 3.2.1. for more details). Because of its exceptionality, in the present collection it has been removed from the OPhr. list and classed as the sole example of the MPhr. subcorpus. Some graffiti from Gordion are ambiguous in terms of alphabet and could perhaps be added to this subcorpus. This is the case, e.g., of G-226 (found in a layer dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), G-244 (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC) and G-158 (ca. 200 BC). However, their language is also ambiguous, since the Phr. filiation is not conclusive. Despite these problems, their position in *CIPPh* is followed here, in the hope that new studies will shed light on this question.

## 2.1. The Old Phrygian subcorpus

### 2.1.1. Contexts of the Old Phrygian inscriptions

The OPhr. inscriptions are found across a huge area of central Anatolia (Map 1 and 2). Although there are isolated findings (e.g. the bronze bowls found in the Tumulus D of Bayındır, East Lycia), most of the inscriptions are found between the cities of Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Kerkenes Dağ (likely the old Pteria). During the Iron Age, this vast territory would have

---

<sup>15</sup> Note that Dorylaion (Eskişehir) is the sole site where both Old and New Phrygian inscriptions have been found (NW- inscriptions and NPhr. 1.1 and 1.2, respectively).

<sup>16</sup> Only 14 inscriptions are preserved in known places: 1.2 (98), 2.2 (130), 3.1 (97), 6.1 (88), 12.1 (121), 16.1 (116), 17.5 (91), 17.6 (119), 19.2 (129), 20.2 (128), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126) and 33.3 (127).

<sup>17</sup> Ramsay 1887 and 1905. He gathered some inscriptions found before (by Hamilton 1842 and Seetzen, in *CIG* III). After these collections, Calder, who accompanied Ramsay on some epigraphical expeditions, added most of the known NPhr. inscriptions in three papers entitled "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum", 1911, 1913 and 1926, and in different volumes of *MAMA* (I, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII). Since the late-1970s, Brixhe (with some collaboration) has published more inscriptions: Brixhe 1978, Brixhe & Waelkens 1981, Brixhe & Neumann 1985, Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010 (considered not NPhr. but Hellenistic). Other scholars have also published new inscriptions: Laminger-Pascher 1984, Mitchell 1993 and Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008. See Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 for the continuation of the traditional enumeration.

<sup>18</sup> A similar attempt to catalogue was first suggested by Morante Mediavilla in her unpublished PhD dissertation (2007), where she labelled each inscription with the name of the place where it was found followed by a number (one can find this system in the HLuw. corpus). Nevertheless, the labels were not applied systematically to the whole Phrygian corpus because this was not the author's intention. I also used the same system given here in my master's dissertation (2013), although the enumeration has since been revised.

included the most important Phrygian cities: Midas City (Yazılıkaya), Gordion (Yassihüyük), Karahüyük, Hattuša (Boğazkale, formerly Boğazköy, the Hittite capital) and Alacahöyük.

Gordion is by far the most important site, with 259 inscriptions – 65.6% of the whole OPhr. subcorpus – found in this city to date (labelled with G-). This city was the seat of a Phrygian royal house and is often considered “the Phrygian capital” (e.g. Rose 2012, 1), as Greek sources report. Its relevance in the Anatolian Iron Age plateau is a matter of record. However, it is still debated whether Gordion was indeed the capital of a unified Phrygia (i.e. the capital of the entire “kingdom of Phrygia” by Rose and Darbyshire 2011, 2) or the capital of one of several Phrygian chiefdoms. The difficulties of the traditional view of Gordion as “the Phrygian capital” are excellently summarised by Genz (2011, 360-361):

“the archaeological evidence does not unanimously support the idea of a unified Phrygian kingdom encompassing most parts of Central Anatolia with Gordion as its capital. While Gordion from at least the 9th century onwards was clearly a centre of supra-regional importance, several elements necessary for viewing it as the capital of an empire-like polity seem to be lacking. So far no evidence for any kind of administrative system involving the use of seals and writing has come to light in Gordion. Furthermore, while the richly equipped tumulus burials testify to the fact that persons of a high social rank were buried there, it has to be pointed out that similar tombs – although generally less well investigated – have been found at several other sites in Central Anatolia, for instance at Ankara, Kaynarca and Tatarlı. This rather seems to indicate the existence of several independent political entities – best termed chiefdoms – in Central Anatolia during the Middle Iron Age and the earlier part of the Late Iron Age. Thus the picture emerging from the archaeological record resembles rather Early Iron Age societies from Europe such as the Hallstatt culture than contemporaneous Near Eastern states such as Assyria or Urartu. A similar political organisation in fact is attested for Tabal, where Assyrian sources recorded as many as 24 kings ruling simultaneously”.

In any case, Gordion has a special status in Iron Age and Phrygian studies because its citadel mound, tumuli and surrounding area provided an extraordinary wealth of information about central Anatolia in this period. Since the Körte brothers’ excavations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c., Gordion has been considered “one of the most important sites in the Near East because of its chronology” (Rose & Darbyshire 2011, 2). Indeed, given the unique preservation of the city’s stratigraphy and the possibility of dating its phases not only relatively but also absolutely (using modern techniques such as dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating<sup>19</sup>, see Table 1), Gordion is used by archaeologists as the basis for chronologies of less well-known sites. The city provides a record of periods of construction and destruction that can be connected to historical facts known through literary sources.

Although information is available for a period covering five millennia (from the Early Bronze Age to the present day), it is the Gordion Iron Age (1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC) that is most useful for the study of central Anatolia. More important, however, for the study of the history of the alphabet is that Gordion is the location in which the oldest alphabetical inscriptions appear. The context of the first Phr. inscriptions (G-03, G-104, G-237 and G-249, according to Brixhe 2004b, 276-278) is the Destruction Level, a layer in the Citadel Mound (the palatial area of the city), which attests a great fire. It was first considered evidence of the Kimmerian invasion (710-709 BC) by Young<sup>20</sup>, but following a re-examination and reevaluation of the material lead by

<sup>19</sup> On dendrochronology applied to Gordion, see Kuniholm and Newton 2011. On <sup>14</sup>C results, see Manning and Kromer 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Young (1981, 272) connected the archaeological evidence to the information provided by Str. 1.3.21: οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὗς καὶ Τρήρας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἢ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλακίς ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, τότε μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας τότε δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες, ἠνίκα Μίδαν αἴμα ταύρου πόντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεῶν ‘the Kimmerians, or a separate tribe of them, called the

DeVries, this layer must now be considered the consequence of an accidental burning dated ca. 800 BC (see § 3.1). The reevaluation of this dating, and that of the Tumulus MM (the “Midas Mound”), had a bearing on our understanding of the whole Gordion site and, by extension, of those whose chronologies were based on the original datings.

Table 1 Gordion (Yassihöyük) Chronology according to Rose and Darbyshire (2011, 2).

YHSS Phase	Period Name	Approximate Dates	Cultural Affiliation
0	Modern	1920s	Turkish
1	Medieval	10 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> centuries AD	Unknown/Selcuk
2	Roman	1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE–4 <sup>th</sup> century AD	Roman
3A	Late Hellenistic	260(?)–100 BC	Galatian
3B	Early Hellenistic	330–260(?) BC	Phrygian/Greek
4	Late Phrygian	540–330 BC	Phrygian/Persian
5	Middle Phrygian	800–540 BC	Phrygian
6A–B	Early Phrygian	900–800 BC	Phrygian
7	Early Iron Age	1100–900 BC	Phrygian
9–8	Late Bronze Age	1400–1200 BC	Hittite
10	Middle Bronze Age	1600–1400 BC	Hittite

Despite the reevaluation and our good knowledge of Gordion, most of the inscriptions remain undated or are, at best, only classifiable to one of the two major periods which provide epigraphical material: Middle Phrygian (MP), dated between the reconstruction after the destruction level (c. 800 BC) and the conquest of the Persians (540 BC), including the Lydian hegemony, or Late Phrygian (LP), which corresponds to the Achaemenid period (540-330). The reason for such a relative dating is that most of the epigraphical material was found in fillings containing a mixture of broken artefacts from several periods or artefacts reused in a new building (as is the case of many stone inscriptions). Unfortunately, sherds without clear filiation (leaving aside the kind of paste) are all too common in this scenario and do not provide much information. Moreover, surface inscriptions are found that have no known context (e.g. G-09) or clear origin (G-10). Of course, some inscriptions appeared in clearer contexts associated with buildings or areas, such as the Middle Phrygian megara or other buildings (see Map 3 for their locations), in particular the Citadel Mound, the core of Gordion with the most sumptuous buildings, where digging has been more extensive and more inscriptions have been found.

Tumulus MM is also a very important site with regard to chronology. It is the largest tumulus of the 151 standing mainly in the northwest of the city and was not looted when Young opened it in 1957. Young thought that the tomb was dated to 725-718 BC, although today it is known that it was closed ca. 740 BC (Kuniholm & Newton 2011, 92-94). So, the valuable material found inside, corresponding to a funerary banquet, can be perfectly dated. Inscriptions were found on jars (G-109), silver and bronze bowls (G-105, G-106, G-107 and G-108), and also on a beam (G-346). This is a useful finding, since it allows us to date similar objects found in other less well-known tumuli (see, e.g., the İkiztepe Tumulus, Lydia, or Tumulus D from Bayındır, East Lycia). All of these inscriptions contain PNs. Other areas of Gordion in which inscriptions appeared are the Küçük Höyük (a sector preserved because it was buried by a Persian assault ram, see DeVries 2011, 17), the surrounding wall, the Lower Town (which has not been dug), and the house under Tumulus E (dated to before the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, when the tumulus was built on it).

Karahüyük, an artificial mound (tepe) located between Hacituğrul and Yenidoğan, is not far from Gordion (20 km to the northeast). It was inhabited since the Bronze Age. The

---

Treres, have frequently overrun the countries to the right of the Euxine and those adjacent to them, bursting now into Paphlagonia, now into Phrygia, as they did when, according to report, Midas came to his death by drinking bull's blood.'

inscriptions found there, grouped under the label C- in *CIPPh* (I, 215-222), are engraved on a fragment of stone (C-01) and a fragment of a plate (C-101), a handle (C-102) and a kind of lekythos (C-103). No datings are available for these materials.

A second important site where many OPhr. inscriptions (labelled M-) were found is Midas City (in Turkish Yazılıkaya, 'inscribed rock', also Midas Kale, 'Midas' Fortress').<sup>21</sup> This is the most impressive Phrygian site, since it is a mountain fortress where many cultic monuments devoted to the Mother-Goddess *Matar* were built during the MP period, although even in Roman times she was worshiped as Μητηρ Ἄγδιστις. The popular name given to that site, Midas City, is a modern creation taken from the main façade, devoted to Midas (M-01a).<sup>22</sup> Indeed, in the city 16 inscriptions incised on cut-rock monuments ("altars", idols and façades) were found, as well as one graffito on a sherd (M-101). These monuments are dated to the MP period (mostly in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, although some are a little earlier). Façades are the most typical Phrygian monument and can be found in many parts of West Phrygia (especially the Highlands).

Another important site is Dorylaion (Karacahisar, a höyük near Eskişehir), located to the North-West of Phrygia, an ancient city where 28 graffiti incised on sherds (few containing more than a letter) and one stone inscription have been found. All these inscriptions (the NW-group) are dated to the LP period (540-330 BC).<sup>23</sup>

Under the label P-, derived from Pteria, *CIPPh* (I, 223-251) grouped inscriptions from four sites: Alacahöyük, Kalehisar, Pazarlı and Boğazköy. Brixhe and Lejeune (in *CIPPh* I, 224) considered that Alacahöyük corresponds to Pteria, an important capital of Cappadocia under the Assyrian Empire, finally conquered and destroyed by the Lydian king Croesus who defeated Cyrus the Great in 547 BC, according to Hdt. 1.76. Although this identification is far from confirmed and Kerkenes Dağ is a more likely candidate,<sup>24</sup> the Assyrian influence seems to be attested in the patronymic *kanutievais*, containing the Assyrian PN *Kanutî* (see § 4.6.6). The inscriptions found in this area were engraved on block stones (P-01, P-02, P-04), a slab (P-03), a sculpture of a lion (P-05)<sup>25</sup> and a rock-cut altar (P-06) and contain similar series to PN. All of them are tentatively dated to the MP period but their archaeological context is unknown and some of the blocks were reused in the building of modern houses. The old Hittite capital, Ḫattuša (Boğazkale, formerly Boğazköy), was also occupied by Phrygians, as were many former Hittite cities and settlements. This city yielded seven graffiti on sherds dated to the MP period, corresponding to the period Büyükkale Ic-a.<sup>26</sup> The third site in this area is Pazarlı (about 29 km NE of Alacahöyük), where a Late Iron Age fortification is located.<sup>27</sup> The sole inscription from this site (P-101) is a graffito incised on the bottom of a pot dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (according to Bossert 1942, 289).

The most promising site for forthcoming research is Kerkenes Dağ, a fortress located to the North of Cappadocia. The site was built *ex nouo* and inhabited for only a short period in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Nevertheless, it is the largest city in Central Anatolia and has been

---

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed overview of the site, see Berndt 2002, although the chronology of the rock-cut monuments used here is provided by Berndt-Ersöz 2006.

<sup>22</sup> This site is very likely to be the mountain *Ağdus* attested by Arn., *Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1. Note that the epithet of the local Mother-Goddess worshipped there must derive from this oronym. I will deal with this question in a future study.

<sup>23</sup> All these inscriptions were published by Brixhe 2004a, 3-24.

<sup>24</sup> Note, however, that neither city is located near Sinop on the Black Sea, as Herodotus reports.

<sup>25</sup> This sculpture is dated to the Imperial Hittite period, although the inscription is clearly a later Phrygian addition. See Summers & Özen 2012, 516-518.

<sup>26</sup> The Phrygian inscriptions at this site were first published Neumann 1975, 81-82. On the comparison between the chronology of Gordion and Boğazkale, see Genz 2009, 311 and 2011, 334.

<sup>27</sup> The site was occupied before, since there are also considerable Chalcolithic and Hittite remains. Nevertheless, the Phrygian period is the most important one. The depiction of Phrygian soldiers on terracotta is the most famous finding. See Koşay 1941, Åkerström 1966, 167-89 and Genz 2011, 34.

identified with Pteria by Summers (see 1997, see also Brixhe & Summers 2006, 93-111, Draycott & Summers 2008, 4 and Genz 2011, 343). The city, which had many buildings including megara and was defended by a wall with seven gates, was an ambitious project. At one of these, the Cappadocian Gate, a broken stela was found containing a monumental inscription (K-01), as well as two graffiti on sherds (K-103 and K-104), while two further graffiti were found in the palatial complex (K-101 and K-102). Although no more inscriptions have been discovered to date,<sup>28</sup> new findings are expected.

OPhr. inscriptions are not only found in the area traditionally considered to be occupied by Phrygians. Daskyleion (modern Ergili), the seat of the Hellespontic Phrygia satrapy (OP *tayaiy drayahyā* ‘those (peoples) that (are) in the sea’ DB 1.15),<sup>29</sup> is also an important site for Phrygian epigraphy during the Achaemenid Period (= LP). This multicultural city provides inscriptions written in Old Babylonian, Old Persian,<sup>30</sup> Aramaic,<sup>31</sup> Greek<sup>32</sup> and Phrygian. Phrygian inscriptions are found on funerary stelae (B-06 and B-07), Attic pottery (B-101, B-102 and B-103), northwestern Anatolian amphorae (B-104, B-105 and B-106), a Mysian plate (B-107) and an unclassified pottery artefact (B-108). Note that these materials are not related to the Phrygian tradition and Daskyleion is the sole location where Old Phrygian epitaphs have been found.

In the territory of Bithynia we know of five isolated inscriptions engraved on rock. When possible, they have been dated to the Achaemenid period (= LP). B-01 and B-08 are large inscriptions on rock associated with the cult of the Mother-Goddess (in B-01 the niche was also engraved).<sup>33</sup> B-02 is a Greco-Persian funerary stele found near Afşarıvvel. B-03 and B-04 are inscriptions engraved on stone blocks without a clear function. The first was found at Fıranlar, while B-04 was found at Üyücek. Both are undated. Finally, B-05 is a large Greco-Persian stele found at Vezirhan and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It contains a bilingual text with a *lex sacra*. It is the largest Phrygian text, while the Greek part is a short summary of the contents.

Other findings are even more isolated. A large stone slab was found in the centre of Kocagür, perhaps the ancient Pitya (14 km from the ancient Parion, in Bithynia). However, its context is unknown (Brixhe & Keleş 2011). An undated clay spindle (HP-101, Dinç & Innocente 1999) appeared in a höyük at Çamönü (ancient Karasonya), in northern Lydia (Gusmani 1988) and, also from Lydia, a silver cup (HP-102) was found by clandestine diggers in the main tumulus of İkiztepe. This last object is similar to the ones found in Gordion Tumulus MM and in Tumulus D at Bayındır, East Lycia, where silver cauldrons (HP-103 and HP-104), a silver ladle (HP-105), a silver bowl (HP-106) and bronze bowls (HP-107, HP-108, HP-109, HP-110, HP-111, HP-112 and HP-113) were discovered (Varinlioğlu 1992). These objects are dated to the mid-8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, close in time to the main Gordion tumulus, and were very likely gifts between sovereign allies from Bayındır.

Moving to the east, the most relevant site is Tyana (Luw. *Tuwanuwa*) in Tabal, the heartland of Luwian-speaking territory. In this city fragments of three stelae (T-01, T-02 and T-03) have been found, very likely related to Midas’ campaigns against Sargon II (final quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC). Also in a Neo-Hittite State, an undated Phrygian PN was incised on an orthostat

---

<sup>28</sup> Scott Branting, p.c. 19/09/2017.

<sup>29</sup> See Schmitt 1972. Greek sources are Hdt. 3.120.2 and Th. 1.129.1.

<sup>30</sup> Both languages are only found in *bullae* with impressions of stamp and cylinder seals. Aramaic and Greek are also found in such artefacts, on which see Balkan 1959.

<sup>31</sup> Ten *bullae* (Balkan 1959, 128 and Lemaire 2000, II.4 no. 1-4) and two well-known Aramaic funerary stelae (see, e.g., Dupont-Sommer 1966, Lipiński 1975a, 150-153, Altheim-Stielh & Cremer 1985 and Lemaire 2000, II.1 and II.2).

<sup>32</sup> After the Macedonian conquest, the site was Hellenised; however, before this only a single *bullā* is written in Greek (Balkan 1959, 128 = DS 144 in Kaptan 2002). The text may be read as [Ἀρτί]μας according to Kaptan (2002 I, 173 and 2013, 31 fn. 18).

<sup>33</sup> On the B-01 monument see *CIPPh* I, 62 and Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 239-240 (with exhaustive references). On B-08, a recent finding, see Brixhe & Vottéro 2016.

from Karkemiš which contains an earlier HLuw. inscription (850 BC).<sup>34</sup> In addition, a seal-stamp of Neo-Assyrian style appeared at Nemrud Dağ (Boehmer & Güterbock 1987, 86)<sup>35</sup> and a stone bowl was found in Alişar Höyük (Cappadocia, Brixhe & Summers 2006, 134). Finally, the most interesting text found outside Phrygia is the clay tablet in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, and dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC or the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. This extraordinary piece must of course be related to the Achaemenid administration (Brixhe 2004a, 118-126).

### 2.1.2. Old Phrygian writing materials

Old Phrygian has been identified on four kinds of materials: pottery, stone, metal and wood (see Table 2). Pottery is by far the most attested material, accounting for almost 77% of the subcorpus: 304 of the 395 known OPhr. inscriptions were found on pottery. Unfortunately, many of these inscriptions (125) were found on unclassifiable sherds<sup>36</sup> that do not provide useful information about either the form or function of the original piece. Those pots that have been classified are objects for daily life, especially for containing food and drinks (water and beer), and are mostly of local facture: 54 cups,<sup>37</sup> 27 pithoi,<sup>38</sup> 24 bowls,<sup>39</sup> 17 pots,<sup>40</sup> 16 vessels,<sup>41</sup> 11 jugs,<sup>42</sup> 3 jars, 3 saucers, 3 North-west Anatolian amphorae, 3 plates, 2 jugs, 1 dinos, 1 marmite, 1 oenochoe, 1 tile, 1 mortar and 1 clay spindle.<sup>43</sup> In Bithynia and once in Gordion, Phrygian inscriptions were also incised on Attic importations: 3 Attic cups (B-101, B-102 and B-340), 1 Attic plate (G-341) and 1 Attic kantharos (B-103). To this list, a Cyprian cup found in Gordion can also be added (G-102).

Most of these graffiti on vessels were incised after firing and may be interpreted as owner's marks. Note that graffiti consisting of PNs (complete or abbreviated) are abundant in this category of materials. Even the numerous graffiti consisting of a sole letter can be interpreted as the owner's first initial. However, there remains a degree of ambiguity, and the use of these letters as a mark without linguistic referent cannot be ruled out. Indeed,

<sup>34</sup> The text was identified by Börker-Klähn 1994. This scholar also considered some graffiti from Hamath, however they are less clearly Phrygian and, worse still, some of the shapes of the "letters" are unparalleled in the Phrygian corpus.

<sup>35</sup> This inscription was recently claimed as Phrygian by Genz 2009, 310, although no reading is provided.

<sup>36</sup> M-101, W-101, W-102, G-111, G-112, G-120, G-144, G-154, G-155, G-157, G-159, 163, G-164, G-168, G-179, G-180, G-182, G-184, G-185, G-186, G-187, G-189bis, G-192, G-196, G-197, G-201, G-206, G-207, G-209, G-217, G-218, G-220, G-221, G-222, G-223, G-232, G-233, G-235, G-236, G-240, G-247, G-251, G-252, G-253, G-255, G-256, G-258, G-259, G-263, G-264, G-267, G-268, G-270, G-273, G-275, G-280, G-281, G-286, G-287, G-290, G-291, G-292, G-294, G-298, G-299, G-300, G-303, G-305, G-306, G-307, G-308, G-309, G-311, G-312, G-313, G-314, G-315, G-316, G-317, G-318, G-320, G-322, G-324, G-325, G-327, G-328, G-329, G-330, G-332, G-333, G-334, G-335, G-343, G-344, C-102, P-102, P-103, P-105, P-106, P-107, K-103, NW-103, NW-104, NW-105, NW-111, NW-112, NW-113, NW-114, NW-116, NW-119, NW-120, NW-121, NW-122, NW-123, NW-124, NW-125, NW-127, NW-128, NW-129, NW-133, NW-134, NW-135, NW-136, NW-137 and NW-139.

<sup>37</sup> G-135, G-141, G-146, G-156, G-158, G-160, G-161, G-162, G-167, G-169, G-172, G-173, G-181, G-183, G-188, G-210, G-210, G-215, G-216, G-227, G-228, G-234, G-244, G-248, G-254, G-257, G-265, G-269, G-272, G-277, G-278, G-282, G-285, G-289, G-295, G-297, G-304, G-319, G-336, G-337, G-339, G-345, P-104, NW-106, NW-108, NW-109, NW-110, NW-117, NW-118, NW-126, NW-130, NW-131, NW-132 and NW-138.

<sup>38</sup> G-116, G-117, G-122, G-126, G-143, G-147, G-150, G-151, G-152, G-171, G-174, G-191, G-193, G-200, G-204, G-219, G-230, G-231, G-237, G-238, G-239, G-271, G-283, G-301, G-302, G-323 and G-326.

<sup>39</sup> B-108, G-104, G-115, G-118, G-119, G-121, G-133, G-142, G-153, G-165, G-194, G-195, G-202, G-203, G-205, G-208, G-241, 242, G-243, G-246, G-276, G-293, K-101, NW-102 and HP-115.

<sup>40</sup> G-101, G-103, G-113, G-114, G-123, G-125, G-128, G-132, G-140, G-148, G-149, G-175, G-189, G-214, G-288, P-101 and K-105.

<sup>41</sup> G-124, G-127, G-130, G-137, G-166, G-170, G-176, G-177, G-190, G-198, G-211, G-229, G-260, G-262, G-274 and G-279.

<sup>42</sup> G-131, G-134, G-139, G-145, G-199, G-250, G-284, G-310, G-338, G-342 and K-102.

<sup>43</sup> Dinosaurs: G-138. Jars: G-109, G-226 and G-296. Saucers: G-213, G-225 and G-261. North-west Anatolian amphorae: B-104, B-05 and B-106. Jugs: G-110 and G-129. Plates: G-266, C-101 and B-107 (Mysian). Marmite: G-224. Oenochoe: G-331. Tile: G-321. Mortar: G-245. Clay spindle: HP-101.

commercial marks are also known in this collection, among which “capacity marks” are the clearest (see § 3.1.7.3). Only two examples of “verbal” graffiti incised before firing are found: W-101 and K-104.<sup>44</sup> Of course, being incised before firing implies that the inscriptions were made in the potter’s workshop. There are certain reasons why a potter marks their products: to identify the potter or his establishment or to denote the potential capacity of the pot, its function or the place in which it should be stored. However, for the two examples considered here the reason is unknown. In any case, W-101 bears only a single letter ⟨p⟩, which seems to be a PN abbreviation expanded after firing as *p<sup>2</sup>asakas*, while K-104 consists only of a possible letter ⟨n⟩ and a non-verbal mark cannot be ruled out.

Leaving aside this common material, there are two special artefacts made of clay. The first is a terracotta disc found in Dorylaion, NW-101, with an obscure inscription. Its function and significance are unclear.<sup>45</sup> The second is a clay tablet, HP-114, found in the Persepolis Fortress Archive among Elamite artefacts. Because there are no parallels for such material in Phrygia and the place where it was found, this clay tablet must be related to the Persian administration. Indeed, although it is broken and difficult to read, it appears to be a list of workers and people like those found in Elamite in the same archive.

The second most productive material is stone, on which 72 inscriptions were found. As is the case of pottery, there is a rich typology of stone inscriptions. Cult façades, associated with the Mother-Goddess, are the most representative form of Phrygian rock-cut monument, on which ten inscriptions were engraved: M-01a, M-01-b, M-05, W-01a, W-01b, W-01c, W-02, W-03, W-05a and W-06 (perhaps also M-11). Sometimes, the façades have a niche where inscriptions were also engraved: M-01c, M-01d, M-01e, M-01f and W-05b. Although there is a niche with an inscription in a step-monument, W-04, other niches with inscriptions are independent: W-07 and B-01 (B-08 was found near this inscription).

Rock-cut step-monuments, sometimes considered altars because of the presence of iconic idols, are another kind of monument with OPhr. inscriptions: M-02, M-03, M-04, M-06, W-11 and P-06. Nevertheless, Phrygian inscriptions were also engraved on unworked rocks. Of these, three are on sole lone rocks, W-08, W-09 and W-10, while the others are on the walls of larger rock formations: M-07, M-08 and W-13.

As can be seen, all of the above inscriptions were found basically in Midas City and West Phrygia. Bithynia, Gordion and East Phrygia provide ten inscriptions on worked blocks of stone: B-03, B-04, G-03, G-04, G-11, P-01, P-02, P-04, NW-01 and HP-01. Five stone slabs with inscriptions were also found in Gordion and East Phrygia: G-01, G-02, C-01, P-03 and HP-02. Two small stone idols with inscriptions were found in Gordion: G-136, a falcon-shaped idol, and G-178, anthropomorphic. Text on a large statue was only found in Alacahöyük (near the ancient capital of the Hittites, *Ḫattuša*), on an unfinished statue of a lion (P-05). Stelae have only been found on the periphery of Phrygia. Indeed, four stelae (of the Greco-Persian type) have been found in Bithynia, B-02, B-05, B-06 and B-07, as well as fragments of three stelae of Assyrian-type in Tyana, T-01, T-02 and T-03, and one in Kerkenes Dağ, K-01. Unfortunately, eight inscriptions are preserved on stone fragments whose original shapes and typologies are unknown: M-09, M-10, W-12, G-05, G-06, G-07, G-08, G-09 and G-10.

Small artefacts containing inscriptions have also been found. There are two seals made of (semi-)precious gemstones, Dd-101 (Chalcedony) and Dd-103 (Agate), an alabaster weight (G-249, reused as a loomweight in Gordion) and a mortar, G-164bis.

---

<sup>44</sup> This is not a surprising account when compared to Roller’s compilation of non-verbal marks from Gordion (1987a, 1-7): of 560 marks, only 24 were incised before firing. There are also 16 examples of stamps, but these contain no letters, only triskeles, tetraskeles, ingo-shaped or asterisk marks.

<sup>45</sup> In the same city, another disc was found with non-verbal inscriptions (NW-101a, omitted from this dissertation). This disc is older than the first one. On both pieces, see Brixhe 2002a, 3-11, who suggests some possibilities.

There are seventeen metal artefacts with a Phrygian inscription, pertaining to funerary banquets inside tumuli (Gordion MM, İkiztepe and Bayındır). The most abundant are bronze bowls: G-105, G-106, G-107, G-108, HP-108, HP-109, HP-110, HP-111, HP-112 and HP-113. There are also three silver bowls (Dd-102, HP-106 and HP-107), two silver cauldrons (HP-103 and HP-104), a silver cup (HP-102) and a silver ladle (HP-105). While most of the inscriptions were made by scratching the artefacts, on the bowls G-105, G-106 and G-107 they were made by smearing beeswax.

Finally, a list of names was found engraved on a wooden beam from Tumulus MM in Gordion. It is the sole example of a Phrygian inscription preserved on wood. There is no evidence for the use of perishable materials (papyrus, parchment) as writing supports for Phrygian, but it is a strong possibility, because the kind of epigraphic supports found to date are typically those used only marginally in other, better attested Near Eastern languages.

Table 2 The Old Phrygian inscriptions according to writing material

Material	Typology	No. of OPhr. inscriptions	Total
Stone	Façades	10	74
	Stone blocks	10	
	Niches	9	
	Rock walls	7	
	Stelae	8	
	“Altars”	6	
	Slabs	5	
	Statues	3	
	Seal	5	
	Mortar	1	
	Weight	1	
Undet. frag.	9	303	
Pottery	Unind. Sherds		125
	Cups		53
	Pithoi		27
	Bowls		24
	Pots		18
	Vessels		16
	Jugs		1
	Attic cups		3
	NW Anat. Amph.		3
	Jar		3
	Saucers		3
	Jugs		13
	Plates		2
	Marmites		1
	Oenochoe		1
	Lekythos		1
	Tile		1
	Attic plate		1
	Attic kantharos		1
	Cyprian cup		1
	Mysian plate		1
	Mortar		1
	Terracotta disc		1
	Clay spindle		1
	Clay tablet		1
	Metal	Bronze bowls	10
Silver bowls		3	
Silver cauldron		2	
Silver cup		1	
Silver ladle		1	
Bronze		10	
Silver		7	
Wood	Beam	1	1
Total Old Phrygian inscriptions			395

## 2.2. The New Phrygian subcorpus

As stated above, the New Phrygian subcorpus consists of 117 New Phrygian (NPhr.)<sup>46</sup> inscriptions dated to between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, found in a far more restricted area than the OPhr. subcorpus (Map 4 and 5), “bounded by Eskişehir-Dorylaion, Kütahya-Kotiaion, the lake of Eğridir, Laodikeia Katakekaumene and the northern point of Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü)” (Brixhe 2013, 60). Note that a sizeable part of ancient Phrygia was occupied by the Galatians (including Gordion, see Mitchell 1993, 13-20) and a deep Hellenisation left its mark on many important cities. In any case, the whole NPhr. subcorpus consists of funerary texts on stone, mostly the local limestone. Although the number of inscriptions is considerable, the material itself is largely redundant, since few inscriptions contain more than a formulaic curse. Indeed, most of the New Phrygian texts follow an epitaph in Greek, although this disposition is reversed in two inscriptions (13.1 = 122 and 58.1 = 72), where the Phrygian curse is followed by a Greek epitaph. The most common text resembles the following standardisation: *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, με δεωσ κε ζεμελωσ κε ατ τιε τιπτετικμενος ειτου* ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of gods and men’.

NPhr. curses have parallels in the contemporaneous Greek inscriptions but the most striking parallel is the continuity of the Luw. phraseology (Lubotsky 1998, 420; see § 4.6.2.2). How the Iron Age phraseology could have survived until Roman times is unknown, because texts containing these formulae are not attested in earlier periods. Indeed, OPhr. curses are different to those found in NPhr.

Only twelve of the inscriptions contain other kinds of texts, although these are always related to the epitaphs.<sup>47</sup> By the time of NPhr., the process of language replacement in Phrygia seems to be complete in the major cities, since most of the NPhr. inscriptions are restricted to villages and towns. However, Greek borrowings and calques are found elsewhere in the Phrygian inscriptions, so even outside the cities this process of change can be perceived. In any case, the last possible evidence for Phr. as a living language is provided by Socr.Sch. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.23 in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.: *Ἐπικολούθησε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σεληνᾶς ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνὴρ ἐπίμικτον ἔχων τὸ γένος· Γότθος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πατρὸς, Φρυγὸς δὲ κατὰ μητέρα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς διαλέκτοις ἐτοιμῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδίδασκε* ‘Selenas bishop of the Goths adopted the views of this party, a man of mixed descent; he was a Goth by his father’s side, but by his mother’s a Phrygian, by which means he taught in the church with great readiness in both these languages.’

As has been said, all of the monuments that bear New Phrygian inscriptions are funerary, mainly of the door-stele type, on which 33 inscriptions have been found.<sup>48</sup> This is perhaps the most characteristic form of Phrygian monument in Roman times (see an example in Fig. 1). Despite attempts to link it to the OPhr. cult façades, the stone representation of a door as part of a funerary monument (tumulus or rock-cut chamber) is first attested in Lydia in the 6<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Roosvelt 2006, 66).<sup>49</sup> Whatever their significance for the people who made them, Kelp is right when linking the use of NPhr. to the “distinctive local forms of grave monuments”

<sup>46</sup> Or 116 if 11.1 (17) and 11.3 (74) are considered to be the same inscription, as in Haas 1966 (Friedrich 1932, 138 fn. 74) and Lubotsky (in *TITUS*). Nevertheless, Brixhe 1999, 286 argued that they are two different inscriptions.

<sup>47</sup> The NPhr. inscriptions 1.1 (48), 1.2 (98), 2.1 (15), 2.2 (130), 11.2 (18), 16.1 (116), 17.1 (116, the largest NPhr. inscription), 22.1 (9), 37.2 (30), 40.3 (31), 43.1 (69) and 56.2 (58).

<sup>48</sup> 3.1 (97), 7.2 (111), 10.1 (112), 10.2 (113), 11.3 (17), 12.1 (121), 13.1 (122), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.4 (90), 17.5 (91), 17.6 (119), 19.1 (96), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 22.1 (9), 25.1 (115), 26.2 (38), 37.2 (30), 43.1 (69), 45.1 (65), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 56.1 (57), 56.2 (58), 57.1 (78), 59.4 (106), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36) and 65.1 (20).

<sup>49</sup> The Archaic and Hellenistic filiation of some examples was defended by Waelkens 1986, who gathered and studied all the known examples of this phenomenon, examining their rich typology, original workshops and distribution. See also Lochman 2003 and Kelp 2013 and 2015.

and pointing out that “[t]he more urban an area and richer the purchasers, the more similar their grave monuments appear to the well-established funerary repertoire of the *metropoleis* of Asia Minor; no Neo-Phrygian curses appear on wealthy urban monuments [...] [g]rave-types with a door façade and the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions tended to occur in recently or partially urbanized regions” (2013, 92-93). Although the funerary function of the door-stelae is clear and their chronology is well established, monuments with NPhr. inscriptions did not appear *in situ* (with one exception) and only one of all the known examples of door-stelae has been found in its archaeological context: grave T1073 at Amorium (Kelp 2013, 76-77). In the light of this discovery, Ramsay’s words about NPhr. 18.3 (6) are particularly interesting. Although he did not record what kind of monument it was, he described a finding that is consistent with our knowledge of funerary practices in Roman Phrygia and the grave found at Amorium: “beside Surmeneh, on one of the circle of stones (χρηπίς) which surrounded a small tumulus. There seem to have been in this neighbourhood many small tumuli, built all in the same way with a low circular wall enclosing and holding together a mound of earth” (Ramsay 1887, 389).

Fig. 1 Door-stele from Prynnessos (modern Sülün) containing the New Phrygian text 19.1 (96; Kelp 2013, 80 Fig. 4.10)



Another kind of funerary monument containing NPhr. inscriptions is the pediment stele (14 examples are recorded),<sup>50</sup> which normally consists of a relief representing two columns supporting a triangular pediment (perhaps a representation of a temple). In the central space, the deceased and his family may be depicted,<sup>51</sup> while the pediment is commonly reserved for a

<sup>50</sup> 1.2 (98), 16.1, 20.2 (128), 22.1 (9), 29.1 (114), 31.1 (29), 33.3 (127), 46.1 (53), 48.1 (81), 55.1 (56), 59.1 (107), 59.3 (79), 60.2 (60) and 62.6 (105). In some instances, however, it remains unclear if they were part of a door-stele.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., 20.2 (128) in the good photograph provided by Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 113.

lion (46.1 = 53) or an eagle (33.3 = 127), apotropaic symbols of the Mother-Goddess and Zeus Bronton respectively. These elements are also common in door-stelae, while the depiction of people is only found in their pediment instead of these animals are not found. Other kind of monuments are *bomoi* ‘altars’ (6 examples),<sup>52</sup> round pillars (4 examples)<sup>53</sup> and even shapeless stone (44.1 = 61).

None of these inscriptions contains any dating. Nevertheless, the typology of these monuments, as well as the palaeography, is coherent with the “flourishing high Imperial period of the second and third centuries AD” (as stated in Kelp 2013, 71). Moreover, some of the deceased bore the *praenomen* Αὐρήλιος or its fem. Αὐρήλια.<sup>54</sup> This is a significant detail for dating the inscriptions as it provides a *terminus post quem*. Indeed, this name was adopted by many people in the Empire after the emperor Caracalla, officially *Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus*, who extended the citizenship through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the year 212 BC.

Since most of the NPhr. inscriptions have been lost and are known only through old copies (only 19 are preserved),<sup>55</sup> it is difficult to know whether inconsistencies in the spelling were originally engraved on the stone or if they are a modern copyist’s mistake. As seen in § 3.2, spelling mistakes and hesitations are found elsewhere, but there also readings that must be considered a confusion of the copy. In contrast to the OPhr. subcorpus, one cannot corroborate the old readings, particularly in inscriptions with many hapaxes. A comparison of different examples of formulae also points – cautiously – to copyist’s mistakes.

Table 3 Comparison between the Old and the New Phrygian subcorpora

Feature	Old Phrygian	New Phrygian
Number of inscriptions	395	117
Dating	ca. 800-330 BC	Late 1 <sup>st</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD
Alphabet	Phrygian	Greek
Writing material	Varied	Stone
Contents	Varied	Funerary
Area	Huge	Restricted
Archaeological context	Mainly yes	Never
Preserved	Mainly yes	Mainly no

<sup>52</sup> 2.2 (130, a very big one), 8.1 (86), 17.1 (4b), 28.1 (71), 33.1 (28) and 52.1 (75). Despite the term, they were used as a prayer and vow to the deceased as well as to the divinities, see de Hoz 2017.

<sup>53</sup> 44.2 (70), 49.1 (110), 58.1 (72) and 64.1 (82).

<sup>54</sup> In the NPhr. Subcorpus it appears in 5.1 (19), 6.1 (88), 50.2 (55) and 65.3 (21). The fem. form only appears in 65.3 (21). It is common to find it abbreviated.

<sup>55</sup> Preserved inscriptions are 2.2 (130), 3.1 (97), 6.1 (88), 7.2 (111), 10.1 (112), 10.2 (113), 12.1 (121), 16.1 (116), 17.6 (119), 19.2 (129), 20.2 (128), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 29.1 (114), 31.1 (29), 33.3 (127), 63.1 (123) and 65.4 (124),



### 3. The scripts used to note the Phrygian language

#### 3.1. The Phrygian alphabet

The Phrygian language appears for the first time at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (or in the last years of the 9<sup>th</sup>), recorded in a local alphabetic script written on stone blocks and sherds from Gordion. The archaeological context of these first inscriptions (G-03, G-104, G-237 and G-249, according to Brixhe 2004b, 276-278) corresponds to the reconstruction of the Gordion citadel after the “Destruction Level” dated to ca. 800 BC. This disaster, perhaps a great fire, was first considered a consequence of the Kymmerian invasion, which indeed took place a century after (ca. 700 BC as recorded in the Neo-Assyrian documentation and some Greek traditions). However, recent revisions of the site gave a new chronology for Middle Phrygian Gordion (after 800-540s BC, see Rose and Darbyshire 2011), thus ruling out this initial hypothesis. The alphabet then, arrives in the Phrygian capital alongside many elements borrowed from south-east Anatolia (the Neo-Hittite, or Syro-Hittite states). Indeed, the architecture of Gordion from the 9<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the sculptural remains, much of the pottery and many prestigious have their origins in the Neo-Hittite states (Sams & Voigt 2011, 155-156). Far from dulling Gordion’s splendour, the city’s reconstruction was even more ambitious than the original architectural project and became the prelude to the “supraregional political and cultural importance” of the Phrygian state(s) (van Dongen 2014, 707) under the reign of Midas (late 8<sup>th</sup> – early the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

On the basis of the context of the first inscriptions, the Phrygians appear to have adopted the alphabet in the late 9<sup>th</sup> c. or early 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, through contact with south-east Anatolia (Cilicia or Tyanide milieux). This is both chronologically and geographically consistent with scholarly conclusions regarding the Greek alphabet. The subject is too complex to be addressed fully here, but it should be noted that in the last two decades the Greek presence in Cilicia has provided a very suitable context in which the Greeks might have adapted the Phoenician abjad to their language, despite the lack of local Greek inscriptions.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, the western route of arrival of the alphabet to Gordion is hardly defensible because the Greek presence there is restricted to imports (mainly pottery of Corinthian and eastern Greek origin), which appear only from the late 8<sup>th</sup> c. onwards.<sup>57</sup> Consequently, the Greek influence is detectable only from a period in which the Phrygians were already using their alphabet, when the Greek alphabet is found for the first time.

Although the first Phrygian inscriptions are some decades older than the Greek ones, Brixhe (2004b, 284-285) is right to warn against converting the “traditional Hellenocentrism” (according to which the Phrygian alphabet is derived from the (Proto-)Greek alphabet) into “Phrygocentrism”. His thoughts on this issue are in agreement with Sass (2005, 133-152), who from a (very necessary) Semitic perspective established that the Phrygians and the Greeks adopted their alphabets from a “monumental Semitic model” (Phoenician or Aramaean) dated “ca. 750 BCE or slightly [sic] earlier” (“maximum of ca. 75 years-to around 825 BCE”, Sass 2005,

---

<sup>56</sup> See Yakubovich 2015, 48-50 for an attempt to explain this fact from a sociolinguistic point of view. In his monumental and influential work, Jeffery 1961, 10-12 suggested that the place of the adoption may have been on the Cilician-Syrian border. Nevertheless, it is not the only location considered by scholars: Boeotian Thebes, Euboia, Crete and even Cyprus (Woodard 1997 and 2014) have all been posited. However, most of these proposals only consider Greek evidence and assume that Phrygian is derived from Greek. Note that new findings of the earliest Greek inscriptions in Methone and Eretria still date the first inscriptions to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Papadopoulos 2016). Janko 2015 raised the date of the inscription from Osteria dell’Osa (ancient Gabii, near Rome) to c. 825 at the latest and used it as evidence for an earlier Greek adoption of the alphabet. However, this piece is difficult to date and harder still to assign to one language or alphabetic tradition.

<sup>57</sup> See DeVries 2005 and Genz 2011, 359, who follows Sams 1979, 8-10; DeVries 1990, 390; 1997; DeVries and Voigt *et alii* 1997, 19-21. The presence of Greek imports at other sites is still less relevant.

150-151). Given that the Greek and the Phrygian alphabets share their core letters, he also concludes that the Phoenician (or Aramean) abjad was adopted at the same time and it later passed from Greek to Phrygian or, as the chronology implies, from Phrygian to Greek, although the possibility remains that both derived together from a West Semitic abjad (as Brixhe 2004b, 284-285 suggests). Indeed, although the Phrygian inscriptions are older and the presence of Phrygian is attested in Tyana (albeit at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC), the Greek alphabet preserves some of the Phoenician (or Aramean) letters not found in the Phrygian alphabet (e.g. ⓧ > Θ, compare Table 5).<sup>58</sup> Consequently, the seniority of the Greek or the Phrygian alphabet remains unresolved. In addition, any discussion of the matter must consider the other Anatolian alphabets, which are traditionally assumed to be derived from the Greek, although the details of such relationships are not clear.<sup>59</sup>

The Phrygian alphabet was used interruptedly until around the time of the Macedonian conquest of Anatolia (333 BC), when Phrygian speakers began to use the Greek alphabet to write their language. Graffiti from Gordion recorded in *CIPPh* are claimed to have been written in the Greek alphabet prior to the arrival of Alexander the Great, however the difference between the Greek and Phrygian alphabets at this stage is not always clear (Brixhe 2004a, 7 illustrates this with G-153, G-158 and G-167). Leaving aside the older Phrygian funerary stele written in Greek (MPhr-01 = Brixhe's 2004a no. W-11), in Gordion the documentation from the Hellenistic levels shows "the decline of both Phrygian script and language" in favour of Greek as a consequence of "probable shifts of population during the late fourth and third century B.C." (and the later emergence of Galatian names after the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, Roller 1987b, 103-104).

The commonly used catalogue of Phrygian letters was given by *CIPPh* (280), which identifies 24 letters (see Table 5). However, this table must be reconsidered because some signs are known to be variants of other letters (no. 23 of no. 20 and, very likely, no. 24 of no. 2, according to Morante Mediavilla 2000, 40) and new variants have appeared since the publication of *CIPPh* in 1984 (e.g., X of J <y>, in B-06 from Daskyleion). Consequently, a new classification of the Phrygian letters is suggested in Table 6, similar to the one given by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 181). While the core letters and the yod largely follow the information given in the successive works of Brixhe and Lejeune, the remaining letters (*CIPPh* no. 19-24, which the authors refer to as "lettres rares", herein 19-22) will be reanalysed in the following pages.

---

<sup>58</sup> Note that this is the only aspirated letter which is consistent in all Greek archaic alphabets. It is not considered a new incorporation in texts where the letters representing aspirated and double sounds are said to be borrowed after the first adoptions. On this question, see Willi 2013.

<sup>59</sup> For the Lydian alphabet, see Payne & Wintjes 2016, 76: "Lydian is recorded in a local, 26-letter alphabetic script. It may have been derived from an eastern Greek alphabet, the exact relationship between both unknown". On the Lycian alphabet, Melchert 2008, 47 (following Carruba 1978): "Lycian is written in an alphabet derived from or closely related to that of Greek. The details of the relationship remain unclear". On the problematic origin of the Carian alphabet see Adiego 2007, 230-233.

Table 4 Comparison of the Phoenician abjad, Classical Greek and Phrygian alphabets (excluding CIPPh no. 21-22)

Phoenician	Trans.	Phoneme	Phrygian	Trans.	Phoneme	Greek	Phoneme
𐤀	ʔ	/ʔ/	Α	a	/a/ /a:/	Α α	/a/ /a:/
𐤁	b	/b/	Β β	b	/b/	Β β	/b/
𐤂	g	/g/	Γ	g	/g/	Γ γ	/g/
𐤃	d	/d/	Δ Δ	d	/d/	Δ δ	/d/
𐤄	h	/h/	Ε Ε	e	/e/ /e:/	Ε ε	/e/
𐤅	w	/w/	Ϝ	v	/w/	Ϝ ϝ	/w/
			Ϛ	u	/u/ /u:/	Ϛ ϛ	/u/
𐤆	z	/z/	-	-	-	Ζ ζ	/zd/ /dz/
𐤇	ħ	/ħ/	-	-	-	Η η	/ε:/
𐤈	t̥	/t̥/	-	-	-	Θ θ	/t̥/
𐤉	y	/j/	Ϟ	y	/j/	Ι ι	/i/ /i:/
			Ϡ	i	/i/ /i:/		
𐤊	k	/k/	Κ Υ Ψ	k Υ Ψ	/k/	Κ κ	/k/
						Ψ ψ?	/ps/ or /ks/
𐤋	l	/l/	Λ	l	/l/	Λ λ	/l/
𐤌	m	/m/	Μ	m	/m/	Μ μ	/m/
𐤍	n	/n/	Ν	n	/n/	Ν ν	/n/
𐤎	s	/s/	-	-	-	Ξ ξ	/ks/
𐤏	ʔ	/ʔ/	Ο	o	/o/ /o:/	Ο ο	/o/
						Ω ω	/o:/
𐤐	p	/p/	Π	p	/p/	Π π	/p/
𐤑	ʃ	/ʃ/	-	-	-	Μ Ϟ	/s/
𐤒	q	/q/	-	-	-	Ϟ ϟ	/k/
						Φ φ	/p <sup>h</sup> /
𐤓	r	/r/	Ρ	r	/r/	Ρ ρ	/r/
𐤔	ʃ	/ʃ/	Ξ	s	/s/	Σ σ ζ	/s/
𐤕	t	/t/	Τ	t	/t/	Τ τ	/t/
-	-	-	↑ Φ	↑	/z/ [zd] ?	Τ, Τ	/ts/ ?

Before dealing with the less clear letters, some generalities of the Old Phrygian texts are in order. Although Phrygian seems to have five vowels (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/) that contrast in length with a further five (/a:/, /e:/, /i:/, /o:/, /u:/, although the existence of /e:/ is controversial and not all vowels have been identified), the Phrygian alphabet has only five vowel letters (⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨u⟩): see, e.g., the 3sg.med. ending -toy /toj/ (*edatoy* B-05) and the thematic sg.dat. ending -oy /o:j/ (*surgastoy* Dd-102). In OPhr. inscriptions, repetitions of the same vowel are rarely used within words (M-06 *deiatiteeq*?) and very often their presence is good evidence for a word boundary when spaces or interpunctuations are not used to mark word boundaries and texts employs *scriptio continua*. However, in the inscriptions without yod the sequence ⟨i i⟩ occurs within the same word (T-03aI *aʔiiai*) to represent /ij/ or /ji/. Geminates are not marked by the Phrygian alphabet, although they are known to be pronounced, e.g. 3pl. ending -sini (P-101 *isini*) / -σιννι (2.2 δεδασσιννι) and the PN *ates* (M-01a, etc.), read as Αττης in Greek inscriptions (KNP 107 § 119-10) and as Ἄττης in manuscripts (e.g. Hermesian.8).

Table 5 Chart of Phrygian letters according to CIPPh I, 280

	<i>En contexte dextroverse</i>	<i>En contexte sinistroverse</i>
1	Α	Α
2	Β	Β
3	Γ	Γ
4	Δ Λ	Δ Λ
5	Ε Ε	Ε Ε
6	Ϝ	Ϝ
7	Ι	Ι
8	Κ	Κ
9	Λ	Λ
10	Μ	Μ
11	Ν	Ν
12	Ο	Ο
13	Π	Π
14	Ρ	Ρ
15	Σ Σ Σ Σ	Σ Σ Σ Σ
16	Τ	Τ
17	Υ	Υ
18	Ϛ ϛ	ϛ Ϛ
19	Ϝ Ϟ	Ϝ Ϟ
20	ϙ	ϙ?
21		ϙ?
22	Ϝ Ϟ	
23	ϙ	
24	ϙ	

Table 6 Suggested classification of the Phrygian letters

No.	Dextroverse	Sinistroverse	Transcription	Phoneme
1	Α	Α	a	/a/ /a:/
2	Β Β	Β Β	b	/b/
3	Γ	Γ	g	/g/
4	Δ Λ	Λ Δ	d	/d/
5	Ε Ε	Ε Ε	e	/e/ /e:/
6	Ϝ	Ϝ	v	/w/
7	Ι	Ι	i	/i/ /i:/
8	Κ Υ V ϙ	Κ Υ V	k Υ V ϙ	/k/
9	Λ	Λ	l	/l/
10	Μ	Μ	m	/m/
11	Ν	Ν	n	/n/
12	Ο	Ο	o	/o/ /o:/
13	Π	Π	p	/p/
14	Ρ	Ρ	r	/r/
15	Σ Σ Σ Σ	Σ Σ	s	/s/
16	Τ	Τ	t	/t/
17	Υ	Υ	u	/u/ /u:/
18	Ϛ X	ϛ Ϛ	y	/j/
19	Ϝ Ϟ ϙ ϙ	Ϝ	Ϝ Ϟ ϙ	/z/ [zd] ?

Another feature of the Phrygian alphabet is that most inscriptions are written sinistroversely. However, at least 66 inscriptions are dextroversely and boustrophedon occurs in 18 texts. Finally, it must be added that Phrygian employs *scriptio continua* in many instances, though the use of interpunctuations or spaces is not unusual (see § 3.1.7.1).

### 3.1.1. The letter CIPPh no. 18: the Phrygian yod, ⟨y⟩

The identification of the Phrygian *yod* is one of the most important contributions to the decipherment of Phrygian by Michel Lejeune (1969a, 30-38). Since his analysis, it has been universally accepted that CIPPh no. 18 represents the consonantal allophone [j] of /i/. According to his work, this letter appears in the following contexts:

- a) At the beginning of a word before a vowel (never before *i*): e.g. *yos* (passim).
- b) Between vowels (other than *i*): e.g. *areyastin* (W-01b).
- c) Between a consonant and vowel: e.g. *kuryaneyon* (W-01c).
- d) Optionally between *i* and another vowel (other than *i*): compare, e.g., *kuliyā[---]* (G-101), *k↑iyanaveyos* (M-02) or *tiyes* (M-04) with *kadiun* (G-103) or *kΦiyanaveyos* (M-01b).
- e) In final diphthongs: *tedatoy* (W-01a), *materey* (W-01b), *avtay...*
- f) Following the vowel *-i* at the end of a word followed by an initial vowel: *tuave|niy ÷ ae* (M-01f), *materey eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y* (W-01b), *niy art* (B-05)... One example is found before a consonant: *dedasitiy tubetiv* (B-05).
- g) this final *yod* is often found (especially in Bithynian text) after the vowel *-e* before an initial vowel or consonant (not considered by Lejeune), especially with the copulative conj. *ke(y)* ‘and’ in text from Bithynia (but not exclusively): *key venavtun* (W-01b), *key estat* (B-05), *key iverais* (B-05)... This position is not to be confused with the athem. sg.dat. ending *-ey* < PIE *\*-ei*.

However, as Lejeune noticed, this sound is not always marked with this letter, since commonly the *yod* is not found in the second element of non-final diphthongs: see, e.g., *memevais* (M-02), *proitavos* (M-01b and M-02) or *esait* (W-01b, *esai≠t*). This said, even here some exceptions are found: e.g. *eymiya<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>[---]* (G-178).

A surprising fact, also considered by Lejeune, is that this letter does not appear in Phrygian texts before the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (*pace* Brixhe 2004b, 281-284). During the two first centuries of Phrygian writing [j] is represented by ⟨i⟩: e.g. *a↑iiai* (T-03a1), [---]oi ÷ *avtoi* (T-03b, last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC), *agaritōi petes adoikavoi* (G-02)... Even in later inscriptions the use of the Phrygian *yod* was not at all widespread: e.g. *midai lavagtaei vanaktei* (M-01a, second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and *estatoi avun* (G-144, 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC).<sup>60</sup> In any case, ⟨y⟩ seems to be derived from the Phoenician(-Aramaic) *yod*, as well as the Phrygian *iota* (see Brixhe 2004a, 29), although it remains unclear if it was an internal development or the result of the Semitic influence.

### 3.1.2. The letter CIPPh no. 19: the arrow-letter ↑

The arrow-letter (↑, Φ, ↖ and T) is attested 23 times in 18 in 23 Phrygian inscriptions, from early texts of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, e.g., Gordion Tumulus MM (some years before 740 BC) or Tyana stele(s) (730–712 BC), to the end of the Hellenistic period:

<sup>60</sup> With regard to [w], a similar hesitation is found in three inscriptions where this allophone is represented by ⟨u⟩ instead of the most common ⟨v⟩. Compare M-01c *m<sup>2</sup>onokaua*, M-01f *tuave|niy* and W-11 [.<sup>2</sup>]y[.<sup>2</sup>]agaua with M-01dI *tvemes*, M-01a *lavagtaei* and M-04 *akinanogavan*.

1. G-105 *si↑idos akor* (incised on a bronze bowl found inside Tumulus MM, before 740 BC).
2. G-203 ↑ | .X (fragment of the bottom of a bowl from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC).
3. G-225 ↑ | a (on the bottom of a saucer from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).
4. G-275 *Ti* (incised on a sherd from the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).
5. G-346 *si↑idos* (incised on a beam of Tumulus MM, Gordion, before 740 BC).
6. M-01b *baba ∷ memevais ∷ proitavos ∷ kΦiyanaveyos ∷ si≠keneman ∷ edaes* ‘Baba Memevais the proitavos, the *kΦiyanaveyos*, made this niche’ (on Midas Façade dated to 575–550 BC, although the inscription is a later addition).
7. M-02 *bba ∷ memevais ∷ proitavo[s] | k↑ianaveyos ∷ akaragayun | edaes* ‘B(a)ba Memevais the proitavos, the *k↑ianaveyos*, made this *akaragayun*’ (on a vertical side of an outcrop of rock near other monuments of Midas City, contemporaneous to M-01b).
8. W-08 [-?-] *ates agomoi | saQ<sup>2</sup>ta tedaes | alus si↑eto<sup>2</sup> | bateles bab.[-?-]* (engraved on a lone rock at Çepni).
9. W-09 *si↑eto ae | alus* (engraved on a lone rock at Çepni).
10. W-10 *atai edae lel/ravo | vi↑e atevo atois | alus si↑eto das* (engraved on a lone rock at Çepni);
11. B-04 ... *ā<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>q̄p<sup>2</sup>to<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>iy • ā<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> lavoy • ue ...* (undated marble block only viewed in 1926 on the wall of a house in Üyücek, a fragment).
12. B-05 *†iv† <s>imun inmeney aṣenān dāket torvetun ↑iray qyniy oy | tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke ābretoy nun oy nev<otan> | yos isekosos ↑emeney đupratoy, vebān ituv* (fragment of the imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele, 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC).
13. B-06 *ṣtal<sup>2</sup>a ke ∷ ↑ek.[---]eṣkey[---]ā<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup>[---] | dēṣ[---] ∷ event noktoy ∷ eṣetētariyois | [---]y ∷ yos tumoy ∷ ↑ekmatin | [---]atonkeyen* (funerary stele from Daskyleion, perhaps from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC).
14. T-02b [---] | [---]ṭumida ∷ memeuīs ∷ [---] | [---]a ∷ tesa n ∷ a↑ion ∷ v[---] | [---]oitumen ∷ miḍa[---] | [---]n ∷ a↑ios ∷ mi[---] | [---]n ∷ batan ∷ e.[---] and C ∷<sup>?</sup> ea.[---] | [---].na | [---] | [---] | [---]↑ | [---] (fragments of a stele from Tyana, late 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC).
15. T-03aI *a↑iiai ∷ polodreṭes ∷ poreti ∷ q̄tu[[---]] and T-03bII | [---]sn|a[---]][---]ed|eia[---] | [---]q<sup>2</sup>r↑els ∷ ar[---]* (fragments of a stele from Tyana, late 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC).
16. NW-139 *a↑[i/e.<sup>2</sup>]* (fragment of the bottom of a pot from Dorylaion, 550–330 BC).
17. HP-109 *a↑ses* (on a bronze bowl found in the Tumulus D of Bayındır, east Lycia, middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC).
18. HP-110 *si↑idos* (on a bronze bowl found in Tumulus D at Bayındır, east Lycia, middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

On its nature, Brixhe (1982, 229-239) equated the arrow-letter to the Ionian sampi, T, and the Lydian <c> (perhaps /dz/ or /tz/, see Melchert 2004, 603 and Gérard 2005, 58-59) and considered it a palatalised consonant arising in contact with front vowels (/e/ and /i/). This explanation fits well with the occurrences of the discussed letter (Table 7, only in HP-109 *a↑ses* is the letter not followed by a front vowel, see Brixhe (2004a, 115), who considered <↑s> a redundant representation of /ts/). However, he also suggested that it stands for a voiceless affricate /ts/ rendering the palatalisation of PIE \*k (even in Brixhe 2008, 74), perhaps written in NPhr. as σ(σ), although these proposals are more disputable.

Table 7 Contexts and occurrences of †

Contexts	Occurrences
/#_e	†emeney; †ek.[---]; †ekmatin
/#_i	†iray
/a_i	a†ion, a†ios, a†iiai
/a_s	a†ses
/i_e	si†eto, vi†e
/i_i	si†idos
/k_i	k†ianaveyos, k†iyanaveyos
/r_e	[---]o†r†e[s
Unclear	a†[---], [---]†[---]

Some facts must be considered to reveal the sound represented by the arrow-letter. Firstly, words with this letter remain unclear but there is no reason to consider that † renders a development of /k/. The suggested etymology “\*se:(i)k- (“tender, presenter ..., cf. grec ἴκω, ἦκω, ἰκέτης, etc.)” for si†eto (Brixhe 1982, 230-231, \*seik- in LIV<sup>2</sup> 522) can be refuted because the presence of the initial \*s- before a vowel is not preserved in Phr.: PIE \*seǵ<sup>h</sup>- ‘to hold, to overpower’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 515-516, IEW 888-889) > Phr. *egeseti*, εγεδου, εγεσιτ (Greek ἔχω ‘have, hold’, Sanskrit *sáhate* ‘overwhelm, defeat’).<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the only likely etymology for a word with the arrow-letter is PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r- ‘hand’ (NIL 170-172, Gr. χεῖρ, χεῖρός ‘id.’) > OPhr. B-05 †iray, equated to NPhr. ζειρα (40.1 = 12), ζειραι (59.4 = 106, see Hämmig 2013, 150-151). Although the given etymology (and the meaning of the word) are open to discussion, the comparison between OPhr. †iray and NPhr. ζειραι is strong enough to consider that OPhr. † appears as † in NPhr. texts. It implies that † represents a voiced consonant (perhaps a voiced alveo-palatal affricate or palato-alveolar affricate), since the Greek † stands for /zd/ or /dz/. The realisation of this Greek letter is difficult to determine and seems to be slightly different in each period and area, and it cannot be ruled out that another change, perhaps through the influence of Greek, was undergone by the sound represented by † between OPhr. and NPhr. documentation. In any case, in such a scenario, the etymology \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r- ‘hand’ > OPhr. †iray remains valid because a similar development is attested in Phrygian: PIE \*d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m- ‘ground’ (NIL 86-99, IEW 414-416)<sup>62</sup> > NPhr. ζεμελωσ ‘men’ (pl.dat., passim; Greek χθαμαλός ‘low, near the ground’; very likely ζεμελωσ has the simplification \*d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m- > \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m- found in Greek χαμαί ‘to the earth, on the earth’, χαμηλός ‘low, lowered’ and Lat. *humus* ‘ground, earth’). Also, H. ζ 128 seems to fit with this development: ζευμαν· τήν πηγίην. Φρύγες ‘Z.: source, stream. Phrygians’, which can only go back to PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eu-m<sup>h</sup>, as well as Greek χεῦμα ‘source, stream’ (see Solmsen 1897a, 62 and EDG 1629).

In the light of the little information available, † may represent a secondary palatalisation of PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>- before front vowels (/e/ and /i/). However, in many examples PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>- is represented by †g and †y in OPhr. and NPhr., respectively: PIE \*seǵ<sup>h</sup>- ‘to hold, to overpower’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 515-516, IEW 888-889) > Phr. *egeseti*, εγεδου, εγεσιτ (Greek ἔχω ‘have, hold’, Sanskrit *sáhate* ‘overwhelm, defeat’) and PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>er(H)- ‘desire, enjoy’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 176-177, IEW 440-441) > NPhr. γε-γαριτ-μενος ‘cursed, devoted’. In Phrygian the PIE palatal series merged with the plain velar series (as *centum* languages) and the aspirate became a voiced stop. So, PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup> is expected to

<sup>61</sup> The only possible exception is found in the demonstrative pron. σα, σι, σεμουν... However, although it has been suggested that the s- goes back to the pronominal PIE theme \*to- / so-, Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185 recently suggested that it is inherited from the PIE demonstrative \*ki- (see § 4.2.1.2.1), and this possibility is preferred here.

<sup>62</sup> The reconstruction dǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m- is argued by Kloekhorst 2014.

become /g/ as well as PIE \*g<sup>h</sup>. Compare PIE \*seǵ<sup>h</sup>- > OPhr. *egeseti* and PIE \*g<sup>h</sup>rei(H)- ‘strike’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 203, IEW 457) > γεγρειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.).

Therefore, we must assume the following steps: PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup> > \*g<sup>h</sup> > Phr. g-, parallel to PIE \*g<sup>h</sup> > Phr. g-. In addition, in some words a secondary shift \*g > ⟨↑⟩ /⟨ζ⟩ occurs before front vowels. Nevertheless, this is not a consistent notation since it is common to find ⟨g⟩ and ⟨γ⟩ followed or preceded by front vowels, as we have seen. The same is true of words without a clear origin: OPhr. *p<sup>2</sup>erbastidages* (HP-101), *saragiš* (PN, B-108 and M-101), *lagineios* (PN, G-110), [-?-] *agipeia* (G-135), [---] *ḡ<sup>2</sup>agi*.[---] (G-240), [l<sup>2</sup>] *agineia* (PN, G-276), *egertoy* (W-01c), *olgiavos* (G-150 a), *iyungidas* (PN, B-07), *u|rgitos* (PN, K-01) and [---] *eg<sup>2</sup>i*.[---] (G-206); NPhr. ευγεξα|ρναϊ (11.2 = 18), γεvτi (15.1 = 120), γερε[v] (28.1 = 71) and εγερετοι (37.2 = 30).

Consequently, in Phrygian some words with \*g<sup>h</sup> > g show this palatalisation and some do not. ⟨↑⟩ may represent a fricative allophone [z] or palatal [g<sup>j</sup>], [zd], [dz]<sup>63</sup> or [dʒ] of /g/ not always indicated in writing. Finally, it is tempting to consider the Phrygian arrow-letter as derived from the Phoenician *gīml*, as well as the Phrygian gamma, by the addition of a stroke in order to make a new symmetric letter (see Table 8). However, this is a mere hypothesis and prior proposals cannot be refuted.<sup>64</sup>

Table 8 The Phoenician letter *gīml* and its reflections in other alphabets as hypothetically suggested here

Phoenician	Phrygian	Greek	Lydian	Lycian
𐤂	Γ /g/	Γ /g/	⊃ [g]	𐤂 /g/
	↑ /z/, [dz, zd]?	Τ /ts/?	↑ /dz/?	𐤃 /c/

Another possible origin for the Phrygian arrow-letter in Phrygia is the Phoenician *šadē* ⟨𐤑⟩. Although the earliest Phrygian texts have the arrow-shape of this letter, the Vezirhan stele has an unusual shape, 𐤑, which recalls the old shape of the Phoenician letter as found, e.g., in the inscription from Karatepe, 𐤑. However, Karatepe and Vezirhan inscriptions belong to different periods: the Phoenician inscription is dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the Phrygian one to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. So, accepting this equation would imply that the “original” form of the letter was preserved in a peripheral location like Vezirhan, although the oldest Phr. inscription has the arrow-shape.

### 3.1.3. The letters CIPPh no. 20 and 23: variants of ⟨k⟩

The Old Phrygian letter CIPPh no. 20 occurs 23 times in 21 different inscriptions from Gordion (11), Dorylaion (8) and Daskyleion (B-07) and on the Areyastin monument (W-01, near Midas City). However, ten of these occurrences are graffiti in which the letter does not appear in a text but as a (owner’s) mark. The earliest instances of this letter can be dated to the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (immediately after the Gordion Destruction Level, G-249 and, as a mark, in G-278), while most occurrences date to the period between the beginning of the Achaemenid period (550 BC) and the Macedonian conquest of Anatolia (330 BC), except G-324 (perhaps from the Hellenistic or Roman period). Regarding its shape, three variants are

<sup>63</sup> As Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185 preferred.

<sup>64</sup> Brixhe 1982, 226-227 considered that Greek sampi was derived from *šadē*, 𐤑, or, better, from taw, X. Since it is an open question, both possibilities remain feasible. Symmetry is a common feature of the new letters developed in the Anatolian alphabets (Adiego fthc. a).

attested: Υ (9 occurrences, W-01b, B-07, G-115, G-145, G-224, G-278, G-294, G-306 and G-339), V (9 occurrences, G-249, G-322, G-324, NW-101, NW-105, NW-112, NW-119, NW-121 and NW-121) and Ψ (G-112, NW-128 and NW-135).

After Lejeune (1978), who refuted prior equations with the different values of the Greek psi, ψ, it is commonly considered that this letter represents the stop + fricative sequence /ks/, like the Greek xi, ξ. However, this explanation is not at all compatible with the Phr. documentation, as I will try to show, following Lejeune’s argumentation step by step. His analysis began with the misspelling found in G-145, a graffito incised after firing on “a flat strap handle of a gray ware jug, excellently black-polished” (Young 1969, 289), dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Fig. 2):

Fig. 2 Photograph of G-145 (Young 1969, pl. 70 no. 72)



voineio[[Υ]] uriienois ku[---]  
s

As can be seen, the engraver first wrote *voineio*Υ and, later, incised the <s> under the letter <Υ>, after scratching it. In the light of this example, Lejeune (1978, 786) considered that the sound represented by this letter must be similar to that of <s>. Then he suggested that it could stand for “une articulation consonantique complexe à composante sifflante” related to /s/ similar to /ss/, /ts/, /ks/ or /ps/, adducing the common hesitation in Greek between ξύν and σύν. Either way, as he admits, the text of G-145 is far from being clear: *voneios* can be considered a PN derived from *voines*, a well attested PN from Gordion (G-129, G-286; *voine* in G-228), but *uriienois* and *ku*[---] remain unclear.

Adiego, on the other hand, has recently suggested (p.c.) that if one examines carefully the photograph of this text given by *CIPPh*, the presence of [[Υ]] is not as clear as has been said. According to his proposal, the engraver wrote <ou> and, after realising that he should have written <osu>, tried to insert an <s> between the two vowels. However, there was not space enough and the result is not satisfactory. He then wrote the <s> under the position that it was supposed to occupy and scratched the previous attempt because the result was confusing. Finally, he added another <s>. Although this proposal must be confirmed or rejected by reading the physical object rather than the photograph, it shows that this error does not provide a valid basis to determine the nature of the letter <Υ>, because even the reading is unclear.

Secondly, Lejeune (1978, 785-786) adduced the graffito G-115, incised (also after firing) on the “base of a gray-ware bowl with finely black-polished surfaces” (Young 1969, 271) and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC:

Fig. 3 Photograph of G-115 (Obrador-Cursach)



### YuvaYaros

Haas (1976, 80-82) identified it as the PN (also borne by a Median king) attested in OP as <sup>h</sup>Uvaxšatar- (Behistun inscription), in New Assyrian as <sup>m</sup>Ú-ak-sa-tar (TCL 03, 5372 l. 42), <sup>m</sup>Uk-sa-tar (ABL 645), in New and Late Babylonian as <sup>m</sup>Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar or <sup>m</sup>Ú-ma-kiš-tar, in Elamite as Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri and Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra (Beshitun inscription, note that in Elamite the sign ME/PI often represents /v/) and, finally, in Greek as Κυαξάρης (Hdt. 1.73 and 1.103-07).<sup>65</sup> This name seems to go back to a Median form <sup>\*h</sup>Uvaxštra and following this likely interpretation for the Phrygian graffito, Lejeune considered that the Phrygian rendering follows the OP form with the common OP simplification of the Median cluster -xštr- > -xš-. Here, he argued that the second <Y> of YuvaYaros stands for the OP <xš> and Greek <ξ> and, consequently, that Phr. <Y> represents a cluster /ks/, parallel to the Greek form. According to him, it fits with the misspelling found in G-145. Finally, for the first <Y>, he suggested a regressive assimilation from the second <Y> to the initial /h-/ of this Persian PN, promoted because it is not a non-Phrygian phoneme. So, he reads YuvaYaros as /ksuwaksaros/. In addition, G-224c, a graffito incised on a marmite (from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, published after Lejeune's work) is very likely an abbreviation of this PN (CIPPh I, 180-181): Yuv.

Following this interpretation, Lejeune also considered the verb daYet of the imprecative protasis W-01b (see Fig. 4), read on a cult façade devoted to the Mother-Goddess (near Midas City, dated ca. 550 BC according to Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 238):

yos esait : materey : eveteksete<sup>?</sup>y : ovevin : onoman : daYet :

<sup>65</sup> Lyc. waxysser (M 237; see Schmitt 1982, 27 and Neumann 2007, 423) cannot be considered in this list after Konuk 2016, 20-27, who read it as waxysseddimi, a PN also attested in Xanthos Stele (44a,49, perhaps Carian in origin, Adiego fthc. b). Regarding waxyssere (also read in coins, M 132, M 133, M 207 and M 236), one can consider that waxysse- and waxyssere- are the outcome of a Luwic theme (Adiego p.c. 16/02/2018).

Fig. 4 Detail of the façade W-01 with the discussed text (Obrador-Cursach)



In the light of his analysis of the previous occurrences of <Υ>, he considered *daΥet* a clear form of the verb *edaes* (3sg.ind.aor.act.) / αδδακετ (3sg.pres.act.) < PIE \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- ‘to put, to do’, a sigmatic form (subj. or fut.) similar to Lat. *faxō* regarding to *faciō* / *fēcī*. In addition, since <ks> is also attested in the same sentence, he adduced that the difference between the sequence /ks/ found in *eveteksete*<sup>2</sup>y and in *daΥet* is that the first word contains a morpheme boundary between the two sounds: *ev-e-tek-s-e-tey*.

However, a verbal sequence *-s-et* (suffix and ending) is never attached to a consonant verbal theme (the interpretation of *anivaΥeti* depends on *daΥet*, see below) and it is easier to consider *daΥet* a spelling variant of OPhr. B-05 *daket* and the NPhr. (αδ)δακετ (3sg.pres.act.). Indeed, this sentence is a clear imprecative protasis, ‘who(ever) puts his own name in this Mother *Eveteksetey*...’, and is the same syntactic sequence as the common New Phrygian protasis ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδακετ (passim) ‘who(ever) does harm to this tomb’ (see Table 9). It is also similar to the OPhr. protasis *†iv† <s>imun inmeney asenan daket* ‘whoever puts/does *asenan* in/to this monument’ (B-05, Vezirhan stele, following Hämmig’s 2013 analysis). On the other hand, one could argue that there is a protasis with a similar verbal form, P-04 a. *ios ni akenan egeseti*, but the ending *-ti* of this verb instead of *-t* shows that *egeseti* is not the same as *daΥet*, and note that there is a vowel between the root *eg-* (< PIE \*seǵ<sup>h</sup>- ‘hold’) and *-s-eti* (NPhr. εγεσιτ).

Table 9 Comparison between W-01b and the common NPhr. apodosis

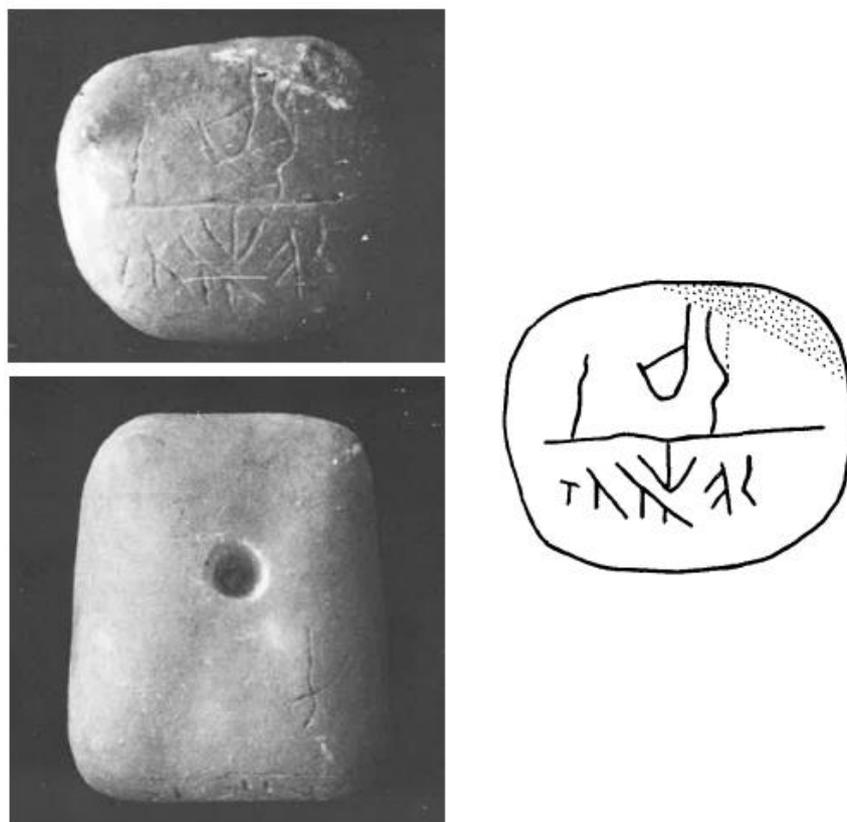
W-01b	yos	esai≠t	materey eveteksetey	ovevin onoman	daΥet
<b>Morphological analysis</b>	rel. pron. in sg.nom.masc.	demonstrative pronoun in sg.dat. (+ pcl.)	noun (+ adj. in sg.dat.)	(poss. pron +) noun in sg.acc.	3 sg. verb
<b>OPhr. B-05, syntactical parallel</b>	†iv† (= yos)	<s>imun	inmeney	asenan	daket
<b>NPhr. syntactical parallel</b>	ιος (νι)	σεμουν	κνουμανει	κακουν	αδδακετ

Therefore, this is the first context in which Lejeune’s suggestion is questionable, although the arguments given here to refute it are not conclusive. Nevertheless, there is a

disregarded inscription which could be the key to this question: G-249. It is a short text incised on the bottom of an unfinished alabaster weight, according to the first editors (*CIPPh* I, 195-196):

*seVelt|ias*

Fig. 5 Weight with the Phrygian inscription G-249 (*CIPPh* I, 195 and II, CVI no. 3-4)



It is difficult to date this artefact because it was found in a layer of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC with many objects dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Despite the ambiguous context (a layer in the post-destruction level in building CC3), the editors considered it “archaïque” and, more recently, Brixhe (2002a, 26 and 2004b, 276) reconsidered that it may be dated to the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, following the reconsideration of Gordion chronology by DeVries and Voigt (see § 3.1). In this case, it would be the oldest occurrence of <V>. Note that this shape is the common one of the Phoenician *kāp* before the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (see, e.g., the *Schrifttafel* given by Friedrich and Röllig 1970).

The reading of this inscription is not easy, but the experienced editors made an excellent job. Indeed, not only is the text established by the editors is the only defensible interpretation, it is also supported by new arguments. Since the artefact where G-249 was incised is a weight (modified to serve as loom weight, as the unfinished central hole and the archaeological context show),<sup>66</sup> it can be considered that the inscription refers to the unit of measurement. Indeed, the first part, *seVel*, fits perfectly as a borrowing of the well-known West

<sup>66</sup> On the large number of loom weights from this level and on textile production at Gordion, see DeVries 1990, 387 (who counts 509 weights in the main room of CC 3) and Burke 2005, 75-78. Note that this alabaster weight differs considerably from the more common “doughnut” type (most “made of sun-dried clay” from the banks of the Sakarya River” according to Burke 2005, 75).

Semitic unit of weight: *šql* /*šqel*/ ‘shekel, weight’ (in Greek as σίκλος and σίγλος, referred to a weight or coin, also in Lyc. as *siχla-*, see Neumann 2007, 324-325). It is a common epigraph incised on weights from Old Aramaic and Imperial/Official Aramaic periods. See, for example, the typical Old Aramaic inscription on weights: e.g. *šql hmt* ‘Shekel of Ḥamath’, *šql sydn* ‘Shekel of Sidon’, *šql qrqr* ‘Shekel of Qarqar’ (see Riis & Buhl 1990, 65-66 and Deutsch & Millard 2014), all of them contemporaneous to the Phrygian one. Therefore, the word *seVel* provides an explicit occurrence against the interpretation /ks/ for the letter <V>.

According to the given parallels, the rest of the inscription, *t|ias*, may be a toponym in sg.gen., however an ethnic in sg.nom. cannot be ruled out in the light of New Phrygian 1.1 (48) *πουντας βας*: ‘Pontic Bas’ (sg.nom.). Here, it is tempting to consider *tias* as the ethnic of the Bithynian city Τίειον, Τίος, Τήιον (KON 618-619 § 1337), named after *Ti-* (the Phrygian Zeus) according to FGrH 699 F 9 of Demosthenes’ *Bithynian History* (St.Byz s.u. Τίος): Δημοσθένης δ’ ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεύσαι ‘Demosthenes in his *Bithyniaca* says that the city’s founder was Pataros, who conquered Paphlagonia, and that he called it Tios after Zeus worship’. Nevertheless, other unrecorded cities could be also named after this central Phrygian god and the suggested identification is a mere possibility.

Before giving an alternative interpretation for the representation of the letter <Υ>, I prefer to further explore the other occurrences of this letter. However, only the verb *anivaʔeti* (B-07) provides some information. This 3sg. verb occurs in a Greco-Persian grave stele dated to between 500 and 475 BC and found in Daskyleion (seat of the Persian satrapy of Hellespontic Phrygia). My reading, below, is based on the one given by Brixhe (2004a, 85), with some differences in the segmentation:

[.]gat : *s=manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy est[.]*  
 [..]es va *knais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is yos tiv[.]*  
 [.]<sup>?</sup>n ke *devμη k umnotan ordoineten me kos anivaʔeti s=maniη*

The stele has a relief representing a banquet scene with a couple reclined on a couch and surrounded by attendants.<sup>67</sup> It very likely represents Manes (l. 1, 2 and 3) and his wife Manukka (*va knais manuka* l. 2). Although the text is not at all clear, the second part of the last line can be reconsidered. According to Brixhe (2002, 85), the sequence may be read as *mekos anivaʔeti (i)s maniη*, where *mekos* is a variant of *mekas* (erroneously considered a noun referring to the tomb) or, as he preferred, an unknown word in pl.dat., (*i)s* a preposition (the loss of its vowel is explained by its position after *anivaʔeti*) and *maniη* the acc. of the PN *manes*. However, he cannot give clear sense to this part of the inscription and *mekos* has no parallels.

Considering that *me* has recently been identified as the prohibitive pcl. PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* (simultaneously Hämmig fthc. a and Obrador-Cursach fthc.a), B-07 *me ... anivaʔeti* can be interpreted in the light of the New Phrygian curses against violators, where *με + subjunctive* occurs as the protasis: e.g. *με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος* ‘and let Bas not give him bread’, similar to 86 *βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]* ‘let Bas not bring bread to him’ (following Hämmig’s likely interpretation). Moreover, this new segmentation of B-07 shows a subject of the verb: the indefinite pron. *kos* (sg.nom.masc., inherited from PIE *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*). This pron. is found four times in NPhr. inscriptions: 130 *αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη...* ‘if anybody does harm to this place...’, 18 *αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ[α]κουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα...* ‘if anybody does harm to this tomb and stele...’, 64 *αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]ει κα[κουν αδδακετ]...* ‘if anybody [does] ha[rm to this tomb]’ and 72 *[αι] κος κ[α]κον αδα[κ]κιτορ...* ‘[if] anybody [do]es h[arm]...’. Since

<sup>67</sup> On the significance of this motif see Baughan 2013, 233-266.

this inscription uses spaces to mark the word boundaries, the lack of a space between *me* and *kos* suggests that *me* is a clitic word as well as its Greek parallel μή. Finally, the lone *s* is the same clitic form of the demonstrative pron. found in M-01d *s=materan* (*midas s=materan tvemes eneparkes*<sup>2</sup> ‘Midas engraved this Matar *tvemes*’, a text from the same period as B-07). Consequently, *me kos aniva∇eti s=maniṅ* means something like ‘let nobody *aniva∇eti* Manes’.

Despite the above analysis, the verb *aniva∇eti* remains the only misunderstood word of this short sentence. Nevertheless, a similar funerary stele with an Aramaic inscription found in the same city, Daskyleion, can be the key to clarifying the meaning of the Phrygian verb. According to Lipiński (1975a, 151), the Aramaic epitaph reads as follows:

ʔlh šlmh zy ʔlnp br ʔšy-  
 hw ʔbd lnpšh hwmytk  
 bl wnbw zy ʔrh? znh  
 yhw h ʔdh ʔyš ʔl yšml

‘These are the images, which Elnāp, son of Ashyā|hū, has made for his tomb. I adjure thee | by Bēl and Nabû! May the man, who along this way | will be going, do no harm!’<sup>68</sup>

In the light of the last line of the text, *me kos aniva∇eti s=maniṅ* can be considered to mean ‘let nobody harm Manes’. But does *aniva∇eti* have any relation with harm? Here, a very suitable etymology can be proposed. If we consider *an(i)-* a preverb (as Brixhe 2004a, 84 does),<sup>69</sup> we have a verbal root *va∇-* which fits as inherited from PIE *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>g-* / *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* ‘break’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 664-665) attested in Greek ἄγνυμι ‘to break’, Hitt. *uāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *uākk-* ‘to bite’ and ToAB *wāk-* ‘to split, to burst’. Of course, this development assumes the shift *\*-g-* / *\*-ǵ-* > *-k-* found in *mekas* ‘big’ (< *\*még<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>*, Greek μέγας Obrador-Cursach 2016), βεκος ‘bread’ (< *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ǵ-os-* Lubotsky 2004, 233, following a previous identification by Panagl & Kowal 1983, 186) and τετικμενος ‘accursed’ < *\*de-dik<sub>1</sub>-mh<sub>1</sub>no-* (Greek δια-δικάζω ‘judge’, κατα-δικάζω ‘condemn’). Thus, there is another <∇> related somehow to /k/.

Moreover, it can be suggested as a working hypothesis that, in the light of the Aramaic rel. clause in the same position, *zy ʔrh? znh | yhw h ʔdh ʔyš ʔl yšml* ‘who along this way | will be going, do no harm!’, the rel. clause read before this little sentence, *yos tiv[.][.].?n ke devuṅ k umnotan ordoineten me kos aniva∇eti s=maniṅ*, is related to *kos*, the subject of the sentence. Note also the presence of the DNs *bl wnbw* ‘Bēl and Nabû’ in the Aramaic text, the occurrence of the word *devun* ‘god(s)’ (sg.acc. or pl.gen?) and the tentative presence of the Phrygian Zeus in *tiv[.][.].?n* (first suggested by Lubotsky 2004, 230). So, both inscriptions are very similar in their formulation.

Following the analysis of this letter, the remaining occurrences must be considered to confirm that they do not provide valuable information. Certainly, the form *de∇eti* seems to be related somehow to *da∇et* (a zero-grade form of the PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to put, to do’?).<sup>70</sup> It was read by Brixhe (2002a, 6-7) on a small terracotta disc found on the surface of the ancient Dorylaion (Şarhöyük, near Eskişehir), without a clear archaeological context. The nature of this

<sup>68</sup> Other translations of the last sentence are ‘let no one do harm (to my tomb)’ (Cross 1966, 8-9), ‘que personne ne (lui) fasse de mal!’ (Lemaire 2000, II.1).

<sup>69</sup> Also found in B-05 *andati* and as a preposition governing acc. in W-11 MPhr-01 *αν δετουυ* and, perhaps, in 40.3 *av | μανκαν*. Since its origin is to be found in the PIE adverb *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-* ‘on, onto’ (see e.g. Greek ἀνά ‘up, upwards, along’, Avestan *ana* ‘upwards, along’), I must admit that the presence of the vowel *i* in B-07 *an-i-* is a mystery to me.

<sup>70</sup> The alternative given by Brixhe (2002a, 6-7), a form related to PIE *\*deḱ-* ‘take, perceive’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 109-112, Greek δέχομαι / δέχομαι ‘to take, accept’, Lat. *decet* ‘it is fitting’), must be excluded in the light of Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* suggested by Lubotsky (2004).

inscription remains unclear according to its editor (a seal?), and even the text, displayed on both faces, is a pile of minuscule strokes that are difficult to read (especially face B). The whole text was edited by Brixhe (2002a, 4-10) as follows:

Face	A I	<i>deVeti</i>
	A II	<i>toTi a tiei</i>
Face	B	<i>as-</i>
		← <i>na isnou</i>

After *deVeti*, the remaining words are even more obscure. The form *toTi* (with the rare letter no. 19, a variant of ⤴) is tentatively suggested to be the object of the verb (a sg.acc. of an unknown *i*-stem neuter noun) and the collation *a tiei* seems to correspond to NPhr. α(τ) Τι(η) ‘by Zeus’ (see Lubotsky 1997, 126 fn. 23 and Lubotsky 2004, 230). The two words of face B are even less clear: *isnou* is equated to NPhr. 87 ισνου (verb of an imprecative apodosis without clear meaning) and the hapax *as|na* is suggested to be the subject of the verb (a neuter plural).

Also unclear are G-112, a graffito from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC with the sequence *e<sup>+</sup>ta[---]*, perhaps related to W-02 *iketaios*, Greek Ἰκέτας or Lyc. *ixtta*, Ἰκτα (Neumann 2007, 14), G-339 *Yir*, an unparalleled graffito dated to 550-330 BC, G-306 [---]Yφ[---] or [---]φY[---] (5<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and NW-135 *miye[-?]-o<sup>+</sup>I* (550-330 BC). In the other occurrences of this letter, it appears as a simple mark: Y in G-294 (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC),<sup>71</sup> V in G-322 (560-550 BC), G-324 (Hellenistic or Roman period?), NW-105, NW-112, NW-119, NW-121 (all from Dorylaion and dated to 550-330 BC), VV in NW-121 (550 - 330 BC) and 𐤅 in NW-128 (550-330 BC).

Leaving aside the marks, the contexts in which it occurs can be established as follows:

- a) Initial position (3 occurrences), G-115 *YuvaYaros*, its possible abbreviation G-224 *Yuv* and G-339 *Yir*;
- b) Between vowels (5 occurrences), W-01b *daYet*, B-07 *anivaYeti*, G-115 *YuvaYaros*, *seVel* G-249 and NW-101 *deVeti* twice between *a* and *e*, twice between *e* and *e*, once between *a* and *a*;
- c) Between a vowel and a consonant (1 occurrence), *e<sup>+</sup>ta[---]*;
- d) Unknown (3 occurrences): G-145 *voineio*[Y]s, G-306 [---]Yφ[---] or [---]φY[---] and NW-135 *miye[-?]-o<sup>+</sup>I*;

Moreover, in 4 of these 12 instances (or 9 instances, leaving aside point (d)) it is found in borrowed words: G-115 *YuvaYaros*, *Yuv* and *seVel* and in 6 of these 12 instances (9 leaving aside point (d)) it is in contact with front vowels (/e/ and /i/). In *YuvaYaros* it is the Phrygian rendering of the Persian -xš-, while in *seVel* the Aramaic /q/ (*šqel*)<sup>72</sup> and in *daYet* (= B-05 *daket*, NPhr. (αδ)δακετ) and *anivaYeti* it goes back to PIE \*-k- (\**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-* and \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-k-*, respectively), perhaps also in *deVeti* if related to *daYet*.

According to the available information, one can consider three possibilities:

1. <Y> represents a palatalised allophone of /k/ in contact with front vowels ([k<sup>j</sup>], [ts] or [tʃ]): *Yir* (G-339), *daYet* (W-01b), *anivaYeti* (B-07), *deVeti* (NW-101) and *e<sup>+</sup>ta[---]*. The suggested palatalisation was sufficient to be identified by the engravers, who developed a variant of the kaph / kappa. Later this letter was used to represent the foreign sounds

<sup>71</sup> We can add to this list Y in G-278 (dated to between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC according to Brixhe 2004a, 38-40), however, although there is a small amount of text ([-?-.].[ai<sup>?</sup> u<sup>?</sup>]), this suggested letter appears near to non-verbal marks and is very likely not to be a proper grapheme. As has been said above, the certain instances of this letter appear in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

<sup>72</sup> This uvular sound /q/ is supposed to merge with the Phrygian velar sound /k/, as occurs in Greek σίκλος and Lyc. *sixla-* (see Neumann 2007, 324-325 and note that the Lyc. letter <χ> represents /k/).

of <sup>h</sup>Uvaxšatarā- > YuvaYaros. The Lycian alphabet can be adduced as a parallel of the kaph-kappa split suggested for the Phrygian letters <Y> and <k>, but in reverse: Lyc. <κ> (transcribed as <k>) stands for /c/ and Ψ (transcribed as <χ>) for /k/.

2. <Y> represents a fricative allophone [x] of /k/ in intervocalic position, a shift similar to \*népot-s > nevos (B-05, as Hämmig 2013 identified). In such a case, the use of this letter fits with <sup>h</sup>Uvaxšatarā- > YuvaYaros, since /h/ could have been heard as /x/ by the Phr. speakers and -xš- could have been simplified to /x/. Again, this shift only occurred in some places and was not consistently represented.
3. <Y> and <k> are two shapes of the same letter <k>, since daYet (W-01b) is the same verbal form of daket (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (passim). If this is the case, Phrygian YuvaYaros renders this name in the same way as Ionian Κυαξάρης (Hdt. 1.73 and 1.103-07), where /k/ renders Persian /x/ and /h/,<sup>73</sup> and the cluster -ks- > was simplified in -k- in Phrygian (parallel to \*yanaks > -vanak M-04, Greek ἄναξ).<sup>74</sup> It must be added that all the Phrygian shapes related to <k> are found in Semitic inscriptions of the same period for kāp.

A problem shared by the two first possibilities is that the verb daYet never again appears with a letter other than <k> in OPhr. and <κ> in NPhr.: daket (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (passim). Especially in the case of the second possibility, the lack of a NPhr. variant \*\*δαχετ is significant and the spelling of the Greek borrowing χώρος, -ου > κορου (27.1 = 92) does not make sense, since Classical Greek /k<sup>h</sup>/ was pronounced as /x/ by the New Phrygian times. Of course, it could be adduced that this shift occurred only in some some variants of Phrygian which were not precedents of the NPhr. stage. However, there is no evidence for such a conclusion. Moreover, the first possibility may be refuted because in the same W-01b, <k> occurs in contact with a front vowel, *eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y*, *lakedo* and *key*.

The third possibility could be rejected because in W-01b and B-07 the two shapes occur in the same inscription with <k>. However, this is not a valid argument because it is not unusual to find two or even more different shapes of one letter in the same inscription. See, e.g., the famous inscription M-01a (from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, as well as W-01b), where <s> has several shapes (Table 10):

Table 10 Shapes of <s> in M-01a



Turning back to the letter <Y>, it seems also to be found in B-07 *knais*. Brixhe (2004a, 74), if we consider that the breach at this position of the stele hides a stroke of this letter. However, the shape is clearly different to the other <k> of the stele and similar to <Y>, and detailed examination of the photo provided by Brixhe suggests that the consonant complete (albeit eroded). Observe in Table 11 that not all the vertical strokes of the <k> are as apparent as drawn by Brixhe (especially 4, l. 2):

<sup>73</sup> Since Phrygian and Ionian are psilotic, the rendering of /h/ is not expected. Consequently, one must assume an anticipatory assimilation between /h/ and /x/ in this PN: \*<sup>h</sup>uvaxšatarā- > \*xuvaxsara- (with the assimilation and syncope \*-šatarā- > \*-šara-) > Ion. Κυαξάρης / Phr. YuvaYaros.

<sup>74</sup> From of *seVel* < Aramaic *šqel* we know that this Semitic sibilant was rendered as /s/ in Phrygian, as well as in Greek (σίγλος, σίκλος).

Table 11 K and Ψ in B-07 (stele from Daskyleion) according to the photo and copy by Brixhe (2004a, 74-75)

Occurrence	Photo	Copy	Word
1 (l. 2)			<i>knais</i>
2 (l. 2)			<i>manuka</i>
3 (l. 2)			<i>odeketoy</i>
4 (l. 2)			<i>ke</i>
5 (l. 3)			<i>ke</i>
6 (l. 3)			<i>kos</i>
7 (l. 3)			<i>anivaΨeti</i>

Indeed, by the time the alphabet had been adapted to the Phrygian language, the Phoenician-Aramaic variant Ψ was commonly used (e.g., the Kulamuwa stele, dated ca. 830 BC). Consequently, there is good reason to consider that Ψ is a mere graphic variant of <k> rather than a representation of /ks/ or other sounds. Nevertheless, in this dissertation I will represent the variants of the letter in the words where they appear, since the question requires further research. Finally, the coexistence of various shapes must be addressed. The scenario suggested here may show interferences of cursive writing in monumental inscriptions; the same evolution is found in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. Note that Ψ is significantly more common in graffiti on sherds than in stone inscriptions, since in the latter context this shape only occurs twice: *daΨet* (W-01b) and *anivaΨeti* (B-07). At least in W-01b, the use of Ψ instead of K seems to be conditioned by the lack of space at the end of the line (see Fig. 6) but the same can be adduced for B-07, where the letters are slightly bigger and spaced further apart at the beginning than at the end of the inscription.

Fig. 6 Detail of *daΨet* in W-01b (Obrador-Cursach)



### 3.1.4. The letter CIPPh no. 21: the unparalleled Phrygian “qof”

The letter *CIPPh* no. 21 is a hapax found only in the rock inscription W-08 (undated): *ates agomoi | saϕ<sup>2</sup>ta tedaes | alus si<sup>1</sup>eto<sup>2</sup> | bateles bab.[?-]* (‘Ates made these *saϕ<sup>2</sup>ta* for Agomos. *alus si<sup>1</sup>eto<sup>2</sup>*. *Bateles Baba?*...’). Although it has been sometimes equated to the Semitic qof and Greek qoppa, the letter could stand for ⟨p⟩ or the ligature of two letters (⟨o⟩ + ⟨i⟩?), according to *CIPPh* (I, 53 see also Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 69 and 72). In any case, it is never found elsewhere in the Phrygian corpus and the reading is not certain enough for it to be deemed a proper letter. Indeed, the vertical stroke seems deliberate, but the circular part is more tentative. So, as *CIPPh* assumes, its existence is unclear.

### 3.1.5. The obscure letter CIPPh no. 22

Before the identification of the Phrygian yod by Lejeune (1969a), the letter *CIPPh* no. 18 was considered similar to Greek Z ζ. However, when the yod was identified, the letter *CIPPh* no. 22 was suggested to be the counterpart of this Greek letter (see Lejeune 1969a, 39, Lejeune 1970, 58 and 60, Brixhe 1982, 240-241 and Morante Mediavilla 2000, 185-196). However, both of the claimed occurrences of this letter are far from clearly read texts and belong to very different periods of Gordion’s history. In G-106 *u7d* (see Fig. 7 and Fig. 8) the whole inscription (“scratched on a smear of beeswax beside one handle” of a bronze bowl of the MM Tumulus, Young 1969, 262 no. 32, dated before 740 BC) has no parallels and does not refer to any known sequence. Brixhe (1982, 240) considered it an abbreviation of a PN, however this PN is unknown. Very probably, his motivation is that two of the three letters are consonants and the other inscriptions found in MM are PNs. In any case, the first letter has a strange shape for a ⟨u⟩ and perhaps the claimed 7 is the shape of another letter. As a working hypothesis, one could suggest a three-stroke ⟨s⟩, similar to the one found in M-01d. However, the two letters are not at all equal, and whatever this inscription contains it remains unclear, as does the reading of the second letter. It is true that a reading *usd* would fit the NPhr. sequence *uσδ-* (22.1 = 9), but it is also problematic.<sup>75</sup>

Fig. 7 Drawing of G-106 according to *CIPPh* (I, 101)



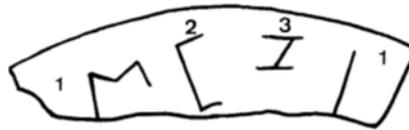
<sup>75</sup> In addition, a Phoenician (or Aramaic) reading of G-106 can be ruled out because the letters would be too schematic. Moreover, neither a root nor personal name *D-Z-W* is attested in the West Semitic branch and this sequence does not fit anything known in Anatolia. I want to thank José Ángel Zamora for his observations on ruling out this possibility (p.c. 19/07/2017).

Fig. 8 Photograph of G-106 published by Young (1969, pl. 68 no. 32)



The second claimed inscription is G-244, a graffito incised on a sherd (fragment of a cup from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, Fig. 9): [-?]-*me<sup>2</sup>Zi*[-?]- (according to *CIPPh*, 191). It was suggested to be an abbreviated PN by Brixhe (1982, 241). However, since it is dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, it seems most likely to be a Greek inscription (as is more common in Hellenistic Gordion). Moreover, the incised letters are highly simplified compared to other text Phrygian graffiti, especially the letter <e> without the central stroke. Therefore, G-244 could be read in Greek as [-?]-MEZI[-?]-. As can be seen, the two inscriptions claimed to attest such a letter are particularly difficult to read, so the existence of the Old Phrygian letter *CIPPh* no. 22 is hardly defensible.

Fig. 9 Drawing of G-244 according to *CIPPh* (I, 192)



### 3.1.6. The letter *CIPPh* no. 24: an 8-shaped variant of <b>

The 8-shaped letter *CIPPh* no. 24 is only found in three obscure inscriptions, which lack clear significance because they are full of hapax:

1. P-101 (incised on the bottom of a cup from 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC) *qini | da8p<sup>2</sup>ula isini* (conj. + noun + verb);
2. P-106 (on a sherd, 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) [---].*ti ÷ makio<sup>2</sup>taTi8i ÷* .[---] (?);
3. W-08 (inscribed on a rock, undated) *ates agomoi | sa<sup>Q</sup>ta tedaes | alus si<sup>^</sup>eto<sup>2</sup> | Bateles 8a8.[?]* ('Ates made these *sa<sup>Q</sup>ta* for Agomos. *alus si<sup>^</sup>eto<sup>2</sup>*. Bateles Baba<sup>2</sup>...').

Although a similar letter is found in the Lydian (and the Etruscan) alphabet as /f/,<sup>76</sup> Brixhe (in Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 78; see also *CIPPh* I, 54) considered it a variant of <b> written with one stroke. Indeed, by analysing its positions he concluded that it was a consonant (in P-101 it is found after a vowel and before a consonant, in P-106 between vowels, in W-08 at the beginning of two words and before vowels). His proposal is very likely since the letter never occurs in a text where the common <b> is used, hence it does not suggest a possible new sound for the Phrygian language (never found again in either OPhr. or NPhr.) and, finally, the common PN *baba(s)* can be read in W-08. Following Brixhe's analysis, in this dissertation this 8-shaped letter is transliterated as *b*.

### 3.1.7. The non-phonetic signs

#### 3.1.7.1. Interpunctuations and spaces

Usually, OPhr. inscriptions are written in *scriptio continua* and word boundaries are not marked. Nevertheless, in some inscriptions, interpunctuations are used to separate words. These signs may consist of one or several dots in vertical disposition. In monumental inscriptions, this sign consists of three (:) or four (:) dots: three dots in M-02, M-06, M-10, W-01, W-02, G-01a, G-10, P-06, T-01 and T-02 and four in M-01f, M-04 and K-01. Sometimes, interpunctuations of three and four dots coexist in the same inscriptions: M-01a, M-01b, W-07, G-02 and T-03 (T-03aI only has :, while the other fragments have :). These two types of interpunctuations are also found in graffiti on pottery, but less commonly: G-125 and P-107 have :, G-136 has : and P-106 has both types. Only one inscription, B-04, has the single dot. Interpunctuations consisting of two dots (:) are used in the funerary inscription from Daskyleion (B-07), in the graffito B-108 and the seal Dd-103.

Spaces to separate words are less common. They are only found in the monumental inscriptions B-01 and B-05 and some graffiti on sherds, G-109. Interpunctuation and spaces share a common feature: clitics are not separated from the stressed words. See, e.g., M-01b :*sikeneman*: for *si=keneman* and B-01 *sibevdos* for *si=bevδος*.

#### 3.1.7.2. The “determinative” <ʹ> before PNs

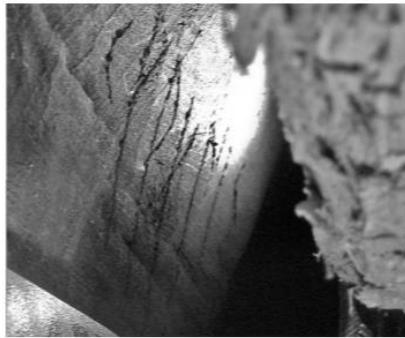
In three instances<sup>77</sup> an upper semi-circular sign appears before PNs: (*urunis* (G-346), (*uva* (K-01V) and *ḡḡasa urgitos* (K-01VI+VIIa, where the inverse sign appears). The case of G-346, a beam from Gordion MM Tumulus (closed between 743 and 741 BC), is striking because this sign is not used in the other three PNs incised on the same beam. In any case, there is a significant space between (*urunis* and the other PNs and perhaps for some reason this name has a special status, also marked by the use of the symbol <ʹ>. After rejecting a reading <k> or <g> for this sign, Brixhe (in Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 151-152) concluded that it must be a non-phonetic sign, used in the same way as the determinatives in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts. Then, according to him, with this sign, Phrygians tried to imitate the cuneiform use of the sign 𐎠 (transliterated as <sup>1</sup> or <sup>m</sup>), which is put before male personal names in cuneiform scripts.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> A similar letter is also found in Carian (doubtfully mentioned by Brixhe): Masson no. 33(+34) X and X, transcribed as γ (see Adiego 2007, 20 and 21).

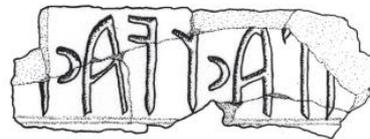
<sup>77</sup> A fourth testimony is also found in K-01V. However, the following word is lost.

<sup>78</sup> Perhaps, HLuw. also has a “personal maker”, the sign no. \*380 (see Payne 2010, 6-7 and 2017, 224).

G-346



K-01V



K-01VI+VIIa



3.1.7.3. Capacity marks

Three pithoi from Gordion with graffiti also bear metrological marks (Fig. 11), which are also found on other vessels (manly pithoi) from the same city with non-verbal marks.<sup>79</sup> It is unclear whether they refer to the potential or actual volume of the vessel or even the weight of its contents. Roller (1987a, 60) provides a very likely interpretation for their use: “because they were incised after firing [with one partial exception: 3b-29], the marks were probably first placed on the containers to record the volume or weight of the vessel’s contents. Once incised, however, the marks became permanent and stood as a record of the potential capacity of the empty vessel.”

These “capacity marks” consist of compass-drawn circles, half-circles or straight stroke. G-116 has four circles and its capacity is 95.04 litres, so each circle has been considered to represent ca. 23.76 litres.<sup>80</sup> G-117 is estimated to contain 132 litres and the metrological marks consists of five circles (ca. 118.8 litres), one half-circle (ca. 11.88 litres) and one straight stroke,

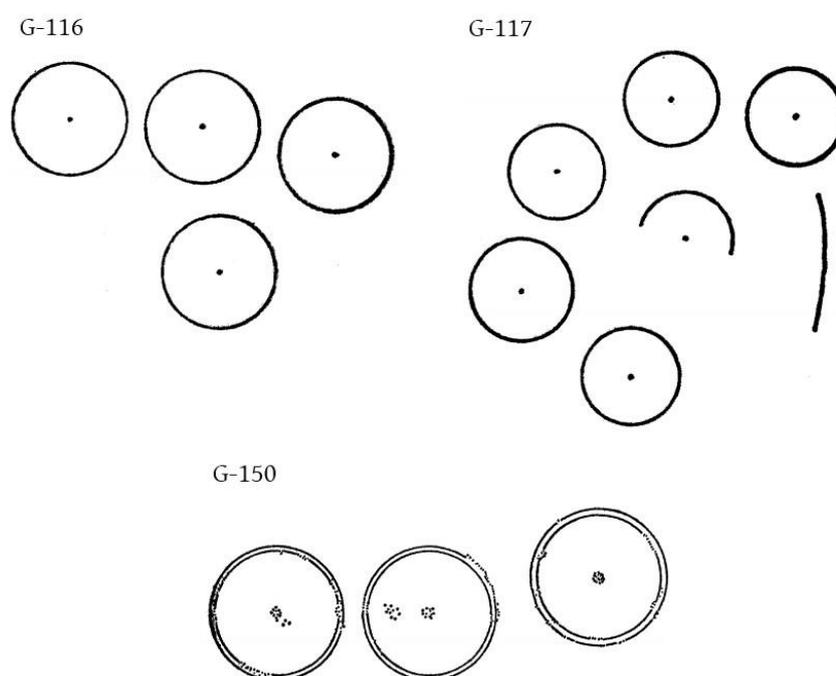
<sup>79</sup> See the in-depth Roller 1987a, 60-68, section 3b, with 40 occurrences of this system used “only on vessels of local manufacture”. Regarding the dating of the objects, note that the book is previous to the recent revision.

<sup>80</sup> These estimations are based on Young 1969, 272 and fn. 43. Edwards 1963, 46-47 considered that it represents approximately 25 liters, while Roller, more conservatively, speaks about 20-28 liters.

which must represent ca. 1.32 litres. Finally, G-150 has three circles (ca. 71.25 litres), but it is too fragmentary to corroborate its capacity.

Nevertheless, there are three gray-ware jugs from the same city which do not fit this theory. They are too small to contain the litres represented on them according to the previous analysis. So, Roller (1987a, 62) considered that “the circle unit could have referred to two different units of measure altogether, perhaps a large and a small unit of grain, or perhaps the distinction between a wet and dry measure”. In any case, a Greek numeral system is not used by the inhabitants of Gordion until the Hellenistic period, when the Ionic numeral system is found on several pithoi. Previous occurrences of Greek acrophonic numerals only appear on vases imported into the city.

Fig. 11 Capacity signs found on Gordion pithoi with Phrygian graffiti, drawings by R. S. Young (1969).



## 3.2. The use of the Greek alphabet

### 3.2.1. MPhr-01, the first Phrygian inscription in Greek alphabet

The use of the Phrygian alphabet had disappeared by the time of the Macedonian conquest led by Alexander the Great (mid 330s BC), perhaps in “the period immediately preceding” it, as Brixhe (2008, 70) established. After this critical event, all Phrygian inscriptions are written in Greek script. However, only one clear text has been found from the period between the Macedonian conquest and the Roman Imperial era (the NPhr. inscriptions).<sup>81</sup> This

<sup>81</sup> As has been said, some OPhr. may be written in Greek script. Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2010) considered that NPhr. 20.2 (129, from Prynnessos) was also a Hellenistic inscription (perhaps from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC). However, since there is no good reason for such a consideration beyond the “style” of the letters, it should preferably be classed as another NPhr. inscription (the second one found in Prynnessos, 19.1 = 96), as in Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 182). Indeed, the only significant feature of its letters is the presence of apices at the extremes, which is shared with the Imperial inscriptions. See also Bru (2017, 227-228),

single inscription (MPhr-01 = Brixhe’s 2004a W-11) was engraved on a funerary stele discovered near Dokimeion, “the earliest colonial settlement [...] founded as a Greek *polis* in the last years of the fourth c. BC by a certain Domikos” (Thonemann 2013, 17). Despite the excellent edition and analysis given by Brixhe (2004a, 7-26), the content of the inscription remains obscure. However, the language is clearly Phrygian, in the light of some intelligible sequences (the clearest is l. 1  $\mu\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha \mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \sigma\alpha\varsigma$  ‘this big stele’, see Obrador-Cursach 2016, 183-184) and the maintenance of some obscure terms found on other Phrygian funerary stelae (e.g., compare B-07 l. 8  $\omicron\mu\nu\iota\sigma\iota\tau$  with B-07 *umnotan*). What seems clear is that the stele was erected by a man called Nikostratos for Kleumachos (l. 4-5  $\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \mid \kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\iota$ ). Both men bear Greek names so they are considered to belong to “a Phrygian elite family adopting Greek cultural practices (the practice of erecting inscribed funerary *stelai*, Greek names, the Greek alphabet, the Greek language),<sup>82</sup> with a Greek family adopting Phrygian cultural practices (the Phrygian language, a Phrygian ‘baby-name’), or with a culturally hybrid family formed by intermarriage between settlers and natives” (Thonemann 2013, 17-19).<sup>83</sup>

This inscription is so significant that Brixhe considered an intermediate stage between OPhr. and NPhr.: Middle-Phrygian (MPhr.). Indeed, the phraseology of the text seems related to the OPhr. text, but the script is the same used in the NPhr. inscriptions. The epitaph reads as follows:

$\mu\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha \mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \sigma\alpha\varsigma \kappa\iota\upsilon\nu \epsilon\nu \kappa\epsilon \beta\iota\lambda\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon-$   
 $\nu\alpha\nu \nu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu : \rho\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon \kappa\eta \gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$   
 $\omicron\alpha \sigma\omicron\rho\omicron\iota \mu\alpha\tau\iota \mu\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\nu : \beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu \kappa\epsilon \tau\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma-$   
4  $\iota\omicron\upsilon \mu\rho\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma \lambda\alpha\pi\tau\alpha \mu\alpha\tau\iota \alpha\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu : \nu\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\iota \mu\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma \alpha\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon \mu\alpha\tau\iota\nu \kappa\iota\sigma\iota\nu \mu\omicron-$   
 $\cdot\kappa\rho\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota\tau\alpha\nu \rho\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma \rho\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon \rho\omicron\rho \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma \dots-$   
 $\rho\omicron\varsigma \rho\alpha\nu\tau\eta\varsigma \rho\epsilon\nu\nu\iota\tau\iota \iota\omicron\varsigma \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\alpha\nu \delta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma$   
8  $\omicron\sigma\upsilon\nu \omicron\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha \omicron\mu\nu\iota\sigma\iota\tau \omicron\upsilon\varsigma$

Some particularities of this inscription must be considered before moving to the NPhr. text. First, the lack of waw or digamma is supplied by the use of upsilon: l. 1  $\kappa\iota\upsilon\nu$ , l. 5  $\kappa\iota\upsilon\nu$  and l. 6  $\nu\iota\tau\alpha\nu$ . However, the vowel /u/ is represented by the digraph <ου>: l. 2  $\nu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\rho\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ , l. 3-4  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\mid\iota\omicron\upsilon$ , l. 4  $\alpha\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ , l. 5  $\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$ , l. 7  $\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  and l. 8  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Likewise, [j] is marked by iota: l.  $\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (OPhr. *yos* / *ios*, NPhr.  $\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ). Another feature is the use of eta, η, for /e/ instead of a long vowel (as happens in some NPhr. inscriptions): see l. 2  $\kappa\eta$  < PIE *\*k<sup>h</sup>e* ‘and’ (= l. 3  $\kappa\epsilon$ , OPhr. *ke(y)* and NPhr.  $\kappa\epsilon$  /  $\kappa\eta$ ) and the athem. pl.nom. ending of  $\rho\alpha\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$  < PIE *\*-es* (compare with, e.g., NPhr. 1.2 = 98  $\rho\alpha\mid\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$ ). The lack of omega in this text is striking since it is expected in the *o*-stem sg.dat.  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\iota$  (OPhr. Dd-102 *surgastoy*, NPhr. 11.2 = 18  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\iota\omega\iota$ , 37.2 = 30  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ , although the common NPhr. ending is  $-\omicron\upsilon$ , 65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124  $\sigma\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ , 27.1 = 92  $\kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ). The presence of the Greek letter chi, χ, is unparalleled in the whole Phrygian corpus. Nevertheless, this oddity is unsurprising in PNs borrowed from Greek such as  $\text{Κλεόμαχος} / \text{Κλεύμαχος}$ . Finally, there is one possible example of geminates in  $\rho\epsilon\nu\nu\iota\tau\iota$  (pace Brixhe 2004a, 13).

---

who suggested that it is perhaps from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC rather than 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. Moreover, although incomplete, the content of the inscription is the common NPhr. imprecation against violators.

<sup>82</sup> Brixhe (2013, 59) and Bru (2017, 227) preferred this possibility.

<sup>83</sup> On the Greek language and the “Phrygian ‘baby-name’”, another stele found alongside MPhr-01 has the epitaph of Nikostratos’ daughter, according to the Turkish translation of the text given by Drew-Bear (1985, 259 “Nikostratos’un kızı, Theophilos’un karısı Tatis”) and the English translation by Thoneman (2013, 18 “Tatis, daughter of Nikostratos, wife of Theophilos”). This girl bears a typical Anatolian Lallname, which contrasts with the Greek names borne by her father and her husband.

### 3.2.2. The Greek alphabet of the New Phrygian inscriptions

After MPhr-01, Phrygian is not seen again until Roman Imperial times, in a very homogeneous group of inscriptions dated to between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD: the New Phrygian subcorpus. The script used at this stage is very similar to that of Greek monumental inscriptions from Hellenistic and Roman times. However, the reading of these texts is not always as easy as one could expect. Leaving aside the significant fact that this alphabet was not designed for the Phrygian language, the changes of Greek phonology (itacism, disappearance of the length contrast, loss of word-end consonants and geminates, etc.) affected the manner in which Phrygian was written (see § 3.2.2.1) and there are many hesitations in the spelling of the words: e.g. ἀδδακετ (passim) ~ ἀδακετ (3.1 = 97, 7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc.), σεμουv (passim) ~ σεμον (3.1 = 97, 7.1 = 99, 10.1 = 112, etc.) ~ σεμιν (53.1 = 76, 59.1 = 107 and 61.1 = 100) and ιος (passim) ~ ειος (40.1 = 12) ~ ις (17.1 = 4 b, 12.1 = 121, etc.). Moreover, the lack of spaces between the words (the so-called *scriptio continua*) or interpuncts in most cases also complicates the segmentation and interpretation of the texts.

Nevertheless, the main problem with this subcorpus is that many of the NPhr. inscriptions are now lost and the readings given by the old copies (riddled with mistakes) cannot be corroborated. As Brixhe (1999, 293-295) showed,<sup>84</sup> one of the most common mistakes in the reading of the inscriptions is the confusion of the round letters. Indeed, by Imperial times it is common to find epsilon and sigma as € and C (the so-called lunate epsilon and sigma),<sup>85</sup> which is why in many copies of the first known inscriptions they are confused, also with O, Φ and even Θ. Since most of the Phrygian texts are reiterative formulae, many of these mistakes can be detected. Taking one example given by Brixhe (1999, 293), according to CIG 3880 in the NPhr. inscription 17.1 (4 *bis*) there is an unparalleled sequence ΟΕΜΟΝ which must be read as the common pron. σεμουv. In the lost inscriptions, it is impossible to corroborate if these mistakes were originally on the stone. In any case, mistakes like this are also common in contemporaneous Greek inscriptions: see, e.g., ΛΟΙΠΕΙC for ΛΟΙΠΟΙC in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028 (l.13).<sup>86</sup> The same can be said of the quadratic *epsilon* and *sigma*. Moreover, the angular letters (Δ, Λ, Α and Μ) present similar problems: see, e.g., 43.1 (69) l. 1, ΕΙΝΕΑΜ or ΕΙΝΕΜΑ? There are two instances of hesitation in the reading of Τ and Γ: μαγρε or ματρε (19.2 = 129) and ιστεικετ or ισγεικετ (6.1 = 88). Very likely, the letter *iota* (Ι) appears instead of *tau* (Τ) in two inscriptions. As suggested here, πειες (40.1 = 12) may be read as πετες and the relative pron. ιος seems to introduce an apodosis in 33.1 (28), where τος is expected (see, e.g., 18.3 = 6).<sup>87</sup> In these examples, it remains unknown whether we are dealing with a copyist's misreading, an eroded letter or a mistake by the engraver, who could have forgotten to engrave the horizontal stroke.

Finally, engravers' mistakes seem to occur very often (Brixhe 1999, 296),<sup>88</sup> however in many instances it is difficult to detect them in non-formulaic texts, and even in the case of the many lost inscriptions one cannot rule out errors made by modern copyists. A clear example of

---

<sup>84</sup> In this excellent paper, "Prolégomènes au Corpus Néo-Phrygien", he dealt with the main issues of this chapter, giving a very detailed and useful account. Here I follow his approach, although some alternative interpretations will be added.

<sup>85</sup> The classical and the rectangular shapes of these letters are also found in the New Phrygian inscriptions.

<sup>86</sup> This example is taken from McLean 2014, 15, where these kinds of mistakes are introduced with some references.

<sup>87</sup> The only possible ιος introducing an apodosis is found in 15.1 (120). However, it occurs as ις and while in the protasis it is well spelled (*pace* Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 89), one wonders if it is the ending of the preceding τεαμα. This noun also appears as τιαμα, τεαμας and τιαμας. Although it would be morphologically unexpected, similar variants are found for μακκα: μακκαι, μακκαν and μακκης.

<sup>88</sup> Note also that Brixhe (1999, 296 fn. 22) considers the possibility that the engravers were not Phrygian speakers.

an engraver's mistake on a preserved stele is ἀδακτε (33.3 = 127) for ἀδακετ (passim, see Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 111).

### 3.2.2.1. The representation of the consonants

The main difference between the consonants of the Phrygian alphabet and those of the Greek alphabet from the Imperial period is that the New Phrygian inscriptions show a tendency to mark the geminates: αδδακετ, τιττετικμενος, αββερετ... As has been shown, this feature seems to be found in MPhr-01 (see § 3.2.1). However, by the times of these inscriptions, geminates had been simplified in Greek (Brixhe 1987a, 31-33), and the same appears to have occurred with Phrygian texts. Indeed, although 54 of the 117 NPhr. inscriptions (46.15%)<sup>89</sup> have geminates, 20 (17.10%)<sup>90</sup> do not and 17 (14.53%)<sup>91</sup> show hesitation. The remaining 26 inscriptions (22.22%)<sup>92</sup> do not provide information relevant to this issue. In such a scenario, the presence of hypercorrect geminates is not strange: e.g. κνουμμ|μναει (38.1 = 44) and κν[ου]|μναει (46.1 = 53) for κνουμναει (passim).

The lack of the Greek letter chi (as has been said, χ is only attested in MPhr-01) and the few attestations of the other two letters which represent the aspirated stops are remarkable. This is accounted for by the fact that the Phrygian phonemic repertory does not contain this kind of sound, and their occurrences are very limited. The letter theta (θ, /t<sup>h</sup>/ > /θ/) appears three times in the whole NPhr. corpus: θαλαμει 18.1 (4), αδιθρερακ 40.3 (31) and θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς] 45.1 (65). The first word, θαλαμει, is a clear borrowing from Greek θαλάμη and justifies the use of this letter, however θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς] must be a hypercorrection of the common τιττετικμενος (passim). The PN αδιθρερακ does not have a clear origin because of the lack of parallels, and cannot be analysed. The letter phi (φ, /p<sup>h</sup>/ > /φ/) is only found in the Persian PN μιτραφατα 1.1 (48)<sup>93</sup> < \*Miθra-pāta- 'protected by Mithra'. Here, the use of phi is unexpected and is very likely a common hypercorrection. Indeed, the lack of these kinds of stops in Phrygian affected the Greek spoken in Phrygian, since misspellings related to chi, phi and theta are common in Phrygian (Brixhe 1987a, 110-111): θ|υγαθρί (MAMA IV 198) for θυγατρί, φ[ι]|λέρειτος (MAMA VII 263) for φιλέριθος, ἔνεχεν (MAMA I 197) for ἔνεκεν, κάριν (MAMA IV 263) for χάριν, φοθινοτάτοις (MAMA I 281) for ποθινοτάτοις and ἀδελφῶ (MAMA VII 284) for ἀδελφῶ.

On the other hand, the Phrygian consonantism has two approximants that are lost in contemporary Greek: the velar [w] and the palatal [j]. Because there were no specific letters for these sounds, other Greek letters and digraphs were reused to represent the Phrygian

<sup>89</sup> No. 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 6.1 (88), 8.1 (86), 10.2 (113), 11.2 (18), 12.1 (121), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), Afyonkarahisar.2 (3), Afyonkarahisar.3 (7), 17.5 (90), 17.4 (91), 18.6 (129), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 24.1 (40), 25.2 (126), 28.1 (71), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 31.1 (29), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 38.1 (10), 39.1 (11), 40.1 (12), 40.2 (13), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 45.1 (65), 46.1 (53), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 51.1 (80), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 60.1 (59), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 63.1 (123) and 65.4 (124).

<sup>90</sup> No. 3.1 (97), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 9.1 (87), 19.1 (4), 18.2 (5), 19.1 (96), 26.2 (38), 27.1 (92), 30.2 (68), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 33.3 (127), 34.1 (37), 40.4 (102), 61.1 (100), 62.5 (35), 62.6 (105), 65.1 (20) and 66.1 (103).

<sup>91</sup> No. 7.1 (99), 10.1 (112), 17.6 (119), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 36.3 (94), 43.1 (69), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51), 57.1 (75), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 64.1 (81) and 65.3 (21).

<sup>92</sup> No. 1.2 (98), 2.1 (15), 5.1 (19), 11.1 (17), 11.3 (17), 17.1 (4b), 13.1 (122), 16.1 (116), 22.1 (9), 23.1 (89), 26.1 (8), 33.2 (95), 37.2 (27), 37.2 (30), 38.1 (44), 40.3 (31), 44.2 (70), 48.1 (81), 48.2 (84), 49.1 (110), 53.3 (109), 56.2 (58), 56.3 (64), 59.1 (107), 60.2 (60) and 65.2 (104).

<sup>93</sup> As will be seen *s.u.*, Lubotsky (1997, 122) preferred to segment Μιτρα Φατα and suggested that here the Iranian god *Miθra* is qualified with an (unparalleled) ethnic Φατα, in the light of the other two DNs that follow this sequence in NPhr. 48.

consonants. In the case of [j], it was commonly spelled with a simple iota ⟨ι⟩: ιος (passim, OPhr. *γος, ios*), κνουμανει (passim), τεμρογειος (1.1 = 48)... The digraph ⟨ει⟩ is once attested with this function as consequence of Greek itacism: ειος (40.1 = 12) ιος (passim). It must be added that it is also common to find ⟨ι⟩ for /jo/, also explained by the Greek simplification /jo/ > /i/ in final position (and sometimes in the middle of the word, according to Brixhe 1987a, 49-50 and 1999, 299-300): the clearest example in Phrygia ις (17.1 = 4 b, 12.1 = 121, 15.1 = 120, 16.1 = 116 and 18.2 = 5) for ιος (passim). The form τετιο|κμενος (22.2 = 118) for τετικμενος is a hypercorrection arising from this shift. The velar approximant [w] is commonly represented by the digraph ⟨ου⟩: ουα (4.1 = 2, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36) - ουαν (60.1 = 59, OPhr. *va* and *vay* B-05), ουανακταν (6.1 = 88, OPhr. *vanaktei* M-01a), ουιτετου (4.1 = 2)... In NPhr. 16.1 (116) omicron is used for this purpose: in οαν (OPhr. *va*, NPhr. οαν), οεαυται (OPhr. *venavtun* W-01b) and, perhaps, σεροα 19.2 (129, unclear if related to OPhr. *servas* G-130).

The letter *sigma* ⟨σ⟩ ordinarily represents a consonant /s/. It appears in many positions, including consonant clusters: at the beginning of a word followed by a vowel (σεμουν passim) and consonant (σκελεδριαι 44.3 = 67), between vowels (εγεσιτ 56.2 = 58), between a vowel and a consonant (εσταεσ 40.3 = 31), and at the end of a word after a vowel (τιττετικμενος passim). A double sigma ⟨σσ⟩ is found in two verbal forms, δεδασσιννι (2.2 = 130) and τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99). It is unknown if ⟨σσ⟩ denotes a sound other than /s/.<sup>94</sup> In both occurrences of -σσ- it is preceded by an etymological long vowel. In OPhr. a single ⟨σ⟩ represents the same form, as evident in *dedasitiy* (B-05, also *isini* in G-289), although the OPhr. alphabet avoids the repetition of a letter and ⟨σ⟩ can stand for /ss/. Finally, a sigma is twice attached to *zeta* ⟨ζ⟩ in σζεμελωσ (10.2 = 113 and 30.1 = 39), a variant of the common ζεμελωσ (passim). This spelling, considered redundant, is well attested in Greek inscriptions elsewhere (mainly from Hellenistic times) and in Phrygia (MAMA IV 219 ἐλπίσζοντι for ἐλπίζοντι, Brixhe 1987a, 46 and 1999, 297).

The remaining letters β, δ, γ, π, τ and κ represent the voiced and voiceless stops /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /t/ and /k/, respectively. Although Greek stops become fricative in the inner position (except following a nasal), there is no reason to consider this shift in Phrygian (Brixhe 1999, 297-298). It is possible that γ represents an allophone [ŋ] before a consonant (as in Greek before κ, γ, χ and ξ), but the only possible example is εγδαεσ (11.2 = 18, if εγ- < εν-), a word that remains unclear, although it appears to be a verb.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.2.2.2. The representation of vowels

The representation of the Phrygian vowels is more strongly influenced by Greek phonetic shifts than consonantism because they seem to also affect the Phrygian language. This said, the formulaic character of the NPhr. curses tends to show a conservative spelling, although shifts are attested elsewhere. In such a scenario, the NPhr. inscriptions show many hesitations and hypercorrections in the notation of the vowels. There are two significant changes: the itacism (also known as *iotacism*) and the loss of the vowel-length contrast (see § 4.1.1).

<sup>94</sup> The Mother-Goddess epithet Ἀγδίστις (Paus. 7.17.12), a parallel formation to *areyastin* (W-01a), is derived from the oronym *Agdus* (Arn., *Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1). In Greek inscriptions contemporary to the NPhr. ones (mainly from Midas City) it appears with different spellings: Αγγδισι (MAMA 6.390), Ανδισι (MAMA 6.391), Ανδξι (MAMA 6.395), etc. In the light of these spellings Gusmani (1959a, 205) considered that -st- before /i/ was pronounced /stz/ (sic.) or /ʃ/. Indeed, we cannot ignore that ⟨σσ⟩ is used in other Anatolian areas to represent a sound other than /s/. This is the case of Carian PNs *arliš* and *uśoλ*, found in Greek inscriptions as Αρλισσις and Υσσωλλος respectively (see Adiego 2007, 355 and 431).

<sup>95</sup> Even less clear is αργμενα[.] 16.1 (116).

As a result of the first shift, there are many hesitations between ι, ει, η and even υ: γεγριμενον (56.2 = 58) for γεγρειμενον (59.4 = 106), δυως 10.2 (113) for διως, a variant of δεως in 12.1 (121), 18.1 (4), 18.2 (5) and 22.2 (118), ειτου (passim) - ιτου (6.1 = 8) - ητου (18.2 = 5) for the OPhr. *ituv* (B-05), μανεις (43.1 = 69) for OPhr. *manes* (B-07, in Greek texts as Μάνης), τειττεικμενος (55.1 = 56) for τιττεικμενος (passim). It is especially common in the athem. sg.dat. ending (PIE \*-εi): compare κνουμανει (passim), κνουμανε (passim), κνουμανι (6.1 = 88, 8.1 = 86, etc.) and κνουμανη (29.1 = 114) or τιε (passim) τι (9.1 = 87, 38.1 = 44, 39.1 = 11, etc.) and τη (8.1 = 86, 18.3 = 6, 20.3 = 62). The hesitation occurs even in the same text: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρεις σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη | γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου (2.2 = 130). According to Lubotsky (1997, 126, fn. 23), the GN τιε - τι - τη shows a tendency towards the following distribution: “Τη only occurs before consonants (6, 39, 62, 65, 86, 114),<sup>96</sup> Τι only occurs before vowels (αδειτου 11, 54, 57, 72, 76, 77, 80, 85, 87, 101, 106; ατιτικμενος 103),<sup>97</sup> Τιε is found in both positions, but the instances before a vowel are rare (only 5x out of 15: 12, 45, 56, 61, 100).<sup>98</sup> We may conclude that there was a strong tendency to drop the final -ε of Τιε in the position before a vowel”. However, this distribution does not occur in κνουμανει, κνουμανε, κνουμανι and κνουμανη. Brixhe (2008, 75, see also Brixhe 1990, 78–79) considers the final -ε “an inverse spelling related to the interchangeability, in final position, of *e* and *i*”.

The letter eta <η> has special status (see Brixhe 1999, 301–303), since it is found to represent three different sounds: /e/, /i/ and [j]. However, the possible personal name in sg.nom. αδενπ[α]της (69), which seems to be Iranian in origin but adapted to Greek,<sup>99</sup> is the only occurrence that provides a possible example of eta used for the Greek classical sound /ε:/.

In any case, it clearly represents /e/ in many occurrences: e.g. πατερης ‘parents’ (1.2 = 98, PIE pl.nom. ending \*-es), also spelled πατρεις (130), κακην (130) for κακε ‘ill’ (21, 88, 99 and 124) or κη ‘and’ (130) for κε (passim, OPhr. *ke(y)*). This use already appears in MPhr-01 (W-11), where κη and παντης ‘?’ (very likely an athematic pl.nom.) occur. For this last text, Brixhe (2004a, 17) suggests that the Macedonians introduced the Greek alphabet in Phrygia and these spellings are a result of the “même aperture pour \*ε: et pour \*e” in Macedonian.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, this hypothesis may be refuted for a number of reasons. In view of the bilingual inscription from Vezirhan (B-05), the Greek alphabet was introduced in Phrygian before the arrival of the Macedonians, which invalidates the first assumption of Brixhe’s proposal. Moreover, worse still, if the Dodona oracular tablet No. 2493A is indeed written in Macedonian,<sup>101</sup> it contains a good example of η representing /ε:/ and not /e:/ in a Macedonian context (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 144).

When analysing the use of eta for /e/ in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia, Brixhe (1987, 49) considers it to be the result of hypercorrections that occurred at school, where the ancient sound of this letter was still taught. This explanation is possible, although when this spelling occurs in Pontus, it is thought to be evidence of the preservation of the sound /e/ from /ε:/, as also occurs in the new Greek dialect from that region (Brixhe 1987a, 110). Although schooling may have resulted in such spelling, the diffusion of education in rural Phrygia is “enormously controversial” (de Hoz 2006, 139, with references) and is not the only possible explanation. In

<sup>96</sup> 18.3, 30.1, 20.3, 45.1, 8.1 and 29.1, respectively.

<sup>97</sup> 39.1, 50.1, 56.1, 56.1, 58.1, 53.1, 53.2, 51.1, 49.3, 9.1, 59.4 and 66.1, respectively.

<sup>98</sup> 40.1, 2.1, 41.1, 55.1, 44.1 and 31.1 respectively. After Lubotsky’s paper it also appeared in 15.1 (120), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 33.1 (127), 63.1 (123).

<sup>99</sup> See the element -*pātā*, e.g. in the name Ἄρτα-πάτης, borne by Cirus’ son in *X.An.*1.6.11.

<sup>100</sup> See also Brixhe 1999, 302.

<sup>101</sup> Ζεῦ καὶ Διώνᾳ, ἧ ἕσσουνται παῖδες ἐκ τᾶς γυναικὸς Κεβαλίωι | τᾶς νῦν ἔχει κ[α]ὶ ζώσουντι ‘Zeus and Diona, shall Kebalios have children from the wife he has now, and shall they survive?’ (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 144).

Phrygian, PIE *\*ē* and *\*eh<sub>1</sub>* > *\*ē* merged with /a:/. As a result, it is likely that there was no phoneme /e:/ in this language (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183). In such a scenario, the lack of a Phrygian counterpart for the Greek sound traditionally represented by eta may have given rise to such spelling, not only in Phrygian, but also in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia.

In any case, the letter eta also represents [j] after or before the vowel (if not also in the athematic sg.dat. ending, see § 4.2.1.1.3): *αυταη* (30, OPhr. *avtay* W-01b), *μαιμαρηαν* (31) and *δεκμουταης* (31) ~ *δεκμουταις* (9). This use is clearly a consequence of Greek itacism, since it is not attested in W-12 (4<sup>th</sup> century BC).

The second significant issue is the loss of the vowel-length contrast (Brixhe 1987a, 46-47), attested by the hesitation between *omicron* <ο> and *omega* <ω>: e.g. *ερμω[λ]αρος* (16.1 = 116) for Greek Ἑρμόλαος or δεος (17.3 = 7 and 18.3 = 6) for δεως (passim).

Commonly, the digraph ου represents /u/: e.g. *κνουμανει* (passim) or *ειτου* (passim). On rare occasions this sound is represented by upsilon <υ>: *σεμυν* and *κακυν* (20.3 = 62). The hesitation between ου and ο shows the neutralisation between /u/ and /o/ before the nasal /n/ (Brixhe 1999, 306): *σεμων* (3.1 = 97, 7.1 = 99, 10.1 = 112) and *κακων* (10.1 = 112, 14.1 = 73, 15.1 = 120, etc.). On the other hand, the hesitation ου ~ ι, found in *σεμιν* (53.1 = 76, 59.1 = 107 and 61.1 = 100) for *σεμουν* (passim) and *τιτετουκμενουν* (33.1 = 28) for *τιττετικμενος* (passim),<sup>102</sup> has no phonetic motivation according to Brixhe (1999, 307-308): “on a vu que ΟΥ pouvait être occasionnellement relayé par Υ ; or Υ, dans le système grec, est une des notations de /i/, cf. d’ailleurs *δυως* (113 [= 10.2]) pour *δεως/διως* (où, en hiatus, ε/ι vaut [j] ; avec la médiation implicite de Υ, ΟΥ (en finale, Ο et ΟΥ) pourra être remplacé par Ι”.

<sup>102</sup> Brixhe 1999, 307 also adds *τι* (22.1 = 9, 30.1 = 39, 35.1 = 25, 44.3 = 67 and 66.1 = 103), however it must be ruled out since it is also found in OPhr. as *ti* (B-05).

## 4. The Phrygian language

### 4.1. Phrygian phonology

#### 4.1.1. Vowel system

Since the Phrygian alphabet does not represent the contrast between short and long vowels, a description of the OPhr. vowel system must consider the PIE origin of the morphemes and the NPhr. subcorpus, even though at this stage the vowels are problematic due to the influence of the coetaneous development of Greek vowel system, as well as the inner Phrygian evolution. Indeed, the loss of the length contrast in Roman times is particularly problematic. In addition, the spelling of Phrygian words in Greek sources is useful, especially for PNs. However, if one disregards the onomastic material and the glosses (with unclear filiations), few words remain: βέκος (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, 8.1 = 86, etc.), βεῦδος (*bevδος* B-01), γλούρεα (γλουρεος MPhr-01), etc. Despite these difficulties and the limitations posed by a fragmentary language, OPhr. is considered to have 5 short vowels contrasting with 4 (or 5) long vowels, while NPhr. seems to have merged both series, as had occurred in Greek by this time (see Table 12, showing the syntheses of Brixhe 1983, 115-117 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182-184):

Table 12 The Phrygian vowel system

	Old Phrygian			New Phrygian		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
Close	/i/ /i:/		/u/ /u:/	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/		/o/ /o:/	/e/		/o/
Open		/a/ /a:/			/a/	

/a/ is the result of the outcome of  $*h_2$  (PIE  $*h_2nér$  > NPhr. αναρ) and the vocalisation  $*\eta$  (neuters in  $*-m\eta$  > *-man*) and the development of the sequence  $*h_2e-$  ( $*h_2ed$  > OPhr. ad B-05, NPhr. αδ 7.3 = 99).

/a:/ goes back to PIE  $*eh_2$  and  $*e:$ , either an original PIE  $*e:$  or derived from  $*eh_1$  (as has been seen): PIE  $*méh_2tēr$  > OPhr. *matar* (W-04, W-06 and B-01; also in NPhr. ματαρ 11.2 = 18).

/e/ follows the PIE vowel  $*e$ , see PIE  $*b^her-$  > (αβ)βερετ (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.), PIE  $*k^ue$ , OPhr. *ke* (passim), *key* (B-05). It is also the result of the vocalisation of PIE  $*h_1-$ : PIE  $*h_1su-$  > OPhr. *ev(e)-*, PIE  $*d^h_1to-$  > MPhr. and NPhr. δετουν (MPhr-01 = W-11 and 40.3 = 31) and NPhr. δετον (16.1 = 116). There are many hesitations between ⟨e⟩ and ⟨i⟩ in Phrygian: see *akenanogavos* (M-01a and W-01a) ~ *akinanogavaṇ* (M-04) or δεως (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, 17.6 = 119, etc.) ~ διως (12.1 = 121, 18.1 = 4, 18.2 = 5, etc.). Although it has been unanimously considered a phonetic hesitation between /e/ and /i/, the two given analyses are very different: Brixhe (2008, 75) identifies neutralisation of the contrast of /e/ and /i/ in hiatus (as in δεως passim ~ διως 12.1 = 121, etc.), while Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187) prefer to speak about a pretonic neutralisation. The second explanation is better because it accounts for all occurrences of such a hesitation.<sup>103</sup>

/e:/ is a problematic vowel, since according to the *communis opinio* all PIE  $*ē$  and  $*eh_1$  became /a:/ in Phrygian. Certainly, it is a well attested shift: PIE  $*méh_2tēr$  > OPhr. *matar* (W-04, W-06 and B-01; also in NPhr. ματαρ 11.2 = 18),  $*pérk-$  > OPhr. *eneparkes* (G-125

<sup>103</sup> αββιρετο 35.1 (25) for αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 20.2 = 129) or αββερετορ (14.1 = 73, 52.1 = 75 and 59.3 = 79); [ζ]ιμελως (35.1 = 25) and ζι[μελως] (66.1 = 103) for ζεμελως (passim); *kubileya* (W-04) for *kubeleya* (B-01); μιρος (MPhr-01) and μιρον (16.1 = 116) for *meros* (B-07, if the identification is correct); σιμουν (35.1 = 25) for σεμουν (passim); τεαμα (15.1 = 120), τεαμας (7.3 = 14, 10.1 = 112, 21.2 = 43 and 25.1 = 115) for τιαμα (11.2 = 18) and τιαμας (9.1 = 87). This neutralisation very likely occurs also in *niptiyan* (B-05, < PIE  $*nept-ih_2-$ ) and ↑*iray* (B-05), ζειρα (40.1 = 12) and ζειραι (59.4 = 106), if it goes back to  $*g^hes-r-$  (NIL 170-172).

and M-01dI; also NPhr. *ενεπαρκες* 40.3 = 31) \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* > *daket* (B-05).<sup>104</sup> It must be said that Brixhe (1990, 70–71, and still in 2008, 75) considered that in Phrygian a secondary /e:/ appeared as a monophthongisation of \**ei* and this phenomenon resulted in a merging of the inherited /e:/ with /a:/. However, Lubotsky (1998, 415) rejected this possibility, showing the preservation of -*ei* in OPhr., and established that only in NPhr. final position was this diphthong “prone to monophthongisation”.

/i/ goes back to PIE \**i* and \**e*: *iman* (M-06, G-136, G-210, etc.), *areyastin* (W-01a), *aini* (P-101), *ayniy* (B-05), *kin* (B-01), etc. In NPhr. it remains unchanged: *αινι* (2.2 = 130, 3.1 = 97, etc.), *κιν* (61.1 = 100), etc.

/e:/ has not been identified, although it is assumed, in the light of other pairs of vowels.

/o/ continues the PIE \**o*, e.g.: PIE \**iōs* > OPhr. *yos*, *ios*, NPhr. *ιος*, the thematic sg.nom. ending -*os*, the middle verbal ending \**-toj* > -*toy*, etc. It is also the result of the outcome of \**h<sub>3</sub>* and, very likely, *r* : \**dh<sub>3</sub>-ti-* (*NIL* 61) > *totin* (M-01f), PIE \**pr* > *por* (W-05 b), NPhr. *πουρ* (6.1 = 88). However, the PIE \**o* merged with /u/ at least in nasal context, see the thematic acc.sg. ending PIE \**-om* > OPhr. -*un*, *avtun* (W-01b), *bagun* (G-136), etc., although in NPhr. the form -*ov* is also common, as in *γεργειμενον* 59.4 = 106.

/o:/ renders the PIE \**ō*, however this sound very likely became /ū/ because in the 3sg.med. endings the historical spelling <ο>, <ου> occurs once and in NPhr. it is always spelled with *ou*: compare *lakedo* (W-01b) or *si↑eto* (W-08, W-09 and W-10, if it is a verb) with *ituv* (B-05) / NPhr. *ειτου* (passim, *ιτου* 6.1 = 8) and, very likely, *tubnuv* (B-05).<sup>105</sup> As has been seen, the hesitation between /o(:)/ and /u(:)/ is commonly found and Brixhe (2008, 75) explains it – at least for NPhr. – as “a neutralisation of the contrast [...] /o/~/u/ (in favour of the high vowel) in absolute-final position” parallel to /e/~/i/. This assumption seems to be supported by the presence of a rare digraph in two OPhr. examples: the variants of the same *u*-stem PN *vasus* (P-05) ~ *vasous* (P-03, with an unparalleled digraph in the whole OPhr. corpus) and the verb in 3pl.impv.act. *isnou* (NW-101 a) found in NPhr. as *ισνου* (9.1 = 87). However, the hesitation between /o/~/u/ is also attested in inner position: *kakoioi* (G-02 c) and *kakuioi* (P-04 b).

/u/ is inherited from PIE \**u* and is also developed from \**o* in some positions: e.g. *vasus* (P-05, *u*-stem sg.nom.), *surgastoy* (Dd-102) or *υψοδαν* (2.1 = 15 and 16.1 = 116 < PIE \**upsod<sup>h</sup>η*).

/u:/ appears as a development of PIE \**ō* (as has been seen) and \**uH*: e.g. *ituv* (B-05) or *κνουμαν* (16.1 = 116 and 43.1 = 69, commonly its sg.dat. *κνουμανει*; < \**knuH-mη*). See also *γλουρεος* MPhr-01 < \**glō-* < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-*.

Phrygian also has the following diphthongs:

/aj/ in OPhr. *aini* (P-101), *ayniy* (B-01 and B-05), *αινι* (2.2 = 130, 3.1 = 97, etc.). The PIE origin of this diphthong is the PIE sequence \**h<sub>2</sub>ei*. In light of the preservation of the long diphthong /o:j/, /a:j/ very likely occurred at least in OPhr.: *midai* (B-05), *atai* (W-10) *avtay* (W-01b), *αυταη* (37.2 = 30), (οε)αυται 16.1 = 116), *μανκαι* (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.), etc. It is found in the *a*-stem sg.dat. ending and goes back to PIE \**-eh<sub>2</sub>ei*. Very likely in NPhr. /a:j/ merged with /aj/. Its second element in final position commonly drops in NPhr. final position: see *σα* (17.5 = 91, 21.1 = 42, etc.) for *σαι* (43.1 = 69, 62.4 = 35, etc.) or *μανκαι* (3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.) for *μανκαι* (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.).

/ej/ in *materey* (M-01e and W-01b), *ibey* (B-01 and B-05), *inmeney* (B-05), ↑*emeney* (B-05), etc. PIE \**ei* is preserved in Phrygian until NPhr. Times, as has been stated above.

<sup>104</sup> On \**meh<sub>1</sub>* > *me*, *με* and *kakey*, *κακε*, *κακην* see § 4.1.2.2.3.

<sup>105</sup> Also NPhr. *ουσιτετου* (4.1 = 2) and *εγεδου* (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, 60.2 = 60, etc.).

/oj/ commonly found in the 3sg.med. ending: *ḳbretoy* (B-05), *αββερετοι* (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129), *edatoy* (B-05), *tedatoy* (W-01a), etc. It follows the PIE \*oj. Note that in OPhr. it is spelled in the same way as the thematic sg.dat. ending -oi < PIE \*-ōi.

/o:j/ is inherited from PIE \*ōj, and is commonly found in the OPhr. thematic sg.dat. -oy, -oi in *tadoy* (G-136), *surgastoy* (Dd-102), *davoi* (M-06 and B-05), etc. Despite the lack of omega, MPhr-01 seems to show the same situation: *κλευμαχοι* and *σοροι* MPh-01 (but *κορο*). In NPhr. this diphthong resulted in /o:/ and finally merged with /u:/ in absolute final position: *σορου* (65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124) and *κορου* (27.1 = 92) but *αυτω* (37.2 = 30) and *λευκιωι* (11.2 = 18). However, \*ōj in the thematic pl.dat. ending \*-ōjs lost its second element in NPhr. and remained as /o:/ before merging with /o/: compare, e.g., *ζεμελωσ* (3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.) with *ζεμελος* (20.2 = 128) or *δεωσ* (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, etc.) with *δεος* (17.3 = 7 and 18.3 = 6; *διοσ* 30.1 = 39).

/aw/ is the outcome of the PIE sequence \*h<sub>2</sub>eu and is preserved in all stages of the Phrygian language: PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>eu-to-, OPhr. *avtay* (W-01b), *avtoi* (T-03b), NPhr. *αυταη* and *αυτω* (37.2 = 30), *αυτον* (2.2 = 130) and *αυτος* (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35).

/ew/, inherited from PIE \*eu and the drop of intervocalic \*-s-: PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>eu<sup>dh</sup>-os- OPhr. *bevdos* (B-01) and \*h<sub>1</sub>su- > *ev(e)*- (B-01). The form *apelev* (B-07) remains unclear.

/ow?/, the existence of this diphthong in Phrygian is unknown since the only possible occurrence is the obscure sequence [-?-.] *evanous*[-?] (G-250), however it rather shows the neutralisation between /o/ ~ /u/ as in *vasous* (P-03). Less probable occurrences are *otekonov* (B-01) and *isnou* (NW-101), where <ov> perhaps represents /o:/ or /u:/ in a similar way to <uv> in *ituv* (B-05).

In this overview it must also be noted that in two instances an epenthetic vowel *i* arises between two contiguous consonants: *κινου|υ|μα* (22.1 = 9) for *κνουμαν* (16.1 = 116 and 43.1 = 69) and in its gen. *κ<v>ουμινος* (18.2 = 5). On the other hand, in two instances syncope worked: *πα|τερης* (1.2 = 48) > *πατρεις* (2.2 = 130) and in *ḳbretoy* B-05, if it is accepted to be the same verbal form found in NPhr. as *αββερετοι* (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129, see Brixhe 2004a, 62). Moreover, apocopated forms of the conj. *ke(y)* / *κε* and twice of *αινι* before a vowel are not uncommon: *ke devun k umnotan* (B-07), *κνουμαν κ ακροδμαν κε λο|διμον* (16.1 = 116), *γεγρειμεναν | κ' ε|γεδου | τιος | ου|τα|ν* (53.1 = 76), *αδδακετ αιν α τεαμα* (15.1 = 120), *αδα|κετ αιν' αδ ατεαμα|ς* (7.3 = 14), etc. Also, *κνουμαν* in *ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρακ* (40.3 = 31) stands for *κνουμανει*. Finally, there is a possible example of apheresis: *ναδροτος* (1.1 = 48), if this word is a borrowing from Greek *ἀνάδρωτος*, -ον 'impotent, husbandless' (see Lubotsky 1997, 122).

#### 4.1.2. The consonant system

Although not all sounds are clear, details of which are discussed on the following pages, the Phrygian consonant system can be classified as follows (see Table 13):

Table 13 Phrygian consonant system

			Labial	Dental or Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Obstruent	Stop	Voiceless	p <p, π>	t <t, τ>		k <k, κ>
		Voiced	b <b, β>	d <d, δ>		g <g, γ>
	Fricative	Voiceless		s <s, σ>		
		Voiced		z ? <ʒ, ζ>		
Sonorant	Nasal		m <m, μ>	n <n, ν>		
	Approximant		w <v, υ, ου, ο>	l <l, λ>	j <i, y, ι>	
	Vibrant			r <r, ρ>		

#### 4.1.2.1. Sonorants

##### 4.1.2.1.1. Nasals

Phrygian /m/ goes back to PIE \*m: \**méh<sub>2</sub>tēr* > *matar* (W-04, W-06, B-01) / *ματαρ* (11.2 = 18), \**-mh<sub>1</sub>no-* > *τιττετικμενος* (passim), \**d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>em-* > *ζεμ-ελως* (passim), etc. The PIE C-stem sg.acc. ending \**-m̄* shows that it is vocalised as \**-am*, although after the final \**-m* became *-n* in Phr. (as occurs in Gr.): \**méh<sub>2</sub>term̄* > *materan* (M-01dI and W-01a), \**dh<sub>3</sub>-ti-m* (NIL 61) > *totin* (M-01f), \**h<sub>2</sub>eμ-to-m* > *venavtun* (W-01b) / *αυτων* (2.2 = 130), etc.

Phrygian preserved the PIE \**n* in most positions: see, e.g., \**népot-* > *nevos* (B-05), \**kenh<sub>1</sub>-m̄* > *keneman* (M-01b) or \**knuH-m̄* > *κνουμαν*. As can be seen in the last two examples, the vocalisation of \**ñ* —at least in final position— is *-an*. There is a position in which it seems to disappear: \**-Vns* > *-V̄is*. It was suggested by Brixhe<sup>106</sup> for the sg.nom. *kanutievaiš* (P-03) and *memevais* (M-02) in light of the sg.gen. *kanutii'evanoš*? (P-02). On the basis of this last form, he considered the shift sg.nom \**-ans* > *ais*, and assumed that this also occurred in the pl.acc. ending \**-ns* / *-C-ñs* as in *brateraiš* (B-04) < \**braterans* < PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>réh<sub>2</sub>terns*. Although this analysis is accepted here, the contexts of the possible pl.acc. remain obscure: B-01 *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin te[l]emi | [..]toyo[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey da[b]ati...*, B-04 *[e<sup>2</sup>]lakeš<sup>2</sup> brateraiš patriyio<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup> k(e)...* B-05 *nidus ad kaliyay karatu panato ando popostois klaniv kelmis ke umnišet evraduš daķeraiš key iverais...*, B-06 *deš[---] : event noktoy : emetētariyois |[---]y...*, G-145 *voineios uriienois ku[---]*, G-239 *mekaış[-?]-*, 16.1 (116) *ομουσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.]δεο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]γουταις εδαες πιγκε τας δε[α<sup>2</sup>]κερης ονομανιας μιρου ικ[.] κναικαν εδαες, 22.1 (9) υς δουμε<sup>2</sup>τυου πασε δεκμουταις κινου[υ]μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμεγναγ δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα and 40.3 (31) [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταις ιου | [.....] προ τοςου.<sup>107</sup>*

In addition, the shift \**-ons* > *-ois* does not fit Brixhe and Lejeune's (CIPPh I, 231) interpretation of P-02, a complete text on a stone block: *sest bugnos va|sos kanutii'evanoš*?. The form *sesæt* can be the pl.acc. of the demonstrative pron. with the pcl. *t* in agreement with *bugnos*, an o-stem pl.acc. The other two words are considered the sg.gen. of a PN and a title (here a patronymic, see § 4.2.1.1.5.2) found in another text from the P epigraphic area. Then, we have a sequence in sg.acc. followed by a sequence in sg.gen, which does not make clear sense, and it is unknown why both cases are used here. Orel (1997a, 291-292) analysed *sest* as *sæst*, a sequence of the pcl. + the 3sg.ind.pres. of the copulative verb \**h<sub>1</sub>es-* 'to be' (LIV<sup>2</sup> 241-242, IEW 340-341, with secondary ending) and *bugnos* "nom. sg. Masc. o-stem. A proper name of unknown origin". Consequently, he translated P-02 as 'This is Bugnos, keeper of the cultic object'. Leaving aside his interpretation of *kanutiievanos* (as he reads this title), his interpretation is attractive, since the presence of similar enunciations is also found on other blocks: P-03 *vasous iman mekas kanutievaiš devos ke meķas* 'Vasus Iman the great son of Kanutî and the great god' and P-05 *vasus kanutiē[---]* 'Vasus the son of Kanutî'.<sup>108</sup>

Nevertheless, the preservation of *-st* in *est* is not expected in the light of the aor. ending \**-e-s-t* > *-es* (*edaes*, *eneparkes*, etc.) and, worse still, this verbal form seems to be attested in Phr. as is according to Brixhe (2004a, 82), although the context of this last form remains unclear. Moreover, the considered PN *bugnos* remains unparalleled. It is tempting to interpret it in the light of the Persian name *Baga-* (in the patronymic *Bagāna-*) found in Aramaic texts as *bgn*

<sup>106</sup> First in Brixhe 1990, 65-67, but still in 2004a, 41-42. He is followed by Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187. In Lesbian Greek a secondary diphthong appears after the simplification of \**-ns-* in word-medial and final position: see, e.g., *δικάσταις κάλοις και άγάθοις* (pl.acc. < \**-ons* / \**-ans*; IG XII Suppl. 137) = Ion. *δικαστάς καλοῦς και άγαθούς* (Priene 17) 'excellent judges', *φαίσι* (< \**p<sup>h</sup>ansi* < \**b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>énti*; Sapph. 16;) = Att.-Ion. *φασί(v)* 'they say' or *μοῖσα* (Sapph. 84) = Att. *μοῦσα* 'muse'.

<sup>107</sup> In any case, note that the preposition *ας* (7.1 = 99, 7.3 = 14, etc.) does not fit this analysis, if it goes back to \**h<sub>1</sub>ns* (expected to yield \**ais*) or \**h<sub>1</sub>ens* (\**eis*?), as Lubotsky (1988, 24 fn. 13, also 1989a, 84) and Brixhe (1997, 50-53) suggested.

<sup>108</sup> In that case, these blocks could be used as pedestals for reliefs or statues.

(according to Naveh's 1979, 186 interpretation of the Ber-sheva ostraca no. 34, 43 and 46; see also Tavernier 2007, 136), but *bagā-* 'god' was very likely borrowed in Phrygian as *bagun* (G-136).

A third possibility for P-02 is to consider *ses* the sg.nom.masc. of the demonstrative pron. in agreement with *bugnos* (an o-stem sg.nom.): *ses=t bugnos va|sos kanutii'evanos?* 'this (is) Bugnos, the son of Vasos the *kanutievais*'. This would imply that in *ses=t* a hesitation occurs between e and i (see also its sg.dat. <*s*>*imun* / σέμουν) and the pcl. *=t* appears attached (see *esai=t* W-01b). In that case, it shows a levelling of the vowel from the oblique cases.

The shift *\*-Vns > -V̄is* in Phr. is a fact in the light of the suffix *-evais*, *-evanos* (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2). However, most of the possible occurrences of this shift are obscure, as are their contexts.

#### 4.1.2.1.2. The semiconsonants /w/ and /j/

The semivowel /w/, represented by <v> (in a few examples <u>) and v, uv and o, follows PIE *\*u̯*: *\*sue-* + *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-to-* > *venavtun* (W-01b, sg.acc.) /οεαυται (16.1 = 116, sg.dat.), *\*uid-* > (ο)ουιτετου (4.1), *\*b<sup>h</sup>eu<sup>dh</sup>-os-* > *bevδος* (B-01), etc. In Phrygian, this semivowel persists in all periods and positions with the sole exception of *\*u̯o > o*: *\*diu̯-os > τιος* (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.). In two OPhr. words, *-v-* appears as a hiatus-filling glide (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186): *\*toso > \*toho > tovo* (P-01) and *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>sos > \*dehos > devos* (P-03, also in *devun* B-07, not in NPhr. δεως, pl.dat.).

/j/, represented by <i> or <y> and ι, goes back to PIE *\*j* and is preserved in most positions: *\*Hios > yos, ios* / ιος (passim), *\*-eio-* > *kuryaneyon* (W-01c), *\*-ei* > *materey* (M-01e and W-01b), etc. However, in NPhr. it drops when following long vowels: *\*-āi > OPhr. /o:j/* in *dav-oi* (M-07 and B-05), *surgast-oy* (Dd-102) > MPhr. /o:j/ in *σορ-οι* (MPhr-01) > NPhr. /o/ ~ /u/ in *αυτ-ω* (37.2 = 30), *σορ-ου* (65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124), *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>ei* > OPhr. /a:j/ *mid-ai* M-01 / *avt-ay* (W-01b) > MPhr. *σα* (MPhr-01, sg.dat.) > NPhr. /a/ in *σα* (17.5 = 91, 21.1 = 42, etc.), *μανκα* (3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.). Nevertheless, etymological spellings are commonly found: *λευκιωι* (11.2 = 18), *-ai > σαι* (43.1 = 69 and 62.4 = 35), *μανκαι* (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.), *ζειραι* (59.4 = 106), etc. For /j/ dropped in non-absolute final position, see *\*-ōis > δεως* (passim) and *ζεμελως* (passim). In OPhr., it appears in hiatus after the vowel *-i-*: Greek *Καλλίας* > OPhr. *kaliya* (B-05).

#### 4.1.2.1.3. The approximant /l/

The approximant /l/ renders the PIE *\*l*: see *\*sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>- > lakedo* (W-01b) and *\*-elo-* > *ζεμελως* (passim). There are no clear examples of *\*l̥*, leaving aside *γλουρεος* (MPhr-01), where its development is influenced by laryngeal *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-* (Greek *χλωρός*).

#### 4.1.2.1.4. The vibrant /r/

The Phrygian vibrant /r/ goes back to PIE *\*r*: *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* > *αββερετ* (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.), *\*ph<sub>2</sub>tr-* > *πα|τερης* (1.2 = 48) / *πατρες* 2.2 (130), etc. As in PIE, this sound is extremely unusual at the beginning of a word: *rig<sup>2</sup>aru* (G-222), *ρε|κτεοι* (47.1 = 51), *ριδιτι* (16.1 = 116), etc. (see Table 33). PIE *\*r̥* seems to be vocalised as /ro/ according to *μορτις* (MPhr-01) and *μορτιη* (56.2 = 58), but as /or/ in final position in light of *por* (W-05 b)? / *πουρ* (6.1 = 88), if both forms go back to PIE *\*pr̥*. There are two examples of the simplification (-)Cr- > (-)r-: *\*u̯reg- ? > vrekun* (W-01a) > *rekun* (M-06) and *\*d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>uh</sup>-ro-* > *τιδρεγρουν* (62.2 = 33) > *τιδερουν* (53.1 = 76). There is also a hesitation between /r/ and /l/: *σκελεδριαι* (44.3 = 67) ~ *σκερεδριας* (55.1 = 56).

#### 4.1.2.2. Obstruents

##### 4.1.2.2.1. Aspirant /s/

PIE \*s disappears in initial position before a vowel: e.g. PIE \**seǵʰ*- > OPhr. *egeseti* (P-04a), NPhr. *εγεδου* (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc.) and *εγεσιτ* (56.2 = 58). The Pron. *σα(ι), σεμουν* (passim) can be considered an exception to this rule if it goes back to PIE \**se/o-*, however it is better explained as inherited from \**ki* (see § 4.2.1.2.1). PIE \*s- also disappears before \**u-*: PIE \**su-eh<sub>2</sub>* > OPhr. *va-* (B-07 and B-05), NPhr. *ουα-* (4.1 = 2, 16.1 = 116, etc.) and PIE \**suē-* > *ve-* OPhr. *venavtun* (W-01b) and NPhr. *οεαυται* (16.1). There are a few examples of *sC-* in initial position but all of them are suggested to be borrowings: *spereta* (B-01), *stal<sup>2</sup>a* (B-06) and *σκελεδριαι* (44.3 = 67) / *σκερεδριας* (55.1 = 56). However, because of the possible PIE etymology \**sleh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>u</sup>-* (LIV<sup>2</sup> 566, IEW 958, Greek *λαμβάνω*) of OPhr. *lakedo* (W-01b), it can be tentatively assumed that PIE \*s- also dropped before a consonant other than /w/.<sup>109</sup>

In intervocalic position PIE \*s- also disappears, as can be seen in the well attested word for ‘god’: PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>so-* > NPhr. *δεως* (pl.dat., passim, Greek *θεός*). However, it is preserved in contact with a consonant at least in mid-word position: PIE \**steh<sub>1</sub>-* (LIV<sup>2</sup> 590-592, IEW 1004-1008) > NPhr. *εσταεζ* 40.3 (31). An exception to this is considered by Lubotsky (1993a, 130 fn. 3, still in Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183 and 185) in \**sd<sup>h</sup>-* because of the 3sg.med. ending *-do/ -δου*, which he equated to Greek *-σθω*. Lejeune (1969b, 296) also considered for the form *σεμουν* (sg.dat.) a simplification of \**se-sm-* (here analysed as \**ke-*).

As in Greek, \*s remains in final position: \**h<sub>2</sub>eutós* > *αυτος* (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35), \**h<sub>1</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-es-t* > *edaes* (M-01a, M-01b, etc.), \**népots* > *nevos* (B-05). However, there is one example in which \*s drops in final position after *-k-*: compare *-vanak* < \**-k-s* (in *modrovanak*, M-04) with Greek *ἄναξ*.

##### 4.1.2.2.2. Stops

The Phrygian language has two series of stops: three voiced stops, /b/, /d/ and /g/, contrast with the voiceless ones, /p/, /t/ and /k/. Phrygian, then, greatly simplified the system of stops commonly reconstructed for the PIE (Table 14).

Table 14 Proto-Indo-European stops

	Voiceless	Voiced	Aspirated
<b>Dentals</b>	*t	*d	*d <sup>h</sup>
<b>Labials</b>	*p	(*b)	*b <sup>h</sup>
<b>Velars</b>	*k	*g	*g <sup>h</sup>
<b>Palatovelars</b>	*k̑	*g̑	*g̑ <sup>h</sup>
<b>Labialised velars</b>	*k <sup>u</sup>	*g <sup>u</sup>	*g <sup>uh</sup>

First of all, Phrygian, as *centum* language,<sup>110</sup> merged the PIE palatovelar series with the plain velars, PIE \**k̑, \*g̑, \*g̑<sup>h</sup>* > \**k, \*g, \*g<sup>h</sup>*. Indeed, the Phr. outcome of this series is the same as the

<sup>109</sup> With regard to *sC-* in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia (mainly from Roman Imperial times), Phrygia is notable for providing the most occurrences of vocalic prosthesis according to Brixhe (1987a, 115-116). Thumb (1901, 145) suggested that this feature could be attributed to the Phrygian substrate. Bubenik (1989, 242 and 279), partially following Thumb’s proposal, considering it “a feature of the provincial substandard of the Hellenistic Koine as spoken by the middle and low classes in several regions of Asia Minor (most notably Phrygia)”. However, as he admits, there are few inscriptions related to this issue containing information about the social scale of their promoters.

<sup>110</sup> This is a classical discussion in the history of Phrygian studies. Many scholars, especially in the period prior to the publication of Lejeune’s works, considered that Phrygian belongs to the *satem* group of PIE languages (on this, see Morante Mediavilla 2007, 543-559). Recently, while Brixhe considered that there

plain velars (see Table 15, on some *satəm*-like results see below). Secondly, it is widely known that the PIE aspirated stops became voiced: *\*b<sup>h</sup>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>*, *\*g<sup>h</sup>* > /b/, /d/, /g/. See, e.g., PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* > αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129), PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* > *daket* B-05, (αδ)δακετ (passim), *\*g<sup>h</sup>rej(H)-* > γεργειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.). Although some scholars question whether the Grasmann Law worked in Phrygian (e.g. Brixhe 2004a, 52 and Gorbachov 2008, 94-95), the noun *\*b<sup>h</sup>eu<sup>dh</sup>-os-* > *bevdos* clearly shows that it did not affect Phrygian (B-01, identified by Lubotsky 2008). Then, following Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 and 191) *tedatoy* (W-01a; *tedat*[---] B-05), the only example suggested to show this dissimilation more easily interpreted as bearing a preverb *t-* before the common form *edatoy* (B-05; act. counterpart *edaes* M-01a, M-01b, etc.). Despite Brixhe's reticence (still in 2008, 74),<sup>111</sup> Lubotsky (2004) showed that in parallel with this shift the PIE voiced stops became voiceless in Phrygian and postulated the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* in the light of developments such as the following: *\*diēm*, *\*diuos*, *\*diuei* > τιαν, τιος, τιε ~ τι ~ τη 'Zeus' (passim), *\*deik-* > τικτικμενος (passim), *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>g-os-* > βεκος, *\*g<sup>h</sup>en<sub>1</sub>es-h<sub>2</sub>* > κενα, etc. Even more examples that confirm his proposal have been identified since the publication of his paper: *\*doru-* > *torvetun* (B-05; Hämmig 2013, 150, fn. 52, also in Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185), *\*ped-* > *petes* (G-02, Kloekhorst, 2015), *\*még-h<sub>2</sub>* > *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc., Obrador-Cursach 2016), *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99, Hämmig fthc. a and b) and *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-ti-* (NIL 61) > *totin* (M-01f, Ligorio 2016).

The plain voiceless stops seem to remain unchanged in most instances: *\*méh<sub>2</sub>tēr* > *matar* (W-04, W-06, etc.), *\*to-* > τος (17.2 = 3, 18.3 = 6, etc.), *\*ph<sub>2</sub>ter-* > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48) / πατρεις (2.2 = 130), *\*knuH-* > κνουμανει (passim), *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-* > *daket* (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (passim), etc. However, Hämmig (2013) has identified an example of intervocalic *\*p* > -v-: *\*népot-* > *nevos*, *neyotan* (B-05). As she noticed, this shift occurs only in this context, since in the same inscription she also identified its derived noun *\*nept-ih<sub>2</sub>-* > *niptiyan*, *niptiyay* (B-05). The only clear example of *\*-VpV-* preservation in Phr. is > *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01di) / ενεπαρκεις (40.3 = 31), whose root goes back to *\*perk-* (as suggested Lejeune 1969b, 291-194). Consequently, it is unknown whether in Phrygian the shift *\*-VpV-* > *-VvV-* was a general phenomenon and the preservation in *eneparkes* due to paradigmatic levelling from forms without augment or whether *\*-VpV-* > *-VvV-* was in fact a local shift, since it is only identified in a Vezirhan stele (B-05).

As can be seen, in Phr. there is no *Lautverschiebung* in the way that this concept is used in IE studies. Voiceless stops remained as so in all positions, excluding the intervocalic example of *nevos* (B-05). As such, *stricto sensu* it would be preferable to refer to a Phrygian devoicing and deaspiration.

---

was no clear information from which to conclude that Phrygian was a *centum* or *satəm* (Brixhe 1983, 131), Lubotsky (1989b, 148-149; 1998, 416) assumed that Phrygian shows *centum* developments.

<sup>111</sup> It is also the case of Matzinger (2005, 379 und 2006), who suggested a shift  $C_{[+voiced]} > C_{[-voiced]} / \_Nasal$ , and Woodhouse (2006), who suggested many contexts where the PIE voiced stops become voiceless in Phrygian. Nevertheless, although some of Woodhouse's new etymologies are possible, his general theory – that the shift occurred because of the presence of /n/, /m/, /w/, *\*b<sup>h</sup>/*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>/* and perhaps /l/ in the same word – is not a satisfactory alternative to the more straightforward explanation given by Lubotsky. It is very likely that this is why his proposal remains unconsidered by other scholars. The aspirates and sonorants suggested by Woodhouse to be the cause of the shift do not constitute a natural class as regards this effect, it has no parallels and words identified after his paper do not fit his view: PIE *\*ped-* > *petes* (G-02, Kloekhorst, 2015) and *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-ti-* (NIL 61) > *totin* (M-01f, Ligorio 2016).

Table 15 Phrygian developments of the PIE velars

PIE	OPhr.	OPhr. examples	NPhr.	NPhr. examples
*ǵ	k	<i>mekas</i> (< * <i>még-h<sub>2</sub></i> )	κ	μεκάν (< * <i>még-h<sub>2</sub>n</i> ) βεκος (< * <i>b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ǵ-os-</i> ) κενά (< * <i>ǵenh<sub>1</sub>es-h<sub>2</sub></i> )
*ǵ <sup>h</sup>	g	<i>egeseti</i> (< * <i>seǵ<sup>h</sup>-</i> ) <i>agaritōi</i> (< * <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>er(H)-</i> )	γ	εγεδου, εγεσιτ (< * <i>seǵ<sup>h</sup>-</i> ) γεγαριτμενος (< * <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>er(H)-</i> )
	↑	↑ <i>iray</i> (< * <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-</i> )	ζ	ζειραι (< * <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-</i> )
*g	-	-	-	-
*ǵ <sup>h</sup>	-	-	γ	γεγρειμεναν (< * <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>rei(H)-</i> )
*ǵ <sup>u</sup>	k	<i>knays</i> (< * <i>ǵ<sup>w</sup>neh<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>lakedo</i> (< * <i>sleh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>u</sup>-</i> )	κ	κναικάν (< * <i>ǵ<sup>w</sup>neh<sub>2</sub>-</i> )
*ǵ <sup>uh</sup>	-	-	γ	τιδρεγρουν (< * <i>d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>uh</sup>-ro-</i> )
*k̑	-	-	κ	τετικμενος (< * <i>dik̑-</i> )
*k	k	<i>daket</i> (< * <i>d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-</i> )	κ	(αδ)δακετ (< * <i>d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-</i> )
*k <sup>u</sup>	k	<i>ke, key</i> (< * <i>k<sup>u</sup>e</i> ) <i>kos, kin</i> (* <i>k<sup>u</sup>o-</i> / * <i>k<sup>u</sup>i-</i> )	κ	κε, κη (< * <i>k<sup>u</sup>e</i> ) κος, κιν (* <i>k<sup>u</sup>o-</i> / * <i>k<sup>u</sup>i-</i> )

Lastly, Phrygian merged the PIE labialised velars, \*k<sup>u</sup>, \*ǵ<sup>u</sup>, \*ǵ<sup>uh</sup>, with the plain ones: \*k<sup>u</sup>e > *ke* (B-04, B-05, etc.), κε (passim), \*k<sup>u</sup>o- / \*k<sup>u</sup>i- > *kos* (B-07) / κος (2.2 = 130, 11.2 = 18, etc.), *kin* (B-01) / κιν (61.1 = 100), \*ǵ<sup>u</sup>(e)n-h<sub>2</sub>- > *knays* (HP-114), *knais* (B-07), etc. Although this shift confers a *satəm*-look to the Phrygian language, it can only be explained as a secondary shift in the light of the previous confusion of palatovelars with regard to Latin and in Tocharian under some contexts (Pinault 2008, 445-447). In such a scenario, three forms show *satəm*-like developments in Phrygian, which can also be considered secondary:

1. ζεμελως ‘men’ (passim) < PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m-* ‘earth’. The presence of zeta (ζ) seems to follow the PIE palatal \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>, however in the light of what has been said it is more easily explained as representing a secondary palatalisation before the front vowel *e*: \**d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m-* > \*(*d*)*ǵe-m-* > \*(*d*)*ǵe-m-* > ζεμ-.
2. ↑*iray* (B-05) and ζειρα- ‘hand’ (40.1 = 12 and 59.4 = 106) < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-* ? (Hämmig 2013, 150-151). If the etymology and the equation of the OPhr. and NPhr. forms are accepted, we also have a similar context of ζεμελως: \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>e- > \**ǵe-* > ↑*i-* / ζει-.
3. The pron. σεμουν / σα. Lejeune (1969b, 296) preferred to classify it as inherited from PIE \**so-* / *to-* (with split paradigm in Phrygian, see τος 17.2 = 3, 18.3 = 6, etc.), however an etymology \**ki-* is not ruled out by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 185, see also Hämmig 2013, 140 fn. 31). If this second possibility is preferred (as it is here), the front vowel can again be considered as causing the shift (subsequently spreading to the whole paradigm).

As can be seen, these examples of possible *satəm* treatment occur before front vowels<sup>112</sup> and can easily be considered secondary in the light of examples such as \**még-h<sub>2</sub>* > *mekas*. On the basis of the above considerations, the Phrygian system of stops can be defined as follows:

<sup>112</sup> Brixhe 1982, Brixhe 1994, 172 and Matzinger 2005, 380.

/b/ is inherited from PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>: \*b<sup>h</sup>euǵ<sup>h</sup>-os- > *bev̄dos* (B-01), \*b<sup>h</sup>er- > αββερετ (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.).

/d/ is the outcome of PIE \*d<sup>h</sup>: \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- > *edaes* (M-01a, M-01b, etc.) / εδαεξ (16.1 = 116), \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-s-o- > δεωξ (passim), \*upsod<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub> > υψοδαν (2.1 = 15), etc.

/g/ renders PIE \*g<sup>h</sup>, \*ǵ<sup>h</sup> and g<sup>uh</sup>-. \*g<sup>h</sup>rei(H)- > γεγρειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.), \*seǵ<sup>h</sup>- > *egeseti* (P-04 a) / εγεδου (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc.), εγεσιτ (56.2 = 58), \*d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>uh</sup>-ro- > τιδρεγρουν (62.2 = 33)<sup>113</sup> ...

/p/ follows the PIE \*p, with remains in Phrygian (with the sole exception of \*népots > *nevos* B-05): \*pérk- > *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01dI) and ενεπαρκες (40.3 = 31), \*ph<sub>2</sub>ter- > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48), πατρεις (2.2 = 130). The discussed PIE stop \*b is expected to become \*p in Phr., however we have no evidence for the development of \*b.

/t/ is the result of PIE \*d and \*t: \*diu<sub>2</sub>-os > τιος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.), \*deik- > τιττετικμενος (passim), \*méh<sub>2</sub>tēr > *matar* (W-04, W-06, B-01) / ματαρ (11.2 = 18), πατρεις (2.2 = 130), \*nept-ih<sub>2</sub>- > *niptiyan* (B-05), etc.

/k/ goes back to PIE \*ǵ, \*ǵ<sup>u</sup>, \*k, \*k and \*k<sup>u</sup>: \*még<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub> > *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc., sg.nom.) / μεκας (MPhr-01, sg.nom.) / μεκ|αν (2.2 = 130, sg.acc.), \*sleh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>u</sup>- > *lakedo* (W-01b), \*ǵ<sup>u</sup>neh<sub>2</sub>- > *knais* (B-07), *knays* (HP-114) / κναικαν (16.1 = 116), \*deik- > τιττετικμενος (passim), \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k- > *daket* (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (passim), \*k<sup>u</sup>e > *ke* (B-04, B-05, etc.), *key* (B-05) / κη (MPh-01) / κε (passim), κη (2.2 = 130), \*k<sup>u</sup>o-, \*k<sup>u</sup>i- > *kos* (B-07), *kin* (B-01) / κοξ (2.2 = 130, 11.2 = 18, etc.), κιν (61.1 = 100). PIE \*ǵ is expected to become /k/ in Phrygian (as well as \*ǵ), however evidence for \*ǵ in Phrygian is lacking.

Finally, it must be added that stops drop in some clusters. This is the case of PIE \*-t-s > \*-s: see \*népots > *nevos* (B-05) and βαξ (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, etc.), in the light of its sg.acc. *batan* (T-02) / βαταν (20.2 = 128, 62.2 = 33, 62.5 = 35). Also \*-st > \*-s can be considered in the light of the 3sg.aor. ending: \*h<sub>1</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-e-st > *edaes* (M-01a, M-01b, etc.).

#### 4.1.2.2.3. Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals

The three commonly reconstructed laryngeals for PIE disappeared in Phrygian. However, their presence is known through their reflexes and the comparison between other PIE languages. Moreover, as happens in Greek, Phrygian has different reflexes for each laryngeal, which they vocalise and “colour” in three different ways:

\*h<sub>1</sub> yields /e/ in \*h<sub>1</sub>C- and \*-Ch<sub>1</sub>C-: \*h<sub>1</sub>su- > *ev-* ‘well’ (in *eveteksete*<sup>2</sup> W-01b?), Gr. εὖ- ‘id.’, \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-s-ó- > δεωξ (passim), \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>g-ós- > βεκος ‘bread’ (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc.). Phrygian merged \*-Vh<sub>1</sub>- with \*ē and it became /a:/: e.g. \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- > *daket* (B-05), (αδ)δακετ (passim). As has been said, there are two examples of \*-eh<sub>1</sub># > -e / ε: the prohibitive pcl. \*meh<sub>1</sub> > *me* (B-05 and B-07) / με and the adverb *kakey* (B-05) / κακε (6.1 = 88, 7.1 = 99, etc.). There are two hypothetical explanations for this unexpected result: in an early prehistoric stage of the language the laryngeal dropped in final position (\*-eh<sub>1</sub># > \*-ě#) or the shift \*ē > ā only worked on stressed position. However, neither is conclusive: more examples of such dropping are lacking and our knowledge of the nature and position of the Phrygian stress is insufficient. In any case, before \*e the laryngeal \*h<sub>1</sub>- disappears without any reflex in Phrygian: \*h<sub>1</sub>e- (the verbal augment) > e- in, e.g., *edaes* (M-01a, M-02, etc.) and \*h<sub>1</sub>i- > *ituv* (B-05).

<sup>113</sup> According to Jokl 1927, 143 (followed by Neumann 1979, 824, Matzinger 2005, 384 and EDG 542), the Phrygian shift PIE \*ǵ<sup>uh</sup> > g can also be found in the toponym Γέρμα (Galatia), Γέρμη (Mysia), *Germe* (Mysia), Γέρμη|α|| (Galatia, see KON 138-139 § 204), if it goes back to PIE \*ǵ<sup>uh</sup>er-mo- ‘warm’, as Greek θερμός ‘warm’, Arm. *ǵerm* ‘id.’ and Alb. *zjarm*, *zjarr* ‘heat’.

\*h<sub>2</sub> became /a/ in \*h<sub>2</sub>C- and \*-Ch<sub>2</sub>C-: \*h<sub>2</sub>nēr > αναρ (2.1 = 15), Greek ἀνήρ, \*ph<sub>2</sub>téres > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48), πατρες (2.2 = 130), \*meǵ-h<sub>2</sub>-(s) > mekas (M-05, G-111, etc.) / μεκαν (2.2 = 130, sg.acc.), etc. Phrygian renders PIE \*eh<sub>2</sub> as /a/: \*méh<sub>2</sub>tēr > matar (W-04, W-06, B-01) / ματαρ (11.2 = 18), \*steh<sub>2</sub>- > εσταεϛ (M-11) / εσταεϛ (40.3 = 31), etc. Before vowel \*e the laryngeal \*h<sub>2</sub>- disappears after colouring it in /a/: \*h<sub>2</sub>eu-to- > avtoi (T-03b) / αυτος (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35) and \*h<sub>2</sub>ed > ad (B-05) / αδ (7.3 = 99), ατ (passim). The sg.dat. ending provides the occurrence of this laryngeal in intervocalic position: -eh<sub>2</sub>eǵ > /aj/ - ai, -ay / -α(ι).

\*h<sub>3</sub> yields /o/ in \*h<sub>3</sub>C- and \*-Ch<sub>3</sub>C-: \*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mn > onoman (W-01) / ονομα[-? -] (37.2 = 30) and \*dh<sub>3</sub>-ti- (NIL 61) > totin (M-01f). The PIE sequence \*-eh<sub>3</sub>- is expected to become /ō/. Nevertheless, the only possible occurrence is spelled with omicron: \*de-deh<sub>3</sub>- > τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99, with secondary /o/ in the reduplication). This spelling is ambiguous since Phrygian and Greek had merged /o:/ with /o/ by the times of the NPhr. inscriptions (see δεωϛ ~ δεοϛ < \*-ōis). There is one example of \*CRh<sub>3</sub>C: \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>-r- > γλουρεοϛ (MPhr-01). Here, the outcome is expected to be /o:/, however this vowel commonly shifts to /u:/ in Phrygian.

In addition, there are two Phrygian words with unspecified laryngeals which I would like to address here. The first is γεγαριτμενοϛ, which is the equivalent of Greek κεχαρισμένος (a ppp. of χαρίζω), a verbal form derived from \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>r(H)- (via the noun χάριϛ, -τοϛ, see EDG 1606-1607).<sup>114</sup> In the Phrygian form \*h<sub>1</sub> or \*h<sub>2</sub> seems to have worked here because it is the only explanation for the vocalisation of \*r̥ > αρ, differently to \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>-r- > γλουρεοϛ (MPhr-01). In the light of these forms one can consider that the following treatments (also attested in Greek) occurred in Phrygian:

1. (C)R̥H<sub>x</sub>C > (C)R̥V<sub>x</sub>C in \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>-r- > \*ǵlōr- > γλουρεοϛ (MPhr-01), parallel to Greek \*-ǵ<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-tós > (κασι)γντοϛ ‘born from the same mother’ or \*k<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-tós > (ἄ)κρα-τοϛ ‘unmixed, neat, pure’.
2. (C)R̥H<sub>x</sub>V > (C)V̥<sub>x</sub>RV > \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-it- > γαριτ- in γεγαριτμενοϛ (62.2 = 33) or \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-it- > \*ǵērit- > γαριτ-, parallel to Greek \*h<sub>1</sub>e-tǵh<sub>1</sub>-o-m > ἔτεμον ‘I cut’ or \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-e-tós > θάνατοϛ ‘death’. Also, the related adj. agaritōi ‘devoted’ (G-02 a, pl.nom. identified by Kloekhorst 2015) fits with this analysis: \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rH-i-tó- > (a-)garitōi.

The second unspecific laryngeal is found in \*knuH-mǵ > κνουμανει (passim). Although its root is also found in Greek κνῦω ‘to dig’, there is no evidence suggesting that laryngeal should be preferred in its reconstruction. Then, the laryngeal is only known for the Greek form, which suggests that the Phrygian form also had a long /u:/, at least before merging of /u:/ with /u/.

In the light of the above, the PIE laryngeals result in Phrygian as follows:

Table 16 The Phrygian treatment of PIE laryngeals

	*HC-	*-CHC-	*-He-	*-eHe-	*-eH-	*-uH-	*CRHC	*CRHV
*h <sub>1</sub>	eC-	-CeC-	-e-	-	-ā- (-ē-)	-	-	-
*h <sub>2</sub>	aC-	-CaC-	-a-	-ā-	-ā-	-	-	-
*h <sub>3</sub>	oC-	-CoC-	-	-	-ō- ?	-	*CRōC	-
*H	-	-	-	-	-	-ū-	-	CV̥ <sub>x</sub> RV

<sup>114</sup> The common vocalisation of \*r̥ in Att.- Ion. is αρ. Then, a form \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>r̥- is expected to yield χᾶρ-.

## 4.2. Morphology

### 4.2.1. Nominal and Pronominal Morphology

Phrygian nouns, adjective and pronouns have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter), two numbers (singular and plural) and four cases (nominative, accusative, genitive and dative).<sup>115</sup> These categories are expressed by the inflection of the words, although the gender of a word is often unclear because no specific endings are used and the agreement with an adjective or pron. is lacking in the preserved texts. In the case of nouns (and adjectives, although their inflection is even less documented), three basic types of nominal inflection are commonly established on the basis of the endings used for each type (although these are not the only distinguishing features): *a*-stem, *o*-stem and consonant stems (*C*-stems, including *i*- and *u*-stem).

#### 4.2.1.1. Nouns and adjectives

##### 4.2.1.1.1. The *a*-stems

In most instances, the Phrygian *a*-stem inflection goes back to PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>* and is followed by fem. and masc. nouns (especially personal names), fem. adj. and pronouns. The attested endings are shown in the table below:

Table 17 A-stem endings

	Singular			Plural		
	OPhr.	MPhr.	NPhr.	OPhr.	MPhr.	NPhr.
<b>Nominative</b>	-a / -as	-α / -	-α / -ας	-	-	-α / -ας ?
<b>Accusative</b>	-an	-αν?	-αν	-	-	-αις, -αης ?
<b>Genitive</b>	-as	-	-ας	-	-	-
<b>Dative</b>	-ai, -ay	-α	-αι / -α	-	-	-ας

The sg.nom. ending -a / -α renders the PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>*. It is found in fem. nouns and adj.: *kubeleya* (B-01), *kubileya* (W-04), *λαπτα* (MPhr-01), *μανκα* (MPhr-01), etc. It is also found in masculine personal names: *ata* (G-107, G-118, etc.), *baba* (M-01b and G-121), *kaliya* (B-05), *μιτραφατα* (1.1 = 48), *μιδακας* (11.2 = 18), etc. There is an alternative ending -as for masculine PN, but even in those cases -a-∅ occurs: compare *atas* (G-128 and Dd-101), *atatas* (M-01c and HP-01), *midas* (M-01d I, G-137 and HP-102) with *baba* (M-01b and G-121). This hesitation between forms with and without -s (also found in the other vowel stems, with the sole exception of the *o*-stem) is explained by Brixhe (1983, 128; 1993, 340 and 2004a, 51) as the result of Anatolian substratum / adstratum, since the Anatolian language does not have the contrast between masc. and fem. genre.

The PIE ending *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>m* yields the sg.acc. -an / -a(v): *akinanogavan* (M-04), *niptiyan* (B-05), *μανκαν* (2.1 = 15, 11.2 = 18, etc.), *γεγρειμεναν* (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.)... There is not a clear occurrence in MPhr-01, since the obscure word *βιλαταδε|ναν* could be a *n*-stem (see *imenan*, -an < *\*-m*).

The only clear noun in sg.gen. is *ουεναουιας* (6.1 = 88), a fem. personal name. On masc. names in -as, Brixhe argued that there is a sg.gen. in -avo. However, the only example, *leravo* or *lavo* (W-10), remains obscure (even its sg.nom. is unknown) and this assumption is made in the light of the *o*-stem -vo and the *e*-stem *atevo* (W-10), the possible gen. of the masculine PN *ates* (M-01a, W-08, etc.).

<sup>115</sup> It remains unknown whether Phrygian had a voc. case because of the nature of the texts.

The sg.dat. *-ai, -ay / -α / -αι, -α* is the result of PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>ei*: *atai* (W-10), *midai* (M-01a), *nīptiyay* (B-05), *μανκαί* (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.), etc. It is common in NPhr. that the second element of the diphthong drops: *μανκα* (3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.). This simplification seems to have happened already in MPhr. in the light of *σα σοροι* (instead of *σαι σοροι*). Often, this phenomenon leads to confusion with other cases: compare *ιος | σα τι σκελεδρια | κακουν δακετ* (44.3 = 67) with *[ι]ος σας του σκερεδριας κακουν δακετ* (55.1 = 56) or *ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]μανι κακουν αδδ[α]κετ αινι μανκης* (8.1 = 86) with *αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα* (11.2 = 18). The spellings *μ[ανκ]ε* (17.5 = 91) and *μανκης* are very likely to have been influenced by Greek monophthongation *αι > ε*.

The plural forms remain unclear. The pl.nom. ending appears in *ουελας* (9.1 = 87 and 15.1 = 120) according to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189), who consider that it goes back to *\*suel-eh<sub>2</sub>-es*. Nevertheless, Hämmig (fthc. a and b) has recently suggested another segmentation for both occurrences (considered verbs) which, if accepted, invalidates this analysis: *ουελασκετου* (9.1 = 87) and *ουελασκοννου* (15.1 = 120). More likely, in NPhr. 40.1 (12) the forms *ζειρα* and *τιττετικμενα* are in pl.nom. Perhaps, the simplification *-αι > -α* occurred here, as in the sg.dat. If this is the case, the plural is an innovation shared with Greek, which built a pl.nom. *-αι* after the *o*-stem counterpart *-οι*. The pl.acc. ending *-αις, -αης*, which goes back to PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>ns*, is only found in an obscure word with no clear context: *δεκμουταις* (22.1 = 9) and *δεκμουταης* (40.3 = 31, where eta stands for /i/). Finally, the pl.dat. is found in *ονομανιας* 16.1 (116), a form governed by the preposition *με*.

There are at least two secondary *a*-stems in Phrygian. The noun *vrekun* (W-01a) appears once as a feminine *vrekan* (B-05). In both instances, it can designate a relief of the goddess and perhaps it is the reason of the stem and gender shift (see Matzinger 2005, 389). The PIE word for 'hand' was originally a C-stem PIE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-* 'id.' (NIL 170-172, preserved in Hitt. *keššar* 'id.', Gr. *χείρ, χειρός* 'hand', Arm. *jeṙn* 'id.', etc.) but in Phrygian it is inflected as an *a*-stem according to its sg.dat. *↑iray* (B-05) / *ζειραι* (59.4 = 106). A parallel process occurred in the Alb. cognate *dorë* 'id.' (*\*dēr-ā < \*dēr- < PIE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-*), but this is a general phenomenon in this language (Demiraj 1997, 140 with references).

The fem. forms of the adj. and pronouns follows this inflection. See, e.g., the fem. poss., sg.nom. *va* (B-07) / *ουα* (4.1 = 2, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36), sg.acc. *οαν* (16.1 = 116) - *ουαν* (60.1 = 59) and sg.dat. *vay* (B-05). In addition, the form *kraniyas* (B-05, read before as *kraniyap*) is considered in this dissertation a fem.sg.gen. adj. in agreement with the goddess *artimitos*. Also, the forms *tias* (G-249) and *πουντας* (1.1 = 48) can be considered ethnics in sg.nom.masc.: *seVel tias* 'Tian weight' and *πουντας βας* 'Pontic Bas'. However, both could be classified as the sg.gen. of their toponyms.

Finally, the adj. *mekas* 'big, great' < PIE *\*meǵ-h<sub>2</sub>* was inflected in a similar way to *ā*-stems, although it has some peculiarities. Its sg.nom. *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc.) / *μεκας* (MPhr-01) has an ending *-as* (as in the Greek masc. *μέγας*) and it is used for both masc. and fem. (Obrador-Cursach 2016, 183-184): compare *deyos ke mekas* 'and the great god' (sg.nom.masc., P-03) and *apelan mekas* 'the great Apelan' (sg.nom.masc., M-05) with *μανκα μεκας σας* 'this big stele' (sg.nom.masc., MPhr-01). Other cases are sg.acc. *μεκ|αν* (2.2 = 130) and sg.dat. *μεκα* (35.1 = 25). The forms *mekaiş* (G-239, perhaps pl.acc., although a pl.dat. cannot be ruled out) and *mekā[---]* (B-05) remain unclear.

#### 4.2.1.1.2. The *o*-stems

The Phrygian thematic inflection, the *o*-stems, is inherited from its PIE equivalent. This inflection is followed by masculine and neuter nouns, adj. and pronouns, although there is at least one *o*-stem fem. noun (*σοροι / σορου*). Their endings are as follows:

Table 18 The o-stem endings

	Singular						Plural					
	OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.		OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.	
	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.
<b>Nom.</b>	-os	-un	-oς	-	-oς	-ουv	-oi	-a	-	-	-oi	-α
<b>Acc.</b>	-un		-ουv		-ουv		-oys?		-		-	
<b>Gen.</b>	-ovo?		-ou		-ou, -ω		-		-		-ουv	
<b>Dat.</b>	-oi, -oy		-oi		-ou, -ω, -ωι		-		-		-ως	

The PIE masc.sg.nom. ending \*-o-s yields the Phrygian -os / -oς / -oς: *akenanogavos* (M-01a and W-01a), *benagonos* (G-116), *deγos* (P-03), *νικοστρατος* (MPhr-01), *τιττετικμενος* (passim in NPhr.), etc.

The masc.sg.nom. ending -un / -ουv / -ουv, -ov goes back to PIE \*-o-m: *akaragayun* (M-02), *bagun* (G-136), *δετουv* (MPhr-01) / *δετουv* (40.3 = 31), *δετον* (16.1 = 116), *γεγρειμενον* 59.4 (106), etc. The same ending is used for the neut.sg.nom.-acc. of nouns and adjectives (but not in the pronominal inflection): *vrekun* (W-01a) and *τιδρεγουν* (62.2 = 33), *τιδρεουν* (53.1 = 76).

The OPhr. sg.gen. ending is suggested to be -ovo in the light of [t]ovo (G-02 c, see Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189). Perhaps, some forms in -o such as *kavarmoyo* (B-01, B-05), a clear o-stem. as its sg.acc. *kavarmoyun* (B-01) shows. In any case, this ending appears in MPhr. and NPhr. as -ou: *αιδομενου* (MPhr-01), *δαδου* (11.2 = 18), *αργου* (1.2 = 98 and 37.2 = 30), etc. The adj. fem. *αωρω* (6.1 = 88), borrowed from Greek *ἄωρος*, shows a spelling variant of the o-stem sg.gen. since it agrees with *ουεναουιας* (6.1 = 88). Following Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189), the Phrygian thematic sg.gen. ending goes back to \*-oso > \*-o.o, with an antihyatic -v- in the suggested OPhr. form. In MPhr. and NPhr., this ending \*o.o > \*-ō > -ou merged with the sg.dat. -ou. The thematic sg.gen. ending \*-osyo has not been identified in Phrygian. This absence can be considered surprising, since it is found in Skt. -asya, Gr. -oio and Arm. -oy (also in Faliscan -osio, Lat. *Lapis Satricanus -osio* and Lepontic -oiso).<sup>116</sup> However, if indeed it is an archaism and not an innovation, it could simply have been lost in Phrygian.

The sg.dat. ending, -oi, -oy / -oi, -o? / -ou, -ω, follows the PIE \*-ōi. This diphthong is preserved in OPhr.: *adoikavoi* (G-02a), *davoi* (M-06 and B-05), *imroy* (B-01), etc. However, in NPhr. its second element dropped and the resulting /o:/ merged with /u/: *σορου* (65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124) and *κορου* (27.1 = 92). There are also few spellings with omega, e.g. *αυτω* (37.2 = 30), and one example of the old form, *λευκιω* (11.2 = 18). In MPhr. the forms *κλευμαχοι* and *σοροι* (MPhr-01) show the same situation as the OPhr.

Phrygian has the thematic masc.pl.nom. ending -oi / -oi: *agaritoi* (G-02, Kloekhorst 2015, 110 and 116) and *τιττετικμενοι* (28.1 = 71). This ending, parallel e.g. to Greek -oi or Lat. -ī (< -ē < -ēi < -oi), is borrowed from the pronominal inflection.

The possible masc.pl.acc. ending -oys is the result of PIE \*-ons, and is suggested to occur in *ktevoyis* 'properties (?)' (B-01) and *patriyiois* 'relatives (?)' (B-04, see and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189). Note, however, that the contexts of both occurrences remain unclear. The PIE ending \*-h<sub>2</sub> yields the Phr. neut.pl.nom.-acc. -a / -ā: *kakā* (B-05) / *κακα* (17.3 = 7), *τιττετικμενα* (40.1 = 12) and *μυρα* (35.1 = 25). Recently, the pl.gn. ending -ouy has been identified by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190) in *τιττετουκμενουv* (33.1 = 28). It goes back to PIE \*-o-om > \*-ōm. Finally, the PIE pl.dat. ending \*-ōis is clearly attested in NPhr. as -ως: *δεως* (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, etc.), *ζεμελως* (3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.).

<sup>116</sup> On the Luwian outcome of \*-osyo see Yakubovich 2008.

Finally, it must be said that in Phrygian at least one old fem. *a*-stem become a masc. *o*-stem: ουταν (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.) and ουτον (59.4 = 106). Both forms share the same context: γεγειμεναν εγεδου Τιος ουταν (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.) ‘let him have the written punishment of Zeus’ with γεγειμενον κ’ εγεδου ορουενοϛ ουτον ‘and let him have the written curse of the Keeper’ (59.4 = 106).

#### 4.2.1.1.3. The C-stems

The C-stem encompasses the consonant stems, *t*-, *d*-, *k*-, *n*-, *m*- *r*-, *l*- and *s*-stems, as well as the *i*-stems and *u*-stems. They share the same endings:

Table 19 C-stem endings

	Singular						Plural					
	OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.		OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.	
	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.
<b>Nom.</b>	-s/ ∅	-∅	-ς	-	-ς	-∅	-es	-a	-ης	-	-ες -ης	-α
<b>Acc.</b>	-n -an		-v -		-v -αv		-ais?		-		-	
<b>Gen.</b>	-os		-		-oς		-		-		-	
<b>Dat.</b>	-ei, -ey		-		-ει, -ε, -ι, -η		-		-		-	

The masc. and fem. sg.nom. ending is *-s*, inherited from PIE *\*-s*: *Ṭuvatis* (G-133), *Alus* (W-09), *\*népot-* > *nevos* (B-05), *\*-t-s* > Βας (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, etc.), *μορις* (MPhr-01), etc. In the light of *mođroyanak* (M-04), it seems that after *-k*, the ending dropped. On the other hand, in the *r*-, *l*- and *n*-stems this ending does not occur, instead the nominative almost always shows a lengthened grade of the suffix (with the sifht *\*ē > a*): *matar* (W-04, W-06 and B-01) / *ματαρ* (11.2 = 18), *seVel* (G-249, a borrowing), *iman* (M-06, G-136, etc.), *kuryaneyon* (W-01c), *ορουαν* (1.1 = 48), *αναρ* (2.1 = 15), etc.

PIE *-m/-ṃ* yields the masc.-fem. sg.acc. ending *-n* (after vowel) / *-an* (after consonant): *areyastin* (W-01a), *imenan* (B-05), *materan* (M-01d1 and W-01a), *neyotan* (B-05), *Batan* (T-02b) / Βαταν (20.2 = 128, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35), *κιων* (MPhr-01), *\*d̥iēm* > *Τιαν* (2.2 = 130), 7.1 = 99, etc.), *ορουεαν* (20.2 = 128), *κναικαν* (16.1 = 116), *ευκιν* (1.2 = 98 and 37.2 = 30), etc.

Neuters do not bear any ending in the sg.nom.-acc.: *\*b<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>-os-* > *bevdos* (B-01, *s*-tem), *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ǵ-ós-* > *βεκος* (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc., *s*-tem), *\*-mṃ* (a very productive suffix, even in NPhr. period) > *keneman* (M-01b), *κνουμαν* (16.1 = 116 and 43.1 = 69), etc.

Phrygian generalised the PIE ending *\*-os* for the C-stem sg.gen.: *vasos* (< *\*uasuos*; P-02), *kanutii'evanos'* (P-02), *urgitos* (K-01 VI-VII a2), *τιος* (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.), *ορουενοϛ* 59.4 (106), *κ<v>ουμιοϛ* (18.2 = 5), etc. According to *artimitos* (B-05), Brixhe (2004a, 55-56) considered that the *i*-stems have a *t*-stem sg.gen. parallel to Greek ἄρτεμις, ἰδος, although the Phrygian nom. of this DN in Phr. is not attested.

Sg.dat. *-ei, -ey* / *-ει, -ε, -ι, -η* preserves the PIE ending *\*-ei*, although in NPhr. this shows a simplification of this diphthong: *materey* (M-01e and W-01b), *inmeney* (B-05), *↑emeney* (B-05), *κνουμανει* (passim), *κνουμανε* (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, etc.), *κνουμανι* (6.1 = 88, 8.1 = 86, etc.), *κνουμανη* (29.1 = 114), *tiei* (NW-101 A II), *τιε* (passim), *τι* (9.1 = 87, 38.1 = 44, etc.), *τιη* (8.1 = 86, 18.3 = 6, etc.), *βρατερε* (40.3 = 31), etc.

PIE pl.nom. ending *\*-es* is preserved in Phrygian. Note that in NPhr. <η> represents /e/ (and /i/) instead of the classical /ε:/: *petes* (G-02) / *πετες* (40.1 = 12)?, *m<sup>2</sup>akeres* (HP-114), *παντης*

(MPhr-01), πατρεις (2.2 = 130), πατερης (1.2 = 48), etc. The pl.acc. is not well attested, but it seems to go back to \*-ḡs: *bḡaterais* (B-04), *daḡeraiḡ* (B-05) ?, Finally, the neut.pl.nom.-acc. -a / -α goes back to PIE \*-h<sub>2</sub>: *dabpula* P-101 and κενα (62.4 = 35).

#### 4.2.1.1.4. Personal names in -es

In the Phrygian corpus there are some PN with the nom. ending -es: *manes* (B-07; NPhr. μανεις 43.1 = 69, due to Greek itacism?), *ates* (M-01a, W-08, etc.),<sup>117</sup> *voines* (G-129 and G-286), *tates* (G-122; [t]ates G-148?), *tiyes* (M-04), *eies* (G-108) and the more obscure *geies* or *t'eies* (G-125), *p'erbastidages* (HP-101), *bateles* (W-08), *garies* or *paries* (G-224 b), αδενπ|ατης (43.1 = 69). Two instances show a variant without -s, a hesitation found in all vowel stems PN: *voine* (G-228) and *voine* (G-228). Some of these PNs are found in Greek inscriptions from Roman Phrygia: e.g. Ατης (KNP 107 § 119-10, also attested in literary sources as Ἰτης) and Μανης and Μανις / Μανεις, Μανιτους (KNP 290-291 § 858-4, in literary sources as Μάνης).

Their origin, as that of most PN attested in Phrygian and Greek texts from Phrygia, may be sought in the Anatolian languages, since some of them are PNS (including typical Lallnamen) that occur in Anatolian corpora: e.g. *manes* occurs in Lyd. as *manes* (see Gusmani 1964, 163) and in Carian as *mane* (see Adiego 2007, 381) and *ates* appears in the Lyd. poss. adj. *ateliḡ* 'of Ates' (Gusmani 1964, 69). Exceptions are αδενπ|ατης and *p'erbastidages* (HP-101).<sup>118</sup> Despite their abundance, they appear mostly in nom. and their inflection is not well attested. Leaving aside the forms *atevo* and αδε|v<π>ατω (43.1 = 69), only *Manes* seems to have more than this case:

Table 20 Possible inflection of the personal name *Manes*

Nom.	<i>manes</i> (B-07) <i>mane</i> (Dd-103)
Acc.	<i>maniḡ</i> (B-07)
Gen.	<i>manitos</i> (B-07)
Dat.	-

In the light of Table 20, it seems that the PN in -es follow the *i*-stem inflection (with the inclusion of a -t- in the *i*-stem sg.gen., as Brixhe 2004, 44 suggested). However, *atevo* (W-10) has been interpreted as the gen. of *ates* by Brixhe (1983, 124), with the same ending -vo found in the possible *a*-stem *leravo* or *lelavo* (W-10) and the pron. [t]ovo (G-02 c). Also, contradictory to the suggested inflection of *manes* is the *o*-stem dat. αδε|v<π>ατω (43.1 = 69), if indeed it is the dat. of αδενπ|ατης (43.1 = 69). Perhaps this hesitant inflection is due to the foreign origin of such PNs.

#### 4.2.1.1.5. Nominal and adjectival suffixes

##### 4.2.1.1.5.1. -man, -μινος

The suffix -man, inherited from PIE \*-mnh<sub>2</sub>, is well attested in the Phrygian corpus. As in PIE, it derives neuter action nouns or result nouns from verbs: see *\*kenh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to dig' > *keneman* 'niche' (M-01b, Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189 and 192-193) or *\*knuH-* 'scratch, dig' > κνου-μαν. However, it is found in other constructions: PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mnh<sub>2</sub>* 'name' > *onoman* (W-01b, Greek ὄνομα). Secondary formations are also found, since this suffix spread to other nouns, even borrowings in NPhr. times: *\*g<sup>w</sup>ol(H)-teh<sub>2</sub>-* > κολταμανει (11.2 = 18, if the etymology is right) and

<sup>117</sup> HP-103, HP-104, HP-105, HP-106, HP-107, HP-108. Perhaps also in [-?]-ates (G-123); [-?]-ates<sup>2</sup>[-?]- (G-124) and [-?]-ates (G-148).

<sup>118</sup> On it see Brixhe 2004a, 105.

κορο[υ]μᾶνη (2.2 = 130) built by the addition of *-man* to κορο- (κορου 27.1 = 92), a borrowing from Greek χώρος, -ου. All of these nouns occur only in singular.

The PIE proterodynamic inflection of the nouns derived by this suffix seems to be preserved in Phrygian in the light of the inflection of κνουμᾶν (see Table 21). However, it shows some particularities: the sg.gen. κ<v>ου-μιν-ος has the common rising *e > i* in the suffix and the sg.dat. forms κνου-μᾶν-ει, κολτα-μᾶν-ει and κορο[υ]-μᾶν-η has a levelling in the suffix vowel from the sg.nom (instead of the expected *\*-μεν-ει*).

Table 21 PIE and Phrygian inflection of the suffix *\*-m̥n* in sg.

	PIE	Phrygian		
<b>Nom.-Acc.</b>	<i>*-m̥n</i>	<i>onoman</i>	<i>keneman</i>	κνουμᾶν
<b>Gen.</b>	<i>*-m̥n-s</i>	-	-	κ<v>ουμινος
<b>Dat.</b>	<i>*-m̥n-ei</i>	-	-	κνουμᾶνει

#### 4.2.1.1.5.2. *-evais, -evanos*

The suffix *-evais /-evanos* appears in adj. which occur in onomastic sequences and its origin may be found in the  $\emptyset$ -grade of PIE poss. suffix *\*-uent-* (see Anatolian place names in *-wanda*). While the sg.nom. is clear, *\*-u̯nt-s* (> *\*-vants > \*-vans > -vais*), the sg.gen., which occurs in *kanutii'evanos?* (P-02), is less straightforward. Ligorio & Lubotsky (2013, 186) considered its evolution as follows: *\*-u̯nt-os > \*-u̯nt-os > \*-u̯antos > -vanos*, where /n/ represents IPA [ŋ:] (they adduce the similar evolution of the 3pl.impv. ending *\*-ntō > -ττηννυ > -vvyv*). Nevertheless, one cannot rule out a simple levelling from the nom. *\*-van-* to the gen. in Proto-Phrygian (instead of the expected gen. *\*-vant-os*). The vowel *-e-* found before this suffix in all Phrygian instances may be a resegmentation in names with this vowel. The suffix *-evais /-evanos* has been considered to form titles (1988a, 175) or ethnics (Brixhe 2004a, 77-78). However, they are most easily explained as patronymics because two of the three occurrences can be analysed as derived from PN: *arkia-* in *arkiaevais* (M-01a) is very likely the Greek PN Ἀρχίας and *mem(e)-* in *memevais* (M-01b and M-02) looks like a common Anatolian Lallname (see, e.g., KPN 309 § 895 Μεμμας, from Pisidia).<sup>119</sup> In the light of both forms, *kanutieivaiš* (P-03) and *kanutii'evanos?* (P-02)<sup>120</sup> can also be considered a patronymic. Although *kanuti-* does not occur elsewhere in Anatolia, a man called *Kanutî* appears as witness in a Neo-Assyrian judicial ruling dated after 626 BC (Fales & Jakob-Rost 1991, 132-133 no. 66) and the area where Phrygian P-inscriptions were found was under Neo-Assyrian control. Consequently, this name is very likely to have an Assyrian origin.

Table 22 PIE and Phrygian inflection of the suffix *\*-u̯(e)nt-*

	PIE	Phrygian		
<b>Nom.</b>	<i>*-u̯nt-s</i>	<i>kanutieivaiš</i>	<i>arkiaevais</i>	<i>memevais</i>
<b>Gen.</b>	<i>*-u̯nt-os</i>	<i>kanutii'evanos?</i>	-	-

<sup>119</sup> The sg.nom. *memeuis* (T-02) is a clear variant of *memevais* which shows the common Luw. contraction *\*wa > u* (on this, see Rieken 2001). Since the loss of *-a-* in such position remains unexplained an engraver's mistake is highly possible. Note also the historical consequences of this interpretation. If M-01a *ates arkiaevais* is to be understood as 'Attēs the son of Arkias', its identification with the Lydian Atys the son of Croesus (as suggested by Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 130) is not longer possible.

<sup>120</sup> A third occurrence is found in *kanutiē[---]* (P-05), but its ending is lost. Note that all occurrences of *kanuti-* come from the same area.

#### 4.2.1.1.5.3. -eyo/a-

The suffix *-eyo/a-*, which goes back to PIE *\*-eio-* (fem. *\*-eieh<sub>2</sub>-*), derives adjectives from nouns and creates fem. PNs from masc. These adjectives follow the *o*-stem inflection for the masc. and neuter and the *a*-stem inflection for the feminine. The list of instances is as follows: *mireyun* (sg.acc., B-05, very likely derived from *meros* B-07 / μῖρος MPhr-01), *imeneia* (G-183b, fem. PN derived from *iman*, *imen-os* M-06, G-136, etc.), *kubeleya* (B-01) ~ *kubileya* (W-04, DN), *k<sup>↑</sup>ianaveyos* (M-01b and M-02, title), *lagineios* (G-110, PN) and perhaps [*l<sup>7</sup>*] *agineia* (G-276, its fem.?), *voineios* (G-145, PN derived from *voines* G-129, G-286), [-?-] *agipeia* (G-135, if derived from the PN Ἄγιππος) and, finally, *τεμρογειῖος* (1.1 = 48, derived from the name of the river Thymbris).

#### 4.2.1.1.5.4. -yo/a-

As well as *-eyo/a-*, the suffix *-yo/a-* (< PIE *\*-io-*) creates thematic adjectives from nouns. It seems to be attested in *pa<sup>7</sup>triyi<sup>7</sup>is<sup>7</sup>* ‘relatives’ (B-04) and, perhaps, in *porniyoy* (B-07).

#### 4.2.1.1.5.5. -iya

The Phrygian suffix *-iya-*, inherited from PIE *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>*, occurs twice in the Phrygian corpus: in the noun *niptiya* ‘daughter’ (B-05) < *\*nept-ih<sub>2</sub>* (identified by Hämmig 2013, *pace* Simon 2014) and in the adj. *kraniyas* ‘of the source’ (sg.gen., B-05, formerly read as *kraniyap*). Note that the syllabicity of this suffix in Phrygian is explained by Siever’s Law, since *-ih<sub>2</sub>* > *-iyh<sub>2</sub>* happens following heavy syllables: *\*nept-ih<sub>2</sub>* > *\*nept-iyh<sub>2</sub>* > *niptiyä*. Very likely, the adj. *kraniyas* is formed on the Aeol. borrowing κράννα ‘well, spring, fountain’ (Att.-Ion. κρήνη) and should be read as /kranniyas/.<sup>121</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1.5.6. -elo-

The suffix *-elo-*, which goes back to PIE *\*-elo-*, is found in ζεμελωσ ‘men’ (pl.dat., 3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.): *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>g<sup>h</sup>em-elo-* > *\*g<sup>h</sup>em-elo-* > \*ζεμ-ελο-.

#### 4.2.1.1.5.7. -po-

At least the word *τιδρεγρον* (62.2 = 33, also [τιδρ]εγρο|υν 54.1 = 108 and *τιδρερουν* 53.1 = 76), derived from PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>uh</sup>-* ‘to feed’,<sup>122</sup> shows the survival of the PIE suffix *-ró-s* in Phr. It derives adjectives.

#### 4.2.1.1.5.8. -tar

The PIE suffix *\*-tr-* is commonly found in kinship terms: *\*méh<sub>2</sub>tēr* > *matar* ‘mother’ (W-04, W-06 and B-01; sg.acc. *materan* M-01d I and W-01a and sg.dat. *materey* M-01e, W-01b), *\*ph<sub>2</sub>téres* > *πατερης* (pl.nom., 1.2 = 48; also *πατρες* 2.2 = 130) and *\*b<sup>h</sup>réh<sub>2</sub>trey* > *βρατερε* (sg.dat. with levelling in the suffix, 40.3 = 31, pl.acc. *βρατεραις* B-04).

In addition, since PIE *\*-tēr* is known to create agent nouns from verbal roots, one is tempted to consider that *m<sup>7</sup>akeres* ‘kind of worker?’ (pl.nom., HP-114) and *dakeran* ‘?’ (sg.acc., B-

<sup>121</sup> See in the same inscription Greek Καλλίας rendered as *kaliya* /kalliya/.

<sup>122</sup> It is compared to Greek *τρέφω* ‘to make fat, feed, bring up, care for’ by Haas 1966, 69 and 84 and Lubotsky 2004, 235-236.

05, other forms sg.nom. pl.acc. *dakeraiš* B-05, pl.nom. δ[α]κερης 16.1 = 116, its sg.nom. can be *daker* B-05 or / and δακαρ 11.2 = 18) contain this suffix: *\*meh₂ǵ-ter-es* > *\*makteres* > *m'akeres* (perhaps /makkeres/) and *\*dʰeh₁-k-ter-ṃ* > *\*dakteram* > *dakeran*. As can be seen, this analysis assumes an assimilation *\*-kt-* > *-kk-*. Although this analysis is preferable to accepting an unparalleled suffix *\*\*-ēr/-er-*, both examples are unclear words and this working hypothesis remains open.

Table 23 *\*-tēr* inflection in PIE and Phrygian

	PIE	Phrygian				
<b>Sg.nom.</b>	<i>*-tēr</i>	<i>matar</i>	-	-	-	<i>daker</i> / δακαρ?
<b>Sg.acc.</b>	<i>*-ter-ṃ</i>	<i>materan</i>	-	-	-	<i>dakeran</i>
<b>Sg.dat.</b>	<i>*-tr-eǵ</i>	<i>materey</i>	-	βρατερε	-	-
<b>Pl.nom.</b>	<i>*-ter-es</i>	-	πατερης πατρες	-	<i>m'akeres</i>	δ[α]κερης
<b>Pl.acc.</b>	<i>*-ter-ṃs</i>	-	-	<i>brateraiš</i>	-	<i>dakeraiš</i>

#### 4.2.1.1.5.9. -av-os?

Two words show a Phrygian suffix *-avos*: *akenanogavos* (M-01a, W-01a), *proitavos* (M-01b and M-02).<sup>123</sup> The first word is attested by the forms *akenanogavos* (M-01a, W-01a) and *akinanogavan* (M-04).<sup>124</sup> On the one hand, both forms are considered to contain a suffix *\*-av-os* or *\*-eus* / *-avos*, a cognate of Greek *-εύς* / *-ῆος* (Epic, which yields the more common *-εύς* / *-έως*).<sup>125</sup> Indeed, *akenanogavos* is assumed by some scholars to be a kind of patronymic form in gen. (compare with Greek *-έως*, Epic *-ῆος*).<sup>126</sup> Following this assumption *ates arkiavais akenanogavos* may be translated as 'Attes (the son) of Arkias (the grandson) of *akenanog-*'<sup>127</sup> and *bonok akenanogavos* (M-01a) as 'Bonok the son of Akenanog-'. Even the form *akinanogavan* (M-04) can be explained as the sg.acc. of *akenanogavos*: *\*-ṃ* > *\*-an* (compare with Greek *-ἑᾶ*, Epic *-ῆᾶ* / *-ἑᾶ*). However, the context is less clear than that one of the gen. forms and this analysis implies a levelling *\*-av-* from the sg.gen. Moreover, there is not an independent source for a PN *akenanog-* in Phr. Moreover, since the first element of this word is a clear Phrygian noun and PN names derived from Phr. nouns are unknown, it is hardly defensible to classify *akenanogavos* as a genuine Phr. PN.

Lubotsky (1988, 12, see also Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 188 and 192), Janda (1997), Orel (1997a, 10-11 and 412) and other scholars considered *akenanogavos* a title of *ates* and *bonok*, a thematic sg.nom., referring to a kind of priest. In this case, *ates arkiavais akenanogavos* may be translated 'Attes the son of Arkias the *akenanogavos*' (M-01a, W-01a). Then, as Lubotsky suggested (1988, 12), *akinanogavan* (M-04) can only be the fem. form in sg.acc. (said of the Mother-Goddess, to whom the monument is devoted). The interpretation of *akenanogavos* as a title is favoured by the context: these words (including *proitavos*) are found on great cultic

<sup>123</sup> Despite the identical ending, the form *oskavos* (B-05 l.8) cannot be related to them because of the imperative context of this word.

<sup>124</sup> A fourth form is found in M-09, *aken'ano[---]*.

<sup>125</sup> Hajnal 2005, 200 suggested a link between the two suffixes and considered them patronymics in sg.gen. The origin of the Greek suffix is still discussed and there are scholars who consider it a borrowing from an unknown language. This is the case of Meissner (2016), who also provides an interesting approach to the history of the analysis of this suffix. Unfortunately, Phrygian does not provide information relevant to its origin.

<sup>126</sup> It is suggested and defended in Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 156 fn. 61, Innocente 1997, 40, especially, Brixhe 2004a, 60 and 78 and Hajnal 2005, 200.

<sup>127</sup> A strong parallel for such a genealogical sequence is B-07 *manes iyungidas manitos* 'Manes (the son) of Iyungida (the grandson) of Manes'.

monuments very likely promoted by the rulers or administrators of the area. So, the promotor's official titles can be expected to appear on this kind of public monument.

However, a problem remains: what is the origin of *-ogav-*? Indeed, *akenan* is found as a noun in P-04a, so *akenanogavos* is clearly a compound. The sole attempt to interpret *-ogav-* was given by Orel 1997a, 10-11 and 412 (= 1997b, 42), who considered a form *-anog-* (compared to Greek ἄνωγα 'command, order' with a suffix *-avo-*). Since this Greek noun derives from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eǵ-* 'to say' (see EDG 110-111), the equation can no longer be defended because of the *Lautverschiebung*. In my opinion, *-ogav-* can be equated to Greek ὀχεύς 'anything used for holding or fastening', which derived from *\*soǵ<sup>h</sup>-*, the o-grade variant of the root *\*seǵ<sup>h</sup>-* 'to hold' (LIV<sup>2</sup> 515-516, IEW 888-889).<sup>128</sup> Then, it is easy to consider that from *\*soǵ<sup>h</sup>-ēu-*, as found in sg.gen. *\*soǵ<sup>h</sup>-ēu-os* (Epic Gr. ὀχηός), this word was secondarily thematised in Phrygian, as *akenanogavos*. Note that both occurrences of the title *akenanogavos* very likely appear in agreement in sg.gen. with *ates* (M-01a) and *bonok* (W-01a). The result of this analysis is a title related to the cultic monuments with the meaning 'the holder/keeper of the *akenan*, vel. *sim*.'

The second word containing *-av-os* is less clear because *proitavos* (M-01b and M-02) does not have a clear etymological analysis and its interpretation depends on the meaning assigned to *akenanogavos*. In any case, its position is the same as *akenanogavos*, after a PN followed by a patronymic: *baba memevais proitavos kPhiyanaveyos...* 'Baba the son of Meme, the *proitavos*, the *proitavos*, the *kPhiyanaveyos* (M-01b).<sup>129</sup>

#### 4.2.1.2. Pronouns

The pronouns follow, with some peculiarities, the o-stem inflections for the masc. and neuter and a-stems for the fem. However, some pronouns have endings with *-i-* in the masc. and neuter sg.nom. and sg.acc.

##### 4.2.1.2.1. Demonstrative pronoun

Table 24 Inflection of the Phrygian demonstrative pronoun *si-*, *σα-*

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
<b>Nom.</b>	<i>ses?</i>	<i>si</i>	σαϛ!	-	-	-
<b>Acc.</b>	<i>sin</i> σεμουιν!		εσ <sup>2</sup> αν?	<i>ses?</i>		-
<b>Gen.</b>	-		σαϛ!	-		-
<b>Dat.</b>	<s> <i>imun</i> , σεμουιν, σεμον, σεμουιν, σεμιν, σεμου, σιμουιν		<i>esai</i> , <i>σαι</i> , <i>σα</i> , <i>σαν!</i> , σαϛ!	-		-
<b>Particle</b>	s					

This demonstrative has generally been considered the result of the split of the PIE *\*so-* / *to-* (see Lejeune 1969b, 296-297) attested in Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό (demonstrative and article). However, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 185) have recently suggested the possibility of tracing it back to PIE *\*ki-* 'this', a demonstrative found in Hitt. *kāš*, *kī*, CLuw. *zās*, *zā* (HLuw. *za(-a)-sa*, *za(-a)*), OCS *s*, Lith. *šis* and *ši*, Goth. *hina*, etc. It is also found as deictic pcl. in Lat. *čě-do*, *hi-c*, *ci-s* and Gr. ἔ-κεῖ and τ-ήμερον (*Il.* and *Att.*), σ-ήμερον (Epic Ion.), σ-άμερον (Dor.) and, parallel to the Phrygian forms,

<sup>128</sup> Greek ἔχω 'have, hold', Sanskrit *sáhate* 'overwhelm, defeat', also found in Phrygian *egeseti* P-04a, εγεσιτ 56.2 = 58 and εγεδου 53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc.).

<sup>129</sup> M-02 contains the same titulature: *bba memevais proitavos kPhiyanaveyos...*

σά < \**k̑i-h<sub>2</sub>* (Megarian, Ar.Ach.757 and 784, pl.nom.-acc.neut.). Here, the latter possibility is preferred because it avoids the irregularity implied by the preservation of PIE \**s-* in this position and shows a consistent inflection with *-i-* in the masc. and neut., inherited from PIE \**k̑i(d)*.<sup>130</sup>

The OPhr. sg.acc.masc. form *sin* (B-05) appears in agreement with a masc. noun in its sole occurrence: *sin-t imenān* (B-05). Morphologically, it can be traced back to PIE \**k̑i-m*. On the other hand, in NPhr. the masc.-neut.sg.dat. form is used as sg.acc., since it agrees with a neuter noun in acc. (Brixhe 1999, 306): *ας σεμουν κνουμαν* ‘in/to this tomb’ (40.3 = 31, note that the case is governed by the preposition).

The OPhr. sg.nom.-acc. *si* goes back to PIE \**k̑i* and occurs twice in agreement with neuter nouns: *si bevdos* (B-01) ‘this statue’ and *si keneman* (M-01b). Perhaps it is also found in G-11 b (with not clear agreement), however this text remains obscure: *sit kraroy veao | dis*.

The NPhr. masc.-neut.sg.dat. *σεμουν* is well attested (with many spelling variants *σεμον*, *σεμυν*, *σεμιν*, *σεμου*), although its origins are not at all clear. It is commonly found in the protasis of the imprecative formulae *σεμουν κνουμανει* ‘to this tomb’ (passim). Lejeune (1969b, 296) considered an element suffix *-sm-* added to the pron. (he reconstructed \**se-sm-*), while Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190) preferred a sg.dat. form \**-smōi* followed by an unclear *-n* (compared with Greek *ny ephelkystikon*). Although the spelling is aberrant in this part of the inscription, the OPhr. form <*s*>*imun* (B-05) was identified by Hämmig (2013, 149) as the precedent of the NPhr. *σεμουν* and it clearly agrees with a neuter noun in sg.dat.: *†iv† <s>imun inmeney asenan daket...* (instead of the expected *yos \*simun...*). In any case, if indeed *σεμουν* and <*s*>*imun* go back to \**-smōi* the change \**-ōi* > /u/ must have occurred in OPhr. times, although no clear examples have been found at this stage. It is easier to consider it as coming from \**-smō-* followed by a postposition \**-n*, as happens in Sabellic languages (see Untermann 2000, 223-225). In this case, we are dealing with a frozen abl. In addition, <*s*>*imun* shows that the NPhr. vowel in *σε-* very likely goes back to an original \**si-*.<sup>131</sup>

The fem. forms have more occurrences, although they are never found in OPhr. The pron. in this gender is inflected following the *a*-stem nouns. However, the sole occurrence of its sg.nom. *σας* (MPhr-01 = W-11) is problematic since the ending *-s* is not expected. For this oddity, I suggested a levelling of the *-s* from the masculine forms such as *τος*, *κος*, *ιος*, etc., or, in the light of the sequence where it is read (*μανκα μεκας σας*) ‘this big stele’, a mere dittography (Obrador-Cursach 2016, 183-184).

The expected sg.acc. form is *σαν*, however its sole occurrence is used as sg.dat. in agreement with *μανκαι*: *ιος vi san | κακουν αδ[δα]κε μανκαι* (60.2 = 60, compare with *ιος σαι κα|κον αδδα|κετ μανκ|αι* 43.1 = 69). This usage is explained as a misspelling because both the final *-n* and *-i* (after long vowel) dropped in NPhr. times and, as a consequence, the spelling of both cases was confused. There is a possible occurrence of the fem.sg.acc.: *ε-σ<sup>2</sup>αν* (40.3 = 31). Its identification was a suggestion by Neumann (1986, 81a, instead of *ειαν* read in Calder’s copy of this text) also considered by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190) and makes the sequence understandable: *εσ<sup>2</sup>αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν* ‘this stele which [(s)he] put for the brother as monument’.

<sup>130</sup> On the inflection of these pronouns in the Anatolian branch and their repercussion on the reconstruction of their PIE ancestors see Kloekhorst 2012, whom I follow here. Kloekhorst also analyses the forms with \**k̑ó-*, which seems to have coexisted with \**k̑i-* already in PIE, and suggests a substantival value for PIE \**k̑i-* and adjectival value for \**k̑ó-*, a parallel differentiation sometimes suggested for \**k<sup>h</sup>i-* and \**k<sup>h</sup>o-* (e.g. Beekes 1995, 203 and Meier-Brügger 2002, 231).

<sup>131</sup> The form *σιμουν* (35.1 = 25) cannot be used as valid evidence here because the text has non-etymological spellings parallel to this one: *αβ|βιρετο* for *αββερετοι* (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 20.2 = 129) and *[ζ]ιμελωσ* for *ζιμελωσ* (3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.).

The two clear occurrences of the sg.gen.fem. form σας (< PIE *-eh<sub>2</sub>es*) are used as sg.dat.: ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αινι σας μδυει... (14.1 = 73, in agreement with μδυει) and [ι]ος σας του σκερεδ|ριας κακουν δακετ... (55.1 = 56, parallel to ιος | σα τι σκελεδριαι | κακουν δακετ 44.3 = 67). There is a possible occurrence of σας in agreement with a sg.gen. noun, however the sequence is obscure: ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε|ρετ ατ νουκτ|ον μρος σας (29.1 = 114).

The sg.dat.fem. occurs in *e-sai* (W-01b) and σαι (43.1 = 69 and 62.4 = 35 < PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>ei*): *esai-t materē eveteksetē<sup>2</sup>y* ‘to this mother’ (W-01b), ιος σαι κα|κον αδδα|κετ μανκ|αι (43.1 = 69) and ιος νι σαι κακο|υν αδδακεμ μανκαι (62.4 = 35) ‘who does harm to this stele’. In NPhr. it is more commonly found as σα (17.5 = 91, 21.1 = 42, etc.), σαν (60.2 = 60) or σας (14.1 = 73 and 55.1 = 56), because of the drop of the final *-i* and the confusion with other cases: e.g. ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ ‘whoever does harm to this stele’ (64.1 = 81).

There are two unclear forms, *sest* (P-02) and σως (2.2 = 130). As has been seen before, the interpretation of *sest bugnos* (P-02) as a sequence in pl.nom. or pl.acc. contradicts the other occurrences of the *o*-stem pl.nom. ending. A possible alternative is to consider the pron. *ses* as sg.nom. with hesitation between *e* and *i* (see sg.dat. <*s*>*imun* / σεμουν) and the pcl. *-t* attached. In that case, *ses-t bugnos va|sos kanutii<sup>2</sup>evanos<sup>2</sup>* could mean ‘this (is) Bugnos, the son of Vasos the grandson of Kanuti’. The NPhr. form σως (2.2 = 130) was suggested to be a pl.dat. by Avram (2016b, 210-211), however the context is not clear: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη | γουμειε καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου.

Two forms are compounds bearing the demonstrative element *\*h<sub>1</sub>e/o-* > *e-*: *esai* (W-01b) and perhaps εσ<sup>2</sup>αν (40.3 = 31). Also, the clitic form *t* is attached to some forms of this pronoun: *esai-t* (W-01b) and *sin-t* (B-05).<sup>132</sup> This reinforces the demonstrative, according to Brixhe (1978b, 21).

Finally, there is a clitic pcl. derived from this pronoun: *s-*. Parallel to *t-* (from the anaphoric τος), it occurs attached to proper names: *s-materan* (M-01d1) and *s-manes* (B-07).

#### 4.2.1.2.2. Anaphoric pronouns

##### 4.2.1.2.2.1. The anaphoric pronoun τος

Table 25 The inflection of the anaphoric pronoun τος

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
<b>Nom.</b>	τος	-	-	-	[t]a ?	-
<b>Acc.</b>	-		<i>tan, ταν</i>	-		-
<b>Gen.</b>	<i>tovo</i>		-	-	-	-
<b>Dat.</b>	του		ται, τα	-	-	-
<b>Particle</b>	<i>t, ti, τι, του, το</i>					

The Phrygian anaphoric pron. goes back to PIE *\*so-* / *to-* ‘this one’ (Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό, Skt. *sáḥ*, *sā*, *tát*, Go. *sa*, *sō*, *þata*, etc.) and shows the generalisation of the forms with *t-* to the whole paradigm in the light of the sg.nom.masc. τος (17.2 = 3, 18.3 = 6, etc.). This form is always used at the beginning of the imprecative apodosis: ιος νι... τος νι... (‘whoever..., this one...’). The masculine is inflected as the *o*-stem nouns and the fem. as *a*-stem nouns.

According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190), the sg.gen. form *tovo* (G-02 c) goes back to PIE *\*toso* > *to.o* (see *o*-stem sg.gen.), with antihhiatic *-v-*. The neut.pl.acc. *ta* is not clear, since

<sup>132</sup> Unclear remains *sit*, perhaps *si-t* (G-11 b).

its only occurs in an obscure text and its *t-* is a restitution by Lubotsky (1993b, 94): B-01 *yos tivo* [t]a speretā ayni kin te[l]ēmi...

The fem. sg. acc. *tan* (W-01c) / ταν (2.1 = 15, 11.2 = 18, etc.) show the expected ending PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>m* > *-am*. As happens in NPhr. a-stem inflection, the sg. dat. (< PIE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>ei*) appears with and without the original final *-i*: ται (11.2 = 18 and 16.1 = 116), τα (4.1 = 2 and 11.2 = 18).

The remaining forms are variants of a clitic pcl. The basic form *t* is attached to the demonstrative pron. in *esai>t* (W-01b) and *sin>t* (B-05). The forms with vowel seem to be frozen cases. Indeed, *ti* (B-05) / τι (30.1 = 39, 35.1 = 25, etc.) looks like the sg. nom.-acc. neuter (see *si*), while του (9.1 = 87, 25.1 = 115, etc.; with the spelling variant το, 15.1 = 120, 17.6 = 119 and 37.2 = 27) the sg. dat. masc.-neut. (< *\*-ōi*, sg. gen.). Both variants of this pcl. commonly appear between demonstrative and noun (as well as *>t*): e.g. and ιος νι σεμουν του κνου|μανει κακουν αδδακετ (37.1 = 10) and ιος | σα τι σκελεδρια | κακουν δακετ (44.3 = 67). Lejeune (1969b, 296) and Brixhe (1978b, 7) considered that sequences such as σεμουν του κνουμανει were influenced by the Greek article: see, e.g., τούτω τῷ μνημείῳ (e.g. Waelkens 1986, no. 493) or ταῦτα τὰ ὀστέα (Mendel 1909, no. 102 = SEG 6.343 and 30.1494). Its true that τού in 37.1 (10) could be considered to occur in agreement of σεμουν and κνου|μανει (sg. dat. neut.), but examples like ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ 64.1 (81) show that τού is not inflected, since here a fem. τα(ι) would be expected. Then, it is more likely that sequences of σεμουν του / σα του + noun are genuine Phrygian structures in the light of OPhr. *esai>t materēy* (W-01b) and *sin>t imenān* (B-05).

Finally, while *s>is* is found with proper names, τι is found with a DN: τος | νι δ[ιως ζ]ιμελωσ τι μεκα | τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου (35.1 = 25).

#### 4.2.1.2.2.2. The anaphoric pronoun *io-* / *o-*

This anaphoric pronoun (mostly read in imprecative apodoses) appears in two variants: οι (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, 17.3 = 7, 18.1 = 4, 40.1 = 12, 50.2 = 55, 53.1 = 76, 62.2 = 33 and 62.4 = 35) and οι (2.1 = 15, 7.2 = 111, 8.1 = 86 and 11.2 = 18). See, e.g., ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κα|κε αδακετ, τιττετικμενος | ας τιαν ειτου, με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος 'who does harm to this tomb let become accursed by Zeus and let Bas not give bread to him' (7.1 = 99) and ιος αδακετ, βας οι βεκος με βερετ [---] 'who does [harm to this monument], let Bas not produce bread to him' (7.2 = 111). At least in one case it seems to have a poss. use: οι αναρ δορυκα|[νος] 'her husband Doryka[nos]' (2.1 = 15).

The existence of these variants has been explained in two different ways. Brixhe (Brixhe 1997, 66) and Hämmig (fthc. a and b) considered that οι was the stressed variant of this pronoun, while οι the clitic one. This interpretation compares them to Greek ἰοῖ (Homer) / οἶ and considers that their origin is the PIE form *\*seu-oi*. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1997, 126 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190) showed that οι ~ οι are contextual variants: οι appears after a consonant and οι after a vowel. According to him, the original form was οι which may go back to the PIE pron. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e(i)-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-*, also attested in Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*. It seems to appear in OPhr. text, always as ου (B-01 l. 6, B-05 l. 9, l. 11 and l. 12), however its contexts remain obscure: B-01 ... [..]toyo[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey dā[b]ati | opito [k]ey oy evememesmeneya anato (?)... B-05 l. 9 *yos niy art sin>t imenān kakā oskavos kakey | kḗn dedasitiy tubetiv oy kevos deraliv mekaş key | koyis abretoy...*, B-05 l. 11-12 *†iv† imun inmeney aşenān daket torvetun †iray ayniy oy | tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>...*

#### 4.2.1.2.3. The emphatic adjective and anaphorical pronoun *αυτος* and its derived reflexives

Table 26 Inflection of *αυτος* and *venavtun*

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
<b>Nom.</b>	αυτος	-	-	<i>avtoi</i> ?	-	-
<b>Acc.</b>	<i>ven-avtun</i> , αυτον		-	-		-
<b>Gen.</b>	-		-	-		-
<b>Dat.</b>	<i>avtoi</i> ?, αυτω		<i>avtay</i> , αυταη, οε-αυται	-		-

Like Greek *αυτος*, the pronoun *αυτος* derives from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu* ‘again’ attached to the anaphoric pron. *\*to-* ‘that’ (see EDG 173 on the Greek form). Since this pron. is found in the first Phrygian texts (T-03b) and has a regular phonetic development, there is no reason to consider it a Greek borrowing. The masculine form inflects like the *o*-stems, while the fem. like the *a*-stems.

The sg.nom.masc. (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35), which goes back to PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-tó-s*, appears in the NPhr. apodoses referring to the sanctioned action of protases: *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ [...]* *αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους* and ‘who does harm to this tomb, ... let him and his *κοροκα τευτους* (verb) by Bas’ (62.2 = 33).

The sg.acc.masc. form *αυτον* (2.2 = 130) is found as emphatic adj.: *τιττετι[[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ|αν τιαν* ‘let him become accursed by the same great Zeus’.

The NPhr. sg.dat.masc. *αυτω* (< *\*-ōi*) is found in a damaged context: [........] *ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειτγου* (37.2 = 30). The OPhr. form *avtoi* (T-03b) can be interpreted as sg.dat., however a pl.nom.masc. (< *\*-oi*) cannot be ruled out since the context is not clear: *[---]oi : avtoi : eptuve[---] | [---]itan me|[---]p'is : [---]*.

The sg.dat. fem. form is *avtay* (W-01b) / *αυταη* (37.2 = 30), which goes back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-t-eh<sub>2</sub>-ei*. The OPhr. form is found as an emphatic adjective: *yos esai=t materey eveteksete'y ovevin onoman daY et, lakedo key venavtun avtay materey* ‘who puts his own name in this Matar *Eveteksetey*, let him be taken by the same Matar’ (W-01b). The NPhr. *αυταη* (37.2 = 30) is found in the same obscure context as *αυτω*.

The reflexive pron. is derived from *αυτος* and is parallel to Greek *εαυτου*, *ης*, *ου* ‘of himself, herself, itself’. Both the Greek and the Phrygian forms are built with the PIE reflexive pron. *\*sue* attested in Lat. *se*, Greek *ε* (Lesb. *φε*), Sanskrit *sva-*, etc. (see EDG 365, it is also found in the poss. pronoun). The sg.acc. masc. *venavtun* (W-01b) shows an acc. *-n* added to *\*sue* > *ve* (Greek *εαυτον*). On the other hand, the sg.dat.fem. *οεαυται* (16.1 = 116, on its spelling, see § 3.2.2.1) is a regular form identical to Greek *εαυτη*.

#### 4.2.1.2.4. The relative pronoun *yos*

Table 27 The Phrygian relative pronoun

	Singular	
	Masculine	Feminine
<b>Nom.</b>	<i>ios, yos, ios, is</i>	-
<b>Acc.</b>	<i>ιον?</i>	<i>ιαν</i>

The Phrygian relative pronoun is found elsewhere in the Phrygian corpus, but few forms are attested, mainly the masc.sg.nom. (with many spelling variants) at the beginning of curses. The origin of this pron. must be found in PIE *\*H<sub>2</sub>i-o-* and it is a cognate of Greek ὅς, ἧ, ὅ and Skt. *yás, yā, yád* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>ió-* in *LIPP* II, 312-315). The masculine forms are inflected following the *o*-stem nouns. The masc.sg.nom. is /jos/, commonly spelled as *ios* (G-02b, P-04a, P-04b, P-06), *yos* (B-01, B-05, B-06, B-07, W-01a, W-01b) and *ιος* (MPhr-01, passim in NPhr.). Less frequent spelling variants are *†iv†* (B-05, an engraver's mistake for *yos* according to Hämmig 2013, 149), *ειος* (40.1 = 12, influenced by Greek itacism) and *ις* (17.1 = 4 b, 12.1 = 121, 15.1 = 120, 16.1 = 116, 18.2 = 5, explained by the simplification of *-io-* > *-i-* in Greek inscriptions from Roman Phrygia).<sup>133</sup> Similarly to the Lat. indefinite pron. *quisquis, quaequae, quidquis* 'whoever, whatever, everyone who', there is one occurrence of the reduplication of this Phrygian pronoun: *yosyos* (B-03). The text in which it is read remains too obscure to know whether it is an indefinite pron. like the Lat. parallel. Perhaps *ιοςος* (34.1 = 37), found in the common position of *ιος* (vi) (at the beginning of the curses), goes back to this reduplication with a consonant simplification *-sy-* > *-σ-*.

The masc.sg.acc. *ιον* (56.2 = 58) has one likely attestation: *μοναν μροτιη ιον εγσει|τ γε|γρι|με|βο|ν* 'only for the death whom it has written'. However, my interpretation of this text is not at all conclusive. I prefer it to other possible interpretations because the noun *μροτιη* can be taken as the sg.dat. of *μροτις* (MPhr-01) and avoids a supposed Greek borrowing *τηιον* (< *θειον* 'divine', never found in funerary inscriptions from Phrygia qualifying the dead). Nevertheless, it is not easy to explain the incongruence in the agreement of the fem.sg. *μοναν μροτιη* (suggested to mean 'only for the dead') and the masc.sg. *ιον* ('whom').

Finally, the fem.sg.acc. form *ιαν* is only attested once: *εσ'αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν* 'this stele which [(s)he] put for the brother as memorial' (40.3 = 31).

#### 4.2.1.2.5. Indefinite pronouns

##### 4.2.1.2.5.1. The indefinite pronoun *kos, kin*

Table 28 The Phrygian indefinite pronoun *kos, kin*

	Singular	
	Masculine	Neuter
Nom.	<i>kos, κος</i>	<i>kin, κιν</i>
Acc.	-	

Phrygian inherited from PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>o-* / *\*k<sup>u</sup>i-* the indefinite pronoun *kos, kin*, found in other languages as Greek *τις, τι*, Lat. *quis, quid*, and Hitt. *kuiš, kuit*. The masc.sg.nom. *kos* (B-07), *κος* (2.2 = 130, 11.2 = 18, 56.3 = 64 and 58.1 = 72) shows an *o*-stem inflection, while the neuter nom.-acc. has a common form in *-i-* with the ending *\*-m*, instead of *\*-d* (Lat. *quid*) or *-ø* (as the demonstrative *si*). Then, *kin* / *κιν* is a parallel form to Sanskrit *kím* < PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>i-m* (see Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 183).

Following a first proposal by Hämmig (2013, 143 fn. 36), the OPhr. form *kos* B-07 is found with the prohibitive pcl. *me* (< PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>*) and the resultant form *mekos* may mean 'nobody, no one', in contrast to the basic *kos* 'any one' (a similar formation to Greek *μηδείς* or Lat. *nequis*): *mekos anivaχeti s=manin* 'let nobody harm Manes' (B-07). In NPhr., *κος* also, appears in the beginning of curses after *αινι* (*αινι κος...* 'if someone...') instead of the most common *ιος* (vi) 'whoever': e.g. *αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο| [υ]μανη σωσ κη γουμειε...* (2.2 = 130) and 11.2 *αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα...* (11.2 = 18).

<sup>133</sup> On this phenomenon, see Brixhe 1987a, 50-51.

Finally, the neuter form appears as an adj. in a NPhr. curse: *ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα][κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν* ‘who does a silliness to this tomb or any harm...’ (61.1 = 100). The OPhr. occurrence is in an obscure context: *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayini kin te[l]emi...* (B-01).

#### 4.2.1.2.5.2. The indefinite pronoun τις, τι, a Greek borrowing

Table 29 Comparison of Phrygian and Greek τις, τι

	Phrygian		Greek	
	Masculine	Neuter	Masc.-Fem.	Neuter
Nom.	τις	τι	τις	τι
Acc.	-		τινά	

In its sole occurrence, *τι* (30.1 = 39), the sg.acc.neut. in agreement with *κακουν*, it appears as an indefinite adj. instead of *κιν* / *κιν*: compare *ιος νι σεμινον τ[ου] κνουμαν[ε] κακουν τι αδ[δ]α[κετ]* (30.1 = 39) with *ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα][κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν* (61.1 = 100) and, in Greek, *τις αν ετερος τω μνημειω κακον τι ποιησει* (IGR 3.340, from Pisidia).<sup>134</sup>

The sg.nom.masc. form *τις* (28.1 = 71) occurs once, introducing the protasis of a curse, as is commonly found in Gr. inscriptions from Anatolia: *τις κ εγερε[τ], | τιτετικμ[ε]νοι ιννου* ‘and whoever εγερε[τ], let them become accursed’.<sup>135</sup> In Greek curses from Anatolia *τις* often occurs as a relative pronoun instead of the classical relatives (Brixhe 1987a, 84).<sup>136</sup> Compare, e.g., two inscriptions from Appia containing the north Phrygian curse formula ‘whoever lays a hand with heavy envy (on this tomb)...’: *Ος αν ποσοισι χιρα την βαρυφθονον...* (Strubbe 1997, no. 176) and *Τις αν ποσοισει χειρα την βαρυφθονον...* (Strubbe 1997, no. 179).

Since in both occurrences this pron. appears in the same position as its Gr. Counterparts, and phonetically PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>i-* became *ki-* in Phr., the forms *τις, τι* must be considered a Gr. borrowing.

#### 4.2.1.2.6. The possessive pronoun

Table 30 Inflection of the Phrygian possessive pronoun

	Singular		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nom.	-	ove-vin	va, oua
Acc.	-		ouan, oan
Gen.	-	-	-
Dat.	-	-	vay

PIE *\*s<sub>u</sub>-e/o-* yields the Phrygian possessive pronoun (parallel to Greek *ος, η, ον* ‘his, her, its’), which only occurs in singular. The fem. forms follow the *a*-stem inflection: sg.nom.fem. *\*s<sub>u</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>* > *va* (B-07) / *oua* (4.1 = 2, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36), sg.acc.fem. *ouan* (60.1 = 59, spelling variant *oan* 16.1 = 116), *\*s<sub>u</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>ej* > *vay* (B-05). E.g. *va knais manuka* ‘his wife Manukka’ (B-07). The

<sup>134</sup> An equivalent structure is found in Synnada, a Phrygian city where NPhr. occur: *δς αν | δε αυτω κκακ[ον] | δι ποιη[σι]* (MAMA IV 91, *δι = τι*).

<sup>135</sup> The restitution of the verb in singular is suggested because of the agreement with *τις*, despite the fact that the apodosis has a verb in plural.

<sup>136</sup> The first occurrence of Gr. *τις* as a relative is commonly said to be S.OC 48, although this phenomenon is found elsewhere in postclassical Greek. See more classical occurrences in Probert 2015, 49 fn. 65. See Muraoka 2015, 92-93 for this use in the *Septuagint*. On this use in other IE languages, see Luján 2009.

neuter form is only found in the compound *ove-vin* (W-01b). Although *ove-* is unclear, Lubotsky (1988, 20, also in Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 193) suggested very convincingly that *-vin* is the poss. in sg.acc.: *ovevin onoman* ‘his own name’ (W-01b). Consequently, *-vin* is easily explained as inherited from PIE *\*s<sub>u</sub>-* with the same neuter ending found, e.g., in the indefinite pron. *kin*, κιν.

#### 4.2.2 Verbal morphology

Due to the nature of the Phrygian texts, which are mainly monumental inscriptions and short graffiti, most of the Phrygian forms are inflected in 3sg. and 3pl. It seems likely that other persons are attested in Phrygian, however such forms remain obscure. Even the analysis of the clearer verbs is difficult, and many conflictive details have yet to be explained. Therefore, our knowledge of the Phrygian verb is precarious and fragmentary. A very illustrative problem is the strange use of the primary and secondary set of endings. Despite the difficulties, as far as we know the Phrygian verb had at least three tenses (present, aor. and perfect), two voices (active and middle-passive) and four moods (indicative, subjunctive, opt. and ipv.).<sup>137</sup>

##### 4.2.2.1. Present

###### 4.2.2.1.1. Indicative

Verbal forms in present indicative are not common and most are obscure, as are the contexts in which they appear. However, they are recognisable because they have the expected primary ending. OPhr. *deVeti* (NW-101) is claimed to be the 3sg.act.ind.act. inherited from PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-*. If this is the case, it shows a  $\emptyset$ -grade in the root (*\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-k-e-ti*), while *e*-grade is expected here. Note that OPhr. *andati* (B-05), also claimed to go back to *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-ti* (without *\*-k-*), shows this vocalisation (if this etymology is accepted). The form [α]βερετι ‘brings’ (66.1 = 103) seems a clear 3sg.ind.pres.act. It may go back to PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-e-ti*, although it occurs in an imprecative protasis<sup>138</sup> where αδδακετ or αββερετ is expected. Other claimed 3sg.act. forms are *dabati* (B-01 and B-08), δαδιτι (22.1 = 9, verb?), *poreti* (T-03a1), ριδιτι (16.1 = 116) and. OPhr. *tubetiv* (B-05) should be added to this list, despite the spelling of the ending (see Hämmig 2013, 143, who suggested a subjunctive form).

Neumann (1997, 22) and Brixhe (2004, 59) suggested that *atikraiu* (Brixhe) / *atikvaiu* (Neumann) is a verb in 1sg.ind.pres.act. (‘I say’), where PIE *\*-ō* raised to *-ū*. However, the etymology of this word is unknown. On the other hand, verbs in the 1sg.ind.pres.pass. are claimed to be attested in *dakor* (K-01, Brixhe 2004, 52, who found it to be inherited from *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-*) and *akor* (G-105).<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, the context of *dakor* is extremely fragmentary and G-105 is too short to corroborate it.

<sup>137</sup> A similar verbal system was considered by Haas 1966, 226-228. The most comprehensive study on this aspect of the Phrygian language is that of Sowa 2007a (= 2008, 87-117). His analysis provides a useful compilation of the Phr. verbs and illustrates the main problems with the current analysis of the Phr. verbal system. More recently, Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191-192 have offered an updated overview of the most important forms.

<sup>138</sup> [ιους] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ][[ον α]βερετι ‘whoever brings harm to this tomb’

<sup>139</sup> Wrongly segmented as *si↑ido sakor* before the graffiti on a beam of MM-Tumulus (G-346) were found and *si↑idos* was read among other PNs.

#### 4.2.2.1.2. Subjunctive

##### 4.2.2.1.1.1. (αδ)δακετ and (αβ)βερετ, subjunctives?

The verb (αδ)δακετ (< PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-* ‘to do, put’, with many spelling variants) is generally found in the NPhr. imprecative protasis: e.g. ιος νι σεμουν κνου|μανε κακουν αδδα|κετ ‘whoever does harm to this tomb’ (20.2 = 128). It also appears two OPhr. protases: *yos esai-t materey eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y ovevin onoman daYet* ‘who puts his own name to this Mother E.’ (W-01b) and *†iv† <s>imun inmeney asenan daket* ‘whoever puts/does *asenan* in/to this monument’ (B-05). In some inscriptions (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, 39.1 = 11? and 40.2 = 12) it is replaced by the verb αββερετ (< PIE \**bher-e-* ‘bear, carry, bring’): e.g. [ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε κ[ακον] | αββερετ ‘[whoever]r brings harm to this tomb’ (18.3 = 6). Even the passive forms of both verbs are used in the same position with the same meaning: αδδακετορ (24.1 = 40 and 12.1 = 121, spelling variants in 20.1 = 63 and 58.1 = 72) and αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129) ~ αββερετορ (14.1 = 73, 52.1 = 75 and 59.3 = 79) ~ αββιρετο (35.1 = 25). On the other hand, the form βερετ is found twice after the prohibitive pcl. με (7.2 = 111 and 8.1 = 86): βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ (7.2 = 111) and βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] (8.1 = 86). Also, the OPhr. *abretoy* (B-05), which looks like a syncopated form of NPhr. αββερετοι, it is found in an imprecative apodosis introduced by the prohibitive pcl.: *me deritoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>*. The verb *deritoy* is obscure (Hämmig 2013, 143), however it can be considered a passive form of an unknown verb in the light of *abretoy*. Finally, the obscure NPhr. verb βρειτ (29.1 = 114) can be added to the list of this kind of verbal form, since it has the secondary ending *-t* and occurs in an imprecative protasis: ιος κε βρειτ περιβεδαν ‘and whoever βρειτ the *sepulture*’.

Although a conclusive explanation is lacking (Ligorio & Lubotsk 2013, 191), these verbs are considered subjunctive in some papers (see Brixhe 1979a and 2004, 52).<sup>140</sup> While this hypothesis may be defensible in the light of their contexts, the lack of *-ē-* > *-a-* in the suffix of the thematic verb (αβ)βερετ (\*\**berat* is never found) shows that they are not subjunctive forms or that they are an inner Phrygian formation. By contrast, (αδ)δακετ and (αβ)βερετ are considered injunctive forms by Haas (1966, 227) and Orel (1997a, 399-400, who preferred the term “imperfect”, see also Sowa 2007a, 82-84) because of the lack of augment, the present stem and the use of the secondary ending *-t*. However, a past form is not expected in the position where (αδ)δακετ and (αβ)βερετ occur. In any case, each possibility requires better explanation.

Another unsolved problem is the co-occurrence of the middle endings *-τορ* with *-toy* / *-τοι* (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191). It is very likely that *-toy* is the oldest ending, since *-τορ* is not found in OPhr. Perhaps the form with *-r* spread from the 1sg.mid. ending, but it remains unclear.

##### 4.2.2.1.1.2. Reduplicated subjunctives with *-se-* ~ *-si-*

During the last Phrygian Conference, Hämmig (fthc. a and b) identified some verbal forms as containing a suffix *-se(t)-* > *-si(t)-* and considered them a “sort of ‘subjunctive’ (called “Subjunctive II” in comparison with the other subjunctive αδδακετ and αββερετ)” with primary (IIa) or secondary endings (IIb): *eveteksetiy* (W-01b, sic), *egeseti* (P-04a), *dedasitiy* (B-05), *anivaYeti* (B-07), *τοτοσσειτι* (7.1 = 99, 11.2 = 18?, perhaps also in 56.3 = 64), *isini* (P-101, 3pl.), *δεδασσιννι* (2.2 = 130, 3pl.), *daYet* (W-01b), *umnišet* (B-05), *ομνισιτ* (MPhr-01 = W-11) and *εγεσιτ* (56.2 = 58). As can be seen, she considered that the letter <Y> in *anivaYeti* (B-07) and *daYet* (W-01b) represents a sibilant sound (follow Lejeune’s analysis), and these verbs also have the suffix *-se(t)-* > *-si(t)-*. However, since I ruled out this interpretation for <Y>, these forms can be omitted

<sup>140</sup> LIV<sup>2</sup> 76 considered it a present without further information.

from this list: *daYet* (W-01b) is a graphic variant of *daket* (B-05 = NPhr. (αδ)δακετ) and *Y* in *aniva Yeti* may also represent /k/ (the last root consonant of this verb). Another form I omit is *eveteksetiy* (W-01b), read as *eveteksetey* and considered an epithet of *Matar* (not a verb) by most scholars (also in this dissertation). On the other hand, *kesiti* (B-01) and *ot.[...]seti* could be added to this list, although they are even more obscure words.

Leaving aside the omitted and unclear forms, the remaining verbs have the spelling hesitation between *-se-* and *-si-* / *-σι-* (MPhr.) / *-σσι-* ~ *-σσει-* (NPhr.) and, according to Hämmig, all these forms contain the PIE suffix *\*-ské/ó-*. Consequently, the spelling with *-se-* (also spelled as *-Ye-*, according to Hämmig) represents an older stage, since forms with *-si-* show a raising of the vowel /e/. From a phonetic point of view, the assibilation of *\*-skí-* is defensible in the light of *\*kí- > si, sin* (the demonstrative pronoun). However, it is not expected before *\*e* and the suffix *\*-skí-* seems to have been preserved in *podaskai*<sup>?</sup> (G-02, see Kloekhorst 2015, 117). Therefore, the origin of this suffix remains unclear and the comparison with the sigmatic fut. tense given by prior papers cannot be ruled out.<sup>141</sup> What seems clear from Hämmig's assumption is the subjective nature of these forms, since they are mainly used where this mood is expected:

1. After the prohibitive pcl. *me* / *με*: *me kos anivaYeti s=maniñ* (B-07), *με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος* (7.1 = 99), *βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ* (7.2 = 111), *βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]* (8.1 = 86) and *βε<κ>οις ιοι με τοτοσειτι σαρναν* (11.2 = 18, according to Hämmig frth. A and b).
2. In clauses introduced by the conj. *aini* / *αινι*: *aini | dabp<sup>2</sup>ula isini* (P-101) and *αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε[ς] σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη...* (2.2 = 130).
3. In imprecative protases where forms such as *daket* are commonly used: *ios ni akenan egeseti* (P-04) and *ios niy art sin= t imen=an kaqa oskavos kaqey | kan dedasitiy* (B-05).

As happens elsewhere in Phrygian, the distribution of the primary and secondary sets of endings remains unclear. Some forms with primary ending show a reduplication but it is not known whether these forms have reduplicated the first consonant in *e*-grade or the whole root. Indeed, *dedasitiy* (B-05) and *δεδασσιννι* (2.2 = 130), which must go back to *\*deh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to put, tu do' (see *daket* / *δακετ*), can be analysed as *\*de-deh<sub>1</sub>-* or *\*dh<sub>1</sub>-deh<sub>1</sub>-* but *τοτοσσειτι* (7.1 = 99, 11.2 = 18? and perhaps 56.3 = 64), which derives from PIE *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* 'to give' (see Hämmig fthc. a and b), disproves the first possibility and shows a full reduplication *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-deh<sub>3</sub>-*. Nevertheless, one cannot rule out a possible secondary vowel in the reduplication of *το-το-σσει-τι*. In any case, such reduplications seem to be a Phrygian inner formation, since they do not fit any kind of reduplicated present reconstructed for the PIE.

#### 4.2.2.1.3. Optative

There is only one form clearly identified as optative: *kakoioi* (G-02c), with a phonetic variant *kakuioi* (P-04 b). This verb is a denominative verb in *\*-oio* derived from *κακουν* (equivalent to Greek *κακόω* 'maltreat, distress'). The Phrygian 3sg. ending *-oio* is the same found in Greek *-οι*. Both *kakoioi* and *kakuioi* are used in imprecative protasis: *ios oporokitis*.<sup>?</sup> | *kakoioi tovo* (G-02c) and *ios ervotsati kakuioi...* (P-04b).

<sup>141</sup> Even Sowa 2007, 84-85 considered them verbs in fut.

#### 4.2.2.1.4. Imperative

The 3sg. and 3pl. imperative is well attested in imprecative apodoses. As expected, the *ipv.* has its own set of endings inherited from PIE:

Table 31 3sg. and 3pl. imperative endings

	Singular		Plural
	Active	Middle	Active
PIE	*-tu *-tōd	*-sd <sup>h</sup> ō	*-ntu *-ntōd
OPhr.	-to -tuv	-do	-nou -nuv
NPhr.	-του -τυ	-δου	-νου -ττου

PIE \*-tō yields the 3sg.act. ending, parallel to Greek -τω. It occurs in some verbs, although it is more commonly attested in the verb *i-* ‘to come, become’ (< PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>eǵ-*) by far: OPhr. *ituv* (B-05) / NPhr. *ειτου* (1.1 = 48, 2.2 = 130, etc.), with the spelling variants *ιτου* (6.1 = 8), *ειτυ* (15.1 = 120) and *ητου* (18.2 = 5), even with secondary voicing *ειδο[υ]* (54.1 = 108), and with preverb *αδειτου* (9.1 = 87, 38.1 = 44, etc.). The other occurrences of this form are *si↑eto* (W-08, W-09 and W-10, unclear meaning and etymology) and *ουιτετου* (4.1 = 2, inherited from PIE \**uid-*).

Its passive counterpart is *-do* / *-δου*, which goes back to PIE \*-sd<sup>h</sup>ō, also found in Greek -σθω (according to Lubotsky). It is found in the common NPhr. verb \**seǵ<sup>h</sup>-* > *εγεδου* (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc., Greek *ἐχέσθω*) and in OPhr. *lakedo* (W-01b, very likely inherited from PIE \**sleh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-*).

The 3pl. is only attested in active. Its ending shows a metathesis in the consonants: \*-ntō > \*-tnō > -(n)nou. As well as the singular form, it is mainly attested in the verb *i-* (< PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>eǵ-*): *ειττηνου* (with archaic spelling, 37.2 = 30 and very likely in 17.3 = 7), its variant *ιννου* (28.1 = 71), <ι>ννου 62.4 (35) and, with preverb, *αδειττηνου* (40.1 = 12). Other forms are the verb *isnou* (NW-101 a), also in NPhr. as *ισνου* (9.1 = 87, with the unusual variant *ισνιο[υ]* 21.1 = 42), and *tubnuv* (B-05).

#### 4.2.2.2. Aorist

Leaving aside its ending, the 3sg.aors.ind.act. *edaes* (M-01b, M-02, etc.) / *εδαεξ* (16.1 = 116) shows the common features of this tense. The Phr. aor. attach the so-called augment \**h<sub>1</sub>e-* > *e-* / *ε-* to the verbs in aor., this feature is shared with Greek, Armenian and the Ilr. branch. The root shows the *e*-grade or the lengthened grade: \**h<sub>1</sub>e-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* > \**edē-* > *eda-* (Greek *ἔ-θη-κε*). The same can be said of *εσταεξ* (40.3 = 31, perhaps also in *εσταεξ* M-11), which goes back to \**h<sub>1</sub>e-steh<sub>2</sub>-* (Greek *ἔστη* ‘stood,’ / *ἔστησε(ν)* ‘made to stand, set up’). The verb (*en-*)*e-park-es* / (*εν-*)*ε-παρκ-εξ* (40.3 = 31) has been considered to have lengthened grade, \**h<sub>1</sub>e-pēr<sup>k</sup>-*, to explain the vowel *a* in

the root (see Lejeune 1969b, 291-194).<sup>142</sup> The lengthened grade also seems to occur in (ποσ)εκανες ‘to dig’? (16.1 = 116) too: *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-kēnh<sub>1</sub>-* > ε-κανε-. In the light of these verbs, one cannot rule out a possible lengthened grade in *edaes* and εσταες (*\*h<sub>1</sub>e-d<sup>h</sup>ēh<sub>1</sub>-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-stēh<sub>2</sub>-*?). Perhaps the form ε<sup>l</sup>akes (B-04) may be added to this list, if it is related to *lakedo* (W-01, perhaps also in B-03) and inherited from PIE *\*sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>u</sup>-* (LIV<sup>2</sup> 566, IEW 958): *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-leh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>u</sup>-* or *h<sub>1</sub>e-lēh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>u</sup>-*?

The form εγδαες (11.2 = 18) is even less clear (Ligorio & Lubotksy 2013, 191). Although it looks like an aor. ε-γδα-ες (11.2 = 18), it occurs in an imprecative apodosis where a verb in pres. is expected. The only attempt to explain this verb is made by Gorbachov (2005, 201), who equated it to Greek φθί(ν)ω ‘to decline, decay, perish’ (also casual ‘cause to decay or pine away, consume, destroy’) and, consequently, considered that it goes back to PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>uh</sup>ēi-* ‘to disappear’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 150-151). As he argued (Gorbachov 2005, 191), ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειον εγδαες μουρσα... may mean ‘whosoever... has destroyed’ [the] Stone’. If he is right, ε-γδα-ες is to be analysed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>uh</sup>ēi-* > *\*edgāi-* > εγδα- (with the loss of *-i* after long vowel, see δεως).

The remaining forms lack clear context and a grounded explanation. The form εναρκε (16.1 = 116) may perhaps be read as εναρκε<ς> (with engraver’s mistakes, see κναικο<ς> in the same inscription). Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 173-174) interpreted it as ε-ναρκ-ε(<ς>). The alternative they suggested, εν-αρκ-ε(<ς>) (with a preverb), is less likely because of the lack of the augment. NPhr. ουρνουσαεν (43.1 = 69) seems to be another aor.act., but in 3pl. Nevertheless, the lack of augment and the obscure text (even its segmentation remains unclear) render ουρνουσαεν an unclear word.

The origin of the forms in *-aes* is problematic, as Gorbachov showed (2005, 193-195). The only consensus that has been reached is that the ending *-s* is the simplification of the sigmatic form followed by the expected ending *\*-t*: *\*-s-t* > *-s* (see the same phonetic process in *nevos*, *nevotan* and βας, βαταν). According to Gorbachov (2005, 208-2012), *-es* is the outcome of the attachment of the suffix *-s-* (with a transitive value, see Jasanoff 2003, 43-44 and 194) to the thematic aor. (*\*-e/o-*, analysing ενεπαρκες as (εν-)ε-παρκ-ε-ς) and the aorist-stem with *\*h<sub>1</sub>* as the last consonant, like *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-kēnh<sub>1</sub>-* > ε-κανε-ς. Both kinds of aor. yield a form *\*-es-t* > *es* which spread to other verbs such as *edaes* and εσταες. He considered this process parallel to the Slavic aor. suffix *-ox-*. In addition, he took the OPhr. *estat* (B-05) to be the inherited asigmatic aor. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-steh<sub>2</sub>-t*, in contrast with the new formation εσταες.<sup>143</sup> On the other hand, Lubotksy (1988, 17-18) and Sowa (2007a, 78-79) have suggested a sequence *\*-s-e-s-t* with an intervocalic loss of the first *\*-s-*: *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-d<sup>h</sup>ēh<sub>1</sub>-s-e-s-t* > *\*e-da-h-es* > *edaes*. However, this suggestion renders the form redundant and does not explain the origin of the second *-s-*.

With regard to the passive aor., the 3sg. form adds the ending *-toy* to the root: *edatoy* (B-05 l. 2, act. *edaes*), *tedatoy* (W-01a with preverb) and *estatoi* (G-144, act. εσταες). As we have seen, these verbs are ambiguous in terms of the grade of the root (lengthened or *e*-grade?), however there is not a general grade for all passive aor. and they very likely follow one of the active

<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, Gorbachov (2005, who made the first attempt to explain the Phrygian aor. in *-aes*) operated with a *ø*-grade *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-prk-* for this form. However, this assumption is phonetically impossible since PIE *\*r* yields *-ro-* / (*\*-or* >) *-our* in Phrygian: see *\*mr-ti-s* > μροτις and *\*pr* > πορ.

<sup>143</sup> Moreover, he suggested that NPhr. αστατ (17.5 = 91) was a variant of *estat* (B-05), with the same spelling of the augment found in *αχανες*. However, αστατ is here read as *αστται* because it is in a clear imprecative protasis where this verb and this form are not expected and it is very likely the fem. of the possible adj. αστοι (9.1 = 87): compare κε ισνου αστοι παρτης (9.1 = 87, where αστοι agrees with παρτης) with [ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει] | [κ]ακου[ν α]ββερετοι α<ι>νι | ασται σα μ[ανκ]ε... (9.1 = 87, where ασται seems to agree with σα μ[ανκ]ε). Finally, it must be said that Gorbachov (2005) ignored Brixhe’s “Prolégomènes au corpus néo-phrygien” (1999) and considered as a Phrygian verb the word *αχανες*, which indeed is the Greek adj. ἀχάνης, ἔς ‘yawning, unoccupied’ here ‘non-built’ (the whole inscription was read as Greek by Brixhe and was excluded from the Phrygian corpus).

forms. Indeed, *ektetoy* (B-01) is considered to be inherited from PIE *\*tkeh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘rule, gain, acquire’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 618-619, IEW 1057-1058, see Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191), with the metathesis in the root found in Greek κτάομαι ‘to acquire, win’ (in perfect. ‘possess’). Consequently, the form *ektetoy* can only go back to the root in  $\emptyset$ -grade. Another possible 3sg.ind.aor.med. is *epaktoy* (B-01), although its meaning and etymology remain unknown. Finally, the form *egertoy* in W-01c is another aor. form, as yet unexplained. It is unclear whether it is related to NPhr. εγερτοι (37.2 = 30) and (ε)<sup>2</sup>γερε[v] (28.1 = 71).

#### 4.2.2.3. Perfect

The only clear personal form of the perfect tense is δακαρεν (1.2 = 98), 3pl.ind.act of *daket* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-*: δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου ‘the parents made (the funerary monument) as a vow’.<sup>144</sup> In any case, δακαρεν is a particular form since it does not show the syllable reduplication (attested in non-personal ptc.s of other verbs) and the  $\emptyset$ -grade expected in this plural form has been replaced by an *e*-grade, perhaps as a levelling from the present and aor. forms. Even the ending presents problematic features. It seems that the old ending *-ēr-* was recharacterised by the addition of the 3pl. ending *-εν* < *\*-e-nt*. As can be seen, the perfect δακαρεν is a Phrygian new formation, as occurs with the equivalent forms in other languages such as Greek τεθήκασι(v) or Lat. *fecēre* ~ *fecērunt*.

The form δακαρ (11.2 = 18) is considered by Orel (1997a, 400) and Sowa (2007a, 85) the singular form of δακαρεν. According to them, it implies that this form levelled its ending from the plural *-ēr* or, less likely, *\*-r* > *-αρ* (see *\*pr* > *πουρ*). On the other hand, δακαρ could be the sg.nom. of the *r*-stem noun *dakeran* (sg.acc., B-05 l. 2), δ[α]|κερης (pl.nom., 16.1 = 116 l. 9-10), *dakeraiš* (pl.acc., B-05 l. 7). Although *daker* (B-05 l. 5) has been suggested to be its sg.nom., a form with *-ēr* > *-ār* is expected in the light of other *r*-stem nouns (see, e.g., *matar*). The context is ambiguous. It is possible to consider that μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ means ‘Midakas the son of Dad- made (it) for Leukios’. However, δακαρ is followed by a sg.nom. PN and is not far from the noun ματαρ, in sg.nom.: μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ | λευκις μιμογας κε ε ματαρ ευγεξα|ρνα κ ο τα ριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας<sup>145</sup> ται κολταμανει...

Lubotsky (1988, 17-18 and in Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192) considered that *ae*y (W-01a, B-01 l. 8) was a perfect form of the copulative verb *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to be’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 241-242, IEW 340-341): *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>s-e-* > *\*ēse-* > *\*āhe-* > *ae*y (with a secondary *-i*). It is built similarly to the Vedic *āsa* ‘has been’. According to Lubotsky, who considered the rel. clause in W-01a where this form is read to be an imprecative protasis, *yos tutut ...ā.m.noy akenanogavos ae*y (W-01a) could mean ‘whoever ... may become an *akenanogavos* (later, here or *vel. sim.*)’. Nevertheless, there is no apodosis and the preferred interpretation is that of a non-imprecative rel. clause: ‘Bonok the *akenanogavos*, who was *akenanogavos* ...’. The context of *ae*y in B-01 remains unclear and does not provide useful information to corroborate or refute Lubotsky’s analysis. However, since *key* is a graphic variant of *ke*, *ae*y cannot be ruled out as a variant of the pcl. *ae*.

The remaining verbs considered to be perfect forms are even more obscure. Lubotsky (1997, 123-124) also considered the form εν-σταρνα (1.1 = 48) to be the perfect of *estatoi* and εσταες ‘he put’ (3.sg.aor.ind. mid. and act. respectively), which goes to *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stand (up)’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 590-592, IEW 1004-1008). Regarding its ending, he considered the presence of *\*-r* (as in δακαρεν)

<sup>144</sup> Note that the aor. *edaes* / εδαεσ is commonly used for this purpose. Sowa (2007, 86) suggested that Phrygian shows the same process as Greek, where the aor. gradually took the function of the act. perfect. Here, I follow his analysis of δακαρεν, see also Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.

<sup>145</sup> I suggest reading ε[.]τας as ε[σ]τας<ε>ς ‘he put’ (the lacking epsilon is explained by the rectangular shape of this letter and the following one, see § 3.2.2).

followed by the 3pl.mid. ending *-ntaj*, with the assimilation *\*-nt- > \*-nn-* simplified in *-n-* and the loss of the final *-i*. Although *ενσταρνᾶ* fits the context as verb,<sup>146</sup> the details are not clear. Note, e.g., that the 3sg.mid. ending occurs as *-toj* and *-tor*, but never as *-taj* (see Sowa 2007a, 77 and 2008, 97).

Finally, Brixhe (2004a, 41) considered that *ἄηerneuey* (B-04) can be a verb in 3sg. perf.ind.act. (if not an athem. noun, as he also suggested), as well as *(etit)evtevey* (B-01). However, both forms occur in texts that have not been clearly read or interpreted.

Leaving aside the above forms, the perfect is commonly attested in ppp. (see § 4.2.2.4.). Since most cases show the expected syllable reduplication, we can conclude that it was a common feature of the Phr. perfect.

#### 4.2.2.4. Non-finite forms

The only clearly identified non-finite form in Phrygian is the passive past ptc., which commonly occurs in imprecative curses. The occurrences of this ptc. show a reduplication with *e*-grade, *ø*-grade in the root and the suffix *-mh<sub>1</sub>no-* (cognate to Greek *-μενο-*), so they are inflected like an adj.: masc. and neuter forms follow the *o*-stem inflection while the fem. the *a*-stem. The reduplicated forms are: *γεγαριτμενος* ‘devoted to, cursed’ (62.2 = 33, very likely in 59.3 = 79 and 62.5 = 36, with preverb in *τιγγεγαριτμενος* 6.1 = 88), *γεγρειμεναν* ‘written’ (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59), etc., masc. *γεγρειμενον* 59.4 = 106 and *γεγριμενον* 56.2 = 58), *σ[ε]σταμεναν* (2.1 = 15), *(οπ)εσταμεναν* (22.1 = 9) and, the most common by far, *(τιτ)τετικμενος* (2.2 = 130, 4.1 = 2, with many spelling variants).<sup>147</sup> For instance, this last form goes back to PIE *\*de-dik-mh<sub>1</sub>no-s*. There are some obscure forms which are suggested to be ptc.s because they have the suffix *-mh<sub>1</sub>no-*, but there is no reduplication: *αιδομενου* (MPhr-01), *γαμενου* (MPhr-01) and *αργμενα*[.<sup>?</sup>] (16.1 = 116).

Hämmig (2013, 150) has suggested, very convincingly, that *torvetun* (B-05) is a present ptc. in *\*-ōn* of a denominative verb derived from the noun *\*doru-* ‘tree, wood’ (similar to Greek *ξύλιζομαι* ‘gather wood’) in the light of *δρῦν | ἐκόψαι* read in the Greek part of B-05. Another present ptc. seems to be *kuryaneyon* ‘ruler’ (W-01c), also of a denominative verb derived from *\*kor-jo-* ‘war, army’. However, it has been considered a Myc. borrowing by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 and 188, see alphabetic Greek *κοιρανέων*). In addition, NPhr. *ζως* can be considered a Greek borrowing (very likely from Hellenistic or even Roman times, see § 4.6.1.3) from *ζῶς* ‘alive, living’ (< PIE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>-uō-s*, Lat. *uīuus*).

Other forms are less clear. The obscure word *oskavos* (B-05) was suggested to be a masc.sg.nom. perfect ptc. in *\*-uō-* and to mean ‘to intend’ by Hämmig (2013, 147-148). Recently, a similar analysis has been suggested for *isekosos* (B-05) by Simon (2015, 17-18). According to him, this form shows a ptc. in pl.acc. and goes back to *\*en-sek<sup>u</sup>-uōs-*, and means something like ‘contents (of the inscription)’. Nevertheless, both interpretations have some difficulties. For example, *oskavos* has no etymological explanation and for *isekosos* it is unclear why we have *isekosos* instead of *\*isekos* and why the pl.acc. ending *\*-ons* does not yield *-ois*, as would be expected. Moreover, the identification suggested by Simon (2015) between the last line of B-05 (where *isekosos* occurs) and the Gr. text from the same stele is hard to corroborate (see *s.u.*).

Finally, it should be noted that there are some adjectives derived from verbs by adding the suffix *\*-tō-*: see *δετου* ‘monument’ (MPhr-01 and 40.3 = 31, *δετον* in 16.1 = 116, both sg.acc.)

<sup>146</sup> In the light of the Greek text of this inscription, *τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις θε|οῖς* ‘the inscribed gods’, Phrygian *μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνᾶ* can be understood as ‘Mitraphata and Mas Tymbrian and the Pontic Bas were assigned’.

<sup>147</sup> Perhaps *[---]ε[.]γεντουμενος* (1.1 = 48) should be added to this list, however that part of the inscription was eroded when it was read by Μηλιόπουλος.

inherited from *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-tó-*, (parallel to Greek θετός, ῆ, ὄν ‘placed set’). In addition, forms with the fem. of this suffix have been identified (Brixhe 2004, 24 and Sowa 2007a, 91), although the words remain unclear: *bilata* (MPhr-01), *lapta* (MPhr-01) and *omasta* (MPhr-01).

### 4.2.3. Prepositions, preverbs, conjunctions and particles

#### 4.2.3.1. Prepositions and preverbs

In the Phrygian corpus, some prepositions have been identified. Sometimes, they are also used as preverbs. The most frequent preposition is *ατ* ‘to, at, by’ (passim), with the voiced variant *ad* (B-05) / *αδ* (7.3 = 99). The first spelling is expected after the *Laurverschiebung*, since it is the outcome of PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed* (*LIPP*, II 8-9). However, assimilations happened in this form and the resultant geminates are commonly simplified: *ατ τι* (42.1) > *α τι* (9.1). The preposition always governs dat., although it has three different functions: it makes the agent object (*τιττετικμενος ατ τι* ‘accursed by Zeus’), it reinforces IO in dat. (*ιος νι σεμον το | [κνουμα]νε κακον αδδακετ αιν’ α τεαμα* 15.1 = 120) and, very likely, it has the meaning ‘through’ in 29.1 (114) *ατ νουκτον μρος σας* ‘through a blow’ to this *mros*. In any case, it is commonly found as a preverb in *\*adberet* > *αββερετ* (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.) or *αδδακετ* (passim).<sup>148</sup> It may even occur in the formation of the adj. *a-garitoi* ‘devoted’ (G-02), according to Kloekhorst (2015, 10).

The preposition *ας* ‘in, at, by’ (7.1 = 99, 7.3 = 14, etc.), with the variant *a* (B-01) / *α* (62.5 = 36),<sup>149</sup> shares an origin with *ad* / *αδ*. Indeed, *LIPP* (II, 10 and 226) classifies it as the rendering of a PIE form *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-s*.<sup>150</sup> It also shares at least<sup>151</sup> the agentive function in *ας βαταν* (20.2 = 128) > *\*αβ βαταν* > *α βαταν* ‘by Bat’ (62.5 = 36), however it governs acc. Only in *ας ανανκαι* (62.4 = 35) does a dat. occur after it, although orthographic confusion in this *a*-stem cannot be ruled out (see § 4.2.1.1.1).

The third most common preposition is *με* ‘before, in the sight of, among’, which renders PIE *\*me-* (*LIPP* II, 494). It is always found governing dat. in the formula *με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε* ‘in the sight of gods and men’. Its meaning is assured by Luw. and Gr. parallels (see § 4.6.2.2). Traditionally, it has been considered also a preverb in *μεβερετ*, but in such position *με* must be considered the prohibitive pcl. (see § 4.2.3.2).

PIE *\*pr* ‘before’ (*LIPP* II, 633, see El. *πάρ*) yields Phr. *por* (W-05b) / *πορ* (MPhr-01) / *πουρ* ‘for’ (6.1 = 88). The it governs acc. in 6.1 (88) *πουρ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ισγεικετ διουνσιν* ‘let him be responsible before the heavenly lord Dionisos’. However, in MPhr-01, perhaps governs gen., *πορ κοροος*.<sup>152</sup> The OPhr. occurrence is ambiguous.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-* ‘on, onto’ (*LIPP* II, 50) yields Phr. *αν* + acc. in 38.1 (44) [*ι*]ος *αν σ[εμουν κακου]ν κνουμ|μανει δοκε[τ]* ‘whoever does harm on this tomb’. Also, it is considered to occur as a preverb in *ανιναγετι* (B-07) and, perhaps, in *αηerneuey* B-04.

The preposition *εν* (MPhr-01 and 16.1 = 116) only occurs in two obscure sequences followed by acc. However, this form, inherited from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>en* ‘in’ (*LIPP* II, 221-222) clearly appears as a preverb at least in *eneparkes* ‘he inscribed’ (G-125, M-01dI and G-01c) / *ενεπαρκεσ* 40.3 (31).

The PIE adverb *\*per* ‘before, forth, in front of’ seems to yield the possible Phr. preposition *p<sup>2</sup>er* (HP-101) / *περ* (29.1 = 114). Although the occurrence of this pcl. as a preposition

<sup>148</sup> The resulting geminates are often simplified: *αβερετι* 66.1 (103) and *αδακετ* 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), etc.

<sup>149</sup> Here, another assimilation followed by a simplification must have operated.

<sup>150</sup> Very likely, this final addition can be equated to *-ς* in Greek *εις* / *ἐς* < *\*en-s* or Lat. *ab-s*, see also *ιστ<sup>2</sup>εικετ* (6.1 = 88).

<sup>151</sup> Other occurrences are still obscure or problematic.

<sup>152</sup> The sequence is discussed. Other suggested segmentations are *πορκοροος* ..|*ρος* (Brixhe 2004a, 21-22 and Avram 2015, 210) or *πορ κορο ος* ..|*ρος* Lubotsky 2017.

is not assured, it seems to be followed by acc.: *p'ēr bastidages* (HP-101) and *περ βεδαν* (29.1 = 114). However, the meaning of these two words is unclear and composed forms cannot be ruled out.

The form *p'os* (B-05) / *ποκ* (16.1 = 116, with assimilation) is considered to be the outcome of the PIE adverb *\*pos* 'after' (LIPP II, 628). However, both occurrences happen in obscure texts. In B-05 it appears in a strange position between acc. and the conj. *key: panta vebraṣ adun p'os key estat pator. ike[...][e[...]] andati...* NPhr. *ποκγονιον* (16.1 = 116) is considered a compound noun by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176-177), but one cannot rule out a preposition + acc. *ποκ γονιον*. In any case, the existence of *pos* in Phrygian is confirmed by its occurrence as a preverb in *ποσεκανεζ* 'he dug'? (16.1 = 116).

A preposition *o* seems to occur in the sequence *ο τα τιαμα* (11.2 = 18), where the case of the following noun is ambiguous (acc. *-an* > *-α* or dat. *-ay* > *α?*). Although this sequence is not clear, this form appears as a preverb in *odeketoy* (B-07), *ουιτετου* (4.1 = 2) and *οτιτετικμενος* (65.4 = 124).<sup>153</sup> Its Greek cognate is also found as a preverb: *ὀ-τρύνω* 'stir up, egg on, encourage'. Phr. *o* may go back to PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>o* (LIPP II, 323-324).

Gorbachov (2009, 96-98) identified the Phr. outcome of PIE noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-t-* used, as well as Lith. *artì* 'about, near, beside', in OPhr. *art* (B-05; see also LIPP II, 290). The Greek version of B-05 makes it very likely: compare *sin-t imenān* in an imprecative apodosis: *yos niy art sin-t imenān kaḳa oskavos kaḳey | kaḳa dedasitiy...* 'whoever does harm around this monument...' with Ὅστις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν κακοῦρ<γ>ετήσαι... In its sole occurrence, *art* is followed by a noun in acc.

There are also some preverbs which never occur as prepositions, such as Phr. *\*tis-* 'a part'. Lubotsky (2004, 235) equated it to Greek *δια-* 'in two, a part, through', derived from PIE *\*dis* 'in two, a part' (LIPP II 145-147; see DEG 327). The Lat. preverb *dis-* 'away, apart' is another good cognate (de Vann 2008, 171-172). The last sibilant of *\*tis-* always appears assimilated to the following consonant: *\*tis-tetikmenos* > *τιτ-τετικμενος* 'accursed' (passim; Greek *δια-δικάζω*). Note that the resulting geminates are commonly simplified: *τιτ-τετικμενος* > *τιτετικμενος* (passim). It also occurs in an adj.: *\*dis-dregro-* > *\*τιδδρεγρουν* > *τιδρεγρουν* 'unenjoyable, innutribile' (53.1 = 76 and 62.2 = 33).

An interesting preverb is found in *οπεσταμεναν* (22.1 = 9), where the form *οπ-* seems to go back to PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>opi* 'close upon, at, behind' (LIPP II 251),<sup>154</sup> as well as Greek *ὀπι-σθεν* '(from) behind, at the back, after(wards)' and Lat. *ob*. Phr. *οπ-* is never found as a preposition. Orel (1997a, 315 and 428) equated *ep-* in *eptuve[---]* T-03b to Greek *ἐπί* 'upon', a form which follows the *e*-grade of the same PIE element: *\*h<sub>1</sub>epi*. However, this word remains unexplained.

A marginal preverb is *t-*, found only in *tedatoy* (W-01a; compare with *edatoy* B-05).<sup>155</sup> The lack of further information and the shortness of this pcl. complicate research into its origin. As a working hypothesis, it can be considered the outcome of PIE *\*de* 'to' (LIPP II 148), found in the Greek directive postposition *-δε* and Lat. *in-de* 'thence'.

LIPP (II 266) considers that PIE OPhr. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ens* yields OPhr. *is* (B-07, see Greek *εἰς*, Cret. *ἐνς*), a form also found as a preverb in *ιστ'εικετ* (6.1 = 88). Nevertheless, the OPhr. cannot be a preposition, since it is preceded and followed by names in nom. The analysis of the NPhr. preverb still stands, but the form has reading problems that hinder its analysis.

Finally, it must be added that Brixhe (2004a, 58) considered *ando* (B-05) to be a preposition followed by an acc. noun in pl.acc.: *popostois*. The origin for such a preposition is found in PIE adverb *\*h<sub>1</sub>(e)ndo(m)* 'inside' (LIPP II 159), attested e.g. in Greek *ἔνδον* 'id.'. However,

<sup>153</sup> Perhaps also in P-04a *ot.[...]seti* and 36.2(=27) *οδ[δακετ?]*.

<sup>154</sup> See also Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192 A second example could be found in *oporokitis*?. However, this word remains unexplained.

<sup>155</sup> See this analysis, without explanation, in Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187.

the outcome of the laryngeal in Phr. is unexpected and this part of the inscription remains obscure, so the context is of no assistance.

Table 32 Summary of the identified Phrygian prepositions and preverb (dubious in grey)

PIE	Phrygian	Case	preverb	Cognates (e.g.)
* <i>de, *do</i>	-	-	<i>t-edatoy</i>	Greek -δε
* <i>h<sub>1</sub>en</i>	εν	acc.?	<i>en-eparkes</i>	Greek ἐν
* <i>h<sub>1</sub>opi</i>	-	-	οπ-εσταμεναν	Greek ὄπι-σθεν
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>ed</i>	ατ, αδ, α	dat.	αδ-δακετ	Lat. <i>ad</i>
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>ed-s</i>	ας, αας, α	acc. / (dat.)?	-	Lesb. ἄσ-φι
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>en-</i>	αν	acc.	<i>an-iva</i> Υeti	Greek ἀν(ά)
* <i>h<sub>1</sub>en-s</i>	-	-	ισ-τ <sup>2</sup> εικετ	Greek εἰς, ἐς, ἐνς
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>er-t-</i>	art	acc.	-	Greek ἄρτ-ι
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>o</i>	ο	acc. or dat.?	ο-ουιτετου	Greek ὀ-τρύνω
* <i>me-</i>	με	dat.	-	Greek με-τά
* <i>pos</i>	ρ <sup>2</sup> ος, ποκ	acc.?	ποσ-εκανες	Arc.-Cypr. πος
* <i>per</i>	περ, περ	acc.	-	Greek περί
* <i>pr̥</i>	πορ, πορ, πουρ	acc. / (gen.)?	-	El. πάρ
* <i>dis</i>	-	-	τιτ-τετικμενος	Greek διά, δίς

#### 4.2.3.2. Adverbs

Few adverbs have been identified and most of them are problematic.<sup>156</sup> Indeed, only υψοδαν ‘above, on the top’ (2.1 = 15 and 16.1 = 116) has a well explained meaning and etymology. Lubotsky (1993a) equated it to the Greek adverb ὑπόθεν ‘from on high, from above’, which goes back to \**up-s-* ‘above’ (LIPP II, 833). Regarding the divergence of endings, the Phrygian adverb is the outcome of the PIE pcl. \**-d<sup>h</sup>η* instead of \**-d<sup>h</sup>e(+n)* and must be a cognate of Greek -θα (Lejeune 1939, 357), found in adverbs of some Greek dialects such as πρόσθα ‘before’ (Dor. and Aeol. for πρόσθε-ν) or ὀπισθα ‘behind, at the back’ (Aeol. and Dor. for ὀπισθε), although not in ὑπό-. The comparison between ἔνθα ‘there, thither’ and ἔνθεν ‘thence’ shows the different meaning of the two particles (Lejeune 1939, 386 and Lubotsky 1993a, 132): \**-d<sup>h</sup>η* > -δα / -θα has a loc. meaning while \**-d<sup>h</sup>e* > -θε-ν an abl. one.

Phr. *kakey* (B-05) / *κακε* (6.1 = 88, 7.1 = 99, etc.) is commonly considered an adverb derived from *κακουν* ‘harm’ (passim in NPhr.), as Greek *κακῶς* ‘ill, barely’ from *κακός* ‘bad, evil, ill’. Since *κακουν* is clearly an *o*-stem, its derived adverb in *-e* has a good parallel in Latin, where adverbs derived from a thematic form take an ending *-ē* (or *-ĕ* after Iambic shortening): *maximus* ‘greatest’ > *maximē* ‘especially, very much’. Its origin is the PIE sg.instr. ending \**-eh<sub>1</sub>* (perhaps also attested in InIr. sg.instr. *-ā*, if it does not go back to \**-oh<sub>1</sub>*). Phr. *-e(y)* / *-ε* is unlikely to have another origin. There is, however, a phonetic problem, since \**-eh<sub>1</sub>* is expected to yield *-ā*. As has been seen in § 4.1.2.2.3, the same problem is found in the prohibitive pcl. \**meh<sub>1</sub>* > *me* (B-05 and B-07) / *με* (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc.).

Other possible adverbs are even less clear. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188, considered likely by Lubotsky 1993b, 97) equated *ekey* (B-01) to Greek *ἐκεῖ* ‘there’, inherited from PIE \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)*e-ke(i)*.

<sup>156</sup> This is only an overview. See s.u. the extensive discussion of each form.

However, the context does not corroborate this possibility. NPhr. ερα (62.5 = 36) is equated to Greek ἄρα ‘then’ (expressing consequence) and, especially, to its Cyprian variant ἔρα or ἔρ by Brixhe (Brixhe 1997, 62, see also *LIPP* II, 289). The context favours the meaning ‘then’ for this Phr. word<sup>157</sup> but the Greek forms are problematic, since they show a hesitation between *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)r* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>(e)r* (*EDG* 121, *LIPP* II 289). Hämmig (2013, 148) suggested that *kan* (B-05) / καν (20.3 = 62 and 46.1 = 53) is an adverb derived from the pron. *\*k<sup>u</sup>e/o-* (attested in Phrygian as κος) with the meaning ‘somehow’ parallel to Lat. *quam* ‘as, than’ and Armenian *k’an* ‘id.’.

Recently, Hämmig (fthc. a) and Obrador (frthc. a) identified the Phr. outcome of the PIE prohibitive *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* ‘not’ (*LIPP* II 511-512). The context and a comparison of the formulae in which it appears with analogous formulae in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia shows that it is the best explanation for this pcl., previously considered a preverb (since με<sup>1</sup> is a clear preposition). However, there is a phonetic problem in the evolution of *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* > *me* / με, since <sup>†</sup>*mā* would be the expected outcome (see § 4.1.1).

A similar problem is found in υ≠κε ‘neither, nor’ (4.1 = 2), where υ- is considered the Phrygian equivalent of Greek οὔ(κ) ‘no’ in the compound οὔτε ‘neither, not’. Nevertheless, the Greek form is commonly derived from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>o<sub>i</sub>u-k<sup>u</sup>id*, as well as Arm. *oč* ‘id.’ and Alb. *as* ‘id.’ (see *EDG* 1123, Martirosyan 2010, 531 and 2013, 91, with references). If the Phrygian form is indeed related to *\*h<sub>2</sub>o<sub>i</sub>u-*, one may assume an unexpected phonetic erosion of *\*i*. However, a Greek influence cannot be ruled out here: it is striking that the same loss is found in γλουρεος (MPhr-01) < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>-eio-*. This interpretation also has a syntactical problem, since the prohibitive pcl. με is expected in this context. In any case, NPhr. υ≠κε was previously considered a graphic variant of the dative pron. (ι)οι ‘to him’ by Heubeck (1958, 22-3) and Brixhe (1997, 49,67) and the outcome of PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-k<sup>u</sup>e* ‘but also’ (*LIPP* II 338), but such interpretations are not at all consistent with the context.

#### 4.2.3.3. Conjunctions

The most attested Phrygian conjunction is the copulative *ke(y)* ‘and’ (B-04, B-05, B-07, etc.) / κε (passim), which clearly goes back to PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>e* ‘id.’ (*LIPP* II 690-691). It may appear with some particles. Indeed, ακκε ‘and’ (53.1 = 76 and 62.2 = 33) could be a parallel of Lat. *atque* ‘id.’ and υ≠κε to Greek οὔτε ‘neither, not’. It is always attached after the second of two joined elements (sentences or words): δεως ζεμελωσ κε (24.1 = 40) with. However, it is commonly found after all the joined elements: με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε ‘in the sight of gods and men (3.1 = 97). Prepositions and the pron. (ι)οι are not considered a word in this rule, so the conj. is placed after the first tonic sequence: τιγγεγαριτμενος ιτου, πουρ ουανακταν **κε** ουρανιον ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ διουνσιν (joining two apodoses). In 1.1 (48) the ethnic and the DNs are treated as the same element: μιτραφατα κε **μας** τεμρογειος κε **πουντας** **βας** κε (1.1 = 48).<sup>158</sup> Nevertheless, this conj. appears after the rel. pron. ιος κε σεμ<ου>ν κνουμανει... (62.3 = 34). In addition, it also appears attached to neg. particles building the neg. conjunctions με≠κε (7.2 = 111) and υ≠κε (4.1 = 2), perfect parallels of Greek μήτε ‘and not’ and οὔτε ‘and not’ respectively.

The NPhr. hapax τε (43.1 = 69) is problematic because, if it is indeed the same copulative conj. τε, it shows the Classical Greek treatment of the labiovelar and may perhaps be considered a borrowing. However, the context is not clear enough to rule out other segmentations. Also

<sup>157</sup> It appears introducing an imprecative apodosis: ιος κε σεμουν κνουμανι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγ|ρεμειν[α]ν εγεδο[υ] τιος ουταν ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, then? let him suffer the curse of Zeus’.

<sup>158</sup> For more details on these rules, see Brixhe 1978, 1-2; 1997, 59-60, Lubotsky 1989b, 150-151; 1997, 122 and Woodhouse 2007, 189-191.

unclear is the OPhr. *eti* (B-03) / ετι (11.2 = 18 and ετι 22.1 = 9), perhaps related to PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eti* (LIPP II, 260-261).

Finally, the conj. *ay* (B-03 and G-01a), *ai* (P-06) / αι (40.3 = 31 and 56.3 = 64) ‘if, for’ is mainly found followed by the pcl. *ni(y)* in *aini* (P-101), *ayniy* (B-01 and B-05) / αινι (passim). Brixhe (1978b, 4 and 1997, 57) equated it to the Dor. and Aeol. Greek conj. αι ‘if’ (instead of ει) and considered both forms the old loc. of the PIE demonstrative-anaphoric pron. *\*e/o-* (contrary to EDG 379), also LIPP (II 348), where these forms are considered to be inherited from PIE *\*éh<sub>2</sub>i*.

### 4.3. Notes on syntax

#### 4.3.1. Case uses

In the Phrygian corpus four nominal cases are attested: nominative, accusative, genitive and dative. Although it is impossible to compile a list of all the uses of each case in Phrygian because of the contextual limitations, they have the same functions found in the other Indo-European languages.

##### 4.3.1.1. Nominative

The nominative is the case of the subject: *baba ... si=keneman edaes* ‘**Baba** ... made this niche’ (M-01b). It is also the case of the predicate noun and the adj. in agreement with it: *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos ... edaes* ‘**Attes the son of Arkia(s), the akenanogavos**, made (it)...’ (M-01), *τος νι ... τιττετικμενος ε[ι]του* ‘**This one** shall become **accursed**’ (18.3 = 6). It is also found independently in inscriptions containing only a PN: *YuvaYaros* (G-115). Finally, in HP-114, a clay tablet from Persepolis, it is used for listing items as a nominative of rubric.<sup>159</sup> The noun *knays* ‘woman’, for example, occurs once in singular and once in plural, although both are preceded by a number higher than one: 30<sup>2</sup> *knays* ... 40<sup>2</sup> *knayke*<sup>2</sup>[s]<sup>2</sup> ‘30 woman [sic], ... 40 women’. Even the name of the month dating the same tablet (although the day and the year are lost) seems to be in sg.nom.: *anamakā*.

##### 4.3.1.2. Accusative

The accusative is the case of the direct object: *midas s=materan ... eneparkes*<sup>2</sup> ‘Midas engraved **this Matar**’ (M-01d I), *ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες* ‘the parents put **the tomb**’ (2.2 = 130). In addition, Avram (2016, 122-123) considered a directive function of the acc. in *veban ituv* (B-05), interpreted as ‘may he go in the grave’ (i.e. ‘may he die’). Although it is a strong possibility, the protasis of this imprecative apodosis is still problematic and more studies are needed of this line of the Vezirhan stele. Finally, this case is governed by some prepositions (see 4.4.1.): e.g. *ας βαταν* ‘by Bat’ (20.2 = 128).

##### 4.3.1.3. Genitive

The genitive is not well attested in Phrygian and often occurs in obscure contexts, where it is only identified because of the morphology of the word. This is the case of *artimitos kraniyas* ‘of Artemis she-one of the spring’ (B-05) and *κναικο<ς> εκατηας* ‘(his) wife Hekataias’ (16.1 = 116). In any case, Phr. ben. is found in the common adnominal function, limiting the meaning of the substantive on which it depends: *σεμουν κνουμανει ... αωρω ουεναουιας* ‘the

<sup>159</sup> It is a very common feature in this kind of text, independently of the language. On a Myc. parallel, see Jiménez Delgado 2013. However, the influence of Achaemenid scribal practices on Aramaic and Elamite cannot be overlooked if one considers the context of this Phrygian text.

tomb of the untimely (dead) Venavias’ (6.1 = 88), **τιος ουταν** ‘the curse of Zeus’ (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.). Note that in the first example the gen. is found after the governing noun, while in the second the gen. precedes it.

As occurs in Greek and Lat., it is also found to indicate patronymics:<sup>160</sup> *bugnos vasos kanutii’evanos’* ‘Bugnos (the son) of Vasus (the grand-son) of Kanutí’ (P-02), *s=manes iyungidas manitos manitos* ‘Manes Iyungidas (the son of) Manes’ (B-07). A very interesting use is attested in NPhr. 33.1 (28), where *τιτετουκμενουν* has a predicative use of the partitive gen.: compare *τιτετουκμενουν ειτου* ‘let him become (one) of the accursed’ with *τιτετικμενος ειτου* ‘let him become accursed’ (passim).<sup>161</sup> Finally, it perhaps occurs after the preposition *πορ* once, if the suggested segmentation is correct (see 4.4.1.): *πορ κοροος* ‘for the boy’ (MPhr-01).

#### 4.3.1.4. Dative

Commonly, the dative marks the indirect object of a verb: *ates ... midai ... edaes* ‘Attes ... made (it) for Midas...’, *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει* *κακον αδδακετ* ‘whoever does harm to this tomb...’ (62.2 = 33). A loc. function seems to be attested in some contexts:<sup>162</sup> *yos esai=t materey eveteksete’y ovevin onoman daYet* ‘whoever puts his own name in this Mother *eveteksete’y*’ (W-01b), *ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μνη* ‘the parents put the monument in this plot’ (2.2 = 130). Finally, dative is governed by some prepositions (see 4.4.1.): *τιτετικμενος ατ τι(ε/η)* ‘accursed by Zeus’ (passim), *με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε* ‘in the sight of gods and men’ (passim). These formulae have variants without the preposition, which may indicate that the dative indeed has an agentive and locative meaning.

#### 4.3.2. Word order

Phrygian is a subject-object-verb (SOV) language: *ataniyen kuryaneyon* (S) *tan* (DO) *egertoy* ‘Ataniyen the ruler *egertoy* it’ (V; W-01c), *ιος* (S) *τα μανκαι* (IO) *κακουν* (DO) *αδδακετ* ‘whoever does harm to this stele’ (V; 4.1 = 2). Nevertheless, the order is not always respected. Sometimes, DO clearly precedes the subject: *sin=t imenan kaliya ti tedat[oy]* ‘this shrine, Kallias made it’ (B-05). There are even clear examples of VS order in texts without metric: *δακαρεν πατερης ευκιν αργου* ‘the parents made (it) ...’ (1.2 = 98). In NPhr., when a second IO is added to the common protasis, it always appears after the verb: *κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα* ‘that one who does harm to this tomb or to the stele’ (11.2 = 18).

Phrygian, then, does not present great surprises in its word order.<sup>163</sup> As is expected in this kind of language, Phrygian has prepositions instead of pospositions. Only one possible postposition is found but its context is not clear (see 4.4.1). The few examples of clear gen. show both positions, before and after the governing noun (see 4.3.3). The adj., however, commonly follows the noun: *apelan mekas* ‘Apelan the great’ (M-05), *artimitos kraniyas* ‘Artemis she-one of the spring’ (B-05), *vasous iman mekas | kanutieivaḡis | deyoḡ ke mekas* ‘Vasus Iman the great, the son of Kanutí, and the great god’ (P-03) *materey eveteksete’y* (W-01b), *matar kubeleya* ‘Mother of the (mountain) Kybelon’ (B-01), *μανκα μεκας σας* (MPhr-01 = W-11), etc. The counterexamples can be considered emphatic: *agaritoi petes* ‘devoted feet’ (G-02, according to Kloekhorst 2015), *αωρω ουεναουιας* ‘the untimely (dead) Venavias’ (6.1 = 88), *μεκαν τιαν* ‘the Great Zeus’ (2.2 = 130). In

<sup>160</sup> Note, however, that adjectival patronymics also occur in the OPhr. Corpus: e.g. *arkiaevais* (M-01a).

<sup>161</sup> The pl.gen. form was identified by Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190. Regarding this function, compare with Σόλων τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη ‘Solon was called one of the Seven Sages’ (Il. 15.235, see Smyth 1920 § 1304).

<sup>162</sup> The syncretism between dat. and loc. is found in Greek. However, the Greek athem. sg.dat. endings (-ι) go back to the PIE loc. ending (\*-i), while Phrygian preserved the genuine PIE ending (\*-ey). So, there is no morphological trace of this syncretism in Phrygian.

<sup>163</sup> The features described here fit the universals suggested for the order of meaningful elements by Greenberg 1966. Of course, they are also shared with many ancient Indo-European languages.

NPhr. 1.1 (48) both positions appear together: **μας τεμρογειος κε πουντας βας κε** ‘Mas of the **Tymbris** and the **Pontic Bas**’. In addition, pronouns in their adjectival function almost always precede the noun they complement: *esai=t materey* ‘this *Matar*’ (W-01b), *σεμουν κνουμανει* ‘this tomb’ (passim). The exceptions are very few and restricted to two occurrences of the indefinite pronoun, *κακουν κιν* ‘any harm’ (61.1 = 100) and *κακουν τι* ‘id.’ (30.1 = 39, a Greek borrowing), and the sequence *μανκα μεκας σας* ‘this big stele’ (MPhr-01 = W-11), which perhaps is a metrical consequence.

#### 4.3.3. Remarks on Lubotsky’s rection rule

Lubotsky (1997, 116 fn. 20)<sup>164</sup> noticed that if “several members are conjoined by *κε*, the number and gender of the first member determines the rection”. Indeed, this rule apparently applies in two NPhr. curses:<sup>165</sup> **αυτος κε ουα κε** ‘ροκα **γεγαριτμενος** ας βαταν τευτους (62.2 = 33) and **αυτος κ’ ουα κ’ οροκα** **[γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ος** α βαταν τευτους (62.5 = 36), where the pron. and the ptc. are in sg.masc. despite the fem. or neuter plural *οροκα*, and **ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιττετικμενα** ατ τιε αδειττου (40.1 = 12), where the first noun and the ptc. are ambiguous (fem. sg.nom. or neuter pl.nom.-acc.?) despite the fem. or masc.pl.masc. *πειες*.

Nevertheless, some remarks are in order. In 40.1 (12) the ptc. cannot be classified as a fem.sg. because the verb *αδειττου* is in plural. Both words must agree in number, as can be seen in *τιττετικμ[ε]νοι ιννου* (28.1 = 71), the plural variant of the common *τιττετικμενος ειτου* ‘let him be accursed’ (passim). Then, if this word were a hapax it would be a neuter pl.nom.-acc. However, we know that this word is an *a*-stem because the sg.dat. is attested both in OPhr. and NPhr: *↑iray* (B-05) and *ζειραι* (59.4 = 106). Then, it must be assumed that *ζειρα* and *τιττετικμενα* are pl.nom. with the drop of the second element of the diphthong: *-αι > -α* (Woodhouse 2007, 193).<sup>166</sup> This explanation fits with the verb in plural *αδειττου*. Moreover, since *↑iray* / *ζειραι* is assumed to mean ‘hand’, the obscure word *πειες* is easily explained as an engraver’s (if not editor’s) mistake for *petes* (G-02). Consequently, *ζειρα κε οι πετες κε τιττετικμενα ατ τιε αδειττου* can be translated as ‘let (his) hands and his feet become accursed by Zeus’.<sup>167</sup>

In the case of **αυτος κε ουα κε** ‘ροκα **γεγαριτμενος** ας βαταν τευτους (62.2 = 33) and **αυτος κ’ ουα κ’ οροκα** **[γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ος** α βαταν τευτους (62.5 = 36), the verb of this apodosis is lacking. In Obrador-Cursach (2017, 308-309), the verb is hypothetically identified in *τευτουςς*. Note that *-του* is the common 3sg.imp.act. ending (see, e.g., *ει-του*, passim). Leaving aside that the stem of the verb remains unexplained (if inherited, *τευ-* goes back to PIE *\*teu-* or *\*deu-*), the suggested pcl. *ςς* seems to be unparalleled. However, we find an interesting parallel at the end of the MPhr.-01 (W-12) *ομνισιτ ους*. The verb *ομνισιτ* is followed by an unknown element *ους* which is very likely the same *ςς* found in the NPhr. inscriptions with crasis. Then, the verb again agrees in singular with the pron. and the subject. Nevertheless, a problem remains in *ουα κ’ οροκα*. The first copulative conj. *κ(ε)* ‘and’ must join “this second apodosis to the first” and a second *κ(ε)* is expected not after the clitic poss. *ουα* but after *οροκα*. Then, the correct segmentation may be *ουα κοροκα* (Woodhouse 2007, 193-194 fn. 8). Since the stem *\*koru-* ‘boy’ seems to occur in MPhr. *κοροαν* (Lubotsky 2017, 430-431), Woodhouse’s suggestion of dealing with a derivative of this stem is now more likely.<sup>168</sup> Considering that *κοροκα* is not joined to *αυτος* through any conj., one can assume that this noun is in neuter pl.nom.-acc. and the DO object of the verb *τευτου*. Although identifying the verb will be the key to corroborating this

<sup>164</sup> The term “Lubotsky’s rule” appears for the first time in Woodhouse 2007, 193. Although from a syntax point of view his paper is very interesting, I differ here from most of the lexical interpretations.

<sup>165</sup> I give here the common segmentation of these texts, not the one suggested in this dissertation.

<sup>166</sup> A parallel process seems to be found in *αββιρετο* (35.1 = 25) for *αββερετοι* (10.2 = 113, etc.).

<sup>167</sup> The “hands and feet” theme can be found in CLuw.: *G̃R.MEŠ-ta=du tar-ú-e-ya i-iš-ša-ra=d[u] du-ú-wa-za-an ti-ya-am-mi-in du-ú-pí-t[a]* (KUB 35.102+103 III 12-13).

<sup>168</sup> Nevertheless, the details of this formation are unclear. If, indeed, *κοροκα* is to be analysed as *κορο-κα*, the suffix can be equated to *μαν-κα* (a clear fem.sg.).

hypothesis, the formula may be similar to those found in contemporaneous Greek imprecations from Phrygia referring to the children of the desecrator: see, e.g. the north Phrygian ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο οἶκον χῆρον βίον ἔρημον ‘may he leave behind his children orphaned, his house deserted, an empty life’ (the east Phrygian curse formula, see Strubbe 1997, Appendix 2; it occurs in 66.1 = 103), ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίπη or λίποιτο ‘may he leave behind his children orphaned’ (Strubbe 1997, no. 259, 281, 399, etc), ἄτεκνος ἄτυμβος ἀνανχίστευτος ὀλιται ‘may he die without child, without burial (and) without heirs’ (Strubbe 1997, 172) or the formula τέκνα ἄω|ρα ἐντύ[χοιτο] ‘let him have children untimely (dead)’ (18.2 = 5).

#### 4.4. Lexicon

Most Phrygian words remain unexplained. This fact is illustrated by the detailed study presented in the main chapter of this work (§ 5, see also Table 33). Nevertheless, when identified, most of the basic lexicon is inherited, although there are many examples of borrowings, mainly from Greek in the NPhr. subcorpus (see § 4.6.1.3), but also from the Anatolian languages (§ 4.6.2).

The available Phrygian lexicon, then, is almost exclusively restricted to onomastics (especially in graffiti, see Table 33), nouns referring to the monuments on which inscriptions appear, and verbs related to their construction. Indeed, at least 125 different PNs are attested in the Phrygian epigraphical corpus. Most of these PNs are Anatolian in origin: *kwa/i-li-i(a)*, *ku-li-i(a)* (see Oreshko 2013a, 361) > *kuḷiyas* (G-127), <sup>m</sup>*Urawanni* > *urunis* (G-346), etc. Lallnamen are especially common in Anatolia and the same tendency is found in Phrygian: *atas* (G-128), *baba* (M-01b, G-121), *mama* (G-173), etc. Greek and Persian PNs also appear: e.g. <sup>\*</sup>*mok<sup>h</sup>os* (Myc. *mo-qo-so*, alphabetic Greek Μόψος ~ Μόξος) > *muksos* (G-346) and <sup>\*</sup>*Uvaxštra* > *YuvaYaros* (G-115, Hdt. 1.73 Κυαξάρης). Indeed, few PNs seem to have a genuine Phrygian origin and only *iman* (M-06, G-136, G-210, etc.) can be confidently asserted.<sup>169</sup>

The Phrygian gods are also well paralleled in other Anatolian corpora, although the names of the main couple are properly Phrygian: *matar* ‘Mother’ (*kubeleya* B-01, *areyasti*- W-01a, etc.), *ti*- ‘Zeus’ (NPhr. *passim*) or βας ‘The shining one’ (an epiclesis of Zeus, 1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, etc.). Other DNs are clearly borrowed: *artimitos* ‘Artemis’ (B-05, Greek Ἄρτεμις, Lyd. *Artimus*, Lyc. *Ertēmi*, its source remains unknown), *mas* ‘Men’ (very likely the Moon-God in 1.1 = 48, a masculinisation of Persian *Ma*) and διουονσιν ‘Dionysos’ (6.1 = 88).<sup>170</sup>

Toponyms only occur in derived words, mainly ethnics: e.g. τεμπογειος ‘of the Thymbris’ (1.1 = 48, a river), πουντας ‘from Ponta-’ (1.1 = 48, a village also attested in Greek inscriptions, modern Gemiç) and *kubeleya* ‘from Kybelon’ (B-01, a mountain). The compound noun *mođroyanak* ‘sovereign of Modra/-oi’ (M-04) contains the name of a city (found also in Str. 12.7 and Cons. VII, *De Thematis* 4.28).

With regard to nouns, the Phrygian corpus attests many words referring to (parts of) the monuments or objects on which texts were engraved. In the case of the cult façades (their name in Phr. is unknown), the niche containing a relief of the Mother-Goddess is called *keneman* in M-01 and the relief itself seems to be *vrekun*. This noun appears in a W-01a, a façade that bore a large representation of the goddess, in M-06 its phonetic variant *rekun* designates the so-called ‘Phrygian-idol’ (a schematic representation in a step-cut monument) and, finally, in B-05, a stele with a relief of a goddess (among others), the fem. *vrekan* seems to designate the representation: *vrekan vitarān artimitoş krāniyaş* ‘the *vitāran* idol of Artemis *Kraniyas*’. In once case the DN is used instead of this *vrekun*. Thus, in M-01b, *matar* ‘Mother(-Goddess)’ clearly refers to the representation: *midas s-materan tvemes eneparkes* ‘Midas engraved this Mother-Goddess *tvemes*’. In B-01, *bevδος* refers to a lost statue in a triangular niche (Lubotsky 2008). In

<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless, there are many PNs only found in the OPhr. corpus without clear origin.

<sup>170</sup> I leave this question for a more detailed study in the future.

the Vezirhan stele (B-05), *iman* clearly means ‘shrine’, since it is translated as *ἱερόν* in the short accompanying Greek text.

Funerary stelae appear in the Late Phrygian period (which corresponds to Achaemenid times). While in the first occurrence of an inscribed funerary stele the name given to it is a Greek borrowing *stalʹa* (B-06), from Hellenistic times they are consistently called *μανκα* ‘stele’ (MPhr-01, NPhr. 3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.), a Phr. word. There are at least three ways to refer to the whole (funerary) monument: *κνουμαν* (NPhr. passim), *veban* (B-05) / *ουεβαν* (1.1 = 48, 2.2 = 130, etc.), equated to *μνημεῖον* ‘monument, tomb’ in 1.1. (48), and *λατομειον*, a Greek borrowing. Finally, there are several words that denote individual parts of tombs, although their specific referent is difficult to identify without a bilingual inscription. Indeed, the clearest examples of these words are borrowings from Greek: *θαλαμει* (18.1 = 4) ‘funerary chamber’, *σορου* ‘cinerary urn, coffin, sarcophagus’ (MPhr-01, 65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124), *ακροδμαν* (16.1 = 116) ‘roof, top of the stele, pediment’?

Funerary inscriptions also attest another important semantic field: kinship. Several words have been identified: *ματαρ* ‘mother’ (11.2 = 18), *knais* ‘woman, wife’ (B-07), *αναρ* ‘man husband’ (2.1 = 15), *πατερης* (1.2 = 48) ~ *πατρεις* (2.2 = 130) ‘parents’, *πατριγις<sup>2</sup>* ‘relatives’ (B-04), *βρατερε* ‘brother’ (40.3 = 31), *nevos* ‘son’ or ‘male-descendant’ (B-05) and *niptiya-* ‘daughter’ or ‘female-descendant’ (B-05).

The attested verbs are divided into two main groups according to their meaning: verbs referring to the construction of the monuments and verbs referring to the curses. The first group contains verbs such as *edaes* ‘he made, put’ (M-01a, M-02, etc., compare with Greek *τίθημι* ‘set, put, place’), *εσταεις* ‘he put, erected’ (40.3 = 31, Greek *ἵστημι* ‘make to stand, set up’) and their derivatives. In the second group, we find verbs of the imprecative protasis, *αδδακετ* ‘he does’ and *αββερετ* ‘he brings’ (commonly with *κακουν* ‘harm’), and verbs of the apodosis, *lakedo* ‘let him be took’ (W-01b) *ituv* (B-05) / *(αδ)ειτου* (passim) ‘let him be’ + *τιτετικμενος* ‘accursed’ (passim) or *γεγαριτμενος* ‘devoted’ (62.2 = 33).

Table 33 Classification of the lemmata considered in the Lexicon of the Phrygian Inscriptions

Categ.	a-α	b-β	g-γ	d-δ	eε	v-f	↑-ζ	η θ	i-ι	kΥ-κ	l-λ	m-μ	n-ν	ξ	o-o	p-π	r-ρ	s-ς	t-τ	u-υ	y	ac.	Total
PN	32	5	3	8	5	4			8	8	2	16	5	1	1	2	1	5	10	4		3	123
PN?	5	6		6	6	1	1		3	6	3	4				0	1	1	6	5		26	80
DN	1	1		1								1						2	1				7
Noun	9	4	2	6	3	4	3	1	2	12	2	13	3		6	5	1	7	5			1	89
Noun?	2			1	4		1		1		2	1			3	6		2	6			4	33
Adj.	4		1	1	5		1		1	3	1	3	2		3	2				3	1		31
Adj.?	1									1		1				2						1	6
Pron.	1					2		2	2						1			1	2		1		12
Verb	3		2	2	8			4	1	1					2	2	1		5	1			32
Verb?	6				8	2		1	2						3	2		1		1		1	27
Prep.	4			1	1							1			1	1							9
Prep.?	1																						1
Conj.	3				1					1													5
AdvPar.					2							1	2		1					2			8
Adv.?										1													1
Num.															1								1
Mark	1			1	1	1	1			2		1	2					1	1	1	1	2	16
Unkn.	24	5	3	9	11	7		1	13	5	1	10	10		16	16		7	14	2	5	143	302
<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1 1</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>783</b>

#### 4.5. The place of Phrygian in the Indo-European language family

Scholars have long debated the exact position of Phrygian in the Indo-European language family. Although this position is not a closed question because of the fragmentary nature of our current knowledge, Phrygian has many important features which show that it is somehow related to Greek and Armenian. Thracian, Macedonian and Albanian are often considered as being close to Phrygian, but the relationship is too problematic for them to be useful sources for comparison.<sup>171</sup> Greek and Armenian are often postulated to derive from a common proto-language (Greco-Armenian). Although this assumption is based only on similarities between Proto-Greek and Proto-Armenian, which are not sufficient evidence to hypothesise a discrete Proto-Greco-Armenian, the relations between the two proto-languages “may have been intense” (Martirosyan 2013, 86). In any case, the similarities are such that the exact position of Phrygian is difficult to determine, a fact that is apparent in the history of Phrygian studies.

Indeed, between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. BC Phrygian was mostly considered a *satəm* language (a feature once considered important to establishing the position of a language) and, especially after Alf Torp’s study, closer to Armenian (and Thracian),<sup>172</sup> whereas it is now commonly considered to be closer to Greek. However, both those who favoured a Greek proximity for Phrygian<sup>173</sup> and those who preferred the Armenian way<sup>174</sup> adduced historiographic sources rather than linguistic ones, before the publications of Lejeune, Haas and Brixhe, simply because very few Phrygian inscriptions had been discovered until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>175</sup>

Brixhe (1968), Neumann (1988) and, through an accurate analysis, Matzinger (2005) showed the inconsistency of the Phrygo-Armenian assumption and argued that Phrygian was a language closely related to Greek. Note, however, that these authors did not consider the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* as proposed by Lubotsky (2004). This has been a significant boost to Phrygian studies over in the last decade, although it is not great value for elucidating the language’s position. In any case, the question of its origin is complex, and Armenian is often cited as the language closest to Phrygian in modern publications. Recently, Hämmig (fthc. a and b) has claimed that most of the arguments for Phrygian’s closer proximity to Greek are superfluous. She is certainly right to state that more in-depth studies are needed. Nevertheless, she also tried to show that Phrygian is closer to Armenian, and this position is not better defended than the others. Her argument is twofold.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> The Thracian corpus is too short to give an overview of this language and Macedonian is better explained as a Greek dialect than a proper language (see Méndez Dosuna 2012). Albanian is attested as late as 14<sup>th</sup> c. and shows many particularities that hinder the comparison with earlier languages. On the relationship with PIE see Klingenschmitt 1994 and, for a detailed discussion on Albanian historical phonology, see Demiraj 1997, 41-67.

<sup>172</sup> The relationship with Thracian is still considered by Brixhe (2006). However, I do not consider the possibility here because Thracian is a poorly attested language and such a relationship is ultimately based on Str. 7.1.25 (see also 7.3.2, 10.3.16 and 12.3.20), who considered that Phrygians were in origin a Thracian tribe (Θράκιόν τι ἔθνος). Other sources only report that they were neighbours of the Macedonian near to the mount Bermios (Hdt. 7.73, 8.138, Plin. Nat. 5.145, St. Byz s.u. Βρίγες).

<sup>173</sup> W. C. Moriz Schmidt (1869, 133-141), Fick (1873, 409-417) and Ramsay (1887, 381).

<sup>174</sup> Mordtmann (1862), Gosche (1864, 84-86) and Torp (1894, 3-8) were the most important supporters of the Phrygo-Armenian relation in the beginning of the Phrygian studies.

<sup>175</sup> On this issue, one must consult the PhD dissertation by Morante Mediavilla defended in 2007 (unfortunately unpublished), which provides an exhaustive overview of Phrygian studies up to the publication of Ramsay’s works.

<sup>176</sup> Of course, Hdt. 7.73 is also considered an ancient authority considering that Phrygians and Armenians share a common origin: Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι “the Armenians were armed just like the Phrygians, being settlers from the Phrygians”. Also Eudoxus of Cnidus, as quoted by St. Byz s.u. Ἀρμενία, follows this consideration: Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῆ φωνῆ

1. The Phrygian shift \*p > <v> / V\_V is similar to Armenian \*p > w /V\_V (Hämmig 2013, 136-137).
2. The suffix \*-skē/o- became a subjunctive marker in both languages and it yielded -ic'- in Armenian and -s/Υ- in Phrygian. Perhaps, also aor. in -es goes back to a form derived through the same suffix, \*-esket, although it is still less clear.

In my opinion, these two isoglosses (the first phonetic, the second morphological) do not prove that Phrygian has a closer position to Armenian. Of course, Phrygian is only fragmentarily attested and we ignore most of the features of this language. Therefore, the relevance of each feature must be judged not on the basis of quantity but on its quality. Nevertheless, the first feature has only been identified in one word, \*nepots > nevos (Hämmig 2013), and one cannot rule out a local shift restricted to Bithynia. To complicate the matter further, unlike the PIE voiced and aspirated stops, the voiceless stops preserved their original articulation. Only in B-05 and only for this word does such a shift occur. Consequently, it may be considered a recent shift (if not a local feature).<sup>177</sup> Indeed, the whole Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* can be compared to the Armenian stop shift. However, the only shift<sup>178</sup> which is well attested in both Phrygian and Armenian is the devoicing of the PIE voiced stop series and it is not a strong evidence to postulate a common development, since it is found in many languages (e.g. in PGm. and To.).

Regarding to the second feature, it is neither an evidence for her hypothesis. The interpretation of <Υ> as representing something related to a sibilant is refuted here (see § 3.1.3), which rules out the possibility that forms with this letter contain the development of the suffix \*-skē/o-. In addition, it is possible that such suffix appears as -sk- in three instances: *podaskai*? (G-02, if it is a verb), *ουελασκετου* (9.1 = 87) and *ουελασκοννου* (15.1 = 120, if this segmentation is right, as also Hämmig, f.c., suggested). However, these forms are not clear enough to be used here. In any case, forms with -s- / -(σ)σ- between vowels (which she equated to <Υ>) can be explained as a reintroduction similar to the one happened in the Greek sigmatic aor. and fut. In such forms -s- was preserved in consonant-final stems such as *γράφω* 'I write', aor. *ἔγραψα* 'I wrote' and later restored in verbs where it was lost (Chantraine 1984, 177 or Duhoux 2000, 377).

In the light of the available data, it is preferable to consider that Phrygian is closer to Greek than it is to Armenian. This tentative conclusion is based on some relevant features of the Phrygian language shared between Phrygian and Greek which are discussed on the following pages (summarised in Table 34). Furthermore, if Phrygian were not so-poorly attested perhaps we could reconstruct a Proto-Greco-Phrygian stage of both languages. Indeed, it is not only that Phrygian and Greek share a relatively large number of isoglosses and innovations, but also that not a single relevant isogloss restricted to Phrygian and Armenian is found. Then, I agree with Matzinger (2005, 377, despite the *Lautverschiebung* question) when he says "dass die Annahme einer besonderen Nähe zwischen Phrygisch und Armenisch von Seiten der Sprachwissenschaft nicht zu stützen ist." Unfortunately, the Phr. verb has not been well studied and could be at the centre of this discussion in future work. Moreover, new findings could provide more features with which to corroborate or reject this statement. Therefore, the conclusion given here cannot be considered definitive.

---

πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι 'the Armenians are native of Phrygia and their tongue resembles very much the Phrygian one.' In any case, we do not have much information about the Armenian Language until the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

<sup>177</sup> As said above, the only counterexample is *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01d1) / *ενεπαρκες* (40.3 = 31), whose root goes back to \*perk- (as suggested Lejeune 1969b, 291-194), but the stop was very likely preserved in forms without augment and was perhaps preserved after these forms.

<sup>178</sup> The shift PIE voiced aspirate stops > Armenian voiced stops, which is general in Phrygian, is still problematic for Armenian. See Clackson 2008, 127-130, who suggests that the letters transliterated as voiced stops can represent voiced aspirate stops.

#### 4.5.1. Phonological isoglosses

1. As has been argued in § 4.1.2.2.2, Phrygian belongs to the *centum* group of IE languages. Together with Greek, Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Hittite and Tocharian, Phrygian merged the old palatovelars with plain velars in a first step. However, as happened in Tocharian and the Romance languages, Phrygian subsequently also merged the old labiovelar with the plain velar (the etymological and the resulting ones), and in contact with palatal vowels (/e/ and /i/) some consonants became palatalised. These two secondary processes lend Phrygian the guise of a *satəm* language.

2. In the attested positions, Phrygian shows the same reflexes as the old PIE laryngeals found in Greek, including the so-called “prothetic vowel” (see § 4.1.2.2.3). This feature is also shared with Armenian (Martirosyan 2010, 714–716, also 2013, 89).

3. The PIE sibilant /s/ is lost at the beginning of a word and in intervocalic position. Phrygian, as well as Greek, Armenian and Albanian, has lost the sibilant /s/ at the beginning of the word and in intervocalic position. Note, however, that this feature is also shared with Lycian, so it is not a very significant for our question.<sup>179</sup>

4. The PIE suffix *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>* yields *-iya* in OPhr. *niptiya* (B-05), a development also found in some conditions in Greek (Myc. *-iya* > *-ia*) and in Tocharian (PIE *\*ḡ-ḡneh<sub>3</sub>-tih<sub>2</sub>* ‘ignorant’ > *\*ḡ-ḡnō-tyḡ* > PTo. *āknātsā* > ToB *aknātsa*, cf. Latin *ignōtus* ‘unacquainted with a thing, ignorant of’). In other languages, such as Arm. and Ir. it appears as *-ī*: compare *πότνια* ‘mistress’ (Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja*) < *\*potnih<sub>2</sub>* with Ved. *pātni* ‘mistress, goddess’, Y.Av. *paθnī-* and Old Lith. *vieš-patni* ‘housewife’.

#### 4.5.2. Morphological isoglosses

1. The compound pron. *\*h<sub>2</sub>eṷ-to-* is only found in Greek *αὐτός* and Phr. *αυτος*. Albanian has an adverb derived from the zero-grade of this formation: *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-tó-* > *hut* ‘in vain’ (compare with Greek *αὐτως* ‘in this very manner, even so, in vain’, Demiraj 1997, 59). A similar formation is Alb. *áy* ‘this, he’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eṷ-so-* (Demiraj 1997, 70 and Matzinger 2005, 384).

2. Phrygian seem to share with Greek the existence of a suffix *\*-eṷ-* / *-ēṷ-*: Gr. *-εὺς* / *-έως* (Epic *-ῆος*), Phr. *-avos* (thematised). As happens in Greek, the Phrygian forms with this suffix are titles whose origin is not always clear: *akenan-ogavos* (‘the holder of the *akenan*’? M-01a, W-01a; sg.acc.fem.? *ākinanogavaḡ* M-04; cf. Greek *ὄχεύς*, *-έως*, Epic *-ῆος*) and *proitavos* (M-01b, M-02).

3. Phrygian shares the *e*-augment with Greek, Arm. and Ir.: compare 3sg.aor. PIE *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)é-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-t* ‘(s)he put’, OPhr. *e-da-es*, Greek *ἔ-θη-κα*, Armenian *e-d* and Skt. *á-dhā-t*. This is a very significant morphological isogloss, according to Martirosyan (2013, 90).

3. Phrygian perfect participles are built through the PIE suffix *\*-mh<sub>1</sub>no-*, as well as Greek (*-μενος*). The exact form is also found in ToA *-mām*, ToB *-mane* and Prakrit *-mina-* (slightly different to Skt. *-a-māna-*, Av. *-a-mna-*) and frozen in some Lat. words such as *alumnus* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>al-omh<sub>1</sub>no-*) or *fēmīna* (< *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-mh<sub>1</sub>nah<sub>2</sub>-*).

4. Despite the phonetic problems discussed in § 4.1.2.2.3, the prohibitive pcl. *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* is found in Phrygian as *me* / *με*, as well as in Arm. *mi*, Skt. *mā*, Av. *mā*, Gr. *μή*, Alb. *mo* and ToAB *mā* (also used for simple negation ‘no’ in To.).

5. Phrygian pcl. *ni(y)* / *vī* is also found in Pamph. *καί vī* + imperv. (Pamph. 3, see Brixhe 1976, 131–132), although its use in both languages is different.

<sup>179</sup> Gusmani 1959b, 13–14 considered that Phrygian and Lycian were in contact when this sound disappeared. However, it is not necessary since this loss takes place in many unrelated languages.

6. In the light of  $\upsilon\psi\omicron\delta\alpha\nu$  ‘above, on the top’, Phrygian also has a loc. pcl.  $*-d^h\eta$  attested in some Greek dialects as  $-\theta\alpha$  (e.g. Aeol.  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma-\theta\alpha$  ‘before’).

7. A Greek innovation shared with Phrygian is found in the sg.nom. of PIE  $*m\acute{e}gh_2-$  ‘big’, where both languages added the ending  $-s$ : compare OPhr. *mekas* and Greek  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}γας$  with Skt. *máhi* and Arm. *mec*.

8. In the Phr. corpus two denominative verbs are found: *kakoi* (G-02c, also *kakuioi* P-04b; see Lejeune 1969b, 299) and *kuryaneyon* (W-01c). The first is a verb in  $-o-yo-$  derived from an  $o$ -stem noun, *kako-*, while the second is in  $-e-yo-$ , derived from an  $o$ -stem noun, although only attested in Greek  $\kappa\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\omicron\upsilon$ . In both cases one cannot rule out an early Greek borrowing dated to Myc. times. However, there is no phonetic reason to rule them out as Phrygian cognates of the Greek forms.

### 4.5.3. Lexical isoglosses

4.5.3.1. A derived noun  $*b^hoh_2-t-$  /  $*b^heh_2-t-$  from the PIE verbal root  $*b^heh_2-$  ‘to shine’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 68–69, IEW 104–105) has been largely considered to yield in Greek  $\varphi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\varphi\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  ‘man, mortal, hero’ (Peters 1993, 101–108 and Vijūnas 2009, 72–76, following a previous suggestion by Brugmann & Delbrück 1906, 536; NIL 7). Recently, such a formation has been claimed for the Phrygian DN  $\beta\alpha\varsigma$  (see Obrador-Cursach 2017).

4.5.3.2. The formation  $*(h_1)en-m\acute{e}n-$  (LIPP II, 234) derived from  $*men$  ‘stand fast, remain’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 437, IEW 729) appears in the Greek adverb  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  ‘unceasing’ and Phrygian *iman* (sg.dat. *inmeney*, B-05) according to Vine (2010). It is also found in OIr. *ainmne* ‘patience’.

4.5.3.3. Although the root  $*ǵ^h_3-$  ‘green, yellow’ is found in Greek  $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  ‘greenish-yellow, pale green’, in Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus* ‘green plants, vegetables, cabbage’, in Skt. *hari-* ‘fallow, greenish’ (used in compounds), etc., the formation  $*ǵ^h_3-r\acute{o}-$  is only found in Greek  $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  and Phrygian  $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  ‘golden’ (MPhr-01 l. 2 identified by Brixhe 2004a, 17 through the Hesychius gloss  $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$  659).

4.5.3.4. Here, OPhr. *keneman* ‘cavity, niche’ (M-01b) is suggested to derive from  $*ken-e/o-$  ‘empty’, a form found in Gr.  $*ken(e)-\mu\acute{o}-$  ‘empty, idle’ (Att.  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Ion.  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Epic and Dor.  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) and Armenian *sin*, *sn-oy* ‘empty’.<sup>180</sup> Previously, *keneman* was considered to derive from  $*keh_1-$ , attested in Sanskrit *khánati* ‘to dig’ (Lubotsky 1988, 15 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189 and 192–193), but this root is not found out of IIr.

4.5.3.5. The PIE verb  $*sleh_2g^u-$  ‘take hold of, grasp’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 566, IEW 958) was only attested in Greek  $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  ‘id.’ until Lubotsky (2004, 234–235) equated to Phrygian *lakedo* (W-01b).

4.5.3.6. The stem *koru-* (perhaps derived from  $*kerh_3-$  ‘grow’ LIV<sup>2</sup> 329, IEW 577) is a Greek peculiarity attested in  $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\eta$  ‘young girl, daughter’,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  ‘boy’ (EDG 752–753) but recently it has also been identified in MPhr.  $\kappa\omicron\rho\omicron-$  (MPhr-01, Lubotsky 2017). A borrowing in the prehistory of the both languages cannot be altogether ruled out.

<sup>180</sup> EDG 672, Clackson 1994, 138–139 and Martirosyan 2010, 575 and 2013, 116.

Table 34 Comparison of Phrygian features with Greek, Armenian, Albanian and Indo-Iranian (grey files indicate that a borrowing cannot be totally ruled out)

	Phrygian feature	Greek	Armenian	Albanian	Indo-Iranian
Phonetic	“prothetic vowels”	+	+	?	-
	Loss of /s/	+	+	+	-
	Centum treatment	+	-	-	-
	*-ih <sub>2</sub> > -iya	+	-	+	-
Morphological	e-augment	+	+	+	+
	*-eu- / *-ēu-	+	-	-	-
	*-d <sup>h</sup> η	+	-	-	-
	*h <sub>2</sub> eu-to-	+	-	+	-
	*mégh <sub>2</sub> -s	+	-	-	-
	*meh <sub>1</sub>	+	+	+	+
	*-mh <sub>1</sub> no-	+	-	-	-
	ni(y) /v <sub>1</sub>	+	-	-	-
	verbs in -o-yo-	+	-	-	-
	verbs in -e-yo-	+	-	-	-
Lexical	*b <sup>h</sup> oh <sub>2</sub> -t- / *b <sup>h</sup> eh <sub>2</sub> -t-	+	-	-	-
	*(h <sub>1</sub> )en-mén-	+	-	-	-
	*ǵ <sup>h</sup> h <sub>3</sub> -ró-	+	-	-	-
	ken-	+	+	-	-
	*sleh <sub>2</sub> g <sup>h</sup> -	+	-	-	-
	*koru-	+	-	-	-

## 4.6. Phrygian in contact

Because Phrygian was spoken in central Anatolia and was surrounded by many languages, as well as several ruling peoples, it came into contact with several languages, mainly Greek and some Anatolian tongues (Hittite, Luwian, Lydian and Lycian), but also with Assyrian, Aramaic, Old Persian, Elamite, Galatian and Latin. In this chapter, this contact will be considered language by language.

### 4.6.1. Phrygian in contact with Greek

Leaving aside prehistoric contacts between Greek and Phrygian, which are difficult to ascertain, Greek is present to a varying degree in the whole history of the Phrygian language, from the adaptation of the alphabet to the time of the NPhr. inscriptions. This presence is manifested in bilingual inscriptions, loanwords, onomastics and even in the use of Greek verse patterns in Phrygian. The relationship between Greek and Phrygian was not unidirectional, since a Phrygian influence can be perceived in borrowings into Greek and in the language of the Greek inscriptions from Phrygia.<sup>181</sup>

#### 4.6.1.1. Greco-Phrygian bilingual inscriptions

All Phrygian bilingual inscriptions are Greco-Phrygian, with the sole exception of an Aramaic-Phrygian graffito on a sherd (G-157). The oldest Greco-Phrygian inscription (B-05) appeared in Vezirhan, Bithynia. It is engraved on a Greco-Persian stele and consists of 13 long lines of Phrygian text and 7 shorter lines of Greek under a relief depicting a goddess, a banquet and a hunting scene. Because of the great difference between the length of the two texts, it is clear that they are not word-for-word translations. Indeed, it is assumed that the Phrygian text was the original while the Greek was added sometime later as a summary of the Phrygian. Moreover, this addition is shown by the position of the Greek text, which was engraved in the empty space of the stele in two parts, one (l. 1-5) above the Phrygian text and the other below (l. 6-7). The clearest correspondences between the content of the two texts can be seen in Table 35.<sup>182</sup>

Table 35 Equivalences between the Phrygian and Greek texts of B-05

Phrygian text		Greek text	
L. 1	<i>sinət imenən kaliya ti tedat[...]</i> 'this monument Kallias erect[ed]'	L. 1-3	Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς ΗΓΗΜΑΣ ἀνέ θῆκεν. 'Kallias son of Abiktos erected this'
L. 8-9	<i>yos niy art sinət imenən kaka oskavos kakey   kan dedasitiy tubetiv</i> 'whoever does harm around this monument...'	L. 3-4	Ὅστις περι   τὸ ἱερόν κακουρ<γ>ετήσαι 'Whoever harms around this holy place'
L. 11	<i>torvetun ↑iray</i> 'cutting by his hand?'	L. 4-5	ἔ δρῶν   ἐκόψαι 'or cuts a tree'

The difference between this text and the other bilingual inscriptions is that it contains similar information, although the Greek text is a summary of the Phrygian. Note, however, that the Greek text mentions the name of the promotor's father, Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς, while this information is not found in the Phrygian version, where only *kaliya* is mentioned. Simon (2015)

<sup>181</sup> This chapter is based on Obrador Cursach fthc. c. On the relationship between Phrygian and Greek, see Neumann 1988.

<sup>182</sup> For a deeper analysis of this important monument see Hämmig 2013, followed here.

also equated the last Phrygian line, *yos isekosos ↑emeney dupratoy veban ituv*, to the conclusive Greek blessing in lines 6-7, *καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ' ἄδε ἦκοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ* 'and who coming here reads it, many and good things to him'. Although Simon defends his hypothesis with an etymological analysis of each word, based on a good knowledge of Phrygian historical phonetics, the occurrence of *veban* in the NPhr. inscription 2.2. (130, firstly edited by Avram 2015) invalidates the equation of the two texts, since in NPhr. this word clearly refers to the monument (a memorial in the shape of altar) or a part of it: *αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρεις σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη* 'if<sup>7</sup> the parents put this *veban* in this place...'. Indeed, *ουεβαν* must be equated to *μνημόσυνον* 'memorial' in the Greek part of this NPhr. inscription (Face A). Consequently, a Phrygian counterpart of *καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ' ἄδε ἦκοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ* seems to be lacking. In any case, despite the excellent analysis given by Hämmig (2013) of lines 8-13 (the imprecativ part of the text), most of this large inscription remains obscure.

The Vezirhan stele is the only Greco-Phrygian bilingual inscription in the whole OPhr. subcorpus. By Roman times, however, most NPhr. inscriptions are bilingual, although commonly the epitaph proper is written in Greek, while the Phrygian is restricted to a formulaic curse, usually in a secondary position.<sup>183</sup> So, both parts of these funerary texts are independent clauses and the Phrygian curses were added systematically as a formula.<sup>184</sup> Only five texts of the 63 bilingual inscriptions from Roman times show a real connexion between the Greek and the Phrygian texts:

1.1. (= 48, from Dorylaion) [---]. | ε[.]γεντουμενος | νιοισιος ναδροτος | ειτου. μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμοροειος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνα. | δουμε κε οι ουεβαν αδδακετ ορου|αν, παρεθεμην το | μνημειον τοις προ|γεγραμμενοις θε|οις κε τη κωμη | ταυθ' ο πατηρ | 'Ασκληπιος. '[Phrygian] let him become ε[.]γεντουμενος, νιοισιος [two obscure adjectives] and impotent<sup>7</sup>. Mitrapata and Mas Timbrogic and Bas Pontic were appointed. And for (the care of) the religious community the 'father' has put his (tomb)stone. [Greek] The father Asklepios put this memorial under the protection of the gods written above and the community'.<sup>185</sup>

1.2. (98 = MAMA V Lists I no. 182.89, from Dorylaion) Κλωδία | Σοφοκλέ|ως θυγά|τηρ καὶ Τερ|τίας· παρ|θένε, χαῖρε. δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου '[Greek] Clodia the daughter of Sofocles and Tertias. Hail maiden! [Phrygian] (Her) parents set it up as a vow'.

2.2 (= 130, from Nacoleia) [Face A] Βρογιμαρος Ἐπικράτου | Διὶ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρί|α εὐχήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυ|τῷ μνημόσυνον. | αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρεις σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη | γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου | αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο|[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, τιττετι|[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ|αν τιαν. [Face B] Εὐξάμενος πρὸς ἔπ|ος ἱεραῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἐν|γελάον ἐγὼ πάτρη τε | [γόν]οις μου, χεῖρ ὑπὲρ Ι|[.]Α[.....]εχειν | [---]λακεδο<v>ων μνηγε|[---]ροιο δάμαρτος Ο|[---]ΟΜωΕΙ δοξ' Ἀριστο|[---]ΝΕΠ[---]. [Face C] .Ο..ΜΕ [---] | υἱὸς [---] | ..Π.....Η [---] | γλυκερω[.]ΑΠΟ [---]. [Face D] [..]ΕΝ[- -] Βρογιμα|ρος ἐγὼ μεγάλου Διὸς | ἀρητήρ ἔ|[ν]θα μένω | ἱεροῖς ἐνὶ καρποῖς | ΜΗΠΞΟ ΑΝΑ - - Ο...|ΟΞ- - - - Α...Ε..Υ|ΑΣ..ΑΝ - - - - Α - - |.Ο...ΟΥ. '[Translation of the Greek text, l. 1-4:] '[Greek A:] Brogimaros (son) of Epikrates (dedicates) to Zeus of Brogimaros and to Kyria (his wife) a prayer; and he (dedicates) also the tomb for himself'. [Phrygian] If<sup>7</sup> the parents put this tomb in this place, ... If anybody does harm to this place and

<sup>183</sup> Only in two inscriptions, 14.1 (122) and 59.1 (72), does the Phrygian formula precede the Greek epitaph.

<sup>184</sup> This is the disposition of texts in 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 17.1 (4bis), 17.4 (90), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 20.2 (128), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 23.1 (89), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 31.1 (125), 33.1 (28), 33.3 (127), 34.1 (37), 37.1 (10), 40.1 (12), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 46.1 (53), 47.1 (51), 48.1 (81), 48.2 (84), 48.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 53.1 (76), 53.3 (109), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 57.1 (78), 59.1 (107), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (82), 65.1 (20), 65.3 (21) and 65.4 (124). It must be added that in 58 the Greek epitaph is followed by a non-imprecativ Phrygian text, but with an exhortation against burying someone else in the tomb. Note also that many of the inscriptions consisting of a Phrygian curse very likely originally followed a Greek text, which was lost as these funerary monuments deteriorated.

<sup>185</sup> This tentative translation is based mainly on the analysis of this inscription by Lubotsky (1997). Here, 'father' seems to be used as a priest title.



commonly attached to epitaphs in Anatolia in order to preserve the funerary monument against desecrators. There are hundreds of such texts written in Greek, mostly dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, so they were contemporaneous to the NPhr. inscriptions. Curses were so popular that they even survived the expansion of Christianity.<sup>190</sup> Although new inscriptions have been found, Strubbe (1997) provided a very useful corpus of the Greek curses which contains an excellent analysis. By compiling and classifying all of the different formulae attested in Greek inscriptions, he created a priceless source of information that can be compared with the Phrygian inscriptions.

Indeed, the common NPhr. protasis  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu \kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu \alpha\delta\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$  ‘whoever does harms to this tomb’ occurs in Greek as  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu \kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\varsigma \pi\omicron\eta\sigma\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega \mu\eta\acute{\nu}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  (Strubbe 1997, no. 193, from Appia-Soa). However, the most common variant of this north Phrygian curse formula (Strubbe 1997, 285-288) is  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha \tau\eta\nu \beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\theta\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$  ‘whoever lays a hand with heavy envy (on this tomb)’. The presence of the hand is also found once in the NPhr. protasis of 59.4 (106):  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu \kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu \alpha\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tau \zeta\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\iota$  ‘whoever does harm to this tomb with the hand’. They are not word-for-word versions of the same text, but both the Greek and Phrygian inscriptions contain the same idea and it is possible that the variants are affected by the metrics of the Greek imprecations.

Phrygian formulae of apodoses are also found in Greek epitaphs. According to Hämmig (f.c., followed by Obrador-Cursach 2017),  $\beta\alpha\varsigma \iota\omicron\iota \beta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma \mu\epsilon \beta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau$  ‘let Bas not produce bread (= food) to him’ (7.2 = 111 and 8.1 = 86) and  $\mu\epsilon \kappa\epsilon \omicron\iota \tau\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\iota \beta\alpha\varsigma \beta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  ‘let Bas not give bread to him’ (7.1 = 99) have a Greek counterpart in  $\mu\eta\delta\grave{\epsilon} \gamma\eta \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\omicron\iota\tau\omicron \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$  ‘neither the earth produce fruit to him’ (Strubbe 1997, no. 76),  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\prime \eta \gamma\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\text{-}\omega\text{-}\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta$  (no. 121),  $\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\epsilon$ ]  $\eta \gamma\eta \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (no. 122),  $\mu\eta \gamma\eta \dots \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\omicron\iota\eta$  ‘neither the earth provides fruit’ (153),  $\mu\eta \gamma\eta \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu \epsilon\kappa\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota$  (155)  $\mu\eta\delta\grave{\epsilon} \gamma\eta \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (357),  $[\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\epsilon \gamma\eta]$  ...  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota$  (368),  $\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\epsilon \gamma\eta \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota \dots \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (369),  $\mu\eta\delta\grave{\epsilon} \gamma\eta \dots \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu \text{-}\alpha\text{-}\upsilon\tau\omega \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\nu\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omega$  (374),  $\mu\eta \text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\eta\iota$  [ $\eta \gamma\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota$ ]  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (377) and  $\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\epsilon \gamma\eta \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\alpha\iota$  (385). Also, the common NPhr. formula  $\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \tau\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\mu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$  ‘let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men’ is found in Gr. as  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \grave{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ‘id.’ (Teos 186, see § 4.6.2.2 for its Luwian origin).

#### 4.6.1.3. Greek borrowings in Phrygian

It is not always easy to decide if a Phrygian word is shared with or borrowed from Greek. Only when a phonetic rule or morphological feature restricted to Greek occurs can one be completely sure that a word is a loanword and not an inheritance. This issue is illustrated in the classic discussion of Midas’ titles in the inscription W-01a: *lavagtaei* and *vanaktei*. Are they shared with Greek or early borrowings into Phrygian? Because of the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung*, *lavagtaei* can now be considered a Greek borrowing, but *vanakt-* (sg.nom. *vanak* M-04 and sg.acc. *ουανακταν* 6.1 = 88) is ambiguous. Greek  $(\rho)\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta\text{-}, \text{-}\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (Myc. *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/) does not have a clear origin and is commonly considered a “substrate word” (EDG 98-99). Perhaps Greek shares this substrate with Phrygian, but in the light of *lavagtaei*, it is likely that it was also borrowed from Greek.<sup>191</sup> A similar case is *kuryaneyon*, W-01c, also a title. According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187), it is a Myc. loanword (borrowed before the metathesis *\*kori-* > *κοιρ-* and the loss of

<sup>190</sup> See, e.g., the reliquary of the martyr Trophimos in (SEG 6.343, 30.1494, see Guarducci 1978, 390-392):  $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha \tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha \mid \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu \delta\grave{\epsilon} \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha \tau\grave{\alpha} \acute{\omicron}\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \mid \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta \pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}, \mid \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega \mid \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau[\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\nu\text{-}] \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$  ‘here within are (the) bones of the martyr Trophimos; if anyone, at any time, should throw out these bones, that person shall be answerable to God’ (translation by Tabbernee 1997, no. 35).

<sup>191</sup> Brixhe in several papers (Brixhe 1990, 73-75; Brixhe 1993, 340-341; Brixhe 1994, 176-177; Brixhe 2002b, 257) considered that Phrygian *vanakt-* and Greek  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta\text{-}, \text{-}\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  are cognates and, consequently, represent proof of the relationship between the two languages. However, as can be seen, this relationship is not so clear and does not constitute a valid argument with which to establish the position of Phrygian. Recently, Petrakis 2016, 104-105 also argued that the Phrygian word is borrowed from Greek.

*yod*, as found in alphabetic Greek κοιρανέων, present ptc. of κοιρανέω).<sup>192</sup> However, leaving aside the fact that one title is borrowed (*lavagtaei*), there is no phonetic or morphological reason to rule out the possibility that Phrygian *kuryaneyon* is a cognate of Greek κοιρανέων, since Phrygian *kury-* fits as inherited from PIE *\*kori-* and there are deverbative Phrygian verbs at least in *-oy-*, as *kakoioi* (from *κακουν*) shows.

Aside from these titles, there are two probable Greek borrowings in the OPhr. inscriptions. The first is *stālʹa* (B-06), considered here a borrowing from Aeol. *στάλλα* ‘stele’ (better than Dor. *στάλα*, suggested by Vassileva 1995, 28-29). However, the context is obscure so this identification cannot be more than a possibility. The second is *krāniyas* (B-05, sg.gen.), an epithet of Artemis suggested to be derived from Aeol. *κράννα* ‘spring, fountain’ (Att.-Ion. *κρήνη*, Dor. *κράνα*).

Clear Greek loanwords are more frequent in the NPhr. corpus (some are also found in MPhr.) and most of them refer to parts of the funerary monuments, as can be seen in the following list:

- ακροδμαν (16.1 = 116), despite not being found in Greek, it seems a clear Greek formation parallel to *μεσό-δμη* ‘crossbeam’ (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 172), built with the element *ἄκρος* ‘at the farthest point or end, topmost’ and *-δμη-* ‘house’ (derived from *δέμω* ‘build’).
- θαλαμει ‘funerary chamber’ (18.1 = 4) was clearly borrowed from Greek *θαλάμη* ‘a lurking-place, den, hole cave’ (Brixhe 1978b, 5).
- κορο- (κορο MPh-01 and κορου 27.1 = 92) is borrowed from Greek *χώρος* ‘a definite space, piece of ground, place’ and in Phrygian may refer to the space devoted to the tomb. It also appears in a derived noun: *κορο[υ]μανη* (2.2 = 130, with the suffix *-man*).
- λατομειον (11.2 = 18) is a loanword from Greek *λατομείον* (also spelled *λατόμιον* and *λατομής*) ‘stone-quarry’ (following Woodhouse 2006, 182), used with the meaning ‘grave’ at least in inscriptions from Perinthos (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup> 13218* or *CIG 2032*, see Robert 1974, 238-239).
- σορο- (σοροι MPhr-01 and σορου 65.3 = 21, 65.4 = 124) is considered a borrowing from Greek *σορός* *-ου* ‘cinerary urn’ by Brixhe (Brixhe 2002b, 258); it must be noted that in Anatolia this word is used for ‘sarcophagus’ (Kubińska 1968, 32-35).

In addition to these kinds of terms, we also find six more borrowings:

- ανανκαι (62.4 = 35) is very likely the Greek noun *ἀνάγκη* ‘force, constraint, necessity’.
- αωρω (6.1 = 88) is a clear borrowing from Greek *ἄωρος*, *-ον* ‘untimely, unseasonable’ (this interpretation is corroborated by the Greek part of the inscription).
- εγουννου (2.2 = 130) was identified by Avram (2015, 211) as a borrowing from Greek *ἔγγονον* ‘descendant’ (it also appears in the Greek text of this inscription).
- ειλικρινη (2.2 = 130) is a clear borrowing from Greek *εἰλικρινής*, *-ές*, ‘unmixed, without alloy, pure’ (also found in the Greek part of the inscription, see Avram 2015, 14-15).
- ζως (43.1 = 69) is the less clear loanword, but it seems to be borrowed from the Greek *ζῶς* ‘alive, living’.
- τις (28.1 = 71) and τι (30.1 = 39) is the Greek indefinite pron. *τις*, *τι* ‘any one, anything’ used instead of the Phrygian cognate *ki-*. This grammatical borrowing, only found in NPhr., shows how intense the relationship between Greek and Phrygian was in Roman times.

As can be seen, Greek *o*-stems are rendered as their etymological counterpart in Phrygian. However, Greek nouns in *-ης* appear as Phrygian *a*-stems. It remains unclear whether this is a phonetic adaptation or if these words were early borrowings from the Aeol. dialect,

<sup>192</sup> On the other hand, Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 128) interpreted it as a noun in sg.acc. without explaining either its meaning or its origin.

which preserved the original sound of the old *a*-stems. The second option seems preferable because the noun θαλάμη and the adj. ειλικρινής, -ές are inflected as C-stems in Phrygian, θαλαμει and ειλικρινη respectively.

#### 4.6.1.4. Greek personal names in Phrygian

Several Greek PNs are found in Phr. inscriptions from all stages of the language: 5 in OPhr., 2 in the MPhr. inscription MPhr-01 and 4 in NPhr. This is the list of the identified and possible Greek PNs in the Phrygian corpus:

*arkia-* (M-01a) was found under the patronymic form *arkiaevais* and is very likely borrowed from Greek Ἀρχίας.

δορυκα[νος] (2.1 = 15), despite damage to the inscription at the end of the word, is restored in the light of two Greek inscriptions (Hierapolis I p and MAMA I 308, where Δορυκανος and its dat. Δορυκανωι occur, see KPN 152 § 302-1).

εκατηας (16.1 = 116) was identified by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 175) as the Greek PN Ἐκαταία. The Phrygian rendering shows the form Ἐκατέα (with the common monophthongation) found in some Greek inscriptions such as IK Laodikeia am Lykos 116 (from Phrygia) or Erythrai 152 (from Ionia).

ερμω[λ]αος (16.1 = 116) is the Greek PN Ἐρμόλαος, well attested in Phrygia (e.g., MAMA V R 2), as well as the whole of Anatolia.

*iketaios* (W-02) very likely derives from the Greek PN Ἰκέτας.

*kaliya* (dat. *kaliyay*, B-05) corresponds to Καλλίας in the Greek part of this bilingual inscription.

κλευμαχοι (MPh-01 = W-11) is clearly the PN Κλεόμαχος (Κλευ- instead of Κλεο- occurs once in the Greek inscription from Caria IK Rhod. Peraia 302, but it is more frequent in Central Greece and the Aegean Islands).

λευκις (11.2 = 18, dat. *λευκιωι*) renders the common Greek name Λεύκιος, taking thematic inflection despite the nom. form (with the shift -ιο- > -ι- also found in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia).

*muksos* (G-346) is the Greek name Μόψος ~ Μόξος (Myc. *mo-qa-so* and *mo-qa-so-jo*) also found in HLUw. *Muksasa-* (the bilingual KARATEPE I §21) and Phoenician *mpš* (in the same inscription).

νικοστρατος (MPh-01 = W-11) is clearly the Greek PN Νικόστρατος.

*pse<sup>?</sup>keyoy* (Dd-101, if it is not read as *pseu<sup>?</sup>keyoy*) can be equated to Greek Σπερχειός, a PN found in Roman Caria (Tralles 83, the form Σπερχύλειος is attested in Ephesos and Smyrna and Σπερχίς in Thessalia).

The DN διουονσιν (6.1 = 88) can be added to the list of Greek onomastics in Phrygian, since it is clearly related to Διόνῳσος. However, its spelling is problematic, as it seems to show a syncope διόνῳσ- > \*διονσ- > διουον- and the thematic ending spelled with -ι- instead of the common -ου- seen in σεμιν (53.1 = 76 and 61.1 = 100) for σεμουον (see Lubotsky 1989b, 153, against Brixhe 1999, 308, who did not rule out a “théonyme autochtone”).

#### 4.6.1.5. Phrygian borrowings in Greek

There are many Phrygian words in Ancient Greek works. However, most of them are names (anthroponyms, DN and toponyms), mere glosses in *lexica* or are identified as Phrygian,

not Greek. Consequently, only a few words can be considered true borrowings in Greek.<sup>193</sup> Some of these are clear because the words occur in the Phr. epigraphic corpora. This is the case of βεῦδος ‘woman’s dress, statue’, a borrowing from OPhr. *bevδος* ‘statue’ (B-05, see Lubotsky 2008) introduced into the Greek literary tradition by the Lesb. poetry (Sappho 155). Also, δοῦμος ‘cultic association’ is a Phrygian borrowing attested as *duman* (B-01, sg.acc.) and δοῦμε (1.1 = 48, sg.dat.). The Greek form is attested for the first time in Hipponax 40.2 and occurs in the work of other poets, however it is mainly documented in Greek inscriptions (see Polito 2004). Another Phrygian word in Greek literature is γλουρός, -οῦ ‘gold’, used by Besantinus in his famous *Bomos* calligram (AP 15.25,7). The first Phrygian inscription written in the Greek alphabet (W-12) confirmed the gloss of H. γ 659: γλούρεα χρύσεια. Φρύγες <καὶ> γλουρός χρυσός ‘g.: ‘golden things. Phrygians. Also g.: gold’. Indeed, the Phrygian word γλουρεος is a cognate of Greek and both go back to PIE *\*ǵʰh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘green, yellow’. Less clear is the status of ἄκολος ‘bit, morsel’ (*Od.* 17.222), which has been claimed to come from Phrygian ακκαλος (54.1 = 76, 63.2 = 33 and 55.1 = 108, ακαλα 4.1 = 2). Its etymon is unclear. However, I have suggested a borrowing from Assyrian *akalu* ‘bread’. In anycase, if both words share the same origin, the Greek form can only be explained as showing a vocalic dissimilation *a\_a > a\_o*.

Words which are not attested in the Phrygian inscriptions or in glosses are hard to detect. A possible example is κίκυς, -υος ‘strength, power’ (derivatives ἄκικυς, -υος ‘without strength weak’ and κικύω = ἰσχύω ‘to be strong’ *Hdn.Gr.* 2.533). This poetic word is suggested to be (non-IE) pre-Greek by Beekes (*EDG* 697), however Mihaylova (2016, 321, following Van Windekens 1956, 239-242) assumes that “it continues *\*ǵʷih<sub>3</sub>ǵʷu-* from the IE root *\*ǵʷieh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to live, life’ (*IEW* 467-469, *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 215), cf. with the same enlargement as Latv. *dzīga* ‘live’ and the Gm. formations *\*kwikwaz* ‘alive’: OE *cwic*, Oicel. *kvikr*, *kykr*, Germ. *keck* ‘bold’, etc. vs. Goth. *qius* ‘alive’ < *\*ǵʷih<sub>3</sub>ǵʷo-*”. As she observes (Mihaylova 2016, 313 fn. 14, following Müller 2007, 116-117), PGmc. *\*kwikwaz* is one of the core examples of Cowgill’s Law (at least *\*h<sub>3</sub>* became *k* between a sonorant and *w*), while Goth. *qius* is considered the result of a dissimilatory loss of the second stop. Nevertheless, languages of other branches show the velar enlargement of the root (Latv. *dzīga* ‘live’, Lat. *uigeō* ‘to be lively, be vigorous’ or the perf. *uixī* from *uiuō* ‘to live’). Although none of the many lexica and grammars that gloss this word provides its origin – it is, in any case, non-Greek and with a very restricted use in poetry (*Od.*, *Homeric Hymns*, some Aeschylus’ fragments, Theocritus, etc.) – a Phr. origin can be defended. Indeed, the development *\*ǵʷih<sub>3</sub>ǵʷu-* > κίκυς is expected in this language according to Lubotsky’s *Lautverschiebung* and our analysis of the labiovelars. The path of the borrowing from Phrygian to Greek can be found in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (s.u. ἄκικυς): ὁ δὲ Ἄλκαῖος, ὁμοίως Ὀμήρω τὸν ἰσχυρὸν κίκυν καλεῖ, ‘Alcaeus like Homer calls a strong man κίκυς’. Although the poem(s) where Alcaeus used the word κίκυς is (are) lost, this testimony establishes a parallel with the borrowing identified by Lubotsky (2008) of βεῦδος ‘woman’s dress, statue’, taken from OPhr. *bevδος* ‘statue’ (B-05) and introduced into the Greek literary tradition by the Lesb. poetry (Sappho 155). Unfortunately, κίκυς never occurs in the Phrygian corpus and this strong possibility cannot be corroborated. It is true that the OPhr. PN *kikos* G-284 can be taken as its derivative (< *\*kik̄yos*, gen.), but one cannot rule out a Greek origin for this name in the light of Κίκος or Κίκκος (see Brixhe 2002a, 45).

Finally, some remarks must be devoted to βέν(ν)ος ‘society of the faithful’. This noun and its derivatives βέν(ν)ιος (ad. said of Zeus, also as a PN Βενιος in NPhr. no. 66.1 = 103 and MAMA VII 214 and MAMA VII 214), βεννεΐταις ‘members of the βέν(ν)ος’ (pl.dat., MAMA X 304), βεννά<ρ>χην ‘head of the βέν(ν)ος’ (sg.acc. *IK Iznik* 1206) and βεννευε ‘celebrate the cult of the βέν(ν)ος’ (3sg. MAMA I 390) occur in inscriptions from northwest of Phrygia, also from Lydia,

<sup>193</sup> Although PN are not considered here, glosses are studied in § 6.

Bitynia, Galatia and Pisidia.<sup>194</sup> It is commonly accepted that it is a Phrygian word related somehow to OPhr. *benagonos* (G-116). Indeed, leaving aside this OPhr. word,<sup>195</sup> βέν(ν)ιος has been analysed in several ways but a satisfactory explanation of its origin is still lacking.

It was first considered a Galatian word by Cavedoni in the light of *benna*, a Gallic word found in Festus 32.14 and glossed in *Gloss. Lat.* 4.132: *Benna lingua Gallica genus uehiculi apellatur, unde uocantur combennones eadem benna sedentes* ‘In the Gallic language a sort of vehicle is said *benna*, so people sitting in a *benna* are called *combennones*’. This interpretation was followed by Deecked (1882, 385), who suggested that βέν(ν)ιος was a Greek transcription of *Bennius*, a PN considered Illyrian but derived from the Celtic word. Ramsay, in his influential works (1887, 511-512; 1888, 367 and 1895, 157, 183 and 188), followed the Celtic explanation, considering βέν(ν)ιος to mean ‘he who stands on a car’. However, this explanation is not congruent with the area in which the text was found or the representations of this god.

Neumann (1961, 44) suggested a Pisidian origin, despite the lack of arguments, but this was never subsequently taken up. A second relevant interpretation was suggested by Haas (1966, 160), who considered βένος a noun with the meaning ‘fertility offering’ in the light of the context in which καρποί ‘fruits’ also appears (see, e.g., *MAMA I* 390). Following this proposal, Şahin (1978, 786-790) considered that the epithet Βέν(ν)ιος was related to Zeus as the god of fertility and weather. The semantic of βένν- considered by this argument fits the rural context of Roman Phrygia, but the authors did not explain the origin of the word.

The reference study of Ζεύς Βέν(ν)ιος was provided by Drew-Bear and Naour (1990, 1987-1988), who gathered all the occurrences of βέν(ν)ιος and its derived words. According to them and Schwabl (1999), βένν- is a Phrygian term (because it occurs mainly in Phrygia) derived from a PIE root *\*bend-* ‘federation, association’<sup>196</sup> and the meaning of βένος is simply ‘cult association’. Nevertheless, the PIE root must be *\*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to tie’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 75, *IEW* 127). If indeed this is the etymology and it is a Phrygian word, the evolution of the cluster (PIE *\*-nd<sup>h</sup>-* > *-vv* can be related to the 3pl. ending, where *\*-nt-* occurs in NPhr. as <ττνν> and <νν> (see § 4.2.2.1.4).

Without considering the etymological problem, Eckhardt (2016, 165) suggests that the first meaning of βέννος in Phrygian was ‘festival’ or ‘festive gathering’, a word used “to designate cult communities, without a clear distinction between the participants of the feast and the feast itself”. However, in Roman times “some inhabitants of northern Phrygia adapted their indigenous terminology to match new social structures” and the word then was used for “formal organizations” with members (βεννεῖται) and a head (βεννάρχης), although both the original and the new meanings coexisted.

Recently, a new etymological possibility has been suggested by Opfermann (2017, 72 fn. 89). In his study of the PIE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>en-* ‘fruitful; fertility’, he considers that the expletive verb βῖνέω / βενέω ‘fuck’ derives from a noun *\*g<sup>h</sup>én-o(s)-* > (\*)βένος ‘fertilisation; pregnancy’. Consequently, βενέω may go back to *\*g<sup>h</sup>en-é(s)-i e/o-* ‘fertilise’ > βενέω ‘fuck’ (improving a first identification by de Lamberterie 1991). Although a noun (\*)βένος is reconstructed in the light of its derived verb, in an annotation he considers that this is the debated βέννος and, if it is the case, it may be a Thess. word introduced to Pisidia via the colony of Antioch. Note that in this city, a Magnesian colony, βέννος occurs with the meaning ‘fruit’. Indeed, the development

---

<sup>194</sup> On the occurrences and interpretations see Şahin 1978, 778-790, Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1987-1988 no. 19, Schwabl 1999 and Eckhardt 2016, 163-165.

<sup>195</sup> See Lubotsky 2004, 232 for a possible analysis.

<sup>196</sup> Even the Thracian goddess Βενδις is introduced in this discussion. On the etymology of this goddess see Oreshko 2013a, 86-87, who considers that the Thracian DN perhaps means ‘archer’.

\*g<sup>u</sup>en- > βέν- is only possible in Aeol. However, the word could come from Aeolis instead of Thessaly.

To sum up, two of the given interpretations of βέννος are still defensible: it goes back to \*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>- ‘to tie’ and means ‘cultic association’ (Drew-Bear and Naour, Schwabl and Eckhardt) or it goes back to \*g<sup>u</sup>en- ‘fruitful, fertility’ and is a borrowing from Greek (\*)βέννος with the meaning ‘fruit’ (Haas, Şahin and Opfermann). The first possibility does not explain the occurrence in the inscription from Pisidia, while the second does not take into account the geminated forms.<sup>197</sup>

#### 4.6.1.6. The Aeolic roll in the Greco-Phrygian contacts

Greek o-stems remained as o-stems in Phrygian, while the old Greek a-stems with the Attic-Ionian shift  $\bar{a} > \eta$  were inflected as consonant-stems in Phrygian in the light of θαλάμη > θαλαμει (4, sg.dat.).<sup>198</sup> On the basis of this example, we know that the Phrygian a-stem loanwords cannot be borrowed from Ionian, Attic or Koine and must instead come from a dialect which does not have the shift  $\bar{a} > \eta$ . From a phonetic and geographical point of view, Aeolic stands as the most likely origin for these borrowings. Indeed, the Aeol. dialect retained the original  $\bar{a}$  in all positions. Then, ανανκαι (35, sg.dat.) can be considered a borrowing from Aeol. ανάγκα (Alcaeus 75,6, 249,9 and 298,2) and *ṣalʿa* (B-06) from στάλλα (in inscriptions from Aeolis and Lesbos).<sup>199</sup> Even Artemis’ epithet *kraniyas* (B-05, sg.gen.) is very likely derived from Aeol. κρίννα ‘spring, fountain’ (Alcaeus Fr. 105,5, Att.-Ion. κρίνη, Dor. κῤῥῆνα). Although the word is not attested in Aeol., ακροδμᾶν (116), a formation parallel to μεσό-δμη ‘crossbeam’ (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 172), may be considered a likely Aeol. formation.

The contact with Phrygian is corroborated by the presence of at least one Phrygian word in Lesb. poetry. Indeed, Sappho is responsible of the diffusion of Phr. *bevδος* (B-05) and perhaps Alcaeus is the origin of the poetic use of the conflictive word κίκυς. In the light of this evidence, we must assume that a linguistic interaction took place in early historical times between Phrygia and Aeolia. Even Lesb. poetry seems to show this phenomenon, although since many texts were lost it is impossible to determine its scale.

In such a scenario, one wonders if the Phrygian shift \*-ans > -ais, \*-ons > -ois, also found in Aeol., is an areal feature which occurred at the same time in NW Anatolia at an uncertain proto-historical moment. Indeed, we know that in Lesbian it cannot be an old feature because it is not shared with Tessalian or Boeotian. Consequently, it is possible that the shift occurred in the historical territory of the Aeolians in contact with Phrygian.

Such a relationship between Aeolic and Phrygian is more likely when one considers the alleged Phrygian influence on Greek music, a discipline closely related to poetry. In Greek sources, many πρώτοι εὔρεταί of instruments and melodies are said to be Phrygian and new findings from Gordion (instruments such auloi and lyres, as well as depictions in figures and paintings) attest the strong relationship between Phrygians and music:

“These finds make it clear that over three centuries before Midas of Akragas won the aulos competition at Delphi or Euripides’ bacchants played Phrygian cymbals for Dionysos, the Phrygian court had vibrant musical accompaniment, and percussion instruments had been incorporated into

---

<sup>197</sup> In addition, if indeed \*g<sup>u</sup>en- ‘fruitful, fertility’ is the origin of βέννος, a Galatian word cannot be ruled out. Note that \*g<sup>u</sup>enh<sub>2</sub> ‘woman’ yields \*bena in Proto-Celtic, OIr. bé ‘id.’, OW ben ‘id.’, Gaul. *bnanom* ‘id.’ (pl.gen.), PNs *Bano[na]* and *Banonias* (sg.gen., see Matasovič 2009, 61). As far as I know, however, a form \*g<sup>u</sup>én-o(s)- is unattested.

<sup>198</sup> Note also that personal names in -es in Phrygian have hesitant inflection, see § 4.2.1.1.4.

<sup>199</sup> Vassileva 1995, 28-29 considered a borrowing from Dor., but there is no evidence for contacts between this branch of dialects and Phrygian.

Phrygian ritual. These finds support the primacy of Phrygia in invention myths by showing that two distinguishing musical instruments had already crystallized by the end of the ninth century, when Greeks began to learn and appropriate major technologies of the Near East, most notably the Phoenician alphabet.” (Holzman 2016, 541)

Nevertheless, the most interesting and evident connection is provided by the two sources which report that Midas married a princess from Kyme called Hermodike (Aristotle frag. 611, 37, Rose) or Demodike (Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* 9.83).

#### 4.6.2. Phrygian in contact with the Anatolian languages

##### 4.6.2.1. Contacts between Hittite and Phrygian?

Since Phrygians settled in the central highlands of Anatolia, a territory occupied by the Hittite Empire until its collapse (ca. 1175 BC), the Hitt. language has been considered the origin of some Phrygian words and personal names. However, the status of Hitt. in the last century of the empire is disputed<sup>200</sup> and it may already have been a dead language by the time the Phrygians entered Anatolian history. In any case, there is a gap of five centuries between the last Hittite texts and the first Phrygian inscriptions. Moreover, the only evidence of Hittite we have in Phrygian is two possible but problematic loanwords (other proposals are rejected in this dissertation) and some onomastic material. In the light of these few examples, and given the doubts about when Hittite died and Phrygian arrived in central Anatolia, it remains unclear whether Hittite and Phrygian were ever in contact or if these possible Hittite words were in fact transmitted via other languages influenced by Hittite.

The most likely Hittite loanword in Phrygian is *σωνναμ* (16.1 = 116), which was suggested to be a borrowing from Hitt. *šamāna*- ‘foundation(s); foundation deposit’ by Lubotsky (1993a, 132, followed by Gorbachov 2009, 106 fn. 32). This meaning fits the context in which *σωνναμ* occurs, a sequence of several nouns in the sg.acc. referring to different parts of the monument. However, there are two problems with this proposal: the shift *šā*- > *σων*- and the metathesis of its sonorants. Consequently, though it is a good working hypothesis it remains unclear.

Another noun suggested to have the same origin is *ploṛia* in *ploṛiatā*[---] (G-132), which Orel (1997a, 453) considered a loanword from Hittite <sup>DUG</sup>*pulluriya* ‘vessel’ (see e.g. *CTH* 476 § 22, 95). This meaning is possible because the inscription was incised on a fragment of a pitcher. Nevertheless, the segmentation of the graffito is unclear and so, by extension, is its interpretation.

In addition, Böker-Klähn (2000, 90, also Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 72-74) considered OPhr. *sikeneman* (M-01b) a loanword from “Syrian” *sikkanum* ‘sacred stone, baetilo?’ via Hitt. *sikkanu* ‘id.’. However, this Phrygian sequence is better explained as *si keneman* ‘this niche’ as Lubotsky suggested (see 1988, 15 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189 and 192-193). Indeed, the inscription M-01b very likely refers to the addition of a niche to the Midas’ façade.

The remaining material is onomastic. The Phrygian dynastic name *Midas* (M-01d-I, G-137, etc.) is commonly equated to *Mita*, the name of a king of Paḥḥuwa found in *CTH* 146 (16<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> c. BC). Following Burke (2001, 257), Berndt-Ersöz (2015, 112) has recently claimed that this name “can most certainly be derived from the Hittite word *mita*-”. Because the adj. *mit(t)a*-, *miti*- means ‘red’ in this language, she suggests a connection between such this most significant colour in the Anatolian religious tradition and the Phrygian royal family. She also suggests that the Greek noun *μίτος* ‘thread of the warp’ is related to Hitt. *mit(t)a*-. However, the histories of the Hittite and Greek words are difficult to follow (see Kloekhorst 2008, 583 and *EDG* 958-959, respectively) and the spelling of the dental is not consistent. Therefore, the origin of this name

<sup>200</sup> On this question see, e.g., Melchert 2005 and van de Hout 2006.

remains unclear and, considering how short it is, we cannot rule out that the similarity is a mere coincidence. A second royal name can be added to the discussion, since here *Urgi-* (in the patronymic gen. *urgitos* K-01 VI-VII a2) is suggested to follow the first part of the Hurrian name *Urḫi-Tešub* ‘Teshub is truth’ (*vel. sim.*) borne by Mursili III.

Other Phrygian PNs suggested to have Hittite origins are: *aiay* (G-319), equated to *Aya-* (LNH 23 § 3, see Brixhe 2002a, 75-76), *alis* (NW-102) and *ali-* (LNH 27-28 § 33-36, see Brixhe 2002a, 12).<sup>201</sup> In addition, *surgastoy* (Dd-102), also found in Lyd. as *śrkaštus*, was suggested to be derived from the Hitt. adj. *šarku-* / *šargaṽ-* ‘eminent, illustrious, powerful’ by Gusmani (1980-1981, 21-27; see also Beekes 2003, 19 fn. 21 with some remarks). However, this is a problematic issue (see § 4.6.2.3).

Finally, the discussion must take in the name of the Phrygian capital, Gordion. The name never occurs in the Phrygian corpus, appearing only in the Greek sources (Plb.l.c., Str. 12.5.3, 8.9, Plu.Alex. 18, Arr. An. 1.29.3, 2.3.1, etc). However, it is a productive Phrygian term in polionyms since some cities in Phrygia or surrounding areas are named after it: *Manegordo* (*Itinerarium Antonini* Wess. 142.2),<sup>202</sup> *Gordos* (latter *Iulia Gordos*, Lydia), Γορδίου κώμη (latter *Iouliopolis*, Sarılar) and *Gordiutichi* (= Γορδίου τεῖχος ‘Gordios’ fortress’, Liv. 38.13, Northern Caria). The etymology of this word is often considered to be the PIE word *\*g<sup>h</sup>(o)rdh-ó-*, attested in Skt. *grhá-* ‘house’, Goth. *gards* ‘house’, Lith. *gařdas* ‘fence, enclosure, stall’, OCS *gradъ* ‘wall, town, garden’, Alb. *gardh* ‘hedge, fence’, etc.). The form has also been compared to New Hittite *gurta-* ‘town, citadel, acropolis’, a word considered a Luw. borrowing (Kloekhorst 2008, 465). Because there is no evidence for the presence of Phrygians in central Anatolia in the last period of the Hittite Empire, a Phrygian borrowing to Hittite is unlikely.

According to Simon (2016, 196-197), *gurta-* is highly unlikely to go back to *\*g<sup>h</sup>rd<sup>h</sup>-ó-* or *\*g<sup>h</sup>or-tó-* and he suggested a ptc. of PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>er-* ‘(ab)schneiden, schnitzen’ (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 391): *\*k<sup>u</sup>r-tó-* > *gurta-*. Then, the origin of Luw. *gurta-* is inherited. In a recent paper (2017), he considers that Gordion is not related to Luw. *gurta-* but from a PN *\*Gordi-* (borne by the father of Midas according to Hdt. 1.14 and St.Byz.). Then, the main city of the Phrygians was perhaps named after one of his kings (Bryce 2012, 41), while the city of Μιδάειον (e.g. Str. 8.12) clearly derives from *Midas*. In addition, according to Simon (2017b), the PN attested in Luw. as *Kurtis* (e.g. BOHÇA 1.1) and in Neo-Assyrian as *Gurdīs* is a borrowing from the Phrygian *Gordi-*, as well as Γόρδιος, Γορδίας or Γορδίης in Greek.

#### 4.6.2.2. Contacts with Luwian and Luwic languages

Luwian is the Anatolian language that provided the greatest number of clear borrowings in Phrygian, including PNs, nouns and even one imprecative formula. This is not a surprising fact. At the beginning of Phrygian history (9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC), Gordion had an architectural style and many objects that were related to the Neo-Hittite states, where Luw. was a prestigious language. Even Phrygian stelae were found in *Tuwanuwa* / Tyana, the capital of Tabal. So, the contacts between Phrygians and Luwians were intense.

In the Phrygian corpus, the clearest element is the Phrygian calque of a Luw. imprecative apodosis, found elsewhere in NPhr. inscriptions. The HLuw. text, KARKAMIŠ A 3, line 4, reads as follows: *wa/i-sá- | DEUS-na-za | CAPUT-tá-za-ha | zí-na-na | (DEUS)TONITRUS-tá-tí-i | (LOQUI)tatará/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru* ‘and let him be made accursed by Tarhunzas among gods and

<sup>201</sup> The PN *masa* (K-01 VI-VII a2) is also attested in Hittite sources as <sup>m</sup>*Masa* (LNH 115 § 770, see also <sup>m</sup>*masa-muwa* LNH 115 § 771). However, this PN may be Luw. See § 4.6.1.2.

<sup>202</sup> Like many other toponyms, *Manegordo* appears in *Itinerarium Burdigalense* Wess. 575.2 as *mansio Malogordis*, a clear deformation (see, e.g., Wess. 575.1 *mansio Mnizos* instead of *Minizo*). I follow Cuntz’s edition of both *Itineraria* (1990 = 1929).

men'. It is rendered in Phrygian as με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε Τιη τιττετικμενος ειτου 'let him become accursed by Zeus in the sight of gods and men'.<sup>203</sup>

Phonetically, there is a very interesting common Luw. contraction *\*wa > u* (Rieken 2001) *memeuis* (T-02b) for *memevais* (M-01b and M-02) on one of the stelae from Tuwanuwa / Tyana.<sup>204</sup> See also <sup>m</sup>*Urawanni* > *urunis* (G-346). In Phrygian, there are three nouns borrowed from an unclear Luwic dialect. The first is *imroy* (B-01, o-stem sg.dat.), a loanword from Luwic *\*imro-*, a form attested in Luw. *im(ma)ra/i-* 'open country' found in HLuw. *i-mára/i* 'open country' and CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-* 'open country' (attested in the gen.adj.-stem *im(ma)rassa/i-*), also in the toponym <sup>URU</sup>*Im-ra-al-la* (see Melchert *CLL*, 89) and in the PN *Immara-ziti* 'steppe man' (*LNH* 78 § 450). Adiego (2011, 327) argued that it also occurs in Lyc. and Carian PNs under the forms *ipre-* (rendered in Greek as ιβρη-) and *m̃para-*. The second borrowing is τιαμα- '(burial) plot'? (with many spelling variants, τιαμα 15.1 = 120, τιαμας 7.3 = 14, 10.1 = 112, 21.2 = 43?, τιαμα 11.2 = 18, τιαμας 25.1 = 115 and τιαμας 9.1 = 87) which can be borrowed from a Luwic form close to CLuw. *t̃iamm(i)-* 'earth' (< *\*d̃jémo-* < PIE *\*d̃ǵ<sup>h</sup>em-*) (firstly proposed by Orel 1997a, 463). In any case, note that in *imro-* and τιαμα- there is no trace of the Luw. *i*-mutation. A third borrowing could be Luw. *gurta-* 'city', attested in some Phrygian polionyms, discussed above (§ 4.6.2.1).

The origin of the noun ουταν 'punishment, word, spell'? (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.) is less clear. Bayun and Orel (1989, 32) considered it a borrowing from Hitt. *uttar / uddan-* (n.) 'word, speech' or CLuw. *utar / utn-* 'word, spell'. Although this is very likely, the word derives from PIE *\*ueth<sub>2</sub>-* 'to say' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 694-695, see Kloekhorst 2008, 932-933) and one cannot rule out the possibility that it is an inherited Phrygian word derived from the PIE oblique form *\*uth<sub>2</sub>-én*.

Finally, the onomastic material is relatively abundant but sometimes ambiguous. The clearest Luw. PNs in the Phrygian corpus are: *ṭuvatis* (G-133, see Innocente 1997, 325) equated to *Tuwattis* (a dynastic PN from Tabal, see Weeden 2010), *ḫuliyas* (G-127, also in G-101) to HLuw. *ku-li-i(a) / kulija/* (read in the Surat kaya graffito no. 5 according to Oreshko 2013a, 361, simplification of *Kwa/i-li-i(a) / kwaliya/*, also found in Cappadocia as *Ku-li-a* *LNH* 97 § 612) and *urunis* (G-346) <sup>m</sup>*Urawanni* (an ethnic in origin, see Melchert 2013, 37). The PN *Vasus* (P-02, P-03 and P-05) is the hypocoristic of a Luwian PN such as *Wasurunti(ya)-* (MALATYA 1) or *Wasusarma-* (TOPADA § 2, *LNH* 207 § 1514). OP<sup>hr</sup>. *mamutas* G-229 (*bis*) has been considered to be Anatolian (Brixhe 2013, 58). Although the first element *ma-* is unclear, the second element *-mutas* seems to follow the Luwic form *\*muwata-* 'might, potency', which is very common in Anatolian onomastics: *Ṣuwatti-* (in Hittite texts, *LNH* 124 § 838), *Mute-* (Carian, Adiego 2007, 386), Μουτας (found in Greek inscriptions from Cilicia and Phrygia, *KPN* 339 § 989-2; see also Melchert 2013, 34), etc. In that case, note that the *i*-mutation is lacking from the Phrygian form. An exact parallel is found in Μαμοτης (from Lycia, Cau 2003), although there are some variants, including Μαμουσις (Cilicia, *KPN* 286 § 854), Μαμωτασις and Μαμοτασις (Pisidia, *KPN* 286 § 854-1 and 3). Nevertheless, OP<sup>hr</sup>. *mamutas* can also be considered an ethnic in the light of Μαμουτηνός (*SERP* 319,2 l. 71, 73 and 76, *KON* 363 § 761), a Greek ethnic attested in the lists of Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι (from Roman Pisidia).<sup>205</sup> Compare NP<sup>hr</sup>. Πονυτας (1.1 = 48) with Ποντανός (Haspels 1970, 338 n. 105), the ethnic of a village near Nacoleia.

The PN *masa* (K-01 VI-VII a2) occurs in Hittite as <sup>m</sup>*Masa* (*LNH* 115 § 770, see also <sup>m</sup>*masa-muwa* *LHN* 115 § 771) and in Roman times Μάσας (*KPN* 301 § 875-76; also 300 § 875-72 fem. PNs derived from it) occurs in Pisidia/Southern Phrygia, Lycia, Galatia and, recently, in Sicilia (see Lafli 2017, 166). It is very likely derived from the Luwic word *massan-* 'god', attested in CLuw.

<sup>203</sup> The first to propose the relationship between the two curses was Lubotsky 1997, 420. A Greek inscription from Teos can be added here: καὶ γενήσεται παρὰ | θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπικατά|ρατος 'let him become accursed in the sight of gods and men' (Strubbe 1997, no. 32).

<sup>204</sup> At this point, I want to thank Adiego for sharing with me the identification of the shift in this Phrygian word (in p.c. 05/10/2017).

<sup>205</sup> On these inscriptions see Blanco-Pérez 2016. Note that many Phrygian men are listed.

*mašša(i)-*, HLuw. DEUS-*n(i)-* (= /massan(i)-/?), Lyc. *mahan(a)-* and, perhaps, Carian *msn-* in the PN *msnord-* (on it see Adiego 2007, 385).<sup>206</sup>

The PN *alus* (G-204, W-08 – W-10) may be added to this list, since it seems to be the Hitt. *Al(l)uwa-* (LNH 28 § 39) with the common Luw. contraction *-uwa- > -u-* (see Rieken 2001). This name also occurs in Lyd. as *alus* (49,2, see Gusmani 1964, 56, also in the Greek inscription from Lydia TAM V,1 579 as Αλυς). OPhr. *atriyas* (B-05) is also unclear but may be related to HLuw. *atri(ya)-* ‘personal, soul’ (ALEPPO 6 § 3 COR-*i-sa*).

An interesting fem. PN is *ουεναουιας*, which occurs in the bilingual inscription no. 6.1 (=88) in gen. *ουεναουιας*, also as *Ουεναουιη* (dat.) in the Greek text of the same epitaph (MAMA I, 216-217 no. 413) and other Greek inscriptions from Phrygia (KPN 396 § 1153): *Ουεναυια* (nom., MAMA I 393, near Midas City, MAMA V 243, from Nacoleia, MAMA I 234, from Laodikeia Katakekaumene) and *Ουεναυιη* (MAMA VIII 100, also from Laodikeia). Following Dressler (1964), it can be analysed as a fem. Luw. PN *-wiya*.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, the first element *wena-* remains unclear. Laroche (1966, 640, also Brixhe 2013, 67) related it to the Hitt. PNs in *Wanni* and HLuw. *wani-* ‘stele’, although this last word is indeed *wanid-* (CHLI s.u.) and must be rejected. Phrygian *ουενα-* may follow the HLuw. PN *Wana-* (*wa/i-na-sa* SCRIBA-*la-sá* ‘Wanas (was) the scribe’ in KARABURUN §14) and *-wiya > -ouia* is only used to make the fem. form, if it “came to be perceived in some dialectal communities as a suffix of female onomastics, pure and simple”, as Yakubovich cautiously suggested (2013, 107-108).

The name of Midas’ father, *Γορδίας*, *Γόρδιος* or *Γορδίης* (as reported by Greek sources, see 4.7.2.1.), can be added to this list. It is very likely the same PN found in Luw. *Kurtis* and the origin of the name of the Phrygian capital, Gordion. Finally, the Mother-Goddess epithet *areyastin* (W-01a) seems to be somehow related to CLuw. *ari(ia)-* ‘raise; check, restrain’, a cognate of Hitt. *arāi-*, *ari-* ‘id.’ and Lyc. *erije-* ‘raise, levy’ (see CLL 27 and Kloekhorst 2008, 200). Note that, because of this etymology, the Phrygian form could be derived from an oronym and many epithets of *Matar* derived from such names. Perhaps a Sidetic name can be added to this list, if it is accepted that Phrygian *si↑idos* (G-105, HP-110 and G-346) is indeed the Sidetic PN *śdi↑s* (S6) with a metathesis in the Phr. rendering: *\*sidi↑os > si↑idos* (Schürr 2017, 4 fn. 13). However, this interpretation cannot be proved (see also Nikolaev 2017, fn. 23).

Finally, Brixhe (1983, 128; 1994, 176 and 2008, 79) claimed that the hesitation between the masc.nom. of the PN with and without *-s* in Phrygian PNs (also attested in a Greek inscription from Phrygia, see Brixhe 1987a, 78-79) also illustrates the Anatolian influence on Phrygian. Indeed, the distinction between masc. and fem. does not occur in Anatolian but in Phrygian, as well as in Greek, an *a*-stem masc. is expected to have an *-s* ending in the nominative and *-ø* in fem.: compare the masc. PN *midas* (M-01d I, G-137 and HP-102) with the fem. *[l<sup>2</sup>]agineia* (G-276). Nevertheless, masc. PNs without *-s* are commonly found (*baba* M-01b and G-121), even in other stems: compare *voines* (G-129 and G-286) with *voine* (G-228) and *manes* (B-07) with *mane* (Dd-103).

#### 4.6.2.3. Contacts with Lydian

The Lydians were the Phrygians’ neighbours to the east and, between 650 and 540 a.C. they ruled over Phrygia. Because of this, some Phrygian words and some PNs clearly have a Lydian origin. The two Lyd. borrowings I propose here in fact remain unclear, although they fit their context. The first is OPhr. *asenan* (B-05, from Vezirhan, an area strongly influenced by Lydian culture), which I suggest comes from Lyd. *asinas* ‘(part of a) grave’ (Sardes no. 4). Then,

<sup>206</sup> Note that this word “can be used as an argument for the dialectology of the Anatolian language branch” (Kloekhorst 2008, 764), since it is not found in other Anatolian languages. Indeed, PIE *\*diēu-* yields Hitt. *šūna(na)-*, Palaic *tiuna-* and Lyd. *ciw-*, all with the meaning ‘god’.

<sup>207</sup> On this, see Yakubovich 2013, 94-95, who argued that originally names in *-wiya* (normally following deities, toponyms and other first members) meant ‘X sent (her)’.

Phrygian  $\tau\iota\nu\tau$  <*s*>*imun inmeney asenān dāket* (B-05) could be translated as ‘whoever puts a tomb in this shrine...’. The second, which is even less clear, is  $\mu\rho(\zeta)$  (29.1 = 114) and/or  $\mu\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota$  (14.1 = 3, both from western Phrygian), which could be borrowed from *mru-* ‘stele’ (Sardes no. 2, 12, etc.). If we accept this proposal, the protasis  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota$   $[\sigma]\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu \kappa\nu[\omicron\upsilon]\mu\alpha\eta\eta \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu \alpha\beta\beta\epsilon|\rho\epsilon\tau \alpha\tau \nu\omicron\upsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\nu \mu\rho\omicron\varsigma \sigma\alpha\varsigma$  can mean ‘whoever brings harm to this tomb through the destruction<sup>7</sup> of this stele’. In addition, OPhr. *tesan* (T-02b) was suggested to be a borrowing from Lyd. *tašēv* (No. 40, from Pergamon) by as Orel (1997a, 310 and 461), although this possibility remains unclear.

One may wonder whether Phrygian PNs in *-es* shared with Lyd. in fact originated in Lydian: compare *manes* (B-07) with Lyd. *manes* (see Gusmani 1964, 163) and *ates* (M-01a, W-08, etc.) with the poss. adj. *atelis* ‘of Ates’ (Gusmani 1964, 69). Another shared PN is OPhr. *alus* (W-08, W-09 and W-10) = Lyd. *alus* (49,2, see Gusmani 1964, 56), which could be borrowed from Luw. (see § 4.6.2.3).

Fig. 12 Old Phrygian inscription Dd-102 (Musées d’art et d’histoire, Ville de Genève, inv. no. 023469 © Musées d’art et d’histoire, Ville de Genève, photographer: Monique Delley)



Finally, we must add to this list the form *surgastoy* (Dd-102), corresponding to Lyd. *śrkaštus*, which occurs in inscription no. 11: *śarištrosλ śrkaštus katowaliś sulos* ‘Surgastos the son<sup>8</sup> of Kadoas for Śarištros’. The Lyd. form is considered a PN (Gusmani 1964, 199 and *eDIANA*, *s.u.*) and seems to be derived from an Anatolian adj. somehow related to Hitt. *šarku-* / *šargau-* ‘eminent, illustrious, powerful’ (Gusmani 1980-1981, 21-27, see also Beekes 2003, 19 fn. 21 with some remarks). However, it is unclear whether Phrygian *surgastoy* (Dd-102) refers to a man or to a god.<sup>208</sup> Avram (2016b, 73-74) considered that the bowl on which this name in dat. was engraved (Fig. 12) is an offering to a god called *surgasto-* because it appears in Greek inscriptions as an epithet of Zeus: Ζεὺς Συργάστης or Συργαστειος (on several coins dated to Imperial Roman times from Tion, modern Filyos, Bithynia, Head 1911, 518) and Διὶ Συργαστω (SEG 48.984, from

<sup>208</sup> Avram (2016b, 74) also suggests that it appears in OPhr. G-113 [---]a<sup>2</sup>stoipitave[---], which he restores as [Surg]astoi, and G-164 [-?-.]astoy, tentatively restored by as [Surg]astoy. As well as Σαρνενηδος, another epiklesis of Zeus derived from a Phrygian word, the presence of this epithet in Dacia is explained as “introduced by colonists from Asia Minor after 106 AD” (Avram 2016b, 77).

Apulum, Dacia Superior).<sup>209</sup> One inscription from Hadrianopolis (Pontus-Bithynia) also reports an agon devoted to Συργάστης / Συργάστος called Συργάστιον (Lafli & Christof 2012, no. 24). Finally, this DN occurs in a Lat. inscription as *Surgasteo* (CIL V 4206, from Brixia, Italy) and is very likely the origin of the name *Sergestus* found in Verg. *Aen.* (said to be the origin of the Sergian family).<sup>210</sup> It is not clear whether this name is a Phrygian formation derived from an Anatolian word or if it is in fact Lydian. As far as we know, the first possibility is preferable, because the suffix *-st-* is a common feature of Phrygian DNs and PNs from the Phrygian cultural area that seem to be derived from Anatolian names. The DNs are *areyastin* (epithet of *Matar* in W-01a) and Ἄγδιστις (epithet of the Mother-Goddess in a Greek inscription from Phrygia, also in Arn. *Adu. Nat.* 5, 5-6, Paus. 7, 17, 9-12, Str.12.5.3 and Hesychius α 404), while of the PNs we can consider Μαμαστα (KPN 286 § 852-1, from Lycaonia), Μαμαστις (KPN 286 § 852-2, from Pisidia), Νενεστος (KPN 357 § 1025, from West Phrygia), Παπουστις (KPN 416 § 1201, from South Phrygia – Lycaonia) and Ερεμαστου (KPN 166 § 352, from Galatia). As can be seen, four of these examples are very likely derived from a Lallname: Μαμα (KPN 281-282 § 850-1), Παππος (KPN 414-415 § 1199-21) and Νεν(ν)ας or Νενης (KPN 357 § 1024).

#### 4.6.3. Phrygian in contact with Aramaic

Despite the importance of Aramaic in Neo-Hittite states and in the Achaemenid administration, in prior publications on Phrygian the relationship between Aramaic and Phrygian has been restricted to the bilingual graffito from Gordion G-157 (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, unfortunately), a sherd with few letters.<sup>211</sup> However, the Aramaic influence on Phrygian is attested from the first OPhr. inscriptions, as G-249 (ca. 800 BC) shows, to the end of the Achaemenid period. Moreover, although Phoenician has been considered the origin of the Greek and Phrygian alphabets, Aramaic cannot be ruled out as a possible source, since the Phoenician and Aramaic alphabets were indistinct until the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC. In any case, Aramaic inscriptions (both monumental and quotidian) are found elsewhere in Anatolia and Phrygia is no exception, although Daskyleion, the satrapal seat of Hellespontic Phrygia, shows the strongest coexistence of Phrygian and Aramaic.

The only Aramaic borrowing attested in Phrygian is the term *seVel* ‘weight, a shekel’ (G-249), from Aramaic *šql* (also borrowed into Lyc. *sixla-* ‘shekel’ and Greek σίκλος, σίγλος ‘weight, shekel’). It appears on a weight similar to those commonly found in Aramaic states, on which the unit of weight is incised (see Deutsch & Millard 2014). Moreover, the Phrygian PN *saragis* (B-108, from Daskyleion, and M-101) is very likely to be found in an Aramaic Bulla from the satrapal seat as *SGRY* (Balkan 1959, no. 30, pl. XXXIVb and Lemaire 2000, II.4 no. 3).

Nevertheless, it is in the phraseology of the monuments that Aramaic seems to have had the greatest influence on Phrygian. As has been argued above, B-07 is a funerary stele with parallels in another Aramaic inscription from the same city, Daskyleion: compare *me kos anivaYeti s=manin*, which is interpreted here as ‘let nobody harm Manes’ (see § 3.1.3), with ?l

<sup>209</sup> Note also that Mordtmann 1878, 292 considered that this divinity is the same found as θεῶ Σουρεγεθι (IGBulg III,1 1293), θεῶ ἐπιφανῖ ἐπηκόω Σουρηγεση (= ἐπηκόω Σουρεγεθι, IGBulg V 5329), Θεοῦ Σουρεγέθου (BCH 60 (1936) 336), Ἡρωι Σουρεγεθι (read Σουρεγεθ<η>, SEG 53.724, *AnnÉp* (2003) 1565 and *AnnÉp* (2008) 1211), κυρίω Ἄρηι Σουρεγεθι Ξελλη[νω] (IGBulg V 5610) in Macedonia, Thrace and Moesia Inferior during Roman Imperial times. However, such an identification is hard to substantiate: in these inscriptions it is identified not with Zeus but with Ares and it only occurs in a Balkanic context. It is true that Σουρεγεθι is very similar to *surgastoy* and perhaps both names are etymologically related. In any case, it is not a Phrygian issue.

<sup>210</sup> See Beekes 2003, 19-20 and 47, who also suggests that Lyd. *srkastus* can be the origin of the Etr. PN *sekstalus* (TLE 713).

<sup>211</sup> See CIPPh I, 141 and 80 (with a reference to an unpublished Aramaic graffito from Gordion, inv. no. 9370) and Sowa 2015, 178.

yšml ‘do no harm!’ (Lipińsky 1975a, 151).<sup>212</sup> Both the Phrygian and the Aramaic sentences conclude their monuments. So, here, similar prohibitions replace the most common curses.

More Aramaic echoes can be found in an imprecative apodosis, W-01b, read on a façade devoted to the Mother-Goddess (see the details in the chapter devoted to Phrygian curses): *lakedo key venavtun avtay materey* ‘and let him be taken by the same Mother’. Assuming Lubotsky’s analysis of *lakedo* (2004, 234), the text is very similar to Aramaic curses such as *wybsḥ lh šhr wšmš* ‘may Šēhr and Šamš search for him!’ (inscription from Kесеček Köyü, Cilicia). Note that the verb *ybsḥ* means “‘to search for, “to look for” somebody, also in order to punish or to kill him” (Lipińsky 1975a, 150). Indeed, the Aramaic influence on this text could explain two oddities of this Phrygian apodosis: the unexpected presence of the copulative conj. *key* and the uncommon word order. The *key* ‘and’ can be equated to the Semitic “*waw*-apodosis”. According to Pat-El (2012, 47-48), this term is “used for one of the functions of the Semitic coordinators \**wa* or \**pa* when it introduces the apodosis of a conditional clause or when it introduces a matrix sentence after a subordinated clause, mostly a temporal clause.” This is exactly what we have in both the Phrygian inscription W-01b and the Aramaic inscription from Kесеček Köyü: *lakedo key venavtun avtay materey* ‘let him be taken by the same Mother’ is preceded by the subordinated clause *yos esaišt materey eveteksete’y ovevin onoman daYet* ‘whoever puts his own name to this Mother *Evetkesetey*’ and *wybsḥ lh šhr wšmš* ‘may Šēhr and Šamš search form him!’ by *wmn byš | yšbd šm ptkr znh* ‘and whoever injury does to this figure’ (trad. Lipińsky 1975a, 150). Moreover, the verb is commonly found at the end of the sentence. So, the unexpected word order of W-01b is also explained as an Aramaic calque, in the light of the comparison with the inscription adduced here. It remains to be explained why the writer preferred *venavtun* (sg.acc.) to, e.g., *avtos* (sg.nom.). Indeed, this pron. clearly refers to the violator mentioned in the protasis, who is also the subject of the apodosis.

The beginning of MPhr-01 (= W-11, dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC) also shows a peculiar word order in which the demonstrative pronoun follows the noun (and the adj.). Indeed, the other occurrences of demonstrative pron. in agreement with a noun always precede it: *si bevδος* (B-01), *si keneman* (M-01b), *sinšt imenān* (B-05), *σεμουν κνουμανει* (passim), *σα του μανκα* (64.1 = 81)... So, MPhr-01 has a particularly exceptional sequence. Given this scenario, it would seem to be another Aramaic calque in the light of *šmh? znh* ‘this funerary stele’ (lit. ‘funerary stele this’) found at the beginning of three contemporaneous Aramaic funerary inscriptions from Cilicia (Yukari Bozkuyu, Göller—near Bostanlar—and Kumkulluk).<sup>213</sup> Indeed, Old and Official Aramaic, as well as most of the Semitic languages, tend to place the attributive demonstrative pronouns after the noun they modify (Pat-El 2012, 95).

Consequently, although Aramaic has not been considered in Phrygian studies, its influence on Phrygian was very strong, especially in the Achaemenid period. What is more, Aramaic influenced Phrygian not only at the lexical level but also at the syntactical level, at least in formulae borrowed from the Aramaic tradition.

#### 4.6.4. Phrygian in contact with Old Persian

Old Persian influence on Phrygian is basically restricted to onomastics, as is the case with Lyc., although there are two possible PN borrowed into Phrygian. The first one is *bagun* (G-136), which has been suggested by Lubotsky (2004, 231) to be a loanword from OP *baga-* ‘god’.<sup>214</sup> Although the inscription containing this word is broken, a second borrowing is likely.

<sup>212</sup> Other translations: ‘let no one do harm (to my tomb)’ (Cross 1966, 8-9) or ‘que personne ne (lui) fasse de mal!’ (Lemaire 2000, II.1).

<sup>213</sup> On these, see Lemaire 1994 and 2000, V.10-12. There is another inscription from Cilicia (Ayvalik, near Aigeai) with the phrase *šmh? znh*, but it occurs in the l. 5 (see Lemaire 2004).

<sup>214</sup> A second possibility given by the same scholar is merely etymological: an inherited word from PIE PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-u-* ‘lower arm, elbow’ (e.g. Greek *πῆχυς* ‘forearm, arm’ or Skt. *bāhū-* ‘lower arm, arm, foreleg of an animal’). Although it fits phonetically, the meaning is not expected in the context. On the other hand,

Indeed, the word *magō*<sup>?</sup>[---], B-108 *saragis*:<sup>?</sup> *magō*<sup>?</sup>[---] (dated to between the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC), is very likely to be the well-known priest title *magus*, borrowed from OP *maguš* (also found in Baby. *magus*, Aramaic *mḡšy*, Av. *moyu-* and Greek μάγος). Since in the OP<sub>hr</sub>. graffiti it follows a PN in nom., one can easily restore its *o*-stem sg.nom. ending: *magō*<sup>?</sup>[s].

PNs of Persian origin are more common than nouns, but not all are clear. The possible Old Persian PNs in the Phrygian corpus are as follows:

*asakas* (G-150c): This name was suggested to have an Iranian origin by Lejeune (1970, 74, also by Orel 1997a, 194 and 416), and Schmitt (1982, 35) considered this possibility without being at all convinced. If both are right, this PN is derived from OP *\*asa-* ‘horse’ with the hypocoristic suffix *-ka-* and also occurs in Elamite as *Áš-šá-ka<sub>4</sub>* (Tavernier 2007, 118).

*manuka* (B-07): This name was considered a noun by Brixhe (2004a, 81), however in the light of its position after the phrase *va knais* ‘his wife’ it is very likely a PN. In that case, *Manukka* can be considered the same PN found in the administrative clay tablets from Persepolis (on this PN, see Mayrhofer 1973, 189 s.u.).

μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48): Because of the similarity with the Old Persian PN *\*Miθra-pāta-* (a theofortic with the meaning ‘protected by Mithra’), documented in Lyc. as *miθrapata* and *mizrpata* (Neumann 2007, 217 and 218 s.u.) and in Greek as Μιτροβάτης (Herodotus 3.120-129) and Μιθρωπάστης (Str. 16.5, both variants refer to the same satrap of Hellespontic Phrygia), its identification is obvious (first proposed by Kretschmer 1898, 363, this identification is commonly accepted, *pace* Lubotsky 1997, 122). The confusion between letters for voiceless aspirated and voiceless plain stops in Phrygian and Greek from Phrygia is inconsequential.

ΥυναΎaros (G-115, abbreviated as Ύυv in G-224, § 3.1.3): This Phrygian form renders a Median PN via OP *\*<sup>h</sup>Uvaxštra*, also found in Akkadian as *<sup>m</sup>Ú-ak-sa-tar*, *<sup>m</sup>Uk-sa-tar* and *<sup>m</sup>Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar*, in Elamite as *Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri* and *Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra* (Schmitt 1982, 27) and finally in Greek through Herodotus 1.73, 1.103-07 as Κυαξάρης (borne by the son of the Median king Phraortes). This interpretation was first proposed by Kretschmer (in Prott 1898, 363, see also Schmitt 1982, 34-35, Tavernier 2007, 466-467).

Less clear are the following three PNs, also claimed to be of Persian origin:

αδενπατης, αδεν<π>ατω (43.1 = 69): The reading is problematic and αδενπατης was formerly read as Αλενπατης, while αδε|v<π>ατω as Α|ρεοπαδε|v ατω (see Hämmig fthc. a). In any case, the element -πατης probably has an Iranian origin, borrowed via the Greek language, since it can be equated to *-pātā*, like μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48).

*aspē*[---] (P-102): Brixhe and Lejeune (CIPPh I, 145) equated this sequence to the Median word *aspa-* ‘horse’ and suggested that it is a PN of Iranian origin.

*p<sup>?</sup>erbastidages* (HP-101): Dinç and Innocente (1999, 69-71 also in Vassileva 2015, 94) considered it a PN with a Thracian or “Persianised Thracian” origin (whatever this means). However, Brixhe (2004a, 103-106) preferred to consider it a preposition *p<sup>?</sup>er* followed by a PN *bastidages*, without clear origin. As can be seen, this word(s) remain(s) obscure.

While in Greek the common masculine Old Iranian PNs in *-a* became “either Greek stems in *-ης* or Greek stems in *-ο* (the genetically corresponding type)” (Tucker 2001, 776), in Phrygian the clear cases of these PN are rendered in either *a*-stems or *o*-stems: compare *\*Miθra-*

---

Lejeune (1969b, 293, followed by CIPPh I, 125 and Sowa 2008, 28) considered it to be inherited from PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>go-* with the meaning ‘present’. However, this can no longer be substantiated from a phonetic perspective: PIE *\*g* yields *k* in Phrygian.

*pāta-* > μιτραφατα (Greek Μιτροβάτης and Μιθρωπάστης) with *\*hUvaxštra-* > ΨυναΨαρος (Ionian Greek Κυαξάρης). There are two Phrygian PNs in *-ēs* with a possible Iranian origin but they remain unclear: αδενπατης (if *-πατης* goes back to *-pātā*) and *p<sup>?</sup>erbastidages* (a highly obscure word).

#### 4.6.5. Phrygian in contact with Elamite

The attested Phrygian contacts with Elamite and Phrygian are restricted to the Phrygian clay tablet found in Persepolis among thousands of Elamite tablets from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. This Phrygian text, HP-114, has the Elamite month name *aṇamakā*, borrowed into the Persian calendar (Schmitt 2003, 27-29, Brixhe 2004a, 125 and Tavernier 2007, 39 and 83-84). The administrative nature of this text explains this loanword.

#### 4.6.6. Phrygian in contact with Assyrian?

Leaving aside the PN *kanutī* (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2), there is only a Phrygian word that could be borrowed from Assyrian: ακκαλος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108 and 62.2 = 33, pl. ακαλα 4.1 = 2). It is found in two different apodoses: ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ειτου ‘and let his bread *akkalos* become innutribile’ (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108 and 62.2 = 33) υ κε ακαλα ουσιτετου ουα ‘let not him found his loaf’ (4.1 = 2). In this case, it is possibly a borrowing from the Assyrian *akalu* ‘bread, food’. Perhaps βεκος ακκαλος refers to a specific kind of bread while in υ κε ακαλα ουσιτετου ουα the plural ακαλα is the generic for food.

#### 4.6.7. Phrygian in contact with Galatian

The Celtic tribes known as Galatians occupied the west part of ancient Phrygia in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, introducing a new language to the linguistic map of Anatolia. Nevertheless, Galatians did not produce inscriptions in this language, thus our knowledge of Galatian is restricted to PNs, toponyms and some glosses (see Freeman 2001). Despite the fact that Galatian is so poorly attested, the identification of Phrygian τευτους (62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36) as a Galatian borrowing (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 177, Bayun & Orel 1988b, 156, Orel 1997a, 253 and 461 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 194) must be refuted, since the ethnics *Ambitoutus* (established near Gordion according to Plin. *HN* 5.146) and *Toutobodiaci* (associated with Tectosages according to the same source) show that the word *\*teyt-* (borrowed from an unknown European language by some IE western branches, see Beekes 1998, 461-465) becomes *tout-* in Galatian. The only identified Galatian elements in inscriptions containing New Phrygian texts are the PNs Βωδορις, read in the Greek part of NPhr. no. 62.3 (=34)<sup>215</sup> and equated to Gaul. *Borodix* (*CIL* 11.867, see Freeman 2001, 32-33), and Βρογιμαρος, read in the Greek part of NPhr. no. 2.2 (130). This last name was identified by Avram (2015, 205-206), the first editor of the inscription, and is also found in Gaul. *Brogimaros*. It is a compound of *brogi-* ‘territory, region’ and *maros-* ‘great’ (see Matasović 2009, 258 and 280). The most interesting feature of the altar that Brogimaros built in Nacoleia is that the first text incised on it was Greek, while the two Phrygian clauses, as well as three more Greek texts, were added after his death.

#### 4.6.8. Phrygian in contact with Latin

The Latin influence on Phrygian is essentially restricted to a small number of PNs in the Greek part of NPhr. inscriptions such as Αὐρήλιος, very common after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* issued by Caracalla (officially *Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus*), a useful

<sup>215</sup> Its nominative Βωδορις occurs in another Greek epitaph (*MAMA* VII 335) from the same city, Sinanlı (Brixhe 2013, 63). A variant spelling of this PN is read on a gravestone from the late Ptolemaic cemetery of Hadra (Egypt), *SB* 3:7238: Βουδορις Γαλάτη ‘Budoris the Galatian’.

dating limit *post quem* for many NPhr. inscriptions.<sup>216</sup> NPhr. δουμ<sup>3</sup>ετυου (22.1 = 9) < *Domitius* is the sole Lat. PN found in a NPhr. text. In addition, Neumann (1986, 80-81) suggested that μαιμαρηαν (40.3 = 31), read as /memarian/, renders Lat. *memoria* with the same meaning found in Greek μεμόριον, ‘memorial chapel or shrine’. In this case, μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε μαιμαρηαν means ‘stele which (he) erected for (his) brother as memorial’. Nevertheless, the most common opinion holds that this word is an adj. parallel to Greek μαρμάρεος, α, ον ‘flashing, gleaming, of marble’, although the spelling difference (μαρ- / μαι-) is not accounted for. Following this view, μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε μαιμαρηαν means ‘stele of marble which (he) erected for (his) brother’. With regard to onomastics, the Phrygian PN *davo-* (dat. *davoi* in M-06 and B-05) is found in Latin sources as *Dauus* (bore by slaves), as well as in Greek as Δᾶ(φ)ος. Finally, it should be noted that the Phrygian Mother-Goddess is found in Latin as *Cybele*, but it is clearly an adaptation of the Greek rendering Κυβέλη.

---

<sup>216</sup> See Ramsay 1883, 30 and McLean 2014, 114-117.

## 5. Lexicon of the Phrygian inscriptions



## Α (α) - Α α

**α<sup>1</sup>** (mark)

OPhr. α G-225, G-311

α[-? -] G-317, G-327, G-334, NW-108?

Single letter incised on potsherds. In G-225, ↑ also appears as an isolated letter, and G-327 has another undetermined sign. This letter in G-317, G-327, G-334 and NW-108 was perhaps followed by another that has not been conserved due to the fragmentation of the support. NW-108 could be read as *d*[-? -].

*CIPPh I, 161; Brixhe 1997, 42-49 and 50-52; Brixhe 2002a, 17 and 69.*

**α<sup>2</sup>** see *ad*.

**α<sup>3</sup>** and **αας** see *as*.

**[-? -]αβ, [-? -]αβα, [-? -]αβας** see *babas*.

**αββερετ** (verb) ‘bear, produce’

OPhr. 3sg.sub.pres.med. *αbretoy* B-05 l. 10

NPhr. 3sg.sub.pres.act. αββερετ 18.3 (6), 29.1 (114), 39.1? (11), 40.2 (12)

3sg.sub..pres.med. αββερετοι 10.2 (113), 17.5 (91), 19.2 (129)

3sg.sub.pres.med. αββερετορ 14.1 (73), 52.1 (75), 59.3 (79)

3sg.sub.pres.med. αββιρετο 35.1 (25)

3sg.sub.pres.act.? αβερετι 66.1 (103)

3sg.sub.pres.act. βερετ 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86)

A verb inherited from PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘bear, carry’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 76-77, *IEW* 128-132, Gr. φέρω ‘bear, bring, produce’, Skt. *bhārati* ‘bear, carry’, Lat. *fero* ‘id.’). In most instances it takes the preverb αδ (with assimilation of its stop, as well as αδδακετ; on the verbal formation, see *LIPP* II, 14, with parallels) and usually is found in imprecative protases in the same position as the more common verb αδδακετ (10.2, 14.1, 17.5, 18.3, 19.2, 29.1, 35.1, 39.1, 40.2, 52.1 and 59.3): compare 52.1 ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αινι [---] with 9.1 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει | κακουν αδακετ αινι τια|μας. Even the NPhr. middle forms are found in the same position as the active form: e.g., 14.1 ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αινι σας μδυει or 17.5 [ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει] | [κ]ακου[ν α]ββερετοι α<ι>νι | ασται σα μ[ανκ]ε... It must be added that the presence of the two equivalent endings -τοι (-το 35.1) ~ -τορ can be explained by the coexistence of the inherited ending with a secondary formation in the light of OPhr. *αbretoy* B-05 (with syncope, see Brixhe 2004a, 62). This OPhr. occurrence is found in an apodosis: B-05 *mekas key | koyis αbretoy nun ibey neyotan niptiyan sirun mireyun*. In the two occurrences of this verb without a preverb, its meaning is ‘bring, produce, cause’ (also found in Gr.): 7.2 βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ and 8.1 βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] ‘let Bas not bring bread to him’. In this instance, the formula is equivalent to 99 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος ‘let Bas not give bread to him’, as Hämmig (fthc. a, followed by Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309) identified in the light of Gr. parallels (§ 4.6.1.2).

*Neumann 1988, 9; Neumann 1997, 22; Orel 1997a, 420; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Sowa 2007a, 74-77; Gorbachov 2008, 101-102; Sowa 2008, 104-106; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 164-165; Hämmig 2013, 144; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183, 187 and 191; Simon 2015, 21-22; LIPP II, 14; Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309; Hämmig fthc. a and b.*

**αββερετοι, αββερετορ, αββιρετο, αβερετ, αββερετ** and ***αbretoy*** see αββερετ.

**abs** (PN)OPhr. *abs* G-166

Complete graffito incised on the neck of a vase. *CIPPh* (I, 147) equated to the PN *abas* (*KPN* 43-44 § 1-3) and considered that the loss of the last vowel could be a consequence of the stress, adducing the variant *bba* (M-04) instead of the common *baba* (M-01b).

*CIPPh* I, 147.**agaritōi** (adj.) ‘devoted’OPhr. pl.nom. *agaritōi* G-02 a

This o-stem adjective agrees with the noun *petes* in the votive inscription where it occurs: *agaritōi petes adoikavoi*... According to Kloekhorst (2015, 116), it can be considered a deverbative adj. derived from the same verbal root attested in the participle γε-γαριτ-μενος ‘cursed, devoted’, which goes back to PIE \*ǵʰr̥H- ‘desire, enjoy’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 176-177, *IEW* 440-441). Regarding its beginning, he also considered *ad-* a preverb assimilated to the following velar stop. Following this interpretation, this word means ‘devoted’, which is highly expected in a votive text of this kind. Before Kloekhorst’s analysis, it was misread as *agartōi* and considered a PN in sg.dat. which agreed with *adoikavoi*. Woudheizen (2008, 183 § 5) equated it to Gr. ἀχάριστος ‘ungracious, unpleasant’. Although this Gr. adj. shares its PIE root with *agaritōi*, it is not an equivalent formation and even its meaning does not fit in this context.

*CIPPh* I, 87; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 191; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 183 § 5; Kloekhorst 2015, 110 and 116.†*agartōi* see *agaritōi*.**agipeia** (PN)OPhr. sg.nom. [-?]-*agipeia* G-135

Graffito incised on a fragment of a cup handle. Although more letters could precede the preserved text, it is very likely complete. Consequently, Neumann (1988, 7) suggested that *agipeia* was derived from Ἄγιππος by adding the suffix *-eia-* and that it means ‘the daughter of Agippos’, see a good parallel in *imeneia*. Although Ἄγιππος is never attested in Anatolia, this could be a good explanation. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 185) read it as [l]agineia in the light of *lagineios* (G-110) and [l<sup>2</sup>]agineia (G-276). Nevertheless, this possibility was previously ruled out by *CIPPh* (I, 124).

*Brixhe* 1983, 127; *CIPPh* I, 124; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 90; *Neumann* 1988, 7; *Innocente* 1997, 39; *Neumann* 1997, 27 fn. 11.†*aglavoy* see *ae* and *lavoy*.**agomoi** (PN)OPhr. sg.dat. *agomoi* W-08

The inscription in which this word appears was engraved on a lone rock. The context is clear enough to conclude that, despite the lack of parallels, *agomoi* is a thematic PN: [-?]- *ates agomoi* | *saQ<sup>2</sup>ta tedaes* ‘Ates put these *saQ<sup>2</sup>ta* for Agomos’.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear* 1982, 70; *Brixhe* 1983, 115; *CIPPh* I, 53; *Bayun & Orel* 1988a, 185.**ad** (preposition) ‘to, at, by’OPhr. *a* NW-101 a II*ad* B-05

NPhr. α 9.1 (87), 17.3 (7), 66.1 (103)

αδ 7.3 (99)

ατ 8.1 (86), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 36.3 (94), 39.1 (11), 40.1 (12), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 45.1 (65), 47.1 (51), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106)

Preposition inherited from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed* (LIPP II, 8), also attested, e.g., in Lat. *ad*, Oscan *adpúd*, Go. *at* and OIr. *ad*. It governs dat. (*ad kalivay* B-05) and is commonly attested by the DN τι- ‘Zeus’ in the NPhr. imprecative apodosis: 36.3 ατ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου ‘let him become accursed by Zeus’. Because of the simplification of the *a*-stem inflection (see § 4.2.1.1.1.), it gives the impression of appearing in other cases: e.g. α τεαμας (10.1). However, it is once attested with sg.acc.: ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας (29.1 = 114). In many instances, its stop assimilates to the following one and the consequent geminates are often simplified in NPhr., ατ τι (42.1) > α τι (9.1), while in OPhr. the script does not represent them: *a tiei* (= NPhr. ατ τηη) /attiej/ (NW-101). Phr. *ad* is also a common preverb (with assimilation and often with simplification of the geminates): αδδακετ, αδακετ, αββερετ, αβερετ, ατετικμενος... According to Kloekhorst (2015, 10), it is very likely attested in the adj. *a-garitoi* ‘devoted’ (G-02a).

Brixhe 1997, 42-49; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183; Kloekhorst 2016, 116; LIPP II, 8.

**αδακεν, αδακετ, αδακκιτορ, αδδακεκ, αδδακεμ and αδακεν** see αδδακετ.

**αδδακετ** (verb) ‘do, put’

OPhr.	3sg.ind.pres.act.	<i>daket</i> B-05 l. 11; <i>daYet</i> W-01b
	1sg.ind.pres.med.?	<i>dakor</i> K-01 VI-VII a2?
	3sg.subj.pres.act.	<i>dedasitiy</i> B-05
	3sg.subj.pres.act.?	<i>deVeti</i> NW-101 A I
	3sg.ind.aor.act.	<i>edaes</i> M-01a, M-01b, M-02, B-01, W-08; <i>edaes</i> K-01 VI-VII b; <i>edaε[s]</i> M-01f; <i>edaε[s]</i> P-04 c; <i>ed[a]es</i> W-02; <i>[e]daes</i> W-05 b
	3sg.ind.aor.med.	<i>edatoy</i> B-05 l. 2
	3sg. med.	<i>odeketoy</i> B-07
	3sg.ind.aor.med.	<i>tedatoy</i> W-01a; <i>tedat[oy]</i> B-05 l.1?
NPhr.	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδα κε 47.1 (51),
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδακεν 18.2 (5); [αδ(δ)ακ]εν 17.3 (7)?
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδακετ 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 18.1 (4), 25.1 (115), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 36.3 (94), 40.4 (102), 44.1 (61), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 65.1 (20), 65.3 (21); αδακε[τ] 30.2 (68); αδακ<ετ> 33.3 (127); αδα [κ]ετ 62.6 (105)
	3sg.ind.pres.med.	[αδα]κκιτορ 58.1 (72)
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδδακεκ 62.1 (32)
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδδακεμ 62.4 (35)
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδδακετ 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 6.1 (88), 11.2 (17), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.4 (90), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.2 (43), 22.2 (118), 25.2 (126), 37.1 (10), 43.1 (69), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 56.1 (57), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 60.1 (59), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.4 (124); αδδ[α] κετ 8.1 (86); <αδδακ>ε<τ> 5.1 (19)?; [αδ]δ[ακετ] 13.1 (122)?; αδ[δ]α κετ 30.1 (39); αδδακ [ετ] 31.1 (29); [α]δδακετ 41.1 (45), 51.1 (82); αδ[(δ)ακετ] 42.1 (101)?; αδ[δακε]τ 45.1 (65); αδδακ[ετ] 50.2; αδ[δ]ακετ 57.1 (78)
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	[α] δδακεττ 46.1 (53)
	3sg.ind.pres.med.	αδδακετορ 24.1 (40); [αδδ] ακετορ 12..1 (121)
	3sg.ind.pres.med.	αδδα κεττορ 20.1 (63)
	3sg.ind.pres.act.	αδοκετ 59.4 (106)
	3pl.ind.perf.act.	δακαρεν 1.2 (98)

3sg.ind.pres.act.	δακετ 36.1 (26), 44.3 (67), 55.1 (56)
3pl.subj.pres.act.	δεδασσιννι 2.2 (130)
3sg.ind.pres.act.?	δοκετ 38.1 (44), 50.1 (54)
3sg.ind.aor.act.	εδαεσ 16.1 (116) l. 9 and l. 11
3sg.ind.pres.act.?	οδ[(δ)ακετ] 37.2 (27)?

A verb inherited from PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to do, put, place’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 136-140, *IEW* 235-239), Lat. *faciō* ‘to do’, Gr. τίθημι ‘to set, put, make’, Sk. *dádhāti* ‘id.’, etc. Unlike the aor., the Phr. present forms show the same disputed element *-k-* found in Italic *\*fac-* (Berenguer & Luján 2005 and de Vaan 2008, 198-199) and the Gr. aor. ἔθηκα and perfect τέθηκα. The most attested form is 3sg.ind.pres.act. αδδακετ, with the preverb αδ-, attested in the common NPhr. protasis: e.g. 62.2 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ... The forms αδακετ, αδδακεκ, αδδακεμ and αδδακεττ are variants with simplification of the geminates (αδακετ), hypercorrections (αδδακεττ) and consequences of sandhi (αδδακεκ and αδδακεμ, perhaps αδ(δ)ακεν 18.2). Even αδοκετ (59.4) and δοκετ (38.1 and 50.1) can be considered an Eastern phonetic variant because they are found in the same position: 38.1 [ι]ος αν σ[ε]μουν κακου]ν κνουμμανει δοκε[τ]..., 50.1 [ι]ος κε σεμουν κνο[υ]μμανει κακουν δοκετ... and 59.4 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδοκετ... The NPhr. middle forms αδδακετορ, αδδακεττορ and αδακκιτορ are also in this context: e.g. 20.1 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμμανει κακουν αδδακεττορ... The form δεδασσιννι is found once in a conditional<sup>7</sup> clause: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μμανη σως κη γουμειε... Its sg. form, B-05 *dedasitiy*, is found in a protasis *yos niy art sin-t imenān kaqa oskavos kaqey kan dedasitiy....* (see Hämmig fthc. a, *pace* Avram 2015, 209 who considered it a perfect form). Both δεδασσιννι and *dedasitiy* probably go back to a reduplicated form *\*d<sup>h</sup>e-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* (without the element *-k-*) parallel to Gr. τίθημι. NPhr. δακαρεν (1.2) appears in a non-imprecative clear sentence: δακαρεν πατερης ευκιν αργου ‘the parents put it *in memory*’<sup>7</sup>. The most common OPhr. form is *eades*, also found in NPhr. 16.1 εδαεσ, an aor. used in monuments: e.g. M-01a *ates arkiavais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*. Its middle form, *edatoy*, occurs in similar contexts: W-01a *materan areyastin bonok akenanogavos|vrekun tedatoy* (with the preverb *t-*, *LIPP* II, 772). W-01b *daY et* was considered a sigmatic form by Lejeune (1978, 788), however since it occurs in a clear apodosis it is more easily explained as being the same form *daket* / (αδ)δακετ (see § 3.1.3.): compare W-01b *yos esai-t materey eveteksete<sup>7</sup>y ovevin onoman daY et* with B-05 *†iv† imun inmeney asenān daket torvetun ↑iray...* The remaining forms are less clear. The OPhr. form *odeketoy* B-07 appears in a funerary stele in the part devoted to the circumstances of the monument: ... *va knais manuka odeketoy...* The verb can be analysed as 3sg.ind.pres.med. *o(d)-dek-e-toy* of the verb *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-* ‘to do’, with the preverb *o-* (< PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>o*, *LIPP* II, 323-324). This interpretation is given by Gusmani (in Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 158) and followed “sans doute” by Brixhe (2004a, 80). However, if the sentence means ‘his wife Manukka made it’, the expected form is *edatoy* (as in B-05) and it remains unexplained why the verb occurs in present, as Simon (2015, 24) observes, and why it has zero-grade in the root. However, the alternative, an aor. verb *od-e-ket-toy* implies an unparalleled root without clear origin and meaning. OPhr. *deVeti* (NW-101 A I) seems to be 3sg.subj.pres.act. Brixhe (2002a, 6-7) also suggested the relationship with δέχομαι / δέχομαι ‘take, accept, receive’, but this cannot be substantiated because it goes back to PIE *\*dek-* ‘take, perceive’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 109-112, *IEW* 189-190) and a voiced stop is not expected in Phrygian. In any case, it occurs in an unclear context: NW-101 *de deVeti toTi a tiei*. Finally, Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 125-126) suggested that *dakor* (K-01) was the 1sg.ind.pres.med. form, although the damage to the inscription is such that this conclusion cannot be confidently drawn: ... | *niye[---] | [---].pa* ( *uva* ( *[---] | [---]* ( *ṁasa ulrgitos dakor s=vebra[---] | tataniyen<sup>7</sup> eḏaes | [---]le.[---]*.

*Haas* 1966, 24 & 112; *Lejeune* 1978, 788; *Bayun & Orel* 1988a, 188; *Bayun & Orel* 1988b, 134; *Lubotsky* 1988, 22 fn. 11; *Orel* 1997a, 409 and 422; *Gusmani & Polat* 1999b, 158; *Brixhe* 2002a, 6-7; *Brixhe* 2004a, 52 and 80-81; *Berenguer & Luján* 2005, 202; *Gorbachov* 2005; *Brixhe & Summers* 2006, 125-126; *Sowa* 2007a, 74-77; *Sowa* 2008, 98-104; *de Vaan* 2008, 198-199; *Simon* 2015, 24; *Avram* 2015, 209.

**αδδακεττ, αδδακετορ and αδδακεττορ** see αδδακετ.

**αδειτου** and **αδειττου** see ειτου.

**αδενπατης** (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom.? αδενπατης 43.1 (69) l. 4-5

sg.dat.? αδενπατω 43.1 (69) l. 9-10

Both forms are attested in the same inscription: εινεα μιδους, ξευνε πειρ αρεοπ αδενπατω κγουμαν [ο]υεκρω δαδωνει ονουεια ειροι τε αδενπατης δεουσιαις μανεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαεν. The reading and segmentation of this epitaph is not at all clear. The identification of αδενπατω was suggested by *Hämmig* (fthc. a) in the light of αδενπατης. Since the PN δαδων also occurs in sg.nom. and sg.dat. in the same inscription, this identification is very likely, despite assuming the engraver's mistake with *pi*. The element -πατης probably shows an Iranian origin, since it can be equated to *-pātā*, like μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48). The form αδενπατης was previously read as Αλενπατης, while αδενπατω as Αρεοπαδεν ατω (see e.g. Haas 1966, 107-108).

*Haas 1966, 107-108; Hämmig fthc. a.*

**αδενπατω** see αδενπατης.

**adi..[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. adi..[---] B-01

This occurs at the beginning of a large inscription describing a niche devoted to the Mother-Goddess: *si bevdos adi..[..] | kaγarmoyō imroy edaes etovesniyo* 'Adi..[..] made this statue for this field...'. The only possible subject of this sentence is *adi..[---]*, meaning that it is very likely a PN, despite being mainly lost.

*Lubotsky 2008.*

**αδιθρερακ** (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom. αδιθρερακ 40.3 (31)

This unparalleled PN is read in an epitaph: ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ | ξευνοι αδικεσει αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν. Its ending has been explained as an assimilation of an original *-s* to the adjacent velar. However, it is not necessary since there are other PNs in Phr. ending with *-k* such as *bonok*. In that case, the expected nom. ending *-s* drops after this stop, as *modroyanak* shows. The use of *theta* in this name perhaps suggests a non-Phrygian origin, since in the whole Phr. corpus it is only found in the Gr. loanword θαλαμει. However, we cannot rule out a possible hypercorrection in the light of θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς] for τιττετικμενος. On the basis of this reasoning, Neumann (1986, 82) equated it to the Cilician name Σαριδηρας (KPN 456 § 1376), although in order to identify the elements of this PN he also suggested the presence of Gr. Ἄντι- with the shift Ἄδι- attested in Phrygia (e.g. Ἄδιγόνη for Ἄντιγόνη see Brixhe 1984, 34). Alternatively, Orel (1997a, 332 and 41) equated -θρερακ to Gr. θρέψις 'nourishing'.

*Kowal 1984b, 181; Neumann 1986a, 82; Orel 1997a, 332 and 410; Brixhe 1999, 298-299.*

**αδικεσει** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.? αδικεσει 40.3 (31)

A probable verb read in an epitaph: ας σεμουν κνουμαν' αδιθρερακ ξευνοι αδικεσει αν μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε μαιμαρηαν. This sequence has been segmented in several alternative ways, though none of them are satisfactory: e.g., Ξευνε οι αδικεσει and Neumann (1986a) Ξευνοι (ε)δικεσ ε(σ)αν (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 169). Although its ending is problematic (why not *-t(i)?*), the probable verb seems to take the preverb *αδ-*. Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 183) read it as



**aeý** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.perf.? *aeý* W-01a, B-01 l. 8

It appears in obscure contexts on two cultic monuments: W-01a *yos tutut ...a.m.noy akenanogavos aeý* (an imprecative protasis?) and B-01 ... *kavarmoyun matar otekonov (.?) kesiti oyvos aeý apaktneni pakray evkobeyan epaktoy...* It can be also attested in P-06 as *aei*, although the segmentation is unclear (as are the reading and the context): *ios aeiketio [.?] ivi..se.[.?]n?* Although many interpretations have been suggested, none is conclusive. Perhaps the most elaborated one is that of Lubotsky (1988, 17-18 and later still in Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192), who considered it a 3sg.perf. reduplicated form inherited from the PIE verb *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to be’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 241-242, IEW 340-341): *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-h<sub>1</sub>-e-i* (with a secondary *-i*). According to Lubotsky, then, it makes sense in W-01, where this protasis translated as ‘whoever ... may become an *akenanogavos*’ can be equated to a well-attested imprecative formula in Anatolia and Syria ‘whoever becomes king after me...’ (see e.g. HLuw. KARKAMIŠ A2 + 3 § 18-19). By contrast, Brixhe (1990, 72) considered it a sg.dat. pronoun inherited from PIE *\*e/o-* and suggested that *ae* is a variant of *aeý*. This tentative hypothesis can be supported by *ke ~ key*, although the contexts of *ae* are also obscure. Woudhuizen’ proposal (2008-2009, 183 § 4) must be refuted: he equated *aeý* and even *ay* to the Gr. conj. ἢ, ἢέ ‘or’, which goes back to a PIE form *\*h<sub>1</sub>ē-ue* (EDG 57). The glide *\*-u-* is preserved in such a position in Phr. In any case, in W-01a and B-01 a conjungion is hardly defensible.

*Haas 1969, 73-78; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 80-81; Brixhe 1983, 117; CIPPh I, 17, 38-39 and 54; Lubotsky 1988, 17-18; Brixhe 1990, 70-71; Brixhe 2004a, 32-42; Sowa 2007a, 86; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 183; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.*

**avara[.]** (?)

OPhr. *avara[.]* M-04

Read in an inscription engraved on an altar: *ākinanogavaṇ tiyes mođroyanak avara[.]*. Because it occurs in the last position of the sentence, a verb is expected (Witczak 1992-1993, 265). However, there is no basis to consider *avara[.]* a verb (see CIPPh I, 23). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 180), after an ungrounded reading [k]avara[n], considered it a PN in agreement with *ākinanogavaṇ*. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192), on the other hand, tentatively translated it as ‘exalted’ (as an attribute of *ākinanogavaṇ*), without any argumentation. In any case, this word remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 23; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 180; Witczak 1992-1993, 265; Orel 1997aa, 27; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 75; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.*

**avie[---]** (?)

OPhr. *avie[---]* M-01d II

Read in a badly preserved graffito from the central niche of the Midas façade: *matera[---] avie[---]*... Although it is a very short sequence, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 178, also in Bayun & Orel 1988b, 135-136) considered it a verb related to the even more fragmented B-03 *ao[---]* and translated it as ‘permit, allow’. Going one step further, Blažek (2005, 21) classed it as a verb in 3sg.aor.act. *\*e-eui-es-s* (sic) with the meaning ‘be favourable’. Nevertheless, these interpretations are clearly ungrounded.

*CIPPh I, 14; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 178; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 135-136; Blažek 2005, 21.*

**[-?]-aṽṣi** (?)

OPhr. [-?]-*aṽṣi* G-283

Unparalleled graffito incised on a fragment of a pithos. Perhaps, it is a PN.

*Brixhe 2002a, 43-44.*

**avtay** and **avtoi** see αὐτός.

**avun** (?)

OPhr. sg.acc. *avun* G-144

This obscure word was incised on the bottom of a bowl or cup after a probable verb: *estatoi avun*. Its ending *-un* is ambiguous: it could be a thematic or *u*-stem masc.sg.acc., a thematic sg.nom.-acc. neuter, a masc. sg.nom. in *\*-ōn* or even a pl.gen. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197) suggested a possible relation with the PN *aoa* (G-269). On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 190 and 417) translated it as ‘vessel’, considering that it refers to the bowl or cup on which it was incised, although no etymology was identified.

*Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 190 and 417.*

**ai** see *ay*.

**aiasay** (PN)

OPhr. dat.sg. *aiasay* HP-102

The inscription HP-102, engraved on a silver cup, has a clear structure: *midas aiasay ma[---]un* ‘Midas (gave<sup>3</sup>) this *ma[---]un* to Aiasa’. It is very likely a variant of *aiay*. Orel (1997a, 135-136 and 415) read it as *arosay* and interpreted it differently. However, since his reading is ungrounded, such an interpretation cannot be considered.

*Gusmani 1988; Orel 1997a, 135-137 and 415; Brixhe 2004a, 106-108.*

**aiay** (PN)

OPhr. sg.dat. *aiay* G-319

Read on a sherd from Hellenistic times, it is an *a*-stem PN, very likely a variant of *aiasay*. Note that both PNs share the spelling *ai-* where *ay-* is expected. Regarding its origin, Brixhe (2002, 75-76) suggested that it is the Hitt. PN *Aya-* (LNH 23 § 3).

*Gusmani 1988; Brixhe 2002, 75-76; Brixhe 2004a, 108.*

**αιδομενου** (participle?)

MPhr. *αιδομενου* MPhr-01 (W-11) l.5

It appears in an obscure sentence on a large funerary stele after two Gr. PNs and one unclear word: *νικοστρατος κλευμαχοι μίρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις μφ.κρος υιταν*. Because of the presence of *-μενο-* (< *\*-mh<sub>1</sub>no-*?), it seems to be a ppp. in. Regarding its ending, Brixhe (2004a, 20) considered it a sg.acc.masc. or sg.nom.-acc.neut. whose ending *-n* dropped. However, a sg.gen. or even a sg.dat. cannot be ruled out. On its root, he also suggested, e.g., the PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eid<sup>h</sup>-* ‘kindle, burn’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 259, IEW 11-12), attested in Gr. *αἶθω* ‘id.’, Lat. *aedes* ‘dwelling, temple, shrine’ and Sk. *inddhé* ‘to light, set on fire’, or *\*h<sub>2</sub>eisd-* ‘to be in awe, to worship’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 260-261, IEW 11-12), Gr. *αἰδομαι* ‘shrink back, feel awe, honour’, Sk. *īdé* ‘praise, honour’ and Goth. *aistan* ‘avoid, pay attention. However, the similarity of *αιδομενου* with the ppp. of the last Gr. Verb, *αἰδούμενος*, or even with the adverb *αἰδουμένως* (derived from it), is so close that it can be considered a Gr. borrowing. In any case, it remains unclear. Indeed, Phr. *αιδομενου* cannot be inherited from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eisd-* because the preservation of the stop as voiced is not expected.

*Brixhe 2004a, 7-26; Sowa 2007a, 90; Sowa 2008, 114-115; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192; Simon 2014a, 145.*

†**αικαν** *ay* and *kan*.

**αιν** see *ayniy*.

### **ain<sup>?</sup>[---] (?)**

OPhr. *ain<sup>?</sup>[---]* G-289

Read on a sherd, a reading *ain<sup>?</sup>[---]* is not ruled out by Brixhe (2002a, 50), but the parallels with *aini* give the more probable reading *ain<sup>?</sup>[---]*. In this case, it could be the conj. *aini*, which occurs once on another pottery fragment: P-101 *aini* | *dab<sup>?</sup>ula isini*. However, since in G-209 only a fragment of the inscription remains, it can be also considered a PN Αινάς, attested in Pisidia, or one of its variants (see *KPN* 49 § 24).

*Brixhe 2002a, 49-50.*

**aini** and **aini** see *ayniy*.

### **ak (PN)**

OPhr. *ak* B-105

This graffito read on a sherd is very likely an abbreviated PN related to Ακεπτος, Ακετας, Ακιερους or Ακκα (and variants) attested in Roman Phrygia (see *KPN* 50-51).

*Bakir & Gusmani 1993, 139; Brixhe 1996, 141-142; Brixhe 2004a, 89-90.*

### **ακα[. ?]δεο (?)**

NPhr. *ακα[. ?]δεο* 16.1 (116) l. 7-8

An obscure word read in an unclear context: *ομοϋσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[. ?]δεο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι...* Although the sequence was first segmented as *ακα[. ?] δεοποκγονιον*, Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176) ruled out any relationship with *ακκαλος* and *ακαλα* because there is not enough space for the restoration *ακα[λα]* and its context is very different.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176.*

**ακαλα** see *ακκαλος*.

### **ακαλας (PN)**

NPhr. *sg.gen.?* *ακαλας* 37.2 (30)

It has often been considered to be related to *ακκαλος* and *ακαλα*. However, it does not fit the inflection, and their contexts are very different. While *ακκαλος* and *ακαλα* appear in imprecative apodoses, *ακαλας* is found in a non-imprecative part of an epitaph, as the formula *ευκιν αργου* shows: [... ..] *δουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου*. It seems to be an *a*-stem PN in *sg.gen.* as well as *δουδας* and perhaps works as a patronymic: a diminutive of *Ακκα*, attested in Mysia, West-Phrygia, Galatia, Isauria and Lycia (*KPN* 51 § 36-1)? However, the text is damaged, making this difficult to corroborate.

*Haas 1966, 67, 85, 223-224; Neumann 1971; Brixhe 1979a, 191-192; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 187; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176; Orel 1997a, 411; Lubotsky 2004, 236.*

### **akaragayun (noun) ‘altar’?**

OPhr. *sg.acc.* *akaragayun* M-02

Because of its position in the inscription, it is very likely a noun which works as the direct object: *bba memevais proitavo[s] k<sup>↑</sup>ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*. Moreover, although the etymology is unclear, since this inscription refers to the altar on which it was engraved, it very likely refers to this monument itself: ‘B(a)ba ... set up this *akaragayun*’. By contrast, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187) preferred to consider it a part of the monument. On its origin, Varinlioğlu (1991, 35) suggested a compound noun whose components are related to Gr. ἄκρα- ‘highest or farthest point’ and γαῖος ‘on land, earthy’ or γαιήϊος ‘sprung from Gaia’ with the meaning ‘the high place which has sprung from earth, the hill-top terrace’. Broadly following her interpretation, Orel (1997a, 23 and 411) considered that the first element is the word attested by *EM* 617, ἀκαρός: σημαίνει τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν ‘a., meaning ‘brain’ or ‘head’, and

suggested that the first meaning of *akaragayun* was ‘earth head’ or ‘earth mound’, referring to the ‘altar’. However, such an interpretation is highly speculative, as is the suggestion of Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 194), who equated it to Gr. ἑσχάρα ‘hearth, house, sacrificing hearth’. Finally, the proposal of Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 62 and 114), who translated it as ‘sarcophagum’, does not fit with the context and the phonetic equivalence is not defensible. *CIPPh I*, 19; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 62 and 114; Lubotsky 1988, 23; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 179; Varinlioğlu 1991, 35; Lubotsky 1993b, 96 fn. 2; Orel 1997a, 23 and 411; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 194; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187 and 189.

### **aka.[---] (PN)**

OPhr. *aka.[---]* G-160

Read on a sherd, this graffito is very likely a PN. The remaining strokes of the last letter could be accidental, so Orel’s (1997, 198) reading *akau[---]* is a mere possibility. It is possibly related to Ακκα and its variants attested in Mysia, West-Phrygia, Galatia, Isauria and Lycia (KPN 51 § 36-1).

*CIPPh I*, 143; Orel 1997a, 198.

**ακε** see ακεε.

### **akenan (noun)**

OPhr. sg.acc. *akenan* P-04a

sg.gen. *akenaş<sup>?</sup>* W-07

This word is found in two different contexts. The first, W-07, is a very damaged text read on a cultic niche engraved on a rock: [---]t[ ] : [ ]n[ ] *esagas* ∶ *akenaş* [---]. Here, *akenaş* seems to be qualified by *esagas*. On the other hand, the inscription P-04a is more legible and shows the word in an imprecativ protasis, although its meaning is unclear: *otuvoi vetei etlnaie ios ni akenan egeseti o<sup>3</sup>k<sup>2</sup>irterko[..]. tekmo<sup>?</sup> ot.[...]seti vebru*. Its origin remains unconfirmed, although Bayun and Orel (1988a, 184 and Orel 1997a, 46 and 411) suggested a borrowing from Lyc. *ecānē* with the dual interpretation ‘tombstone’. However, since the context of W-07 is not related to funerary monuments, such a word is not expected. Perhaps their alternative, a noun derived from the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* ‘sharp’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 261, *IEW* 18-22), is more probable since it can mean ‘stone, rock’. Although the pattern of the Phrygian *akena-* is not a morphological fit for the examples they give, Skt. *aśani* ‘sharp point’ and Gr. ἀκόνη ‘whetstone, hone’, a formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>2</sup>-en-* (*NIL* 287-300) attested in Av. *asan-* ‘stone’ is very suitable for both occurrences of this word, if we accept a secondary *a-*stem (as in ↑*iray*). The title *akenanogavos* derives from this noun.

*Kretschmer* 1899, 360; *Sayce* 1927, 29 and 32; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 184; Lubotsky 1988, 12-13; Varinlioğlu 1991, 35; Orel 1997a, 46 and 411; Brixhe 2008, 78; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 193.

**akenaş<sup>?</sup>** see *akenan*.

### **akenanogavos (title) ‘the holder of the akenan’?**

OPhr. sg.nom.masc.? *akenanogavos* M-01a; *akenanogavos* W-01a

sg.acc.fem.? *akinanogavaṇ* M-04

*akeṇ<sup>?</sup>ano[---]* M-09?

This word appears in monuments related to the cult of *Matar*: M-01a (a façade) *ates arkiavais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes* W-01a (a façade) *bonok akenanogavos materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy* and M-04 (step-cut altar) *akinanogavaṇ tiyes mođroyanak avara[.?*]. The fourth possible occurrence is in M-09, a badly preserved inscription on an undetermined architectural element: [---] *akeṇ<sup>?</sup>ano[---]*. On the one hand, since *akenanogavos* follows a PN in M-01a and W-01a, Gusmani and Polat (1999b, 156 fn. 61), Innocente (1997, 40) and, in particular, Brixhe (2004a, 60 and 78) argued that it was a patronymic in sg.gen. derived from a PN in *\*-ēu-* parallel to Gr.

-εύς / -ῆφος (e.g. Ἀτρεύς, -έως). According to this hypothesis, the anthroponymic sequence *ates arkieavais akenanogavos* can be equated to B-07 *manes iyungidas manitos* ‘Manes (the son) of Iyung- (the grandson) of Manes’. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1988, 12), Janda (1997, 271-272), Orel (1997a, 10-11 and 412) and other scholars considered *akenanogavos* a title in sg.nom. of *ates* and *bonok* a reference to a kind of priest. Even more problematic is the form *akinanogavan*, which seems to be a sg.acc. and precedes the PN *tiyes*. Leaving aside the pretonic hesitation *akenan-* ~ *akinan-* (see § 4.1.1), the presence of this acc. is only addressed by Lubotsky (1988, 12), who suggested that it is the fem. of *akenanogavos* applied to the Mother-Goddess (to whom the step monument of M-04 is devoted). He also considered it derived from the noun *akenan*, although –(o)gav- is not explained (against Orel 1997a, 10-11 and 412). In § 4.2.1.1.5.9, Phr. -ogav- is equated to Gr. ὀχεύς ‘anything used for holding or fastening’, which derives from \*soǵ<sup>h</sup>-, the o-grade variant of the root \*seǵ<sup>h</sup>- ‘to hold’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 515-516, IEW 888-889), and it is considered a thematisation after oblique cases like the sg.gen. \*soǵ<sup>h</sup>-ēu-os (Epic Gr. ὀχῆος). An alternative to the patronymic and title theories is given by Wittke (2004, 203) who suggests the possibility of an ethnic. However, such a toponym never occurs, so it is impossible to corroborate her suggestion, and the beginning *akenan-* supports the interpretation as a title.

Lubotsky 1988, 12; Varinlioǵlu 1991, 35; Witczak 1992-1993, 265; Innocente 1997, 40; Janda 1997, 271-272; Vassileva 1997, 269; Orel 1997a, 10-11 and 412; Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 156 fn. 61; Lancellotti 2002, 37, fn. 117; Brixhe 2004a, 60 and 78; Wittke 2004, 203; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 168 § 60, 194; Woodhouse 2009, 170; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 188 and 192; Oreshko 2013b, 87-89.

**ἀκεῖ<sup>?</sup>ανο[---]** and **ἀκινανογανῆ** see *akenanogavos*.

#### **ἀκεῖ<sup>?</sup>νικου (PN?)**

NPhr. sg.nom.? ἀκεῖ<sup>?</sup>νικου 11.2 (18) l. 2

The third letter of this word is very unclear, however the *epsilon* suggested by Orel (1997a, 80-81) fits well, more so if it is related to *akenan*. Nevertheless, the segmentation that he considered, ἀκεῖνι κου, has no parallels and his analysis of ἀκεῖνι as the sg.dat. of *akenan* is impossible because the shift –āi > –i is *ad hoc*. The context is not at all clear, however since it follows a probable PN it can be considered a PN in sg.gen. working as a patronymic (as Woodhouse 2006, 171 suggested): [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ἀκεῖ<sup>?</sup>νικου οκαυγοσι | μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ...

Orel 1997a, 80-81 and 411; Woodhouse 2006, 171.

#### **აკιο[---] (?)**

OPhr. *akio*[---] M-03

It appears in a damaged text engraved on an altar: [---] *abas iman akio*[---]. Since it follows a PN it can be considered a patronymic or a title. By contrast, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 179 and Orel 1997a, 24-25 and 412) suggested the restoration *akio*[i], considering it a dat. of a PN related to PNs such as the Hitt. *Akiya-* (LNH 24-25 § 15) and Ακης, Ακκίς, attested in Gr. inscriptions from Mysia (KPN 51 § 33 and 36-1). In any case, as CIPPh (I, 21) considered, the lack of parallels means that no proposal can be made with absolute certainty.

CIPPh I, 20-21; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 179; Orel 1997a, 24-25 and 412.

#### **ακκαλος (noun or adjective?)**

OPhr. pl.nom-acc.neut. ακαλα 4.1 (2)

sg.nom-acc.neut. ακκαλος 53.1 (76), 62.2 (33); ακκαλο[ς] 54.1 (108)

It is read in two different imprecative apodoses: 4.1 υ κε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα and 53.1, 54.1 and 62.2 ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδερουν ειτου. A third occurrence often adduced, 37.2 ακαλας, seems to be a PN not related to ακκαλος. This word is clearly neuter, as the possessive ουα and the adj. τιδερουν reveal. The origin and meaning of this noun remain unclear, despite several

proposals (see Brixhe 1979a, 191). Haas (1966, 67, also p. 85 and 223-224, followed by Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 183 § 9), suggested that it was the Phrygian noun for ‘water’ (related somehow to the Gr. river name from Phthia Ἀχελῷος). Similarly, Panagl and Kowal (1983, 187) considered it an adj. derived from a noun \*ακα- ‘water’ by the suffix -lo- with the meaning ‘wet’, a parallel formation to Gr. ὑδρηλός ‘id.’. However, both interpretations imply that ακκαλος is a cognate of the Lat. *aqua*, Go. *ahva* and OHG *aha*, and such a word is now considered a borrowing into these western IE branches from an unknown European language (Beekes 1998, 459-460). On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 411) considered it an adj. \**ad-kalos* with the meaning ‘good, fine, beautiful’ in the light of Gr. καλός < καλφός. However, it does not seem to fit here and the prehistory of this Gr. adj. is also unclear (see EDG 626-627). Finally, Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176) and Lubotsky (2004, 236) considered that ακκαλος is a noun in apposition to βεκος, although no etymology or meaning is given. Following this last interpretation, we may consider the working hypothesis that ακκαλος is a borrowing from the Assyrian noun *akalu* ‘bread, food’, thus in βεκος ακκαλος it perhaps refers to a specific kind of bread while in 4.1 υ κε ακκαλα οουιτετου ουα the plural ακκαλα is the generic for food.

Haas 1966, 67, 85, 223-224; Neumann 1971; Brixhe 1979a, 191-192; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 187; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176; Orel 1997a, 411; Brixhe 1999, 296; Lubotsky 2004, 236.

**ακκε** (copulative conj.) ‘and’

NPhr. ακκε 53.1 (76), 62.2 (33)

It appears between two imprecative apodoses: 54.1 τιττετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ειτου and 62.2 γεγειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου. While the second part of ακ-κε clearly corresponds to the common inherited PIE copulative conj. \**k<sup>u</sup>e* > *ke*, *κε*, the interpretation of the first element is not unanimous. Haas (1966, 96) and Brixhe (1978b, 2, see also LIPP II, 11) suggested that this formation is parallel to Lat. *atque*, so ακ- goes back to PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ed* ‘near, at’ with assimilation of its stop before *κε*. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1989b, 150, followed by Brixhe 1997, 49) preferred to consider that ακ works as the preposition (as the common αδ ~ ατ) governing the following sg.dat. pronoun *οι*. It may also be attested with a simplification of the geminates in the apodosis of 17.3 (7): δεος κε ζεμ[ελωσ κε][---] ακε οι ειροι α τιε τιττ[ε|τικμενοι ειττ]νου. However, since the inscription was already damaged when it was copied, other possibilities cannot be ruled out, for example, [---]α κε, the ending of a word followed by the the simple conj.

Haas 1966, 96; Brixhe 1978b, 2; Lubotsky 1989b, 150; Brixhe 1997, 49; Poccetti 2012, 322; LIPP II, 11.

**ako** (PN)

OPhr. *ako* G-237

Graffito incised on a fragment of a pithos. Although it is too short to reach any conclusion, it is perhaps related to the masculine PN Ακης read in a Gr. from Mysia (KPN 51 § 33).

CIPPh I, 188.

**akor** (noun?)

OPhr. *akor* G-105

Incised on a bronze bowl after a PN: *si↑idos akor*. The old segmentation *si↑ido sakor* (Bayun and Orel 1988a, 193 and Orel 1997a, 169 and 456) is not defensible, since *si↑idos* appears in two other inscriptions. Brixhe (2004a, 116) suggested that it is a verb in 1sg.pres.ind.pass., while Lubotsky (Lubotsky 1988, 21; Lubotsky 1989b, 152) proposed a neuter noun in sg.nom.-acc. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that *si↑idos akor* are two PNs. In any case, no parallel is attested elsewhere.

Lubotsky 1988, 21; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Brixhe 2004a, 116.

**ακροδμαν** (noun)

NPhr. sg.acc. ακροδμαν 16.1 (116) l. 3

Read in a list of parts of the funerary monument on which it was engraved: ξευνε ισοος κε δετοϋ [ο'υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν [.] κνουμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λοδιμον μειομον ριδιτι ται τοα με ογομανιας εναρκε ερω[λ]αρος κναικο<ς> εκατηας. Although it is never attested in Gr., it is very likely an Aeol. formation parallel to μεσόδημη 'crossbeam' borrowed in Phr.: ακρο- (Gr. ἄκρος 'at the farthest point or end, topmost,') and -δμα- (Gr. -δημη-'house', derived from δέμω 'build').

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 172; Neumann 1988, 21-22; Lubotsky 1993, 128; Orel 1997a, 128 and 412; Lubotsky 2004, 233 fn. 14.*

**aladis** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. aladis G-109

Although this graffito incised on a jar is unparalleled, it has been considered an *i*-stem PN. It is followed by the obscure sequence *url*.

*Brixhe 1983, 127; CIPPh I, 103; Orel 1997a, 412; Brixhe 2008, 79; Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 150.*

**αλενπατης** see αδενπατης.

**alis** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. alis NW-102

Incised on the bottom of a bowl with two other (less readable) graffiti. Brixhe (2002a, 12) considered it an Anatolian PN that he equated to the Hitt. names in *ali-* (LNH 345).

*Brixhe 2002a, 12.*

**alu** see *alus*.

**alus** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. alus W-08, W-09; alu W-10

sg.nom.? alu G-204

It appears in a formula attested in three inscriptions on rock from West Phrygia: W-08 *alus si↑eto*<sup>2</sup>, W-09 *si↑eto ae.* | *alus* and W-10 *alus si↑eto das*. It is clear that *alus* is a *u*-stem sg.nom. which works, perhaps as the subject of *si↑eto*, if it is a verb in impv. Very probably *alus* is a PN attested in Lyd. *alus* (49,2, see Gusmani 1964, 56) and in the Gr. inscription from Lydia as Αλυς (TAM V,1 579), perhaps related to Hitt. *Al(l)uwa-* (LNH 28 § 39, with the common contraction \**wa* > *u*, see Rieken 2001). In addition, G-204 *alu*, read on a fragment of a pithos, seems to be a variant of this PN without the sg.nom. ending -s (if not an abbreviation of another PN), but unfortunately its context is even less comprehensible: [---]da alu m s [-?-]. In any case, the formula *alus si↑eto* remains obscure and other interpretations have been given, although they are not very probable. Bayun and Orel (1989, 32, see also Sowa 2008, 80) considered that this word means 'priest' (although Lyd. *alus* is not commonly considered a PN, still in *eDiAna*) and Orel (1997a, 48 and 412) equated to the Hesychian gloss ἄλυς ἀπορία. πλάνος. βλάβη. 'a.; difficulty, roaming, harm' (H. α 3301). Finally, the similarity with the river 'Αλυς (modern-day Kızılırmak) was also considered by Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1978, 73-75).

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1978, 73-75; CIPPh I, 52-53 and 168; Bayun & Orel (1989, 32); Orel 1997a, 412; Sowa 2008, 80; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 188.*

**αμιασιαν** (adjective?)

NPhr. sg.acc.fem. αμιασιαν 2.1 (15)

Since this word follows the fem. noun μανκαν, αμιασιαν seems to qualify it: ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ξεναν μανκαν αμιασιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα|[νος ---]. However, its meaning remains unknown. Another possibility was given by Orel (1997a, 78 and 413), who

considered that ἀμι|ας was the PN attested in Gr. inscriptions from Lydia, Caria, Mysia and Phrygia as Αμιας / Αμμια (KPN 58 § 57-12 and 59 § 57-16), while ιαν was the relative pronoun in sg.acc.fem.

Haas 1966, 106; Orel 1997a, 78 and 413; Lubotsky 1993a, 127-134.

### **amos** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *amos* C-102; *amos* G-313

Thematic Lallname attested in two sherds. It is very likely to be the same PN that occurs as Αμμως in a Gr. inscription from Philomelion (Phrygia, MAMA 7.202, KPN 65 § 57-32).

CIPPh I, 221-222; Orel 1997a, 288-289 and 413; Brixhe 2002a, 71.

### **αν<sup>1</sup>** (preposition)

NPhr. αν 40.3 (31)

Attested in two different contexts, an obscure curse and a descriptive part of a NPhr. epitaph: 40.3 ας σεμουν κνουμαν' Αδιθρερακ ξευνεοι αδικεσει αν μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν. It precedes the nouns in sg.acc. μανκαν, so it seems to be a preposition governing acc. Very likely it is also attested as a preverb in *anerneuey* (B-04) and *anivaYeti* (B-07). Brixhe (2004a, 23) considered that it is also attested in MPhr-01, but the new segmentation suggested by Lubotsky (2017) rules out this possibility. Its origin must be found in the PIE adverb \**h<sub>2</sub>en-* 'on, onto' (LIPP II, 50; e.g. Gk ἀνά 'up, upwards, along', Av. *ana* 'upwards, along').

Brixhe 2004a, 23; LIPP II, 50.

### **αν<sup>2</sup>?** (particle?)

NPhr. αν 38.1 (44)

According to Woudhuizen (2008-209, 183 § 11), *an* is the modal particle also attested in Gr. as ἄν. However, since he does not mention the texts in which it is attested, it is difficult to know where his reading is from. Indeed, there is only one possible attestation: 38.1 [ι]ος αν σ[εμουν κακου]ν κνουμ|μανει δοκε[τ, ατ τ]ι αδειτου. This inscription was copied by Sterret (1888, 176) and published with a correction by Anderson (1898, 118). Although it is now lost, it seems clear that the inscription was very badly damaged when it was read by Sterret. Consequently, the existence of this form is difficult to substantiate.

Woudhuizen 2008-209, 183 § 11.

### **ḡnamaka** (noun) tenth month of the Persian calendar

OPhr. sg.nom. *ḡnamaka* HP-114

Read on the clay tablet from Persepolis: 30<sup>2</sup>...*ekes* 30<sup>2</sup> *i*<sup>2</sup> | .. 30<sup>2</sup> *v*<sup>2</sup>*r*<sup>2</sup>*ekes*<sup>2</sup> | . 30<sup>2</sup> *knays* 30<sup>2</sup> *s*<sup>2</sup> | *i*<sup>2</sup>*v*<sup>2</sup>*r*<sup>2</sup>*i* 40<sup>2</sup> *knayke*<sup>2</sup>[*s*<sup>2</sup>] | .<sup>2</sup> 40<sup>2</sup> *m*<sup>2</sup>*akeres* 40<sup>2</sup> | [---] | [-?-] | .. *ḡnamaka*. Since this tablet was found in the Fortification Archive among many Elamite administrative documents, it is clear that Phrygian *ḡnamaka* is the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the Persian calendar, *Anāmaka-* (which corresponds to the Akkadian *Ṭebētu*, December-January). Consequently, this is a Persian borrowing, also attested in the Elamite texts as *Ḥanāmakaš* (Poebel 1938, 130). According to Schmitt (2003, 27-29), who rejected the common etymology *nāman-* 'name', \**an-āma-ka-* means "nichts Rohes habend" or "kein (rohes) Fleish als Speise habend" o "kein Fleisch zum Opfer habend" (followed by Tavernier 2007, 39 who translated it as "having no raw meat for sacrifice or having no raw meat for food"). On its Phryg. ending, it appears in nom., like the other words in the tablet, and can therefore be considered a nom. of rubric.

Haas 1966, 176; Diakonoff & Neronak 1985, 92; Orel 1997a, 365 and 413; Schmitt 2003, 27-29; Brixhe 2004a, 125; Tavernier 2007, 39 and 83-84.

**ανανγκαι** (noun) ‘force, constraint, necessity’

NPhr. sg.dat.? ανανγκαι 62.4 (35)

This noun appears once in an imprecative apodosis: ιος νι σαι κακουν αδδακεμ μανγκαι, ας ανανγκαι οι παντα κενα <ι>ννου. It is very likely a borrowing from the Gr. noun ἀνάγκη ‘force, constraint, necessity’ (on its unclear etymology see EDG 97). Its ending is the common *a*-stem sg.dat. However, according to Brixhe (1997, 51-52), the preposition ας governs acc., and it can perhaps be considered that here the ending was confused (like elsewhere in such a inflection, see the pronoun σα, σαι, σαν). Since ἀνάγκη is never attested in Gr. imprecative apodoses from Anatolia (indeed, this word only appears in a protasis of Strubbe 1997, no. 39, from Lydia), there are no parallels through which to interpret the Phrygian sentence. Nevertheless, its meaning could be something like ‘let his whole offspring become into necessity’.

Orel 1997a, 255 and 413; Brixhe 1997, 51-52; Lubotsky 2004, 234; EDG 97.

**αναρ** (noun) ‘man, husband’

NPhr. sg.nom. αναρ 2.1 (15)

It is attested on a lost funerary stele in apposition to the PN Δορυκα[νος]: Ξευνη των ειξα υψοδαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμεναν μανγκαν αμιασιαν ιοι αναρ Δορυκα[νος ---]. The *r*-stem noun αναρ is clearly inherited from the PIE noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>nér* ‘man’ (NIL 332-335, IEW 765) attested in Gr. ἀνήρ ‘id.’, Skt. *nā* ‘id.’, Lat. *Nerō* (PN with the suffix *\*-ōn*; see also Oscan *niir* and South Picene pl. gen. *nerum* ‘id.’).

Orel 1997a, 78 and 413; Matzinger 2005, 377 and 378; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186 and 188.

**anato** (?)

OPhr. *anato* B-01 l. 6

An unknown word read in a cultic inscription: ... *opito* [k]ey oy evememesmeneya *anato* (.)? | *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.)? | *kesiti*... CIPPh (I, 66) argued that some strokes remain after *anato* which could be read as *y* or *t*. Following this observation, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188, also Orel 1997a, 144 and 413) considered that *anatoy* was a borrowing from the Gr. ἀνώτος ‘unharmed, immune from punishment’ in sg.dat. Nevertheless, Lubotsky (1993b, 94) considered “not very probable” the presence of this letter. Its ending in *-o* is also attested in l.2 of the same inscription: *kavarmoyoy imroy edaes etovesniyo*.

CIPPh I, 66; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993b, 94; Orel 1997a, 144 and 413.

**andati** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.? *andati* B-05 l. 4

The ending suggests that this is a verb, however its context is damaged and unclear: *pan̄ta vebr̄as adun p̄os key est̄at pator.̄ike[...].e[...]* *andati vay niptiyay daker kar̄atu*... Since *an-* can be considered a preverb, it perhaps goes back to the PIE verbal root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to do’ (see αδδακετ).

Brixhe 2004a, 57; Sowa 2007a, 74.

†**ανδετουγ** see αν and δετουγ.

**ando** (preposition?)

OPhr. *ando* B-05 l. 6

Read in a obscure part of this large inscription: ... *nidus ad kalıyay kar̄atu pan̄ato ando popostois kl̄aniv* | *kelmis ke umnīset evradūş daker̄aīş key iverais* [...] ... Brixhe (2004a, 58) after rejecting Neumann’s segmentation *andop opostois* (1997, 22), read it as a single word *andopopostois*. Nevertheless, a first part *ando* can be related to the PIE adverb *\*h<sub>1</sub>ndo(m)* ‘inside’, attested in Gr. ἔνδον ‘id.’, Oir. *and* and Hitt. *anda* ‘in(to), (with)in’ (see also HLuw. *anta* ‘in(to)’, Lyc. *ñte* ‘inside’), although the details of its vocalisation do not fit at all with the Phr. form. Since it is very likely followed by a noun in acc., *ando* seems to be a preposition.

†**ando** see *ando* and *popostois*.

**anernewey** (verb)

OPhr. 3sg. perfect.ind.? *anernewey* B-04

Read in a lost inscription. Its context remains obscure:  $\alpha^?m^?op^?tov^?a^?iy \cdot \alpha^?e^? lavoy \cdot ue | e\delta aviy p^?is^? \cdot \alpha nernewey | \nu^?a.oe^?ap.earvi^?s^? \cdot^? bato^?ant\epsilon...$  Although Brixhe (2004a, 41) considered it a noun in sg.dat. or a verb in 3sg., the latter option is the most probable in the light of (*etit*)*evtevey*. In that case, its beginning is very likely the preverb *an-*, also attested in *aniva*  $\Upsilon$  *eti* (B-07), and, as a preposition, in MPhr-01 l. 7  $\alpha\nu \delta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu | \zeta\omicron\upsilon\nu$

Brixhe 2004a, 41.

**aniva**  $\Upsilon$  *eti* (verb) ‘to harm’

OPhr. 3sg.prest.sub.act. *aniva*  $\Upsilon$  *eti* B-07

A verb found in the last sentence of an epitaph from Daskyleion: *me kos aniva*  $\Upsilon$  *eti smani* ‘let nobody harm Manes’ (see the whole discussion and parallels in § 3.1.3). This Phrygian verb may go back to the PIE root \**ueh*<sub>2</sub>*g-* / \**ueh*<sub>2</sub>*ǵ-* ‘break’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 664-665), also attested in Gr. ἄγνυμι ‘to break’, Hitt. *uā*k- / *uā*kk- ‘to bite’ and ToAB *wā*k- ‘to split, to burst’. It seems to have the preverb *an-*, also attested as a preposition in NPhr.  $\alpha\nu$  (40.3 = 31, already identified by Brixhe 2004a, 84). However, the *-i-* between the preverb and the verb remains unexplained.

Gusmani & Polat 1999, 159; Brixhe 2004a, 84; Sowa 2007a, 84; Sowa 2008, 107; Hammig *fthc. b.*

**aoa** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *aoa* G-269

Following CIPPh (I, 208), this word incised on a small cup is very likely a PN related to the fem. *Aoua*, attested in a Gr. inscription from Isauria (KPN 111 § 125-1). On the other hand, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197) equated it to *avum*, read in G-144.

CIPPh I, 208; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197.

**aoivouu** (verb?)

MPhr. 3pl.? *aoivouu* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4

Read in an obscure epitaph:  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu \kappa\epsilon \tau\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon \mu\rho\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma \lambda\alpha\pi\tau\alpha \mu\alpha\tau\iota \alpha\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu...$  It has been considered a verb by Brixhe (2004a, 20) on the basis of its position in the sentence and its ending *-ouu*, very likely 3pl. (< PIE \*-nt). He also suggested that it is a past form, despite the lack of augment (perhaps lost in contact with the initial  $\alpha$ -). However, a pl.gen. cannot be ruled out. Either way, it remains unclear.

Brixhe 2004a, 16 and 20.

**ap** (PN)

OPhr. *ap* G-162

Although it could be read as sinistroverse and considered a complete PN (*pa* is attested in G-258, see also Πας in the Gr. inscriptions from Isauria and Cilicia, KPN 419 § 1213-1) or an abbreviated PN, CIPPh (I, 145) preferred the dextroverse reading because of the strokes of <p>. In that case, it is an abbreviation of one of the many Phrygian PNs with this beginning (KPN 70-74 § 66).

CIPPh I, 145; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199.



(1.2 and 37.2) and *εναρκε* (also in 16.1) or even with *arkiaevais*, with a secondary voiced stop developed in this context (in the light of Gr. *δόγμα* and *παράδειγμα*). In any case, the word remains unexplained.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 180; Orel 1997a, 133 and 415; Liborio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.*

**αργου** (noun used as postposition?) ‘on account of, for the sake of’

NPhr. sg.gen.? *αργου* 1.2 (98), 37.2 (30)

In both inscriptions where this word is attested, it follows *ευκιν*, considered a Gr. borrowing *εὐχήν* ‘vow’, and seems to conclude the non-imprecative part of the inscription: 1.2 *δακαρεν πατερης ευκιν | αργου* and 37.2 [.....] *δουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου*. There is no clear identification of its origin. While Haas (1966, 111) equated it to Gr. *ἀλφή* ‘produce, gain’ (< PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>elg<sup>uh</sup>-*), Orel (1997a, 329 and 415) adduced the Gr. *ἀρχή* ‘beginning, origin’, *ἀρχός* ‘leader, chief,’ and other derivatives of *ἄρχω* ‘be first, begin, rule’ (with an unclear etymology, see EDG 145 and DELG 119-121). However, none of these proposals fits well as a funerary formula. Following Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189), its ending seems to be a thematic sg.gen. (although a sg.dat. cannot be ruled out), so it is very likely a noun. The same authors also interpreted the meaning of this word as ‘because of, as a’ (similarly to Haas 1966, 111), which is very suitable in this context. Indeed, it appears to be a thematic noun used as postposition similar to the Lat. gen. + *gratia / causa* ‘on account of, for the sake of’.

*Haas 1966, 111; Brixhe 1993, 341; Brixhe 1999, 298; Brixhe 2002b, 258; Orel 1997a, 329 and 415; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189.*

**are<sup>?</sup>.[---]** (?)

OPhr. *are<sup>?</sup>.[---]* or *ara<sup>?</sup>.[---]* G-170

Bayun and Orel (1988a, 182) read it in the light of *areyastin*. However, the context is completely different and the reading of G-170, a graffito incised on a sherd, is not clear enough for any conclusion to be reached.

*CIPPh I, 149; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 182 and 200.*

**αρεοπαδε** see *αδενπατης*.

**areyastin** (epithet) ‘from (the mountain) Areya’

OPhr. sg.acc. *areyastin* W-01a

It follows the DN *materan*, in agreement with it: *bonok akenanogavos materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy...* According to Berndt-Ersöz (2006, 84, also Yakubovich 2007, 143), its origin is to be found in the Luw. *\*ariyatt(i)-* ‘elevation, mountain’, a derivative of *ari(ia)-* ‘raise; check, restrain’, (Hitt. *arā<sup>i</sup>-*, *ari-* ‘id.’, Lyc. *erije-* ‘raise, levy’, CLL 27, Kloekhorst 2008, 200). However, the presence of *-st-*, also found in other Phrygian DNs (see, e.g., *Ἀγδιστις*), means that *areyasti-* cannot be considered a direct borrowing from the Luw. *\*ariyatt(i)-*. Very probably, this *i*-stem epithet is a Phr. formation derived from a pre-Phrygian oronym (very likely Luwic), as is commonly observed (see *kubeleya*). A parallel formation is found in *Ἄγδιστις* (Paus. 7.17.12, acc. *Ἄγδιστιν* Str. 10.3.12 and Paus. 7.17.10), derived from the oronym *Agdus* (Arn., *Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1).

*Lubotsky 1988, 11; Orel 1997a, 36 and 414; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 84; Yakubovich 2007, 143.*

**arkiaevais** (patronymic) ‘Son of Arkias’

OPhr. sg.nom. *arkiaevais* M-01a

Its sole attestation agrees with the PN *ates* in sg.nom.: *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*. It has been considered a title, ‘chief, official’, an ethnic or a patronymic. The first proposal was given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 175) in the light of the other words with the same ending: *memevais* and *kanutievais*. They also equated it to Gr. *ἀρχή*. Since in *arkia-* there is a voiceless stop, this origin is only defensible if we assume a Gr. borrowing in Phrygian. However,

the Gr. itacism is not expected so early. The ethnic interpretation (not ruled out by Brixhe 2014a, 78) is not very convincing because of the lack of a fitting toponym. Indeed, the best interpretation is to assume that it is a patronymic derived from the Gr. name Ἀρχίας borrowed in Phrygian as *arkia-*. On its ending, Brixhe (2004a, 77-78) suggested that it shows the shift \*-*evans* > -*evais*, parallel to the sg.acc. ending \*-*an-s* > -*ais*. According to him, \*-*ev-an-s* are two suffixal sequences in which the second element is equated to Gr. -*āv* / -*āvος* (see, e.g., Ἐλλην / Ἐλλαν, Ἐλληνοσ / Ἐλλανοσ), used in this language to create ethnics and patronymics. Recently, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189) considered that Phr. -*evais* is an ancient *t*-stem suffix: \*-*uhts* > \*-*uans* > \*-*uais* (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2).

Huxley 1959, 86; Haas 1966, 189; CIPPh I, 8; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 175; Brixhe 1991, 43; Innocente 1997, 40; Orel 1997a, 10; Brixhe 2002c, 60; Brixhe 2004a, 77-78; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187, 189.

**armam** see *arma.a*.

### **arma.a** (PN)

OPhr. *armam* or *arma.a* G-277

The last letter of this complete graffito incised on the bottom of a vase is difficult to read. Brixhe (2002a, 37) prefers the reading *arma.a*, without ruling out *armam*. In any case, it seems to be a PN, perhaps abbreviated. On its origin, without ruling out the possibility that it could be a Phrygian PN (unattested elsewhere), Brixhe also suggested that it contains the Anatolian DN *arma-* ‘moon(god); month’ (HLuw. (DEUS)LUNA+MI-*sa* /*armas*/ ‘moon(god)’, Lyd. *armta-* adj. ‘belonging to Arma (?)’ Lyc. *armīma-* ‘moon’), found in theophoric names such as Hitt. <sup>m</sup>*Ar-ma-zi-ti-* or Luw. <sup>m</sup>*Armapiya* (Αρμαπιας in Gr. inscriptions from Lycia and Cilicia, see KPN 92 § 97-3, once as Ερμαπιας in Lycia, KPN 169-170 § 355-20, see also Adiego 2007, 331) and <sup>f</sup>*Arma-wiya* (LNH 40 § 140).

Brixhe 2002a, 37-38; Brixhe 2004a, 51.

### **aros** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *aros* W-12

Read on a stone fragment with other two PNs: *sitoros aros* | *ispas*. Since *sitoros* and *ispas* seems to be PNs, *aros* would appear to be another PN, despite the lack of parallels.

Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 148

### **art** (preposition) ‘around’

OPhr. *art* B-05 l. 8

According to Gorbachov (2008, 96-98), who rejected Neumann’s (1997, 23) first equation of this word with Gr. ἄρ(α), see also the Lith. adverb *artì* ‘nearby; nearly, almost’. It is a preposition inherited from the PIE noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-t-* ‘fitting’ (LIPP II, 290) attested in the Lat. noun *ars, artis* ‘art, skill’, in the Arm. adverb *ard* ‘just now’ and in the Gr. ἄρτι ‘just, exactly’ but also in the Lithuanian adverb *artì* ‘nearby; nearly, almost’, which developed prepositional usages: ‘about, near, beside’. So, a similar meaning can be given to Phrygian *art* followed by the sg.acc. *sin=t imenān* in an imprecative apodosis: *yos niy art sin=t imenān kākā oskavos kakey* | *kān dedasitiy...* ‘whoever does harm around this monument...’. It fits well with the Gr. protasis of the same stele: Ὅστις περὶ | τὸ ἱερὸν κακούρ<γ>ετήσαι...

Neumann 1997, 23; Brixhe 2004a, 59; Gorbachov 2008, 96-98; Hämmig 2013, 146; LIPP II, 290.

### **artimitos** (DN) Artemis

OPhr. sg.gen. *artimitos* B-05 l. 3

A clear *t*-stem DN also found in Gr. Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος (Dor. Ἄρταμις, -τος, Mys. *a-te-mi-to* /*artemitos*/ sg.gen., see EDG 142), Lyd. *artimus* (Gusmani 1964, 63-64; 1980, 34-35; 1986, 126) and Lyc. *ertēmi*

(Neumann 2007, 72). Its origin remains unclear (EDG 142). In the Phrygian text it agrees with the adj. *kraniyas* (an epithet): *vreakan vitaran artimitos kraniyas* [---] ‘the relief<sup>2</sup> of Artemis *Kraniyas*’. Neumann 1997, 20-21; Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 155-156; Brixhe 2004a, 55-56; Brixhe 2006, 40; Gorbachov 2008, 98.

### **ar[---] (?)**

OPhr. ar[---] T-03 a II

Beginning of a unknown word in a fragment on a severely damaged stele: [---]sn|a[---] | [---]ed|eia[---]o<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>e|s : ar[---].

Brixhe 2004a, 97.

### **as** (preposition) ‘in, at, by’

OPhr. a B-01 l. 3

NPhr. ας 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 20.2 (128), 40.3 (31), 46.1 (53), 62.2 (33), 62.4 (35)

α 62.5 (36)

A clear preposition governing acc.: e.g. B-01 l. 3 *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy...* 7.1 τιτετικμενος | ας τιαν ειτου, 20.2 με δδεω με ζεμε|λος τιτετικμενος | ειτου | ας βαταν ορουεναν κε and 40.3 ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ. Its final sibilant sometimes assimilates to the following letter and the resulting geminates are simplified: ας βαταν (20.2) > \*αβ βαταν > α βαταν (62.5). In one case it is found with dat.: 62.4 ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα | <ι>ννου. However, it can be considered the common hesitation between -α, -αν and -αι attested in NPhr. a-stem. Brixhe (2004a, 62) considered that it is also found in B-05 l. 11, but Hämmig 2013 preferred the segmentation *aseñan*. The preposition ας has two functions: it expresses a position in the space, ‘in’ (ας σεμουν κνουμαν ‘in this tomb’), and identifies the agent of the sentence (τιτετικμενος ειτου ας βαταν ‘let him be accursed by Bas’). On the origin of ας, Lubotsky (1988, 24 fn. 13 and 1989a, 84 fn. 31) and Brixhe (1997, 52 as a working hypothesis, see also LIPP II, 226) considered it the Phr. outcome of the PIE preposition \**h<sub>1</sub>ens* with a compensatory lengthening: \**h<sub>1</sub>ens* > \**ēs* > *as*. Nevertheless, since this lengthening is not identified elsewhere in Phrygian, it is easier to accept Heubeck’s analysis (1958, 20 and 1987, 79, see also LIPP II, 10), which classifies this preposition as a variant of \**h<sub>2</sub>ed* (see αδ): \**h<sub>2</sub>ed-s* > ας (on the drop of the dentals before -s, see \**nepots* > *nevos*).

Heubeck 1958, 20; Haas 1966, 119; Heubeck 1987, 79; Lubotsky 1988, 24 fn. 13; Lubotsky 1989a, 84 fn. 31; Brixhe 1997, 50-53; Brixhe 2004a, 62; LIPP II, 10 and 226.

### **asakas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *asakas* G-150 c

An a-stem PN incised on a pithos with other independent graffiti: capacity marks, the PN *olgiavos* (G-150 a) and some unreadable strokes (G-150 b). Perhaps it is related to [-?-]p<sup>2</sup>*asakas* W-101. Its origin is possibly Iranian according to Lejeune (1970, 74) and Orel (1997, 194 and 416). Schmitt (1982, 35) also considers this possibility, although he is far from convinced. If this identification is correct, the word goes back to OP \**asa-* ‘horse’ with the hypocoristic suffix -*ka-*, a form attested in Elamite *Áš-šá-ka<sub>4</sub>* (see Tavernier 2007, 118).

CIPPh I, 137; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 93; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 194; Orel 1997a, 194 and 416; Tavernier 2007, 118; Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 145.

### **ασγ** (?)

NPhr. ασγ 47.1 (51)

Unparalleled sequence read after a damaged but clear NPhr. curse: [ιος σεμ]ον ρε|κτεον [κακου]ν αδα|κε, ατε|τικμενο|ς ατ τ[ι] | αδει[του ...] ασγ. Orel (1997a, 338) read ας π[---], where the first element is a preposition. Despite the fact that a word boundary is not expected after a gamma (the inscription is lost so we cannot know whether the text continued), Orel’s interpretation of ασγ is far from certain.

**asenān** (noun) ‘harm, damage’ or ‘grave’?

OPhr. sg.acc. *asenān* B-05 l. 11

Because of its position in an imprecative protasis (the object of the verb *ḍaket*), Hämmig (2013, 147-149, followed by Simon 2014a, 141-142) suggested that its meaning is similar to *κακουν* ‘harm’, by comparing B-05 *ṭivṭ imun inmeney asenān ḍaket torvetun ṭiray...* with *ιος νι σεμονυ κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ*. Although her analysis is very likely, the meaning and origin of *asenān* remain unexplained. Brixhe (2004a, 62), on the other hand, suggested that *as enān* is the preposition followed by a pronoun inherited from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eno-* (in sg.ac.fem.) and equated this Phr. phrase to the Gr. *εἰς ἔνην* ‘the day after tomorrow’ (where *ἡμέραν* ‘day’ was elided). However, this interpretation does not fit with the imprecative context. Due to the Lyd. influence on Hellespontine Phrygia, a possible solution is to consider *asenān* a borrowing from the Lyd. noun *asinas* ‘(part of the) grave’ (no. 4, formerly transcribed as *asina-*, see Gusmani 1964, 67). According to this suggestion, *ṭivṭ <s>imun inmeney asenān ḍaket...* means ‘whoever puts a grave in this shrine...’.

Neumann 1997, 18; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Hämmig 2013, 147-149; Simon 2014a, 141-142.

**ask[---]** (?)

OPhr. *ask[---]* G-01b

Read in a severely damaged inscription on a stone block: [ ]ita.[ ]terkeya ask[---]. It is the beginning of a unknown word. Orel’s restoration *lavā[get]as voykay* (1997a, 198) is ungrounded.

CIPPh I, 84; Orel 1997a, 158.

**ask<sup>2</sup>iādoš** (PN)

OPhr. *ask<sup>2</sup>iādoš* or *ašū<sup>2</sup>iādoš* G-161

Graffito incised on the broken bottom of a cup. Although it looks like a PN, its ending could be a thematic sg.nom. -os or a *d*-stem sg.gen. Because the bottom of the letters has been lost, it is impossible to know if the third letter was *k* or *u*. Despite the fact that Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197) equated it to the Gr. DN from Pysidia *Μῆν Ἀσκαηνός* and *Ασκαίος*. In addition, Orel (1997a, 198) compared it to the Thracian *Ασκιπρασίς*, these names are not a good fit with the Phrygian occurrence. Consequently, this PN remains unparalleled.

CIPPh I, 144; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 198.

**asna** (noun?)

OPhr. *as/na* NW-101 b

Read on the obscure terracotta disc from Dorylaion: *deVeti | toTi a tiei | as/na isnou*. According to Brixhe (2002a, 10), it seems to be a noun in pl.nom.-acc., which here works as the subject of the verb *isnou* in the light of its ending -a. However, its meaning and etymology remain unknown.

Brixhe 2002a, 10.

**aspe[---]** (PN)

Olphr. *aspe[---]* P-102

Broken graffito read on handle dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC: [---]ia *aspe[---]*. This graffito seems to be a bimember PN, where *aspe[---]* is the second element. On its origin, CIPPh (I, 145) suggested that it was Iranian. Indeed, it could be a PN derived from the Median word for ‘horse’, *aspa-*. By contrast, Orel (1997a, 303) considered that there was no basis to defend this origin and equated *aspe[---]* to the Lat. verb *sperno* ‘sever, separate, remove’ and Gr. *ἀσπαίρω* ‘pant, gasp, struggle’, considering it an imperfect. However, his interpretation is ungrounded.

CIPPh I, 145; Orel 1997a, 303.

**αστῆαι** (pronoun or adj.?)

NPhr. sg.dat.fem. αστῆαι 17.5 (91)  
pl.nom.masc. αστοι 9.1 (87)

In the last imprecative apodosis of 9.1, the only certain occurrence of this word, it agrees in sg.nom. with *παρτης* after the verb: ... *κε ισνου αστοι παρτης*. In the light of this occurrence and early reading, the second word of this form can be identified in the protasis of 17.5: [*ιος νι σε*]μον [*κνουμανει*] | [*κ*]ακου[*ν α*]ββερετοι α<ι>νι | αστῆαι σα μ[*ανκ*]ε... Brixhe (2004a, 47), on the other hand, read it as *αστῆατ* and considered a verb inherited from the PIE root *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* 'stand, erect' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 590-592, *IEW* 1004-1008). However, only a pronoun is expected here. According to this review, it is a word which agrees in sg.dat.fem. with *σα μ[ανκ]ε*.

*Brixhe 2004a, 47.*

**αστῆατ** and **αστοι** see **αστῆαι**.

**assu<sup>2</sup>[---]** (?)

OPhr. *assu<sup>2</sup>[---]* or *[---]u<sup>2</sup>ssa* G-213 c

Fragmented inscription on a sherd, where an isolated *n* and a gammadion cross were also incised. Despite the fact that even the direction of the reading is unclear, the presence of two *s* is a good evidence for a word boundary. However, the inscription remains unparalleled.

*CIPPh I, 174.*

**aşu<sup>2</sup>iadoş** see **aşk<sup>2</sup>iadoş**.

**as[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. *as[---]* G-187

Broken graffito read on sherd. It is very likely the beginning of a unknown PN.

*CIPPh I, 159.*

**ατ** (preposition) 'to, at, by' see **αδ**.

**ata** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *ata* G-107, G-118, G-224a, G-234, HP-111

sg.dat. *atai* W-10

sg.nom. *atas* G-128; *atas* Dd-101; [-?]αταş G-119, G-221

An *a*-stem PN whose nom. is attested both with and without the ending *-s*. It is a clear Anatolian Lallname found elsewhere in Anatolia but especially in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia as *Ατ(τ)ας* (see *KPN* 105-106 § 119). In Phrygian, its nom. is often found as the whole text on pottery. Indeed, only two texts are longer: Dd-101 *pser<sup>2</sup>keyoy atas* and G-221 (where it could originally be the variant [*t*]atas, as well as in G-119) [-?]-a.iy[-?]- | [-?]-ke<sup>2</sup>no<sup>2</sup>[-?]- | [-?]-atas | [-?]-arata<sup>2</sup>q[-?]- | [-?]-obata<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>..[-?]-. Its dat. is found once in a dedication on a rock: *atai edae lel/ravo* | vi↑e atevo atoios...

*CIPPh I, 55, 102-103, 110-111, 180 and 186; Lubotsky 1988, 23; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 183; Brixhe 1991, 43; Brixhe 1996, 134; Janda 1997, 276; Brixhe 2004a, 51; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80; Brixhe & Summers 2006, 127-128; Draycott & Summers 2008, 73.*

**atai** see **ata**.

**ataniyen** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *ataniyen* W-01c

PN parallel to *tataniyen*. It agrees with *kuryaneyon* in the inscription where it is read: *ataniyen : kuryaneyon : ta|n egertoy*. Recently, Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 128) suggested the

segmentation *ata niyen* by considering *ata* as the common Lallname. He also compared *niyen* with Gr. *νειός/νέός* ‘fallow-land’ as a working hypothesis. The problem here is the presence of the interpunction. Consequently, we must assume either that we are dealing with an error or that this word is an encl. one (very improbable if it were the direct object in sg.acc.). Also, the presence of *kuryaneyon*, a nominative singular which agrees with this anthroponym, would be very strange after the direct object. Therefore, it must be concluded that we have an unappealing sg.nom. in *-en*.

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 128.*

**atas** see *ata*.

**atatas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *atatas* M-01c, HP-01

A clear masculine *a*-stem PN, variant of *ata*(s). In M-01c it agrees with *ḡ<sup>2</sup>onokaua: mater.. atatas ḡ<sup>2</sup>onokaua*. In the inscription HP-01, published by Borker-Klähn (1994), *atatas* appears isolated in an orthostrat from Karkamiš where a previous monumental HLuw. inscription was engraved (KARKAMIŠ A29p).

*CIPPh I, 12; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 95; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 178; Borker-Klähn 1994; Bernd-Ersöz 2006, 74, 85.*

**ατεαμα** and **ατεαμας** see **τεαμα**.

**atevo** see *ates*.

**ates** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *ates* M-01a, W-08, HP-103, HP-104, HP-105, HP-106, HP-107, HP-108; [-?]-*ates* G-123; [-?]-*ates<sup>2</sup>*[-?]- G-124?; [-?]-*ates* G-148?  
sg.gen.? *atevo* W-10

A clear PN, variant of the Anatolian Lallname *atas* / **Αττας**, well attested both in Phrygian and in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia as **Αττης** (KPN 107 § 119-10, also attested in literary sources as ἼΑττης) and in Lyd. under the possessive adj. *atelis* ‘of Ates’ (Gusmani 1964, 69). Commonly, this Phrygian name appears incised alone on *instrumenta* (metal bowls and pottery), but it is also attested as the subject of monumental inscriptions on rock: M-01a *ates arkieavais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes* and W-08 [-?]- *ates agomoi sa<sup>2</sup>ta tedaes*. In some instances, it is not clear whether the name is *ates* or its variant *tates* because of damage to the inscription (W-08, G-123, G-124 and G-418). The form *atevo* W-10 looks like the gen. of this PN: *atai edae lel/ravo | vi<sup>1</sup>ε atevo atoios...* However, this would imply that here *-uo-* has not been simplified to *-o-*, as is expected.

*Neumann 1986a, 83; Varinlioğlu 1992; Vassileva 1997, 268; Orel 1997a, 417; Lancellotti 2002, 32-40; Brixhe 2004a, 77, 110; Brixhe 2006, 43; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189.*

**ατετικμενος** see **τιτετικμενος**.

**ατιαμα** see **τεαμα**.

**atikv<sup>2</sup>aiu** see **atikr<sup>2</sup>aiu**.

**atikr<sup>2</sup>aiu** (verb?) ‘to say’?

OPhr. 1sg.pres.ind.act.? *atikr<sup>2</sup>aiu* or *atikv<sup>2</sup>aiu* B-05 l. 8

This word was considered a verb by Neumann (1997, 22, nuanced by Brixhe 2004a, 59 but still in *LIPP* II, 93), who also suggested that it was a 1sg.pres.ind.act. because of its ending *-u* (< PIE

\*-δ). He also considered its beginning, *ati-*, a preverb, but the possible parallels have been already ruled out. Since its etymology has not been identified, this proposal is based on the position of the word. Indeed, it is read at the end of a clear sentence followed by the first imprecation of this inscription: *kelmis ke umnišet evraduṣ daḳeraṣ key iverais [..] | atikraiu...* Even the reading is not at all clear. Neumann read *atikv<sup>2</sup>aiu*, while Brixhe proposed *atikr<sup>2</sup>aiu*. Moreover, Brixhe compared this sentence with the Gr. inscription MAMA IV 282 found in the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbénos (Phrygia): παρα<γ>έλω μηδὶς καταφορνῆσει ἐπεὶ τῶ χω[ρ]εὶ Ἄπ[όλ]λωνος | Λειμη[νοῦ] ‘I presage: nobody upon the earth will despise Apollo’. However, this part of B-05 is far from being understood, so both the word and the whole sentence remain unclear.

Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 59; Sowa 2007a, 74; Sowa 2008, 93.

**ατιτικμενος** see τιτετικμενος.

**atoios** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *atoios* W-10

A thematic PN, very likely a variant of *ates / atas* with the suffix *-io-*. It is the subject of the sentence in which it is read: *atai edae lel/ravo | vi<sup>1</sup>e atevo atoios, | aluṣ si<sup>1</sup>eto das*.

Brixhe 1983, 124; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 94; Vassileva 1997, 268; Wittke 2004, 305.

**atriyas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *atriyas* B-05 l.2

Although it seems clear that this word is a PN and the subject of the sentence in which it is read, *sin<sup>1</sup>t imenān kaliya ti tedat[...].edekm[...].meṣṣ<sup>2</sup> d<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>mīd | iben edatoy daḳeraṣ atriyas davoṣ okimaḳiya[--]*..., it remains unparalleled and, to complicate matters further, it is not found in the Gr. summary of this long inscription. On its origin, Brixhe (2004a, 55) suggested as a working hypothesis that it is a non-attested Gr. PN \*Ἀτρίαξ derivative from ἦτρον / ἄτρον ‘abdomen’ or ἦτριον / ἄτριον ‘warp’ because *Kaliya* is identified with the Gr. Καλλίας in the same text. Nevertheless, there is another Gr. explanation for this PN, according to which it was borrowed from Ἀτρέας (related to the famous PN Ἀτρεύς, according to West 2001). However, an Anatolian formation cannot be ruled out in the light of the HLuw. *atri(ya)-* ‘personal, soul’ (ALEPPO 6 § 3 COR-*i-sa*) and the city *Atriya* (attested in the Hitt. text CTH 181, the Tawagalawa letter dated to around 1250 BC).

Brixhe 2004a, 55.

†**ατω** see αδενπατης.

**αυταη** and **αυτον** see αυτος.

**αυτος** (emphatic and anaphoric pronoun) ‘the very one, the same’

OPhr. sg.dat.fem. *avtay* W-01b

sg.dat.masc. or

pl.nom.masc. *avtoi* T-03b

NPhr. sg.dat.fem. *αυταη* 37.2 (30)

sg.acc.masc. *αυτον* 2.2 (130)

sg.nom.masc. *αυτος* 58.1 (72), 62.2 (33), 62.5 (35)

sg.dat.masc. *ατω* 37.2 (30)

This pronoun is used in two different ways, emphatic and anaphoric. The first is attested in curses where the god previously quoted in the same inscription is again mentioned as keeper of the monument: W-01b *yos esai<sup>1</sup>t materēy eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y ovevin onoman daY et, lakedo key venavtun*

*avtay materey* and 2.2 τιττετι[[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ|αν τιαν. It appears as anaphoric in the apodoses, in correlation with the protases, where the desecration is mentioned: 58.1, [αι]κος κ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ, | [. ] κε [.....]ε αυ|τος ειτου, 62.2 αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους and 62.5 αυτος κ' ου|α κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο|ς α βαταν τ|ευτους. T-03b, [---]οι : αυτοι : eptuve[---][---]itan me|[---]p<sup>2</sup>is : [---], is too fragmentary for any conclusion to be reached. However, since αυτοι follows a possible thematic sg.dat. it is perhaps used as emphatic adjective. Finally, in 37.2 it seems to occur in an imprecative apodosis, however its meaning remains unclear: [.....] ουεβαν εγερειτοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειττ<sup>2</sup>ου. With regard to origin, it seems a clear cognate of the Gr. pronoun αὐτός, ἴ, ὁ ‘self, the same’, so a PIE formation \*h<sub>2</sub>eu-to- (\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-to- in LIPP II, 344). In Phr. It is also attested in the compound reflexive pronouns venaventun and σεαυται. According to Hämmig (fthc. a), the form 43.1 ατω, sometimes considered a variant of this pronoun, is a bad segmentation of the PN Αδε|ν<π>ατω.

Haas 1966, 195 and 197 (with a confusion); CIPPh I, 40-41; Orel 1997a, 418; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184; LIPP II, 344; Hämmig fthc. a.

**αυτω** see αυτος.

**αωρω** (adj.) ‘untimely’

NPhr. sg.gen. αωρω 6.1 (88)

A clear borrowing from Gr. ἄωρος, -ον ‘untimely, unseasonable’, which qualifies the daughter of the promoters, ουεναουιας, a clear *a*-stem sg.gen, in an imprecative protasis: ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας ‘whoever does harm to this tomb of the untimely (dead) Venavias’. It is also found in the Gr. part of this epitaph, however it qualifies two people: Απηη και Ουεναουιη τέκνοις ἄωροις ‘for Appes and Venavia, (their) untimely (dead) children’. The use of this adj. is very common in Gr. epitaphs dedicated to children in Anatolia.

Brixhe 2002b, 253.

**ay** (conj.) ‘if, or?’

OPhr. ay B-03, G-01 a

ai P-06

NPhr. αι 40.3 (31), 56.3 (64)

Its function is not clear because all occurrences of ay are fragmentary contexts. However, in most instances it seems to precede an imprecative protasis: B-03 *evtevey ay yosyos yenvrā | etiāt evtevey me.oun laked<sup>2</sup>o...*, P-06 [---]a<sup>2</sup>kiti<sup>2</sup>...s | ai ios aeiketio [.] ivi...se.[?]n<sup>2</sup> and 56.3 αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]ει κα[κουν αδδακετ]... In these instances ay perhaps connects protases (in B-03 and P-06) and curses (in 56.3 the Gr. and the Phrygian one), but it may also be a conditional conj., especially in 56.3, ‘if someone does harm to this tomb...’. This seems to fit in the restored protasis 58.1, [αι]κος κ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ, | [. ] κε [.....]ε αυ|τος ειτου (following Calder 1913, 103-104). Either way, its function is very similar to the compound conj. *ayny*. The other occurrences are even more obscure: G-01a [---]o<sup>2</sup>lavj[---]isvolkay | : dumeyay : [---]dēda[---], 40.3 [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου. On its origin, Brixhe (1978b, 4 and 1997, 57) equated it to the Dor. and Aeol. conj. αἰ and considered both forms the old locative of the PIE demonstrative-anaphoric pronoun \*e/o- (contrary to EDG 379), also LIPP (II, 348), where these forms are considered as inherited from PIE \*éh<sub>2</sub>i. Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 183 § 4), by contrast, considered that ay is a variant of *aeγ* and equated them to the Gr. conj. ἤ, ἤέ ‘or’. However, the contexts suggest that *aeγ* is not related to ay.

Brixhe 1978b, 3-6; Brixhe 1997, 57-59; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 183 § 4; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184; LIPP II, 348.

**ayniy** (conj.) ‘or, if’

OPhr. *aini* P-101

*ayniy* B-05 l. 11; *ayni* B-01

NPhr. *ainv* 7.3 (14), 15.1 (120)

*ainv* 2.2 (130) *bis*, 3.1 (97), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 11.2 (18), 14.1 (73), 19.2 (129), 18.1 (4), 21.2 (43), 25.1 (115), 31.1 (29), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 40.4 (102), 52.1 (75);  $\alpha < \iota > \nu$  17.5 (91);  $[\alpha i] \nu$  27.1 (92), 61.1 (100);  $\alpha i \nu [i]$  40.2 (13)

A compound conj. built by adding the particle *ni(y)* to *ay* ‘if’. The form *ainv* shows an apocope before the vowel: 7.3  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu \kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\nu \alpha\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau \alpha\iota\nu$  ‘ $\alpha\delta$   $\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  and 15.1  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu \tau\omicron [\kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha]\nu\epsilon \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu \alpha\delta\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau \alpha\iota\nu$  ‘ $\alpha$   $\tau\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha$ ... It is found with different functions. It connects alternative clauses (two imprecative protases) as disjunctive conj.: B-05 *iv† imun inmeney as enan daket torvetun ↑iray ayniy oy tubnuv nevos me deritoy...*, B-01 *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin te[l]emi [...]toyo[.]is [...]erktevoys ekey da[k]ati...* and 11.2  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota \omicron\upsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\nu \lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu \epsilon\gamma\delta\alpha\epsilon\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon\rho\sigma\alpha \alpha\iota\nu\iota \kappa\omicron\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu \kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu \alpha\delta\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau \alpha\iota\nu\iota \mu\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha$ ... It also connects objects: e.g. 36.1  $\iota\omicron\varsigma \nu\iota \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu \kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu \delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau \alpha\iota\nu\iota | \mu\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha$ ... ‘whoever does harm to this tomb or stele...’. Finally, it introduces sentences, so it does not work as disjunctive conj. in four occurrences: P-101 *aini dabr<sup>2</sup>ula isini*, 2.2  $\alpha\iota\nu\iota \omicron\upsilon\epsilon\beta\alpha\nu \delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\nu\nu\iota \pi\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron[\upsilon]\mu\alpha\nu\eta \sigma\omega\varsigma \kappa\eta \gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon, \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\rho\iota\nu\eta \epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota\upsilon\nu\nu\omicron. \alpha\iota\nu\iota \kappa\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\nu \alpha\delta\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron[\upsilon]\mu\alpha\nu\eta \sigma\omega\varsigma \kappa\eta \gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon, \tau\iota\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\iota[\kappa]\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon, \epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\delta \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\nu \tau\iota\alpha\nu$  and 11.2  $\alpha\iota\nu\iota \kappa\omicron\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu \kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu \alpha\delta\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau \alpha\iota\nu\iota \mu\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha$ ... In the second example of 2.2 and in 11.2 *aini* introduces a conditional clause, ‘if someone does harm to this ground...’, although in P-101 it is impossible. Here, Hämmig (fthc. b) suggested a meaning similar to Lat. *utinam* or Gr.  $\epsilon\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , introducing a wish. Brixhe 1978b, 15-21; CIPPh I, 244-245; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 90; Brixhe 1997, 57-59; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184; Hämmig 2013, 131 fn. 16; Avram 2015, 208; Hämmig fthc. b.

**a<sup>↑</sup>iiai** and **a<sup>↑</sup>ion** see **a<sup>↑</sup>ios**.

**a<sup>↑</sup>ios** (noun or adj.?)

OPhr. dat.sg.? *a<sup>↑</sup>iiai* T-03a I

sg.acc. *a<sup>↑</sup>ion* T-02b l. 2

sg.nom. *a<sup>↑</sup>ios* T-02b l. 5

A word only found in the fragmented stelae from Tyana: T-02b  $[\text{---}]\text{t}\mu\text{id}\alpha : \text{m}\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\text{u}\text{i}\text{s} : [\text{---}][[\text{---}]\text{a} : \text{t}\epsilon\text{s}\alpha\nu : \text{a}^{\uparrow}\text{i}\text{o}\text{s} : \nu[\text{---}][[\text{---}]\text{o}\text{i}\text{t}\text{u}\text{m}\epsilon\nu : \text{m}\text{i}\delta\alpha[\text{---}][[\text{---}]\text{n} : \text{a}^{\uparrow}\text{i}\text{o}\text{s} : \text{m}\text{i}[\text{---}][[\text{---}]\text{n} : \text{b}\alpha\text{t}\alpha\nu : \epsilon.[\text{---}]$  and T-03aI  $\text{a}^{\uparrow}\text{i}\text{i}\text{a}\text{i} : \text{p}\text{o}\text{l}\text{o}\text{d}\text{r}\epsilon\text{t}\epsilon\text{s} : \text{p}\text{o}\text{r}\epsilon\text{t}\text{i} : \text{q}\text{t}\text{u}[\text{---}]$ . Since it appears in fem. (*a<sup>↑</sup>iiai*) and masc. (*a<sup>↑</sup>ion* and *a<sup>↑</sup>ios*), it is very likely an adjective, although a noun cannot be ruled out (see *vrekun / vrekān*). In T-03, Brixhe (1991, 38) considered it a word in dat.sg. followed by a sg.nom. *polodretes* and the verb *poreti*. In T-02b l.2 it seems to agree in acc.sg. with *tesan*, a C-stem noun? In any case, the damaged context of all the occurrences means that no conclusive information can be gleaned. a relationship with the PN  $\text{A}\zeta\text{i}\omicron\varsigma$  (KNP 48 § 20-2, from Phrygia and Lycaonia) cannot be excluded. Brixhe 1991, 38 and 41.

**a<sup>↑</sup>ses** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *a<sup>↑</sup>ses* HP-109

A PN incised on a bronze bowl from Bayındır (East Lycia). Although it remains unparalleled, the other incised bowls bear common PN. Consequently, it may be a PN. According to Brixhe (2004a, 114-115),  $\langle \uparrow \rangle$  is a reiterative notation of  $\langle \uparrow \rangle$  (considered  $\langle \text{ts} \rangle$ ) similar to Gr.  $\langle \xi \sigma \rangle$ , instead of the single  $\langle \xi \rangle$  in some inscriptions. One wonders if it is a local palatalisation of the common PN *ates*. Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14-15; Orel 1997a, 318; Brixhe 2004a, 114-115.

$a^{\uparrow}[i/e^?]$  (?)

OPhr.  $a^{\uparrow}[i/e^?]$  NW-139

Fragmented graffito on the bottom of a small cup. Since  $\langle \uparrow \rangle$  is always followed by the vowels /e/ or /i/ (leaving aside  $a^{\uparrow}ses$ ), Brixhe and Sivas (2009, 137-138) suggested the restoration  $a^{\uparrow}[i/e^?]$ . Nevertheless, it remains unclear, as does the possible relation with  $a^{\uparrow}ios$  suggested by these authors (2009, 137-138).

*Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 137-138.*



## B (b) - B β

[-?-]b̄a[-?-] (PN?)

OPhr. [-?-]b̄a[-?-] G-329

Despite the bad conservation of this graffito incised on a potsherd, the two remaining letters can be considered the beginning of a PN such as *baba* or *babas*. However, a PN *abas* cannot be ruled out.

*Brixhe 2002a, 83-84.*

**baba** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *baba* M-01b, G-121

sg.nom. *bba* M-02

sg. nom. *b̄aḅaḅ* G-06?

*bab̄a[-?-]* W-08; *b̄aḅa[-?-]* G-184

*bab[---]* G-253

A masc. Lallname very common throughout Anatolia (see *KPN 113 § 133-1, Βαβας*). In Phr. this name shows a hesitation between the forms with or without the ending *-s*. Since *baba* M-01b and *bba* M-02 bear the same patronymic and title (*memevais proitavos*), they probably refer to the same person and, consequently, *bba* is a mere “lapsus du lapicide” of *baba* according to Lejeune (1969a, 28 fn. 42). In both inscriptions it is the subject of the sentence: M-01b *baba memevais proitavos k̄Φiyanaveyos sikeneman edaes* and M-02 *bba memevais proitavo[s] k̄↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*. In W-08 this PN occurs after another PN, *bateles*, and the formula *alus si↑eto*. Note also that in this inscription the letter *b* is 8-shaped. In the other instances of this PN, *baba* is the only readable word and, with the exception of G-06, the occurrences are graffiti incised on potsherds (the owners?). Only in G-121 is it known to be complete, and *baba* isolated.

*Lejeune 1969a, 28 fn. 42; CIPPh I, 10, 19, 91, 113, 157 and 197-198; Brixhe 2004a, 51.*

**babas** and **bab[---]** see *baba*.

**bagun** (noun) ‘idol’

OPhr. sg.acc. *bagun* G-136

This word written after two PNs, *tadoy iman bagun.*, on a small alabaster eagle refers clearly to the object given to *tado-* by *iman*, probably the eagle itself. The first hypothesis on the meaning and origin of this word was given by Lejeune (1969b, 293), who translated it as ‘present’ by considering it a derivative from PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>go-*. Also, he adduced the gloss Βαγαῖος. Ζεὺς Φρύγιος ‘B.: Phrygian Zeus’ because he considered that its meaning was δοτήρ ἑάων ‘giver of goods’. Although Sowa (2008, 28) also adopted this view, the proposed etymology must be rejected because the preservation of the PIE stop as voiced is not expected. This is why Lubotsky suggested two alternative etymologies. Although the second one, which takes *bagun* back to PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-u-* ‘lower arm, elbow’ (see, e.g., Gr. πῆχθς ‘forearm, arm’ or Skt. *bāhú-* ‘lower arm, arm, foreleg of an animal’), fits well phonetically, its meaning is not very likely for this short text. Nevertheless, Lubotsky’s first proposal, a word meaning ‘idol’ borrowed from OP *bagā-* ‘god’, is very attractive. The chronology of this artefact fits perfectly because it was found in a building from Persian times (perhaps the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and the eagle could be an early representation of the emblem of the later well-known Ζεὺς Βροντῶν.

*Lejeune 1969b, 293; CIPPh I, 125; Lubotsky 2004, 231; Matzinger 2006, 194-195; Sowa 2008, 28.*

**babiy[---]** (PN?)OPhr. *babiy[---]* G-138

Fragmented graffito on a potsherd. Perhaps it may be considered a derivative from a PN such as *baba(s)* through the suffix *\*-io-*, similar to *imeneia* with regard to *iman*. However, there is no evidence to choose between a fem. form of the PN (as *imeneia*) or an adjectival one, although the adduced parallel favours the former hypothesis.

Brixhe 1984, 126.

**βας** (DN) ‘Bas’OPhr. sg.acc. *batan* T-02 b; *bata<sup>n</sup>n<sup>?</sup>* G-121?sg.acc. *batō<sup>n</sup>an* B-04?

NPhr. sg.nom. βας 1.1 (48), 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86)

sg. acc. βαταν 20.2 (128), 62.2 (33), 62.5 (35)

A clear *t*-stem DN whose inflexion is the same as *nevos*. Both OPhr. occurrences are obscure. Indeed, the context of T-02 b is very fragmented, but it seems to be a stele erected by Midas: [---]n ÷ a↑ios ÷ mi[---] | [---]n ÷ *batan* ÷ e.[---]. B-04 is another possible OPhr. occurrence, which presents a very dubious *o*. This unexpected letter is only shown ed out by Brixhe (2004a, 38 and 41), but he tended to consider it an accident of the stone. Either way, the context is far from clear: *v<sup>?</sup>a.oe<sup>?</sup>ap.eap vi<sup>?</sup>s<sup>?</sup>batō<sup>n</sup>an te*. The NPhr. contexts are clearer. With the exception of 1.1, they represent four different imprecative apodosis. The first one is read in 7.1 (perhaps 56.3 is to be read in the light of it) με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος, where the DN works as agent. The second is represented by 7.2 and 8.1: βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ. The third apodosis appears in a more common curse where ας βαταν replaces the expected ατ τιαν: με δδεω με ζεμελος τιτετικμενος ειτου ας βαταν ορουεναν κε. Finally, the last apodosis read in 62.2 and 62.5 shows the same prepositional phrase but in a different context: αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. However, its etymology has been interpreted in different ways. Although, Haas suggested the similarity with the root *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to speak’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 69-70, *IEW* 105-106, see Gr. φημί, φάναι, *llatí for, fari*), he preferred an interpretation which must be rejected because of his segmentation of the occurrences. Nevertheless, his proposal was followed by Diakonoff and Neroznak (1984, 97), and Brixhe (2004a, 38 and 41) considered it a suggestive hypothesis. More recently, Lubotsky (1997, 123) rejected a proposal by Witczak (1992-1993, 267-268), who equated this word to Myc. *pa-de-i* and *pa-de* (which he read as \*Φας, Φαδος), Old Polonaise *Boda* and, tentatively, Old Indian *Bhadra*, and reconstructed a root *\*b<sup>h</sup>ad-* ‘lucky, happy, proper, good’ for all of them. Finally, it must be said that some old and new proposals equated this name to Gr. γῆ ‘earth’ (see Hämmig fthc. a). However, the Gr. word does not show a dental inflexion, the occlusive correspondences cannot be accepted, and the etymology of γῆ is not clear. Consequently, although this is a very attractive possibility in terms of meaning, it must be rejected. A new hypothesis has been suggested by Obrador-Cursach (2017), who considered it a derivative of the PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to shine’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 68-69, *IEW* 104-105, see Gr. φάος ‘light’). If this is the case, it is a formation *\*b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>-t-* / *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-t-* parallel to Gr. φῶς, φωτός ‘man, mortal, hero’. The vocalism of the root in the Phr. nom. must be considered a levelling from the other forms, unlike the Gr. word, where the strong vocalism was spread to the other forms. According to this theory, βας ‘the shining one’ is an epiclesis of Zeus, who in Phrygia presides over the fertility of the fields, and this name could be a calque of Tarhunt’s epithets *piḥaim(m)i-*, *piḥam(m)i-*, and *piḥaššašši-* ‘splendorous, shining, vel.sim.’.

Haas 1966, 95; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 192-193; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 97; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 136-137; Brixhe 1991, 42; Witczak 1992-1993, 267-268; Brixhe 1993, 331; Brixhe 1997, 51 fn. 32; Lubotsky 1997, 123; Brixhe 2004a, 38 and 41; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 115; Hämmig 2013, 136 fn. 12; Obrador-Cursach 2017.

**bastidages** (PN?)

OPhr. *bastidages* HP-101

Since it seems to follow the probable preposition *per* (note that the segmentation is not at all clear), it cannot be considered a word in nom. (see PN as *ates*). Brixhe (2004a, 103-106) suggested a fem. gen. in *\*-es*, still not identified in Phrygian. In any case, this inscription, read on a clay cylinder from Lydia, remains unexplained.

*Dinç & Innocente 1999; Brixhe 2004a, 103-106.*

**batan, βαταν** see βας.

**bateles** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *bateles* W-08

Inscription read on a rock: [-?] *ates agomoi* | *saφ?ta tedaes* | *alus si↑eto?* | *bateles bab.*[-?]. This hapax follows the formula *alus si↑eto*, which is the last complete sentence in the inscriptions W-09 and W-10, both on rocks. Consequently, it seems probable that it is not syntactically related. Moreover, the first three lines are written in boustrophedon but the fourth, where this sequence is read, is not. So the relationship between this and the preceding lines is surprising. It must also be noted that the *b* of *bateles* and the following *babq*[-?] are written 8-shaped. In terms of interpretation, *bateles* has been taken as an *e*-stem anthroponym in the nominative. Although no parallel can be adduced, this explanation is very likely since the sequence which follows *bateles* is considered to be the well attested PN *baba(s)*.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 78; Orel 1997a, 48 and 419; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 235-236; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 188.*

**batoʿan** see βας.

**bʿay** (PN?)

OPhr. *bay* or *ray* G-251

Its first letter is difficult to read. This graffito on a potsherd is probably the abbreviation of a PN or merely a sequence written in order to identify its owner.

*CIPPh I, 196-197.*

**bba** see *baba*.

**be** (PN?)

OPhr. *be* G-333

Probably an abbreviation of a PN or a complete *e*-stem Lallname in nominative without the ending *-s*.

*Brixhe 2002a, 87-88; Brixhe 2004a, 51.*

**bevδος** (noun) ‘statue, image’

OPhr. neut.nom.-acc.sg. *bevδος* B-01, B-08

*S*-stem word inherited from PIE *\*bʰeudʰ-os-* ‘perception’, derived from the root *\*bʰeudʰ-* (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 82-83, *IEW* 150-152) found, e.g., in Gr. ἀπευθής ‘ignorant’ and the Av. *baodah-* ‘perception’. Lubotsky (2008) identified this Phr. word in B-01, misread by the previous editors, through a new reading and the comparison with Gr. βεῦδος ‘dress’ in Sappho but also ‘garland’ and ‘statue’, according to the glosses στέμμα τι, καὶ ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον καὶ πόλις, καὶ ἄγαλμα ‘a garland, and a feminine dress, and city, and statue’ (H. β 542) and Βεῦδος: Πόλις, καὶ γυναικὸς ἱμάτιον πολυτελές· παρὰ Ἑρμησιάνακτι δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα ‘B.: A city, and a costly feminine dress. Also statue in Hermesianax’ (*EM* 195.53). This word, previously considered an Asian borrowing (see, e.g., *DELG* 174), can now be identified as a Phr. loanword. In B-01 it appears in a niche where a statue of the Mother-

Goddess was expected to be placed: *si bevδος adi...* [...] *καϱαρμoyo imroy edaes etovesniyo* ‘Adi...[.] made this statue for this field...’. Recently, it has been also read in B-08, found near B-01, however the context is severely damaged and we only know that it is followed by *key* ‘and’ (Brixhe & Vottéro 2016, 134-136, withough considering Lubotsky 2008). At least two cities from Phrygian seem to be named after this word (KON 121 § 149): Παλαιὸν Βευδος (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.5.5; *Beudos quod vetus appellat* ‘Beudos called the old’ in Liv. 38.15.14; pl.gen. ethnic Παλαιοβευδηγῶν in coins dated to Hadrian times) and \*Βευδος Οἶκος, only attested under the ethnic Βευδουσοικεινοῦ (gen.sg. Haspels 1971, I, 300, n° 14). It may also occur in Τειοβευδηγῆ (fem.sg.dat. ethnic), of the Mother-Goddess (in Drew-Bear 1978, 43,11 = SEG 28.1188). Orel 1997a, 139-140; Lubotsky 2008; Brixhe & Vottéro 2016, 134-136.

### βεκος (noun) ‘bread’

NPhr. neut.sg.nom.-acc. βεκος 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86), 11.2 (18), 15.1 (128), 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 62.2 (33); βε<κ>ο|ς 11.2 (18)

Glosses βεκός [...] Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον Herodotus 2.2.3  
βεκός ἄρτος. [ἢ ἄβητος]. Φρύγες H. β 472

After originally being identified as a possible borrowing from an unknown language (see Lejeune 1979, 221-223), this *s*-stem is now thought to go back to \**b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>g-ós-* (\**b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>g-ós-* in Lubotsky 2004, 233, who improved the first identification given by Panagl & Kowal 1983, 186-187). Its PIE root, \**b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to warm’ (IEW 113), shows the same enlargement *-g-* found in Gr. φῶγω ‘bake’ (< \**b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>g-*, EDG 1600, DELG 1236), ON *baka* ‘id.’, OHG *bahhan* ‘id.’, Russ. *bažítʹ*, *bažátʹ* ‘wish, want, whereupon starve’, etc. (note that LIV<sup>2</sup> 67-68 reconstructs a root \**b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>3</sub>g-*). On its contexts, βεκος always occurs in different imprecative apodoses and some instances related to the god Bas: 7.1 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος (perhaps 56.3 is to be read in the light of it), 7.2 and 8.1 βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ, 11.2 βε<κ>ο|ς ιοι με τοτος σ’ ευγισαρναν, 15.1 [.....]υοις γενητι βεπαι κε παρτης βεκος and 53.1, 54.1, 56.3? and 62.2 οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου.

Lejeune 1979, 221-223; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 186-187; Lubotsky 2004, 233; Matzinger 2006, 198-199.

### benagonos (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *benagonos* G-116

This PN, read on a pithos from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, has been considered a compound but both forms are still discussed. The first element, *bená-*, was equated by Lejeune (1969b, 294) to the Zeus epithet Βέννιος. However, the origin of this adduced word is not clear. The links to Gr. εὐθενέω ‘thrive, flourish’ (given by DGE s.v.) and PIE \**g<sup>u</sup>enh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘woman’ (also suggested by Lejeune 1969b, 294) are phonetically indefensible. Regarding to *-gonos*, it has been equated with Gr. compounds in *-γονος* (Lejeune 1969b, 294, followed by Neumann 1988, 9), but the Phrygian voiced stop of *gonos* does not fit this etymology. Two alternatives are given by Lubotsky (2004, 232): it could go back to \**-g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>1</sub>onos* (Gr. *-φονος* ‘murderer’) or \**-dǵ<sup>h</sup>onos* (Gr. *-χθονος* ‘ground, earth’).

Lejeune 1969b, 294; Brixhe 1982, 239; CIPPh I, 108-109; Roller 1987a, 65; Neumann 1988, 9; Lubotsky 2004, 232; Matzinger 2005, 380; Matzinger 2006, 195-196.

### βεπαι (noun or adjective?)

OPhr. pl.nom. or sg.dt.? βεπαι 15.1 (128)

Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 86-91) categorised it as a pl.nom. However, since it follows the word γενητι, βεπαι could be an adj. which agrees with it in dt.sg. On the other hand, it could also agree with παρτης in pl.nom. In its context βεκος is the only clear word, but an imprecative apodosis is expected: [.....]υοις γενητι βεπαι κε παρτης βεκος,

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 86-91.

βερετ see αββερετ.

**βιλαταδεναν** (noun?)

OPhr. sg.acc. βιλαταδε|ναν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1

Its case could be governed by the preposition εν. A segmentation βιλατα δεναν is possible. In any case its meaning and segmentation are as obscure as its context in the MPhr. epitaph: μανκα μεκας σας κιιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν...

*Brixhe 2004a, 15.*

**βλασκον** (noun or verb?)

MPhr. βλασκον MPhr-01 MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3

Its context is still obscure: σα σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λογγ|ιου μοτις. This unparalleled word is therefore difficult to interpret. Brixhe (2004a, 18-19) categorised it as a verb in 1sg. or 3pl. due the presence of the possible suffix *-sk-*. Nevertheless, a sg.acc. (even a sg.gn) noun cannot be ruled out. This word has yet to be satisfactorily explained.

*Brixhe 2004a, 18-19.*

**bonok** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. bonok W-01a

This PN name agrees with the title with follows it: *bonok akenanogavos materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy...* Its origin is obscure and no parallel can be adduced to it. A common old explanation (still followed by Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 184) equated this word with Aeol. βανά or Cypr. βονά ‘wife’, but these are phonetically incompatible because they go back to PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>(e)n-h<sub>2</sub>-*, attested in Phrygian as *knays*.

*Lubotsky 1988, 12; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 63, no A7; Janda 1997, 272; Orel 1997a, 33-36; Brixhe 2004a, 51; Wittke 2004, 203; Bernd-Ersöz 2006, 72; Sowa 2012, 50; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.*

**ḃonokaua** see *ḃonokaua*.

**bo.[---]** (?)

OPhr. bo.[---] G-130

Beginning of a damaged word read in a sequence incised on a potsherd: *servas bo.[---]*. The first letter was corrected after writing a *p*.

*CIPPh I, 120.*

**braterais** (noun) ‘brother’

OPhr. pl.acc. ḃṛaterais B-04

NPhr. sg.dat. βρατερε 40.3 (31)

This word is clearly inherited from PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>réh<sub>2</sub>tēr* (*NIL* 38-41, *IEW* 163-164), see, e.g., Lat. *frāter*, Skt. *bhrātar-* and Gr. φράτηρ ‘member of a community’. The NPhr. form is a clear sg.dt.: μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν. However, *ḃṛaterais* has been discussed. It is attested in the last line of the inscription: *ḃṛaterais patriyio<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup> k(e)*. The older interpretation, given by Orel (1997a, 56 and 420, followed by Blažek 2005, 20 and Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 184), considered it a pl.dat. However, Brixhe (2004a, 42) suggested the possibility that we are dealing with a pl.acc.: PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>réh<sub>2</sub>terns* > *\*braterans* > *braterais*. The following word seems to be inflected in the same case.

*Brixhe 1996, 131; Orel 1997a, 56, 420; Brixhe 2004a, 24, 42; Blažek 2005, 20; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 184; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190.*

**βρατερε** see *ḃṛaterais*.

### **βρειτ** (verb) ‘break’?

NPhr. 3sg.pres.act. βρειτ 29.1 (114)

Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 79) considered an inherited verb from a PIE root *\*breH-* / *\*briH-* ‘to cut’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> *\*breǵH-*, *IEW* 166-7), attested, e.g., through Lat. *frio* ‘to rub, break or crumble into small pieces’, Skt. *bhrīṅánti* ‘to hurt’ and OCS *briti* ‘shave’ There were doubts as to the segmentation, but the preceding *κε* has finally been interpreted as the conj.: *ιος κε βρειτ περβεδαν...* It is clearly the verb of this imprecative protasis.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 79.*

### **βροκειω** (?)

NPhr. βροκειω 40.3 (31)

It was suggested to be the EN ‘Phrygian’ by Haas (1966, 104). However, due to the context, [... *Ξ*]ευναν αι δμωσ βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου, and the phonetic correspondence, this must be rejected. Orel (1997a, 334, 421) considered it an adj. in sg.nom. meaning ‘weaker, more stupid’ “borrowed from or identical with Gr. [\*]βροκίω”, based on the gloss βροκόσ μωρός, ‘Έλληνες ‘b.: stupid, Greeks’. Nevertheless, this explanation cannot be accepted because it is based on poorly attested documentation and the assumption that this sentence is a curse, which clearly it is not. This word, then, remains unexplained.

*Haas 1966, 104; Kowal 1984b, 184; Orel 1997a, 334, 421.*

### **bugnos** (PN?)

OPhr. *bugnos* P-02

It is followed by a PN and its title in gen., *sest bugnos vasos kanutiivanos*, and *sest* looks like a pronominal sequence *ses=t* (Neumann 1988, 7), it seems to refer some element of the monument. On the basis of *ses=t* it has been interpreted as a noun in pl.acc. referring to the monument itself “*hos lapides*” (Neumann 1988, 7 fn. 12 and Neumann 1997, 119) or sg.nom. However, it has also been classed as a PN by Orel (1997a, and 421). It is unparalleled both as a noun and an anthroponym. Nevertheless, the pl.acc. is expected to be *-ois*, so it may be a sg.nom. In that case, it could be a PN and the whole text can be translated as ‘This is Bugnos (the son) of Vasus (the grandson) of Kanutí’.

*Neumann 1988, 7; Neumann 1997, 119; Orel 1997a, and 421.*

## Γ (g) - Γ γ

### **ga** (PN)

OPhr. *ga* NW-131

Although this complete graffito incised on the bottom of a cup can be considered an abbreviation of a PN, Brixhe and Sivas (2009, 133-134) do not rule out the possibility that it may be a complete PN, in the light of Γα, found in the north of Phrygia and Pisidia (KPN 131 § 202-1 and 202-2). In this case, *ga* is an *a*-stem PN in sg.nom without the ending *-s*.

*Brixhe 2004a, 51; Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 133-134.*

### **γαμενοϋν** (participle?)

MPhr. *γαμενοϋν* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 2

It occurs in an epitaph, although the text is still unclear: ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενοϋν | σα σοροι ματι μακραν... Because of the presence of the suffix *-μενο-* (< \**-mh, no-*), *γαμενοϋν* can be considered a past participle in sg.acc.masc. or sg.nom.-acc.neut. In any case, its meaning and etymology remain unknown.

*Brixhe 2004a, 17-18.*

### **gard[---]** (?)

OPhr. *gard[---]* G-198

Incomplete graffito incised on the handle of a vase. Although in such a context PNs predominate, it may be equated to the Pisidian ethnics Γαρδιβιανος and Γαρδυβιανος (attested in Gr. inscriptions from the north of Pisidia, KON 134 § 195). Moreover, it seems to share its root with Γόρδιον, the name of the most famous Phrygian city (where this graffito was found), and with *Manegordo* (located in Galatia, near Ancyra, *Itinerarium Antoninum* 142.5), or with Luw. *gurta-* ‘city’ (on it see Simon 2016 and 2017b). In any case, if *gard[---]* is related to these words, the *a*-vocalism may indicate its Pisidian origin.

*CIPPh I, 165.*

### **garies** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *garies* or *paries* G-224 b

Graffito incised with other PNs on a marmite: *ata* | *garies* or *paries* | *Yuv*. Therefore, it can be considered an *e*-stem PN, although clear parallels are lacking. Despite the problematic reading of the first letter, Orel (1997a, 224 and 452), adducing a similar but not equivalent PN gathered by Gindin (1981, 56), worked with a reading *paries*. If indeed it is to be read as *paries*, it can be related to the first element of the Hitt. PN *Pariziti* (LNH 137 § 942). Nevertheless, this remains a mere possibility.

*CIPPh I, 180; Orel 1997a, 224 and 452.*

**gata[-?]** see *vata[-?]*.

### **γεγαριτμενος** (participle) ‘devoted to, cursed’

NPhr. 3sg.nom.masc. γεγαριτμενος 62.2 (33); [γεγ]αριτμ[ενος] 59.3 (79);  
[γ]εγ[αριτ]με[v]ο[s] 62.5 (36)

3sg.nom.masc. τιγγεγαριτμενος 6.1 (88)

A reduplicated perfect participle read in three different imprecative apodoses. The first is attested in two inscriptions from Sinanlı where γεγαριτμενος agrees with αυτος: 62.2 αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους and 62.5 αυτος κ' ου|α κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[v]ο[s] α βαταν τευτους. The other two apodoses are unparalleled but simpler: 6.1 τιγ|γεγαριτμενος ιτου and 59.3 ... τος τυ.[. γεγ]αριτμ[ενος ειτου]. The etymology of γεγαριτμενος is the same as

Gr. χαρίζω ‘gratify or indulge, give graciously’, which goes back to the PIE root \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>er(H)- ‘desire, enjoy’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 176-177, IEW 440-441), also attested, e.g., in Skt. *háyati* ‘to find pleasure, enjoy, like’ and Lat. *horitur* ‘urge, exhort’. Note that the Phrygian root shows the extension -i-, also found in these examples. According to Lubotsky and Ligorio (2013, 183), the a-vocalism of the Phrygian γεγαριτμενος (also found in the OPhr. adj. *agaritōi* ‘devoted’) is explained as the vocalisation of \*γ: \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>γHit-. However, such a vocalisation is only possible if \*H is indeed \*h<sub>2</sub>: \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>γhit-. The form τιγγεγαριτμενος (6.1) shows the preverb τις with assimilation. Finally, it must be added that in some inscriptions from Anatolia the Gr. participle κεχαρισμέν|ος is used as a calque of Phrygian γεγαριτμενος: compare, e.g. ἔστω κεχαρισμένος Δεῖ Εὐροδ[αμηνῶ] ‘let him be devoted to Zeus Eurodamenos’ (MAMA IV 184, from Phrygia) and ἐνκεχαρισμέν|ος ἦτω (MAMA VII 402, from Galatia), with NPhr. τιγ|γεγαριτμενος ιτου (6.1).

Haas 1966, 209; Brixhe 1982, 245; Lubotsky 1989b, 148; Orel 1997a, 252-253, 431; Lubotsky 2004, 230; Matzinger 2005, 380; Woodhouse 2006, 162; Sowa 2007a, 90-91; Lubotsky & Ligorio 2013, 183.

**γεγειμεναν** see γεγρειμεναν.

**γεγρειμεναν** (participle) ‘written’

NPhr. sg.acc.fem. γεγειμεναν 62.2 (33)  
 sg.acc.fem. γεγρειμεναν 53.1 (76), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34),  
 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105); γεγρειμε[ναν] 54.1 (108); γεγρ[ειμεναν] 56.3 (64)  
 sg.acc.masc. γεγρειμενον 59.4 (106)  
 sg.acc.masc. γε|γρι|με|νο|ν 56.2 (58)

This perfect participle is commonly found in a formulaic protasis, where it agrees with ουταν: e.g. 53.1 ... γεγρειμενα|ν εγεδου τιος ουταν ‘let him experience the written curse of Zeus’. The masc. form read in 59.4 agrees with a masc. variant of ουταν: 59.4 ...γεγρειμενον κ’ εγεδου ορουενοσ ουτον. Finally, in 56.2 γεγριμενον (with itacism in the root) appears in a non-imprecative sentence: μοναν μορτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν. In the form γεγειμεναν 62.2, the onset cluster γρ- seems to be simplified in γ-. Regarding its etymology, Haas (1966, 86-87) equated γεγειμεναν to Gr. χρίω ‘graze, spread, (be)smear, enqueue, anoint, plaster’ and, consequently, suggested that the root of γε-γρει-μεναν goes back to the PIE verbal root \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rei-s-, commonly reconstructed as \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rei(H)- ‘strike’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 203, IEW 457).

Haas 1966, 86-87; Bayun & Orel 1990; Orel 1997a, 377; Lubotsky 2004, 230; Sowa 2007a, 90-91; EDG 1650; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184, 185 and 192.

**γεγρειμενον** and **γεγριμενον** see γεγρειμεναν.

**geies** (PN)

OPhr. nom.sg. *geies* or *ǵ<sup>2</sup>eies* G-125

A word read after the verb *eneparkes* in a potsherd. Although *ǵ<sup>2</sup>eies* was the common reading, CIPPh I, 116 preferred to read *geies*. It is very likely a PN in nom.sg. and the agent of *eneparkes*, despite its unusual position after the verb: [---]rono.oy *eneparkes geies*.

CIPPh I, 116.

**γεντι** (?)

NPhr. γεντι 15.1 (120)

An obscure word read in an unparalleled and damaged apodosis: ις τιε τι|[ττετικ]μμεγος ειτω ουελας κοννου κ’ ηνκ|[.....]υοις γεντι βεπαι κε παρτης βεκος.

**γερεν** see εγερετοι.

**γονιον** (noun) ‘child’?

OPhr. sg.acc. γονιον 16.1 (116) l. 8

A thematic noun attested in an obscure epitaph: ομουσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.]δεο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]γουταις εδαεσ. Its case is governed by the preposition ποκ (< ποσ with assimilation with γονιον). Its meaning remains unknown, although a borrowing from the diminutive \*γόνιον of the Gr. noun γόνος ‘child, offspring’ cannot be ruled out (compare ἐγγόνιον from ἔγγονος ‘grandson’).

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176-177; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187.*

**†γουμ** see γουμειε.

**γουμειε** (noun)

NPhr. sg.dat.? γουμειε 2.2 (130) l. 7 and 10

It appears in two equivalent sentences: l. 5-7 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σωσ κη γουμειε... and l. 9-10 αινι κοσ κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη σωσ κη γουμειε... On the basis of its contexts, γουμειε is very likely sg.dat. noun coordinated with the other dat. noun κορο[υ]μανη by the conj. κη. Consequently, although its etymology and specific meaning remain unclear, γουμειε must refer to a part of the monument or its location: αινι κοσ κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη σωσ κη γουμειε... ‘if someone does harm to this plot and to its’ γουμειε...’. It must be added that Avram (2015, 211), the first editor of 2.2, segmented γουμειε in two words: γουμ ειε (Avram 2015, 211). Nevertheless, the resulting ending -μ is unattested and unexpected in Phrygian (PIE \*-m# yields -n# in Phrygian). Finally, Avram (2015, 211) also suggested that its root can be related to εγουννου.

*Avram 2015, 211.*

**γλουρεος** (adj.) ‘golden’

MPhr. sg.nom.masc. γλουρεος MPhr-01 (W-11), l. 2

Gloss  
γλούρεα· χρύσεια. Φρύγες  
καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός (H. γ 659)

Although the context of this word remains obscure, ... ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενονυ | σα σοροι ματι μακραν..., the meaning of this word is transmitted by the gloss γλούρεα· χρύσεια. Φρύγες καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός ‘γ.: golden things. Phrygians. Also γ. gold’ (H. γ 659). So, it is easily analysed as an adj. derived from the PIE root \*ǵʰlʰ<sub>3</sub>- ‘green, yellow’ parallel to Gr. χλωρός ‘greenish-yellow, pale green’, also attested, e.g., in Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus* ‘green plants, vegetables, cabbage’. Skt. as *hari-* ‘fallow, greenish’ (used in compounds). According to Brixhe (2004a, 17), γλουρεος contains the derivative suffix \*-eio-. Since the drop of the glide is not expected in Phr. (see, e.g., *kʰianaveyos* and *kubeleya*), perhaps this spelling is a consequence of using the Gr. script. In any case, Phrygian γλουρεος must be derived from the noun \*γλούρος, which occurs in Besantius’ *Bomos* calligram (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, transmitted by the *Gr. Anthology* 15.25, vv. 7-8): ἐς γὰρ βωμόν ὀρῆς με μήτε γλούρου | πλίνθοις ‘thou seest in me an altar not composed of gold bricks’ (in sg.gen., see EDG 277).

*Brixhe 2004a, 17; Sowa 2007a, 159; Sowa 2008, 31, 50, 88; EDG 277; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185, 186.*

**guvatis** see *ἡυατίς*.



## Δ (d) – Δ δ

**d** (mark)

OPhr. d G-282

Mark incised on the underside of the base of a bowl.

**d[-?]** see *a*<sup>1</sup>.

**dā[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. dā[---] G-303

Potter's stamp with the beginning of a probable PN.

*Brixhe 2002a, 63.*

**dabati** (verb)

OPhr. 3sg.pres.ind.act. dabati B-08; dā[b]ati B-01 l. 5

A verb found in the two large inscriptions from Germanos. Although we know that they are cultic texts, their contents are still unclear and the fragments in which both occurrences appear are eroded: B-01 [..]toyo[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey dā[b]ati | opito [k]ey and B-08 si tadila[---] | [---] bevdos key [---] | [---] key dabati [---]. Note that B-01, previously considered a form related to *daket* 'he does', is restored in the light of B-08. Its meaning and origin remain unknown.

*Brixhe & Vottéro 2017, 138.*

**daguvās** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. daguvās G-293

Graffito incised on the bottom of a bowl. According to (*Brixhe 2002a, 53-55*), *daguvās* is very likely a PN, although its origin is unclear. As a working hypothesis he suggested two possibilities. Perhaps *daguvās* is the same PN found as *Takuwa* in Hittite (*LNH 170-171 § 1219*), although the initial voiced stop is not expected. The second equates it to Gr. ταχύς 'swift, fast' and considers *daguvās* a PN name derived from a PIE adj. \**d<sup>h</sup>ηγ<sup>h</sup>-u-* 'id.'. However, the etymology of the Gr. form is still problematic (see *EDG 1456-1457*) and the vocalisation does not fit as Phrygian.

*Brixhe 2002a, 53-55.*

**δαδιτι** (noun?)

NPhr. sgd.dat.? δαδιτι 22.1 (9)

It is attested in an epitaph without imprecation: υς δουμ<sup>2</sup>ετ[ι]ου πασε δεκμουταις κινο[υ]μα ξτι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμεγαλν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα. The Gr. part of this inscription seems to provide different information: Κόϊντος Ρούφου τῆ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ Νενυερία μν[[ήμη]ς ἀ[ἰ]δί[α]τότατον ἴνεκα 'Quintus Rufus for his wife Nenueria in memoriam'. Despite the Gr. text, the Phr. part remains obscure since the two versions do not fit word-for-word. Consequently, two different interpretations have been suggested. The first considers δαδιτι a verb, which could be in 3sg.ind.pres.act. (see ραδιτι), and was suggested by Lubotsky (1989a, 79), who translated a part of this sentence as "'made a grave and a standing monument for Nenueria' uel sim". Consequently, to this possibility, δαδιτι is somehow to \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 136-138, *IEW* 235-239, see αδδακετ). However, δαδιτι seems to be in 3sg.ind.pres.act. (see ραδιτι) and the expected Phr. form in such a context is εδαεξ (3sg.ind.aor.act.). On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 75, followed by Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 211) considered that the root of this supposed verb is the PIE \**deh<sub>3</sub>-* 'give' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 105-106, *IEW* 223-225). Nevertheless, this interpretation must be rejected in the light of the recent identification of this root in τοτοσσειτι 'gives'. A second analysis considers δαδιτι in the light of the Gr. phrase γυναικὶ Νενυερία 'to (his) wife Nenueria' and considers this

Phrygian word a noun in sg.dat. First suggested by Calder (in *MAMA IV*, 7), it was followed by Haas (1966, 103-104), who equated it to Gr. τηθίς, -ίδος ‘aunt’, and Woodhouse (2006, 166), who agrees with Haas’ proposal and adduces parallel semantic changes such as Alb. *motër* ‘sister’ from PIE *\*méh<sub>2</sub>tēr* ‘mother’ (see Demiraj 1997, 279). However, ‘wife’ in NPhr. occurs as κναικαν (sg.acc.).

Haas 1966, 103-106; Lubotsky 1989a, 79; Orel 1997a, 75; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 211.

### δαδου (PN?)

NPhr. sg.gen.? δαδου 11.2 (18)

A possible *o*-stem PN in sg.nom. or sg.dat. attested in a non-imprecative part of an epitaph: [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκαν μιμογαδισ ακε<sup>ν</sup>νικου οκαυγοσι μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ λευκισ μιμογας κε {ε} ματαρ ευγεξαρναι κ’ ο τα τριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμανει... Since it follows the PN μιδακας, δαδου is verily likely a sg.gen. used as patronymic. Wouhouse (2006, 171) considered that δαδου was a common noun ‘grandfather’ inherited from a PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>os* adducing Gr. τήθη ‘grandmother’ and Slavic *\*dǣd* ‘grandfather’. However, it is easier to consider it a variant of the Lallnamen Δαδα, Δαδας, Δαδης, Δαδων, Δαδδος, etc. commonly found across all of Anatolia (*KPN* 139-141 § 244, see also NPhr. δαδων).

Bayun & Orel 1988c, 142; Orel 1997a, 82 and 421; Wouhouse 2006, 171.

### δαδων (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom. δαδων 43.1 (69) l. 12

sg.dat. δαδωνει 43.1 (69) l. 7-8

An *n*-stem Lallname found twice in an obscure epitaph: εινεα μιδους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν<π>ατω κνου|μαν [ο]νεκρ|ω δαδωνει| ονουεια ει|ροι τε αδεν|ατης δεουσ|ιας μανεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαε|ν. It is also attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia as Δαδων, Δαδωντος (*KPN* 141 § 244-7), although in this language it follows the *nt*-inflection.

*KPN* 141 § 244-7; Orel 1997a, 346 and 421.

δαδωνει see δαδων.

### davoi (PN)

OPhr. sg.dat. davoi M-06; davoi B-05 l. 2

A PN engraved on a rock-cut altar (M-06) and in the non-imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: M-06 [v]<sup>2</sup>rekun deiatiteeq.<sup>2</sup> davoi iman and B-05 iben edatoy dakeran atriyaş davoi okimaşiyā[---] | vreakan vitarān artimitoş krāniyaş [---]. Its relation with Gr. Δᾶος, Δαῦος and Lat. *Dauus* (e.g.), a common PN for slaves, especially in drama (see, e.g., Terentius, *Andria* 1, 2, 24 *Dauus sum, non Oedipus* ‘I am Davus, not Oedipus’), seems evident. The sequence *-vo-* can be considered an epenthetic glide also found in *devun*. However, if one considers that many Phrygian PNs are borrowed from Anatolian languages, it is perhaps better explained as a reflex of non-Phrygian origin. Ramsay (1895, 360) connected the Pisidian PN Γδαβος with Gr. Δᾶος (the OPhr. forms had not yet been found) and considered that the Pisidian form was the reflex of the Gr. one. However, Pisidian Γδαβος (N12), the gen. of Γδαβα (N10, N11 [*bis*], N27), is now interpreted as inherited from Proto-Luwic *\*hanta-wa-* ‘belonging to the front side’, the same root is found in the Pisidian PN in gen. Γδεβετις, cognate of Lyc. noun *xñtawat(i)-* ‘ruler’ and Luw. *handawat(i)-* ‘id.’ (see Simon 2017a, 31-32, with references). Consequently, Γδαβος cannot be defined as the Pisidian rendering of Δᾶος.

Bayun & Orel 1988a, 181; Vassileva 1995a, 270; Orel 1997aa, 422; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 76-78; Brixhe 2004a, 55; Hämming 2013, 139 fn. 30.

δακαρ see daker.

**δακαρεν** and **dak[*k*]ati** see αδδακετ.

**daker** (noun)

OPhr.	sg.nom.?	<i>daker</i> B-05 l. 5
	pl.acc.	<i>dakeraiš</i> B-05 l. 7
	sg.acc.	<i>dakeran</i> B-05 l. 2
NPhr.	sg.nom.?	δακαρ 11.2 (18) l. 3
	pl.nom.	δ[α] κερης 16.1 (116) l. 9-10

An *r*-stem noun without a clear meaning. It is found three times in the non-imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: B-05 *sin-t imenan kaliya ti tedat[...]edekm[...]meaş<sup>2</sup> d<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>mīd | iben edatoy dakeran atriyaş davoı okimaḳiya[---] | vrekān vitāran artimitoş kraniyaş [---] | panta vebrāş adun p<sup>2</sup>os key estāt pator.<sup>2</sup>ike[...].e[.] andati | vay niptiyay daker karātu enpsatus meka[---]aşıya.<sup>2</sup> | nidus ad kalıyay karātu paṇato ando popostoıs klānıv | kelmis ke umnišet evraduş dakeraiş key iverais [..] | atikraıu... It is also found in the non-imprecative part of two epitaphs completely written in Phrygian: 11.3 [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακε<sup>2</sup>νικου οκαυγοσι | μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ | λευκις μιμογας κε {ε} ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι κ' ο τα τιαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμανει and 16.1 ομουσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.?]δεο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]γουταις εδαες πιγκε τας δ[α]|κερης ονομανιας μιρου ικ[.] | κναικαν εδαες. Of the two sg.nom. forms, the expected one is δακαρ, in the light of the inflection of *matar*. Then, despite its antiquity, *daker* can be a secondary form which levelled its last vowel from the other forms. As Brixhe (2004a, 54) suggested, this noun very likely derives from the verb (αδ)δακετ.*

Brixhe 2004a, 54.

δ[α]|κερης, *dakeraiš* and *dakeran* and see *daker*.

*daket*, *δακετ*, *dakor*, †*dapitiy* and *daYet* see αδδακετ.

**das** (?)

OPhr. *das* W-10

An obscure word attested in an unclear text engraved on a sheer lone rock: *aluş si↑eto das*. The same phrase without the element *das* is found in W-08 *aluş si↑eto<sup>2</sup>* and W-10 *aluş si↑eto das*. Although Orel (1997a, 51 and 421) considered it a PN in sg.nom. (also Avram fthc.), the subject of the sentence is clearly *aluş*, if *si↑eto* is a verb. In that case, this interpretation does not fit the context. However, the status of *si↑eto* is not clear and an anthroponymic sequence cannot be ruled out.

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 86; Orel 1997a, 51 and 421; Avram fthc.

†*dabpulaišini* see *daşpula* and *isini*.

**dabpula** (noun)

OPhr. pl.nom.acc. *dabpula* P-101

A graffito incised on the bottom of a pot: *aini dabp<sup>2</sup>ula işini*. Although this obscure text has been discussed and even its segmentation was unclear, Hämmig (fthc. b) has recently equated it to the NPhr. 2.2 *αινι ουεβαν δεδασιυννι* and concluded that *dabpula* is the object of the verb *işini* as well as *ουεβαν* of *δεδασιυννι*. Unfortunately, the meaning of this word remains unknown.

CIPPh I, 244-254; Orel 1997a, 302 and 421; Hämmig fthc. b.

δδεω see δεως.

**de<sup>1</sup>** (PN?)

OPhr. *de* G-341

Very likely this graffito incised on a sherd is an abbreviation of a PN, as is common in such inscriptions.

*Brixhe 2002a, 95.*

†**de<sup>2</sup>** see *dedasity*.

**δεαδα** (?)

OPhr. δεαδα 11.2 (18) l. 1

Read in a non-imprecative part of an obscure epitaph: [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|ν μιμογαδισ ακε<sup>2</sup>νικου οκαυγοσι μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ... The two interpretations of δεαδα must be rejected. Orel (1997a, 81 and 422) considered that it was a chain of clitics, *de=ai=de*, where δε was an unidentified particle and δεα the Phr. cognate of the Gr. διά ‘through’. However, this last particle occurs in Phr. as τι-, so this solution is phonetically impossible. On the other hand, Woodhouse (2006, 171 fn. 24) segmented δε αδα and equated the second element to Gr. ἤδη ‘already, by this time’, but this can again be ruled out because a voiceless stop would be expected in the Phr. outcome. Consequently, this word remains to be explained. *Orel 1997a, 81 and 422; Woodhouse 2006, 171 fn.24.*

**[-?]-ded<sup>2</sup>[-]** (PN?)

OPhr. [-?]-ded<sup>2</sup>[-] NW-116

Although it is very likely a Lallname with a similar structure to *nana* or *baba* (see *Brixhe 2002a, 21*), the bad preservation of this pot graffito do not allow to give any conclusion.

*Brixhe 2002a, 21.*

†**dedapitiy**, **δεδασσιννι** and **dedasitiy** see αδδακετ.

**deγος** and **devun** see δεως.

**deiatiteeq[.]** (?)

OPhr. *deiatiteeq[.]* M-06

Attested in a text engraved on a little rock-cut monument: *rekun deiatiteeq.<sup>2</sup> davoi iman*. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 181) considered *deiat* a verb in 3sg. derived from the PIE verbal root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to do’ (*LIV<sup>2</sup> 136-140, IEW 235-239*). However, the sequence *-ia-* is not expected. There is very likely a word boundary between the contiguous *e: deiatite eq[.]*, although this remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 26; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 181; Orel 1997a, 29 and 423.*

**δεκμουταης** see δεκμουνταις.

**δεκμουταις** (?)

OPhr. *dekm*[-] B-05 l. 1?

NPhr. pl.acc. δεκμουταης 40.3 (31)

pl.acc. δεκμουταις 22.1 (9)

It is found in two NPhr. epitaphs: 22.1 υς δου<sup>2</sup>ετ[ι]ου πασε δεκμουταις κινο[υ]μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμεγαγ δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα and 40.3 [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου. The possible occurrence in the Vezirhan stele (*Brixhe 2004a, 53 and Sowa 2007a, 80-81*) is unclear since this part of the text is badly damaged: compare *Brixhe’s 2004a, 65* reading of the line *sint imenan kaliya ti tedat[...]<sup>2</sup>e dekm[...]<sup>2</sup>meqas<sup>2</sup> d<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>miḍ...* with *Neuman’s (1997, 18) sint imenan kaliya titedat [...]<sup>2</sup>e. eḳḳḳḳ . menana . a...*, where the restoration

[t]e[χ]m[ɔ]r] is suggested (attested in P-04, also in Gorbachov 2009, 92). δεκμουτας and δεκμουταις are two variants of an *a*-stem noun in pl.acc., where <αη> stands for /ai/ (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183). Its meaning and etymology are unknown, since attempts to identify them must be refuted. Neumann (1986, 84) suggested that it was the ordinal number ‘tenth’ derived from PIE \**dék̑m-* ‘ten’ (also Orel 1997a, 74 and 422-423, Blažek 2005, 30). However, the presence of the voiced dental stop in the Phr. form is unexpected. The same can be said of Woudhuizen’s proposal (2008-2009, 184 and 211), a word parallel to Gr. δεκάτη ‘tenth part, tithe’, also derived from PIE \**dék̑m-*. Finally, it also rules out the interpretation given by Haas (1966, 103-105), Calder (1911, 169) and Woodhouse (2006, 163), who equated δεκμουταις to the Gr. formula μνήμης ἀιδιότατον εἶνεκα ‘always in memory’ and considered it to be a compound made up of the numeral \**dék̑m-* and \**uétos* ‘year’, whose meaning is suggested to be ‘decade’. On the other hand, Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 35 and 117) considered it a deverbative adj. which goes back to PIE \**g<sup>m</sup>em-* ‘to step’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 209-210, *IEW* 464-465, see, e.g., Gr. βαίνω, Lat. *uenio*), giving it the perfective meaning ‘passed away, dead’: \**d<sup>(h)</sup>e-g<sup>m</sup>mō-t-o-* > \**dekmutō-*. Nevertheless, the first element of this formation is difficult to explain and it is an *ad hoc* etymology.

Haas 1966, 103-105; Neumann 1986a, 80 and 84; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 35 and 117; Orel 1997a, 74 and 422-423; Brixhe 1999, 301; Brixhe 2002a, 68; Brixhe 2004a, 53; Woodhouse 2006, 162-163; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 184 and 211; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183.

**dek̑m[---]** and see δεκμουνταις.

†**δεοποκγονιον** see ακα[.]δεο, pos and γονιον.

**δεος** see δεως.

**δευειας** (PN)

NPhr. sg.gen.? δευειας 43.1 (69)

Read in an obscure epitaph: εινεα μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν<π>ατω κγυ|μυαν [ο]υεκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουεια ει|ροι τε αδενπ|ατης δεουσι|ας μανεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαε|ν. It is often read as δεουσιας since the central stroke of the epsilon is lost. However, because of the presence of <ου>, which could stand for /w/, δευειας /deweias/ (or /dewias/) is preferable (see ουεναουιας /wenawias/). Despite the lack of parallels, since it follows the PN αδενπ|ατης (nom.) it can be considered an *a*-stem, PN in sg.gen., used as a patronymic (on the other hand, *KPN* 145 § 269 is considered a fem. PN).

Haas 1960, 64; *KPN* 145 § 269.

†**δευουσιας** see δευειας.

**deraqiv** see deraliv.

**deraliv** (?)

OPhr. deraliv B-05 l. 9

Obscure word read in the imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: *sinət imenən kaqa oskavos kaqey kan dedasitiy tubetiv oy kevos deraliv mekaş key koyis abreyoy nun ibey neyotan niptiyan sirun mireyun*. According to Neumann (1997, 23), who read it as *deragiv*, its unclear ending is found in the preceding *tubetiv*. However, *tubetiv* is a verb in 3sg. and *deraliv* remains unclear. See Hämmig’s analysis (2013, 140 and 142-143) for the comparable words found in its position in the other analogous curses of this inscription.

Neumann 1997, 23; Brixhe 2004a, 61; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184; Hämmig 2013, 140 and 142-143.

**deritoy** (verb)

OPhr. 3sg.subj.pres.med. *deritoy* B-05

A verb read in an imprecative apodosis of the Vezirhan stele: *tivt imun inmeney asenan daket torvetun* ↑*iray qyniy oy tubnuy nevos, me deritoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>*. It has been considered *mederitoy* as a verb with preverb; however, in the apodosis only verbs in imperative or in subj.pres. with *me* are expected, see, e.g., 7.1 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος. For the same reason, the aor. *m-ederitoy* suggested by Gorbachov (2008, 94, fn. 4) can be ruled out. The meaning and the etymology of *deritoy* remain unknown.

*Neumann 1997, 25; Brixhe 2004a, 63; Sowa 2007a, 74; Gorbachov 2008, 94, fn. 4; Hämmig 2013, 140 and 142-143.*

**dεξ[---]** (prep.?)

OPhr. *dεξ[---]* B-06

The beginning of a word read on a damaged stele: *stal'a ke : ↑ekm'[at]εξ key[---]a'yo'[---]|dεξ[---] : εvent noktoy : emetētariyois | [---]y ...* Orel (1997a, 152 and 422) equated it to the Gr. particle δη 'now, so, then' and Brixhe (2004a, 71) suggested the presence of the prep. δη followed by the beginning of an unknown word *s[---]*. However, the first proposal can be ruled out because the voiced stop is unexpected, and the second cannot be corroborated, since the sequence is partially preserved.

*Vassileva 1995, 27-34; Brixhe 1996, 125-136; Orel 1997a, 152 and 422; Brixhe 2004a, 71.*

**δετον** (noun) '(funerary) monument'

MPhr. sg.acc. *δετον* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7

NPhr. sg.acc. *δετον* 16.1 (116) l. 1

sg.acc. *δετον* 40.3 (31)

The three instances of this word are found in funerary stelae: MPhr-01 *ιος κοροαν δετον σον ομαστα ομνισιτ ους*, 16.1 *ξενε ισος κε δετον [ο'υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν [.?] κνουμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λοδιμον μειομον ριδιτι...* and 40.3 *πουκρος μανις[[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετον...* In terms of etymology, it is commonly accepted that *δετον* is a cognate of the Gr. adj. θετός 'placed, set', which goes back to the form *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-to-* (*NIL* 102-103), derived from the verbal root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to do, to put' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 136-140, *IEW* 235-239). Consequently, it has been considered to mean 'inscription' or, preferably, '(funerary) monument'.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 170; Lubotsky 1993a, 131; Orel 1997a, 152 and 423; Brixhe 2004a, 23; Sowa 2007a, 91; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 184 § 34; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186; Avram 2016, 128.*

**δετουν** see *δετον*.

**deVeti** see *αδδακετ*.

**δεως** (noun) 'god'

OPhr. sg.nom. *deγος* P-03

sg.acc. / sg.gen.? *devun* B-07

NPhr. pl.dat. *δδεω* 20.2 (128)

pl.dat. *δεος* 17.3 (7), 18.3 (6)

pl.dat. *δεως* 3.1 (97), 10.1 (112), 17.6 (119), 19.1 (96), 20.1 (63), 20.3 (62), 24.1 (40), 27.1 (92), 32.1 (93); [δ]ε[ως] 17.2 (3); [δ]ε[ω]ς 21.1 (42),

pl.dat. *διος* 30.1 (39)

pl.dat. *διως* 12..1 (121), 18.1 (4), 18.2 (5), 22.2 (118); δ[ιω]ς 35.1 (25)?

pl.dat. *δυως* 10.2 (113)

All the NPhr. forms appear in the basic formula, with many variants studied by Lubotsky (1998): με *δεως* κε *ζεμελω* κε 'in the sight of gods and men'. According to Lubotsky (1998, 419), this

noun is the Phr. outcome of PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-s-ó-* ‘god’ (NIL 102), a cognate of Gr. θεός ‘id.’. The previous proposal (Brixhe 1983, 115 and 117), a noun derived from PIE *\*deiuōs* (NIL 71-72, attested in Skt. *devá* ‘god’ and Lat. *deus* ‘id.’), was ruled out because the simplification *\*ǵi-* > /e:/ is difficult to defend in Phrygian and the presence of a voiced stop is unexpected in the Phr. word. The most common form is the NPhr. pl.dat. δεως (< *\*-ōis*), with some trivial variants: διως and διος, which present the hesitation /e/ ~ /i/ (see § 4.1.1), δωως, where upsilon is used instead of ipsilon because of the influence of the Gr. itacism, and δεος and διος, which shows the loss of vowel length differentiation between /o:/ and /o/. The form *devos* is clearly the sg.nom. because of its context. Indeed, in the text where it is read, engraved on a stone block, it agrees with the adj. *mekas* where *vasous iman mekas kanutieivais devos ke mekas*. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 186) explains its non-etymologic -v- as an epenthesis parallel to *tovo*. OPhr. *devun*, which also shows this epenthesis, is less clear, since its ending can be considered a pl.gen. *\*-ōn* (according to Brixhe 2004a, 83) or a sg.acc. *\*-on* and its context remains obscure: *yos tiv[.][.]?n ke devun k umnotan ordoineten*.

*Brixhe 1983, 115 § 4.1; CIPPh I, 234; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 101-102; Brixhe 1990, 77; Orel 1997a, 293 and 422; Lubotsky 1998, 419; Brixhe 2004a, 83-84; Lubotsky 2013, 186.*

### δη (preposition) ‘in, among, in the sight of’?

NPhr. δη 18.1 (4)

It is only attested once in a common imprecative apodosis: δη διως ζεμελω[ς τιτετ]ικμενος ειτου. Since it is located in the place where the preposition με is expected, it can also be considered a preposition governing dat., with a similar meaning to με + dat. On its etymology, although Brixhe (1997, 55-56) suggested a PIE base *\*d<sup>h</sup>-* or *\*d-*, only the first of these can be defended for Phr. Consequently, it is very likely a cognate of the Gr. allative -θεν ‘towards, to’, which goes back to PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>e* (LIPP II, 148-149), also found in in Skt. *kúha*, Av. *kudā* ‘where?’ (< *\*k<sup>w</sup>u + d<sup>h</sup>e*) and Lat. *ubi* ‘where’ (with its original locative meaning, see Berenguer 2000, 25). Its possible occurrence as preverb in B-05 *dedasitiy* is rejected by Hämmig (2013, 131) and by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192).

*Brixhe 1983, 126; Lubotsky 1989a, 83; Brixhe 1997, 55-56; Brixhe 2004a, 61; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192; Hämmig 2013, 131; LIPP II, 149.*

### di (PN?)

OPhr. di or id C-103

Complete graffito incised on a lekythos. It is very likely an anthroponymic abbreviation. Although the reading direction is unknown, because of the proximity to the handle it is most likely dextroverse. Then, di is the most probable reading (CIPPh I, 222).

*CIPPh I, 222.*

### dide (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. dide HP-112

An e-stem PN incised on a bronze bowl found in Bayındır (East Lycia). Despite the lack of the ending -s, it is a sg.nom. (see, e.g., *voine* G-228). It is a variant of the Lallanamen Δηδης, Δηδης, Διδας, etc. (from Phrygia, Bithinia and Lydia, KPN 146 § 278, 282).

*Varinlioğlu 1992, 13 and 15 no. 10; Orel 1997a, 319-320 and 423; Brixhe 2004a, 116-117.*

### δισιν (?)

NPhr. δισιν 50.2 (55)

Found in a damaged imprecative apodosis: ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουν | κ[νουμα]νει | κ[ακουν] αδδα|κ[ετ, ..]ι οι που|σ[....]ι δισιν. It seems the reason why Haas (1966, 93) and Orel (1997a, 261 and 422) considered it a variant of δεως. Orel also explained it as “an unusual orthographic variant ... with

the ending of dat. pl. in its unreduced form going back to \*-oisi. Note ν ἐφέλκυστικόν in the auslaut”. However, it is *ad hoc* explanation and this word remains unclear.

Haas 1966, 93; Brixhe 1968, 318; Orel 1997a, 261 and 422.

### **dile.?** (PN)

OPhr. dile.? G-246

Graffito incised on a bowl. The last sign is difficult to read, perhaps a ligature of several letters or a non-alphabetic mark. Despite the lack of parallels, it is very likely to be a PN.

Brixhe 1984, 193.

### **διουνσιν** (DN)

NPhr. sg.acc. διουνσιν 6.1 (88)

According to Calder (1928, 217, followed by Gusmani 1958, 902 and Lubotsky 1989b, 147 and 152), this is a loanword from Gr. Διόνυσος ‘Dionysos’ (on Greek variants see García Ramón 1987). Indeed, it appears in an imprecative apodosis, where a god is expected to be the keeper of the monument: *πουρ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ'εικετ διουνσιν* ‘... he will be responsible towards the heavenly king Dionysos’ (translation suggested by Lubotsky 2004, 235). Although this identification is obvious, two details are to be explained. According to Gusmani (1958, 902), the unexpected spelling of διουνσιν with regard to Διόνυσος is the result of a syncope, however Lubotsky (1989b, 153) suggested a scribal error which corrupted the form \*διουσσιν. The second unexpected feature is its ending, where -ιν was engraved instead of the more predictable -ουν. Lubotsky (1989b, 153) explained it as a spelling mistake, also found in the variant σεμιν (53.1, 61.1) of the common pronoun σεμουν (*pace* Brixhe 1999, 308, who did not rule out a “théonyme autochtone”).

Calder 1928, 217; Gusmani 1958, 902; Lubotsky 1989b, 147 and 153; Orel 1997a, 111 and 424; Brixhe 1999, 308; Brixhe 2002b, 62.

### **dis** (?)

OPhr. dis G-11 b

Attested in an obscure inscription engraved on a trapezoidal block: *sit kraroy veao γογ[.] dis*. Brixhe (2002a, 37) equated it to Gr. δῖς, which goes back to PIE \**duis* ‘twice, doubly’ (Skt. *divis* and Lat. *bis*). However, it does not fit with the Phrygian form, where a voiceless stop is unexpected. Indeed, PIE \**d(u)is* yields the Phrygian preverb τι(τ)- (see τιττετικμενος). Consequently, *dis* remains unexplained.

Brixhe 2002a, 37.

**διος** and **διως** δεως.

### **δμως** (noun?)

NPhr. δμως 40.3 (31)

Attested in an incomplete epitaph: [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου[.....] προ τοσου. Although Orel (1997a, 334 and 424) considered it a borrowing form Gr. δμῶς ‘slave taken in war’, the context is obscure and this possibility cannot be corroborated. Indeed, Gr. δμῶς never occurs in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia.

Neroznak 1978, 126; Orel 1997a, 334 and 424.

**δοκετ** see αδδακετ.

### δορυκα[νος] (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom. δορυκα[νος] 2.1 (15)

A PN attested in a funerary stele: ξευνη των ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ξεναν μανκαν αμι|ασιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα[[νος ---]]. It was restored by Haas in the light of other occurrences of this PN. Indeed, it also appears in a Gr. inscription from Galatia (dat. Δορυκανωι MAMA I no. 308) and one from Hierapolis (see KPN 152 § 302-1, also on a coin from the same city, RPC 2936, dated to the year 10/9 BC). Then, in the Phrygian text, δορυκα[νος] very likely occurs in apposition to the noun αναρ 'man, husband'. Because of the presence of δορυ- it must be considered a Gr. PN.

Haas 1966, 106; Orel 1997a, 78 and 424; Avram fthc..

### δουδας (PN)

NPhr. δουδας 37.2 (30)

A-stem Lallname well attested in Phrygian (KPN 156-154 § 306-1 - 306-11). It occurs in an incomplete epitaph: [.....] δουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. It can be considered a sg.gen., although a sg.nom. cannot be ruled out.

Orel 1997a, 329 and 425.

δουμε see *duman*.

### δουμ'ετυου (PN)

NPhr. δουμ'ετυου 22.1 (9)

An o-stem PN borrowed from Lat. *Domitius*, attested in Gr. as Δομίτιος (in Phrygia it occurs in a door-stele from Sinanlı, Waelkens 1986, no. 613), Δομήτιος (Str. 4.2.3) and Δουμέτιος (in inscriptions from Epeiros and in Str. 14.1.42). This PN occurs in a bilingual epitaph, and in the Gr. part of the text a man bearing a Lat. name is also found, Κόϊντος 'Ρούφου 'Quintus (the son) of Rufus'. However, the two texts do not contain the same information. In addition, it must be acknowledged that the Phrygian text remains obscure, υς δουμ'ετυου πασε δεκμουταις..., and the reading of δουμετυου is not unanimously accepted. For instance, Calder (1911, 169) tried to read here δουμ[μ]ετ[α]ου in the light of Δουμεταω attested in Lycaonia (Sterrett 1883, 203 no. 2015), although he preferred to read δουνετυου in MAMA IV (p. 6-7 no. 18, see photograph in Pl. 14).

Calder 1911, 169.

***duman*** (noun) '(religious) community, association'?

OPhr. sg.acc. *duman* B-01 l. 3

NPhr. sg.dat. δουμε 1.1 (48)

Both occurrences are found in cultic contexts: the OPhr. form in a niche engraved on a rock devoted to the Mother-Goddess, B-01 *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy*, and the NPhr. in an inscription related to a religious community, δουμε κε οι ουε|βαν αδδακετ ορου|αν. Its meaning has been identified in the light of the Gr. word κώμη 'unwalled village' read in in the Gr. part of the quasi-bilingual 1.1. and the Gr. noun δοῦμος 'religious community', considered a borrowing from Phr. This last word is found in Gr. inscriptions from North-East Lydia, Pisidia, one from Phrygia (Neumann 2002) and another from Thracia (IGBulg IV 1925,b), as well as in Gr. poems (e.g., Hipponax 40.2 and Philodemus AP 7.222). It also occurs in Lat. inscriptions as *dumus* (in Lancia, Hispania, see Aldea Celada 2013) and in the compound *dumopireti* 'the fire-kindlers of the *dumos*' (= Gr. \*δοῦμο-πύραιθοι, in a dedication from Novae, Moesia Inferior, see de Jong 1997, 144-145, with references). The inflection of *duman*, δουμε is parallel to [ξ]ευναν (sg.acc.), ξευνε (sg.dat.). On its etymology, we can tentatively identify a relationship with Gr. θωμός 'heap' and

Go. *doms* ‘judgement’, which seem to go back to a derivative from the the PIE root \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘put’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 136-140, IEW 235-239).

Kretschmer 1900; Haas 1961, 80; Haas 1970, 28; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 104-105; Masson 1987b; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 187; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 148; Fauth 1989, 197-198; Lubotsky 1997, 124-125; Orel 1997a, 141 and 425; Neuman 2002; Lubotsky 2004, 233; Polito 2004; Polito 2005; Woodhouse 2006, 177-178; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 183 § 42; EDG 350; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189.

†*dumas* see *dumasta*.

*dumasta* (title?) ‘leader of a *duman*’?

OPhr. sg.nom. *dumasta* G-131; *ḍumasta*<sup>?</sup> G-245

A word only read in two sherds from Gordion: G-131 [-?-] *dumasta eia*[-] and G-245 *ḍumasta*<sup>?</sup> v.[-?-]. According to Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198, followed Lubotsky 1997, 125) it is a religious title derived from the noun *duman*.

CIPPh I, 193; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Lubotsky 1997, 125; Orel 1997a, 183 and 425.

†*dumastaeia*[-] see *dumasta* and *eia*[-].

†*ḍumasta*<sup>?</sup>v.[-?-] see *dumasta*.

*dumeyay* (adj.)

NPhr. sg.dat.fem. *dumeyay* G-01a

It occurs in a very damaged text engraved on a slab: [-]ϕ<sup>?</sup>*lavi*[-]isvolkay | : *dumeyay* : [-]ḍeḍa[-]. Although the context is damaged, it is very likely an adj. derived from *duman* which agrees with [-]isvolkay. Orel (1997a, 157 and 425) considered it an epithet of the Mother-Goddess. However, the text does not provide any information on this possibility.

Lejeune 1969b, 293; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Lubotsky 1997, 125; Orel 1997a, 157 and 425.

δυως see δεως.

*ḍupratoy* see *pupratoy*.

## Ξ (e) – Ε ε

### e (mark)

OPhr. e NW-125; e<sup>2</sup> NW-113

Two isolated letters incised on sherds. NW-113 can be also read as v<sup>2</sup>.

*Brixhe 2002a, 19-20; Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 131-132.*

### ea.[---] (?)

OPhr. ea.[---] T-02c

Read on a fragment of a broken stele from Tyana: [---] | ÷ ea.[---]][---].na.. Because it is preceded by a possible interpunction, it is a clear beginning of a word.

*CIPPh I, 267.*

**εαυται** see *venavtun*.

### εγδαεξ (verb)

NPhr. εγδαεξ 11.2 (18) l. 7

Although εγδαεξ looks like a verb in 3sg.ind.aor.act. like *edaes*, it occurs in an imprecative protasis where a verb in pres. is expected: ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειον εγδαεξ μουρσα αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα... *LIPP II, 204* suggests a derivation from PIE \*(h<sub>1</sub>)éǵh- ‘from, from within’ (with the meaning ‘hat ausgeführt’). In any case, this hapax remains unclear.

*Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 204.*

**εγεδου** see *egeseti*.

**εγερετ** see *εγερετοι*.

### εγερετοι (verb) ‘take, bring’?

OPhr. 3sg.ind.aor.med. *egertoy* W-01c

NPhr. 3pl.ind.pres.act. γερε[τ/ν] 28.1 (71)

3sg.ind.aor.med. εγερετοι 37.2 (30)

A verb attested in three different contexts: W-01c *ataniyen kuryaneyon tan egertoy*, 28.1 τις κε γερε[ν], τιττετικμ[ε]νοι ιννου and 37.2 [.....] ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε των ειτγγου. Because of the position of *egertoy* at the end of a sentence, and morphological traces such as a possible augment *e-* and a middle ending *-toy*, it has been interpreted as a verb by Lubotsky (1988, 24). Since the inscription W-01c interpunction is used, the preceding sequence *tan* has been considered by some scholars to be part of the same word. Nevertheless, according to Lubotsky (1988, 24), the best segmentation is *tan egertoy*, in which where the first element is the fem. pronoun *tan*. Consequently, *ataniyen kuryaneyon tan egertoy* must mean something like ‘Ataniyen, the commander, ...ed her (*Matar*)’. The form in 28.1, found in an imprecative protasis, is problematic because the last letter of the ending is lost and the analysis is ambiguous. Ligorio and (Lubotsky 2013, 191) preferred the restoration γερε[ν], considering a 3pl., because the apodosis is clearly plural. However, the pronoun which introduces the protasis, τις, seems to be in sg. So, one must assume that the problem stems from the pronoun or the congruence between protasis and apodosis. If γερε[ν] is preferred, τις κε γερε[ν], τιττετικμ[ε]νοι ιννου may be translated as ‘they who γερε[ν], let them become accursed’. But, if γερε[τ] is preferred, τις κε γερε[τ], τιττετικμ[ε]νοι ιννου may be translated as ‘And whoever γερε[τ], let them become accursed’. Finally, although the context of εγερετοι in 37.2 (a broken funerary door stele) is incomplete and unparalleled, in the light of the imperative ending of ειτγγου it seems to be a

curse. On its segmentation, *εγερτοι* has also been considered *εγερει οι*, but this passive ending is attested in forms such as *αββερετοι*. If the whole sentence is considered a curse, the presence of aor. is unexpected and, consequently, a segmentation *ουεβανε γερτοι* (a sg.dat. followed by the verb in 3pl.ind.pres.med.) cannot be ruled out. The origin of this verb remains unclear, since Orel's suggested etymology (1997, 250 and 426), which equates it to the *ἐγείρω* 'to awaken, rouse, raise', is not possible because the voiced stop of the PIE verbal root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ger-* 'awake' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 245-246, *IEW* 390) would be expected to become voiceless in Phrygian. Also the suggestion made by Woodhouse (2006, 163), who considered that the initial *e-* is a preverb instead of the augment, is impossible.

*Lubotsky 1988, 24; Orel 1997a, 250, 296, 426; Woodhouse 2006, 163 n. 13; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191.*

**egeseti** (verb) 'hold, experience'

OPhr. 3sg.subj.pres.act.? *egeseti* P-04 a

NPhr. 3sg.impv.pres.med. *εγεδου* 53.1 (76), 59.4 (106), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105); 60.1 *ε|γεδ[ου]* (59)

3sg.ind.pres.act.? *εγεσιτ* 56.2 (58)

This verb is found three different contexts. The OPhr. form is the verb of an elusive imprecative protasis: P-04a *ios ni akenan egeseti, o<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>irterko[...]. tekmo<sup>2</sup> ot.[...]seti vebru*. The NPhr. forms are read in two different texts. The imperative *εγεδου* (ending parallel to Gr. -σθω) is the verb of an apodosis read ten times, see, e.g.: 62.1 *γεγρειμενα|ν εγεδου τιος ουταν* 'let him experience the curse of Zeus'. The last form, *εγεσιτ* appears in a non-imprecative sentence: 56.2 *μοναν μοπιτη ιον εγεσιτ γεγριμενον*. The interpretation of the ending of the forms *egeseti* and *εγεσιτ* is not at all clear and the continuity of the intervocalic -s- is unexpected (is it a secondary restoration?). On its root, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 185) suggest that it follows the inherited PIE *\*seǵ<sup>h</sup>-* 'to hold, to overpower' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 515-516, *IEW* 888-889, Gr. *ἔχω* 'have, hold', Skt. *sáhate* 'overwhelm, defeat'). Previous interpretations such as that of Orel (1997, 426), who considered it an inherited verb from the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* 'drive' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 255-256, Gr. *ἄγω* 'lead', Lat. *ago* 'drive' and Skt. *ájati* 'drive, propel, cast'), must be rejected because a voiced stop is not expected in Phrygian and the meaning does not fit.

*Brixhe 1982, 245; Lubotsky 1988, 12-13 and 21; Brixhe 1990, 91; Orel 1997a, 426; Sowa 2007a, 84-85; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185.*

**εγεσιτ** see *egeseti*.

**εγουννου** (noun) 'offspring'

OPhr. sg.dat. *εγουννου* 2.2 (130)

As Avram (2015, 211) identified, this is a clear borrowing from Gr. *ἔγγονον* > *εγουννου* 'descendant'. It is read in the first Phr. clause of the Nacoleia altar: *ανι ουεβαν δεδασιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη, σως κη γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγουννου*. Note that the promotor's children are also mentioned in the Gr. text: *Εὐξάμενος πρὸς ἔπιος ἱεραῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἐν|γελάον ἐγὼ πάτρη τε | [γόν]οις μου, χεῖρ ὑπὲρ...* On the geminates, there is a clear hypercorrection after their simplification in Gr. and Phr. by the Imperial age.

*Avram 2015, 211.*

**edae** and **edaes** see *αδδακετ*.

**edaie** (verb?)

OPhr. *edaie* HP-02

Read on a damaged stone slab found in Kocagür (14 km far from the ancient Parion): [-?-] | *tanari*[-] | [-] | *liake* | *edaie* [-?-]. According to the first editors, it seems to be a 3sg. of a preterite verb with augment. As a working hypothesis, they also equated it to *δαίω* 'light up, kindle'.

However, since this verb goes back to PIE *\*deh<sub>2</sub>u-* ‘kindle, burn’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 104-105, *IEW* 179-181), this possibility must be ruled out. Indeed, if it is an inherited word, the voiced dental stands for PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>* (see αδδακετ). Unfortunately, no alternative identification can be given. It is perhaps related to *edaviy*. The unusual ending is also attested in *etlnaie* (P-04), and this parallel suggests that, despite the place where it was found (Mysia on Hellespont), the text is indeed Phr. (the alphabet is clearly Phr.).

*Brixhe & Keleş 2011, 158.*

**edaviy** (verb?)

OPhr. *edaviy* B-04

An unparalleled word attested in the precariously read block from Üyücek (often considered Mysian before Brixhe 2004a, 21): *ḡop<sup>2</sup>ton<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>iy • a<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> lavoy • ue | edaviy p<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup> • a<sup>2</sup>er<sup>2</sup>neuey | y<sup>2</sup>a.oe<sup>2</sup>ap.earvi<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> • bato<sup>2</sup>ante...* According to Brixhe (2004a, 21), it could be a noun in dat. or a verb. However, the latter option must be preferred, since the dat. athem. ending is expected to be written as *-ey* (see *materey*). Its root is possibly also attested in *edaie*. Nevertheless, its meaning and morphological details remain unclear.

*Brixhe 2004a, 21.*

**edatoy** see αδδακετ.

**eia[---]** see *eies*.

**ειδου** see ειτου.

**†ειε** see γουμειε.

**eies** (PN)

OPhr. ? *eia[---]* G-131

sg.nom. *eies* G-108

Although G-131 is broken, both graffiti read on sherds seem to be PNs related to *Ειας* (masc.) / *Εια* (fem.) or *Ιας* (masc.) *Ια* (fem.), attested in Bithynia, Pontos, Phrygia and Pisidia (*KPN* 157 § 319). They are very likely variants of *Ιας* (masc.), *Ια* (fem.), attested in the same regions (*Ια* also in Cilicia, see *KPN* 188-189 § 447). In G-108 *eia[---]* follows the word *dumasta*.

*CIPPh I, 102 and 120-121.*

**ειλικρινη** (adj.) ‘pure’

NPhr. *ειλικρινη* 2.2 (130) l. 6

Although Avram (2015, 14-15) does not rule the possibility that we are dealing with a patronymic, since there are many Gr. loanwords in the text where *ειλικρινη* is read, he concludes that it is very likely a borrowing from *εἰλικρινής*, -ές, ‘unmixed, without alloy, pure’. Note that in its sentences it is surrounded by two more Gr. words: *αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρελς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη, σως κη | γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο[υ]ννου*. Following Avram, it seems to agree with *καρπυς* (better dat.pl. than pl.nom.), similarly to the Gr. text from the same altar *ιεροις ἐνι καρποῖς* ‘among this holy fruits’, however, the endings of *ειλικρινη* and *καρπυς* are not clear.

*Avram 2015, 14-15.*

**ΕΙΝΕΑ** (PN?)

NPhr. sg.nom.? εινεα 43.1 (69) l. 1

Taken from an epitaph whose reading and meaning are unclear: εινεα μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν<π>ατω κγου|μαν [ο]υεκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουεια ει|ροι τε αδενπ|ατης δεουσι|ας μανεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαε|ν. Because of its position, at the beginning of a non-imprecative text of a funerary stele, it is very likely a PN in sg.nom. attested in Gr. as Ιννεας (from Pisidia-Lycia, *KPN* 200 § 471-6). Recently, Hämmig suggested a reading Σ<sup>2</sup>INEM<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>|ΔΟΤ<sup>2</sup>Ε<sup>2</sup>, but because of the lack of parallels and interpretations the old reading is still defensible.

Hämmig *fthc. a.*

**ΕΙΞΑ** (noun?)

NPhr. sg.acc.? ειξα 2.1 (15)

Hapax read in a sequence of nouns and adjectives in acc. describing the monument, where it follows the pronoun ταν and precede the adverb υψοδαν: Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|εναν μανκαν αμ|ασιαν ιοι αναρ Δορυκα|[νος ---]. Its meaning is obscure, as well as its lexical category, but most likely is a noun in acusative (with the loss of the nasal).

Lubotsky 1993a, 131-132.

**ΕΙΟΣ** see ιος.

**ΕΙΡΟΙ** (noun) ‘hero’?

NPhr. pl.nom. ειροι 17.3 (7); ει|ροι 43.1 (69) l. 8-9

It is read in two different funerary texts: 17.3, in an imprecative apodosis, [ιος σεμου]ν κνουμανι κακα | [αδδακ]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελως κε] | [---] ακε οι ειροι α τιε τιττ[ε|τικμενοι ειττ]νου, 43.1 in the description of the text, εινεα μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν<π>ατω κγου|μαν [ο]υεκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουεια ει|ροι τε αδενπ|ατης δεουσι|ας μανεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαε|ν. Although Orel (1997a, 71 and 429) classified it as a thematic sg.dat, in the light of 17.3, where it seems to be the subject of the sentence, it is better to consider it a pl.nom. (as Woodhouse 2007, 193 did). Orel also equated it to the gloss ἐρέας· τέκνα, Θεσσαλοί ‘E.: children, Thessalians’ (H. ε 5681). Nevertheless, the gloss is not related to Phrygian. A feasible interpretation is to take it as a borrowing from Gr. ἥρωσ, ἥρωος with the common funerary meaning of ‘deceased’. Either way, it should be noted that the segmentation of 43.1 is unclear.

Bayun & Orel 1988c, 161; Orel 1997a, 71 and 429; Brixhe 1999, 301; Woodhouse 2007, 193.

**ΕΙΤΟΥ, ΕΙΤΤΝΟΥ** and **ΕΙΤΥ** see *ituv*.

**evememesmeneya** (adj.) ‘well-remembering’?

OPhr. sg.nom.fem. evememesmeneya B-01 l. 6

According to a suggestion by Lubotsky (1988, 15 n.6 and 1993b, 97), this word is an epithet of *Matar* meaning ‘well-remembering’, classified as a reduplicated sg.nom.fem. perfect participle of the verb *men-* (< PIE \**men-* ‘to think’ *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 435-436, *IEW* 726-728, Gr. μαίνομαι ‘be mad, angry’, Skt. *mányate* ‘to think, believe, imagine’) with the prefix \**h<sub>1</sub>su-* > *ev(e)-* ‘well’ (*LIPP* II, 299-300, Gr. εὖ- ‘id.’, Skt. *va-* ‘id.’). So the word can be separated as follows: prefix *eve-* + reduplication *-me-* + verbal root *-mes-* + middle-passive participle suffix *-men-* (< PIE \**-mh<sub>1</sub>no-*) + fem. suffix *-eya*. Although this is a very attractive interpretation, there are some problematic details, such as the unexpected presence of an *-s* after the verbal root, the presence of the vowel *e* after *ev-* (note that the reading of the letters is not clear according to *CIPPh* I, 64-65) or the suffix *-eya* instead of *-a*. Nevertheless, Lubotsky’s approach is preferable to Orel’s suggestion (1997, 144, 430 and 444): a segmentation *evememes meneya*, where the first word is considered a verb meaning ‘speak favourably, declare’ and the second word, also considered a *Matar* epithet, is

related to Gr. εὖ-μένεια ‘goodwill, favour’. Also, Haas’ interpretation (1969, 77-78) must be rejected: according to him it is an anthroponymic sequence, ‘Minnis (the daughter) of Minneos’. Either way, the context remains obscure, although it seems to be an imprecative part of the inscription: ... *opito* [k]ey oy *evememesmeneya anato* (?) | *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (?) | *kesiti*...  
 Haas 1969, 77-78; *CIPPh* I, 64-65; Lubotsky 1988, 15 n.6; Lubotsky 1993b, 97; Orel 1997a, 144, 430 and 444; Lubotsky 1997, 121; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85; *LIPP* II, 299-300.

### **event** (verb?)

OPhr. *event* B-06

Read on a damaged funerary stele: *sta|<sup>2</sup>a ke* : *↑ekm<sup>2</sup>[at]eş key*[---]*q<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup>*[---]*]|deş*[---] : *event noktoy* : *emetetariyois* | [---]*ly* ... According to Brixhe (2004a, 71-72), it could be a verb in 3pl. where the dental is preserved (in contrast to forms such as *vitaran*). Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 186) offer the segmentation *eventnoktoy*, although the NPhr. *νουκτον* is clearly segmented in another text. In any case, the root of such a verb and its meaning remain unclear.

Brixhe 2004a, 71-72; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186.

†*eventnoktoy* see *event* and *noktoy*.

### **eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y** (adj.?)

OPhr. sg.dat. *eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y* W-01b

The reading of the ending is not at all clear, only the higher horizontal stroke was engraved in the last <e>, so Hämmig (fthc. a) has recently argued that it is indeed a mistake and it in fact stands for <i> (following the common readings published before *CIPPh* and Lubotsky 1988): *eveteksetiy*. She also considered it a verb. However, the sentence in which it is read is a protasis and *daYet* is a more suitable verb: *yos esai=t materey eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y ovevin onoman daYet, lakedo key venavtun avtay materey*. Indeed, as it follows the DN *materey* in sg.dat., *eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y* has traditionally been considered an epithet of the Goddess which agrees with *materey*. So, according to this interpretation, for some unclear reason the missing strokes of the the argued <e> were never engraved. Although it is not a satisfactory explanation, the reading <e> fits better because of the resulting ending and the position of the word. On its meaning, Lubotsky (1988, 20 and 1993b, 97) identified the beginning as the PIE prefix *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-* > *ev(e)-* (*LIPP* II, 299-300, Gr. εὖ-, Skt. *su-*) but had nothing to add about this formation. Since its root is very likely *tek-*, perhaps this is a secondary *t*-stem noun built on the PIE verb *\*teḱ-* ‘to sire, beget’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 618, Gr. τίτω ‘beget, give birth to, produce’) with a meaning similar to ‘well-parturient’ (Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 185 suggested a similar interpretation before). This is only possible if we consider that the root taken is *teks-*, with a secondary *s*-aor. However, other roots (e.g. *\*dek-* ‘to show, to point out’, *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 108-109) cannot be ruled out. Consequently, the meaning remains unclear.

Lubotsky 1988, 20; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 182; Janda 1997, 273; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85; *LIPP* II, 300; Hämmig fthc. a.

### **evkobeyan** (adj.?)

OPhr. sg.acc.fem. *evkobeyan* B-01 l. 9

Despite the fact that Orel considered it an epithet of *Matar* meaning ‘victorious’, in the light of OIr. *cob* ‘id.’, neither the segmentation (although it is the most likely solution) nor the parallel are clear enough to defend such an interpretation: [k]ey oy *evememesmeneya anato* (?) | *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (?) | *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni* | *pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*. The presence of the suffix *\*-ejo-* is shared with other fem. words such as *kubeleya* or *imeneia*.

Lubotsky 1993b, 97; Orel 1997aa, 430; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85-86.

**evraduṣ** (noun or adj.)

OPhr. sg.nom.? *evraduṣ* B-05 l. 7

An obscure word read in an elusive context: *kelmis ke umniṣet evraduṣ daḡeraṣ key iverais [...] | atikraṣiu*. Perhaps a *u*-stem noun or adjective. Neumann (1997, 22) preferred the segmentation *eṭevraduṣ*. However, Brixhe (2004a, 59) considered *-et* to be the ending of the preceding verb. Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 59.

**evtevey** (?)

OPhr. *evtevey* B-03 (*bis*)

Read twice on a stone block, the context is highly obscure, but there are very likely to be two imprecative protases (only the last word of the first protasis remains) and one apodosis: *eṣk...a[---] a. [...] | evtevey ay yosyos yenvra | etiṣt evtevey me.oun lakedʰo | [-?-]*. On its segmentation, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 190), Brixhe (2004a, 41) and Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192) assume *etitevey* for the second occurrence. However, *eti* and *ṣt* are found independently. Because of its ending *-ey*, it can be considered a sg.dat. athematic noun or adjective, although a verb (perfect, according to Lubotsky 1988, 18 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192) cannot be ruled out and is expected if *evtevey* is the last word of the first protasis. In any case, its root remains unexplained. Its beginning perhaps is related to the prefix *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-* > *ev(e)-* ‘well’ (Gr. εὖ-, Skt. *su-*). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 190 and 1988b, 135) equated to Gr. εὐθύς ‘straight, direct’, but it does not fit with the Phrygian development of the inherited voiced aspirate. On the other hand, Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 185) hypothesised a Myc. form *\*ew(e)-diwija* ‘good goddess’ as the origin of the Phrygian form, however such an unattested formation is unjustified and does not fit the ending of *evtevey*.

Lubotsky 1988, 18; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 190; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 135; Lubotsky 1989a, 79 n.2; Brixhe 1996, 131; Brixhe 2004a, 41; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 185; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.

†*evteveyay* see *evtevey*.

**εκατηας** (PN)

NPhr. sg.gen. *εκατηας* 16.1 (116) l. 6

A clear PN borrowed from Gr. Ἑκαταία. Note that <η> stands for /e/, the vowel resulting of from the monophthongation of /aj/ as in *καί* > *κε*. The same result is also attested for this name in *MAMA* 6.16 Ἑκατέα (= *SEG* 6.239, from *Laodikeia*, Phrygia). The Phrygian occurrence is in agreement with *κναικο<ς>* ‘wife’ in sg.gen.: *ται τοα με ογομανιας εναρκε ερω[λ]αρος κναικο<ς> εκατηας ομουσασαι ποσεκανε<ς>...*

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 175; Orel 1997a, 427; Brixhe 1999, 301; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183.

**ekey** (adverb?) ‘there’?

OPhr. *ekey* B-01

Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188) equated this to Gr. ἐκεῖ ‘there’ (considered likely by Lubotsky 1993b, 97). So, it seems to be inherited from PIE *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)e-ke(i)*. Nevertheless, its context is still obscure: *ayni kin te[l]emi [...]toyo[.]is [...]erktevoys ekey da[k]ati*. On the other hand, *key* could be taken as the copulative conj., however, the residual *e-* would remain unexplained.

Bayun & Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993b, 97.

**ekp.[---]** (?)

OPhr. *ekp.[---]* T-03c

A badly damaged fragment of a stele from Tyana. It is clearly the beginning of a word because of the presence of interpunction: *: [---]uṣ.t[---][---]ḡimoi : ekp.[---]*.

Bayun & Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993, 97.

**ε<sup>1</sup>lakes** see *lakedo*.

**ektetoy** (verb) ‘possess’?

OPhr. 3sg.ind.aor.med. *ektetoy* B-01 l. 3

According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 191) it is a verb inherited from PIE \**tkeh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘rule, gain, acquire’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 618-619, *IEW* 1057-1058), parallel to Gr. κτάομαι ‘to acquire, win’ (in perfect. ‘possess’). Both the Gr. and Phr. forms show a metathesis in the root, pointing to the presence of \**h<sub>1</sub>* (on this point, see Beeke 2010, 789). In any case, the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs remains unclear: *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy* ‘(The statue of the) Mother Kubeleya was acquired by the *duman* for themselves’ (?).

*Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 31; Orel 1997a, 141-142 and 438-439; Lubotsky 1997, 125; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191.*

**εmetε** see *εmetεtariyois*.

**εmetεtariyois** (noun?)

OPhr. *εmetεtariyois* B-06

Read on a badly damaged funerary stele before the imprecative part of the epitaph in an obscure text: *stαl<sup>2</sup>a ke : stαl<sup>2</sup>a ke : ↑ekm<sup>2</sup>[at]εs key[---]α<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup>[---][dεs[---] : εvent noktoy : εmetεtariyois [---]y ...* The ending *-ois* shows that it is a pl.acc. (as Brixhe 2004a, 72 suggested). Orel (1997a, 153) worked with the reading *ε<sup>1</sup>etε tariyois* and considered that the first word was a verb in 2sg. person. However, such a verbal form is unattested in Phr. (it is only defensible as 3sg.ind.aor.act. *-e<s>*) and even the ending of the supposed *ε<sup>1</sup>etε* is unexpected (unless it is not a PN in sg.nom. but this does not seem to be the case).

*Bakir & Gusmani 1991; Vassileva 1995, 27-34; Brixhe 1996, 125-136; Orel 1997a, 153; Brixhe 2004a, 72.*

**em.[?-]** (PN?)

OPhr. *em.[?-]* G-211

*em<sup>2</sup>.[?-]* or *en<sup>2</sup>.[?-]* G-175

Graffiti on sherds, very likely the beginning of a PN. In G-211 the remaining strokes point to *a* (as Orel 1997a, 218 and 427 preferred), or *ε*. In G-175, the second letter is not clearly read and is followed by unclear strokes.

*CIPPh I, 152-153 and 172; Orel 1997a, 203, 218 and 427.*

**εν** (preposition) ‘in’

MPhr. *εν* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1

NPhr. *εν* 16.1 (116) l. 12

The segmentation in both occurrences is unclear: MPhr-01 *μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν...* and 16.1 *ις κε εγ | τοιϕινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.][.].μαρδι ιδετοι οινις*. Also note that in MPhr-01 it is followed by an sg.acc. and in 16.1 by dat. or, perhaps, pl.acc. Indeed, its only certain occurrence is as a preverb in *eneparkes*. Regarding etymology, it seems to be inherited from PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>(e)n* ‘id.’ (*LIPP* II, 221-222; parallel to Gr. *έν*).

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 182; Brixhe 1990, 93-94; Brixhe 1997, 49; LIPP II, 222.*

**enαn** see *asenαn*.

**εναρκε** (verb?)

NPhr. 3sg.ind.aor.act. *εναρκε* 16.1 (116) l. 5

Read in a non-imprecative part of a funerary inscription: *ται τοα με ογομανιας εναρκε ερω[λ]αος κναικο<ς> εκατηας...* According to Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 173-174) it is a verb in aor., where *ε-* is the augment, *-ναρκ-* the root and *-ε* the ending (instead of *-ες*; engraver’s

mistake?). They also considered the analysis εν-αρκ-ε, however this is less probable because the augment is expected (see εν-ε-παρκ-εσ). In any case, its meaning remains unclear. Orel's reading and interpretation (1997, 130), εναρ κε as a variant of αναρ 'man', must be rejected because there are no parallels for such a hesitation.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 173-174.*

### **eneparkes** (verb) 'inscribe'

OPhr. 3sg.ind.aor.act. *eneparkes* G-125; *eneparkes*<sup>?</sup> M-01dI; [e]η[e]|p|arkes G-01c

NPhr. 3sg.ind.aor.act. ενεπαρκες 40.3 (31)

All occurrences are the same form of this verb: M-01d *midas s̄materan tvemes eneparkes*<sup>?</sup>, G-01c [--- e]η[e]|p|arkes v[---], G-125 [---]ronot<sup>?</sup>oy *eneparkes t<sup>?</sup>ei<sup>?</sup>es* and πουκρος μανισ[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουv. Its root was identified by Lejeune (1969b, 291-194), who considered it a derivative of the PIE \*perk- 'engrave, rip' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 475, *IEW* 821, only surely attested in Lith. *peršti, peršėti* 'to hurt sharply'). The vocalisation goes back to a long-grade \*pērċ- > παρκ-. Finally, it bears a preverb and the augment, as happens in aor.

*Lejeune 1969b, 291-294; Brixhe 1982, 236; CIPPh I, 116; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 128-129; Heubeck 1986, 78; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 178; Lubotsky 1988, 17; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Orel 1997a, 427; Lubotsky 1997, 123-124; Gorbachov 2005; Sowa 2005, 617; Sowa 2007a, 77-79; Sowa 2008, 100-101; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 193; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 222.*

### **eniyē[---]** (?)

OPhr. *eniyē[---]* K-01 IV b

Read on a fragment of the severely damaged stele from Kerkenes dağ: ... | *eniyē[---]* | [---].pa<sup>(</sup> uva<sup>(</sup> .[---] | [---] (*maša u|rgitos dakor s̄vebra[---]* | *tataniyēn<sup>?</sup> eḏaes* | [---]le.[---]). The word, as well as its context, remains unclear.

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 120-121; Draycott & Summers 2008, 68-69.*

### **enpsatus** (noun?)

OPhr. sg.nom.?<sup>?</sup> *enpsatus* B-05 l. 5

Unparalleled word read in a obscure, non-imprecative sentence of the Vezirhan stele: *vay niptiyay daker karatu enpsatus meka[---]asiya..<sup>?</sup> | nidus ad kaliyay karatu panato andopopostois klaniv...* Brixhe (2004a, 58) suggested as a working hypothesis that it was an action noun with the suffix \*-teu/tu-, in the light of the obscure word προτυς (also with παρτυς, but its ending is not related to this question).

*Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 58.*

### **ενσταρνα** (verb?) 'to be appointed'?

NPhr. 3pl.ind.perf.med.?<sup>?</sup> ενσταρνα 1.1 (48)

Lubotsky (1997, 123-124) considered this word a verb 3pl.ind.perf.med. inherited from the PIE root \*steh<sub>2</sub>- 'to stand (up)' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 590-592, *IEW* 1004-1008), also attested in *estatoi* and *εσταες*. Moreover, he considered that the ending was a compound built with two different med. endings: \*-r-ntai. On -n as 3pl., see *δακαρεν* (similar to Lat. *fecerunt*). The meaning 'to be appointed' is given by Lubotsky on the basis of the contrast with the Gr. part of this text: compare *μιτραφατα κε μας τεμρογειος κε πουντας βας κε ενσταρνα* to the Gr. part *τοις προ|γεγραμμενοις θε|οις*. This interpretation fits well with its context but the vocalisation of \*-r- and the suffixal cluster \*-r-ntai are unparalleled. Recently, LIPP (II, 238) has tentatively considered ενσταρνα to be derived from \*(h<sub>1</sub>)enstr-na 'in the middle' with the meaning 'therein, there'. However, such a form, which only occurs in Anatolian (Hitt. *ištarna*), must be rejected because of the unexpected vocalisation of r in αρ instead of ο(u)ρ. A segmentation εν σταρνα (prep. + noun) cannot be ruled out. In any case, this word remains unclear.

*Lubotsky 1997, 123-124; Woodhouse 2007, 193; Sowa 2007, 77; Sowa 2008, 97.*

### **enumalay[-?-(PN)**

OPhr. *enumalay[-?-(G-321)*

Graffito read on a sherd. It is possibly a complete *a*-stem PN in sg.dat., although no parallel can be adduced. Brixhe (2002a, 76-789 showed the similarity of its beginning with the Lacedaemonian PNs in 'Ενυμα-, a variant of 'Ονομα-, see e.g. 'Ενυμαντιάδα (IG V,1 97). However, such names are never attested in Anatolia and this comparison is unlikely to be of any significance.

*Brixhe 2002a, 76-78.*

**en.[---]** see *em.[---]*?

### **epav<sup>2</sup>es (verb)**

OPhr. 3sg.aor.ind.act. *epav<sup>2</sup>es* (B-08)

Found in severely eroded inscriptions related to the cult of the Mother-Goddess: [---] *kavarmoyo* [---] | [---] *epav<sup>2</sup>esniyoy* [---] | [--- *mata*]r *kubeley*[a ---]... Despite the lack of a space between *epav<sup>2</sup>es* and *niyoy*, the word boundary is confirmed through comparison with *etovesniyo*[y?] (B-01). Brixhe and Vottéro (2016, 136-137), who do not rule out the alternative reading *epar<sup>2</sup>es*, consider it a verb in aor. In any case, the context is too fragmentary to provide any information.

*Vottéro 2016, 136-137.*

### **epaktoy (verb?)**

OPhr. 3sg.aor.ind.med.? *epaktoy* B-01

Read at the end of the Germanos inscription (in an imprecative apodosis): *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.) | *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni* | *pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*. It is very likely to be a verb because of the presence of the possible augment *e-* and the middle ending *-toy*. The vocalism of the unidentified root (also attested in *apaktneni*?) is the result of a laryngeal or a strange long grade similar to *eneparkes*, although both may be the result of analogy.

*Lubotsky 1988, 16; Orel 1997a, 146 and 428.*

### **επρι[-?-(?)**

NPhr. *επρι[-?-(37.2 (30)*

Unparalleled word read in a severely damaged part of a funerary text: [.....] *επρι* | [.....] *ει κ' ονομα...* Haas (1966, 111) worked with the segmentation ]*επρι*, but there are no reasons to defend *επρι[-?-(* or ]*επρι[-?-(*. It is even unknown whether the word boundary was at the end of the line or if the word continued on the following line.

*Haas 1966, 111.*

### **eptuve[---] (?)**

OPhr. *eptuve[---]* T-03b

Read on a fragment of the 'black stele' from Tyana: [---] *οι : avtoi : eptuve[---] | [---]itan mē* [---] *p<sup>2</sup>is : [---]*. According to Brixhe (1991, 43-44 and 2004a, 102), it is a verb in 3sg.aor.ind.act., *eptuve[s]*, where *e-* is the augment. However, this theory is difficult to accept since in its root (etymologically unexplained) an *e*-grade is expected (see *e-da-es* < \**-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*). Then, the first proposal offered by Çınaroğlu and Varinlioğlu (1985, 10-11), 3pl.aor.ind.act. *eptuve[n]*, could be a better fit (pace Brixhe), but the context is not clear enough to rule out a noun or a PN (see *ataniyen*). By contrast, Vassileva (1992, 3) and (Fol 1997, 262) considered it an epithet of the goddess *Matar* related to 'Ιπτα/ Εΐπτα (attested in Thracia and Lydia in the Roman Imperial Age). Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that this stele is devoted or even related to *Matar* (the only possible DN read in the stelae from Tyana is *batan*). Finally, Orel (1997a, 315 and 428) suggested that we may be dealing with the preverb *ep(i)-*, which he equated to Gr. ἐπί 'upon',

even though it is not attested elsewhere. In conclusion, the sole certainty about this word is its beginning, indicated by the presence of the preceding interpunction.

Çınaroğlu & Varinlioğlu 1985, 10-11; Heubeck 1986, 78; Varinlioğlu 1991, 30; Brixhe 1991, 43-44; Fol 1997, 262; Orel 1997a, 315 and 428; Brixhe 2004a, 102; Sowa 2007a, 79.

**ερα** (adverb?) ‘then’

NPhr. ερα 62.5 (36)

Read once in an imprecative apodosis: ερα γεγ[ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ] | τιος ουταν. The same apodosis is attested without this word: 62.3, γεγρειμεναν ε|γεδου τιος ουταν. Since it does not seem to agree with anything, but introduces the imprecation, Brixhe (1997, 62) considered it to be an adverb and equated it to Gr. ἄρα ‘then’ (expressing consequence) and, in particular, to the Cypr. variant ἔρα or ἔρ. However, the relationship between the Gr. forms is not clear: while the first goes back to \**h*<sub>2</sub>(*e*)*r*, the Cypr. form goes back to \**h*<sub>1</sub>(*e*)*r* (EDG 121, LIPP II, 289). So the Phrygian word, which also shows the addition of -α, can only be related to the second of these forms. Despite the controversyinner Gr. controversial between its forms, this meaning is very suitable for a word which introduces an apodosis (‘if someone does..., then he will suffer...’).

Brixhe 1997, 62; LIPP II, 289.

**er<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>ot<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ati** (verb?)

OPhr. er<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>ot<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ati P-04 b

Read on a stone block: ios er<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>ot<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ati kakuioi. Although Lubotsky (1988, 13) equated it to verbal forms with -ti, it would be the only 3.sg. with -ati instead of -eti. However, it is followed by another verb kakuioi in an imprecative curse and it could be considered that ios er<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>ot<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ati is the protasis and kakuioi the apodosis (kakoioi is attested only in the protasis of another curse, G-02). In any case, its meaning remains unclear (contrary to Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 199), as does its root.

CIPPh I, 239; Lubotsky 1988, 13; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 199.

**ēsagas** (adj.?)

OPhr. sg.gen.fem.? [-?]-ēsagas W-07

Read in a very damaged text related to a cult niche [---]t[---] : [---]η[---] ēsagas ἰ akenas [---]. It seems to be a sg.gen.fem. adj. which agrees with the noun akenas. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether its beginning is preserved or not. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 46) read [eda]es agas where agas is considered to be a PN in sg.nom. borrowed from Hitt. Agga, which is unlikely.

CIPPh I, 51; Orel 1997a, 46.

**esai** and **esait** see σεμουν.

**ęšk...a[---]** (?)

OPhr. ęšk...a[---] B-03

B-03 is a severely damaged text read on a stone block and no parallel can be adduced to supply it: ęšk...a[---] a. [...]. Although Orel (1997a, 149) suggested the reading [---]es kuria[---] and related the alleged second word to kuryaneyon, the remaining strokes are not clear enough to substantiate such a tentative proposal.

CIPPh I, 70-71; Orel 1997a, 149.

**est[....]es** (noun?)

OPhr. pl.acc.? est[...].es B-07

Read in the non-imprecative part of a funerary stele: s̄manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy est[...]| [..]es va knais manuka odeketoy... Following Brixhe (2004a, 79-80), it is a fem. PN in sg.nom. which agrees with va knais: ‘Est..., his wife’. Since manuka is better explained as a PN, it is

preferable to consider *est[.] | [..]es* the object of its sentences and, consequently, an athematic noun in pl.acc. It very likely refers to the monument itself or the relatives. Nevertheless, a segmentation *est [..]es* cannot be ruled out (see *sest*).

*Brixhe 2004a, 79-80.*

***estaes*** (verb) ‘put, erect’

OPhr.	3sg.ind.aor.act.	ἐστάεσ M-11
	3sg.ind.imp.act.?	εστάτ B-05 l. 4
	3sg.ind.aor.med.	εστατοί G-144
NPhr.	3sg.ind.aor.act.?	ε[.]τας 11.2 (18) l. 5-6?
	3sg.ind.aor.act.	εσταεσ 40.3 (31)
	ppp.fem.sg.acc.	σ[ε]σταμ εναν 2.1 (15)

Forms of a Phr. verb inherited from PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>* ‘stand, erect’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 590-592, *IEW* 1004-1008), attested in Gr. ἵστημι ‘make, stand’, Latin *sto* ‘stand, stay’, Skt. *tīṣṭhati* ‘id.’. The most singular form is *εστάτ* B-05 l. 4, with augment and a secondary ending *-t*, instead of *-es* attested for the aor.: B-05 *παντα νεβρασ αδυν ρ’ος key εστατ πατορ. ?ike[...].ε[...].ανδατι...* Because of this feature, it has been considered an imperfect by Brixhe (2004a, 57), but no other occurrence has been identified. The other forms (except σ[ε]σταμ|εναν) are a common aor. However, M-11 is difficult to read and the context is lost: M-11 [---]ς ἐστάεσ. Indeed, only 40.3 has a more extensive context, *μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν*, because G-144 is a short graffito: *εστατοι avun*. The form ε[.]τας, is highly doubtful, since the reading and its affiliation with this verb are not clear. In its context, ε[.]τας is the only word which can be considered a verb: ... *ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι κ’ ο τα ριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμει*. So, it is very likely that ε[.]τας is to be read ε[σ]τα<ε>ς. Note that sigma and epsilon show a very similar quadratic shape, which could account for an engraver’s mistake of this type, see the parallel case of *κναικο<ς>*. Finally, σ[ε]σταμεναν is read on a NPhr. funerary stele, in a sentence where the monument is described. Its agrees with the noun *μανκαν*: *Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψοδαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμεναν μανκαν αμιασιαν...* Since it is clearly a ppp. in sg.acc.fem., its second letter has been supplied by comparison with other participle such as *τεπτικμενος* or *γεγαριτμενος*.

*Lubotsky 1993a, 132; Lubotsky 1997, 123; Neumann 1997, 21; Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 72; Brixhe 2004a, 52, 57 and 82; Sowa 2007a, 77-78; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185, 191 and 192.*

ε[σ<sup>?</sup>]τας, *εστάτ* and *εστατοι* see *estaes*.

†*εστατοιavun* see *estaes* and *avun*.

***eti*** (conj.?) ‘and’?

OPhr.	<i>eti</i> B-03
NPhr.	ετι 11.2 (18); ετι 22.1 (9)

The OPhr. *eti* seems to be the same as NPhr. *ετι*. Nevertheless, both segmentations and their context are not clear: B-03 *evtevey ay yosyos yenvra | etit evtevey me.oun laked<sup>?</sup> ρ | [-?]* and 22.1 *υς δουμ’ετ[ι]ου πασε | δεκμουταις κινου[υ]|μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα*. In B-03, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192) preferred to read *etitevtevey*, but they only analysed its ending and *evtevey* appears without *etit* at the beginning of the line. If *eti* is considered an independent word, it can be equated to Gr. ἔτι, Lat. *et* and Skt. *āti* and Go. *iþ* and, then, inherited from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eti* (*LIPP* II, 260-261).

*Orel 1997a, 150, 429; LIPP II, 261.*

*etit* see *ετι*.

†*etitevtevey* see *ετι* and *tevte*.

**etlnaie** (verb?)OPhr. *etlnaie* P-04 a

The ending of this word is only found in the also obscure *edaie* and both forms seem to have the augment *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*. According to Brixhe and Keleş (2011, 158), in the root *etlnaie* an apocope worked, although they do not identify the verb. Its context (non-imprecative) is still too elusive for any evidence of its meaning to be found: *otuvoi vetei etlnaie*.

*Brixhe & Keleş 2011, 158.*

**ΕΠΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ** see **ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ**.

† **etovesniyo** see **τοτοσσειτι** and **niyoy**.

**ερμω[λ]αος** (PN)NPhr. sg.nom. *ερμω[λ]αος* 16.1 (116) l. 5-6

A masculine PN borrowed from Gr. Ἐρμόλαος (well attested in Anatolia): *ται τοα | με ογομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]αος κναικο<ς> εκατηας*. It does not seem to agree with anything, since *κναικο<ς>* agrees in sg.gen. with *εκατηας*.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 174; Bayun & Orel 1988c, 155; Orel 1997a, 130 and 428.*

**esuryoyoy** (PN?)OPhr. sg.dat.? *esuryoyoy* M-01f

Although it was considered a verb by Gusmani and Poetto (1981, 66), it is more likely a thematic PN in sg.dat because of its context. Compare M-01f [.]*as tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin edae[s]* with *ates arkiavais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*.

*Lejeune 1969a, 38 fn. 78; Gusmani & Poetto 1981, 66; CIPPh I, 17; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 135; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 179; Orel 1997a, 22, and 429; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 74.*

**ευγεξαρναι** (?)NPhr. sg.dat.? *ευγεξαρναι* 11.2 (18) l. 4-5sg.acc.? *ευγισαρναν* 11.2 (18) l. 10?

An obscure word which appears twice in the same inscription. Their endings are not necessarily what they seem to be in the light of the common hesitations in the inflection of the *a*-stems. The contexts of both texts are very different. In l. 4-5 it appears in a sentence which describes the monument: *ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι κ' ο τα ριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμανει*. However, in l. 10 it appears in an imprecative apodosis: *βε<κ>ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσο' ευγι σαρναν*. In this second case, since a similar imprecation is attested in another inscription, 7.1 *με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος*, Hämmig (fthc. a) suggested the new reading *βε<κ>ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσειτι σαρναν*, where *σαρναν* appears in the place expected for the god (see *σαρναν*). Consequently, the second occurrence of this word can be rejected. The first, meanwhile, is very uncertain, since *-ξαρναι* is very similar to *σαρναν*, however the remaining *ευγε-* remains unclear. Commonly, it has been taken as a PN, although no parallel can be adduced. According to this interpretation, Orel (1997 83 and 429) considered it a compound with a first element parallel to Gr. εὐχος 'the thing prayed for, object of prayer, prayer, vow' and εὐχή 'prayer or vow' (< PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>euǵ<sup>uh</sup>-* 'to promise, to vow, to praise') and the second to *\*ξαρνη* 'negation' (not attested form based on *ξαρνος* 'denying'). However, this is a hypothetical interpretation.

*Lubotsky 1988, 20; Orel 1997a, 83 and 429; Avram 2016b, 74-78.*

**ευγισαρναν** see **ευγεξαρναι** and **σαρναν**.

**ΕΥΚΙΝ** (noun) ‘vow’

NPhr. sg.acc. ευκιν 1.2 (98), 37.2 (30)

A loanword from Gr. εὐχή ‘vow’, a very common word in the Gr. inscription devoted to deceased from Anatolia (see de Hoz 2017). The Phrygian word shows the simplification of the Gr. voiceless aspirated stop into a plain voiceless stop in Phrygia and the Gr. itacism. In both occurrences, it is followed by the obscure word αργου: 1.2 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου and 37.2 [.....] δουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου.

Haas 1966, 111; Brixhe 1983, 129; Orel 1997a, 329, 360 and 429; Brixhe 1999, 298; Lubotsky 2004, 231; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189.

**ey.[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. ey.[---] G-230

Incomplete graffito incised on a fragment of a pithos. Despite its bad preservation, since the third dubious letter consists of a vertical stroke, it seems related somehow to the also incomplete graffito eyiy[---] (G-314). Very likely the beginning of an unidentified PN.

CIPPh I, 184; Orel 1997a, 227.

**eyiy[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. eyiy[---] G-314

It could be a complete word (note the glide -iy in *ayniy*), but the inscription is broken and its meaning unknown. It is very likely to be a PN, perhaps related to *eies* (G-109).

Brixhe 2002a, 72.

**eymi** (?)

OPhr. eymi G-178

It has been commonly interpreted as the copulative verb in 1sg.ind.act. ‘I am’ parallel to Att. εἰμί < PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>esmi*. Indeed, the context seems to corroborate this interpretation, since it is read on a “petite idole, grossièrement anthropomorphe” (CIPPh I, 154) whose complete inscription, *eymiya<sup>?</sup>k<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>[---]*, is considered to mean ‘I am Bacchus’. The supposed DN cannot correspond to Bacchus, although <ey> is sometimes used to note /e/ in the copulative conj. *ke*, *key* < \**k<sup>w</sup>e*. An etymological alternative is to consider *eymi* a form of *ituv* ‘let become’, inherited from PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>eǵ-* ‘to go’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 232-233, IEW 293-296), Gr. εἶμι ‘id.’, Lat. *eo* ‘id.’, Skt. *eti* ‘id.’. In any case, the whole text remains obscure and even the segmentation is unclear. Note that even the segmentation can be reconsidered in the light of B-05, where the ending -iv is attested (*tebetiv* and *dereliv*).

CIPPh I, 154; Bayun & Orel 1992-193, 10; Orel 1997a, 398; Sowa 2007, 73; Sowa 2008, 93; Blažek 2005, 21.

**<sup>t</sup>eymiya<sup>k</sup>i[---]** see *eymi* and *vaki*.

**e<sup>+</sup>ta[---]** (PN)

OPhr. e<sup>+</sup>ta[---] G-112

Fragmented graffito incised on contiguous sherds. The letter <sup>+</sup> only occurs in this inscription and has been considered a variant of <sup>Y</sup>. Orel (1997a, 172 and 428) read it as *epta-* and considered this word a DN parallel to Hitt. *Hé-pit*, the Lyd. Mother-Goddess <sup>+</sup>ιπτα / <sup>+</sup>εἴπτα (read in the Gr. inscriptions from Lydia) and Thracian compounds in *ept-*. However, this comparison is ungrounded and the form *ept-* is never found in Phrygia. It is more likely to be a PN, as many of the graffiti from Gordion are, perhaps a variant of *iktes* G-02a or *iketaios* W-02 (and the abbreviations *ik* G-285, *ik*[---] G-273), PN related to Gr. <sup>+</sup>ικέτας, perhaps also attested in Lyc. as *ixtta* / <sup>+</sup>ικτας in the bilingual inscription TL 56 (see KPN 194 § 462 and Neumann 2007, 147).

CIPPh I, 105; Orel 1997a, 172 and 428.

**ε.γι.γα** (PN)

OPhr. ε.γι.γα G-331

Complete graffito incised on a sherd. The relationship with *olgiavos* (G-150) is not ruled out by Brixhe (Brixhe 2002a, 86) despite the hesitation between *e-* and *o-*.

*Brixhe 2002a, 86.*

**ε[.]γεντουμενος** (verb)

NPhr. ppp.nom.sg.masc. ε[.]γεντουμενος or ε[.]γτεντουμενος 1.1 (48)

It occurs in an imprecative apodosis: [---]. ε[.]γεντουμενος νιοισιος ναδροτος ειτου. Although its beginning is lost and the second readable letter is dubious, it seems to be a ppp. because of the presence of the suffix *-meno-* < PIE *\*-mh<sub>2</sub>no-*. However, the expected reduplications is lacking.

*Orel 1997a, 98-99; Lubotsky 1997, 121.*

**e.[---]** (?)

OPhr. e.[---] T-02b

Beginning of a unidentified word which occurs on a fragment of stele from Tyiana: [---]oitumen ÷ miḏa[---][---]n ÷ a↑ios ÷ mi[---][---]n ÷ batan ÷ e.[---].

*CIPPh I, 266.*

## F (v)

### v (mark)

OPhr. v G-257, NW-110; v<sup>2</sup> NW-113

Graffiti incised on sherds. They seem to be used as an owner's mark, and can be considered either the abbreviation of a PN or mere non-verbal marks. NW-113 can be also read as  $\epsilon^2$ .

CIPPh I, 141; Roller 1987a, 37; Brixhe 2002a, 18 and 19.

### va (poss. pron.) 'her'

OPhr. sg.nom.fem. va B-07

sg.dat.fem. vay B-05 l. 5

NPhr. sg.acc.fem. oav 16.1 (116) l. 12

sg.nom.fem. oua 4.1 (2), 62.2 (33); ou|a 62.5 (36)

sg.acc.fem. ouav 60.1 (59)

Inherited poss. pron. derived from from PIE \*s<sub>u</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub> (LIPP II, 751-752) and parallel to Gr. ὅς, ἥ, ὅν 'his, her, its'. This poss. is mostly found after the noun it agrees with: B-05 *pator.<sup>2</sup>ike[...]e[...]andati | vay niptiyay daker karatu...*, B-07 *est[...][...]es va knais manuka odeketoy*, 62.2 and 62.5 *αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους*. However, the noun is found twice before the poss.: 4.1 *υκε ακαλα ουουτετου ουα* and 60.1 *γεγρειμεναν ε|γεδ[ου τ]ιος ουαν*. In one case it is not clear which is its noun: 16.1 *ις αργμενα[.] | οπαρικο οαν οεαυται*. In this last occurrence ⟨ο⟩ stands for /w/.

Brixhe 2004a, 57-58; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185 and 192; LIPP II, 751.

### vaki[---] (?)

OPhr. vaki[---] G-178

Because this word was engraved on a small idol after the word *eymi*, it was considered by Bayun and Orel (1998a, 196, followed by Orel 1997a, 205) to be the Lyd. DN *baki* (well-known in Gr. as Βάκχος and Lat. as *Bacchus*). However, the Lyd. letter B stands for /p/ and not confusion with ⟨v⟩ /w/ or ⟨f⟩ /f/ is attested in this language. Consequently, such an interpretation must be ruled out. Even this segmentation is not at all clear: in the light of *tubetiv* this text can be read as *eymiv aki[---]*, although the ending in *-iv* is only clearly found in Bithynia.

CIPPh I, 154; Bayun & Orel, 1998a, 196; Orel 1997a, 205 and 466.

### vana (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom.? vana B-102

Complete graffito incised on a sherd, very likely a PN. Brixhe (2004a, 86-87) suggested the possibility of a sg.nom. without an ending -s. On its root, Brixhe (1996, 138) considered two possibilities. The first equates it to a series of PNs attested in Roman Phrygia such as Ουαναξος, Ουαναξων and Ουαναξιων (KPN 390 § 1138). If that is the case, this PN is built from the noun \**uanak(t)*-, attested in Phrygian as *vanaktei* (very likely a Gr. borrowing). The second possibility is an Anatolian PN in the light of *Wana*, *Wanni* (LNH 204 § 1488 and 1489), derivatives from the noun *wanni* 'stone', also considered the origin of the Isaurian and Lykaonian PN Ουαναλις (KPN 389 § 1137-1). Following this latter interpretation, *vana* can be considered a complete PN (the same *Wana*) or an abbreviation (e.g. Ουαναλις). As Brixhe also considers, in such a scenario where several languages coexist, the same PN can be interpreted in different ways by each bearer.

Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 136-137; Brixhe 1996, 138; Orel 1997a, 153-154, 466; Brixhe 2004a, 86-87.

**vanaktei** (noun) 'king, lord'

OPhr. sg.dat. *vanaktei* M-01a

NPhr. sg.acc. ουανακταν 6.1 (88)

Because of the similarity between this word and Gr. ἄναξ, -κτος 'lord, master', its meaning is clear. However, its origin is disputed: while Brixhe (e.g. 1994, 176-177) considered the Gr. and Phrygian words to have a common heritage, Cassola (1997, 145-146) and, more recently, Petrakis (2016, 104-105, who argued a Mynoaan origin for this word) prefer to interpret it as a Gr. loanword. Indeed, since other royal titles, *lavagtaei* and *kuryaneyon*, are considered borrowings, the Phrygian *vanakt-* is very likely also one. On its inflection, it is a clear athematic noun. Its sg.nom. is attested in the compound *modrovanak* 'the lord of Modra/-oi' (M-04), where, \*-ks became -k (see also *bonok*) and, as in the Gr. nom., the dental dropped. In M-01a it is the title of the king Midas, *ates arkiavais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*, but in 6.1 it is used with a DN, *πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ιστ<sup>2</sup>εικετ διουνσιν*.

*Brixhe 1990, 73-75; Brixhe 1993, 340-341; Brixhe 1994, 176-177; Orel 1997a, 11 and 466; Brixhe 2002b, 257; Sowa 2008, 40 fn. 2; EDG 98-99, Petrakis 2016, 104-105.*

**vasos** and **vasuos** see *vasus*.

**vasus** (PN)

OPhr. sg.gen. *vas|os* P-02

sg.nom. *vasous* P-03

sg.nom. *vasus* P-05

A PN only found on stone blocks from Pteria which very likely refers to the same man (also qualified as *kanutieivais*): P-02 *sest bugnos va|sos kanutii<sup>2</sup>evanos<sup>2</sup>*, P-03 *vasous iman mekas | kanutieivais | devos ke mekas* and P-05 *vasus kanutie|---*. The inflection very likely follows a *u*-stem, in the light of the form *vasus*. Its sg.gen. lost its -*u*- before the vowel *o*, \**vasu*-*os* > *vasos* (parallel to \**diu*-*os* > *τιος*). The form *vasous* shows a hesitation between /*o*/ ~ /*u*/ (perhaps a corrected mistake during the engraving of the text). The origin of this PN, according to Orel (1997a, 292 and 466), is the PA word \**wassu*- (sic) 'well' (\**wosu*-, according to Melchert 1994, 260), attested in Palaic and CLuw. *uāšu*- 'id.' and HLuw. *wasu*), as well as other PN from Roman times such as the Cilician Οασις and Ουασσης (from Cilicia) ο Ουασασας (from Lycia; KPN 394 § 1145-1 – 1145-7). Very likely, OPhr. *Vasus* is the hypocoristic of a Luwian PN such as *Wasurunti(ya)*- (MALATYA 1) or *Wasusarma*- (TOPADA § 2, LNH 207 § 1514).

*Brixhe 1983, 117; CIPPh I, 231; Brixhe 1990, 70-71; Lubotsky 1993b, 96 n.2; Orel 1997a, 466; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186.*

**v<sup>2</sup>ata[-?]** (PN or adj.?)

OPhr. *v<sup>2</sup>ata[-?]* or *g<sup>2</sup>ata[-?]* G-236

Graffito incised on a late sherd. Because it is preceded by the PN *nana*, CIPPh (I, 187) suggested that this word is an adj. which agrees with the PN (similar to Gr. Γλυκῶ καλή) or a compound PN *nana v<sup>2</sup>ata[-?]* or *nana g<sup>2</sup>ata[-?]* (Orel 1997a, 229 and 447). However, no parallel can be adduced for any interpretation and it is impossible to know whether the text is complete. Even the first letter is not clear, although <*v*> is the more likely reading according to editors.

*CIPPh I, 187; Orel 1997a, 229 and 447.*

**vay** see *va*.

**va.[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. *va.[---]* G-134

Damaged graffito incised on a sherd. Its third letter can be read as *u* or *ş*, although the remaining strokes of are not clear enough to support a definitive reading (CIPPh I, 123). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199-200) read it in the light of *vanak-* (M-01a), however such a segmentation of *vanaktaei*

is indefensible and the presence of <n> does not fit with the strokes. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 185 and 466) read it as *vaṣ[---]* and considered it another occurrence of *vasos* (“an epithet or a cultic term”, as he stated). In any case, it is very likely an anthroponym, as is common in such graffiti.

*CIPPh I, 123; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199-200; Orel 1997a, 185 and 466.*

### **veaoyoy** (verb?)

OPhr. *veaoyoy* G-11b + G-11c

Read on a stone block, the whole text is vague: *sit kraroy veaoyoy[.?] | dis*. In the light of its ending, Brixhe (2002, 36) suggested that it is a 3sg.opt. verb (compare with *kakoioi*), although its root remains unidentified. Nevertheless, a thematic adj. or noun in agreement with *kraroy* cannot be ruled out.

*Brixhe 2002a, 36.*

### **veḅan** (noun) ‘grave’

OPhr. sg.acc. *veḅan* B-05 l. 13

NPhr. ? ουε[---] 27.1 (92)

sg.acc. ουεβαν 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 37.2 (30)

Although Haas (1966, 98) considered the meaning ‘harm’, Lubotsky (1997, 127), in the light of the quasi-bilingual 1.1, equated it to the Gr. *μνημεῖον* ‘monument, tomb’ read in the same inscription: 1.1 *δουμε κε οι ουεβαν αδδακετ ορουαν, παρεθέμην τὸ | μνημεῖον τοῖς προ|εγραμμένοις θε|οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμη...* Indeed, the meaning ‘grave’ is expected in the NPhr. occurrences read in imprecative protases: 2.2 *αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμου|ν κορο|υ|μ|ανη* and 27.1 *ιο|ς νι σεμου|ν κνου|μ|ανε κακου|ν [αδακετ αι]|νι κορου ουεβαν<sup>?</sup> or -βενο|ς*. Perhaps the occurrence of 37.2 is also read in a (damaged) protatis: [.....] *ουεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειτγγου*. In the Vezirhan stele (B-05) this word is problematic because it appears in the apodosis: B-05 *yos isekosos ↑emeney dupratoy, veḅan ituv*. Dealing with this problem, Brixhe (2004a, 64) suggested that *veḅan* is a directive acc., not before identified in Phrygian. Following him, Avram (2016, 122-123) considers that the collation *veḅan ituv* means ‘may he go in the grave’ (= ‘may he die’) and refutes Gorbachov’s interpretation ‘may become *weban*’ (2008, 102). Recently, Simon (2015, 22-23) equated *veḅan ituv* to Gr. *πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ* in the Gr. summary of this inscription and considered that it means ‘good thing’. However, this meaning is not defensible in the light of the NPhr. occurrences. Its etymology remains unclear. It can be derived from the PIE root *\*web<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to weave, braid’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 658, *IEW* 1114), attested in Hitt. *uēp<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to weave(?)’ and *uēpa-* ‘woven fabrics (?)’ (see Kloekhorst 2008, 1001-1002), Gr. *ύφαίνω* ‘to weave’ (note that the Myc. fut.part. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* = *έφεψησόμενα* points out a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>web<sup>h</sup>-* according to Beekes 1969, 67 and *EDG* 1540-1541), *ύφή* ‘web’, Skt. *vabh-* ‘to bind, to fetter’, OHG *weban* ‘to weave’ and ToA *wāp-*, ToB *wāp-* ‘id.’. If this is the case, we are dealing with a neuter noun in *\*-ēn > -ān*, like *iman*, *imēnos* ‘shrine’, or an *ā*-stem fem. in sg.acc. However, the semantic development must be explained.

*Haas 1961, 80; Haas 1966, 98; Neumann 1997, 26; Lubotsky 1997, 127; Orel 1997a, 329-330 and 466; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Gorbachov 2008, 102; Hämmig 2013, 151; Simon 2015, 22-23; Avram 2016a, 122-126.*

### **vebrāṣ** (noun)

OPhr. *vebrāṣ* B-05 l. 4

*vebru* P-04a

*vebra[---]* K-01 VI+VII a2

NPhr. ουβρα 22.1 (9)

ουεβρα 15.1 (120)

An elusive noun. Bayun and Orel (1988c, 133) equated it to Gr. *ύβρις* ‘wanton violence, outrage’ but this was subsequently rejected by Orel (1997a, 467). On the other hand, Lubotsky (in Brixhe

& Drew-Bear 1997, 90) suggested a preposition and considered *παρτυς ουεβρα* a phrase similar to Gr. *μνήμης χάριν*, but this was rejected by Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 126). Its contexts are non-imprecative: B-05 *paṅta vebrāṣ ἄδun p<sup>2</sup>os key estat pator.<sup>2</sup>ike[...].e[...].andati...*, K-01 VI+VII a2 [---] (*ḡasa ulrgitos dakor s<sup>2</sup>vebra[---] | tataniyen<sup>2</sup> eḡaes*, 15.1 [..... π]αρτυς ουεβρα and 22.1 *μ<α>νκ<αν> οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα*). Only in P-04a is it found in a curse, after the verb of the apodosis: P-04a *ios ni ἄkenan egeseti | o<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>irterk<sup>2</sup>[...]. tekmo<sup>2</sup> | ot.[...]seti vebru*. Moreover, this last form is also morphologically different to the other occurrences, which seem to follow an *a*-stem paradigm. Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 126) considered that the form *svebra[---]* shows an etymological spelling. However, since \**su-* became *v-* in Phr. (see *va* or *venavtun*) and the origin of this word has not been identified, it is more likely that we are dealing with the clitic pronoun attached to this noun: *s<sup>2</sup>vebra[---]* (see, e.g. *s<sup>2</sup>materan* M-01d1).

Bayun & Orel 1988c, 133; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 87-90; Orel 1997a, 296-297 and 467; Brixhe 2004a, 56; Brixhe & Summers 2006, 126.

**vebru** see *vebrāṣ*.

**venavtun** (reflexive pronoun) ‘himself, herself, itself’

OPhr. acc.sg.masc. *venavtun* W-01b

NPhr. dat.sg.fem. *οεαυται* 16.1 (116) l. 12

Compound pronoun built by attaching the inherited PIE reflexive \**sue* (Lat. *se*, Gr. *ἑ*, Lesb. *φε*, Skt. *sva-*) to the reflexive *avto-*, a parallel formation to Gr. *ἑ-αυτοῦ*, *ἦς*, *οῦ*. The first element in the OPhr. occurrence has been recharacterised by appending the sg.acc. ending *-n*. It appears in an imprecative apodosis without parallels: *yos esai<sup>2</sup>t materey eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y ovevin onoman daY et lakedo key venavtun avtay materey*. The NPhr. sg.dat. form occurs in an imprecative protasis (although unparalleled): *ις αργμενα[.] | οπαρικο οαν οεαυται ις κε ευ τοιφινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]||[.]μαρδι ιδετοι οινις*. Although the first editors of this text, Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 182), segmented this sequence as *οανο εαυται* and considered *εαυται* a Gr. borrowing, in *οεαυται*, in the light of OPhr. *venavtun* a borrowing is not probable and <ο> can represent /w/.

Torp 1908, 213; Meister 1911, 24; Haas 1966, 195, 197; Brixhe 1978b, 12; CIPPh I, 40-41; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 182; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 183; Lubotsky 1988, 22; Janda 1997, 273; Morante Mediavilla 2006, 336; Woudhuizen (2008-2009), 191 § 161; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185 and 190-191.

**vetei** (noun or adj.?)

OPhr. sg.dat. *vetei* P-04a

Despite several proposals, Brixhe (2004a, 101) considered that this word remains unclear. Indeed, scholars only agree that it is a sg.acc. which agrees with *otuvoi*: *otuvoi vetei etlnaie*. In fact, the whole sentence in which it is attested remains unclear. Haas (1966, 182) translated it into Lat. as *ipsi*, however this interpretation has not been accepted. Woudhuizen (1993, 13), on the other hand, equated it to Myc. *we-te-i* /*wetehi*/ ‘year’ (alphabetic Gr. *ἔτος*) and considered *otuvoi* the numeral eight. However, this last word works better as PN, so the context does not support such an interpretation. Finally, Orel (1997a, 295) equated it to Lat. *uetus* ‘aged, old’ (inherited from PIE \**uet-os-*) and considered that *otuvoi vetei* means ‘For Otuvo- the elder’. However, such an anthroponymic formula is unparalleled in Phrygian.

Haas 1966, 180; CIPPh I, 237-238; Woudhuizen 1993, 13; Orel 1997a, 295 and 468; Brixhe 2004a, 101; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 191 § 163.

**vi** (PN)

OPhr. *vi* G-243

Owner’s mark read on a sherd. It is very likely an abbreviated PN.

CIPPh I, 191; Roller 1987a, 41; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 232 and 486.

**vitāraṇ (?)**

OPhr. vitāraṇ B-05 l. 3

It follows the word *vrekaṇ* in the Vezirhan stele, *iben eḍaṭoy ḍakerān aṭriyaṣ ḍavoi okimaḳiṣa[---] | vrekaṇ vitāraṇ artimitoṣ kraṇiyaṣ [---]* and seems to agree with this noun. On this basis, Brixhe (2004a, 55) considered that the probable adj. *vrekaṇ* qualifies *vitāraṇ* (considered a noun). However, *vrekaṇ* is more likely a noun (see *vekrun*). Consequently, *vitāraṇ* may be an adj. in addition, Brixhe suggested that the root of this word is also attested in *υιταν*. However, its meaning remains unclear.

*Neumann 1997, 20; Brixhe 2004a, 55.*

**vi↑e (?)**

OPhr. vi↑e W-10

The interpretation of this word is related to the letter ↑. Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1982, 86) considered that it may reflect a palatalisation of PIE \**k* with a later depalatalisation (he considered that this letter was similar to Gr. *sampi*), so he identified the word as inherited from the PIE root \**ueik-* ‘bend, wind, change’ (*IEW* 1130-1131 \**ueik-/4*) parallel to Lat. *uicis* ‘turn, occasion’. However, this interpretation has not been followed. Orel (1997a, 51 and 468) considered it a verb in 2sg.aor. inherited from the PIE root \**ueid-* ‘see, know’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 665-667, *IEW* 1125-7; Lat. *uideo*, Gr. *ἰδεῖν*, Skt. *vindāti*). Indeed, this interpretation takes into account the form NPhr. *οουιτετου* which is difficult to dissociate from *vi↑e*. Nevertheless, although the context of this OPhr. word remains obscure, the presence of the verb *edae* can be adduced as an argument against this interpretation: *atai edae lel/ravo | vi↑e atevo atoios, | alus si↑eto das*. Consequently, this word remains unexplained.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 86; Brixhe 1982, 231; Orel 1997a, 51 and 468.*

**voine** and **voineios** see **voines**.

**voines (PN)**OPhr. sg.nom. *voine* G-228sg.nom. *voines* G-129, G-286sg.nom. *voineios* G-145

All forms are sg.nom. but *voine* is a variant without the ending -s. G-145 *voneios* is derived through the suffix \**-eio-* from the simpler form *voine-*. Then, it is a parallel formation to *lagineios* (see Innocente 1997, 39). In most instances the PN constitutes the whole graffito, and it is only in G-145 that this PN is attested in a larger text: *voineios uriienois ku[---]*. Note that in this graffito the engraver first wrote Υ (or ζΥ?) instead of <s>. Orel (1997a, 468) interpreted this word as the noun for ‘wine’ and equated to Gr. *οἶνος* and Lat. *uinum*. Although this interpretation can be considered likely because *voine(s)* were incised on pottery, the inflection of *voine(s)* is not thematic, like the adduced parallels, but shows the common *e*-stem of many PN.

*Lejeune 1969b, 292; Brixhe 1983, 128; CIPPh I, 119, 132 and 183; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 169; Brixhe 1987, 129 fn. 107; Masson 1987a, 111; Roller 1987a, 53; Neumann 1988, 7; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 200; Brixhe 1991, 42; Brixhe 1993, 340; Orel 1997a, 468; Innocente 1997, 39; Brixhe 2002a, 46-47; Sowa 2008, 36 and 80.*

**vōṣi[---]** see **vosik<sup>2</sup>[---]**.

**vosik<sup>2</sup>[---] (?)**

OPhr. vōṣi[i[---]] K-01-Ia

vosik<sup>2</sup>[---] K-01-III

An obscure word in a very fragmented text engraved on a stele: *[---]oitio :<sup>?</sup> vosik<sup>2</sup>[---]*. Even the interpunction which seems to precede this word is dubious. Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006,

118) also considered the segmentation *vos ik<sup>2</sup>[---]*, where *vos* is taken as the 3sg.poss.pron. (masc.nom.sg.). However, no parallels are found a part from *[---] vōš | i[---]*, read in the first preserved line of this text and perhaps it is the same word (also damaged). On it, Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summer 2006, 114) also suggested the same interpretation. So, the word remains unclear until more parallels are found.

*Brixhe and Summers 2006, 114 and 118.*

<sup>t</sup>*voy* see *tubetiv* and *oy*.

*v<sup>2</sup>o.[-?-]* see *[-?-]i<sup>2</sup>o*.

*vrekān* and *v<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ekes<sup>2</sup>* see *vrekun*.

*vrekun* (noun?) ‘sculpture, relief’?

OPhr. sg.acc.(fem.)	<i>vrekān</i> B-05 l. 3
pl.nom.?	<i>v<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ekes<sup>2</sup></i> HP-114?
sg.acc.	<i>vrekun</i> W-01a; <i>rekun</i> M-06

Because the differences between each word are significant, it is better to analyse them one by one. The form *vrekun* was the most widely considered form among prior reserachers. Because in W-01a it occurs in a description of the monument (a façade from which a statue of the goddess has been lost), the meaning ‘sculpture, relief’ given by Matzinger (2005, 386-390 and 2006, 358-360, followed by Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192, who prefer the translation ‘idol’) fits very well. Indeed according to this interpretation, *bonok akenanogavōš materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy* means ‘Bonok, the *akenanogavos*, made for himself as relief (this) *Matar Aresyastis*’. Also, the etymology suggested by Matzinger is really attractive: a noun inherited from the PIE verbal root *\*uerǵ-* ‘work’ (*LIV<sup>2</sup> 686-687*, *IEW 1168-1169*) equated to Gr. ἔργον ‘work, deed, action’, with the same vowel position as in Gr. ῥέζω ‘do, act, deal’ < *\*ureǵ-i-ō*. Ore’s proposal (1997, 469), a derivative from the PIE root *\*ureǵh-* (sic.) ‘break’ (*\*ureh<sub>1</sub>ǵ- LIV<sup>2</sup> 698*, *IEW 1181-1182*) does not fit the context and *\*eh<sub>1</sub>* is expected to yield *\*ē* > *-a* in Phr. In M-06 the context and the word are less clear: M-06 *rekun deiatiteea.<sup>2</sup> davoi iman* ‘Iman ... this relief for Davos’. There is no trace of a prior letter here and *CIPPh* (I, 26) considered it a phonetic simplification: *vrekun* > *rekun*. More difficult is the interpretation of *vrekān* read on the Vezirhan stele: B-05 *dākerān atriyas davoi okimaḳiyā[---] | vrekān vitāraḳ artimitōš kraḳniyas [---]*. Although Brixhe (2004a, 55) considered it an adj. in agreement with *vitāraḳ*, it seems more likely to be a secondary feminisation of *vekrun*. Note that here the text addresses the relief of the goddess as follows: *vrekān vitāraḳ artimitōš kraḳniyas* ‘the *vitāran* idol of Artemis *Kraḳniyas*’. So, *vrekān* is a noun and *vitāraḳ* its adje. The last occurrence, *v<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ekes<sup>2</sup>*, is really striking because it does not fit the paradigm of *vrekun* or *vrekān*. Since it is read on the Persepolis clay tablet, it is clearly an athematic pl.nom. parallel to others in the same text: 30<sup>2</sup>...*ekes* 30<sup>2</sup> *i<sup>2</sup>* | .. 30<sup>2</sup> *v<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ekes<sup>2</sup>* | . 30<sup>2</sup> *knays* 30<sup>2</sup> *š<sup>2</sup>* | 4 *i<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>i* 40<sup>2</sup> *knayḳe<sup>2</sup>[s]* | .<sup>2</sup> 40<sup>2</sup> *m<sup>2</sup>akeres* 40<sup>2</sup>... Perhaps it is another word somehow related to *vrekun*. Finally, the still common interpretation that *vrekun* is the endo-ethnonym of the Phrygians (see, e.g., Janda 1997, 272; Wittke 2004, 203-204; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80) must be rejected because Φρύγες, Φρύγρια seems to go back to PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>rǵh<sup>1</sup>-*, whose stops are not expected to become voiceless, but voiced (see above the form Βρύγρια). Indeed, the first scholar to suggest this possibility was Lubotsky (1988, 13-14), who rejected it in later papers (see also Simon 2014b, 94 fn. 21). The source of this mistake must be found in the Hesychian glosses: βρέκυν· τὸν Βερέκυντα, τὸν Βρύγρια. Βρύγες γάρ οἱ Φρύγες and Βερεκύνδαι· δαίμονες, οἱ Φρύγες. On the other hand, this last gloss seems to show a relation between the word Βερεκύνδαι and gods (δαίμονες).

*CIPPh* I, 26; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 180; Janda 1997, 272; Neumann 1997, 20; Orel 1997a, 469; Brixhe 2004a, 55; Wittke 2004, 203-204; Matzinger 2005, 386-390; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80; Matzinger 2006, 358-360; Woodhouse 2006, 175; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192; Simon 2014b, 94 fn. 21.

v.[---] (?)

OPhr. v.[---] G-315

Incomplete graffito read on a sherd. Perhaps the beginning of a PN.

*Brixhe 2002a, 72-73.*

v[---] (?)

OPhr. v[---] G-01c, T-02b.

Beginning of an unknown word read on a stone slab (G-01c) and a fragment of stele (T-02b).

*CIPPh I, 85 and 266.*



## Z ζ

ζειρα and ζειραι see ↑iray.

ζεμελος and ζεμελω see ζεμελως.

**ζεμελως** (noun) ‘human being’

OPhr. pl.dat. ζεμελος 20.2 (128)

pl.dat. ζεμελω 18.3 (6)

pl.dat. ζεμελως 3.1 (97), 14.1 (73), 17.2 (3), 17.6 (119), 19.1 (96), 20.1 (63), 21.1 (42), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 32.1 (93), 52.1 (75), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); ζεμ[ελ]ως 12..1 (121); ζεμ[ελω]ς 17.3 (7); ζεμελω[ς] 18.1 (4); [ζ]εμελως 18.2 (5); ζεμελω[ς] 19.1

pl.dat. [ζεμ]ελωσι 27.1 (92)

pl.dat. [ζ]ιμελως 35.1 (25); ζι[μελω]ς 66.1 (103)

pl.dat. σζεμελως 10.2 (113), 30.1 (39)

Gloss ζέμελεν· βάρβαρον άνδράποδον. Φρύγες H. ζ 109

All epigraphic occurrences are variants of the same form read in a imprecative apodosis: e.g. 17.6 με ζεμελως κε δεως κε | τιτετικμενος ειτου. It is generally accepted to be a derivative of the PIE root *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-m-* ‘earth’ (NIL 86-99, IEW 414-416, see also Kloekhorst 2014a) with the suffix *\*-elo-* similar to Gr. χθαμαλός ‘near the ground, on the ground, flat’ and Lat. *humilis* ‘low, humble’, so it is a nominalised adjective. The first sound can be interpreted as a *centum* depalatalisation with a secondary palatalisation (perhaps with a simplification of the initial cluster as in Gr. χαμαί ‘to the earth, on the earth’), *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>em-* > *\*(d)gem-* > *\*(d)ǵem-* > ζεμ-, or a methatesis with a *satəm* treatment *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>e-* > *\*ǵde-* > ζε-. However, since Phr. is a *centum* language, only the first interpretation is valid. Independent evidence for this secondary palatalisation could be found in the toponym Γδανμαας (MAMA I, 339) / Γδαμμανας (MAMA VII, 589, from Çeşmelisebil, see Robert 1980, 382). If indeed it is Phrygian and not Pisidian, its first part seems to go back to *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>m̥* (compare with Skt. *-jm-* in *majmán-*). In any case, ζ seems to represent a compound /zd/ in the light of σζεμελως and other similar spellings found in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (Brixhe 1978a, 7 and 1987a, 46). The form ζιμελως shows the pretonic hesitation /e/ ~ /i/ (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187). Finally, while different endings are attested, each of them reveals a thematic inflection. The hesitation between omega and omicron reveals the loss of the lengthened vowel, *\*-ōis* > -ως > -ος, and ζεμελωσι seems a recharacterised dat.. The gloss form does not fit in the paradigm; because of final ny it seems to be its acc. but the expected form is *\*ζέμελον*. Perhaps it is borrowed from a thematic voc. *\*ζέμελε* (see Brixhe 1993, 334).

Brixhe 1978a, 7; Brixhe 1982, 242; Brixhe 1990, 96; Brixhe 1993, 334; Lubotsky 1998, 416; Brixhe 1999, 297; NIL 88; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185.

ζεμελωσι and ζιμελως see ζεμελως.

**ζως** (adj.) ‘alive, living’

NPhr. ζως 43.1 (69)

Read in an unparalleled apodosis: τ[ο]ς νι ζως κε πεις κε τιτετικμενος ειτου. Haas (1966,90, followed by Woodhouse 2007) considered it a Gr. loanword, the pres.participle of the verb ζῶ ‘live’ (PIE < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eih<sub>3</sub>-* / *ǵ<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>-*, so *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>o</sub>-s*). Indeed, the old labialised stops are not expected to appear as palatal in the light of *k<sup>w</sup>e* > *ke(y)*, κε. On the other hand, Heubeck 1987, 83-85 and Lubotsky 1994 suggested an engraver’s mistake for ζ<εμελ>ως. However, there is no δεως but πεις in the same formula, and this mistake is difficult to explain. So the Gr. borrowing remains the better (albeit tentative) explanation.

Haas 1966, 90; Heubeck 1987, 83-85; Lubotsky 1994; Woodhouse 2007.



## Η η

**ηνκ**[[---] (?)

NPhr. ηνκ[[---] 15.1 (120)

Unparalleled word in an obscure imprecative apodosis: ουελας κωνου κ' ηνκ[.....]υοις γεγτι βεπα κε παρτης βεκος. The use of eta is unexpected and perhaps is used for /i/ as ητου for *ituv* and ειτου or for /e/ as in πατερης. It remains unclear.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 90.*

**†ησιου** see δεκμουταις and ιου.

**ητου** see ειτου.



**θαλαμει** (noun) ‘funerary chamber’

OPhr. sg.dat. θαλαμει 18.1 (4)

A noun attested in a common protasis: *ιος νι σεμογ [κνουμανει] κακουν αδακετ αινι οι θαλαμει*. It is a clear borrowing from Gr. θαλάμη ‘a lurking-place, den, hole cave’ used, as well as θαλαμός ‘inner room or chamber’, in the sense of ‘(funerary) chamber’ > ‘tomb’. See a similar use of this word in the inscription App. 1 (= Strubbe 1997, 129 no. 177): *τίς δὲ ταύτη θαλάμειν κακὸν ποσποιήσει...* ‘whoever does harm to this funerary chamber...’. As a borrowed word, the use of theta is also explained.

*Brixhe 1978b, 5; Brixhe & Waelkens 1981, 71; Brixhe 1983, 129; Brixhe 1993, 341; Brixhe 1994, 175; Brixhe 1999, 298; Brixhe 2002b, 258; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 194; Avram 2016, 129.*

**θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς]** see *τιττετικμενος*.



## I (i) – I 1

**ιαν** see *yos*.

**iben** (pronoun) ‘(to) himself’

OPhr. sg.acc. *iben* B-05 l. 2

sg.dat. *ibey* B-01; B-05 l. 10

Third-person plural pronoun identified by Hämmig (2013, 139-140), who classifies *ibey* as a sg.dat. formation parallel to, e.g., Lat. *sibi* or Oscan *sifei* < \**se-b<sup>h</sup>ej* and Gr. σφεῖς (in zero grade) based on PIE \**s(ū)e*. The previous segmentation *ibeya* B-01 was suggested in the light of the preceding word *kubeleya*, *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ekteto*. However, since this word appears in B-05 l. 10 *koῤis ḳbretoy nun ibey neῤotaṅ ṅiptiyan sirun mireyun*, the word boundary after *ibey* is clear. The sg.acc. *iben* seems to be an analogous form created after the dat. It appears in an unclear, non-imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: B-05 l. 1-2 *sinεt imenaṅ ḳaliya ti tedat[...].edekm[...].meḳḳ<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>id | iben edatoy daḳeraṅ atriyaḳ daῤoi okimaḳiya[---]...*  
*Brixhe 2004a, 54; Hämmig 2013, 139-140.*

**ibey** see *iben*.

**†ibeya** see *iben* and *a*.

**id** see *di*.

**ιδετοι** (verb)

OPhr. 3sg.subj.mid. *ιδετοι* 16.1 (116) l. 14

Because of the ending *-τοι* and the lack of augment, it seems to be a verb in 3sg.subj.mid. Indeed, it is the only possible verb of the unparalleled apodosis in which it is attested: *ις κε εῤ | τοιϋνιοι κνουμαν τιαῤ τε[.][.].μαρδι ιδετοι οινις*. Both its root and its meaning remain unclear.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 183; Brixhe 2004a, 53.*

**idi** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *idi* HP-113

This graffito incised on a bronze bowl found in Lycia seems to be a complete *i*-stem PN in sg.nom., despite the lack of the ending *-s*. This name is also found in Pisidia as *Ιδιος* and *Ιδδιος* (both in sg.gen., *KPN* 192 § 452-3). The Phr. form can be read as /iddi/ or /idi/.

*Varinlioḳlu 1992, 13 and 15-16; Orel 1997a, 320; Brixhe 2004a, 117-118.*

**idn[-?-] (?)**

OPhr. *idn[-?-]* NW-136

Graffito (perhaps fragmented) incised on a sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and dated to the Persian period. The sequence is unparalleled in the whole Phrygian corpus and even the letters can be considered non-verbal marks. Nevertheless, a PN cannot be ruled out in the light of Semitic theophorics like *Iddin-Bēl*, which are well attested in cuneiform sources.

*Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 136.*

**†ιε[.]νου** see *ιε[.]νουταις*.

### ιε[.]|νοταις (?)

NPhr. ιε[.]|νοταις or ιε[.]|νου ταις 16.1 (116) l. 8-9

This word occurs in a non-imprecative context: ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|νοταις εδαες. The segmentation is not clear, since both ιε[.]|νοταις and ιε[.]|νου ταις can be argued. If ιε[.]|νοταις is preferred, it is a verb in 3pl.imperat. (ιννου, ανειπνου, ιου, etc.) followed by the pronoun ταις (pl.acc. or pl.dat.fem.). However, it is possible to consider ιε[.]|νοταις an *a*-stem noun (perhaps an agent noun, as Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 178 suggested) in pl.acc. (< \*-ans). In any case, its meaning remains obscure.

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 177-178.

<sup>t</sup>iv and <sup>t</sup>ivimun see yos and ivimum.

### iverais (noun?)

OPhr. pl.acc.? iverais B-05 l. 7

An obscure *a*-stem noun coordinated with *dakerais* through the conj. *key* in a non-imprecative sentence: *kelmis ke umnišet evrađuđ đakeraiđ key iverais [...] | atikraiu...* It seems to be a pl.acc. of an *a*- or *c*-stem noun.

Brixhe 2004a, 59.

### ivi..se.[?]n<sup>?</sup> (?)

OPhr. ivi..se.[?]n<sup>?</sup> P-06

Like the whole inscription, this word remains unclear. Even the reading is confusing: [-?]-a<sup>?</sup>kiti<sup>?</sup>...s | ai : ios aeiketio [?] ivi..se.[?]n<sup>?</sup>.

CIPPh I, 243.

### i<sup>?</sup>v<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>i (noun?)

OPhr. i<sup>?</sup>v<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>i HP-114

The clay tablet on which it is read is seriously damaged and this word could be  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{?}}|\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{v}^{\text{?}}\text{r}^{\text{?}}\text{i}$ . Like the other words of the text, it seems to be a noun determined by a numeral:  $30^{\text{?}}\dots\text{ekes } 30^{\text{?}} \text{ i}^{\text{?}} | \dots 30^{\text{?}} \text{ v}^{\text{?}}\text{r}^{\text{?}}\text{ekes}^{\text{?}} | \dots 30^{\text{?}} \text{ knays } 30^{\text{?}} \text{ ṣ}^{\text{?}} | \text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{v}^{\text{?}}\text{r}^{\text{?}}\text{i } 40^{\text{?}} \text{ knayke}^{\text{?}}[\text{s}]^{\text{?}} | \dots 40^{\text{?}} \text{ m}^{\text{?}}\text{akeres } 40^{\text{?}}\dots$  The other words appear in nom., however, *i<sup>?</sup>v<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>i* does not show a nominative ending. No parallel can be adduced.

Brixhe 2004a, 118-126.

### ik (PN?)

OPhr. ik G-285

ik[-?]- G-273

G-285 is a complete graffito incised on a fragment of a cup. Consequently, it is very likely an abbreviated (but unknown) PN. It may be the same abbreviation read in G-273, but it is possible that more letters were incised. Both inscriptions seem to be owner's marks.

CIPPh I, 200-211; Roller 1987a, 19; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Brixhe 2004a, 45-46.

ik[-?]- see ik.

<sup>t</sup>uk[.] see μικος and ke.

### ike[...] (?)

OPhr. ike[...] B-05 l. 4

Badly preserved sequence from a very obscure part of the Vezirhan stele: *estāt pator.<sup>?</sup>ike[...].e[...].andati | vay niptiyay đaker...*

Neumann 1997; Brixhe 2004a, 42-67.

**iketaios** (PN)OPhr. sg.nom. *iketaios* W-02

An o-stem name read in a damaged text engraved on a façade: *iketaios pseika<sup>?</sup> ed<sup>?</sup>[a]e<sup>?</sup>s*. It very likely derives from the Gr. PN Ἰκέτας. Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 197) considered that it was the Gr. PN Ἐκαταῖος, but the vowels show different origins.

CIPPh I, 43; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 183; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 81; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 197.

†*iktes* see *petes*.

**īlay** (PN)OPhr. sg.dat. *īlay* B-107*īla[-? -] or iya[-? -] G-268**īla[---] G-259*

The only clear form is the sg.dat. *īlay* incised on a fragment of Mysian plate. This *a*-stem PN is also attested on the Lyd. border as Είλας and Ιλλάς (KPN 158 § 321-6 and 463-3). Leaving aside the loss of their endings, the other examples present certain some problems. Indeed, G-268 can be alternatively read as *iya[-? -]*. However, since no parallel can be adduced for *iya[-? -]* the reading *īla[-? -]* is preferable. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198) read *iya[-? -]* even in G-259, where there is no trace of the lower stroke of this supposed yod. G-268 is perhaps complete and shows its nom. without the ending *-s*.

CIPPh I, 201-207; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Brixhe 1996, 144; Brixhe 2004, 91-92.

*īla[---]* see *īlay*.

**im[---]** (?)OPhr. *im[---]* G-318

Incised on a sherd where the beginning and the end of the text are lost: *[---]os : im[---]*. In determining the sequence, only the word boundary marked by the interpunction is clear.

Brixhe 200a, 74-75.

**iman<sup>1</sup>** (noun) ‘shrine’OPhr. sg.nom.? *ī<sup>?</sup>mā<sup>?</sup>[n]* G-04?sg.acc. *imenan* B-05 l. 1sg.dat. *inmeney* B-05 l. 11

A common noun related to the PN *iman*, its meaning is established by the comparison with Gr. ἱερὸν in B-05. Its etymology has remained unclear but Vine (2010, see also LIPP II, 234) recently provided a very suitable proposal: a derivative of the PIE verbal root *\*men* ‘stand fast, remain’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 437, IEW 729) with the preposition/preverb *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)en*. Consequently, this word is similar to frozen Gr. adverb ἐμμενές ‘unceasing’ and OIr. *ainmne* ‘patience’. Its inflection is derived from a hysterodynamic root-noun. Although its sg.nom. as a noun is precariously preserved (G-04 on a stone block *[---]evi.<sup>?</sup> | tatas .[---] | [---] ī<sup>?</sup>mā<sup>?</sup>[n ---] | [-? -]*), when used as a PN it is well preserved and may go back to *\*en-mēn*. While its sg.acc. is very conservative, *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)en-mén-ŋ > \*immenan > imenan*, its sg.dat. shows a levelling in the vocalism of the root from the sg.acc., *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)en-mn-éj > \*immenej > inmeney*. Regarding the contexts of the occurrences, these last two cases are found in the same text, the Vezirhan stele: the sg.acc. in the presentation of the monument (l. 1 *sin-t imenan kaliya ti tedat[...].ede km[...].meas<sup>?</sup> d<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>mīd*) and the dat. in an imprecative protasis, where it agrees with the pronoun *<s>imun* in sg.dat.masc.-neut. pronoun, in spite of some engraver’s mistakes (l. 11 *†iv† imun inmeney as enan daket*, see Hämmig 2013, 149).

Brixhe 1974; Matzinger 2005, 377; Vine 2010; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187; Hämmig 2013, 149; LIPP II, 234.

### *iman*<sup>2</sup> (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *iman* M-06, G-136, G-210, P-01, P-03, P-04c; *imaṇ* M-03

A PN derived from the noun *iman*. Both words share the same inflection. While the PN appears once as a completed text on a sherd (owner's mark), it mostly occurs as the subject of different sentences: M-06 [.]*rekun deiatiteeq.*<sup>?</sup> *davoi iman*, G-136 *tadoy iman bagun*, P-01 [-?]-[e][..]u[.. *t*]ovo *iman* [-?]-, P-03 *vasous iman mekas kanutieivaṣ devos ke mekas* and P-04c *iman olitovo edaq[s] mekas*. This PN is also attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia and Pisidia, with a parallel *n*-stem inflection, as *Ιμαν, Ιμενος* (KPN 195-196 § 466-1). It is very likely related to the PN *imeneia*.  
*Brixhe 2013, 58 and 65.*

### *imelan* (?)

OPhr. *imelan* G-10

Its similarity with *imenan* and the lack of parallels are suspicious and, despite the lack of a third stroke to write <ι> instead of <ι>, we are dealing with another occurrence of *imenan* (engraver's mistake?). The stone fragment on which it was engraved is severely damaged and the text is far from being clear: [---]εκεαγ : *imelan*.

*Brixhe 2002, 31; Vine 2010, 344 fn.6.*

*imenan* see *iman*<sup>1</sup>.

### *imeneia* (PN or patronymic?) 'Iman's daughter'?

OPhr. sg.nom. *imeneia* G-183 b

Since *imeneia* follows the fem. PN *tiveia* (in a graffito incised on the bottom of a cup), *imeneia* seems to agree with *tiveia* in sg.nom. Moreover, *imeneia* seems to be related to the PN *iman* (a derivative with the suffix *-ia-*) and is very likely a patronymic 'Tiveia (daughter) of Iman', if it does not refer to the husband of this woman. However, a compound PN cannot be ruled out.

*Brixhe 1983, 115; Neumann 1988, 6; Brixhe 2004a 83; Brixhe 2008, 76.*

### *imroy* (noun) 'field'?

OPhr. sg.dat. *imroy* B-01 l. 2

An *o*-stem noun. It has been suggested that this word is related to *μροσ(σας)* 114, *μρο* 58 and *μροτις* MPhr-01 (*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 78-79; Brixhe 2004a, 19*) with a meaning similar to 'death' or 'dead' and its beginning is simply explained as a prothetic *i-*. Nevertheless, these other forms present different patterns and the so-called prothetic *i-* only occurs in B-01. Indeed, they actually look like different words which share only the sequence (-) *mro-*. The monument on which this inscription was engraved, a rock with a niche containing a statue of *Matar*, is not a funerary monument but a shrine. Then, even a semantic relationship can be ruled out. Accordingly, there is no reason to consider the initial *i-* epenthetic vowel. Going further and revisiting its sentence, *si bevδος adi..[.] | kavarmoyo imroy edaes*, it is clear that *imroy* is the recipient of the statue. So, it could be the niche, the rock or the place where it has been put. A very attractive etymology can be proposed. Indeed, *imroy* appears to be a borrowing from the Luw. word *im(ma)ra(i)-* 'open country', a cognate of Hitt. *gimra-* (c.) 'the outdoors, countryside, field, military campaign' (< PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>im-ro-* 'winter, snow' *NIL 162-169, Kloekhorst 2008, 476-477*). In the light of this identification, we can read the first sentence of B-01 as 'this statue, *Adi..[.]* has made it for the field'. This use seems very close to the NPhr. *κορο[υ]μενη*, sg.dat. of a word derived from the Gr. *χωρος* 'piece of ground, place, land', which occurs in 2.2 *αἰνι οὐεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε[ι]ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη* (Face A, l. 5-6) 'if the parents placed the *veban* to/in this place' and *αἰνι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη* (l. 9-10) 'if someone does harm to the field'. Indeed, both words, *imroy* and *κορο[υ]μανη*, may refer to the *temenos* around their respective monuments. Finally, *imroy* is perhaps also found in the Mother-Goddess *Ἰμρου|γαρηνη* (read in the Gr. inscription from Laodicea *MAMA I 2b*, see *Schürr 1991-1993, 163*).

**imun** see σεμουv.

**inas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *inas* Dd-102

A-stem noun with the ending -s. It appears incised on a silver bowl (whose origin is unknown) following the dat. *surgastoy*. This PN is also attested as the fem. *Ivας* in Lycia and *Ivva* in Mysia and as the masculine *Ivη[v]* (acc.) in Lycia (KPN 199 § 471-1-3).

CIPPh I, 272.

**inmeney** see *iman*<sup>1</sup>.

**ivvov** see *ituv*.

**ιοι** (anaphoric pronoun) ‘him, her’

OPhr. sg.dat. *oy* B-01 l. 6, B-05 l. 9, l. 11 and l. 12

OPhr. sg.dat. *ιοι* 2.1 (15), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86), 11.2 (18)

sg.dat. *οι* 1.1 (48), 7.1 (99), 17.3 (7), 18.1 (4), 40.1 (12), 50.2 (55), 53.1 (76), 62.2 (33), 62.4 (35)

This pronoun is always found as *oy* in OPhr. texts: B-01 ... [..]toyol[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey da[b]ati opito [k]ey oy evememesmeneya anato... B-05 l. 9 *yos niy art sin=t imenān kaqa oskavos kakey kan dedasitiy tubetiv oy kevos derqliv mekaş key kovis abretoy...*, B-05 l. 11-12 *†iv† imun inmeney asenān daket torvetun †iray ayniy oy tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>...* However, in NPhr. texts, where it is often used in imprecative apodoses referring to the violator, it appears as *ιοι* and *οι*. Compare, e.g., 7.1 *με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος* with 53.1 *ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ει[του]*. Brixhe (1997, 66) and Hämmig (fthc. a) consider that *ιοι* is the stressed variant (similar to Homeric Gr. *ἰοῖ*) and *οι* the clitic (Gr. *οἶ* < \**so-i*, LIPP II, 734-735). On the other hand, Lubotsky (1997, 126 and Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190) considered them two phonetic contextual variants: *ιοι* appears after a consonant (e.g. 7.2 *βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ*) and *οι* after a vowel (18.1 *ανι οι | θαλαμει*). He also considered that it derived from the PIE anaphoric pronoun \**h<sub>1</sub>e(i)-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>i-* found in Lat. as *is*, *ea*, *id*, rather than the PIE form \**seu-oi* suggested by Brixhe (1997, 66). Leaving aside this issue, a possessive use is attested: 2.1 ... *ιοι αναρ δορυκα[[νος]]...* ‘her husband Doryka[nos]’.

Brixhe 1978a, 10-11; Brixhe 1997, 66; Lubotsky 1997, 126; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190; Hämmig 2013, 138, fn. 29; LIPP II, 735; Hämmig fthc. a.

**ios** see *yos*.

**iosais** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *iosais* G-117

A word incised on a pithos with capacity marks. Despite the lack of parallels (NPhr. *ιοσος* is a variant), it is very likely a PN in sg.nom. \**-η-s* > *-ais* (see *arkiaevais*).

CIPPh I, 110; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 112-113; Roller 1987a, 65; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Brixhe 1991, 43.

**ιοσος** (PN?)

NPhr. sg.nom. *ιοσος* 16.1 (116) l. 1

According to the first editors (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 169), it is an *o*-stem PN in sg.nom. However, the text, a description of the monument, does not seem to support this interpretation (as Lubotsky 1993a, 129 showed): *Ξευνε ιοσος κε δετοϋ [ο<sup>2</sup>υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν [.]<sup>?</sup> | κνουμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λο[δι]μον μειομον ριδιτι...*

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 169; Lubotsky 1993a, 129.

### ιου[---] (?)

NPhr. ιου[---] 40.3 (31)

This sequence is found in a very damaged part of a funerary stele completely written in Phr. The fragment is not imprecative but it remains obscure because of the gaps and the lack of parallels: [... ξ]ευναν αι δμωσ βροκειω [.....] δεκμουταης ιου[.....] προ τοςου.

Kowal 1984b, 184.

### is (verb?) ‘to be’?

OPhr. 3sg.pres.? is B-07

According to Brixhe (2004a, 82) it is the 3sg.pres. of the copulative verb: PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésti* > *\*est* > *is*, parallel to Lat. *est*, Gr. *ἐστί* and Skt. *ásti*. It is read in a descriptive part of a funerary stele: *va knais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is...* Brixhe also considers that this verb appears in apocopated form in the apodosis of the conclusive imprecation, *me kos anivaYeti (i)s maniñ*. However, since it follows a clear verb, is easier to consider this *s* as the clitic pronoun *me kos anivaYeti s=maniñ*. Because of the final position of *is* in the sentence, its consideration as the preposition *\*h<sub>1</sub>ens* > *is* (LIPP II, 266), suggested in the preverb *ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ*, may be ruled out.

Brixhe 2004a, 82.

ις see *ios*.

ΙΟΥΕΙΚΕΤ see *ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ*.

### ise (PN?)

OPhr. ise G-114

Complete graffito incised on a sherd, very likely a PN. If not abbreviated, it is a sg.nom. without the ending *-s*. However, no parallel can be adduced. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 433) considered it a toponym in the light of the Cilician Ἴσοός, although the same work (1997, 174) also considers the possibility tht it is a PN. Indeed, PN is the most common kind of word in such graffiti.

CIPPh I, 106-107; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Orel 1997a, 174 and 433.

### isekosos (perfect participle?) ‘what it says, contents’?

Ophr. isekosos B-05 l. 13

The first interpretation of this word given by Neumann (1997, 25), who considered it a toponym, was refuted by Brixhe (2004a, 64) because it is unexpected in such a curse: *yos isekosos ↑emeneý dūpratoy, veban ituv*. On the other hand, Sowa (2015, 189) considered it an active perfect participle in sg.masc.nom. of the PIE verb *\*sek<sup>u</sup>-* ‘say’ (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 526–527) attested, e.g., in Lat. *in-quam* ‘I say’ and Gr. *ἐνέπω* ‘id.’: *\*se-sek<sup>u</sup>-uōs-*. However, the preservation of *\*s* is unexpected in both positions. Recently, Simon (2015, 17–18) equated this last Phrygian sentence of the Vezirhan stele to the last Gr. curse of the same stele: *καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἤκοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ* ‘and who comes here to read it, let be many and good things for him’. So, he equated *isekosos ↑emeneý* to Gr. *ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἤκοντι*. To do this, he took the same root used by Sowa and improved his interpretation by considering that the preverb *\*en-* was added to the root without reduplication, similarly to Lat. or Gr. parallels: *\*en-sek<sup>u</sup>-uōs-*. While the shift *\*en-* > *\*in-* is attested in *iman* and the loss of *\*-u-* before *\*-o-* is generalised in Phrygian, on the basis of his interpretation the *\*-s-* of the root has a different context, which can explain why it is not lost: *\*-ns-* > *-s-*. However, it does not explain why this consonant remains in the suffix *\*-uōs-* and, more problematically, the identification between the Gr. and the Phr. text is hampered by the Phr. apodosis (see *veban*). The ending was classified as pl.acc.masc. *\*-ons* > *-os*, and Simon considered that the word refers to the contents of the inscription. It must be said

that the ending is not altogether clear; this word can be also a sg.nom. (in agreement with *yos*?) or even a pl.dat. \*-ōis > NPhr. -ως. Indeed, Phr. pl.acc. is expected to be as -ois.

*Neuman 1997, 25; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Sowa 2015, 189; Simon 2015, 27-28.*

### **ἰσῖνι** (verb)

OPhr. 3pl.subj.pres.act. *ἰσῖνι* P-101

3sg.impv.act. *ισνου* NW-101 a

NPhr. 3sg.impv.act. *ισνου* 9.1 (87)

3sg.impv.act. *ισνιο[υ]* 21.1 (42)

A verb with no clear meaning. The form *ισῖνι* occurs in a graffito incised on the bottom of a cup: P-101 *ἰσῖνι | dabp<sup>u</sup>ula ἰσῖνι*. It has been identified by Hämmig (fthc. b) in the light of the recently discovered NPhr. 2.2: *αἰνι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι...* Indeed, *ἰσῖνι* and *δεδασσιννι* clearly show the same 3pl. ending -*σῖνι* / -*σιννι*. However, the meaning of P-102 remains unclear. The other forms are impv. found in two imprecative apodoses: 9.1 *α τι αδειτου ουελας κε | του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης* and 21.1 *[ζε]||μελως κε [δε]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ]|| αι παρτης*. However, the variant *ισνιο[υ]* remains unexplained. The OPhr. form *ισνου* is read on a terracotta disc: NW-101a *deVeti | toTi a tiei | as|na ισνου*. Brixhe (2004a, 9-10) suggested that *ισνου* goes back to PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to be’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 241-242, *IEW* 340-341) and also considered NPhr. *ιννου* 28.1 a variant of this verb. However, on the basis of its occurrences, this last form is more easily explained as a variant of (αδ)ειτνου.

*Brixhe 2004a, 9-10; Hämmig fthc. b.*

**ισνου** and **ισνιο[υ]** see *ισῖνι*.

**ισος** see *yos*.

### **ispas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *ispas* W-12

An *a*-stem PN read after other possible PNs in a stone fragment from Kütahya: *storos aros | ipas*. Since no parallel is attested in Phrygian, Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun (2011, 148-149, followed by Locatelli 2015, 109-110) interpreted it in the light of the many PNs found in Anatolia which contain this element: e.g. *Δουρμισβας* (*KILyK* I 34 from Dalisandus, Lycaonia), *Δορμισπας* (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* 120, 190; from Dalisandus, Lycaonia), *Μασσανισβου* (gen., *TAM* III, 1 27, from Pisidia) and *Παρισπου* (gen. from Pisidia-Cilicia, *KPN* 418 § 1206). The interpretation given by the first editors and Locatelli is that PNs in -*πας* ~ -*βας* contain the Anatolian word for ‘horse’, although they consider some of the vowels to be unexpected. However, since PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ék<sub>u</sub>-* ‘horse’ (post-Anatolian PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ék<sub>u</sub>-o-*, *NIL* 230-233, *IEW* 301-302, see also Kloekhorst 2008, 237-239) in Lyc. is attested as *esb-* (where ⟨b⟩ represents /β/) and in HLUw. as *azzu-* (also the Pisidian toponym *Εσουακωμη*, *KON* 173 § 309, seems relevant to this question, see Starke 1995, 119), this onomastic element cannot be considered the Anatolian ‘horse’. Consequently, the best candidate is the Median *aspa-*, which even fits perfectly from a chronological point of view, since W-12 is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Nevertheless, it is not at all clear that all the occurrences from Anatolia are related to the same form because names such as *Μασσανισβου* can be analysed as *Μασνα-νισβου* in the light of *Κλυ-νισβ||ας||* (recently found in Termessos, Adiego in p.c.). In any case, in the light of the other occurrences of PNs with -*πας* ~ -*βας* (only found in compound names), Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun (2011, 148-149) also considered the possibility of two instead of three PNs in this inscription. Then, *aros|ispas* would be a compound PN despite the lack of parallels. However, the first element is obscure and -*os* can be considered the common sg.nom. thematic ending.

*Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 148-149; Locatelli 2015, 109-110.*

**ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ** (verb) ‘to declare oneself to smbd.’?

NPhr. 3sg.subj.pres.act. **ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ** 6.1 (88)

A clear verb in an unparalleled apodosis: *πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ διουονσιν*. The reading of its third letter conditions its etymology and meaning: γ or τ<sup>?</sup> The older reading is *ισγεικετ*. If accepted, despite erroneous interpretations (such as Kretschmer 1932, 66, who considered it a borrowing from Gr. *εἶσχηκε* but did not explain the gamma), it is to be considered an inherited verb from the PIE root *\*seǵh-* ‘to hold, to overpower’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 515-516, *IEW* 888-889, Gr. *ἔχω* ‘have, hold’) in zero-grade with a prothetic initial ι- (a common feature of Gr. from Phrygia). In such a scenario, the whole apodosis means: ‘and he will have to do with the heavenly king Dionysos’ (see Lubotsky 1989b, 152-153). This curse has parallels in Gr.: e.g. *ἔξει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν* (*SEG* 6.418, inscription from Iconion). However, in this analysis the presence of a kappa before the ending remains unexplained. On the other hand, Lubotsky (2004, 235, following a previous suggestion by Brixhe 1999, 304 fn. 46) worked with the reading *ιστεικετ* by arguing that its root is the same as found in (τιτ)τετικμενος: *\*deik-* ‘to show, point out’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 108-109, *IEW* 188-189, Gr. ‘id.’, Skt. *disāti* ‘point out, show, exhibit’, Lat. *dico* ‘say, utter, speak’). Following this explanation, the kappa is inherited from the PIE root. Regarding the beginning, ισ- is interpreted as a preverb *\*h<sub>1</sub>ens > \*es > is* (*LIPP* II, 266) and the whole formation is equated to Gr. *ἐνδείκνυμαι* ‘to declare oneself to somebody’. Consequently, Lubotsky (2004, 235) translates this apodosis as ‘he will be responsible towards the heavenly king Dionysos’ (perhaps ‘let him be responsible’ is more suitable since the verb is subj.). It must be added that ισ- before the dental of the root is expected to undergo an assimilation, as in *τιτ-τετικμενος*, although perhaps this is merely an etymological notation.

*MAMA* I, 216-217 no. 413; Kretschmer 1932, 66; Dressler 1965, 96; Lubotsky 1989b, 152-153; Brixhe 1999, 304 fn. 46; Lubotsky 2004, 235; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 193.

**itovo** see *tovo*.

**itoiesgloka** (?)

OPhr. *itoiesgloka* G-229

Obscure sequence which precedes once the PN *mamutas* in a graffito incised on a handle: *mamutas sokposa | mamutas itoiesgloka*. Since the two lines seem to rhyme, *CIPPh* (I, 184) considered that the meanings of *sokposa* and *itoiesgloka* are complementary. However, the lack of a parallel for both words complicates their analysis. Moreover, the segmentation *itoies gloka* cannot be ruled out, since *-es* is well attested as sg.nom. (e.g., *garies* G-224, *eies* G-108 and *paries* G-224).

*CIPPh* I, 183-184.

**ituv** see *ituv*.

**ituv** (verb) ‘become’

OPhr. 3sg.impv.act. *ituv* B-05 l. 13

NPhr. 3sg.impv.act. **αδειτου** 9.1 (87), 38.1 (44), 39.1 (11), 40.2 (13), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 49.3 (85), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106); **α[δειτου]** 44.2 (70); **[αδ]ειτου** 45.1 (65); **αδει[του]** 47.1 (51); **αδει[του]** 50.1 (54); **ειδο[υ]** 54.1 (108); **αδει[ι]του** 61.1 (100)

3pl.impv.act. **αδειττου** 40.1 (12)

3sg.impv.act. **ειδο[υ]** 54.1 (108)

3sg.impv.act. **ειτου** 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 7.1 (99), 8.1 (86), 10.1 (112), 11.1 (17), 11.3 (17), 13.1 (122), 14.1 (73), 17.2 (3), 17.5 (91), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 19.1 (96), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115),

25.2 (126), 26.1 (8), 26.2 (38), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 34.1 (37), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 36.3 (94), 37.1 (10), 43.1 (69), 46.1 (53), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 55.1 (56), 58.1 (72), 64.1 (81), 65.2 (104), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); εἶτο[υ] 5.1 (19), 17.4 (90); [εἶτο]υ 7.3 (14); εἶτ[ου] 40.4 (102); εἶτ[ο]υ 57.1 (78); εἶτ[ου] 63.1 (123); [εἶτ]ου 66.1 (103)

3pl.impv.act. εἶτῶν 37.2 (30); [εἶτ]νου 17.3 (7)  
 3sg.impv.act. εἶτω 15.1 (120)  
 3pl.impv.act. ἦτου 18.2 (5)  
 3pl.impv.act. ἰννου 28.1 (71); <ι>ννου 62.4 (35)  
 3sg.impv.act. ἴτου 6.1 (8)

This verb is always found in imprecatives: e.g. *yos isekosos* ↑*emeney dupratoy, veban ituv* and 17.6 με ζεμελωσ κε δεωσ κε | τιτετικμενος εἶτου. Some forms also present the preverb \**h<sub>2</sub>ed-*: 44.1 τιτετι|κμενος ατ τιε | αδειττου. The plural form αδειττνου 40.1 is also found in an apodosis: ζειρα κε οι πειεσ κε τιτ|τετικμενα ατ τιε αδειττνου. This last form is the key to identifying the verb in more obscure contexts such as 37.2: [.....] ουεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω αυταη κε ταν εἶτῶν. Regarding the different NPhr. spellings ι-, ει- and η- (due to the Gr. itacism), the OPhr. *ituv* reveals that the first vowel is *i-* and not the diphthong *ei-*. Consequently, its etymology can be found in the PIE verb \**h<sub>1</sub>(e)i-* ‘to go’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 232-233, *IEW* 293-296), e.g., Gr. εἶμι ‘id.’, Lat. *eo* ‘id.’, Skt. *eti* ‘id.’. While its singular ending is \*-*tō*, the plural forms εἶττνου and αδειττνου (with preverb) seem to be a metathesis of the inherited PIE ending: \*-*ntō* > -*tnu*. The form εἶδο[υ] 54.1 occurs in the same position as εἶτου: compare 54.1 [ακκε οι] βε|κος ακκαλο[ς τιδρ]εγρο|υν εἶδο[υ] with 53.1 ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν εἶτου. Then, it can be considered a secondary intervocalic voicing of the stop: εἶτου > εἶδο[υ]. Finally, in 28.1, ἰννου is found in the same position as αδειττνου, 28.1 τις κε γερε[ν], | τιτετικμ[ε]νοι ἰννου, so it is very likely a variant without a preverb. The second possible occurrence of this variant is found in an unparalleled apodosis: 62.4 ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα | <ι>ννου.

*Panagl & Kowal 1983, 1988; Brixhe 1990, 81-84 and 90-91; Orel 1997a, 426; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Sowa 2007a, 88; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192.*

**it[---]<sup>1</sup>** (?)

OPhr. *it[---]* T-01b

Because of the interpunction, it can be clearly identified as the beginning of a word. However, since the stele on which it is read is very fragmented no interpretation can be given: [---]sid. [---] | [---].*len*<sup>?</sup> : *it[---]* | [---] *ponani* : [---].

*CIPPh I, 259-260.*

**it[---]<sup>2</sup>** (?)

OPhr. *it[-?]* or [-?]*ti* G-274 b

Unparalleled graffito incised on a sherd. Even its reading direction is unknown. It is perhaps a PN. Another sherd from the same vase bears the incision *mam*<sup>?</sup>*i*.

**iyā[-?]** see *īlay*.

**iyungidas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *iyungidas* B-07

According to Brixhe (2004a, 77-78; 2006, 401), this is a patronymic read in an onomastic part of a funerary stele, where it agrees with *manes*: *s manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy est[.].* It has been equated to the epic Gr. forms in -ιδης. However, the phonetic correspondence is not expected since the voiced stop shifted to voiceless in Phr. Consequently, either it is a borrowed suffix or, more likely, the identification is incorrect. Note that the same Gr. patronymic

suffix was erroneously suggested for Lyc. *ipresidah* (TL 29, see Adiego 2011, 329-332 and Schürr 2017, 3-5). Indeed, *manes iyungidas* can be considered a compound PN such as M-03 [b]<sup>2</sup> *abas iman*. In any case, this name remains unparalleled.

*Gusmani & Polat 1999, 156; Brixhe 2004a, 77-78; Brixhe 2006, 401; Avram fthc.*

İ<sup>?</sup>.[---] (?)

OPhr. İ<sup>?</sup>.[---] G-128

Graffito incised on an undated pithos: [-?-]αῦσι İ<sup>?</sup>.[---]. Although the whole inscription is obscure, a word boundary is considered between both the two <i>. However, since the letter yod is not used, it is possible to read here [-?-]αῦσιİ<sup>?</sup>.[---], without the word boundary.

*Brixhe 2002a, 44.*

## Κ (k) - Κ κ

**k** see *ke*.

\***ka**[.ʔ] see *podaskai*.

**kad**[---] and [-ʔ-]**kad** see *kadiun*[---].

**kadiun**[---] (PN?)

OPhr. [-ʔ-]**kad** G-102 a?

**kad**[---] C-101?

**kadiun**[---] G-103

Since all occurrences are found on sherds, it has been considered a PN. Perhaps G-102a and C-101 are abbreviations of the same PN found in G-103. Since it is not attested elsewhere, its origin is very likely Phrygian. In G-102 another graffito was incised: [---]dʔoiʔ[---].

*Lejeune 1969a, 21; CIPPh I, 97-98, 221.*

**kaɣarmoyo** and **kaɣarmoyoi** see *kavarmoyun*.

**kavarmoyun** (PN)

OPhr. sg.gen.? **kaɣarmoyo** B-01 l. 2; **kaɣarmoyo** B-08

sg.acc. **kavarmoyun** B-01 l. 7

Despite the lack of parallels, it has been considered an *o*-stem PN by Lubotsky (1989b, 152). This interpretation is better than the proposal of Orel's (1997, 140, 146 and 435), who considered it an adjective, since *kavarmoyun* in B-01 does not seem to agree with any noun. The case of **kaɣarmoyo** is dubious because of the still discussed *o*-ending, although it is often considered the thematic gen.sg < \**-o-uo* by Brixhe. Attempts to read it as a dat.sg. \***kaɣarmoyoi** (Bayun & Orel 1988a, 186-187 and Orel 1997a, 140, 146 and 435) must be rejected because there is a blank used to note the word boundary between *o* and the following *i* (with accidental traces according to Lubotsky 1993, 93 after *CIPPh I*, 64 consideration of a probable letter). The two occurrences in B-01 appear in two different contexts. While **kaɣarmoyo** is read at the beginning of the inscription, where the general monument is depicted (*si bevdos adi... kaɣarmoyo imroy edaes...*), the acc. form appears in a less clear part (*opito [k]ey oy ev[e]m[e]mesmeneya anato (.?) kavarmoyun matar otekonov (.?) | kesiti oyvos a*). In B-08 the text is eroded and the context lost (Brixhe & Vottéro 2016, 136).

*Bayun & Orel 1988a, 186-187; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Lubotsky 1993, 93; Orel 1997a, 140, 144, 146 and 435; Brixhe & Vottéro 2016, 136.*

**kaka** see *κακουν*.

**κακε** and **κακεν** see *kakey*.

**kakey** (adverb) 'ill'

OPhr. **kakey** B-05 l. 8

NPhr. **κακε** 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124)

**κακεν** 3.1 (97), 17.6 (118), 24.1 (40),

**κακην** 2.2 (130)

**κακιν** 7.3 (14)

Adverb derived from the noun attested in acc.sg. *κακον*, *κακουν* and *κακυν* (preserving its sound in unstressed position). The use of this adverb instead of the more common noun in the

imprecativ protases is also found in Gr. parallels: compare *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας* (6.1), *ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κα|κε αδακετ* (7.1) or *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακεν αδδακετορ* (24.1) with *τις αν δε τούτω τω μνημείω κακόν προσπι[οι]ήσει* (MAMA IV 27) *amb τις αν τω μνημείω [κ]ακῶς προσποιήσει* (MAMA IX 103), *δς αν τούτω τω μνημείω κακῶς προσποι[ήσει]* (MAMA IV 23) or *δς αν τούτω τω μνημείω κακῶς προσποιήσει* (read in NPhr. 19.1). Clearly, the Gr. form *κακῶς* ‘ill’ is formed after *κακός* ‘bad, ugly’ and replaces here the form *κακόν* found in other inscriptions. See, e.g. *τις δε ταύτη θαλάμειν κακόν ποσποιήσει* (a Gr. inscription traditionally counted in the NPhr. texts, App. 1). Also the OPhr. occurrence B-05, *yos niy art sinət imenən kəkə oskavos kəkəy kən dedəsitiy...*, is an imprecativ protasis. On the different spellings, the final yod from *kəkəy* is merely graphical, as well as the last ny of the NPhr. forms, a common hypercorrection documented after the drop of this nasal sound in final position. The eta in most instances in the NPhr. subcorpus notes the vowel /e/, however in *κακην* it perhaps notes /i/, as *κακιν* attests. The use of iota can be explained in the light of the neutralisation of /e/ and /i/ in unstressed position. In any case, its ending may go back to the PIE thematic ins. \*-eh<sub>1</sub> (see § 4.1.2.2.3 and § 4.2.3.2).

*Brixhe 1999, 309; Hämmig 2013, 146-147.*

**κακην** see *kəkey* and *κακουν*.

**κακιν** see *kəkey* and *κακουν*.

**κακοιοι** (verb) ‘damage, maltreat’

OPhr. 3sg.opt. *kakoioi* G-02c

3sg.opt. *kakuioi* P-04b

Denominative verb formed after the noun *κακουν* with the suffix \*-οιο. The verb is parallel to Gr. *κακῶ* ‘maltreat, distress’, derived from *κακός* ‘bad, ugly’. Even the ending of this verbal form is the same as found in the Gr. opt. -οι. Indeed, both Phrygian forms occur in two different protases (G-02 c *ios oporokitis*.? | *kakoioi tovo* and P-04 b *ios ervotsati kakuioi...*) and are morphologically the same, but *kakuioi* shows the common shift /o/ into /u/.

*CIPPh I, 87 and 239; Meier-Brügger 1992, 65; Brixhe 2006, 40; Sowa 2007a, 87-88; Kloekhorst 2015, 114.*

**κακον** see *κακουν*.

**κακουν** (noun) ‘harm’

OPhr. pl.nom.-acc. *kakə* B-05

NPhr. pl.nom.-acc. *κακα* 17.3 (7)

sg.nom. *κακον* 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116), 19.2 (129), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 29.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, 36.1, 37.2, 40.4, 43.1, 52.1, 58.1, 62.2, 66.1

sg.nom. *κακουν* 4.1 (2), 5.1 (19)?, 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.2 (113), 11.2 (18), 12..1 (121)?, 13.1 (122), 17.4 (90), 17.5 (91), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 21.1 (42)?, 21.2 (43), 25.2 (126), 26.2 (38), 27.1 (92), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 35.1 (25), 36.3 (94), 37.1 (10), 38.1 (44)?, 40.2 (13), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70)?, 44.3 (67), 45.1 (65), 46.1 (53), 47.1 (51)?, 49.1 (110)?, 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55)?, 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 57.1 (78), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 59.4 (106), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 61.1 (100), 62.1 (32), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20)

sg.nom. *κακυν* 20.3 (62)

sg.nom. *κακων* 39.1 (11)

A thematic neuter noun derived from an adjective. Most occurrences are found in the common imprecative protases: e.g., 32.1 *ιος νι σεμον | κνουμανε κακογ | αδακετ...* or 17.3 [*ιος σεμου*]ν κνουμανι κακα | [*αδδακ*]εν... Even the OPhr. form appears in this position: *yos niy ʔrt sin-t imenʔn kaqa oskavos kaqey | kan dedasitiy...* The main form is the sg.nom. form *κακουν* but the spelling variants show the common hesitation between /o/ and /u/: *κακυν*, *κακον* and *κακων* (after the loss of phonological vowel length). It has been considered a borrowing from Gr. *κακός*, -ή, -όν ‘bad’ (EDG 620) but also a Greco-Phrygian isogloss (as Brixhe 2006, 40 defends). Indeed, there is not a clear argument to prefer one interpretation over another, because even the Gr. etymology remains unclear. In Phrygian its derived adverb *kaqey / κακε* is used in the same position in the curse.

Ramsay 1905, 81; Meier-Brügger 1992, 65; EDG 620; Brixhe 2006, 40.

**kauioi** see *kakoioi*.

**κακυν** and **κακων** see *κακουν*.

**kaḷiya** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *kaḷiya* B-05 l. 1  
sg.dat. *kaḷiyay* B-05 l. 6

A-stem PN which corresponds to Gr. *Καλλίας*, according to the summary of B-05 in this language: l.1 *sin-t imenʔn kaḷiya ti tedat[...]*, l.6 *nidus ʔd kaḷiyay kaʔatʔ paʔato* and Gr. l. 1 *Καλλίας Αβιτου παῖς*. On this correspondence, note that geminates are not noted in OPhr. scripts (Brixhe 2004a, 51), so *kaḷiya* may be read as /kallija/. However, despite the quasi-bilingual text, a Luw. origin cannot be ruled out in the light of *Kwa/i-li-i(a) /Kwalija/* read in the graffito no. 5 or *Suratkaya* (Beşparmak Mountain, Caria, see Oreshko 2013a, 361) with a Phrygian labiovelar treatment: *Kwaliya > Kaḷiya*. A variant of this Luw. name is attested in Phrygian as *kuliya*, read on two sherds from Gordion. If it is the case, the Gr. translation *Καλλίας* must be considered a later reinterpretation of this PN.

Brixhe 2004a, 51.

**kaḷiyay** see *kaḷiya*.

**kan** (adverb?) ‘somehow’

OPhr. *kan* B-05 l. 9  
NPhr. *καν* 20.3 (62); 46.1 (53)

Since its only certain occurrence is in a protasis with many parallels, it is not likely to be a particle related to Arc. *καν* (Aeol. *κε*, Ion. *ἄν*): *yos niy ʔrt sin-t imenʔn kaqa oskavos kaqey | kan dedasitiy...* Consequently, Hämmig (2013, 148) has suggested that it is an adverb derived from the pronoun *\*k<sup>u</sup>e/o-* (a root also attested in Phrygian as *κος*) with the meaning ‘somehow’, parallel to Lat. *quam* and Arm. *k’an* ‘id’. In that case, it shows a fossilised acc. ending *-an* (PIE < *\*eh<sub>2</sub>m*) similar to the one found in the adverb *υψοδαν*. Also, as Brixhe (2004a, 61) considered, it is very likely found in the NPhr. sequence *αικαν* read in two apodoses: 20.3 *ιος νι σεμυν κνου|μανει κακυν αδδα|κετ αι καν...* and 46.1 *ιος νι σεμουν κν[ου]|μμανει κακουν [α]|δδακετ αι καν...*

Brixhe 2004a, 61; Hämmig 2013, 148.

**kanutiē[---]** see *kanutieivais*.

**kanutievais** (patronymic) ‘son of kanutî’

OPhr. kanutiē[---] P-05  
sg.nom. kanutievaiš P-03  
sg.gen. kanutii’evanoš<sup>?</sup> P-02

Since always it is found following the same person (a man called *vasus* only documented in Pteria), it is considered a patronymic: P-02 *sest bugnos va|sos kanutii’evanoš<sup>?</sup>*, P-03 *vasous iman mekas | kanutievaiš | devos ke mekas* and P-05 *vasus kanutiē[---]*. Indeed, the name *Kanutî* is found in Neo Assyrian (Fales & Jakob-Rost 1991, 132-133 no. 66). Regarding its inflection, the sg.nom. has been used by Brixhe (2004a, 41-12) to prove the shift \*-ans > -ais. Going one step beyond, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187) considered it a *t*-stem: sg.nom. \*-uñt-s > \*-uans > -(e)vais and sg.gen. \*-uñt-os > \*-uantos > \*(e)vanos. However, the loss of the -t- in the last form may be analogous to the sg.nom. (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2).

CIPPh I, 231; Brixhe 2004a, 41-12; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187.

**kanutii’evanoš** see *kanutievaiš*.

**karatu** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.impv. karatu B-05 l. 5; karatu B-05 l. 6

This form can be considered a verb in imperative because of its ending in -tu, also documented in OPhr. as -tuv and in NPhr. as -του. Regarding its root, Gorbachov (2008, 106 fn. 31) suggested a loanword from HLuw. *ka+ra/i-tu* ‘to sacrifice’ (in ALEPPO 6 twice). However, the contexts of both Phrygian occurrences are still obscure: ... *vay niptiyay dakar karatu enpsatus meka[---]asiya..?* | *nidus ad kaliyay karatu panato andopopostois klam’iv[..?] ...*

Gorbachov 2008, 106 n. 31.

**karea[-?-]** (PN?)

OPhr. karea[-?-] B-103

Perhaps this word read on a sherd is complete and is an *a*-stem PN without s-ending. However, because of the lack of parallels it remains unclear.

Brixhe 2004a, 88.

**κας** see *μίδακας*.

**ke** (conj.) ‘and’

OPhr. k B-04 l. 7?, B-07

ke B-04, B-05 l.7 and l. 12, B-06, B-07, P-03

key B-05 l.4?, l.7 and l. 9; B-08 (bis)

MPhr. κη MPh-01 l. 2

NPhr. κ 11.2 (18) l. 5, 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116) l. 3, 37.2 (30), 53.1 (76), 59.4, 62.5

κε 1.1 (48), 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.2 (113), 11.2 (18), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116) l. 1 and l. 2, 17.2 (3), 17.3 (7), 17.6 (119), 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6), 19.1 (96), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 27.1 (92), 28.1 (71), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 34.1 (37), 37.2 (30), 40.1 (12), 43.1 (69), 50.1 (54), 58.1 (72), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36)

κη 2.2 (130)

Clitic copulative conj. inherited from the well attested PIE conj. \**k<sup>ue</sup>* ‘and’ (LIPP II, 690-691): Gr. τε (Myc. *qe*), Lat. -*que*, Skr. *ca*, etc. As is common in other IE languages, it usually appears after the second word it links or after the first word of the second sentence it coordinates. Sometimes it appears twice, after the first and the second element. Compare, e.g., με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε (3.1) with δεως ζεμελωσ κε (24.1). *Key*, as Hämmig (2014, 132-133) identified, is a mere graphic

variant of *ke*. The form *κη* reveals the use of eta to note the short vowel /e/ also attested in other words. Finally, *k* and *κ* are the apocopated form before vowel: see B-07 l. 2-3 *meros ke manes yos tiv[.][.?.]n ke devuḡ k umnotan...* or 59.4 γεγρειμενον | κ εγεδου ορουενοσ ουτον. Berenguer Sánchez 2000, 445-446; Brixhe 2004a, 17; Poccetti 2012; Hämmig 2013, 132-133; LIPP II, 691.

†**κεβρειτ** see *ke* and βρειτ.

**kevos** see ηεvos.

**kek.[---]** (?)

OPhr. *kek.[---]* G-128

Unparalleled sequence read after the PN *atas* on a sherd.

CIPPh I, 119.

**kelmis** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.nom. *kelmis* B-05 l. 7

The only parallel of this word is the name of one of the Dactyls of Mount Ida, Κέλιμις. He appears in *Ov. Met.* 4.282 (as *Celmis*) and in *Clem.Al. Strom.* 1.16.75 (= *Idaeon Dactyls frag.* 282, Melkelbach & West 1967): Κέλιμις τε αὖ καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων δάκτυλοι πρῶτοι σίδηρον εὔρον ἐν Κύπρῳ; Δέλας δὲ ἄλλος Ἰδαῖος εὔρε χαλκοῦ κρασιν, ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος, Σκύθης ‘*Kelmis* and *Damnamenteus*, the *Idaeon Dactyls*, were the first to discover iron in Cyprus; *Delas*, another *Idaeon*, discovered the mixing of bronze, but according to *Hesiod* it was *Scythes*’. The nom. Κέλιμις and the acc. Κέλιμιν are also attested in the Gr. inscription *IG XII, 9 259* (so-called the ‘*Dactyl’s Hymn*’, from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, see *Schaaf 2014, 306-307* with a revised edition). The importance of this text is that its chronology is not far from the Phrygian B-05 and that it shows an *i*-stem. Although it is unknown whether they refer to the same person or character, it can be interpreted as a PN. However, its context in the Phrygian text B-05 remains unclear: *ἄνδοποστοῖσ κλᾶμῖν[.?.] | kelmis ke umnišet evraduḡ daḡeraiḡ key iverais [..] ...*

*Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 59; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 169.*

**κενα** (noun) ‘generation’?

NPhr. pl.nom-acc.neut. *κενα* 62.4 (35)

A word read in an imprecative apodosis, where it works as the subject: *ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα <i>vννου*. According to *Lubotsky (2004, 233)* it is a derivative which goes back to PIE \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* (*NIL 139-153*), parallel to Gr. *γενεά* ‘race, generation, offspring’ (secondary fem.) or Lat. *genus, -eris* ‘birth, descent, origin; a race, stirps, offspring’ (pl.nom.-acc.neut. *genera*). Thus, *Lubotsky* suggested a form \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>es-h<sub>2</sub>* > *keneha* > *κενα*, in the light of our knowledge of Phrygian phonetics. The earlier interpretation given by *Haas (1966, 119, followed by Brixhe 1993, 341 and Orel 1997a, 255)*, a loanword from Gr. *κενός* ‘empty’, hardly fits with the context.

*Lubotsky 2004, 233; Matzinger 2006, 199-200.*

**keneman** (noun) ‘niche’

OPhr. sg.nom.-acc.neut. *keneman* M-01b

Because of its context, *baba memevais proitavos kPhiyanaveyos si=keneman edaes*, and its ending, *keneman* is clearly the object which agrees with the pronoun *si*. Since the monument on which it was engraved is not a tomb but a cult façade, the meaning given by *Haas (1996, 76)* in the light of the similar NPhr. word *κνουμαν* ‘tomb’ can be excluded (note also the different vocalism). *Böker-Klähn (2000b, 90, followed with more realia-arguments by Berndt-Ersöz 2005, 72-74)* suggested a loanword from Akkadian *sikkanum* via Hitt. *sikkanu*, which implies that *si-*, attested before the object in some of this kind of sentence (see B-01 *si bevdos ... edaes*), is the beginning

of the noun. More likely, it refers to the niche which is excavated in the centre of the façade where this text is engraved. Following the first tentative identification by Haas (1966, 76, also in Beekes 1969, 21), Lubotsky (1988, 15) and Matzinger (2005, 378) classified *keneman* as a noun derived from the PIE verbal root *\*keh<sub>1</sub>-*, attested in Skt. *khánati* ‘to dig’ (see also Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189 and 192-193). Then, a form *\*kenh<sub>1</sub>-m̃* is suggested. However, LIV<sup>2</sup> (344) reconstructs this root as *\*k<sup>(u)</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* (IEW 634) and this laryngeal does not fit the Phrygian form. An alternative interpretation can be found by equating OPhr. *kene-man* to Gr. *\*ken(e)-wó-* ‘empty, idle’ (Att. κενός, Ion. κεινός, Epic and Dor. κενεός, see DELG 514, EDG 672,) and Arm. *sin, sn-oy* ‘empty’, which go back to *\*ken-e/o-* (Clackson 1994, 138-139 and Martirosyan 2010, 575 and 2013, 116). Consequently, it implies a derivation from *\*ken-e-* ‘empty’ to *\*ken-e-m̃* ‘cavity, niche’.  
 Haas 1966, 76; Beekes 1969, 21; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 187; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 170-171; Lubotsky 1988, 15; Neumann 1994, 347-348; Gorbachov 2005, 197; Matzinger 2005, 378; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189 and 192-193.

### **kenos** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom.*kenos* G-297

A complete inscription incised on a sherd. Very likely a complete *o*-stem PN. It can be hardly interpreted as the singular of κενά because such a word would be very disconcerting in this context. However, it could be another derivative of the same root (*\*genh<sub>1</sub>-* NIL 139-153) better than a form *\*kenuos* suggested by Brixhe 2002a, 59 (also for κενά, because he considered it a parallel or loanword from the Gr. κενός ‘empty’).

Brixhe 2002a, 59.

**κερης** see δ[α]κερης.

### **kerm̃[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. *kerm̃[---]* or *kerñ[---]* G-104

It is difficult to choose between the two readings because the sherd is broken. While Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200) chose the first one in the light of Gr. κέραμος ‘potter’s clay, earthen vessel, wine-jar’, Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 198) preferred the second one and considered it a parallel of Gr. κέρνος ‘earthen dish for offerings’. Orel (1997a, 436) also preferred the second option and considered that it is a thematic PN in nom. related to the Pisidian name Κερνας (KPN 226 § 586).  
 CIPPh I, 98-99; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 436; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 198.

**kerñ[---]** see *kerm̃[---]*.

### **kesiti** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.? *kesiti* B-01 l. 8

Although both the context (*kavarmoyun matar otekonov .? kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni*) and its meaning are unclear, the ending suggests that we may be dealing with a verb. The segmentation of this word is given by Lubotsky (1993b, 96).

Lubotsky 1993b, 96.

**key** and κη see *ke*.

### **key[---]** (?)

OPhr. *key[---]* B-06

A damaged sequence in the first conserved line of a funerary stele. Brixhe (2004a, 71) suggested that perhaps *key* is found here as well as in B-05 (l. 4, 7 and 9). Now *key* is known to be an alternative spelling of the copulative conj. However, it occurs in the same line as *ke*, so this possibility is unlikely: *ṣtaṣṣa ke : ṣtaṣṣa ke : ṣekm̃[at]eṣ key[---]a<sup>2</sup>yō<sup>3</sup>[---]*.

Brixhe 2004a, 71.

**kikos** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *kikos* G-284

Since it is a complete graffito incised on a sherd, this word is very likely a PN. Brixhe (2002a, 45) suggests as parallels the Gr. names Κίκος, Κίκκος, Κίκων and Κίκκων (of these, only Κίκου is attested in Anatolia, in the inscription CIG 4367 from Ormeleis, Pisidia), assumed to be derived from the Gr. noun κίκυς ‘strength, vigour’ if we accept the etymology given by Meier-Brügger and Lamberterie (see EDG 697), a reduplicated form of \**k̑eh<sub>1</sub>*- ‘to be strong’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 339, IEW 592-594): \**kik̑os*. While this form fits well with Phrygian historical phonology, the Gr. etymology has been discussed by Beekes (EDG 697, see also § 4.6.1.5. for a Phr. interpretation of this noun) and the Phr. and Gr. names are not necessarily cognates; the Phr. name could be a borrowing from Gr. names, as Brixhe admits (see *muksos*, in the first datable Phr. inscription), or even a mere illusory coincidence.

Brixhe 2002a, 45.

**kin** see *kos*.

**κινο[υ]μα** see *κνουμανει*.

**κισις** (pronoun) ‘any’?

MPhr. sg.nom. κισις MPhr-11 (W-11) l. 1

sg.nom.-acc. κινιν MPhr-11 (W-11) l. 5

According to Brixhe (2004a, 14-15) this is a compound pronoun made with the interrogative pronoun \**k<sup>h</sup>is* ‘who’ and the non-personal pronominal theme \**ue* / \**uo* / \**ui* or the verbal form \**uei-si* ‘he wants, wishes’. In the latter scenario, a good parallel is the Lat. *quīis*, however this would imply the simplification \**ei* > *i*, often rejected by Lubotsky. Morphologically, the neuter form shows an ending -v borrowed from the nominal inflection. Finally, it must be added that, with the exception of a small number of words, the whole funerary stele on which both forms are attested remains obscure: l. 1 *μανκα μεκας σας κινιν εν κε βιλταδε|ναν νεκοινουν...*, l.5 *νικοστρατος | κλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις μο|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε...*

Brixhe 2002a, 14-15.

**κλ̑am<sup>?</sup>iv[.?.]** see *κλ̑aniv*.

**κλ̑aniv** (?)

OPhr. *κλ̑aniv* or *κλ̑am<sup>?</sup>iv[.?.]* B-05 l. 6

This word is read in the non-imprecative part of B-05: *nidus ad q̑aliyay qaȓatu pȃato andopopostois κλ̑aniv kelmis ke umnȋset ev̑adȗḡ dȃkeȓaȋḡ key iverais* [...]. The reading presents certain difficulties: while Neumann (1997, 19) read *κλ̑aniv*, Brixhe (2004a, 58 and 61) preferred *κλ̑am<sup>?</sup>iv[.?.]* and suggested that perhaps two letters are lost. The first reading fits better with the shape of the discussed letter and a word boundary after *waw* is not surprising in this stele: see *tubetiv* or *deraliv*. The form *tubetiv* seems to be a verb in *tubetiv* (related to the imperative *tubnuv*), however here the ending is not -*tiv*. On the other hand, *deraliv* is not clearer than *κλ̑aniv*. The only possible related term is found in the polionym from Galatia Κλάνεος, -ου (located in Bayat by Ramsay 1890, 234-235 and KON 269 § 545-1 but in Turgut by Drew-Bear 1996, 961). Perhaps the *κλ̑aniv* is a sg.gen. in the light of Gr. Κλάνεου, but this is a very tentative possibility and it remains an open question.

Neumann 1997, 19; Brixhe 2004a, 58 and 61.

## κλευμαχοι (PN)

MPhr. sg.dat. κλευμαχοι MPh-01

A clear thematic PN borrowed from Gr. Κλεόμαχος ('famous in battle'). It explains the unusual presence of the letter chi in Phrygian. This PN is read on a funerary stele erected by a man who also bears a Gr. name, νικοστρατος, and dedicated to this Kleumakhos: νικοστρατος | κλευμαχοι μπος αιδομενου ματιν κισις,... The variant κλευ- for κλεο- in Gr. inscriptions occurs once in Caria (*IK Rhod. Peraia* 302), but it is more frequent in Central Greece and the Aegean Islands but here can be explained as a Phrygian shift.

*Brixhe 1997, 327; Brixhe 2004a, 24.*

κναικαν, κναικο, *κναγκε*<sup>?</sup> and *κναις* see *knays*.

## *knays* (noun) 'woman, wife'

OPhr. sg.nom. *κναις* B-07

pl.nom. *κναγκε*<sup>?</sup>[s] HP-114

sg.nom. *knays* HP-114

NPhr. sg.acc. κναικαν 16.1 (116) l. 11

sg.gen.? κναικο<ς> 16.1 (116) l. 6

Fem. noun inherited from PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>neh<sub>2</sub>-* 'woman' (*NIL* 178, *IEW* 473, see the detailed study in Opfermann 2017), also attested in Gr. γυνή, γυναικός (Myc. pl.dat. *ku-na-ki-si*), Arm. *kin*, Vedic *gnā* 'id.' (also 'goddess'), Go. *qino*, ToA *šām*, ToB *šana*, etc. The shift to voiceless of the first stop has been justified because of its position before the nasal (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 174-175 and even Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165), however it is a general shift, as is the loss of labialisation. As in Gr. (and Messapian pl.dat.? *gunakhai*), its inflection in Phrygian takes a *-k-* in cases other than nom. Even in the nominative *kains* / *knays* the ancient proterodynamic inflection of this PIE *h<sub>2</sub>-*stem is lost, compare, e.g., in the Gr. sg.nom. γυνή < *\*g<sup>w</sup>(e)n-h<sub>2</sub>*. All Phrygian forms shows the addition of the suffix *\*-iH* to the whole stem (note that it is similar to the Gr. voc. γύναι) and in sg.nom. the *s*-ending is levelled from *i*-stems (e.g. *tuvatis*). Recently, Opfermann (2017, 62 and 74) has considered that the sg.nom. goes back to the PIE abstract noun *\*g<sup>w</sup>neh<sub>2</sub>-éi-* 'femininity' but the Phrygian form does not show the expected vocalisation of the nasal in this position ((C)R̥H<sub>x</sub>V > (C)V̥RV, see § 4.1.2.2.3). The sg.acc. and sg.gen. are attested in the same NPhr. inscription: 16.1 l. 5-6 με ογομανιας εναρκε ερω[λ]αος κναικο εκατηας and l. 10-11 ονομανιας μπου ικ[.] | κναικαν εδαες. The sg.gen. is expected to be *\*κναικ-ος* in the light of other consonant stems (e.g. *artimitos*, *τιος* < *\*diuos* or *ορουεος*). A good explanation for this unexpected form is the shape of the letters: since in these inscriptions epsilons and sigmas are quadratic and the following word, *εκατηας*, begins with epsilon where a sigma is supposed, it is very likely that the engraver erroneously reused a sigma as an epsilon by adding the central stroke (the only feature that differentiates the two letters). Consequently, *κναικο<ς>* can equated to Gr. γυναικός. The pl.nom. also needs to have its ending restored, since the clay tablet on which it is read is broken. Since there are other athematic pl.nom. this restitution is easy: 30<sup>?</sup>...εκες 30<sup>?</sup> i<sup>?</sup> | .. 30<sup>?</sup> γ<sup>?</sup>εκες<sup>?</sup> | . 30<sup>?</sup> *knays* 30<sup>?</sup> s<sup>?</sup> | i<sup>?</sup>γ<sup>?</sup>εκες<sup>?</sup> | .<sup>?</sup> 40<sup>?</sup> *m<sup>?</sup>akeres* 40<sup>?</sup>.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 174-175; Brixhe 2004a, 79-80 and 125; Brixhe 2006, 307-308; Lubotsky 2004, 234; Brixhe 2006, 40; Matzinger 2006, 200-201; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165; EDG 291-292; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184; Kloekhorst 2015, 114; LIPP II, 295; Opfermann 2017.*

κνουμ[---], κνουμα, κνουμαν, κνουμαν and κνουμανε see κνουμανει.

**κνουμανει** (noun) ‘tomb, memorial’

NPhr.	sg.nom.-acc.	κινου[υ]μα 22.1 (9)
		κνουμ[---] 65.1 (20)
	sg.nom.-acc.	κνουμα 11.2 (18)
	sg.nom.-acc.	κνουμαν 16.1 (116), 43.1 (69)
	sg.dat.	κνουμαν 40.3 (31)
	sg.dat.	κνουμανε 3.1 (97), 10.1 (112), 15.1 (120), 17.6 (119), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 24.1 (40), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.1 (39), 31.1 (29), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 34.1 (37), 36.1 (26), 40.4 (102), 56.1 (57), 61.1 (100); [κνουμ]ανε 17.4 (90); [κ]νουμανε 57.1 (78); κνο[[μανει] 59.1 (107)
	sg.dat.	κνουμανει 5.1 (19), 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 9.1 (87), 11.2 (18), 13.1 (122), 17.2 (3), 20.3 (62), 21.2 (43), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 32.1 (93), 33.3 (127), 37.1 (10), 44.1 (61), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 59.2 (47), 59.4 (106), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.6 (105), 65.1 (20); κνο[υ]μανει 17.1 (4b); [κ]ν[ου]μανει 21.1 (42); κνου[[μανει] 39.1 (11); [κ]νουμ ανει 41.1 (45); [κνο]υμ ανει 42.1 (101); κν[ου]μανει 44.2 (70); κνουμαν[ει] 45.1 (65); κν[ου]μανει 48.1 (81); κνου[μανει] 48.2 (84); κνο[υ]μ[αν]ει 49.1 (110); κνο[υ]μα νει 50.1 (54); κ[νουμα]νει 50.2 (55); κνου[[μανει] 51.1 (80); [κ]νουμανει 54.1 (108); [κνουμαν]ει 56.3 (64); κ[νο]υ<μανει> 58.1 (72); [κνο]υμανει 59.3 (79); [κνου]μα νει 63.1 (123)
	sg.dat.	κνουμανη 29.1 (114)
	sg.dat.	κνουμανι 6.1 (88), 8.1 (86), 14.1 (73), 17.3 (7), 35.1 (25), 40.1 (12), 62.5 (36), 66.1 (103)
	sg.nom.-acc.?	κνουμεν 11.2 (18) l. 5
	sg.dat.	κνουμ μανει 38.1 (44); κν[ου]μ μανει 46.1 (53)
	sg.gen.?	κ<ν>ουμινος 18.2 (5)

A clear neuter word built by adding the suffix *-μη* to the PIE verbal root *\*kneuH-* ‘scratch, dig’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 366, *IEW* 562, found in Greek κνύω ‘id.’): *\*knuH-mη* (see Lubotsky 1998, 414 fn. 4). This form, the sg.nom.-ac. κνουμαν / κνουμα, is attested in non-imprecative texts: 22.1 11.2 [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|ν μιμογαδισ ακενικου οκαυγοσι | μιδακας δαδου..., 16.1 Ξευνε ισος κε δετον [ο<sup>3</sup>υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν [.?] | κνουμαν κ’ ακροδμαν κε λο| διμον μειομον ριδιτι..., 43.1 εινεα μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπαδε|ν ατω κνου|μαν [ο]υεκρ|ω δαδωνει ονουεια.... The form κινου[υ]μα 40.3 is also found in a non-imprecative text and is also a sg.nom.-acc. with epenthetic vowel: υσδουνετ[.]ου πασε | δεκμουταις κινου[υ]μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι.... However, most instances of this word are sg.dat. variants attested in the imprecative protasis: e.g. 17.3 ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ. All the variants are different spellings of the PIE ending *\*-eǵ* <ει>, <ε>, <η> and <ι> that arose under the influence of Greek itacism. The form κνουμαν 40.3 is also a dat., as the pronoun σεμουν shows, but apocopated before a vowel: ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ | ξευνει αδικεσει... The sg.dat. has levelled the vocalisation of the suffix from the sg.nom. The form κ<ν>ουμινος 18.2 seems to be a conservative sg.gen. *\*knuH-mn-ός*, with an epenthetic vowel in the suffix. However, because of its position after the pronoun σεμουν, a dat. is expected: ις κε σεμουν κ<ν>ουμινος <κακουν> | αδακεν... This particular oddity can be explained in the light of Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, where the use of gen. instead of dat. is not unusual, even in the same collation (Brixhe 1987a, 97-98): see, e.g., Αύρηλία Αμμεια γλυκυτάτης μνήμης χάριν (MAMA IV 192) συν τῇ συμβίῳ μου Φροντίνης (MAMA I, 152), both from Phrygia. The geminated *my* in κνουμμανει is a hypercorrection. Finally, the vocalism of κνουμεν remains unclear. Although the context is not certain, it seems to be a variant of the sg.nom.-acc.: ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι κ’ ο τα τριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμανει...

Lubotsky 1998, 414 fn.4; Avram 2016a.

**κνουμανη, κνουμανι, κνουμεν, κνουμμανει** and **κ<ν>ουμιнос, κνυμανει** see κνουμανει.

**kovis** (noun)

OPhr. sg.nom. *kovis* B-05 l. 12; *kovis* B-05 l. 10

Although in l. 10 it was read as *koris*, Gorbachov (2008, 102) and, especially, Hämmig (2013, 132) showed that lines 9-10 and 12 contain two variants of the same curse and that this word, well-read in l. 12, is the same as in l. 10. According to Hämmig, it is an *i*-stem sg.nom. noun, qualified by the adj. *mekas* once: l. 10 *mekas key | kovis abretoy nun ibey neyotan niptiyan sirun mireyun*. In l. 12 it appears without an adjective: *nevos me deritoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>*. Hämmig also suggested the meaning ‘calamity’, ‘misfortune’ or ‘illness’, although its etymology has not been identified.

*Neumann 1997, 19 and 25; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Gorbachov 2008, 102; Hämmig 2013, 132.*

**κολταμμανει** (noun) ‘deathbed’?

NPhr. sg.dat. *κολταμμανει* 11.2 (18)

A noun found in a sentence where some parts of the tomb are mentioned: *ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι κ' ο τα τριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμμανει...* Its meaning and etymology are unclear and few scholars have taken a stance on this word. Orel (1997a, 84 and 438) proposed the word *κολταη* from 37.2, however this is the result of a negligent reading, which was followed by Woodhouse 2010, 139. On the other hand, Woodhouse considered it a PIE formation *\*g<sup>w</sup>olth<sub>2</sub>m<sub>h</sub>* (*\*g<sub>2</sub>olth<sub>2</sub>m<sub>h</sub>* in Woodhouse 2006, 172 but *\*g<sub>1</sub>olth<sub>2</sub>m<sub>h</sub>*, Woodhouse 2010, 139, where *\*g<sub>1</sub>-* stands for the more common *\*g<sub>2</sub>-*) related to Skt. *jathāra-* ‘belly, body, uterus, lap’, Go. *kilþei* ‘womb’ and MoE child. He also suggested a similar meaning to the last adduced parallel: ‘family, offspring, generation’. However, the presence in the same period of parts of the tomb (*τριαμα* and *κνουμεν*) rules out such a semantic interpretation. Another interpretation can be found in the comparison with Arm. *kałal* ‘den, lair’, equated to Baltic forms such as Lith. *guðlis* ‘den, lair, (coll.) bed’, *gūltas* ‘bed, lair’, *gūlti* ‘to lie down, fall ill’ or. Latv. *guðļa* ‘nest, den, lair, (coll.) bed’ (Martirosyan 2009, 346-347) and sometimes also to the obscure Gr. *γωλεός* ‘hole’ (considered “not very probable” by EDG 293-294). If the root of *κολταμμανει* is in some way related to these forms, it could mean something as suitable as ‘deathbed’ in the light of the uses of *θαλάμη*, -η (‘lurkingplace, den, lair’) and its derivative *θάλαμος*, -ος (‘funerary) chamber’ in Gr. funerary inscriptions from Anatolia. However, a formation *\*g<sup>w</sup>lH-to/eh<sub>2</sub>-* (see Kroonen 2013, 309-310 about PGerm. *\*kulda-*) is uncertain for the Phrygian form (particularly given the lack of the expected vocalisation *\*\*klōta-* in this position, see § 4.1.2.2.3). Even its gender is problematic. Indeed, the suffix *-μμαν-* seems to be added to the formation *\*κολτα-* (similarly to *κορο[υ]μμανη* 2.2). This would give a neuter noun, yet the presence of the pronoun *ται*, if the segmentation is correct, shows that the word is fem. As can be seen, *κολταμμανει* remains unclear.

*Haas 1966: 98-103; Haas 1969, 84-87; Orel 1997a, 84 and 438; Woodhouse 2006, 172; Woodhouse 2010, 139.*

**κοννου** see *ουελασκοννου*.

**koris** see *kovis*.

**†κορο** see *κοροαν*.

**κοροαν** (noun) ‘boy, lad, male infant’?

MPhr. sg.acc.? *κοροαν* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7

sg.gen.? *κοροος* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6

Although Brixhe (2004a, 21-22, followed by Avram 2015, 210) considered that the Gr. word *χώρος* ‘a definite space, piece of ground, place’ occurs in MPhr, Lubotsky 2017 reconsidered the

segmentation of the sequences πορκοροσ.-|ρος and κοροανδετουγ and suggested that they are forms of the stem *koru-*, equated to Gr. κόρφα ‘girl’ (Arc. Cor.; Mys. *ko-wa*, Att. κόρη) and κόρος ‘boy’ (Att.; Mys. *ko-wo*, Ion. κοῦρος, Dor. κῶρος; perhaps derived from \**kerh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘grow’ LIV<sup>2</sup> 329, IEW 577, according to EDG 752-753). Then, κοροαν /korwan/ is the sg.acc.fem. of ‘girl’ (instead of a form πορκορο, suggested by Brixhe) and κοροο its masculine in an unclear case. Although this scenario is morphologically likely, no girl is identified in the inscription, which refers to two men, νικοστρατος and κλευμαχοι. This funerary stele was very likely dedicated to κλευμαχοι, so perhaps it is he who is called *koru-*. Consequently, we are probably dealing with two forms of the same *u*-stem noun referring to this man: κοροαν, with the athematic acc. ending, and κοροος, the athematic gen.

*Brixhe 2004a, 21-22; Avram 2015, 210; Lubotsky 2017.*

**κοροκα** (noun) ‘offspring, descendants’?

NPhr. κοροκα 62.5 (36)

κοροκα 62.2 (33)

Traditionally, this word is read and segmented as κ’ οροκα 62.5 and κε ‘ροκα 62.2 and occurs in an imprecative apodosis attested in two inscriptions: αυτος κε ουα κ(ε) (ο)ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. As well as αυτος, with which it is thought to be coordinated, it seems to be a nominative (sg.fem. or pl.neuter?). However it is difficult to choose between a neut.pl. or fem.sg. because the possessive ουα with which it agrees is also ambiguous. The hesitation attested at the beginning is explained as a product of sandhi with the copulative conj. κε: note the distribution κε ‘ροκα - κ’ οροκα (Brixhe 1978a, 11). Although the reading cannot be corroborated, it is perhaps another example of the common confusion between circular letters. Its meaning and etymology remain unclear, but a meaning ‘offspring’ or ‘descendants’ is very attractive in the light of the common Gr. formulae. In that case, and taking into account the context (see § 4.3.3., note the strange position of the assumed copulative conj. κ(ε) ‘and’), it can be considered a noun derived from the stem *koru-* ‘boy’ (see also κοροαν), as cl. Consequently, the imprecative formula can be segmented as follows: αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. However, this interpretation must remain hypothetical until we have determined a satisfactory explanation for the verb τευτου.

*Brixhe 1999, 312; Woodhouse 2007, 193-194 fn. 8.*

**κορου** (noun) ‘a definite space, piece of ground, place’

NPhr. sg.dat. κορου 27.1 (92)

This word, a clear borrowing from the Gr. χώρος, -ου ‘a definite space, piece of ground, place’ (note Gr. χ > Phrygian κ), is found in a NPhr. imprecative apodosis and may allude to the space consecrated to the funerary monument: ιος νι σ[ε]μουν κνου]μανε κακουν [αδακετ αι]νι κορου ουε[βα]. In Phr., this word is related to its derivative κορο[υ]μανη and was also considered to appear in the MPhr. funerary stele as κορο and in the compound πορκορο. However, such forms have been reanalysed (see κοροαν).

*Brixhe 1983, 127-128; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 179; Brixhe 1990, 95; Brixhe 1999, 298; Brixhe 2002b, 258; Brixhe 2004a, 21-22; Lubotsky 2004, 231; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189; Avram 2015, 12-13.*

**κορο[υ]μανη** (noun) ‘a definite space’

NPhr. sg.dat. κορο[υ]μανη 2.2 (130) l. 6; κορο[υ]μανη 2.2 (130) l. 9-10

This noun, derived from κορου, has the suffix -μη. Despite this feature, it is found in the same position as κορου, l. 9-10 αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη, an imprecative protasis, but also in the description of the monument, l. 6 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη... Consequently, it seems very likely that the meaning of this derivative is similar to the original word: it refers to the space consecrated to the monument.

*Avram 2015, 12-13.*

**kos** (indefinite pronoun) ‘someone, somebody, something’

OPhr. sg.nom.-acc.neut. *kin* B-01 l. 4

sg.nom.masc. *kos* B-07

NPhr. sg.nom.-acc.neut. *κιν* 61.1 (100)

sg.nom.masc. *κος* 2.2 (130) l. 9; 11.2 (18); 56.3 (64), 58.1 (72)

As occurs in Lat., Phrygian shows a PIE stem *\*k<sup>u</sup>o-* / *\*k<sup>u</sup>i-* in the inflection of its indefinite pronoun (LIPP II, 452-457). The sg.nom.-acc.neut. presents the ending *\*-m*, instead of the original *\*-d* (Lat. *quid*), as Skt. *kím* < PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>i-m* (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183). This form is used once as an adjective: 61.1 *ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα][κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν*. However, its OPhr. occurrence, also found in an imprecative apodosis, seems to have a pronominal function: *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayini kin te[l]emi...* On the other hand, the sg.nom.masc. appears in a variant of the common protases: instead of the relative pronoun *yos*, *ιος* ‘whoever’, a conditional conj. with the indefinite pronoun *αι(νι) κος* ‘if anybody’. See, e.g. 2.2 *αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο| [υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε...*, or 11.2 *αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα...* On one occasion it is used in a apodosis (a prohibitive meaning introduced by *me*): *me kos anivaΥeti s=maniη*.

*Brixhe 1982, 235; Brixhe 2002a, 35-36; Hämmig 2013, 148; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 454-455.*

**κουμινος** see *κνουμανει*.

**kraniya** and **kraniyap** see *kraniyas*.

**kraniyas** (adjective) ‘of, from a spring or fountain’?

OPhr. sg.gen. *kraniyas* B-05 l. 3

This word is found in a non-imprecative obscure part of the Vezirhan stele: *vrekān vitāraṇ artimitoṣ kraniyas [---] | paṇta vebraṣ adun...* The sequence discussed here is preceded by the theonym in sg.gen. *artimitoṣ* but the stele is damaged after it. Previously, Neumann (1997, 18-19 and 21) read it as *kraniya-p* and Brixhe (2004a, 56) as *kraniya p[---]*. The basis for Brixhe’s reading was the unexpected ending in *-p*, which he considered the beginning of another word even though in this inscription blanks are used as word boundaries. The solution to this problem is the reading of this supposed <ρ>, given that the shapes of <ρ> and <σ> are very similar in this stele (see Neumann 1997, 15). Taking this into account, a reading *kraniyas* is defensible in the light of the form of <σ> written for the nearby words *artimitoṣ* and *atriyas*. In this case, *kraniyas* is a mere sg.gen. denominative adj. created with the common suffix *-yo/a-*. This adj. agrees with the preceding DN *artimitoṣ* in the same way as, e.g., *kubileya* / *kubeleya* with *matar* (W-04 and B-01, respectively). Regarding its meaning, it is very tempting to equate it to the Gr. word κρήνη (Dor. κράνα, Aeol. κρίννα) ‘spring, fountain’ (see also κρηνιάς, Dor. κρηνιάς). Although the etymology of this Gr. word is unclear, its presence in Phrygian can be considered an Aeol. borrowing similar to *stala* B-01. Moreover, this connection between the Anatolian Artemis and water is well known, especially after the syncretism between Artemis and the Persian goddess *Anāhītā* (note that this stele is dated to Persian times, on Ἄναεῖτις in Lydia see de Hoz 1999, 73-76). See, e.g., Fontenrose (1988, 127-128) on the title ὑδροφορία borne by her priestesses of Didyma. Finally, a relationship between *kraniyas* and κρᾶνός, found in the epithet of *Matar*, Κρανομεγαληνή and ἀπὸ κρᾶνὸς μεγάλη is highly possible (on it see Chiai 2009, 137).

*Neumann 1997, 18-19 and 21; Brixhe 2004a, 56.*

**kraroy** (?)

OPhr. *kraroy* G-11 b

Unclear word in obscure text: *sit kraroy veao dis*. On the basis of its ending, it can be considered either a verb in 3sg.opt. or a thematic noun in sg.dat. Brixhe (2002a, 26) seems to opt for the

latter possibility, adducing Gr. κλήρος (Dor. κλᾶρος) ‘lot, that which is assigned by lot, allotment’ as a similar word by assuming an anticipatory assimilation. Either way, this remains an open question.

*Brixhe 2002a, 36.*

### **ku** (PN?)

OPhr. *ku* G-241

Complete inscription incised on a sherd from Gordion. It is very likely an abbreviated anthroponym used as an owner’s mark. *kuliya* is the sole PN with this beginning in the whole Phrygia corpus, however it could correspond to another (non-attested) name.

*CIPPh I, 190; Roller 1987a, 49; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199.*

### **kubeleya** (adjective) ‘from the Kubel- mountain’

OPhr. sg.nom. *kubeleya* B-01; *kubeley[a]* B-08

sg.nom. *kubileyā* W-04

The three occurrences of this thematic adj. (note the suffix \*-ey/o-) agree with the DN *matar* (the Mother-Goddess): B-01 *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy*, B-08 [--- *matar*]r *kubeley[a]* [---] and W-04 *matar kubileyā* [---]toy|en. Note that this last form shows the common hesitation /e/ ~ /i/ (see 4.1.1.). Regarding its origin, Brixhe (1979b) suggested that *kubeleya* derives from the Phr. noun for “mountain”, equating *matar kubeleya* to Gr. Μητήρ Ὀρεία. This Phr. noun is identified as Κύβελα (D.S. 3.58) or Κύβελον (Str. 12.5.3). However, since all the related Greco-Phrygian sources refer to the name of a specific mountain (even a *castellum*) or mountains, *kubeleya* should preferably be considered an epiklesis related to this mountain (or mountains), with the meaning ‘Matar of the Kubel- (mountain)’ (*CIPPh I, 47*, see also Oreshko 2013b, 82-86). See D.S. 3.58 γήμαντα δὲ Δινδύμην γεννῆσαι μὲν παιδίον θῆλυ, τρέφειν δ’ αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ὄρος ἐκθεῖναι τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κύβελον [...] καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ‘and [Meion] marrying Dindymê he begat an infant daughter, but being unwilling to rear her he exposed her on the mountain which was called Cybelus [...] and called her Cybelê after the name of the place’, Str. 12.5.3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος ὑπερκειμένον τῆς πόλεως τὸ Δίνδυμον, ἀφ’ οὗ ἡ Δινδυμνή, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἢ Κυβέλη ‘there is also a mountain situated above the city, Dindymum, after which the country Dindymenê was named, just as Cybelê was named after Cybela’, H. κ 4363 Κύβελα ὄρη Φρυγίας. καὶ ἄντρα. καὶ θάλαμοι ‘κ.: Phrygian mountains. Also, caves and chambers’, Ovid, *Fast.* 4.363-365 *Inter, ait, uiridem Cybelen altasques Celaenas amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua. qui bibit inde, furit* [Erato] said: “Between green (Mount) Cybele and high Celaenae, there flows a river with insane water, called ‘Gallus.’ Who drinks of it goes mad” and Liv. 38.18.5 *ad Cuballum, Gallograeciae castellum, castra habentibus Romanis* ‘while the Romans were encamped near Cuballum, a fortress of Galatia’. The identification of this mountain is unclear and the origin of the oronym *kybel-* remains unknown: is it Phrygian, Anatolian or even pre-IE? In any case, the equation of this name with *Kubaba* is impossible in linguistic terms, since it implies *ad hoc* shifts in the labial stop even if a Lyd. intermediary form is considered (contrary to Munn 2006, 120-125 and 2008, 161). Of course, this does not rule out a Gr. syncretism between both mother-goddesses, and its relationship with Κυβέλη / *Cybele* seems obvious despite the convoluted history of this name. The Gr. form Κυβέλη may be an early borrowing of this theonym, since the last -η shows the general loss of intervocalic /j/ and the contraction of the resulting hiatus: -eya > \*-e.a > -η. Then the shift *kubeleya* > Κυβέλη can be equated to Attic Ἀθηναία > Ἀθήνη ‘Athena’. The early diffusion of this theonym in Gr. is assured by the presence of Φυβάλας in Locri Epizephyrii (Calabria, Italy) in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The unique spelling of φυβάλας, instead of the expected \*φυβέλας, can be explained as an adaptation to the north-western dialect of Locri Epizephyrii. Although the inscriptions from the city do not provide another example of ελ > αλ (or of ερ > αρ), it is a common feature of these group of dialects: see Delphian Δαλφοί for Δελφοί (Méndez Dosuna 1985, 397). The

alternative explanation, a dissimilation from Kubaba (the North Syrian Mother-Goddess also found in Lydian as *Kuwawa* and in Herodotus as Κυβήβη), must be refuted in the light of the Phr. form, even though  $\varphi < \upsilon > \beta \acute{\alpha} \beta \alpha \varsigma$  (SEG 49.1357) also occurs in Locri Epizephyrii. The original form with *-eya-* is preserved in two Gr. inscriptions devoted to the goddess:  $\text{Ματρὶ Κυβελείαι}$  in a votive inscription from Bulgaria (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Nessebar Museum, inv. no. 1354, Sharankov 2009, 48 no. 28) and  $\text{Μητρὶ Κυβελείη}$ , in Ionian, in an inscription from Chios (no. 137, undated). Before the Phrygian form *Kubeleya* was known, Robert (1933, 483-484) suggested that the Mother-Goddess worshipped in the inscription from Chios was named after Κυβέλειον, a city of the Erythraean peninsula known by Str. 14.1.33 and St.Byz. 10.245. However, there is a votive inscription from Erythrai which clearly shows that the goddess worshipped there was the Phrygian one:  $\text{Ἡδεῖα Μητρὶ Φρυγίαι}$  ‘Hedeia for the Phrygian Mother’ (Erythrai no. 80). In this scenario, the name of Κυβέλειον is more easily explained as taken from the Phrygian Mother-Goddess.

*Brixhe 1979b; CIPPh I, 47; Brixhe 2002c, 52-53; Oreshko 2013b, 82-86.*

**kubileya** see *kubeleya*.

**kuliyā[-?]** see *kūliyas*.

**kūliyas** (PN)

OPhr. *kuliyā[-?]* G-101

sg.nom. *kūliyas* G-127

Both occurrences of the name are incised on sherds. G-101 is broken and it is impossible to know if there were more letters incised (perhaps *-s*), since a sg.nom. ending *-a* is also possible. Its origin seems to be Luw. in the light of the graffito no. 5 from SURATKAYA read as *ku-li-i(a)* /*kulija*/ by Oreshko (2013a, 361), a simplification of *kwa/i-li-i(a)* /*kwalija*/. This PN also occurs in Cappadocia as *Ku-li-a* (LNH 97 § 612).

*CIPPh I, 95-96 and 117-118; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Draycott & Summers 2006, 73; Brixhe 2013, 58.*

**[-?]-kupolas** (PN)

OPhr. *[-?]-kupolas* G-139

Although the sherd on which this graffito was incised is broken before the first letter, it is very likely to be complete. In any case, *kupolas* seems to be an *a*-stem PN without the ending *-s*, created with the suffix *-lā-*. An alternative interpretation was given by Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 119-120) who considered it the Phrygian word for ‘pot’, referring to the support itself.

*CIPPh I, 127; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 119-120; Neumann 1988, 8; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198.*

**kuryaneyon** (noun) ‘ruler’

OPhr. sg.nom. *kuryaneyon* W-01c

Read after a PN in a text engraved on a cult façade: *ataniyen kuryaneyon tan egertoy*. Ligorio & Lubotsky (2013, 187) considered it a Myc. loanword attested only in alphabetic Gr. as  $\text{κοιρανέων}$  (from  $\text{κοιρανέω}$ ) ‘ruling’, a denominative verb from  $\text{κοίρανος}$ , *-ου* ‘king, ruler, leader, commander, lord’, whose roots goes back to PIE *\*kor-jo-* ‘war, army’ (NIL 440-441, IEW 615-616). Since the Phrygian word does not present the metathesis *\*kori-* >  $\text{κοιρ-}$ , Lubotsky (1988, 23) suggested that the loanword must be taken from Mycenaean times, although it is not attested in this dialect. Indeed, other titles seem to be borrowed from Gr.: *lavagtaei* and *vanaktei*. However, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that it is an inherited word, although this would imply that Phrygian shared with Gr. the formation of denominative verbs in *\*-ey-*. Phr. *kuryaneyon* agrees with *ataniyen* in sg.nom. and seems to be used as a title. Brixhe, on the other hand (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 128), interpreted it as a noun in sg.acc.

*CIPPh I*, 41-42; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 183; Lubotsky 1988, 23-25; Brixhe 1990, 63-64; Janda 1997, 276-277; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80, 86; Brixhe & Summers 2006, 128; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187, 188.

***k↑ianaveyos*** (title or ethnic?)

OPhr. sg.nom. *k↑ianaveyos* M-02  
sg.nom. *kΦiyanaveyos* M-01b

Both occurrences (from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Midas City) qualify the same man: M-01b *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos si=keneman edaes* and M-02 *bba memevais proitavo[s] k↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*. They show that Φ is a variant of ↑, although the sound that this letter represents is still obscure. OPhr. *k↑ianaveyos* seems to be a DN, since it works as a common adj. with the suffix *-yo/a-*. Although the original toponym has often been identified with Tyana (see Vassileva 2008, 167), *CIPPh* (I, 257) rejected this interpretation because of the clear consonantal differences in their beginnings between *Tuwanuwa-* and *kΦiyanaveyos / k↑ianaveyos*. Unfortunately, no clear alternative can be given. The city of Κίος (now Gemlik, a Bithynian city bordering Propontis), with the variant Κιανίς and the ethnic Κιανός, is a tempting possibility (*KON* 266-267 § 520), but it is uncertain. In any case, the unusual beginning seems to show a non-Phrygian origin, and a title cannot be ruled out.

*Brixhe* 1982, 230; *CIPPh I*, 257; *Berndt-Ersöz* 2006, 72.

***kΦiyanaveyos*** see *k↑ianaveyos*.



*la*[---] see *tadaila*[---].

***lagineios*** (PN)

OPhr. masg.sg.nom. *lagineios* G-110  
 fem.sg.nom. [l<sup>7</sup>]agineia G-276

Two variants of the same PN documented on potsherds. The first is an o-stem masc., while [l]agineia seems to be the fem. of *lagineios* G-110, according to *CIPPh* (I, 212-213). It has been considered a genuine Phrygian PN by Brixhe (1983, 122) and Innocente (1997, 40). It can conceivably be the ethnic of the Phr. toponym Λαγεινα, a city located in the modern Ilgın (or, less likely, the Carian Λάγινα, *KON* 323 § 670). The presence of the suffix -eyo- is clear (on this point, see Neroznak 1978, 93, Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198 and Orel 1997a, 440).

*Neroznak 1978, 93; Neumann 1981, 148; Brixhe 1983, 122; CIPPh I, 103-104; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 36 and 120; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Neumann 1988, 7; Brixhe 1993, 339; Innocente 1997, 40; Orel 1997a, 440; Wittke 2004, 202; Anderson 2012, 181; Avram fthc.*

***lavagtaei*** (noun) ‘leader of the people’

OPhr. sg.dat. *lavagtaei* M-01a

A clear noun related to the Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lāwāgetās/, Dor. λαγέτας ‘id.’, in agreement with *midai*, to whom the inscription is dedicated by *ates*: *ates arkiavais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*. Its ending, an athematic sg.dat. as *vanaktei*, is problematic, because an *a*-stem dat. \**lavagetai* would be expected in the light of, e.g., *midai*. The main question is whether this is an error (because of the proximity of *vanaktei*?) or not. Brixhe (1983, 1116) considered that a syncope worked here, and it is not not a loanword from Gr. (against Panagl & Kowal 1983, 193, Lubotsky 1988, 18, Neumann 1988, 16 and Cassola 1997, 145) but rather a shared lexical isogloss with this language. On the other hand, in order to explain this oddity Lubotsky (1988, 18) suggested a borrowing from the Gr. nominative /lāwāgetās/ token as *s*-stem, where the -s in intervocalic position dropped: \**laūagetasei* > *lavagtaei*. However, this is not a satisfactory explanation, since *a*-stem Gr. borrowings are commonly preserved as *a*-stems in Phrygian. Consequently, a mistake may be considered here, although in fragmentary corpora this must always be a last resort. In any case, since it is a compound of the verb \**h<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* ‘to drive, lead’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 255-256, *IEW* 4-51, see a recent revision by Jiménez Delgado 2015), a voiceless stop would be expected in an inherited Phrygian word, so a borrowing is the most plausible explanation.

*Neroznak 1978, 71-72; Brixhe 1983, 116; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 193; CIPPh I, 8; Bayun & Orel 1988c, 134; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 175; Lubotsky 1988, 18; Neumann 1988, 16; Brixhe 1990, 73-76; Brixhe 1993, 340-341; Cassola 1997, 145; Brixhe 2002b, 257; Brixhe 2002c, 63; Brixhe 2004a, 41; Neumann 2005, 548; Sowa 2005, 612; Brixhe 2006, 40; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 72 and 128-129; Gusmani 2006, 16; Woodhouse 2006, 178; Brixhe 2008, 72; Hämmig 2013, 137 fn. 27; Jiménez Delgado 2015.*

***lavoy*** (noun?)

OPhr. sg.dat. *lavoy* W-04

A probable thematic noun sg.dat. Its lexeme has been equated to Gr. λαός ‘people, men, people assembled’ < λαφος (Brixhe 2004a, 41 who considered the preceding sequence *ae* a preposition, which is highly unlikely), a word whose origin is disputed (see *EDG* 832-833). Unfortunately, neither the context nor the segmentation are clear: *ā<sup>7</sup>m<sup>7</sup>op<sup>7</sup>to<sup>7</sup>a<sup>7</sup>iy* • *ā<sup>7</sup>e<sup>7</sup>* *lavoy* • *ue* | *eḡaviy*. However, the alternative readings are *aḡlavoy* and *aglavoy*, although parallels are lacking.

*Brixhe 2004a, 41.*

***lakeaḡ*** see *lakedo*.

**lakedo** (verb) ‘to take’

OPhr. 3sg. impv. med. *la|kedo* W-01b; *lake˘ d˘o* (lapis *lakeao*) B-03?  
 3 sg. ind. aor. act.? *e˘lakes* B-04?

Since *lakedo* W-01b constitutes with *key* a whole imprecative apodosis, *yos esai=st materey eveteksete˘y ovevin onoman daY et, lakedo key venavtun avtay materey*, it is a clear verb in 3sg. impv. med. < \*-(s)d<sup>h</sup>o. Lubotsky (2004, 234-235) equated its root to Gr. λαμβάνω (λαβεῖν) ‘take hold of, grasp, seize’, going back to PIE \*sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>- ‘id.’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 566, IEW 958). Segmentations such as *la-ke-dokey* are ungrounded and must be rejected (see, e.g., LIPP II, 133). The other two adduced occurrences are highly doubtful. Indeed, *lake˘ d˘o* (B-03) is read as *lakeao*, but because this kind of vocalic sequence in Phr. is unexpected Lubotsky considered here an erroneous stroke in the supposed <d>. A possible argument to support this interpretation is that B-03 could appear in another imprecative apodosis (as well as in W-01b): *yosyos yenvra | etitevtevey me.oun lakeao | [-?-]*. Furthermore, the form *e˘lakes* (B-04) is also problematic because of the reading difficulties (few strokes persist of the first letter) and the lack of parallels. However, this sequence strongly recalls *lakedo* and fits as its active aor. (note the probable augment and its ending *-es* < \*-e-s-t). However, its context remains obscure and this possibility must be taken as a working hypothesis until a definitive explanation can be given: *ba˘to˘antē | e˘lakēs˘ b˘ra˘terais pa˘triyio˘is˘ k(e)*. Lubotsky 1988, 20-21; Brixhe 1990, 69 and 91; Janda 1997, 273-275; Brixhe 2004a, 41; Lubotsky 2004, 234-235; Matzinger 2006, 201-202; Sowa 2007a, 78.

**lakedokey** see *lakedo*.

**λαπτα** (adj.)

NPhr. sg.nom. *λαπτα* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4

Although this sequence is unparalleled, according to Brixhe (2004a, 19-209) it is a probable adj. with the suffix \*-to in fem., similar to *bilata* or *omasta*. Its root remains unknown. In its doubtful context, it seems to qualify the word *μοτις: βλασκον κε τακρις κε λουν|ιου μοτις λαπτα ματι αιινουν...*

Brixhe 2004a, 19-20; Sowa 2007a, 91.

**λατομειον** (noun) ‘grave’

NPhr. sg.acc. *λατομειον* 11.2 (18)

This word is very likely a borrowing from Gr. λατομείον (also spelled λατόμιον and λατομής) ‘stone-quarry’ (according to Woodhouse 2006, 182). The meaning ‘grave’ is often used in funerary inscriptions from Perinthos (see, e.g., IG II<sup>2</sup> 13218 or CIG 2032). It is a very good fit with the Phr. occurrence since it appears in a protasis: *ιος νι ουκραον λατομειον εγδαεσ μουσα...* Although this term is not recorded in Anatolia by Kubińska (1968), it is very likely attested in a badly preserved Gr. imprecative protasis of the NPhr. inscription 56.3 (64, as Calder 1911, 210-211 suggested), *τίς τοῦτ[ο ---] | λατομ[ῖον ---]|νων...* Note also that the Gr. inscription Strubbe 1997, no. 399 (from Perinthos), in which this word also occurs, was made by a Christian man from Phrygia.

Woodhouse 2006, 182.

**lelavo** see *leravo*.

**leravo** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.gen.? *leravo* or *lelavo* W-10

Although the reading and the meaning of the whole text are not at all clear, this word appears to be a PN, as do many other words in this inscription: *atai edae lel/ravo | vi↑e atevo atoios...* However, it remains unparalleled. Its ending has been adduced by Brixhe, in many papers, as

one of the clearest occurrences of the gen. ending \*-μο in Phrygian (as well as *atevo* in the same inscription).

*CIPPh I*, 54-55; *Brixhe 1990*, 96-97; *Brixhe 2004a*, 51; *Brixhe 2006*, 42-43; *Brixhe 2008*, 76.

**λετ<sup>?</sup>[---]** (PN?)

NPhr. *λετ<sup>?</sup>[---]* G-266

Incised on a potsherd, this fragmentary graffito is only accompanied by two nonverbal marks. Although only one of the three remaining letters can be confidently read (note that Roller 1987a, 41 read *la[---]*), it is very likely the beginning of a PN, as is often the case in this sort of text. Unfortunately, no parallel can be adduced.

**λευκις** (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom. *λευκις* 11.2 (18)

OPhr. sg.dat. *λευκιωι* 11.2 (18)

A Gr. PN, *Λεύκιος*, well attested across the Gr. world (with many instances from Phrygia). In Phr. (as well as in Gr.), this PN is an *o*-stem, as its dat. shows. Nevertheless, its nom. has the spelling *ι* for *ιο*, common in Gr. inscriptions from Roman Phrygia (see *Brixhe 1987a*, 49-50) and also attested in the NPhr. subcorpus (see *ις* instead of *ιος*). The spelling *λευκις* for *Λεύκιος* also occurs in the Gr. inscription *MAMA IX* List 189, p. 306.

*Orel 1997a*, 82, 83 and 441; *Woodhouse 2006*, 170; *Avram fthc. a*.

**λευκιωι** see *λευκις*.

**λοδιμον** (noun or adj.?)

NPhr. sg.acc. *λο|διμον* 16.1 (116)

Since it agrees with *μειομον* in a sequence of several words referring to parts of the monument in acc., *δετογ [ο<sup>?</sup>υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν κνονυμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λο|διμον μειομον ριδιτι*, its case is clear, although its specific meaning and lexical category remain obscure. *Orel (1997a, 441)* considered it a noun and, in the light of his reading *λο[ι]|διμον*, equated it to the Lithuanian *laidoti* 'bury' and *laidymas* 'grave' < \**loid<sup>(h)</sup>-īmos*. However, his reading (and, by extension, his interpretation) is ungrounded.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985*, 172; *Orel 1997a*, 441.

**λογγιου** (noun?)

MPhr. sg.gen.? *λογγ|ιου* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3-4

An unparalleled, obscure word in an unclear sequence: *βλασκον κε τακρις κε λογγιου μροτις λαπτα ματι αιινουν...*

*Brixhe 2004a*, 19.

**luk** (PN?)

OPhr. *luk* G-290

Since it is a complete graffito incised on a potsherd, it can very likely be considered an abbreviated PN. However, no parallel can be adduced.

*Brixhe 2002a*, 50-51.



## 𐌆 (*m*) - M μ

### *m*<sup>1</sup> (mark)

OPhr. *m* G-332

Isolated letter incised on a potsherd as an owner's mark. It is perhaps the initial of a PN.

*Brixhe 2002a, 86.*

### *m*<sup>2</sup> (?)

OPhr. *m* G-204

Incised on a potsherd between more enigmatic letters and short sequences segmented by blanks: [---]ḍa alu m s [-?-]. The whole inscription remains unexplained.

*CIPPh I, 168.*

### *magō*<sup>?</sup>[---] (title) 'magus'?

OPhr. *magō*<sup>?</sup>[---] B-108

Incised on two adjacent potsherds, this damaged sequence is preceded by a PN: *saragis* :<sup>?</sup> *magō*<sup>?</sup>[---]. Consequently, Gusmani (in Gusmani & Polat 1999a) suggested that it was a patronymic. However, as Brixhe (2004a, 93) notes, it could also be the addressee in dat., since its ending is lost. Although there is no parallel in the Phrygian corpus and its fragmentation necessitates caution in any identification, since a man called Σαγάριος / *sgr* in the Gr.-Aramaic bilingual inscription from Faraşa became "magus of Mithra" (see Lipiński 1975a, 176) and the potsherd B-108 is dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (when Phrygian was under Persian domination), *magō*<sup>?</sup>[s] is very likely the well-known priest title magus in sg.nom., see OPers. *maguš*, Baby. *magus*, Av. *moyu-* and Gr. μάγος. For further information and parallels, see *saragis*. *Gusmani & Polat 1999a; Brixhe 2004a, 93.*

### μαγ<sup>?</sup>ρε (noun) 'part of the tomb'?

NPhr. sg.dat. μαγ<sup>?</sup>ρε 19.2 (129)

Read in a common NPhr. apodosis, this unparalleled word must be a fem. noun since it is placed instead of the common κνουμανει in agreement with the pronoun σα: ιος νι σα μαγ<sup>?</sup>ρε κακον αββε|ρετοι αινι σερ<sup>?</sup>λοα... It is true that the alternative reading ματ|ρε provides a known Phrygian word, but it is not a good fit in this context because it is expected to refer the funerary monument or a part of it. Also ματ|ρε, without parallels, was adduced by the editors. Taking into account the first reading, Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2011, 165-166) equated it to Gr. μάκτρα 'bath-tub, sarcophagus', a simplification of μάκτρα 'kneading-trough and bath-tub, sarcophagus', and settled on the conclusion of a borrowing from Gr. Despite their explanations and the attractiveness of this meaning, the presence of a voiced stop is problematic and, worse still, the stone block does not seem to belong to a sarcophagus. Moreover, the etymology of the Gr. word is unclear (see EDG 910-911 μάσσω) and although it has been suggested to be the same MPhr. word as μακραν (MPhr-01), spelled differently for unknown reasons, this divergence is unparalleled. On the other hand, Kubińska (1968, 51) showed that the use of this Gr. word in Anatolia is restricted to Cilicia. Consequently, this word remains unexplained.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165-166.*

### μαιμαρηαν (noun) 'memorial chapel, shrine'

NPhr. sg.acc. μαιμαρηαν 40.3 (31)

It is read in a sentence in which the details of the building of the funerary monument are recorded: μανκαν ιαν εσταεσ βρατερε μαιμαρηαν. It is clearly an *a*-stem fem. word in sg.acc. The common opinion is that this is an adj. parallel to Gr. μαρμάρεος, α, ον 'flashing, gleaming, of marble'. In this case, the adj. agrees with the noun μανκαν. Although the primary meaning of

Gr. μάρμαρος was ‘stone’, with a secondary meaning ‘marble, crystalline rock’ through folk etymology which equated it to μαρμαίρω ‘flash, sparkle, gleam’, Neumann (1986, 80-81) rejected this interpretation because the stele is not made of marble. Instead, he considered it a borrowing from Lat. *memoriam*, since the sequence could be read as /memarian/ (due to itacism). The weakness of the original hypothesis, then (the Phr. word could keep the meaning ‘stone’), is compounded by the hesitation μαί- ~ μαρ-, which Ramsay (1905, 89) considered a possible engraver’s mistake, and the distance in the text between μανκαν and μαιμαρηαν. Moreover, this Lat. word also occurs as μεμόριον ‘memorial chapel, shrine’ in Gr. epitaphs from Anatolia. See, e.g., Ramsay 1897, 736 no. 672 (from Prymnessos, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD): Ἀβίρκιος | Πορφυρίου διάκων κατεσκεύασα | τὸ μεμόριον | ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ | συμβίῳ μου | Θρευπρεπίῃ | κὲ τοῖς τέκνοις ‘I, Avircius son of Profirios, deacon, made this memorial chapel for myself and my wife Threuprepia and for my children’. In the light of this, Neumann’s alternative is defensible (see also Avram 2016, 126-127). According to this new hypothesis, μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν means ‘stele which (he) erected for (his) brother as memorial’.

Ramsay 1905, 89; Calder 1991, 180; Kowal 1984b, 183; Neumann 1986a, 80-81; Brixhe 1999, 301; Woodhouse 2006, 160 fn. 9; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184; Avram 2016, 126-127.

### **makiotaTibi** (?)

OPhr. *makiotaTibi* P-106

Very obscure sequence incised on a potsherd, segmented by interpunctuations: [---].ti : makio<sup>?</sup>taTibi ÷ .[---]. The discussed value of the letters (the unclear T and the 8-shaped <b>), as well as the lack of parallels, hinders any interpretation. It has been interpreted very tentatively as two PN by some scholars (e.g., Orel 1997a, 442 and 460): *makio taTibi*. In any case, it remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 250; Orel 1997a, 305-306, 442 and 460; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 159-161, 181; Brixhe 2004a, 31.

### **m<sup>?</sup>akeres** (noun)

OPhr. pl.nom. *m<sup>?</sup>akeres* HP-114

Despite the lack of parallels, its presence in the administrative clay tablet from Persepolis points to a noun. As well as the other nouns on the tablet, it is accompanied by a numeral: i<sup>?</sup>v<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>i 40<sup>?</sup> knaykē<sup>?</sup> | .<sup>?</sup> 40<sup>?</sup> m<sup>?</sup>akeres 40<sup>?</sup>. Although, its meaning and etymology remain unknown, in the light of other texts from the Fortification Archive it can perhaps be interpreted as a reference to specialised workers or to animals such as goats or sheep. The first possibility was suggested by Diakonoff & Neroznak (1985, 121) and is more likely because of the presence of women (knaykē<sup>?</sup>[s]) in the same text. Then, it could be a deverbative noun derived from PIE \*meh<sub>2</sub>ǵ- (MoHG *machen*, OS *makōn* ‘to make, erect, build’ and OCS *mazati* ‘to smear, salve’, perhaps also Gr. μᾶσσω ‘to knead’, EDG 910-911). However, it remains unclear, although it seems to share an ending with *daker* (B-05) / δακαρ (pl.nom. 16.1 δ[α]||κερης), a noun derived from the verbal root *dāk-* < PIE \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k- with the suffix \*-ēr- / -er-. A relationship with Gr. μάκαρ ‘blessed, happy, blissful’ (considered Pre-Gr. by Beekes in EDG 893, see also DELG 659) cannot be ruled out, although it is difficult to defend and the prehistory of this Greek word has yet to be determined. Brixhe 2004a, 125.

### **μακραν** (noun or adj.?) ‘long’ or ‘tomb’?

MPhr. sg.acc. μακραν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3

Read on a funerary stele, in an obscure sentence: ποκρατου κη γλουρεος γαμενουγ σα σοροι ματι μακραν... Because of its similarity, Brixhe (2004a, 18) equated it to Gr. μακρός, ἄ, ὄν ‘long’. However, it does not qualify anything unless we consider ματι to be a noun in sg.acc. Alternatively, Brixhe also equated it to Gr. μάκρα ‘bath-tub, sarcophagus’ (simplification of ‘kneading-trough, bathing-tub, mortar’). If this were the case, μακραν could be related to μαγ<sup>?</sup>|ρε (19.2 = 129), but the difference between the voiceless and the voiced stops is unsatisfactory (pace Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165-166).

Brixhe 2004a, 18; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165-166.

**mama** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *mama* G-173

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito contains an *a*-stem PN in nom. It is a clear Lallanme, which is very common in Gr. inscriptions from the whole of Asia Minor (see Μαμ(μ)α KPN 281-282, § 850).

CIPPh I, 151; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 442; Brixhe 2008, 79.

**mami** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *mami* G-274 a

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito is PN in nom. without the ending -s, a variant of *mamas* type. It has sometimes been read as *iman* (e.g. Orel 1997a, 244) but it does not fit with the strokes of the first (or last) letter. It is also attested in Gr. inscriptions from Isauria as Μαμμις (KPN 284 § 850-13).

CIPPh I, 211; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198.

**mamutas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *mamutas* G-229 (bis)

Incised on the handle of a pot, this PN appears at the beginning of the two lines of the inscription (which appear to rhyme): *mamutas sokposa | mamutas itoiesgloka*. It is thought to be of Anatolian origin. Indeed, it can be analysed as *ma-mutas*, where *-mutas* follows a Luwic form \**muwata-* 'might, potency', which is very common in the Anatolian onomastics (see Melchert 2013, 34). An exact parallel is found in Μαμοτης (from Lycia, Cau 2003), although there are some variants, including Μαμουσις (Cilicia, KPN 286 § 854), Μαμωτασις and Μαμοτασις (Pisidia, KPN 286 § 854-1 and 3). Nevertheless, OPhr. *mamutas* can also be considered an ethnic in the light of Μαμουτηνός (SERP 319,2 l. 71, 73 and 76, KON 363 § 761).

CIPPh I, 184; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 226 and 442; Lubotsky 1998, 420, fn. 23; Neumann 1988, 17; Brixhe 1993, 339; Innocente 1997, 35; Wittke 2004, 200; Brixhe 2008, 79; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 194.

**mane** see *manes*.

**μανεις** see *manes*.

**manes** (PN)

OPhr. nom. *manes* B-07

nom. *mane* Dd-103

acc. *manīn* B-07

gen. *manitos* B-07

NPhr. nom. *μανεις* 43.1 (69)

Masc. PN with different nominatives: with or without the nom. ending -s and εἰ instead of *e* (due to Gr. itacism or levelling from other forms?). With the exception of the nominative, its paradigm follows the *i*-stem inflexion, where the gen. takes a dental shape, as illustrated by *artimitos* and *urgitos*. It is well attested in Gr. inscriptions as Μανης and Μανις/Μανεις, Μανιτους (KPN 290-291 § 858-4, in literary sources as Μάνης). It also occurs in Lyd. as *manes* (see Gusmani 1964, 163), in Carian as *mane* (see Adiego 2007, 381) and in Aramaic as *mny* (in the bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription from Sardis, see Lipiński 1975, 159). Its origin is unknown. KPN 290-291 § 858-4; Neroznak 1978, 86; Masson 1987a, 111-112; Orel 1997a, 443; Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 156; Brixhe 2004a, 77-78 and 127; Brixhe 2006, 40; Brixhe & Summers 2006, 125; Brixhe 2008b, 74; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189.

**μανισου** (PN)

NPhr. μανισου 41.3 (31)

A clear but unparalleled PN in gen. used as a patronymic: πουκρος μανισ[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν. It is very likely a variant of *manes*.

*manin* see μανεις.*manitos* see μανεις.**μανκα** (noun) ‘stele’

MPhr. sg.nom. μανκα MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1

NPhr. sg.dat. μανκα 3.1 (97), 11.2 (18), 31.1 (29), 36.1 (26), 64.1 (81)

sg.dat. μανκαι 4.1 (2), 17.2 (3), 43.1 (69), 60.2 (60), 62.4 (35)

sg.acc. μανκαν 2.1 (15), 11.2 (18), 41.3 (31); μ&lt;α&gt;νκαν 22.1 (9)

sg.dat. μ[ανκ]ε 17.5 (91)?

sg.dat. μανκης 8.1 (86)

A clear *a*-stem fem. noun. Note that the sg.dat. μανκα drops the second element of the long diphthong -αι > -α, preserved in μανκαι. These two forms are well attested in the protases of the NPhr. imprecations. See, e.g., ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ (64.1) or αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα (11.2). Despite its ending (considered a sg.gen. influenced by Gr. according to Brixhe (1983, 119) and Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189), the form μανκης, which occurs in the same position, must be understood as a sg.dat. (with confusion with the gen.?): ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]|μανι κακουν αδδ[α]|κετ αινι μανκης. The same can be said for the dubious μ[ανκ]ε, where, if the restitution is accepted, the letter ε appears as a result of the Gr. influence, since in this language αι often appears as ε (e.g. the common καί > κέ ‘and’). The sg.nom. is clearly attested in MPhr-01, where it agrees with the adj. μεκας: μανκα μεκας σας κιων εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν. Finally, the acc. forms occur in non-imprecatory parts of NPhr. epitaphs: [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδ|α μανκα|ν μιμογαδισ ακενικου οκαυγοσι... (11.2), δεκμουταις κινο[υ]|μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια... (22.1), Αδιθρερακ | Ξευνεοι αδικεσει αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν... (41.3), σ[ε]σταμ|ξεναν μανκαν αμι|ασιαν... (2.1). Its root seems to be derived from the PIE root \**men-* ‘remain’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 437, IEW 729) in lengthened grade: \**mēn-* > μαν-. However, the presence of the suffix -ka has not been explained. On the other hand, the relationship with μανικά in Plu. *De Isis et Osiris* 360b, suggested by Haas (1966, 67), a clear adj. in pl.neut.nom.-acc., must be ruled out because this adduced word is derived from the PN Μάνης. Similarly, an interpretation in the light of Lat. *manus* ‘hand’, which has been given to explain *manuka* (see Brixhe 2004a, 81) cannot be accepted because it goes back to a PIE vocalism \**mon-u-* (according to de Vaan 2008, 363) that is incompatible with Phr., and *manuka* is better explained as a PN.

Haas 1966, 67; Brixhe 1983, 119; Brixhe 1993, 331; Orel 1997a, 443; Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 157-158; Brixhe 2004a, 13-14; Vine 2010, 352; Woodhouse 2006, 160 fn. 9; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183 and 189.

**μανκαι, μανκαν, μανκε, and μανκης** see μανκα.**manuka** (PN)OPhr. sg.nom. *manuka*

The form *manuka* appears in a Greco-Persian funerary stele from Daskyleion (the seat of the Persian satrapy of Hellepontic Phrygia): [.]gat : s=manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy est[...].es va knais manuka odeketoy. Although it has been considered a variant of the noun *manka* ‘stele’ and the object (pl.acc.neut.) of the verb *odeketoy* (Brixhe 2004a, 81), this explanation cannot be substantiated because of the unexpected -u-. Taking into account the location of the

inscription, it is more plausible to consider *manuka* an OP PN also found in the administrative clay tablets from Persepolis as *Manukka* (see Schmitt 1973, 17-19 and Mayrhofer 1973, 189 s.v.). Then, *va knais manuka* means ‘his [= Manes] wife Manukka’.

*Brixhe 2004a, 81.*

### μας (DN)

NPhr. sg.nom. μας 1.1 (48)

A DN equated to Gr. Μήν, the Moon God, by Janda (in Lubotsky 1997, 122 fn. 10). It is read in a short list of three words, where it agrees with the ethnic *τεμποροειος; μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμποροειος κε πουντας βας κε ενσταρνα*. The name of this god seems to go back to PIE *\*méh<sub>1</sub>ns* (its root is *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘measure’, *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 424-425, *IEW* 703-704), a parallel formation to the Skt. *Mās* or the Iranian *Ma*. However, Phr. μας form cannot go back to μας, because an ending *-ais* is expected from *\*-ns* (see the pl.acc. ending). Therefore, one must assume that μας is a secondary *a*-stem extended from the sg.acc.

*Lubotsky 1997, 122 fn. 10.*

### ḡasa (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. ḡasa K-01 VI-VIIa1

Masculine *a*-stem PN in sg.nom read on the fragmented stele from Kerkenes Dağ: (*ḡasa u|rgitos dakor s=vebra[---]* ‘Masa the son of Urgitos makes<sup>2</sup> this *vebra*-...’. Its origin is clearly Anatolian: <sup>m</sup>Masa is already attested in Hitt. (*LNH* 115 § 770, see also <sup>m</sup>masa-muwa *LHN* 115 § 771) and its etymology is perhaps to be found in the Luwic word *massan-* ‘god’, attested in CLuw. *mašša(i)-*, HLuw. *DEUS-n(i)-* (= /massan(i)-/?), Lyc. *mahan(a)-* and, perhaps, Carian *msn-* in the PN *msnord-* (on it see Adiego 2007, 385). It also occurs in Gr. inscriptions from Roman times in Pisidia/Southern Phrygia, Lycia, Galatia and, recently, in Cicilia (see *KPN* 300 § 875 and *Lafli* 2017, 166).

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 125.*

### matar (noun and DN) ‘mother’

OPhr. sg.nom. matar W-04, W-06, B-01; [mata]r B-08

maṭe[...] W-05b

maṭe[---] M-01c

sg.acc. materan M-01dI, W-01a; matera[n<sup>?</sup>] M-01d II?

sg.dat. materey M-01e, W-01b (*bis*)

NPhr. sg.nom. ματαρ 11.2 (18)

A clear fem. *r*-stem noun inherited from PIE *\*méh<sub>2</sub>tēr* ‘id.’, attested in Gr. μήτηρ (Dor. μάτηρ), Lat. *māter*, Vedic *mātā* (*mātāras*), Arm. *mayr*, etc. A particularity of its inflexion is that the dat. form shows levelling of the *e*-grade of the suffix from the acc. The occurrence of M-01dII is very fragmented, but because of the last *a* it is very likely a sg.acc.: *matera[n ---] | avi[---]*. Moreover, *maṭe[---] M-01c* is ambiguous and only a sg.nom. can be ruled out, while *maṭe[...]* W-05b is expected to be sg.acc. or sg.dat. (see *Lubotsky 2017, 430*). It should be noted that in most instances this word is used in reference to the Mother-Goddess and is often followed by an epithet: *matar kubileya W-04*, *matar kubeleya B-01* (also [mata]r *kūbeleya [a ---]* in B-08), *materan areyastin W-01a* and *materey eveteksetey W-01b*. It is possible that only the NPhr. occurrence is used as the common noun for mother, where it appears in a funerary context close to PNs: *λευκις μιμογας κε {ε} ματαρ ευγεξα|ρνα...* Finally, according to *Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189)*, before the reading problems encountered with the last word of the first line in 19.2 (129), they read *ματ[ε]ρε*, a dat. of *matar*. However, its context is an imprecative protasis in which terms referring to parts of the tombs are expected. So, despite the lack of parallels, the reading *ματ[ε]ρε* (given by *Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2011, 165-166*) is still defensible.

*Orel 1997a, 443; Gorbachov 2005, 197; Matzinger 2005, 378; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189; Lubotsky 2017, 430.*

*mater[---]*, *matera[---]* and *materan* see *matar*.

†*ματ[ε]ρε* see *μαγ<sup>2</sup>ρε* and *matar*.

*materey* see *matar*.

**ματι** (noun or adj.?)

MPhr. ? ματι MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3 and l. 4

sg.acc. ματιν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5

An *i*-stem noun, which occurs twice in an obscure epitaph: ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενουγ σα σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λουγγιου μοτις λαπτα ματι αιουνου : νικοστρατος κλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις μο|.κρος υταν... While *ματιν* is a clear sg.acc., the form *ματι* is problematic. While an ending is expected, in l. 3, it seems to agree with *μακραν* and perhaps an acc. *-n* is lost before the following stop by assimilation. However, a sg.nom. without *-s* cannot be ruled out. Its origin, as well as its meaning, remains unknown. It is possible that the same word occurs in ↑*ekmatin* (B-06).

*Brixhe 2004a, 18.*

**ματιν** see *ματι*.

**ma.[.]as** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. ma.[.]as G-202

This graffito incised on a potsherd is very likely an *a*-stem personal name. The reading *mavas* given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 189) is ungrounded and was later replaced by *ματ[ο]as* (Orel 1997a, 215 and 443), which was equated to PNs such as *Μαρας*, *Μαρεις*, *Μαρευς* and *Μαρεας*, a stem found elsewhere in Anatolia (KPN 297 § 873-5 - § 873-7). However, the reading cannot be corroborated.

*CIPPh I, 167; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 215 and 443.*

**ma.<sup>?</sup>[.]mas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. ma.<sup>?</sup>[.]mas G-202

The loss of the central letters of this graffito incised on a potsherd makes it difficult to interpret. However, it is very likely an *a*-stem PN, although no parallel can be adduced. The readings *mayas* (Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198) and *ματ[ο]as* (Orel 1997a, 215) are ungrounded, especially the former.

*CIPPh I, 167; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 215.*

**mq[...]*u*η** (noun)

OPhr. sg.acc. mq[...]*u*η HP-102

Although its central letters are lost (the proposed completions of Gusmani 1988 and Orel 1997a, 135 are not defensible) and it is a hapax, it is very likely a masc. or neuter noun in sg.acc because of its position and the clear ending. It perhaps refers to the support (a vase) offered by a man called *Midas* to *Aiasa(s)*: *midas aiasay mq[...]*u*η*.

*Gusmani 1988; Orel 1996; Orel 1997a, 135-137; Brixhe 2004a, 106-108.*

**μδους** see *μδυει*.

**μδυει** (noun) part of the monument

NPhr. sg.nom. μδους 43.1 (69)?  
sg.dat. μδυει 14.1 (73)

A fem. *u*-stem noun. Given its position in 14.1, a common protasis (ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιγι σας μδυει), it must refer to a part of the funerary monument. However, its precise meaning remains unknown. In 43.1 the context is less clear but is totally different (an enumeration of people related to the monument), and the very presence of this word has been questioned by a new reading proposed by Hämmig (fthc. a): Σ<sup>1</sup>INEM<sup>2</sup>A<sup>3</sup>|ΔΟΤ<sup>2</sup>Ε<sup>2</sup> instead of εινεα μδους,... In any case, regarding the origin of this word, Haas (1966, 78) suggested a borrowing from Lyd. *mru*- ‘stele’ (on this point, see Gusmani 1964, 168-169). This meaning is highly compatible with the context and the spelling may indicate a borrowing (from an Anatolian language?). In 43.1 (69), μανκαι refers to the stele itself, a fact we can use to rule out the occurrence of μδυ- occurs in these inscriptions. This possibility would only be defensible in 14.1 (73, found in the western NPhr. area). In any case, the Lyd. *mru*- perhaps occurs in Phrygian as μρο(ς) in 29.1 (114).

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 179; Hämmig fthc. a.*

**με<sup>1</sup>** (preposition) ‘before, in the sight of, among’

NPhr. με 3.1 (97), 10.1 (112), 10.2 (113), 16.1 (116), 17.2 (3), 17.6 (119), 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6), 19.1 (96), 20.2 (128), 21.1 (42), 27.1 (92)?, 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124), 66.1 (103)?, 19.2 (129).

A preposition inherited from PIE *\*me-* (LIPP II, 494, documented in Gr. μετά and μέχρι). It governs dat. and occurs in the common formula με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε ‘in the sight of gods and men’, found in imprecatory apodoses. Parallels of this formula in other languages confirm its meaning (see Obrador-Cursach fthc.): Gr. παρά θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ‘id.’ and HLuw. DEUS-*na-za* | CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* \*366-*na-na* ‘id.’. It must be added that in 21.1 it has been identified as postposition, although Hämmig has withdrawn this following her new reading. Finally, while this form has traditionally been identified as a preverb in positions like μεβερετ, it is now better explained as the prohibitive particle (see *me<sup>2</sup>*).

*Brixhe 1979a, 184-188; Brixhe 1997, 53-55; Orel 1997a, 443; Lubotsky 1998, 420; Obrador-Cursach fthc.; LIPP II, 494.*

**me<sup>2</sup>** (prohibitive particle) ‘not’

OPhr. *me* B-05 l. 12, B-07

NPhr. με 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86), 11.2 (18)

Prohibitive particle which goes back to PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* (LIPP II, 511-512), documented in Gr. μή, Arm. *mi*, Skt. *mā*, OP *mā*, Av. *mā*, ToAB *mā*, and, perhaps Alb. *mo*. It is always found in apodoses where the verb is in subj. instead of imperative, without negative: B-05 *tubnuv nevos me deritoy...*, B-07 *me kos anivaYeti (i)s maniñ*, 7.1 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος, 7.2 & 8.1 Βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ and 11.2 βε<κ>οις ιοι με τοτοσσ’ ευγισαρναν (or τοτοσσειτι σαρναν). Since it is considered that all PIE *\*ē* and *\*eh<sub>1</sub>* become *a* in Phrygian, this particle has been identified as a preverb, documented as the preposition με (see με<sup>1</sup>), which contrasts with Haas’ (1966) previous identification (see Hämmig fthc. a and Obrador-Cursach fthc. on the new definition). Consequently, it must be considered that not all PIE *\*eh<sub>1</sub>* yield Phr. *ā*. The same problem is found in the ending of the adverb *kake(y)* / *κακε* (see § 4.1.2.2.3.). Finally, note that 7.2 με κε can be equated to Gr. μητε ‘and not’.

*Haas 1960, 27; Haas 1970, 65; Brixhe 2004a, 84; Hämmig 2013, 143 fn. 36; LIPP II, 512; Hämmig fthc. a.; Obrador-Cursach fthc. a*

**me<sup>3</sup>** (PN?)

OPhr. *me* G-242

A complete graffito incised on a potsherd, perhaps an abbreviated PN.

*CIPPh I, 191; Orel 1997a, 232 and 444.*

†**μεβερετ** see *me<sup>2</sup>* and *αββερετ*.

†**mederitoy** see *me<sup>2</sup>* and *deritoy*.

**μειομον** (noun or adj.?)

NPhr. sg.acc. *μειομον* 16.1 (116) l.

This word agrees with *λοδιμον* in a list of parts of the monument: *δετογ [υ]|ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν | κνουμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λοδιμον μειομον ριδιτι...* One of two words (*λοδιμον* or *μειομον*) must be a noun and the other its adjective, but this identification is difficult to resolve without more parallels of the words.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 167.*

**μεκα**, *mekā[---]*, *mekaiš[-?]* and **μεκαν** see *mekas*.

**mekas** (adj.) 'big, great'

OPhr. sg.nom. *mekā[---]* B-05

pl.dat or pl. acc.? *mekaiš[-?]* G-239

sg.nom. *mekas* M-05, G-111, P-03, P-04c, G-147; *mekas* B-05

MPhr. sg.nom. *μεκας* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1

NPhr. sg.dat. *μεκα* 35.1 (25)

sg.acc. *μεκ|αν* 2.2 (130)

Adj. inherited from PIE *\*meg-h<sub>2</sub>-* 'big, great' (*NIL* 468-478, *IEW* 708-709). The sg.nom. form has developed an ending *-s*, as well as in Gr. *μέγας* 'id.'. This case is the most attested by far and is used to qualify objects (*μανκα μεκας σας* MPhr-01), gods (*devos ke mekas* P-03) and people (*apelan mekas* M-05). On the other hand, the sg.acc. *μεκαν* shows a levelling in *e*-grade from the sg.nom., and is attested once: *μεκαν τιαν* 2.2. The sg.dat. is identified because of the concordance with a restored DN (according to a comparison with 2.2, see Obrador-Cursach 2016) *μεκα | τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου*. The problematic pl.dat. or acc. *mekaiš[-?]* G-239 (see Brixhe 2004a, 41-42, see also Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 187) incised on a potsherd has lost the probable noun which it agrees with, but it shows that the Phrygian word does not present the suffix *\*-lo-* introduced in Gr. (*μεγαλο-*, *μεγαλή*) and, perhaps, in Go. (*mikils*). Finally the form *mekā[---]* is not clear because of the loss of the final letters. It is common to find that this word refers to (a part of) the monument (see, e.g., Brixhe 2004, 14 and Avram 2015, 212 fn. 82), however, this interpretation is not longer defensible (see Obrador-Cursach 2016).

*Orel 1997a, 444; Brixhe 2004a, 14; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 187 & 211; Brixhe 2004, 41-42; Woodhouse 2006, 161; Avram 2015, 212 fn. 82; Obrador-Cursach 2016.*

†**mekos** see *me<sup>2</sup>* and *kos*.

†**mem** see *memevais*.

**memevais** (patronymic) 'son of Mem-'

OPhr. sg.nom. *memevais* M-01b, M-02

sg.nom. *memeuis* T-02b

All occurrences follow PNs: *baba memevais* M-01b, *bba memevais* M-02 and *tumida memeuis* T-02b. It is therefore considered a patronymic derived from a PN (unattested, but perhaps a variant of *mama*) through the suffix *-evan-* found also in *arkiaevais* and *kanutievais*, where their nominatives are suggested to have evolved from *\*-evan-s* > *\*-evais*. The explanation of *mem-* as a "hyperemphatisch" particle (*LIPP* II, 505) is refuted by the systematic contexts of onomastic

formulae. Finally, note that the variant *memeuis* found in Tyana shows the common Luw. contraction \**uwa* > *u* (on it, see Rieken 2001). Note also that ⟨*u*⟩ is used here instead of ⟨*v*⟩. *Neroznak* 1978, 72, 73 and 85; *Brixhe* 1984, 266; *Brixhe & Neumann* 1985, 180; *Lubotsky* 1988, 17; *Innocente* 1997, 40; *Brixhe* 2004a, 12; *Wittke* 2004, 199; *Ligorio & Lubotsky* 2013, 187.

***memeuis*** see *memevais*.

***meros*** (noun)

OPhr. sg.nom.-acc. *meros* B-07

MPhr. sg.nom.-acc. *μιρος* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5

NPhr. sg.dat.? *μιρου* 16.1 (116) l. 10

All occurrences of this noun occur on funerary stelae: *va knais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is...* B-07, *νικοστρατος | κλυμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις...* W-17 and *ονομανιας μιρου ικ[.] | κναικαν εδαεξ...* 16.1 (116). However, the contexts are not clear enough to illustrate its meaning. In any case, note that the hesitation /*e*/ ~ /*i*/ is not unusual in Phr. (see § 4.1.1). Finally, we must acknowledge a possible derivative adj. from this word: *mireyun*.

*Brixhe & Neumann* 1985, 179; *Brixhe* 2004a, 81-82; *Simon* 2014a, 145-146 fn. 10.

***meṛ'oun*** (noun?)

OPhr. sg.acc.? *meṛ'oun* B-03

The dubious letter could be read as ⟨*l*⟩, but no parallel can be adduced to corroborate it. Its context, perhaps a curse, is not clearer: *yosyos yenvṛa etitevtevey me.oun laked'ṛ | [-?]-*.

*CIPPh* I, 71; *Lubotsky* 1993b, 96 fn. 2.

***mey'*** (PN)

OPhr. *mey'* G-345

Complete graffito incised on a potsherd from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which is very likely an abbreviated PN. The reading of its last letter is problematic: its shape X can be explained in at least two ways and the sequence is unparalleled in Phrygian. According to *Brixhe* (2002a, 9-99), it could be a Gr. chi (χ) and, consequently, this graffito would be one of the earliest occurrences of the Gr. alphabet used to write the Phrygian language. If this were the case, the use of an aspirated letter would be merely graphical and could stand for a voiceless velar stop. This is why it has been related to and derived to the adj. *mekas* by *Brixhe*. See the very suitable parallel of the Gr. PN Μέγας, -α. Nevertheless, it is more plausibly explained as an occurrence (the last) of the Phrygian yod, with the same shape found in B-06, despite being an earlier text and found far from Gordion). If this were the case, we could be dealing with the abbreviation of a PN such as *Μειλας* (found in Pisidia and Phrygia, *KPN* 307 §888-1). In any case, the question remains open.

*Brixhe* 2002a, 98-99; *Avram* 2015, 212 fn. 82.

***mē[---]*<sup>1</sup>** (PN?)

OPhr. *mē[---]* G-167

This fragmented graffito on a potsherd is very likely the beginning of a PN, however this is difficult to confirm.

*CIPPh* I, 147; *Bayun & Orel* 1988a, 199; *Orel* 1997a, 200-201.

***mē[---]*<sup>2</sup>** (?)

OPhr. *mē[---]* T-03 b

Beginning of a damaged word. No further observations can be made because of the severe fragmentation of the text: *eptuve[---][---]itan mē[---]p<sup>2</sup>is ÷ [---]...*

*Brixhe* 1991, 39; *Brixhe* 2004a.

*midai* see *midas*.

**μιδακας** (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom.? μιδακας 11.2 (18)

An unparalleled *a*-stem PN, which appears in a non-imprecative NPhr. sentence: μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ... Although it could be segmented as μιδα and considered a variant of *midas* without the ending -s, the resultant κας δαδου is not satisfactory. However, it is very likely a derivative of such a well-known PN.

Orel 1997a, 82 and 445.

**midas** (PN)

OPhr. miḍa[---] T-02 b

sg.dat. midai M-01a

sg.nom. midas M-01d I; G-137, HP-102

This *a*-stem PN has an unclear origin, but it is unlikely to be Phrygian since a Mita of Paḥḥuwa is attested in the Hitt. text CTH 146 (from 16<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> c. BC). Berndt-Ersöz (2015, 112-113, following Burke 2001, 260-261) considers that it derives from Hitt. *mit(t)a-*, *miti-* (adj.) 'red' (on this point, see Kloekhorst 2008, 583). However, this is a mere possibility. In any case, *midas* is a well-documented dynastic name, since almost three Phrygian kings bore this name according to Gr. sources (Berndt-Ersöz 2008 and 2012, 33). The Midas mentioned in the M-01 façade could be one of them. A king Midas is also documented in Neo-Assyrian texts from the reign of Sargon II (722-705 BC) as *Mitā šār māt Muški* 'Mita the King of the land *Muški*'. However, other people also borne this name, as we can see in the potsherds G-137 and HP-102 and some later Gr. inscriptions from Anatolia (Μίδας, KPN 314 § 912), as well as the whole Gr. world (often slaves).

Neroznak 1978, 104; Orel 1997a, 445; Burke 2001, 260-261; Berndt-Ersöz 2012, 33; Berndt-Ersöz 2015, 112-113.

*miḍa[---]* see *midas*.

**μιμογαδης** see μιμογας.

**μιμογας** (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom. μιμογας 11.2 (18) l. 4

sg.gen. μιμογαδης 11.2 (18) l. 2

Both forms of this unparalleled dental-stem PN occur in the same inscription. Its inflexion is not at all clear. While the nom. shows the simplification \*-*d-s* > -s, similar to \*-*t-s* > -s found in *nevos* or βας, regarding to the gen., Woodhouse (2006, 170) interpreted that this case actually is \**mimogados*, the form expected in the light of *artimitos*. However, the confusion ι ~ ο is striking. On the other hand, the letter ι could stand for ιο, see, e.g., ις instead of ιος or λευκις for λευκιος in the same inscription (a phenomenon also recorded in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, see Brixhe 1987, 50-51). Then, we are dealing with a common consonant-stem gen. -os. Nevertheless, the presence of the -i- in this ending remains incomprehensible (perhaps a levelling from another paradigm?). In any case, these examples fit with their position in the context: λευκις μιμογας κε {ε} ματαρ (a sequence of sg.nom. words) and μανκα|ν μιμογαδης ακενικου οκαυγοσι (perhaps agreeing with ακενικου).

Woodhouse 2006, 170.

**mireyun** (adj.?)

OPhr. sg.acc.masc.-neut. mireyun B-05

An adj. which agrees with *sirun* in an apodosis: *nun ibey neyotan ḫiptiyan sirun mireyun...* It has been considered a derivative of the noun *μιρος* (perhaps the same noun found as *meros*),

through the suffix *-eio-*. On its meaning, Simon (2014a) suggested ‘all, whole’, while the noun *sirun* is interpreted as ‘offspring’ on the basis of comparison with Hitt. formulae. However, it remains unclear because of the lack of internal data.

*Neumann 1997, 24; Brixhe 2004a, 20, 62 and 81; Simon 2014a.*

**μιρος** and **μιρου** see *meros*.

**μιτραφατα** (PN)

NPhr. sg.nom. μιτραφατα 1.1 (48)

Because of the similarity with the Iranian PN \**Miθra-pāta-* (theofortic ‘protected by Mithra’), documented in Lyc. as *miθrapata* and *mizrppata* (Neumann 2007, 217 and 218 s.v.) and in Gr. as *Μιθρωπάστης* (Str. 16.5) and *Μιτροβάτης* (Hdt. 3.120-129, both variants refer to the same satrap of Hellespontic Phrygia), its interpretation is obvious (the unmotivated phi of the Phrygian form may be a common hypercorrect spelling). This was first given by Kretschmer (in von Prott 1898, 363) and followed by Schmitt (1982, 35), Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 124) and Orel (1997a, 446). However, since it appears in a short list with two DN’s which bears an ethnic, Lubotsky (1997, 122) suggested the segmentation *Μιτρα Φατα*, where the second word is interpreted as an ethnic of a region not attested elsewhere. Older interpretations such as that of Haas, who understood the sequences as “Mitra und Phata” (1961, 77) or “Mitra und Ahura (*x<sup>a</sup>atāy*)”, must be rejected because of the structure given by the copulative conj. *κε* among the names: *Μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνα*. Reservations about the identification as a PN seem to be cultural rather than linguistic: Why does a man appear within a short list of gods? An easy explanation can be found in the Phrygian cult of the dead (see de Hoz 2017).

*von Prott 1898, 363; Haas 1961, 77; Haas 1966, 98 and 1976, 61-62; Schmitt 1982, 35; Lubotsky 1997, 122; Orel 1997a, 446; Brixhe 1999, 299; Neumann 2007, 217 and 218; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 115.*

**miye[.]οΨi** (?)

OPhr. *miye[.]οΨi* NW-135

A very obscure sequence incised on a ceramic vase. There is a blank between the two series of preserved letters, where a letter could be incised. Consequently, the number of words remains unclear: one or two? Moreover, the presence of the obscure letter *Ψ* and the fact that this sequence is unparalleled make this text difficult to interpret.

*Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 136.*

**mi[---]** (?)

OPhr. *mi[---]* T-02 b

A certain beginning of a word delimited by the interpunction. Orel (1997a, 310) suggested that it could be the name *midas* read above in the same inscription. Nevertheless, the shortness of the remaining fragment of this word condemns it to remain unclear. The whole sequence is really fragmented: *[---]oitumen ∷ miḡa[---][---]n ∷ aḡios ∷ mi[---][---]n ∷ batan ∷ e.[---]*.

*CIPPh I, 266; Orel 1997a, 310.*

**μμυρα** see *μυρου*.

**μνκαν** see *μανκα*.

**mođroyanak** (title) ‘sovereign of Modra/-oi’

OPhr. sg.nom. mođroyanak M-04

A compound noun made up of the toponym mođro- and the common noun vanak ‘sovereign, king’ (see vanaktei), a similar formation is found in Gr. ἀστῦ-άναξ ‘lord of the city’ (e.g. Aesch., *Supp.* 1018, it also occurs as a masc. PN Ἀστυάναξ, fem. Ἀστυάνασσα). This Phr. title is given to a man called *tiyes*: ἀκινανογαναῖ ἰ tiyes | mođroyanak ἰ avara[.]. The toponym \*Μοδρα or \*Μοδροι is attested by Strabo 12.7 (543): καθ’ ὃ συμβάλλει ποταμὸς αὐτῷ Γάλλος ἐκ Μόδρων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων τῆς ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας ‘where it is joined by the Gallus River, which has its beginnings at Modro- in Phrygia on the Hellespont’. The late work *De Thematis* 4.28 of Constantin VII (905-959) provides its Gr. ethnic: ἔστι δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ θέματος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς κωμοπόλεως Μοδρηνῆς ἀρχόμενον ‘the beginning of this thema is located in the Modrean village’. On its identification with the modern Mudurnu (Bolu province, ancient Bithynia), see Şahin 1986. Note, however, that his remark on Strabo’s text is a clear mistake, as Neumann (1986b) pointed out.

*CIPPh I, 23; KON 391-392 § 823; Neumann 1986b; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 180; Neumann 1988, 9; Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 143; Brixhe 1993, 331; Brixhe 1996, 138; Brixhe 1997, 47 fn. 19; Innocente 1997, 38; Orel 1997a, 446; Brixhe 2002a, 61; Wittke 2004, 202; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 75; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 188.*

**μοναν** (adj.) ‘alone, only’

NPhr. sg.dat.fem. μοναν 56.2 (58)

Very likely an adj. which agrees with μορτιη in sg.dat. (on its ending, see σαν instead of σαι) related to Gr. μόνος, -η, -ον ‘alone, only’. Since the etymology of the Gr. word seems to be \*mon-uo- (see EDG 965), the loss of *u* before *o* can be explained as an internal Phrygian issue and the consideration of a borrowing is not required since in the fem. it could be a levelling. Recently, Hämmig (fthc. b) interpreted it as an adverb parallel to καν. However, this can be ruled out because *kake(y)* / *κακε*, an adverb derived from a nominalised noun *κακουν*, shows that the thematic nouns can derive into adverbs through the ending -ε (< PIE sg.instr. ending \*-eh<sub>1</sub>). The adj.μοναν occurs in a sentence destined to avoid reutilisation of the tomb: μοναν μορτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν. Previous interpretations are highly unsatisfactory: e.g., Orel (1997a, 446) gave a sense ‘harm’ without any explanation, considering the sentence to be a curse.

*Orel 1997a, 446; Hämmig fthc. b.*

**ἡ<sup>?</sup>onokaua** (patronymic?)

OPhr. ἡ<sup>?</sup>onokaua M-01c

This word was often read as *bonokaua* in the light of *bonok*. However, this reading does not take into account the remaining strokes of this inscription and there is no reason to consider its first letter an unfinished <b> (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85). Since it follows a PN it could be a patronymic: *mater.. atatas ἡ<sup>?</sup>onokaua*. Unfortunately, there are no parallels and this inscription may have been longer at the end.

*Haspels 1971, 290; Brixhe 1983, 118; Brixhe 1984, 12; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 178; Orel 1997a, 15 and 420; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85.*

**μορο.[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. μορο.[---] G-214

Incised on a potsherd, the ending of this damaged graffito, very likely a PN. The last preserved stroke is vertical and could be a part of many letters. The reading *μοροῖ* given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198, a dat. according to them) is a mere possibility. However, the inscription could be longer.

*CIPPh I, 174-175; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198.*

**μουρουν** (noun) ‘stupid action, mistreatment?’

NPhr. pl.nom.-acc. μμυρα 35.1 (5)  
sg.nom.-acc.? μου[ρου]ν 18.3 (6)?  
sg.nom.-acc. μουρου[ν] 61.1 (100)

All of the occurrences appear as the direct object of imprecative protases: 18.3 [ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε κ[ακον] | αββερετ ατ νου. μου[ρου]ν..., 35.1 ιος νι σιμουν | κνουμανι κακουν αββιρετο αινι μμυρα... and 61.1 ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]||[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν... In 18.3 its presence is very dubious since it is restored and the preceding word is unclear. Morphologically, it is an *o*-stem adj. substantiated equated to Gr. μωρός ‘dull, stupid’ (see on it EDG 992). It is a parallel process to κακουν. The spelling of μμυρα 35.1 can be explained as hypercorrect.

Orel 1997a, 446.

**μουρσα** (noun or adj.?)

NPhr. μουρσα 11.2 (18)

Because of its ending it seems to be a pl.neut. Since it appears in an imprecative sequence (ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειον εγδαεξ μουρσα), a PN (as Woodhouse 2006, 183 suggested) is not expected. On the other hand, translations such as those provided by Woudhuizen (2008-2009, 206) and Haas (1966, 102) are ungrounded.

Orel 1997a, 446; Woodhouse 2006, 183.

**μφ.κρος** (?)

MPhr. sg.nom.? μφ|κρος MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5-6

A word which has lost one central letter. It cannot be restored because of the lack of parallels and the unclear context, which render the meaning obscure: αιδομενου ματιν κισις μφ|κρος υιταν παρτιας.

Brixhe 2004a, 21.

**μρο** see μροτις.

**mroy** see μρος.

**μρος** (noun) ‘stele’?

NPhr. Sg.gen. μρος 29.1 (114)

It is read on a unparalleled protasis: ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας (or μροσας)... It looks like a thematic noun of fem. gender because it agrees with the pronoun σας. Note that the segmentation is not at all clear; it was analysed as a single noun μροσας by the first editors (Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 77-79), however it is morphologically unusual and the presence of the pronoun is defensible in such a position in the light of MPhr-01 μανκα μεκας σας. Also, *imroy* has been argued by Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 77) to be the same word with a prothetic *i*-. However, the context of this last word is absolutely different and this relationship can be rejected (see its entry). In the case of μρος, it can be identified as an athematic sg.gen. or, less likely, by considering the segmentation μρο σας (with an hypercorrected geminates), a thematic sg.dat. If the first possibility is accepted, it can be considered a borrowing from Lyd. *mru*- ‘stele’ (Gusmani 1964, 168).

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 77-79.

**μροτιη** see μροτις.

**μροτις** (noun) ‘corpse, dead’

MPhr. Sg.nom. μροτις MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4

NPhr. Sg.dat. μροτιη 56.2 (58)

A noun inherited from PIE *\*m<sub>ṛ</sub>-ti-* ‘death’ (NIL 488-489). On the development of its meaning, compare with Lat. *mors, mortis* ‘death’ but sometimes ‘corpse’ through metonymy. In MPhr-01 this word was identified by Brixhe (2004a, 19), although its context remains obscure: βλασκον κε τακρις κε λουγγιου μροτις λαπτα ματι αιινουν... On the other hand, the NPhr. occurrence is a new segmentation of the text. Indeed, it was read as μοναν μρο τηιον εγεσιτ γεγριμενον, where τηιον was considered a Gr. borrowing from θεϊος ‘divine’, but in the light of MPhr-01 it can be understood as μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσιτ γεγριμενον ‘only for the dead whom (it) bears written’.

Brixhe 2004a, 19.

**muksos** (PN)

Ophr. Sg.nom. muksos G-346

A clear thematic PN incised on a beam of Midas Mound near three other names: *nana muksos* | *si<sup>↑</sup>idos* | *urunis*. It must be the same Gr. PN Μόψος ~ Μόξος, attested in Myc. As *mo-qo-so* (from Cnossos, 15<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and *mo-qo-so-jo* (from Pylos, 13<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. BC). It is also documented in ancient sources related to Anatolia: in Hitt. (in a letter of Arnuwandas I to Madduwatta, 15<sup>th</sup> c. BC), Hluw. *Muksasa-* (the bilingual KARATEPE I § 21) and Phoenician *mpš* (in the same inscription). All occurrences go back to a form *\*mok<sup>s</sup>so-*. Yakubovich (2015, 36-38), without mentioning the Phrygian occurrence, wonders why the Phoenician form is closer to Gr., with the regular evolution of the labialised Gr. form of the I millennium BC, while the Luw. occurrence of the same inscription shows the survival of the labialised stop, retaining the form from Mycenaean times. Either way, since the Phrygian form shows the regular evolution of this last sound and a common shift *o > u*, this testimony is not necessarily borrowed from Luw.

Liebhart & Brixhe 2010, 147-149.

**murtan** (PN)

Ophr. sg.nom. murtan G-226

A late graffito on a potsherd (4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. BC). The letters are so similar in shape to the Gr. ones that one cannot rule out that it is written in the Gr. alphabet. However, it is considered Phrygian by the editors (CIPPh I, 183). This word is very likely a PN in nom., whose ending is parallel to *iman, imenos*: *\*-ēn > -an*. Going one step further, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198-199 and Orel 1997a, 446) considered that its origin must be found in the Gr. noun μύρτος ‘myrtle’. Despite the similarity, though, this is a mere possibility.

CIPPh I, 183; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198-199; Orel 1997a, 446.

## Ν (n) – Ν ν

### **n** (mark)

Ophr. n G-280, G-304

These graffiti incised on potsherd, composed only of one letter, seem to be merely an owner's mark, not necessarily derived from a PN.

*Brixhe 2002a, 41-42 and 64-65.*

### **na** (?)

Ophr. na W-05 a

Obscure sequence following *natimeyon*, whose segmentation is not clear, engraved on a façade.  
*CIPPh I, 48.*

### **ναδροτος** (adj.) 'wanting in manhood, impotent'

NPhr. Sg.nom. ναδροτος 1.1 (48)

O-stem adj. in sg.nom.mas. Probably a loanword from Gr. ἀνάνδρωτος, -ον 'widowed' with a derivation in its meaning similar to ἄνανδρος, -ον 'impotent, husbandless'. This interpretation is broadly consistent with the one given by Lubotsky (1997, 122), who suggested that could be connected with Gr. ἀνανδρόομαι 'to become impotent'. The context, an imprecative apodosis, supports this: ε[.]γεντουμενος νιοισιος ναδροτος ειτου. If it is right, an apheresis must have worked here. Brixhe (1987a, 115) noted that in Gr. from Phrygia this phenomenon is more documented than in other places. Moreover, this word shows the weakness of the nasal in preconsonantal position, also common in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (see, e. g., Ἀδιγόνη for Ἀντιγόνη Brixhe 1987a, 34) and the loss of the vowel quantity in the use of <ο> for <ω>.

*Lubotsky 1997, 122.*

### **nae[---]** (?)

Ophr. nae[---] G-262

Fragmented graffito whose nature is unknown.

*CIPPh I, 203.*

### **nana** (PN)

Ophr. Sg.nom. nana G-236?

Na<sup>a</sup>na<sup>a</sup>[-? -] G-195?

A-stem Lallname in sg.nom. without s-ending, also documented in Gr. inscriptions from the whole of Anatolia (*KPN* 346-349 § 1012-1013, Νανα, Νανας and variants). In G-236, the likely segmentation *nana v/gata[-? -]* is dubious. In G-195 there is the possibility of considering the variant *na<sup>a</sup>na[s]*.

*CIPPh I, 163 and 187; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 447; Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 146-147.*

**na<sup>a</sup>na[-? -]** see *nana*.

**†nanavata[-? -]** see *nana* & *vata[-? -]*.

### **natimeyon** (?)

Ophr. *natimeyon* W-05a

Isolated occurrence followed by the obscure sequence *na: natimeyon na*. The word boundary is assumed here because of the presence of <nn>. This ending can stand for o-stem acc.-masc. or nom.-acc. neuter, if not the same sg.nom. ending as in *kuryaneyon*. The nature of the word is unknown. Note, however, the preservation of the vowel –on, instead of the expected –un. Orel's

(1997, 445) segmentation *meyon* and comparison with Gr. μείων ‘smaller, less’ is highly speculative.

CIPPh I, 48; Lubotsky 1988, 23-24; Brixhe 1996, 137-138; Orel’s 1997, 445; Woodhouse 2006, 178; Vine 2010, 347.

†*natimeyonna* see *natimeyon* & *na*.

**nevos** (noun) ‘son’ or ‘descendant’

Ophr. sg.nom. *nevos* B-05 l. 12

sg.acc. *neyotan* B-05 l. 10; *Nev<otan>* B-05 l.12

T-stem noun inherited from PIE *\*nepot-* ‘nephew, grandson, descendant’ (NIL 520-524, IEW 764). It occurs in two imprecative apodoses of the same inscription: *nun ibey neyotan niptiyan sirun mireyun...* and *tubnuv nevos mederitoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>*. Its meaning is supported by the presence of γόνος ‘child, offspring, son’ in the Gr. version of the text: μὴ βίος μὴ γόνος γίνοιτ[ο] ‘let him have neither life nor offspring’. Although Hämmig (2013, 134-138, who identified the word, see also Simon 2014a) considered that it means ‘son’ in contrast with *niptiya-* ‘daughter’, in other languages *\*nepot-* commonly means ‘descendant’, ‘grandson’ or ‘nephew’: Lat. *nepos* ‘grandson, descendant’ nephew’ (Catalan *nebot* ‘nephew’, Italian *nipote* ‘grandchild’), Gr. νέποδες ‘descendant’, ἀνεψιός ‘(first-)cousin’, Skt. *nāpāt* ‘descendant, offspring, (grand)son’, OP *napā* ‘grandson’, OHG *neva* ‘nephew’, OE *nefa* ‘nephew, grandson, stepson’, etc. So, the meaning ‘male descendant’ in contrast to *niptiya-* ‘female-descendant’ is more likely. Note that Gr. γόνος also means ‘offspring, descent’. In any case, this word shows the shift *\*-t-s > -s* (see also βας, βαταν) and stands as the sole occurrence of *\*p > v* in Phr.

Hämmig 2013, 134-138, Simon 2014a.

*neyotan* see *nevos*.

†*νειξα* see *ειξα*.

**νεκοινουον** (noun or verb?)

MPhr. *Νεκοινουον* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 2

Because of the ending *-ουον*, although the word can be considered an *o*-stem noun in sg.acc. *\*-on* or pl.gen. *\*-ōn*, a verb in 3pl. *\*-ont* cannot be ruled out. Etymologically, this word is also obscure. Brixhe (2004a, 17) suggested a possible derivative from the root *\*k<sup>h</sup>ei-* ‘take notice’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 377-378, IEW 636-637) as Gr. *ποινή* ‘ransom, fine, penalty, vengeance’, *τίνω* act. ‘to pay, settle, atone’, med. ‘to make (oneself) pay or atone, punish, avenge’ and *τιμή* ‘estimate, price, value, honour, honorary office’. However, he does not explain the form *νε-*. It can be equated to Lat. *nē-*, a variant of *nē* ‘no, not’ (< PIE *\*nē* ‘id.’ LIPP II, 511-512) in composition: *scio* ‘I know’, *ne-scio* ‘I do not know’. However, it is a mere possibility. Unfortunately, the context, an epitaph, does not provide useful information because it is still obscure: *μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδεναν νεκοινουον*.

Brixhe 2004a, 15 and 17.

**νε[νε]ρια** (PN)

NPhr. Sg.dat. *νε[νε]ρια* 22.1 (9)

Although the sequence is damaged (*δαδιτι Νεν[νε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα*), it has been restored thanks to the Gr. part of the text, where *Νενυερια* can be read. So, we have a fem. *a*-stem PN, probably a dat. with the loss of the second element of the original ending *-αι*. No exact parallels are found, but Orel (1997a, 448) has assumed a relationship with the Pisidian name *Νανηρις* or the Cilician *Νεναρις* (KPN 358 § 1028).

Haas 1966, 105; Lubotsky 1989a, 79; Orel 1997a, 75 & 448.

**ni** (particle)OPhr. *ni* P-04a*niy* B-05

NPhr. *vi* 3.1 (97), 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 7.3 (111), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 11.2 (18), 17.1 (4b), 12..1 (121), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.6 (119), 19.2 (129), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 21.1 (43), 22.1 (9), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 40.1 (12), 40.4 (102), 43.1 (69), 46.1 (53), 53.1 (76), 53.3 (109), 54.1 (108)?, 56.1 (57), 59.2 (47), 59.4 (106), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.4 (35), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20)

Encl. particle attached to the relative pronoun *yos* and the anaphoric *τος* in order to create an indefinite pronoun 'whoever'. It is also found with *ay* / *αι* in order to form the disjunctive conj. *ayni* / *αινι* 'or' or 'if' when beginning a sentence (2.2) or a second object is added (3.1 *ιος vi σεμον κνουμανε κακεν αδακετ αινι | μανκα*). Compare with Pamph. *καί vi + imperv.* (Pamph. 3, see Brixhe 1976, 131-132). Although its origin is not at all clear, it seems close to Gr. *-ve* / *-vi*, which follow Gr. demonstratives such as Thess. *ὄ-ve, τό-ve, τά-ve* or Arc. sg.gen. *τωνί / τῶνι* (for *τοῦδε*), instead of the *-vu* found in other forms, and in the adverb *προταινί* 'in front of'. It is supposed to be related to the PIE demonstrative *\*eno-* 'this, that' (EDG 1001). The Gr. variant *-vi*, which is phonetically closer to the Phrygian one, seems to contain the deictic *\*-i* and both the Phrygian *niy* / *ni* / *vi* and the Gr. *-vi* could be analysed as the zero grade *\*nh<sub>1</sub>-i* ( Prósper 1993, 470). An alternative analysis is a form *\*n-í* 'inside, within' (LIPP II, 225 and 229-230). Nevertheless, the Phrygian *ni* can also represent *\*ne*. It is clear that the Phr- form *niy* is a variant with a glide arising before a vowel but only visible in B-05, which uses the letter yod.

Prósper 1993, 470; Brixhe 1997, 63; Orel 1997a, 448; LIPP II, 225 and 229-230.

**nidus** (noun or adjective)OPhr. sg.nom.? *nidus* B-05

Although its meaning is unknown, it seems to be an *o-* or *u-*stem noun or adj. in nominative singular. Its context is also obscure: *meka[---]asiya..? | nidus ad kalıyay karatu panato*.

Brixhe 2004a, 58.

**νικοστρατος** (PN)MPhr. sg.nom. *νικοστρατος* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4

A PN clearly borrowed from Gr. *Νικόστρατος*, *-ου*. It is read in the first Phr. epitaph written in the Gr. alphabet: *νικοστρατος κλευμαχοι μιος αιδομενου...*

Brixhe 2004a, 25.

**nina** (PN)OPhr. sg.nom. *nina* G-212

Written on a potsherd, this graffito contains an *a-*stem PN in nom. despite the lack of the *s-*ending. *Niv(v)α* is a common Anatolian Lallname (KPN 360-361 § 1040-1 and 1040-9).

Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 218-219 and 448-449.

**νιοισιος** (adj.)NPhr. sg.nom. *νιοισιος* 1.1 (48)

Although the meaning of this word is unknown, the context, a clear apodosis (whose protasis is lost) shows that it must be an adjective: *[---] | ε[..]γεντουμενος | νιοισιος ναδροτος | ειτου*. Consequently, it is an *o-*stem in sg.nom. On the other hand, Haas' phonetic interpretation (1961, 79 & 1966, 97, followed by Panagl & Kowal 1983, 188) /*niwisios*/ was rejected by Lubotsky (1997, 122).

Lubotsky 1997, 122.

**ṛiptiyan** (noun) ‘daughter’ or ‘female-descendent’

OPhr. sg.acc. ṛiptiyan B-05

sg.dat. niptiyay B-05

This *a*-stem kinship term is inherited from \**nept-ih<sub>2</sub>*-, derived from the PIE \**nepot-* (NIL 520-524, see *nevos*) and means ‘daughter’, according to Hämmig (2013, 134-138), who identified this word. It occurs in an obscure sentence, *pator.ʔike[...].e[...]. andati / vay niptiyay daker*, and an apodosis, *nun ibey neyotan ṛiptiyan sirun mireyun*. Adducing some possible parallels from Hitt. and rejecting Hämmig’s analysis of \**-ih<sub>2</sub>* > *-iya*, Simon (2014a) considered that *niptiya-* means ‘grandson’ and is a secondary fem. form derived from \**nept-(i)io-* ‘grandson’. Indeed, he considered that *neyotan ṛiptiyan* means ‘son and grandson’. However, from a phonetic and morphological point of view, Hämmig’s interpretation is easier and has good parallels in Lat. *neptis* ‘granddaughter’, Skt. *napṭī-* ‘daughter, granddaughter’, Av. *napṭī-* ‘granddaughter’, Lith. *neptė* ‘id.’. As in the case of *nevos*, the meaning of OPhr. *niptiya-* is more likely ‘female-descendant’ than ‘daughter’, in comparison with its cognates in other languages. Then, although the meaning ‘daughter’ cannot be refuted, the pairing *neyotan ṛiptiyan* ‘male-descendant and female-descendant’ can be considered emphatic. Note that the Gr. summary of this text only uses the term γόυος ‘child, offspring’.

Hämmig 2013, 134-138; Simon 2014a.

**niptiyay** see ṛiptiyan.

**νιτι** see πεννιτι.

**niy** see ni.

**niye[---]** see *tataniyen*.

**niyoy** (?)

OPhr. *niyoy* B-08; *niyo[yʔ]* B-01

This word follows to probable verbs: *etoves niyo[yʔ]* (B-01) and *epavʔes niyoy* (B-08). Because of the lack of spaces (used in both inscriptions to mark word boundaries), *etoves niyo[yʔ]* was commonly segmented as *etovesniyo[.ʔ]*. However, the recent finding of B-08 provides a good parallel to defend such word boundary. The lack of space may show that it is a clitic word. Anyhow its nature and meaning remains unknown.

Brixhe & Vottéro 2016, 136-137.

**ni[---]** (?)

OPhr. *ni[---]* or *[---]in* G-325

A late broken graffito, whose *n* is similar to the Gr. Consequently, it is perhaps written in Gr. and not in the Phrygian alphabet. The text is obscure, probably a PN of the owner, but not necessarily. It is too short for any comparisons to be made. Furthermore, the writing direction is also unknown.

Brixhe 2002a, 80.

**nm** (owner’s mark)

OPhr. *nm* G-215

An obscure sequence without parallels. Perhaps this graffito incised on a potsherd is a mere owner’s mark without a clear acrophonic origin.

CIPPh I, 175; Roller 1987a, 40; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199.

**noktoy** see **νοκτον**.

**noievos** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom.? *noievos* G-140

Written on a potsherd, it is probably an o-stem PN. Nevertheless, no parallel can be adduced. *CIPPh I*, 127-128; *Bayun & Orel 1988a*, 199; *Brixhe 1991*, 43; *Orel 1997a*, 449.

**νοκτον** (noun) ‘violation’?

OPhr. sg.dat. *noktoy* B-06

NPhr. sg. acc. **νοκτον** 29.1 (114)

A clear thematic noun with an unclear meaning. While the NPhr. context is a clear apodosis, **ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε|ρετ ατ νοκτον μρος σας**, the OPhr. is unclear because it is very damaged: *δεξ[---] : eventnoktoy : emetetaryiois | [---]y*. *Orel (1997a, 449)*, who equated to Gr. **νύξ, νυκτός** ‘night’ is not congruent with the context. Nevertheless, *Brixhe (1996, 133-134)* suggested a similar origin to Gr. **νύσσω** (Att. **νύττω**) ‘to thrust, sting, pierce’, a verb with no clear origin (see *DELG 760* and *EDG 1028*) but a very pertinent meaning, ‘violation, infringement’ (*uel sim.*). Anyhow, a relation of Phr. *nokto-* with PIE *\*nek-* ‘to perish, disappear’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 451-452, attested in Skt. *naśyati* ‘to be lost, perish’ and in the Lat. causative *noceo* ‘to do harm, inflict injury, do hurt to’) seems more plausible.

*Brixhe 1996, 133-134; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 78; Orel 1997a, 449; Brixhe 2004a, 72-73.*

**νου.** (?)

NPhr. **νου.** 18.3 (6)

This sequence is obscure due to Ramsay’s problematic reading (1887, 389). However, since it appears in an imprecative protasis, **[ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε κ[ακον] αββερετ ατ νου. μου[ρου]ν**, as well as **νοκτον** (29.1 = 114), they are probably the same word. However, this cannot be corroborated because the inscription is lost.

**nun** (adverb) ‘now, then’

OPhr. *nun* B-05 (x2)

A particle inherited from PIE *\*nu*, *\*nuH*, *\*num* ‘now’, also documented in Gr. **νυ, νῦν**, Skt. **nú, nū, nūn-ám**, Lat. *num, nunc*, OHG *nūn*, Lithuanian *nū, nū*, Hitt. *nu*, etc. (see *LIPP II*, 578-579). The Phrygian form presents the same addition as the Gr. one (*EDG 1025*), either *\*-m* (Lat. *num*) or *\*-n* (Skt. *nūn-ám*). The contexts of the two occurrences of this word are two variants of an apodosis: *mekaş key kovis abretoy nun ibey nevoṭan ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun* and *kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>*.

*Neumann 1997, 24; Orel 1997a, 449; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Hämmig 2013, 144; LIPP II, 579.*

**n[---]<sup>1</sup>** (?)

OPhr. *n[---]* P-107

Because of the interpunction used in this graffito, it is surely the beginning of a word: **[---].k.ui** ∷ *n[---]*. However, its nature and meaning remain unknown due to its fragmentation.

*CIPPh I*, 250-251.

**n[---]<sup>2</sup>** (?)

OPhr. *n[---]* or **[---]n** G-288

A broken graffito preserving an isolated letter which could be followed by others. However, its Phrygian nature is not certain, nor are its lexical category or writing direction.

*Brixhe 2002a, 48-48.*



## Ξ

[Ξ]ΕΥΝΑΝ see ΞΕΥΝΕ.

### ΞΕΥΝΕ (PN)

NPhr. sg.acc. [Ξ]ΕΥΝΑΝ 41.3 (31)?

sg.dat. ΞΕΥΝΕ 16.1 (116), 43.1 (69)

sg.dat. ΞΕΥΝΕΟΙ 41.3 (31)

sg.dat. ΞΕΥΝΗ 2.1 (15)

This word has been considered a PN since it is attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia and Galatia (KPN 368 § 1063). However, Gr. Ξευνα / Ξευνη does not follow the clear Phrygian *n*-stem. Hämmig (fthc. a) has recently suggested that it is in fact a funerary formula. It is true that in most instances it occurs near architectural terms: 16.1 Ξευνε ισσοσ κε δετοϋ [υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν | κνουμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λοδιδμον μειομον ριδιτι..., 43.1 εινεα μιδους, Ξευνε πειρ α|ρεοπαδε|ν ατω κγου|μαν..., 40.3 ας σεμουν κνουμαν' αδιθρερακ | Ξευνεοι αδικεσειαν..., 2.1 Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ξαν μανκαν... However, these contexts must be better explained if we are to rule out the strong parallel in Gr. as a PN.

Sowa 2008, 36.

ΞΕΥΝΕΟΙ see ΞΕΥΝΕ.

ΞΕΥΝΗ see ΞΕΥΝΕ.



## Ο (ο) - Ο ο

### ο (preposition) ‘?’

NPhr. ο 11.2 (18)

A preposition found in 11.2 ματαρ ευγεξαρναι κ’ ο τα τριαμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμανει... The case that this preposition governs remains unclear. In addition, it occurs as a preverb in *odeketoy* B-07 (see αδδακετ), οουιτετου 4.1 (2) and οτιπτετικμενος 65.4 (124), and perhaps also in P-04 α ot.[...]seti and 37.2 οδ[δακετ]. Despite the geminates in οτιπτετικμενος, the particle goes back to PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>o (LIPP II, 323-324) and this gemination may be considered a hypercorrection.

Brixhe 1997, 57; LIPP II, 323-324.

**οαν** see *va*.

**οανο** see *va* & *venavtun*.

### [-?]-obata<sup>m</sup>’..[-?]- (?)

OPhr. [-?]-obata<sup>m</sup>’..[-?]- G-221

An obscure sequence in a misunderstood graffito incised on a potsherd: [-?]-aratapa[-?]- | [-?]-obatam..[-?]- | [---]. Bayun and Orel’s segmentation *o bata m* (1988a, 196, also in Orel 1997a, 223 and 419) assumes that it is the sg.nom. of the sg.acc. *batan* (which they considered a common noun). However, such an assumption is no longer defensible, since we know that βας is sg.nom. of *batan* and not an *a*-stem.

CIPPh I, 178-179; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 222-223 and 419.

**οδ[---]** and **odeketoy** see αδδακετ.

### ovevin (pron.) ‘his own’?

OPhr. *ovevin* W-01b

A pronominal complex which agrees with *onoman* in W-01b in sg.acc.: *yos esai<sup>t</sup> materey eveteksete<sup>2</sup>y ovevin onoman da<sup>Y</sup>et...* It has therefore been understood to have a meaning related to possession. Recently, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 191) considered it a compound, whose second part *-vin* goes back to a PIE form \*s<sub>u</sub>in (LIPP II, 751-754), the possessive pronoun also attested in fem. as *va*, ουα. Its ending is the same as found in *kin* or *sin*. By contrast, *ove-* remains unclear.

Haas 1966, 195-197; Neroznak 1978, 76; Lubotsky 1988, 21; Janda 1997, 273; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 754.

**οι** see ιοι.

### οινις (?)

OPhr. οινις 16.1 (116)

An obscure, unparalleled sequence. It is read in a possible but not clear imprecative apodosis: ις κε εγ | τοιϋνιοι κνουμαν ταν τε[-][[-]μαρϋι ιδετοι οινις. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 183) suggested that we may be dealing with two words. However, the hypothetical presence of *vi* is not expected here.

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 183.

**οκαυγοσι** see οκκαυγοι.

**okimakiya[---] (?)**

OPhr. *okimakiya[---]* B-05

An obscure word with no known relationship. Unfortunately, its context is not clear: *atriyas davoio okimakiya[---] | vreakan vitaran...* Its segmentation, meaning and function remain unknown. *Brixhe 2004a, 55; Hämmig 2013, 142.*

**okirterko[..] (?)**

OPhr. *okirterko[..]* P-04 a

An obscure word documented in an imprecative sequence without parallels: *okirterko[..]. tekmor | ot.[...]seti vebriu.* Its segmentation, like the other aspects of this sequence, remains unclear.

**οκκαυγοι (noun or adjective?)**

NPhr. pl..dat.? *οκαυγοσι* 11.2 (18)

pl.nom.? *οκκαυγοι* 43.1 (69)

A clear thematic word. Both occurrences are read in obscure contexts, perhaps where the details related to the building of the monument are mentioned: 11.2 *κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|ν μιμογαδισ ακενικου οκαυγοσι | μιδακας*; 43.1 *αλενπ|ατης δεουσι|ιας μανεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαεν.* The hesitation <kk> ~ <k> can be interpreted as the result of the simplification of the geminates, but until the etymology has been established we cannot rule out a hypercorrection. Another problem is the ending -οσι, which also appears in [ζεμ]ελωσι, instead of the common -ως (see *δεως, ζεμελως*). Does it reflect the Gr. influence? Orel's doubtful interpretation of this word as 'eye-witness' (1997a, 449-450) is both phonetically and semantically impossible.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 177; Orel 1997a, 449-450.*

**[-?]-olgiavos (?)**

OPhr. [-?]-ol<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>iavos G-150 a

A problematic graffito on a potsherd with some different reading possibilities: [-?]-olgiavos (preferred by CIPPh I, 137), [-?]-oygiavos, [-?]-oyliavos (preferred by Bayun & Orel 1988a, 195 and Orel 1997a, 194). The only parallel adduced in order to favour one reading is the Gr. name Όιλεύς (Bayun & Orel 1988a, 195 and Orel 1997a, 194). However, this is documented only once, doubtfully, in the whole of Anatolia (the Gr. inscription from Halicarnassus *MDAI(A) 1890, 252, no. 2*) and the hesitation in the use of yod is very uncommon (it is only documented in the isolated spelling *k<sup>↑</sup>ianaveyos* M-02, an inscription with other problems such as *bba* for *baba*, see Lubotsky 1993b, 95). The pithos on which the graffito is written also bears another anthroponym (*asakas*), an illegible sequence and its capacity mark.

*CIPPh I, 135-137; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 195; Orel 1997a, 194.*

**ολιτορο (noun?)**

OPhr. *ολιτορο* P-04 c

The only obscure word in a simple sentence: *iman oλιτορο | edae[s] mekas.* Since it follows the anthroponym *iman*, it could be interpreted as patronym or similar. However, from a morphological perspective its -ο ending is unusual, it has no parallels and the reading is doubtful.

*CIPPh I, 239-240.*

**ομαστα (adj.)**

MPhr. *ομαστα* MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 8

Read in an imprecative apodosis of a funerary stele: *ιος κοροαν δετοϋν | σϋν ομαστα ομνιστ ους.* According to Brixhe (2004a, 24), it is a verbal adj. featuring the suffix \*-te/o- and substantiated such as *bilata* or *lapta*. Its meaning, as well as its etymology, is unknown, but it is

perhaps related to *omnisit*. It could be analysed as either \**ā*-stem dat. (< \*-*ai*, like σα instead of σαι in the same inscription) or pl.acc.neuter.

Brixhe 2004a, 24; Sowa 2007a, 91 (= 2008, 115).

**ομνισιτ** see *umnišet*.

**ομουσασαι** (noun?)

NPhr. ομουσας 16.1 (116)

From a descriptive part of a funerary stele: κναικο εκατηας | ομουσασαι ποσεκανες ακα [.]|δεο ποκ γονιον... This segmentation was given by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 175, followed by Orel 1997a, 450 and *TITUS*), who considered it a possible word in agreement in dat. with the previous word εκατηας. Nothing is known about its meaning or origin.

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 175; Orel 1997a, 450.

**ονομα** see *onoman*.

**onoman** (noun) 'name'

OPhr. sg.nom.-acc- *onoman* W-01b

NPhr. ? *ονομα*[-? -] 37.2 (30)

The OPhr. form is attested in a clear imprecative apodosis: *yos esai=t materey eveteksetey ovevin onoman daY et...* The second context, however, engraved on a door-stele, is less clear because of the gaps: [---]ει κ' ονομα | [---]. This *n*-stem noun is clearly related to \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-m<sub>h</sub>* 'name' (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186), as well as Gr. ὄνομα 'id.' and Arm. *anun* 'id.'. The Phr. form does not provide additional information on the complicated origin of this word, since it is an exact cognate of Gr. ὄνομα. Although the Gr., Arm. and Phr. forms go back to the Transponat \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-m<sub>h</sub>*, the PIE is reconstructed as \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-m<sub>h</sub>* by Kloekhorst in the light of HLuw. *alaman-* 'name' (2008, 518-519) but as \**h<sub>1</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-m<sub>h</sub>* by Neri (2005), who focuses on forms such as Dor. and Lacon., in Ἐνυμα- found in PNs (see OPhr. *enumalay*[-? -] G-321) and Hitt. *lāman* 'name' (on it see Kloekhorst 2008, 518). In any case, *ονομα*[-? -] (37.2) is doubtful because it appears at the end of the line but the beginning of the next line is lost. The other alleged occurrences, *ονομανιας* and *ονομανιαις* (both 16.1), seem to be derivatives of this word.

Neronak 1978, 76; CIPPh I, 40-41; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 127; Neumann 1988, 11; Janda 1997, 273; Orel 1997a, 450; Matzinger 2005, 378; Panagl 2005, 490; Sowa 2005, 613; Morante Mediavilla 2006, 332; Woodhouse 2006, 161 fn. 10; Kloekhorst 2008, 518-519; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 188 § 109; EDG 1084-1085; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186.

**ονομανιας** (noun)

NPhr. pl.dat. ονομανιας 16.1 (116) l. 5

pl.acc. ονομανιαις 16.1 (116) l. 10

Obscure *a*-stem derivative from *onoman* through the suffix *-io-*. The form *ονομανιας* must be the pl.dat. < \*-*āis* because of the presence of the preposition με, while *ονομανιαις* could be its pl.acc. < \*-*ans*. However, the etymological form of the pl.dat. cannot be ruled out because the context is obscure: l. 4-6 ριδιτι ται τοα με ονομανιας εναρκε ερω[λ]αος κναικο<ς> εκατηας... and l. 9-11 πινκε τας δ[α<sup>?</sup>]κερης ονομανιαις μιρου ικ[.] κναικαν εδαες...

CIPPh I, 173, 178 & 179.

**ονομανιαις** see *ονομανιας*.

### ΟΝΟΥΕΙΑ (?)

NPhr. ονουεια 43.1 (69)

Obscure sequence read on a funerary stele. Its segmentation is highly doubtful, as is its reading. Recently, Hämmig (fthc. a) suggested the reading Σ<sup>?</sup>ΙΟΝΟΥΣ<sup>?</sup>Ι<sup>?</sup>Α<sup>?</sup>.

Hämmig fthc. a.

### ΟΟΥΙΤΕΤΟΥ (verb) 'found'

NPhr. 3sg.imp. οουιτετου 4.1 (2)

A verb read in an imprecative apodosis: υκε ακαλα οουιτετου ονα. It is very likely a cognate of Gr. ιδέτω, from εἶδον 'to see, perceive, behold', with a preverb ο- (Brixhe 1997, 57; also in LIPP II, 324). The origin of this verb must be found in the PIE root \**ueǵid-* 'behold, see' (LIV<sup>2</sup> 665-667, IEW 1125-1127): Lat. *uideō* 'to see', Arm. *gitem* 'to know', Go. *wait* 'I know', Skt. *véda* 'I know', etc. The alternative given by Brixhe, a theme \**uit-*, does not fit any known Indo-European form (as he admits, 1997, 75).

Haas 1966, 209; Brixhe 1979a, 190-192; Georgiev 1981, 131; Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 181; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 142; Brixhe 1997, 57; Orel 1997a, 60 & 468; Brixhe 2004a, 21; Woodhouse 2006, 163-164; LIPP II, 324.

### ΟΠΑΡΙΚΟ (?)

NPhr. οπαρικο 16.1 (116)

An obscure sequence without parallels. Its context is an imprecise imprecative protasis: ις αργμενα[.] | οπαρικο οαν οεαυται. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 181) suggested the possibility of a word bearing the same preverb ο- documented in οουιτετου or οπ- in οπεσταμεναν.

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 181.

### ΟΠΕΣΤΑΜΕΝΑΝ (perfect participle) 'erected'

NPhr. part.perf.sg.acc.fem. οπεσταμε|ναν 22.1 (9)

Perfect participle sg.acc.fem. (in agreement with μ-α>νκαν in its sole occurrence) of a verb derived from \**steh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to stand' (LIV<sup>2</sup> 590-592, IEW 1004-1008) with reduplicated root \**se-stā-*, as well as in Gr. ἔσταμεν, and the preverb οπ- (from PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>opi* 'close upon, at, behind' LIPP II, 251, e.g., Gr. ὄπισθεν '(from) behind, at the back, after(wards)', Lat. *ob-stāre* 'to stand before or against any thing'). Might this preverb also occur in *oporokitis*.<sup>?</sup>

Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 192; LIPP II, 251.

### ΟΠΙΤΟ (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.impv.act.? *opito* B-01

According to Lubotsky (1988, 22), a verb 3<sup>rd</sup> singular imperative. This is very likely since it appears in a curse: *ekey da[b]ati opito [k]ey oy ev[e]m[e]mesmeneya anato (-?)...* However, this interpretation is far from certain and no meaning has been suggested.

Lubotsky 1988, 22; Lubotsky 1993b, 97.

### ΟΠΟΡΟΚΙΤΙΣ.<sup>?</sup> (noun or adj.?)

OPhr. *oporokitis*.<sup>?</sup> G-02 b

Read in an imprecative protasis: *ios oporokitis*.<sup>?</sup> | *kakoioiton podaskai*.<sup>?</sup> If *kakoioi* is the verb of the protasis (as it appears to be, according to Kloekhorst 2015, 116-117), *oporokitis*.<sup>?</sup> must be a noun. Perhaps, the beginning is the preverb οπ- documented in οπεσταμεναν 22.1 (from PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>opi* 'close upon, at, behind' LIPP II, 251; see, e.g., Gr. ὄπισθεν '(from) behind, at the back, after(wards)'). Nevertheless, nothing can be concluded about *-orokitis*.<sup>?</sup> for now. It is unclear whether the last unreadable stroke is accidental or part of a letter. In the first case, *oporokitis* could be an *i*-stem sg.nom. (adj.?) in agreement with *ios*. Orel's segmentation *op oro kiti si* is unfounded (Orel 1997a, 158-160).

Neroznak 1978, 96; CIPPh I, 87; Orel 1997a, 158-160; Lubotsky 2004, 232; Kloekhorst 2015, 116-117; LIPP II, 324.

## ορ (?)

NPhr. ορ 12.1 (121)

It is found only once in a well-known formula διως ορ ζεμ[ελ]ως τιττετικμενος [ειτου]. According to Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 95), it is the result of “un lapsus du graveur” originated in the presence of the previous [αδδ]||ακετορ. Lubotsky (1998, 417), however, neither marks this error nor offers any explanation.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 95; Lubotsky 1998, 417.*

## ορβουν (noun?) ‘orphan’?

NPhr. sg.acc. ορβουν 59.3 (79)

An unparalleled word read in a very fragmented imprecative protasis: [αββ]ερετορ | [----]εμερη | [---]υ ορβουν | [---]. Orel (1997a, 277 and 451) suggested that it could be equated to Gr. ὀρφανός ‘orphan’. This is not impossible, since a basic form *\*h<sub>3</sub>orb<sup>h</sup>-o-* has been considered in PIE in the light, e.g., of Arm. *orb*, *-oy* ‘orphan’ and Lat. *orbis* ‘orphaned, bereft’ (EDG 1113-1114). However, the precariously conserved context compels us to be cautious with this identification.

*Orel 1997a, 277 and 451.*

## ordoineten (noun)

OPhr. ordoineten B-07

According to Brixhe (2004a, 84), an *e*-stem noun in sg.acc. Its meaning, like its etymology, has yet to be identified. It agrees with the adj. *umnotan* in a relative clause: *is yos tiv[.].?n ke devun k(e) umnotan ordoineten*.

*Brixhe 2004a, 84.*

**οροκα** see κοροκα.

## ορουαν (noun) ‘keeper, protector’

NPhr. sg.nom. ορου|αν 1.1 (48)

sg.acc. ορουεαν 20.2 (128)

sg.gen. ορουεος 59.4 (106)

An *n*-stem hysterokinetic noun. Lubotsky (1997, 127-128) analysed this word as *\*sorūēn*, equated to Gr. οὔρος ‘watcher, guard(ian)’, also found, e.g., in Att. ὄρος ‘border, boundary’ and Myc. *wo-wo /worwos/* ‘(a) guarding’, ‘thing being guarded’ or ‘place for guard(s)’ (see Lane 2012). Then, Phryg. *\*sorūēn* must be a secondary inflection after the temathic from *\*sor-υό-* (preserved in Gr.), derived from the PIE verbal root *\*ser-* ‘to bind, to tie together, thread’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 534, IEW 910). Vine’s objections to his proposal are not relevant, since he is convinced that PIE *\*s-* remains in NPhr., interpreting it as a Gr. borrowing. The meaning has been identified in the light of its equivalence with Gr. πατήρ in the quasi-bilingual inscription 1.1: compare δουμε κε οι ουεβαν αδδακετ ορουαν with παρεθέμην τὸ μνημεῖον τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεοῖς κὲ τῆ κώμη ταυθ’ ὁ πατήρ Ἀσκληπιός. Note that here πατήρ seems to be a religious term (in Mithraism, it is a title used by priests). Moreover, in the other two inscriptions it occurs as the epiklesis of Zeus, 21.6 ας βαταν ορουεαν κε and 59.4 γεγρειμενον κ’ εγεδου ορουεος ουτον. Compare this last occurrence with 62.3 γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν.

*Lubotsky 1997, 127-128; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 115; Vine 2010, 344-345; Sowa 2012; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183 and 185.*

**ορουεαν** and **ορουεος** see ορουαν.

### **oskavos** (?)

OPhr. *oskavos* B-05 l.8

The context is an imprecative protasis: *yos niy art sin=t imenān kaqa oskavos kaqey*. Following Hämmig's suggestion (2013, 147-148), it could be a masc.sg.nom. perfect participle in \*-uo-, which seems to agree with the pronoun *yos*, meaning something like 'to intend'. This would explain *kaka* as its object. Nevertheless, neither the origin nor the precise meaning is known and the presence of -vo- instead of a simplified -o- needs to be explained.

*Neumann 1997; Brixhe 2004a, 60; Hämmig 2013, 147-148.*

### **o'ss[-?]** (?)

OPhr. *o'ss[-?]* or *[-?]-sso?* G-248

An obscure graffito incised on a potsherd. Due to the separation of the letters, they could be separated monograms; nevertheless, *CIPPh* (I, 194-195) assumed that they are the beginning or the ending of a word. Only three letters remain, but the original inscription may have had more. Roller 1987a, 38 (who read *r s s*) considered it an owner's mark.

*CIPPh I, 194-195; Roller 1987a, 38.*

**οτ** see αδ.

### **otekonov** (?)

Ophr. *otekonov* B-01

The context of this unexplained word is too obscure to shed light on its meaning: *kavarmoyun matar otekonov (-?) | kesiti...*

*Lubotsky 1993b, 94; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 184.*

### **otu** (?)

OPhr. *otu[-?]* T-03 a I or *otu[[v]oi* T-03aI + T- 03b?

*otu* P-04a or *otuvoy* P-04a?

The beginning of this word is given by the interpunction in T-03aI, but it may be incomplete. Its nature and its meaning are unknown and the context does not offer additional information. Brixhe (1991, 38) suggested that this text was originally followed by T-03b, so that the word could be read as *otu[[v]oi*, attested in P-04a *otuvoy*. However, he also assumes that it could be a complete word (following Haas 1966, 180): a masc. PN in sg.nom. without the ending -s, a variant of Ὀτυς, the name of the last ruler of Paphlagonia according to X. *HG* 4.1 (also in Brixhe 2004a, 101-102). The same possibility is given to *otu* P-04a: *otu voi vetei etlnaie*. On the other hand, this last occurrence has been also segmented as *otuvoy*, a thematic sg.dat. Since *vetei* is equated to Gr. φέτος, ἔτος 'year', *otuvoy* has often been identified as the numeral eight, after Meister (1911, 22). According to this interpretation, *otuvoy vetei* means 'in the 8<sup>th</sup> year'. The presence of this suggested numeral is interpreted as its date 'in the eighth year'. However, phonetically it implies the shift PIE \*-kt- > Phr. -tt-, since this number is reconstructed as *\*h<sub>3</sub>e<sub>1</sub>ktō* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>e<sub>1</sub>kteh<sub>3</sub>*, although this cluster seems to be preserved in *vouκtov* (29.1 = 114, and in the probable borrowing *vanaktei* M-01a). Moreover, another possibility put forward by Haas (1938, 132, similar to Brixhe's suggestion) is the reading *otu voi vetei*, where *otu* is a PN. According to this segmentation, *voi* is the sg.dat.masc. of the poss. pronoun *\*su-* (see *va*), which agrees with *vetei*. Following this interpretation, the meaning would be something like 'Otus to his Vetei'.

*Meister 1911, 22; Haas 1938, 132; Neroznak 1978, 82; CIPPh I, 237-238; Brixhe 1991, 38; Orel 1997a, 451; Brixhe 2004a, 101-102.*

**otuvoy** see *otu*.

**ot.[...]seti** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.subj. ot.[...]seti P-04 a

A damaged word occurring in a curse: *ios ni akenan egeseti | oqirterko[...]. tekmoṛ | ot.[...]seti vebru*. Despite the gap, such a beginning and the ending *-seti* show that it is very likely a verb. If this is the case, the beginning could be the preverb *o-* (< PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>o*, LIPP II, 323-324), as in *odeketoy*. CIPPh I, 238.

**ουα** and **ουαν** see *va*.

**ουανακταν** see *Vanaktaei*.

**ουβρα** see *vebraṣ*.

**ουεβα** and **ουεβαν** See *veban*.

**ουεβρα** see *vebraṣ*.

**ουεκρω** (noun) ‘father-in-law’

NPhr. dat.sg. [o]υεκρω 43.1 (69)

It has been interpreted as an *o*-stem sg.dat. meaning ‘father-in-law’ by Orel (1997a, 346 and 467), going back to PIE *\*suekrúH-* ‘mother-in-law’ (NIL 672-675, IEW 1043-1044), as Lat. *socrus* ‘mother-in-law’ (also ‘father-in-law’) and *socer* ‘father-in-law’, Gr. *έκυρός* ‘id.’, Sk. *śvāsura* ‘id.’, etc. If this is correct, it seems to agree with the following PN *δαδωνε* in sg.dat.: *αδεν<π>ατω κγουμαν [o]υεκρω δαδωνει ονουεια ειροι...* ‘Adenpatēs ... this tomb for his father-in-law Dadon ...’.

Orel 1997a, 346 & 467.

**ουελας** (noun) ‘relatives?’

NPhr. ουελας 9.1 (87), 15.1 (120)

According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189), this is an *a*-stem in pl.nom. inherited from PIE *\*suel-eh<sub>2</sub>-es* and likely means ‘relatives’. An alternative has recently been proposed by Hämmig (fthc. a), who segments the word as *ουελασκετου* 9.1 (87) and *ουελασκοννου* 15.1 (120) and considers it a verb in 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. respectively. She also read in 21.1 (42) the form *ουελασκοννου*, traditionally read as *κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου*. Both forms happens in a clear apodosis: 9.1 *α τι αδειτου ουελας κε | του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης* and 15.1 *ις τιε τι[[ττετικ]μεγος ειτυ ουελας κοννου κ’ ηνκ[[---]]*.

Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189; Hämmig fthc. a.

**ουελασκετου** and **ουελασκοννου** see *ουελας* and *κοννου*.

**ουεναουιας** (PN)

NPhr. sg.gen. ουεναουιας 6.1 (88)

In this *a*-stem fem. PN, the digraph <ου> denotes /w/, so we must read /wenawias/. This occurrence specifies to whom the tomb was erected: *ιος | νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε | αδδακετ αρω ουεναουιας*. It is also attested in the Gr. text of the same inscription, where it appears as *Ουεναουιη* (sg.dat., see KPN 396 § 1153). Dressler (1964, see also Brixhe 2013, 67-68) suggested that it is a Luwian PN in *-wiya*, although the first element remains unclear (see § 4.6.2.2).

KPN 396 § 1153-2 and § 1153-3; Orel 1997a, 108 & 467; Brixhe 2013, 67-68; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189.

**ουκραον** (adj.)

NPhr. ουκρα|ον 11.2 (18)

Obscure word read in an imprecative protasis. It seems to agree with λατομειον in sg.acc.: ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειον εγδαεζ μουρσα. Consequently, it is probably an *o*-stem masculine adjective. However its meaning and origin remain unknown.

**ουρανιον** (adj.) ‘heavenly’

NPhr. masc.sg.acc. ουρανιον 6.1 (88)

This thematic adj. occurs as an epithet of διουνσιν: πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ισγεικετ διουνσιν. Its origin is a little ambiguous, and although it can be considered a Gr. borrowing from οὐράνιος ‘id.’, one cannot rule the possibility that it is an inherited word going back to PIE \**u<sub>2</sub>ors-* (EDG 1128) because the absence of the initial \**u-* reconstructed for the Gr. form also drops in Phrygian before the vowel /*o*/. Nevertheless, the etymology of Gr. οὐρανός ‘heaven’ is not at all clear (see DELG 838-839 and EDG 1128) and a compensatory lengthening \**-Vrs-* > *-Vr-* is not identified in Phr., hence it is more likely a borrowing from Gr.

Orel 1997a, 111 & 465; Brixhe 2002a, 62; Lubotsky 2004, 234; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 193.

**ουρνουσαεν** (verb?)

NPhr. 3.pl.aor.? ουρνουσαεν 43.1 (69)

Although its reading remains disputed (Hämmig fthc. a has recently read it as ουρ[.]υσαεν), the isolated ending could reveal that it is a verb in 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural aor., parallel to singular εδαεζ: μανειζ | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουρνουσαε|ν. Its position at the end of a sentence and the presence of several possible subjects make this suggestion more likely. However neither the meaning nor the origin are known.

Hämmig fthc. a.

**ουζ** (particle)

MPhr. ουζ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 8

NPhr. ζ 62.2 (33) l. 6, 62.5 (36) l. 9-10

A particle that follows verbs in imprecative apodoses: MPhr-01 ιος κοροαν δετουγ | σφυν ομαστα ομνισιτ ουζ, 62.2 αυτος κε οα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτουζ and 62.5 αυτος κ’οα κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ος α βαταν τευτουζ. According to Brixhe (2004a, 24, who is unaware of the NPhr. occurrence), it may go back to PIE \**e/o* in mas.pl.acc., \**os* and presents the shift \**o* > *u*. However, the context of MPhr. remains obscure and in the NPhr. occurrences the DO seems to be κοροκα. In any case, note the crasis in the NPhr. forms: τευτου + ουζ > τευτουζ.

Brixhe 2004a, 24; Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309.

**ουταν** (noun) ‘punishment, word, spell’?

NPhr. acc. sg. ουταν 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105); ου<τ>αν 60.1 (59)

acc. sg. ουτον 59.4 (106)

Noun commonly attested as an *a*-stem fem. ουταν, but identified on one occasion as the *o*-stem masculine ουτον. Its context, an imprecative apodosis, always reads as follows: γεγειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν ‘let him have the written punishment of Zeus’. It often agrees with γεγειμεναν ‘written’, but in one case the variant ουτον agrees with the masculine form γεγειμενον. Orel (1997a, 465) suggested that it is related to Gr. οὐτάω ‘to harm’, a word both “morphologically and etymologically” unclear according to EDG (1131-1132). However, it is easier to consider the Phr. word a derivative from the verbal root \**u<sub>2</sub>eth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to say’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 694-695) attested in Lat. *uetō* ‘forbid, oppose, veto’, MWe. *dy-wed-* ‘to say’, Hitt. *uttar / uddan-* (n.) ‘word,

speech' and CLuw. *utar / utn-* (n.) 'word, spell' (an interpretation that is not assured, see Kloekhorst 2008, 932-933). Bayun and Orel (1989, 32) considered it an Anatolian borrowing. Nevertheless, neither the Hitt. nor the Luw. inflection of this word is a good fit as the origin of this Phr. *a*-stem noun. Consequently, it can be explained as a secondary *a*-stem inflection developed from the oblique cases of the PIE noun *\*u<sub>2</sub>é<sub>2</sub>r-*, *\*u<sub>2</sub>th<sub>2</sub>-én-s* (as Kloekhorst 2008, 932-933 reconstructs).

Bayun & Orel 1989, 32; Orel 1997a, 465.

**ουτον** see ουταν.

**oy** see ιοι.

**†oynev** see ιοι & *nevos*.

**oyvos** (?)

OPhr. oyvos B-01

An obscure word read in an unclear sequence: *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni...* Since even the segmentation is disputed (Brixhe 199, 131 prefers a segmentation *oy vos*), interpretations such as the one proposed by Orel (1997a, 145 and 444), who equated it to Gr. οἶος 'alone', are very uncertain.

Orel 1997a, 145 and 444.



## Γ (p) - Π π

†p[---] see *kraniyas*.

### **pa** (PN)

OPhr. *pa* G-162, G-258, G-310, [-?-)pα G-271

This sequence, which must be a PN, can be interpreted as either an abbreviation or a complete name (see *KPN* 419 § 1213-1 Πας, from Isauria). If the second case is accurate, it is a monosyllabic Lallname in the nominative without the ending -s, similar to βα, a variant of βας. Perhaps both scenarios are represented in these occurrences. On the other hand, G-162 could be read as *ap* and G-271 could have more letters at the beginning.

*CIPPh* I, 144-145, 200, 209; *Roller* 1987a, 46; *Brixhe* 2002a, 68-69.

### **pakray** (noun?)

OPhr. sg.dat. *pakray* B-01 l. 9

Bayun and Orel (1988a, 189 and later Orel 1997a, 452) considered this word a borrowing from a Semitic language meaning ‘religious assembly’ (Akkadian *puḫru* ‘assembly, gathering of clan or family’, Ugaritic *pḫr* ‘assembly, cluster, group’), so an *a*-stem in the sg.dat., but this part of the inscription (*apaktneḫi | pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*) is not well understood. Consequently, this identification should be viewed sceptically, although no alternative is given. In any case, it is a probable *a*-stem noun in the sg.dat.

*Neroznak* 1978, 91; *Bayun & Orel* 1989a, 188; *Lubotsky* 1993, 97; *Orel* 1997a, 452; *Bernd-Ersöz* 2006, 85-86.

### **paṇato** (?)

OPhr. *paṇato* B-05 l. 6

An obscure word which Neuman (1997, 21-22) related to *paṇta*. However, adopting Brixhe’s sceptical view (2004a, 58), this interpretation is very unlikely, since the second *a* is difficult to account for in its paradigm. In addition, the context remains obscure: *nidus aḍ kaḷiyay kaḷaṭu paṇato aḍopopostois kḷam<sup>2</sup>iv[. ?]*. Therefore, this word is unexplained.

*Neumann* 1997, 21-22; *Brixhe* 2004a, 58.

### **panta** (adjective) ‘whole, all, every’

OPhr. ? *paṇta* B-05 l.

MPhr. masc.nom.pl.? παντης MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7

NPhr. neut.pl.nom-acc. παντα 62.4 (35)

Adjective inherited from from PIE *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-ent-* ‘all’. It seems to be attested in masc.pl.nom.-acc. παντης /pantes/ (PIE < *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-ent-es*). However, the context remains obscure: παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ροξ παντης πεννιτι... It also appears in the neut.pl.nom.-acc. παντα (PIE < *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-ent-h<sub>2</sub>*, Greek πᾶς ‘all, every, whole’, ToAB *pont-*), which agrees with κενα in a singular apodosis: ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα | <i>ννου. Finally, the form *paṇta* in B-05 is ambiguous because the context is still obscure: *artimitos kraniyas [---] | paṇta vebraṣ aḍun p<sup>2</sup>os key estaṭ pator.<sup>2</sup>ike[...][e[...]] aḍati...* It can be considered to agree with *vebraṣ*, a sg.gen., but a form *\*pantas* would be expected. So, either it is an irregularity or it agrees with a lost word in the line above.

*Brixhe* 1999, 302; *Brixhe* 2008, 72; *Ligorio & Lubotsky* 2013, 186.

παντης see *panta*.

*paries* see *garies*.

**παρταν** see **παρτης**.

**παρτης** (adj.?)

NPhr. **παρταν** 66.1 (103)

**παρτης** 9.1 (87), 15.1 (120), 21.1 (42), 22.2 (118),

**παρτυς** 22.1; [π]αρτυς 15.1 (120)

An obscure word which is only attested in epitaphs. Its inflection is not at all clear: note the differences between the endings and the presence of an iota in **παρτιας** (and *i*-stem in MPhr. despite NPhr. occurrences? See Brixhe 1999, 301-302). Perhaps this diversity of endings shows that the word is an adjective. It is especially clear in 9.1, where **παρτης** seems to agree with **αστοι** in sg.nom.masc. (**α τι αδειτου ουελας κε | του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης**). However, it also occurs in sequences where no agreement can be identified: 15.1 **ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ[.....]υρις γενηι βεπαι κε παρτης βεκος**, 21.1 **[ζε]μελωσ κε [δε]ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ] | αι παρτης** and 22.2 **τετιο|κμενος ειτου διωσ | κε ζεμελωσ κε παρ|της**. Its hypothetical fem. form can be identified in MPhr-01 **κισις μο|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορκορο...** and in the protasis 66.1 (103) **[ιοσ] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ][ον α]βερετι ζει[ραι]**. Even less clear is the form **παρτυς** (both occurrences followed by **ου(ε)βρα**): 22.1 **μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα** and 15.1 **[.....] π[α]ρτυς ουεβρα**. Previous interpretations by Haas (1966, 91), who interpreted it as the Iranian word for 'judge', and Orel (1997a, 452), who gave it the meaning 'infirmary, harm, mutilation' (in the light of Gr. **πηρός** 'disabled in a limb, maimed' **πηρώ** 'maim, mutilate'), are simply ungrounded.

*Brixhe 1999, 301-302; Brixhe 2004a, 21.*

**παρτιας** (?)

MPhr. **παρτιας** MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6

A word read in the MPhr. epitaph: **κισις μο|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ρος παντης ...** It seems to derive from **παρτης**, although the meaning of both terms remains unclear. Brixhe (2004a, 21) considered it an *i*-stem pl.acc. However, the expected ending is **-ais**.

*Brixhe 1999, 301-302; Brixhe 2004a, 21.*

**παρτυς** see **παρτης**.

**πασε** (?)

OPhr. **πασε** 22.1 (9)

An unparalleled word that occurs in a sentence where the monument is described, before the mention of the addressee: **υς δουμ<sup>2</sup>ετ[ι]ου πασε δεκμουταις κιν[υ]μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα**. The relation with *paṇta* is highly unlikely, since it does not fit with its inflexion. The ending corresponds to an athematic sg.dat., in the light of **τιε** or and adverbs such as **κακε**.

**πατερης** see **πατρεις**.

**pator**. (?)

OPhr. **pator**. B-05

Since the reading of its some letters is unclear (Neumann 1997, 21 read *patorp*), as is the segmentation (*pator.ike[...]* or *pator.ike[...]*?), and as the context remains obscure, the word is far from being clear: *paṇta vebrāṣ adun p<sup>3</sup>os key estāt pator.ike[...].e[...]. andati ...* Neumann (1997, 21) suggested a relation with the word for 'father' (see *patriyiq<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>* and **πατρεις**). Indeed, the vocalism recalls the Gr. noun **πάτωρ** 'possessor' and is perhaps the first element of a compound, as Brixhe (2004a, 57) suggested. In any case, this question remains open.

**πατρες** (noun) ‘parents’

NPhr. pl.nom. πα|τερης 1.2 (48)

pl.nom. πατρες 2.2 (130)

Given their grammatical context (they are the subjects of the verbs), these forms must be the nominative plural of the inherited PIE word for ‘father’ \**ph<sub>2</sub>tér* (see, e.g., Gr. πατήρ ‘id.’, Skt. *pitṛ*, Lat. *pater*; PIE nom. pl. \**ph<sub>2</sub>téres*) used as ‘parents’: 1.2 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν αργου and 2.2 ανι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη... The ending *-es* (< PIE \**-es*) is represented by both *-ες* and *-ης*. The form *πατρες*, which contrasts with *πατερης*, shows a syncope in the syllable where the stress would be expected. Consequently, it must have changed its position, perhaps to the last syllable as a levelling from the sg.gen. (PIE \**ph<sub>2</sub>trés*) or the sg.dat. (PIE \**ph<sub>2</sub>tréi*), or to the first syllable from the acrostatic paradigm for ‘mother’ (PIE nom. pl. \**méh<sub>2</sub>teres*).

Haas 1966, 112; Orel 1997a, 452; Brixhe 1999, 301-302; Avram 2015, 208 and 209 fn. 55.

**πατριω<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>** (noun) ‘relatives’

OPhr. pl.acc. πατριω<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup> B-04

Substantiated thematic adj. in the pl.acc. (< PIE \**-oms*). It is a derivative, through the suffix \**-jo-*, from the word for ‘father’ PIE \**ph<sub>2</sub>tér*, attested in Phr. only in pl.nom. *πατερης* / *πατρες*. This formation is parallel to Gr. πάτριος, α, ον ‘of or belonging to one’s father’, so the meaning must be something similar to ‘relatives of the father’s side’. It is coordinated with the word for ‘brothers’: *ἑταῖροις πατριω<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup> κε* ‘(to the) brothers and relatives’.

Bayun & Orel 1988c, 136; Orel 1997a, 56 & 452; Brixhe 2004a, 41-42.

**πει (?)**

OPhr. *πει m[-?]* or *πι m[-?]* or *πειν* or *πιν* W-13

The reading of this doubtful and precariously preserved inscription (read on a wall with a small niche, perhaps a façade) is far from certain. Even the editors (Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 67-69) are unsure whether this is indeed a written sequence. If the last remaining letter is read as *m*, Brixhe considers that it could be the abbreviation of a word (perhaps *matar*), because it is not expected as the ending of a word. However, such a segmentation is not clear and the whole sequence could be an abbreviated word or a damaged one. Consequently, it remains obscure.

Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 67-69.

**πειες** see πετες.

**πειρ (?)**

NPhr. *πειρ* 43.1 (69)

Doubtful segmentation in an obscure sequence. Hämmig (fthc. a.) has recently proposed the reading ΠΕΙΡΑ|ΡΕ.

Hämmig fthc. a.

**πεις** (adj.?) ‘dead’?

NPhr. *πεις* 43.1 (69)

This obscure word is coordinated in the form *πεις* with *ζως*, probably a borrowing from Gr. ζώς ‘living’, so it seems to be the nominative singular and is probably the antonym, similarly to *δεως* with respect to *ζεμελως* in an analogous construction, ‘gods and men’. On the other hand, a form *πειες*, which has the same relationship with *ζειρα*, and is probably the nominative plural, was read on 40.1 (12). However, if *ζειρα* means ‘hands’ a reading *πετες* is very suitable. With regard to *πεις*, the etymological proposals of Orel’s (1997a, 453, PIE \**pēi-* ‘harm, inflict pain,

abuse’) and Woodhouse (2007, 198, PIE \**ǵʰéiuis* ‘living’) are not convincing. The context of 43.1 (69) is imprecative: τ[ος] νι | ζωσ κε π[εις] κε τιτε|τικμενος ειτου ‘let him become accursed when living and dead(?)’.

Orel 1997a, 453; Woodhouse 2007, 198.

**ΠΕΝ** see ΠΕΝΝΙΤΙ.

**ΠΕΝΝΙΤΙ** (verb?)

MPhr. 3sg.? ΠΕΝΝΙΤΙ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7

Because of its ending, it may be a verb, although its meaning and its origin are unknown. The context is an obscure epitaph: πορ κοροος ..|ρος παντης ΠΕΝΝΙΤΙ... Brixhe (2004a, 22) considered a word boundary between the occurrences of *ny* because he assumed that in this inscription geminates are not marked, as in OPhr. inscriptions. However, it is written in the Gr. alphabet, so there seems little justification for this segmentation. Otherwise, ΠΕΝΝΙΤΙ is preferred because it provides a more common root to this possible verb.

Brixhe 2004a, 22.

**p<sup>ʳ</sup>er** see p<sup>ʳ</sup>erbastidages.

**p<sup>ʳ</sup>erbastidages** (PN?)

OPhr. p<sup>ʳ</sup>erbastidages HP-101

A complete sequence incised on a clay spindle whorl from northern Lydia. Perhaps this unparalleled word is a compound, athematic noun in pl.acc. with the same element *per* attested in ΠΕΡΒΕΔΑΝ if not p<sup>ʳ</sup>er bastidages, a preposition + PN (preferred by Brixhe 2004a, 103-106). IT is also possible that we are dealing with a PN p<sup>ʳ</sup>erbastidages of Thracian or “Persianised Thracian” origin, according to Dinç and Innocente (1999, 69-71) and Vassileva (2015, 94), in the light of the occurrences given by Detschew (1976, 45). If this is the case, it may be a common name with sg.nom. in *-es*.

Dinç & Innocente 1999, 69-71; Brixhe 2004, 103-106; Vassileva 2015, 94.

**ΠΕΡΒΕΔΑΝ** (noun) ‘grave’?

NPhr. sg.acc. ΠΕΡΒΕΔΑΝ 29.1 (114)

A clear *a*-stem noun which works as the direct object. On the other hand, since it happens in a clear imprecative protasis, ιος | κε βρειτ ΠΕΡΒΕΔΑΝ, it must refer to (some part of) the monument. Indeed, -βεδα- can go back to a PIE root \**b<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-* ‘pierce, dig’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 66, IEW 113-114) attested in Hitt. *padda<sup>-i</sup>* / *padda-* ‘dig (the ground), to bury(?)’, Lat. *fodio* ‘dig’, Lith. *bedù* ‘stick, dig’. It means that ΠΕΡ could be inherited from PIE \**per* ‘cross, pass’, equated to Gr. ΠΕΡΙ (see also p<sup>ʳ</sup>erbastidages).

**petes** (noun) ‘feet’

OPhr. pl.nom. ΠΕΤΕΣ G-02

NPhr. pl.nom. ΠΕΤΕΣ 40.1 (12)?

Nominative plural forms of the Phrygian word for ‘feet’, which goes back to PIE \**ped-* ‘id.’ (NIL 526-540), Gr. πόδες. This identification for G-02 was suggested by Kloekhorst (2015) following his own reading, which improved the previous interpretation, *iktes*. In its context it agrees with *agaritōi: agaritōi petes adoikavoi...* The NPhr. form was previously read as ΠΕΙΕΣ and related to the obscure word ΠΕΙΣ. However, since the word for hands is also attested in the same apodosis, ζειρα κε οι ΠΕΙΕΣ κε τιτ|τετικμενα ατ τιε αδειττου, and is not the only instance of confusion over this letter in both readers’ copies, showing that the inscription was damaged at this point, these new interpretations must be taken into account.

**πινκε** (numeral?) ‘five’?

OPhr. πινκετας 16.1 (116)

Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 178) suggested that a segment πινκετας could be an agent noun because of the presence of suffix *-ta-*. If this is the case, it must be a nominative singular. Nevertheless, the context remains obscure: ... ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|γουταις εδαεσ πινκε τας δ[α<sup>2</sup>]|κερης ονομανιας... Orel (1997a, 132, 453) interpreted it as a PN of uncertain origin, but it does not fit with the context, while Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187) gave the segmentation πινκε and considered it the numeral ‘five’ (< PIE *\*penk<sup>u</sup>e* ‘id.’, Gr. πέντε, Lat. *quinque*, Skt. *pancan*). Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 178; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187.

(<sup>t</sup>)πινκετας see πινκε and τας.

**p<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>** (?)

OPhr. p<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup> W-04 l.5

The isolation of this word is given by Brixhe (2004a, 40). It is preceded by *εδαυιγ* and *αηernevey* (a verb?). Its nature, function and origin are unknown.

Brixhe 2004a, 40.

**pitave[---]** (?)

OPhr. pitave[---] G-113

A fragmented graffito on a potsherd. According to Orel (1997a, 174 and 453) it is the word for ‘pithos’ borrowed from Gr. πίθος. However, the presence of the sequence *-ave-* casts some doubt on this interpretation. Given the obscure context it is preferable to be cautious and acknowledge that the meaning is unclear.

CIPPh I, 106; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 193; Orel 1997a, 174 & 453.

**πλαδε** (adverb or preposition?) ‘near, nearby’?

OPhr. πλαδε MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6

According to Brixhe (2004a, 21-22), it is a word featuring the zero grade of the PIE root *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘approach’ (Gr. πλησίος / πλασίος ‘id.’) and the non-personal pronoun *\*d<sup>h</sup>e-*, cognate of the Gr. *-θε*. If it works as preposition, it probably requires the case of *porokoro*, the following word: *υιταγ παρτιασ πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ρος παντης*.

Brixhe 2004a, 21-22.

**ploriatā[---]** (?)

OPhr. ploriatā[---] G-132

A graffito incised on a potsherd. The only interpretation is given by Orel (1997a, 453), who considered it a loanword from Hitt. *pulluriya* ‘vessel’. His segmentation was *ploria* and he explained it as a nominative singular of an *a*-stem fem. Nevertheless, the suggested Hitt. word is not attested (a misinterpretation of *pul(l)-* (n.) ‘lot; allotment, share; destiny, fate’ or the obscure *pulla-*, noun which appears with the determinatives DUG ‘vessel’ and É ‘house’?). Consequently, this word remains unclear.

Neroznak 1978, 102; CIPPh I, 121-122; Orel 1997a, 184 & 453.

(<sup>t</sup>)podas see podaskai.

**podaskai** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.? *podaskai*<sup>?</sup> G-02c

Before Kloekhorst's reading (2015) of *petes* in the first part of the inscription, *podas* was considered the word for 'feed' (after Lejeune 1969b, 291). However, since the curse can be divided into the protasis *ios oporokitis*[. ?] *kakoi oi tovo* and the apodosis *podaskai*<sup>?</sup>, this word must be a verb, so the ending *-ai* must be third singular. The suffix *-ské/o-* probably appears here. Kloekhorst (2015, 117) also gives the hypothetical meaning "‘he will be trampled upon’ (namely by the protective feet?)". However, without more occurrences we remain far from establishing a convincing interpretation of this verb.

*Kloekhorst 2015, 117.*

**ποκραίου** (?)

MPhr. ποκραίου MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 2

This obscure word seems to be a sg.gen. related to the personal name πουκρος. Could it also be an anthroponym? The context is no clearer: ποκραίου κη γλουρεος γαμενου | σα σοροι ματι μακραν.

*Brixhe 2004a, 17.*

**polodrẽtes** (appellative?)

OPhr. sg.nom. *polodrẽtes* T-03aI

An e-stem anthroponym in the nominative singular. Since it agrees with the anthroponym *otu* it is considered an appellative by Brixhe (2004a, 101): *a↑iiai ∷ polodrẽtes ∷ poreti ∷ otu*. Orel (1997a, 313 & 453) suggested that the beginning was parallel to Gr. πολυ- / πολλο-.

*Orel 1997a, 313 & 453; Brixhe 2004a, 101-102.*

**popostois** (noun?)

OPhr. acc.pl.? *popostois* B-05 l. 6

Read in a obscure part of this large inscription: ... *nidus ad kalıyay karatu panato ando popostois klani kelmis ke umnişet evraduş daķeraış key iverais* [...] ... Brixhe (2004a, 58), rejecting Neumann's (1997, 22) segmentation *andop opostois*, read the single word *andopopostois*. Because of its ending it can be considered a thematic noun in acc.pl., \*-ons > -ois. Either way, its meaning remains unclear.

*Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 58; Hämmig 2013, 137.*

**por** (preposition) 'for'

OPhr. *por* W-05b

MPhr. πορ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6

NPhr. πουρ 6.1 (88)

A preposition which governs acc., on the basis of πουρ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ισγεικετ διουνσιν (6.1) 'let him be responsible before the heavenly lord Dionisos'. Nevertheless, in MPhr-01 it perhaps governs gen., πορ κοροος ..|ρος (better than πορκορο ος ..|ρος, as Lubotsky (2017) suggested, or πορκοροος ..|ρος, given by Brixhe (2004a, 21-22) and Avram (2015, 210). Its oldest occurrence, in W-05b, is ambiguous because of the loss of the ending of the following noun: [---]nst[--- e]daes *por* mãte[---]. Note that, following *CIPPh* (I, 49), it has been interpreted as the Lyc. name attested as *purihimeti* (*TL* 99) and Ποριματις (in a Gr. inscription), yet the presence of *Matar* is far more likely on this kind of cult façade, as established by Lubotsky (2017, 430). In any case, the origin of the preposition *por* must be found in the zero grade of the PIE adverb \**pr* 'before' (*LIPP* II, 633), cognate of El. πάρ, and the element \**pr-* is attested in the Gr. forms πρό, πρίν and πρόσ, Goth. *faur*, etc.

CIPPh I, 49; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 184; Lubotsky 1989b, 151-152; Brixhe 1993, 332-333; Brixhe 1997, 55; Orel 1997a, 45 & 454; Wittke 2004, 349; Brixhe 2004a, 21; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80; Neumann 2007, 293; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186; LIPP II, 633; Lubotsky 2017, 430.

### **poreti** (verb)

OPhr. 3sg.pres.act.? *poreti* T-03 a I

The ending *-ti* shows that it is a 3 sg. present subjunctive of an unknown verb: *a↑iiai ∷ polodre|tes ∷ poreti ∷ otu*.

Heubeck 1986, 77; Brixhe 1991, 43; Sowa 2007a, 73-74.

**πορκορο** see *por* and *κοροαν*.

**†pormate[---]** see *por* and *matar*.

### **porniyoy** (PN?)

OPhr. *porniyoy* B-07

Read on a stele following an anthroponymic sequence: *smanes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy est[...][...]es va knais*. It is clearly an *o*-stem in the dat. Probably a hypocorism or patronym derived by the suffix *-io-* from a name that is not attested. Gusmani (2001, 165) suggested we may be dealing with a derivative from PIE *\*porh<sub>2</sub>-neh<sub>2</sub>-* attested, e.g., in Gr. as *πορνή* ‘prostitute, whore’ or *πέρνημι* ‘to sell’.

Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 156-157; Gusmani 2001, 165; Brixhe 2004a, 79.

### **p<sup>o</sup>os** (postposition and adverb?)

OPhr. *p<sup>o</sup>os* B-05 l. 4

NPhr. *ποκ* 16.1 (116)

A preposition governing acc., also documented as preverb in NPhr. *ποσεκανες* (16.1). It is derived from the PIE adverb *\*pos* ‘after’ (LIPP II, 628), Ved. *pascat*, OCS *po* ‘behind, after’ (< *\*pos*), Lat. *post* (< *\*posti*), etc. The Gr. forms *po-si* (Μyc.), *πός*, *ποτ-* and *πο-* are related but all go back to the compound *\*po-ti*. The consonant of NPhr. *ποκ* assimilated to the following one: *ποκ γονιον*. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176-177) considered this sequence a compound noun. The OPhr. *p<sup>o</sup>os* appears in a strange position after an acc. and the conj. *key: panta vebraş adun p<sup>o</sup>os key estat pator.<sup>o</sup>ike[...].e[...] andati...*

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176-177; Brixhe 1997, 56; Brixhe 2004a, 56-57; LIPP II, 628.

### **ποσεκανες** (verb) ‘to dig’?

NPhr. *ποσεκανες* 16.1 (116)

The 3 sg. aor. of an obscure verb, with the strengthened grade of the root, parallel to *edaes*. Its ending is *-εσ* < *\*-s-t* and it presents the augment *ε-* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-* and a preverb *ποσ-* (see *p<sup>o</sup>os*). Its root, *-καν-* < *\*kēn-*, has been said to go back to PIE *\*ken-* ‘to rub, scrape, scratch off’ (IEW 559-563, see Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176), however it never appears as a verb. It is perhaps related to PIE *\*kēn-* ‘empty’, Gr. *κενός* ‘id.’. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 191), suggested a meaning ‘to dig’.

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 176; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 191.

### **πουκρος** (PN)

OPhr. *πουκρος* 40.3 (31)

Since *πουκρος* is followed by *Μανισ[ο]υ* it has been considered an anthroponym: *πουκρος Μανισ[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν*. Indeed, it seems to be an *o*-stem nominative and, consequently, the agent of *ενεπαρκες*. The origin of this name is unknown, as it is possible related to *ποκραιου* MPhr-01 (Brixhe 2004a, 17).

Orel 1997a, 333 & 455; Brixhe 2004a, 17.

**πουντας** (ethnic) ‘Pontan’

NPhr. sg.gen? πουντας 1.1 (48)

This word seems to be syntactically related to the god Βας. In the same inscription 1.1 (48), from Eskişehir, another god, μας, it is qualified with the epithet τεμπογειος ‘of the Thymbris’. Consequently, this word has been suggested to be a borrowing from Gr. Πόντος, the south shore of the Black Sea. However, there is a village in the south of Eskişehir with the Gr. name \*Potana or \*Potanos. This toponym is preserved only in the ethnic Ποντανηνός (modern Gemiç, see Ramsay 1890, 435 and 1905, 104, also KON 504 § 1085), applied to a man (on a funerary stele from Akoluk, Haspels 1971 I, no. 105), the Mother-Goddess (in a vow from Gemiç, MAMA V Lists Note:188,5) and the gods Hosios and Dikaios (in another vow, MAMA V Lists Note:188,5). Because of the proximity of these inscriptions and the use of this ethnic to qualify gods, the second origin is more likely. In any case, Lubotsky (1997, 132) also considered it a fem. adj. in the nominative singular, which would imply that Βας is a female divinity. However, this must be rejected because the sg.nom. of the *a*-stem fem. adj. is *-a-ø*, as *kubileya* (W-04) shows. Although ethnics are commonly found as epithets of the gods, in πουντας we cannot rule out a sg.gen. of the toponym. Since it seems to go back to PIE \**pont-eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘path’ (IEW 808-809, Gr. πόντος ‘sea’, Skt. *pánthāḥ* ‘way, path, road’, Lat. *pons* ‘bridge, passage’, etc.) and \**-eh<sub>1</sub>-* yields Phr. *-ā-*, a Phrygian *ā*-stem inflection for this word is possible. In conclusion, πουντας βας can be translated as ‘Bas from Ponta-’. See *tias* for a similar formation and problems.

Ramsay 1905, 104; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 148; Orel 1997a, 101 and 454; Lubotsky 1997, 123; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 186.

**πουρ** see *por*.

**πουσ[...]** (?)

NPhr. πουσ[...] 50.2 (55)

An obscure sequence read in a damaged protasis of a curse without parallels: ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουν | κ[νουμα]νει | κ[ακουν] αδδακ[ετ, ]ι οι πουσ[...]ι δυσιν. The last part of the word is lost: although the reading πουσ[...]ι could be accepted, it may be only a stroke of a longer letter. Consequently, the reading it is too uncertain for any interpretation to be given.

**προ** (noun?)

NPhr. προ 40.3 (31)

Although this is very similar to the Gr. preposition πρόσ, since there is not preceding text it could be read as [---]προ: [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου. Also, a segmentation προτος is possible, see προτυς. The following sequence ου can be related to ους MPhr-01. Nevertheless, the obscure context does not offer much information.

**proitavos** (noun) titleOPhr. sg.nom. *proitavos* M-01b; *proitavo[s]* M-02

This noun is used in reference to the same person in both occurrences: M-01b *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos si keneman edaes* and *bba memevais proitavo[s] k↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*, read on a façade and a step-monument, respectively. Since *memevais* seems to be a patronymic, *proitavos* has been considered a title in sg.nom. Brixhe (2004a, 60), on the other hand, identified a possible sg.gen. of a PN in *-ēu-* parallel to Gr. *-εύς / -ήφος*. However, neither of the candidates which share this ending (*akenanogavos* and *oskavos*) are independently documented as a PN and the ending is in fact considered sg.nom. (see § 4.2.1.1.5.9.). On the origin of the word, only Orel (1997a, 13 and 454) considered it derived from PIE verbal root \**h<sub>1</sub>ei-* ‘to go’ with a preverb *pro-* and the suffix *-avo-* and transLat.g it as ‘leader, chief’. Although Lat. *praetor* is an attractive parallel, neither the Phr. verb *i-* < \**h<sub>1</sub>ei-* nor the suffix *-avos* explains the presence of a *-t-*, so this interpretation is unsatisfactory.

### **προτυς (?)**

NPhr. προτυς 2.1 (15)

This unparalleled word is read in a funerary inscription which describes the monument: ξευνηταν ειξα υψοδαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμεναν μανκαν αμιασιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα[νος ---]. Its ending is the same as παρτυς. Despite the opacity of this word, Lubotsky, after rejecting previous explanations which identified it as a verb (morphologically impossible) or an adverb (equated to Gr. προτί), suggested a thematic noun in pl.acc. governed by the possible preposition υψοδαν. This can be accepted if the shif \*-ons > -ois considered by Brixhe is ruled out.

Lubotsky 1994, 132 fn. 5.

### **pseika<sup>?</sup> (noun?)**

OPhr. pseika<sup>?</sup> W-02

A badly preserved word read in a dedication engraved on a small façade: *iketaios pseika ed<sup>?</sup>[a]e<sup>?</sup>s*. Despite the lack of parallels and the loss of its ending, because of its position in the sentence it is very likely the patronymic of *iketatios*, the direct object of the sentence or the addressee in dat. In the light of the remaining strokes of the last letter, an ending -a is the best option, in which case it could be a neuter noun in pl.nom.-acc. However, this remains unclear. Orel (1997a, 41 and 454), on the other hand, based on a forced reading of the inscription, considered it an ethnic attested in D-101 as *pserkeyoy* in the light of his adduced parallel from Pisidia Ψερκιοκωμητης. However, neither the reading nor the parallel can be accepted. In W-02 the sequence must be read as *pseik*, not *pseir-*, and the Pisidian word cannot be considered a parallel, since Ψερκιοκωμητης simply means ‘villager of Pselquis’ in Gr. and it is not related to Anatolia. Indeed, it is an ethnic from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD with two occurrences in Pisidia (*KON* 661 § 1440) but solid attestation in Egypt (also with the variant Ψελκιτες on papyri), since it is based on the name of an *oppidum* located in the Nubian west bank of the Nile (Pleiades place no. 795846): Egyptian *Pr-Slk.t (Pr-Slq)*, Gr. Ψελκις or Ψελχις. So, the presence in Pisidia can be explained as a very late migration of particular people inside the Roman Empire. Because the initial *ps-* only has one other attestation in the whole Phrygian corpus that can also be interpreted as a PN, *pseukeyoy* or *pserkeyoy*, both occurrences may be variants of a name borrowed from an unidentified language. Nevertheless, it remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 43; Orel 1997a, 41 and 454; Obrador-Cursach fthc. b.

**pserkeyoy** see *pseukeyoy*.

### **pseukeyoy (PN)**

OPhr. sg.dat. *pseukeyoy* or *pserkeyoy* Dd-101

Read on a stamp seal before a clear PN in sg.nom: *pseu<sup>?</sup>keyoy atas*. Although the reading of the fourth letter is not at all clear because of a dent (but given the shape of the end of the strokes a *u* can be preferred), it can be considered a thematic PN in dat., perhaps related somehow to *pseik*. Since no parallel can be found, a very attractive possibility is to consider *pserkeyoy* a PN borrowed from Gr. Σπερχειός, a PN found in Roman Caria (Tralles 83, the form Σπερχύλειος is attested in Ephesos and Smyrna and Σπερχίς in Thessalia). On Orel’s interpretation as a DN, see *pseika<sup>?</sup>*.

CIPPh I, 43; Orel 1997a, 41 and 454; Obrador-Cursach fthc. b.



## P (r) - P ρ

*ray* see *bay*.

**ΡΕΚΤΕΟΙ** (noun) ‘edification, monument’?

NPhr. ρε|κτεοι 47.1 (51)

Despite the fact that the text is not complete, this hapax is attested in a common protasis occupying the place of κνουμανει: [ιος σεμ]ον ρε|κτεοι [κακου]ν αδα|κε instead of ιος σεμου κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ. The last letter has always been read as a ny (probably because of the ending of the previous word), but only an “upright stroke” remains, as Calder (1911, 195, the first editor) described; only Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 172) suggested the possible reading <i>. According to this and in the light of the pronoun [σεμ]ον, the reading <i> must be preferred. Consequently, it is an *o*-stem masc. or neuter dat., as is expected in this position. Defending the common reading brings totally ungrounded interpretations (see Brixhe 1978b, 19). Two possible meanings have been suggested on the basis of two respective etymological interpretations. The first was suggested by Calder (1911, 195) and followed by Orel (1997a, 339 and 455), who considered it a borrowing from Lat. *rectio* ‘a leading, guiding, government, direction’ or *erectio* ‘a setting up, erecting’. While *rectio* does not fit in this context, *erectio* does, and this means that certain processes must be assumed: an apheresis, the semantic evolution from ‘a setting up’ to ‘construction’, the adoption in the *o*-stem paradigm of this Lat. *n*-stem and the common hesitation between /e/ and /i/ (see δεωσ ~ διωσ). The second interpretation, which is absolutely impossible, was given by Haas (1996, 80), who considered to word a derivative from a form \**leg<sup>h</sup>to-* (sic), so similar to Lat. *lectus* ‘a couch, bed’ < \**leg<sup>h</sup>to-* / \**leg<sup>h</sup>tu-* (on the formation see Vaan 2008, 332, the root clearly goes back to PIE \**leg<sup>h</sup>-* ‘lie’). Despite the hesitation between /r/ and /l/ in Phrygian (compare σκελεδριαι with σκερεδριας), the voiceless velar stop is unexpected and does not explain the sequence -εο- instead of -ο-.

Calder 1911, 195; Haas 1996, 80; Brixhe 1978b, 19; Orel 1997a, 339 and 455.

**ΡΕΚΤΕΟΥ** see ΡΕΚΤΕΟΙ.

[.ʔ]*rekun* see *vrekun*.

**ri** (PN?)

OPhr. *ri* G-305

Perhaps an abbreviated anthroponym. Although the support is broken, if more letters were written, vestiges would be expected. Only one name is attested with this beginning in the Phrygian corpus, *rigaru* / *ritaru*.

Brixhe 2002a, 65.

**ριδιτι** (verb)

NPhr. 3sg.pres.sub. ριδιτι 16.1 (116)

The segmentation is not at all clear. It could be read as ριδιτιται, but the lack of parallels of this last ending makes ριδιτι preferable. This word must be the verb (transitive because of the acc.) of a sentence in which the construction is described: ξευνε ιοσος κε δετογ [υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν [.ʔ] κνουμαν κ’ ακροδμαν κε λοξιμον μειομον ριδιτι ται τοα...

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 173; Orel 1997a, 129 and 455.

**rig<sup>2</sup>aru** (PN)

OPhr. *rig<sup>2</sup>aru* G-222

The letter read as ⟨g⟩ could be ⟨t⟩. However, the first option is preferred because the appendix of the horizontal stroke in the right part is very short. Morphologically, it is very likely a *u*-stem PN in the sg.nom. without the *s* ending, as *otus* ~ *otu*. However, no parallel has been found for this anthroponym.

*CIPPh I, 179; Brixhe 1996, 141; Brixhe 2004a, 89.*

**ροκα** see οροκα.

## ξ (s) - Σ σ

**s**<sup>1</sup> (owner's mark)

OPhr. s G-204, NW-106, NW-117

Graffiti incised on sherds. In NW-106 and NW-117 this letter is isolated and seems to be an owner's or commercial mark. In G-204, however, it occurs in an unusual context where at least one PN (*alu*) has been identified: [---]ḏa *alu m s* [-?-].

*CIPPh I, 168; Brixhe 2002a, 15-16 and 22.*

**s**<sup>2</sup> see σεμουν.

**ṣabas** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. ṣabas M-08

This is the only sequence which has been read in this damaged inscription. It is preceded by an illegible sequence separated by a blank. Consequently, it is very likely a complete word. As *CIPPh I, 27-28* remarks, this probable PN is very similar to Σαβις or Σαβυς (*KPN 449 § 1349*), both found in Phrygia. If this is the case, it is an *a*-stem PN in the nominative with the ending *-s*. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 181, also Orel 1997a, 31 and 456) identify this name in the DN Σαβάζιος. *CIPPh I, 27-28; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 181; Fol 1997, 263; Orel 1997a, 31 and 456; Fol 1997.*

**σαι** see σεμουν.

**sakor** see *akor*.

**σαν** see σεμουν.

**saragis** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *saragis* B-108; *ṣaragiṣ* M-101 (Brixhe & Sivas 2003-4a)

The first occurrence, B-108, is a graffito incised on a fragment of a bowl followed by a probable interpunction and the sequence *magō*<sup>?</sup>[---]. Here, this PN was read in the light of the other occurrence (Gusmani & Polat 1999, 64 read it as [---]*saragiś* or [---]*saraliś*). M-101 is an isolated graffito on another damaged sherd (hard to date because it was found on the surface without a clear context). On the basis of the contexts in which it appears, it would seem to be an *i*-stem anthroponym. Because of the lack of parallels in other languages it has been considered by Brixhe (2004a, 93) a genuine Phr. PN. In addition, since a name Σαγαρις and variants such as Σαγαριος are especially well attested in Gr. inscriptions from Galatia and Phrygia dated between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, a metathesis in OPhr. occurrences of *saragis* can be considered (see a similar problem in *si*<sup>↑</sup>*idos*, suggested to be the Sidetic PN *śdi*<sup>↑</sup>*s*). Moreover, an Aramaic bulla (Balkan 1959, pl. XXXIVb) found in Daskyleion (as well as B-108) reads *LSGRY* or *LSGDY*. If the first reading is preferred, as in Lamaire (2000 II, 4, 3), the text means 'to Sagaris' (the second reading 'to *SGDY*' is difficult to defend), a possibility made stronger by the Greco-Aramaic inscription from Faraṣa (Cappadocia, dated later to the third c. BC according to Lipiński 1975, 174), in which this PN is also found: (Gr. text) Σαγάριος | Μαίφ[ά]ρνου | στρατηγ[ός] | Ἀριαραμνεῖ(ας) | ἐμάγευσε | Μίθρη 'Sagarios, (son) of Maipharnēs, commander of Ariaramneia, became magus of Mithra' (Aramaic text) *sgr br mhyprn rb hy*[l]? | *mgyš* [*lm*]*trh* 'Sagari, son of Mahifarna, chief of the army, became magus of Mithra'. Also, in the light of this occurrence (despite the chronological divergence), *saragis* :<sup>?</sup> *magō*<sup>?</sup>[s] could mean 'Saragis the magus'. Finally, *Saragis* is perhaps related to the enigmatic word σάγαρις, a weapon used by the Scythian tribes, the

Persians, Amazons, Mossynoeci, etc., considered Iranian in origin (EDG 1300) or, more likely, to the river name Σαγγάριος (worshipped as a god by the Phrygians).

*Brixhe 2004a, 93; Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 70.*

### σαρναν (DN)

NPhr. sg.nom. σαρναν 11.2 (18)

Since this hapax appears in a clear apodosis, βε<κ>ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσ' ευγισαρναν read as βε<κ>ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσει σαρναν by Hämmig (fthc. a), which has a very good parallel in 7.1 με κε οι | τοτοσσει βας βεκος, it has been interpreted as an epicleris of the god Bas. According to Hämmig, it is very likely a sg.nom. in \*-ēn. Recently, Avram (2016b, 77-78) has identified this word in the epithet of Zeus, Σαρνενηος, found in north-east Phrygia / north-west Galatia, Bithynia and Dacia. Unfortunately, neither the origin nor the meaning of this word has been identified.

*Hämmig fthc. a; Avram 2016b, 77-78.*

σας see σεμουν.

### σαυναμαν (noun)

OPhr. sg.acc. σαυναμαν 16.1 (116)

This word occurs in a sequence of several nouns in the sg.acc. that refer to different parts of the monument: ισοος κε δετογ [(ο)υ]ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν κνουμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λοδιμον μιομον ριδιτι... According to this interpretation, Lubotsky (1993a, 132) considered that this word could be “the term for the foundation, the pedestal of the monument”, and in the light of the Hitt. *šamāna-* ‘foundation(s); foundation deposit’ he considered it a borrowing from an Anatolian language (followed by Gorbachov 2009, 106 fn. 32 in order to strengthen his interpretations of the borrowed words). Although this interpretation is very attractive, it brings with it problems that cannot be solved by Lubotsky’s suggestion of an intermediate Anatolian language: the metathesis of the resonants (σαυναμαν instead of \*\*σαυμαναν) and the raising of the diphthong -a- > -au-. A significant element is the presence of ταν before the word σαυναμαν. This pronoun shows us that the word is undoubtedly fem. (Lubotsky 1993a, 131). Alternatively, one can suggest a segmentation ταν σα υναμαν, similar to NPhr. 10 σεμουν του κνουμανει. The resultant form υναμαν could be a phonetic or graphic variant of *onoman* (OPhr. W-01b *onoman* and NPhr. 30 ονομα[-?-], with only one possible error, <a> for <ο>, made by the engraver in a sequence of several <a>, and the constant hesitation of the letters <ο>, <ου> and <υ>, even in the same inscription. As such, the presence in this text of ονομανιας and ονομανιας does not invalidate this interpretation, although the question remains open.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 170-171; Lubotsky 1993a, 132; Gorbachov 2009, 106 fn. 32.*

### σαϕ<sup>?</sup>τα (?)

OPhr. pl.nom.-acc. σαϕ<sup>?</sup>τα W-08

The context of this sequence is more or less clear: *ates agomoi | σαϕ<sup>?</sup>τα tedaes*, where *ates* is the agent, *agomoi* the indirect object and *tedaes* the verb. So, the meaning is ‘Ates made/put σαϕ<sup>?</sup>τα for Agomos’. Consequently, σαϕ<sup>?</sup>τα must be the direct object and therefore a neuter noun in pl.nom.-acc. (contrary to Orel 1997a, 47-48 and 456, who considered a neuter singular). Whatever it means, this word presents a reading problem in the third letter, transcribed as ρ and similar to Gr. qoppa, which greatly complicates the interpretation because it is the only occurrence in the whole Phr. corpus.

*CIPPh I, 53; Orel 1997a, 47-48 and 456.*

σειτι see τοτοσσειτι.

**σεμιν** see, **σεμον** and **σεμου** see σεμουν.

**σεμουν** (demonstrative pronoun) ‘this’

OPhr.	sg.dat.fem.	<i>esai</i> W-01b
	sg.dat.masc.neut.	<s> <i>imun</i> B-05 l. 10
	particle	s B-07, M-01dI
	pl.acc.masc.?	<i>ses</i> P-02?
	sg.nom.-acc.neut.	<i>si</i> B-01, B-08; M-01b, G-11 b
	sg.acc.masc.	<i>sin</i> B-05
MPhr.	sg.dat.fem.	σα MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3
	sg.nom.fem.?	σας MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1
NPhr.	sg.dat.fem.	σα 17.5 (91), 21.1 (42), 25.1 (115), 44.3 (67), 64.1 (81), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); [σ]α 36.3 (94)
	sg.dat.fem.	σαι 43.1 (69), 62.4 (35)
	sg.dat.fem.	σαν 60.2 (60)
	sg.gen.fem.	σας 29.1 (114)?
	sg.dat.fem.	σας 14.1 (73), 55.1 (56)
	sg.dat.masc.-neut.	σεμιν 53.1 (76), 59.1 (107), 61.1 (100)
	sg.dat.masc.-neut.	σεμον 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116), 17.5 (91), 18.1 (4), 21.1 (42), 25.1 (115), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 32.1 (93), 33.3 (127), 36.1 (26), 37.2 (27), 39.1 (11), 47.1 (51), 58.1 (72), 66.1 (103); <σ>εμ[ον] 30.2 (68)?,
	sg.dat.masc.-neut.	σεμου 5.1 (19), 17.1 (4 b), 45.1 (65)
	sg.dat.masc.-neut.	σεμουν 2.2 (130), 6.1 (88), 7.3 (14), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 11.2 (18), 17.6 (119), 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 21.2 (62), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 27.1 (92), 31.1 (111), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 34.1 (37), 37.1 (10), 40.1 (12), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 46.1 (53), 48.2 (84), 49.1 (110), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 51.1 (80), 56.1 (57), 57.1 (78), 58.1 (72), 59.3 (79), 59.4 (106), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 65.1 (20); [σε]μουν 13.1 (122)?; σε[μουν] 23.1 (89)?; σ[εμουν] 38.1 (44); σεμ<ου>ν 62.3 (34)
	sg.acc.masc.-neut.	σεμουν 40.3 (31)
	sg.dat.masc.-neut.	σεμυν 20.3 (62)
	sg.dat.masc.-neut.	σιμουν 35.1 (25)
	pl.dat.masc.-neut.?	σως 2.2 (130)

A clear demonstrative pronoun which goes back to PIE \**so-* / *to-* or, better, \**ki-* (this possibility is considered by Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185; see § 4.2.1.2.1). Most occurrences appear in the protasis of a NPhr. curse, see, e.g., 64.1 *ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ...*, or 7.3 *ιος νι σεμουν κνο|υμανει κακιν αδα|κετ...* Note that the forms σεμιν, σεμον, σεμου and σεμυν are simply alternative spellings of σεμουν. On one occasion, σεμουν is attested as sg.acc.: 40.3 *ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ | ξευνεοι αδικεσει* (Brixhe 1999, 306). Even B-05 *imun* is found in this position at the beginning of the protasis after the pronoun instead of the expected \**simun*, however the spelling here is aberrant (see Hämmig 2013, 149): *†iv† <s>imun inmeney as enan daket...* Furthermore, its fem. inflection, shared with *a*-stem nouns, shows some unexpected forms. Because of the loss of the final nasal and the *-i* of the diphthongs, σαν and σα are variants of the etymological form σαι. Also σας, with gen. ending, is used instead of the dat. σα(ι) in 14.1 (*ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιγι σας μδυει*) and 55.1 [*ι*]ος σας του σκερεδ|ριας κακουν δακετ. This use in 29.1 (*ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μνη κακον αββε|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας* or *μρο σσας*) and MPhr-01 (*μανκα μεκας σας*) is still unclear. The other OPhr. forms are more complex: on three occasions it is complemented with the particle *t* (related to the anaphoric *τος*), *esai≠t*, *ses≠t*, *sin≠t* and *si≠t*, and *esai≠t* is a compound of the pronoun *e-*, which goes back to

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>e/o-*, and *sai*. The form *ses̄t* has been interpreted as a determinative pronoun in the sg.nom. or sg.acc. (Neumann 1988, 7 fn. 12 and Neumann 1997, 119) in concordance with *bugnos*: P-02 *sest bugnos va|sos kanutiivanos*. The sequence is similar to *esaīt*, so it is easy here to interpret the last *-t* as the emphatic particle. However, the vocalism of the pronoun is difficult to explain. Perhaps it is a levelling from other cases. Orel (1997a, 292 and 429), on the other hand, considered it the verb ‘to be’ in the third singular present (going back to PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-ti*, “this is Bugnos...”), but this is difficult to substantiate because of the position of this word at the beginning. The form *si* agrees twice with the neuter noun in sg.nom.-acc., B-01 *si bevdos* and M-01b *si keneman*, but also stands alone once, G-11 b *sit kraroy veao | dis*. The form *sin* clearly agrees with a masculine noun in sg.acc.: B-05 *sin̄t imen̄an*... Finally, the proclitic particle *s*, which must have its roots in this pronoun and be parallel to *t* with regard to τος, is found attached to nouns (in acc. and nom. respectively): M-01dI *midas | s̄materan | tvemes eneparkes<sup>?</sup>* and B-07 *s̄manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy*...

*Lejeune 1969b, 296-297; Neroznak 1978, 72, 75, 80, 114, etc.; Brixhe 1978b, 12-20; Neumann 1988, 7 fn. 12; Neumann 1997, 119; Orel 1997a, 292 and 429; Brixhe 1999, 306; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185; LIPP II, 739-740.*

**σεμυν** see σεμουν.

**σεροα** (noun)

NPhr. sg.dat. σερ|οα 19.2 (129)

The context of this obscure word is a common NPhr. protasis: compare *ιος νι σα μαγ<sup>?</sup>ρε κακον αββε|ρετοι ανι σερ<sup>?</sup>οα* ‘whoever brings harm to this μαγ<sup>?</sup>ρε or to this σερ<sup>?</sup>οα’ with *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ ανι μανκαι*. Consequently, it must be an *a*-stem noun in the sg.dat., where the final *-i* of the original ending *-ai* has dropped. This word is expected to refer to some part of the tomb or the burial plot. According to Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2010, 165), a relationship with *servas* is probable. However, this occurrence is documented in a totally different context and G-130, where it can also be read, is even more obscure than this inscription.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165.*

**servas** (?)

OPhr. *servas* G-130

An obscure word read in a large but broken sequence incised on a potsherd: [---]es *servas* bo.[---]. It has been tentatively equated to Lat. *servus* by Orel (1997a, 183 and 457). However, G-130 may be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, so this possibility is indefensible. Consequently, the word remains unclear. Perhaps it is related to NPhr. σερ|οα (considered by Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165).

*Neroznak 1978, 101; CIPPh I, 120; Orel 1997a, 183 and 457; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 165.*

**σ[ε]σταμεναν** see *estaes*.

**ṣet[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. ṣet[---] G-263

Damaged graffito on a potsherd. It is preceded by a mutilated triangle. Although the letters are lost at the bottom, the first <s> confirms the dextroverse reading. Orel’s lecture ṣat[---] is impossible because this <a> does not fit there. It is perhaps, then, a PN referring the owner. However, no parallel can be adduced.

*CIPPh I, 203-204; Roller 1987a, 50; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 240 and 456.*

**sest** see σεμουν.

†**sestaes** see [---]s and *estaes*.

†**seVeltias** see *se<sup>v</sup>e<sup>l</sup>* and *tias*.

**seVel** (noun) ‘weight’

OPhr. sg.nom. *seVel* G-249

The *seVeltias* inscription was incised on an alabaster weight and is considered one of the oldest Phrygian text according to *CIPPh* (I, 195-196) and Brixhe (2004b, 276-277). Since it is found on a weigh, the sequence *seVel* must be a borrowing from the Aramaic *šqel* ‘weight’ (also found in Gr. as σίκλος, σίγλος ‘weight, shekel’ and Lyc. *siχla-* ‘shekel’, see Neumann 2007, 324-325). Consequently, *seVel tias* can be equated to, e.g., *šql ḥmt* ‘Shekel of Ḥamath’, *šql sydn* ‘Shekel of Sidon’, *šql qqr* ‘Shekel of Qarqar’ (see Riis & Buhl 1990 and Deutsch & Millard 2014).

*CIPPh* I, 195-196; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 234-235 and 457.

†**svebra**[---] see σεμουν and *vebras*.

**σζεμελωσ** see ζεμελωσ.

**si** see σεμουν.

**σιβη[-?]** (?)

NPhr. σιβη[-?] 37.2 (30)

Since it follows the formula ευκιν αργου, it probably appears at the beginning of a sentence. However, because the following words are lost and no parallel can be adduced, its meaning, nature, origin and possible completeness remain unclear.

Orel 1997a, 329 and 457.

**σιμουν** and **sin** see σεμουν.

†**sini** see αδδακετ & *daδpulaḡsini*.

**sir** (PN)

OPhr. *sir* G-185

This complete graffito, read on a potsherd, is very likely an abbreviation of a PN. However, *CIPPh* (I, 158) considered the possibility of a complete Anatolian PN in the light of the Pisidian occurrence Λιρ (KPN 272 § 819).

*CIPPh* I, 158; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 208 and 457.

**sirun** (noun?)

OPhr. sg. acc. *sirun* B-05 l. 10

The word occurs in a singular imprecative apodosis in agreement with the word *mireyun*: *nun ibey nevtan niptiyan sirun mireyun*. According to Simon *sirun mireyun* means ‘the whole progeny’, where *sirun* stands for ‘progeny’, in the light of adduced Hitt. parallels. However, this identification is not corroborated by internal or linguistic evidence.

Neumann 1997, 24; Brixhe 2004a, 20, 62 and 81; Hämmig 2013, 143-145; Simon 2014a.

**sit** see σεμουν.

### **sitoros** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *sitoros* W-12

This word is engraved on a stone with other two PNs: *sitoros aros* | *ispas*. No parallel has been identified to *sitoros* and the dubious comparison with Thracian names Σιτάλκης / Σιτάλκας given by Brixhe (in Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 148) is not at all conclusive.

*Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 157-148.*

### **siṭ[---]** (?)

OPhr. *siṭ[---]* o [---]ṭiṣ G-194

A fragmented sequence on a potsherd. Its writing direction is not clear. If it is dextroverse we can consider it the beginning of a word, otherwise it is a word ending (a sg.nom. of an *i*-stem?).

In any case, perhaps it is a PN.

*CIPPh I, 162-163; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 473.*

### **si<sup>↑</sup>eto** (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.imp.? *si<sup>↑</sup>eto* W-08, W-09, W-10

This word always occurs in a formula, where *alus* also appears, only found at the end of three inscriptions engraved on rocks: W-08 [-? -] *ates agomoi* | *sa<sup>Q</sup>ta tedaes* | *alus si<sup>↑</sup>eto?* | *bateles bab.*[-? -]; W-09 *si<sup>↑</sup>eto ae.* | *alus* and W-10 *ḫtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi<sup>↑</sup>e atevo atoios* | *alus si<sup>↑</sup>eto das*. According to Brixhe (1982, 230-231), it may be a verb in 3sg.imp. in the light of its possible ending *-to*. However, given the initial *s-* and the similarity with the PN *si<sup>↑</sup>idos*, we cannot rule out a non-Phrygian PN (a gen. used as a patronymic?).

*Brixhe 1982, 230-231.*

### **si<sup>↑</sup>idos** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *si<sup>↑</sup>idos* G-105, HP-110, G-346

A thematic PN incised on two kind of objects: a beam of the Midas Mound at Gordion, together with more PNs (*nana muksos* | *si<sup>↑</sup>idos* | *urunis*), and on large bronze bowls found in this tumulus (G-105, followed by the word *akor*) and the Lycian tumulus Bayındır D (HP-110). Brixhe (2004a, 150) suggested that this PN perhaps shares its root with the verb *si<sup>↑</sup>eto* and considered it a compound belonging to “the old Phrygian stock of names” (2013, 57). Schürr (2017, 4 fn. 13) suggested that *si<sup>↑</sup>idos* is the Sidetic PN *śdi<sup>↑</sup>s* (S6, following Pérez Orozco 2007, 128, the outcome of Luwic *\*zida-* ‘man’), adopted in Gr. as Σιδιδος (gen.) and parallel to Carian *šd<sup>↑</sup>atś* (E. Me. 13, a fem. form according to Adiego 2007, 271). However, this interpretation cannot be proved (see also Nikolaev 2017, fn. 23).

*Brixhe 1982, 230-231; Varinlioğlu 1992, 15; Brixhe 2004a, 150; Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 149-151; Brixhe 2013, 57; Schürr 2017, 4 fn. 13; Nikolaev 2017, fn. 23.*

### **σκελεδριαι** (noun)

OPhr. sg.dat. *σκελεδριαι* 44.3 (67)

pl.dat.? *σκερεδριας* 55.1 (56)

Despite the divergences in the spelling (the recurrent *-ας* for the expected dat. *-αι* and the hesitation between liquid consonants), both forms of this *a*-stem fem. noun happens in the same position in a common imprecative protasis: 44.3 *ιος* | *σα τι σκελεδριαι* | *κακουν δακετ* and 55.1 *[ι]ος σας του σκερεδριας κακουν δακετ*. Since this is the same position as the more frequent *κνουμανει*, it has been interpreted as a word meaning something similar to ‘monument, stele, tomb’ (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 194). Alternatively, a meaning ‘cadaver’ or ‘skeleton’ has been suggested by equating it to Gr. *κενέβρεια* ‘carcase of dead cattle’ (doubtfully Orel 1997a, 458) or *σκελετός* ‘dried body, mummy, skeleton’ (Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 189). These interpretations,

especially the second one, are attractive, see for instance Gr. parallels such as Strubbe 1997, no. 250 τίς οὖν π[ο]τε τὰ ὀστέα σ[κυβλίσε]ι ‘whoever at some time desecrates the bones...’. However, references to the monument are more common by far and the relation between σκελεδρίας and σκελετός does not fit at all because of the divergences in their consonants.

*Lejeune 1969b, 295; Orel 1997a, 458; Woudhuizen 2008-2009, 189; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 194.*

**σκερεδρίας** see σκελεδριαί.

†**smateran** see σεμουν & materan.

**σφ[---]** (?)

OPhr. σφ[---] or [---]φς G-191

Even the direction of writing of this fragmentary graffito on a potsherd is obscure. If [---]φς is preferred, it could be a sg.nom. ending of an *o*-stem (a PN perhaps).

*CIPPh I, 161; Orel 1997a, 210 and 472.*

**sokposa** (?)

OPhr. sg.nom. sokposa G-229

Read on a potsherd, this word follows the PN *mamutas*, which is repeated in the following line: *mamutas sokposa | mamutas itoiesgloka*. Perhaps the name of this *mamutas* was compounded: *mamutas sokposa*. However, it is substituted in the second line and no parallel can be adduced to this so called PN because the proposal G-189 made by Orel (1997a, 210) does not fit at all.

*CIPPh I, 183-184; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 210, 227 and 458.*

**σοροι** see σορου.

**σορου** (noun) ‘cinerary urn, sarcophagus’

MPhr. sg.dat. σοροι MPhr-01 (W-11) l.3

NPhr. sg.dat. σορου 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124)

The three occurrences are read in funerary stele and preceded by the fem. pronoun *σα*. So, it is a clear *o*-stem fem. noun. On the basis of the context and the resemblance, it has been identified as a borrowing from Gr. *σορός* -ου ‘cinerary urn’ by Brixhe, used in the Gr. part of 65.3 (21): *κατεσκεύασαν τῇ μητρὶ τὴν σορόν* ‘[They] built this sarcophagus for the mother’. Regarding the meaning, Kubińska (1968, 32-35) shows that in Anatolia this word is used as ‘sarcophagus’. Despite the different spellings, all three forms are in the sg.dat. Indeed, σοροι MPhr-01 stands for /soro:j/ in an inscription where omega is not used. The ending of the NPhr. form σορου, which appears in the common imprecative protasis instead of the more common σεμουν κνουμανει, has lost the final -j after the long vowel and the shift to close the close vowel:  $-\bar{o}j > *-\bar{o} > -\bar{u}$  (according to Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 103).

*Haas 1966, 248; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 103; Orel 1997a, 248 and 458 Brixhe 2002b, 258; Brixhe 2004a, 18.*

**speretā** (noun)

OPhr. speretā B-01

This word appears in an imprecative sentence, in a position where we expect a direct object: *yos tivo [t]ā speretā ayni kin te[l]ēmi...* That is why Lubotsky 1997, 125, fn. 19 considered it a neuter word in the pl.acc. He also considered the interpretation ‘seeds’ in the light of Gr. *σπεῖρω* ‘to sow, to seed’ and *σπέρμα* ‘seed’. However, this latter proposal is very tentative. On the other hand, the segmentation *ασπερετ* used by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 187 and Orel 1997a, 142 and 416, who considered it a verb) is less probable, after Lubotsky’s reading *speretā* instead of the previous *speretd* (1993b, 94-95).

*Lubotsky 1993b, 94-95; Orel 1997a, 142 and 416; Lubotsky 1997, 125, fn. 19.*

**sr[---]** (?)

OPhr. sr[---] K-0111

A very short sequence which was not preceded by another word, as the fragment shows. Since the word cannot be supplied because of the lack of any parallel in Phrygian, it is doubtful whether the word actually begins with a strange *sr-* (also poorly attested in PIE) or the *s* is the syncopated demonstrative pronoun *si*, which also occurs in sequences such as *s̄materan*.

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 115-116.*

**ṣtalʹa** (noun) ‘stele’

OPhr. sg.nom.? ṣtalʹa B-06

This is probably a loanword from Aeol. στάλλα ‘stele’ (better than Dor. στάλα, as suggested by Vassileva 1995, 28-29), since the Phrygian alphabet does not represent geminates, indeed *stala* could represent /stalla:/. Then, the word in B-06 may refer the monument on which it is engraved. It is the first word of the remaining text but, because of the following *ke*, the text probably had at least one more line at the beginning. Unfortunately, however, the context is not clear: ṣtalʹa ke : ↑ek.[---]eṣkey[---]aʹyoʹ[---] | deṣ[---] : eṣetētariyois...

*Vassileva 1995, 28-29; Brixhe 1996, 133; Brixhe 2002b, 257; Brixhe 2004a, 71.*

**surgastoy** (DN)

OPhr. sg.dt. surgastoy Dd-102

Since the complete text Dd-102, incised on a silver bowl, is *surgastoy inas*, the best way to interpret it is to consider a present given by a man called *inas* (in the nominative) to \**surgastos*. Indeed, *surgastoy* is very likely an *o*-stem dat. It has also been suggested to be attested in G-164 [---].astoy and G-113[---]astoi pitave[---] (see Avram 2016b, 72-74). It was considered a DN by Orel (1997a, 459, although he debated between an anthroponym or a DN in 361) and Avram (2016b, 72-74) in the light of the Bithynian Zeus Συργάστης and Συργάστειος (Thracian *Surgasteus*). The Dacian inscription from Apulum IDR III,5 706 (*SEG* 48.984), which reads Διὶ | Συργάστῳ, can also be adduced as an occurrence. However, the form *śrkaštus* attested as a PN in Lyd. (Gusmani 1964, 199) is a closer parallel. Even the name *Sergestus*, a follower of Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.*, has been taken into account in this issue (*EDG* 20). However, it is better to adduce the gloss H. σ 2767 συργάστῳρ· σοφοροβός· καὶ ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν ‘σ.: swineherd. Also, a barbaric name’. On its origin, the presence of the initial *s-* points out a non Phrygian origin. A very attractive etymology for this name is given by Gusmani (1980-1981, 21-27, see also Beekes’ remarks 2003, 19 fn. 21), who suggested that it is derived from the Hitt. adj. *šarku-* / *šargau-* ‘eminent, illustrious, powerful’ (inherited from PIE \**srk-(e)u-* or \**sork-(e)u-*, according to Kloekhorst 2008, 734, and related to ToB *šārk-* ‘to surpass, to be better than’ and Lat. *sarcio* ‘to patch up to med’). The relationship with Gr. σύργαστρος ‘sweeping with its belly, swineherd’ (H. σ 2767 συργάστῳρ) and ἐργάτης ‘farmer’ seems phonetically probable, but the semantic development remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 272-273; Neumann 1988, 14; Orel 1997a, 361 and 459; EDG 19-20; Avram 2016b, 72-74.*

**σως** see σεμουν.

**s[---]** (?)

OPhr. s[---] G-142

The double *s* in the sequence of this doubtful graffito, [---]avaṣṣ[---], suggests a word boundary after[---]avas. Nevertheless, in the absence of a more complete sequence, this beginning of a word remains unclear and no interpretation can be given.

## Τ (t) - Τ τ

### t<sup>1</sup> (mark)

OPhr. t G-337 a

This isolated letter is incised on a cup where the sequence *tu* and a nonverbal mark were also inscribed. It is probably an abbreviation of the same name represented by the other abbreviated name *tu*. However, it could be a simple mark.

*Brixhe 2002a, 91-92.*

t<sup>2</sup> see τος.

### τα<sup>1</sup> (PN)

OPhr. ta G-182

[?-]ta NW-103

Both graffiti were incised on potsherds and G-182 is a complete graffito. In NW-103 it is possible that a letter has been lost at the beginning. In any case, it can be interpreted as a complete *a*-stem monosyllabic PN in nom.sg. without the ending *-s* or as an abbreviation of a PN such as *tatas*.

*CIPPh I, 156; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 207 and 459; Brixhe 2002a, 13.*

[t]α<sup>2</sup>, τα see τος.

### tadila[---] (noun)

OPhr. sg.nom.-acc. tadila[---]

This word occurs in an eroded cultic inscription on a rock (near B-01): [--- *mata*]r *kūbeley*[a ---] | *si tadila*[---] | [---] *bevδος key* [---]. Although the segmentation is unclear and its ending is perhaps illegible, the presence of the pronoun *si* shows that it must be a neuter noun in sg.nom.acc. Its meaning and origin remain unknown. Brixhe and Vottéro (2016, 138) suggested a segmentation *si tadi la*[---].

*Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 138.*

### tadoy (PN)

OPhr. dt.sg. tadoy G-136

Although no parallel can be adduced, this is very likely a PN. In its context, an inscription engraved on a small alabaster bird of prey which reads *tadoy iman bag<sup>2</sup>un*, it is clearly the recipient of the object (*bagun*) given by a man called *iman*.

*CIPPh I, 124-125.*

ται see τος.

### τακρις (noun)

MPhr. nom.sg.? τακρις MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3

Perhaps an *i*-stem noun in the nom.sg. or, less probably, in the acc.pl. The obscure context (βλασκον κε τακρις κε λουγγιου μοτις) does not provide clear information with regard to its meaning.

*Brixhe 2004a, 19.*

ταν, ταν see τος.

**tanari..[---]** (?)

OPhr. *tanari..[---]* HP-02

This word, like others read in the dubious inscription from Kocagür (near Parion), has no parallel. Like the rest of the text, it is incomplete and obscure. In addition, the segmentation is not clear, since the initial *ta* could be the pronoun attested in other inscriptions, as Brixhe and Keleş suggested (2011, 157-158).

*Brixhe & Keleş 2011, 157-158.*

†**tanegertoy** see *tan* & *egertoy*.

**tariyois** (noun?)

OPhr. ac.pl? *tariyois* B-06

A very unclear sequence which could be also segmented as *emetetariyois*. The ending *-ois* could be interpreted as a pl.dat. (< PIE \*-ōis) or pl.acc. (< PIE \*-ons, preferred here), according to Brixhe. Consequently, it could be a noun. The context, however, does not offer clear information.

*Brixhe 1996, 134; Orel 1997a, 153; Brixhe 2004a, 72.*

†**tata** see *tataniyen*.

**[-?]-tatae?[..?]** (PN)

OPhr. [-?]-*tatae?[..?]* W-11

This is probably an *a*-stem PN in the nominative, a variant of *atas* or *tates*. This badly preserved inscription is read on a step monument with a possible idol: [.]y[.]*agaua* | [-?]-*tatae?[..?]* | [-?]-e[.].

*Brixhe & Sivas 2002, 107-108.*

**tataniyeñ?** (PN)

OPhr. nom.sg. *tataniyeñ?* K-01 VI-VII b

Although Brixhe (on *tataniyeñ* in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 127) offered the segmentation *tata niye[.] eḏaes*, only space for one letter remains after *niye[.]*, and in the light of *ataniyen* in W-01c it is very likely that it must be read as *tataniyeñ*. Indeed, this *ny* fits very well with the remaining part of a vertical sign. Consequently, this word is a mere variant of *ataniyen*, as *tatas* is of *atas*. As in the case of *ataniyen*, it is preferable to understand this word as an anthroponym in the nominative, although its ending is expected to be *-an* in the light of *iman*, *imeno*s. So, we have a sequence *tataniyeñ?* *eḏaes* which means ‘Tataniyes made/put (it)’.

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 126-128; Draycott & Summers 2008, 68-69.*

**tatas** (PN)

OPhr. nom.sg. *tatas* G-04

nom.sg. *tates* G-122; [t]’*ates* G-148?

It is very likely that *tatas* is an *a*-stem Lallname PN in nom. with the ending *-s*, a mere variant of *atas* or *tates*. Nevertheless, the inscription in which it is read is badly damaged and far from clear. Ophr. *tates* is a variant in *-e*. Both graffiti in which it is read are isolated names incised on potsherds. However, in G-148 it is doubtful whether the first *t* was present as in G-112, hence it could be the PN *ates* attested in M-01a. In any case, it is a very common type of PN across the whole of Anatolia (see KPN 494-498 § 1517-1 - 1517-6)

*Neroznak 1978, 97, 98 and 108; CIPPh I, 90, 114 and 134; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 178 and 460.*

**tates** see *tatas*.

**τε (?)**

OPhr. τε 43.1 (69)?, τε 16.1 (116) l. 13?

Despite the similarity with Gr. τε ‘and’, it cannot represent this conj. because it is well attested in Phr. as *ke*, *key* and *κε*. Even the existence of this segmentation is doubtful, since it only occurs in two problematic texts. Indeed, in 43.1 (69) the reading and segmentation ε|ροι τε α|λενπ|ατης is far from being clear and in 16.1 (116) it was probably followed by one or two letters (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 166) and the sequence ις κε εγτοιϕινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.][.]μαρδι ιδετοι οινης remains obscure, it could be an unknown longer word.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 166.*

**τεαμας** see τιαμας.

**tedatoy** and **tedat[---]** see τος and αδδακετ.

**t<sup>2</sup>eies** see geies.

**τειττετικμενος** see τιττετικμενος.

**tevano[---][?]** (?)

OPhr. *tevano[---][?]* M-05

This word follows an anthroponym qualified by *mekas*: *apelan uac. mekas tevano[---]*. However, its nature remains unclear, as do its segmentation and reading. Haas (1960, 28), in his questionable reading (Morante Mediavilla 2006, 328-329), considered it an anthroponym read as *Evanos*. Lubotsky (1988, 14), on the other hand, suggested that the first element *t* could be the known particle, so *t=evanoϕ*. However, the last <s> does not fit the trace of a letter there (*CIPPh* I, 25). Orel (1997a, 28 and 461) understood this word to be an *a*-stem meaning ‘cultic object’, but since this inscription is read on a “broken” façade (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 235), his explanation is unlikely. Another problem is that we do not know the length of the inscription after the last traces. Consequently, it remains unclear.

*Haas 1960, 28; CIPPh I, 25; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 180; Lubotsky 1988, 14; Orel 1997a, 28 and 461; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 78; Morante Mediavilla 2006, 328-329.*

**tekmoϕ** (noun) ‘sign, omen’

OPhr. sg.nom.-acc. *tekmoϕ* P-04 a; [t]e[kmoϕ] B-05, l. 1?

The correspondence with the defective Gr. word τέκμων ‘sign’ is evident due to the non-distinction between long and short vowels in the Phrygian alphabet. The etymology of the Gr. word, as well as τέκμων ‘id.’, is found in the PIE root *\*k<sup>u</sup>ék-* ‘look at, see, behold’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 383-385, *IEW* 638-639; see specific morphological details and discussion in Nussbaum 2014). Consequently, because it is known that *\*k<sup>u</sup>e* becomes *ke* in Phr. it must be considered a Gr. borrowing. In P-04 this noun occurs in a clear curse, probably in its apodosis. However, the sequence is not clear due to the lack of parallels and the existence of several gaps: *ios ni akenan egeseti oϕirterϕo[---] tekmoϕ ot[---]seti veburu*. It probably works as the direct object. In B-05, the presence of this word is debated. While Neumann (1997, 20) argued that the sequence ]e[kmoϕ] fits with [t]e[kmoϕ] or δεκμουνητας, Brixhe (2004a, 53) read *dekm[---]*.

*Lubotsky 1988, 13; Neumann 1997, 20; Orel 1997a, 296 and 460; Brixhe 2004a, 53.*

**tel<sup>2</sup>emi** (noun?)

OPhr. *tel<sup>2</sup>emi* B-01, l. 4

The dubious letter could be also read as <y>, but <l> is the more probable according to *CIPPh* (I, 65). This unclear word occurs in an imprecation and, due to its position, seems to agree with the

neuter indefinite pronoun *kin* in the sg.acc. (Lubotsky 1993b, 97), despite the fact that this ending is somewhat unusual: *yos tivo [t]a speretā ayni kin te[l]emi | [..]toyol[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey dā[b]ati*. That is why Orel (1997a, 460) suggested restoring *telemi[n]*, but no trace can be observed. Moreover, since in this inscription the end of a line always coincides with a word boundary, according to Lubotsky (1933b, 94), the presence of an ending in the following line is not expected. Finally, its meaning and etymology remain unclear. Orel (1997a, 143 and 460) gave an alternative proposal to his previous one (Bayun & Orel 1988a, 188, where it is considered a loanword from Gr. θαλάμη ‘cave, burial chamber’), comparing it with Gr. τελαμών ‘broad strap or band for bearing or supporting anything’. Nevertheless, the Phr. word, allegedly related to Gr. ταλάσσαι ‘to endure, tolerate’, does not fit with the laryngeal of the PIE root *\*telh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘bear, endure’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 622-623, IEW 1060-1061).

CIPPh I, 65; Lubotsky 1993b, 97 and 143; Orel 1997a, 143 and 460.

### τεμρογειος (EN) ‘Tymbrogic’

NPhr. masc.nom.sg. τεμρογε|ιος 1.1 (48)

An *o*-stem masculine adj. which agrees with the DN Μας in the nominative. In the sentence where it is found it works as the agent among three other divine names: Μιτραφατα κε Μας Τεμρογειος κε Πουντας Βας κε ενσταρνα. This word derives from the name of the Τέμβρις or Τέμβρος (see *Tembrogius* in Plin. NH 6.4), tributary river of the Σαγγάριος (modern Sakarya), through the common suffix *-ejo-*. Note that river cults are quite abundant in Greco-Roman Anatolia (also in Dorylaion, where this inscription was found; see Parker 2016).

von Prott 1898, 363; Lubotsky 1997, 122; Orel 1997a, 100 and 460.

### tesan (noun?)

OPhr. ac.sg. *tesan* T-02b

This word, which only appears in a fragmented stele from Tyana, is bordered by the interpunction and is followed by *a<sup>↑</sup>ion* which seems to agree with it: [---]tumida : memeuis : [---][---]a : *tesan* : *a<sup>↑</sup>ion* : v[---][---]oitumen : mīdā[---]. Since this last word has been interpreted as an adjective, *tesan* has been considered a masculine noun in the acc. (Brixhe 1991, 42). On its meaning, Orel (1997a, 310 and 461) suggested a borrowing from the Lyd. *tašēn* ‘column’ (40, see Payne & Sasseville 2016, 76). On the other hand, according to Brixhe (1991, 42) *a<sup>↑</sup>ion* could also be interpreted as a noun and, if this is the case, *tesan* should be considered an adj. or an acc. pronominal sequence *t<sup>ε</sup>esan*, parallel to *esai<sup>ε</sup>t*. However, in all clear occurrences of such a sequence the clitic particle follows the pronoun: *esai<sup>ε</sup>t*, *ses<sup>ε</sup>t*, *sin<sup>ε</sup>t* and *si<sup>ε</sup>t*. Consequently, the word remains unexplained.

Brixhe 1991, 42; Orel 1997a, 310 and 461.

### ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ see ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ.

### τευ[-? -] (PN)

OPhr. *teu[-? -]* G-340

This graffito incised on a potsherd was perhaps followed by more letters, but no trace remains after the last letter. Although no parallel can be adduced here, according to Brixhe (2002a, 95) it is very likely to be a PN, perhaps an abbreviation.

Brixhe 2002a, 94-95.

### ΤΕΥΤΟΥ (verb)

NPhr. 3sg.imp.act. τευτου 62.2 (33), l. 6; 62.5 (36), l. 9-10

? τευτωσι 16.1 (116), l. 8

The word *τευτ-* has been interpreted as a Galatian loanword. Indeed, the two occurrences of *τευτους* are found in Sinanlı, a city in Galatia. Since the word *\*teut-eh<sub>2</sub>* is only clearly identified

in some IE western branches (Italic, Celtic, Gm. and Baltic), it has been considered a borrowing from an unknown European language (EDG 461-465). However, it must be said that the Celtic element *teuto-* in Galatian shifted to *touto-* in the light of the tribal names *Ambitoutus* (near Gordion, according to Plin. *HN* 5.146) and *Toutobodiaci* (associated with Tectosages, according to Plin. *HN* 5.146) and consequently the Phrygian word may not have this origin. Moreover, the morphology of the word presents some problems. Firstly, both occurrences of *τευτους*, as its traditionally segmented, are in the same sentence, an apodosis of a curse: *αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους*. The preceding word is the DN *Βαταν*, in the acc. because of the preposition *ας*. However, *τευτους* is not an acc. and there is no verb in this apodosis. In such a scenario, the easiest explanation is to consider it a verb in 3sg.imp.act. *τευτου* (as suggested in Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309), with a clitic *ς* also found in MPhr-01 *ομνισιτ ους*. The meaning of this verb and its origin are still unknown. Also unclear is the form *τευτωσι*, considered an *o*-stem noun in pl.dat. by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 177, see *ζεμελωσι* instead of common *ζεμελως*), which seems to share the same root.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 177; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 156; Orel 1997a, 253 and 461; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 194; Obrador-Cursach 2017, 308-309.*

**ΤΕΥΤΩΣΙ** see *τευτους*.

*ti* and *τι*<sup>1</sup> see *τος*.

*τι*<sup>2</sup> see *τιε*.

**τιαμας** (noun) ‘burial plot’?

NPhr. dt.sg. *τεαμα* 15.1 (120), l. 2

dt.sg. *τεαμας* 7.3 (14) l. 8-9, 10.1 (112) l. 7, 21.2 (43) l. 3-4?, 25.1 (115) l. 2

dt.sg. *τιαμα* 11.2 (18) l. 5

dt.sg. *τιαμας* 9.1 (87) l. 2-3

A clear *a*-stem fem. noun. Commonly, some occurrences are quoted as *ατεαμα|ς*, however the duplicity of forms beginning with or without *α-* has been well explained through the identification of *α* as the preposition *αδ* also present as a preverb in *αδδακετ* (Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 89), the common verb of the protasis in which *τε/ιαμα-* mainly occurs. On the other hand, the sequence *κοτατιαμα* read in the still obscure context of 11.2 (18) is difficult to explain, but Lubotsky’s segmentation *κο τα τιαμα* (*TITUS*) is very likely because it points out the pronoun *τα* also used with the other following nouns *κνουμεν ταν ε[[ - ]τας ται κολταμανει*. Nonetheless, the form *κο* remains unclear. Perhaps it is better to analyse it as *k>o(τ)*, where *κ* stands for *κε* apostrophed before a vowel and *o(τ)* is a phonetic variant of *ατ*, whose *-τ*, geminated with the one in the pronoun *τα*, has been simplified. If this were the case, *τα τιαμα* would stand in the dat. and would have dropped the final *-ι* of its ending *-αι*, as in *μανκα*, l. 9. As with other *a*-stems, the dative and gen. endings occur interchangeably for phonetic reasons. Finally, the hesitation *e / i* is known in other Phrygian words (e. g. *δεως / διως*) and has been explained as an effect of hiatic (Brixhe 2008, 75) or pretonic position (Lubotsky). Regarding its meaning, all occurrences show that it must be a component of the tombs because of its position in the protasis (e.g. 7.3 *ιος νι σεμουν κνο|υμανει κακιν αδα|κετ αιν’ αδ ατεαμας*), and in 11.2 it appears before other nouns related to it: *κνουμεν* and *κολταμανει*. It has been interpreted both as an inherited word equated with Gr. *σημα* ‘sign, mark, token’ and as a borrowing from CLuw. *tīamm(i)-* ‘earth’ by Orel 1997a, 463. Nevertheless, the first possibility is very unlikely, even more so if it is equated, despite the semantic difficulties, with Skt. *dhyāman-* ‘thought’, because the consequent PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>ieh<sub>2</sub>-* does not fit with Phrygian *tia-*. On the other hand, the Luw. form *tīamm(i)-* ‘earth’, which goes back to PIE *\*d<sup>ǵ</sup><sup>h</sup>-em-* (*NIL* 86-99, some phonetic details are

still unclear, see Kloerkhost 2008, 860-861) is actually an attractive proposal. If this etymology is accepted, it may refer to the portion of earth sacred to the tomb, i.e. the burial plot, as is also the case of the Gr. borrowing κορο-.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 89; Orel 1997a, 463.*

**τιαν** see **τιε**.

**tias** (ethnic?) ‘from Tios’?

OPhr. sg.nom.masc. *tias* (G-249)

Read on a weight, it qualifies the word *seVel* ‘weight’. In the light of parallels such as *šql ḥmt* ‘Shekel of Ḥamath’, *šql sydn* ‘Shekel of Sidon’ or *šql qqr* ‘Shekel of Qarqar’ (see Riis & Buhl 1990 and Deutsch & Millard 2014), *tias* can be considered an ethnic (see also *πουντας*), perhaps related to the Bithynian city *Τίειον*, *Τίος*, *Τήιον* (KON 618-619 § 1337), named after *Ti-* (the Phrygian Zeus) according to FGrH 699 F 9 of Demosthenes’ *Bithynian History* (St.Byz s.u. *Τίος*): *Δημοσθένης δ’ ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορευῶσαι* ‘Demosthenes in his *Bithyniaca* says that the city’s founder was Pataros, who conquered Paphlagonia, and that he called it Tios after Zeus worship’. Nevertheless, other unrecorded cities could be also named after this central Phrygian god, and the suggested identification is a mere possibility.

**tib** (PN)

OPhr. *tib* G-158

Abbreviation of a PN incised on a potsherd. The development of this abbreviation remains unknown because of the lack of parallels.

*CIPPh I, 141-142; Roller 1987a, 51; Orel 1997a, 197 and 461.*

**τιγγεαριτμενος** see **γεγαριτμενος**.

**τιδρεγρουν** (adj.) ‘unenjoyable, *innutribile*’

NPhr. nom.sg.neut. *τιδρεγρουν* 62.2 (33); [τιδρ]εγρο|υν 54.1? (108)

nom.sg.neut. *τιδρερουν* 53.1 (76)

This word functions as an attribute in the three examples of the formula *ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν* ‘may bread *ακκαλος* become τ. for him’. Thus, it agrees with *βεκος* in the neuter sg.acc., so it is a thematic adj. and its endings go back to PIE \*-on. It also presents the well-known prefix *τι-* < \**d(ṷ)is-*. The form *τιδρερουν*, if it is not an engraver’s error for *τιδρεγρουν*, perhaps reflects the difficulties of articulating consonant clusters in Phrygian. Its etymology remains problematic, since the only word to which it can be equated is the Gr. verb *τρέφω* ‘to make fat, feed, bring up, care for’, according to Haas (1966, 69 and 84) and Lubotsky (2004, 235-236). If we accept their hypothesis, and reject Beeke’s Pre-Gr. etymology (2010, 1504-1506) for *τρέφω*, both occurrences go back to a PIE form \**d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>uh</sup>-ro-* whose labialised stop fits with the obscure Myc. adj. *to-ro-qa* (which modifies the term for ‘oil’). However, these Gr. words call for a better explanation of their history and relation with other potential IE occurrences.

*Haas 1966, 69 and 84; Panagl & Kowal 1983, 187-188; Lubotsky 2004, 235-236.*

**τιδρερουν** see **τιδρεγρουν**.

**τιε** (DN) ‘Zeus’

OPhr.	sg.dat.	<i>tiei</i> NW-101 A II
NPhr.	sg.dat.	τι 9.1 (87), 38.1 (44), 39.1 (11), 42.1 (101), 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 66.1 (103)
	sg.acc.	τιαν 2.2 (130), l. 8; 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 16.1 (116) l. 13; 46.1 (53) l. 9.
	sg.dat.	τιε 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.3 (7), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.2 (68), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 36.3 (94), 40.1 (12), 40.4 (102), 41.1 (45), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70), 52.1 (75), 55.1 (56), 61.1 (100), 63.1 (123)
	sg.dat.	τιη 8.1 (86), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 45.1 (65)
	sg.gen.	τιος 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105)
Gloss		Δημοσθένης δ'έν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστήν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἔλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορευῆσαι (St.Byz, <i>Bithyniaca</i> ).

This *i*-stem DN, equated with Gr. Ζεύς and based on the PIE root *\*di-éu-* ‘sky’ (NIL 70-71), was identified by Lubotsky (2004, 229-230, improving his previous proposals). Most instances occur in the common imprecative apodosis as the agent of the curse. The form *τιαν* is its acc. and goes back to PIE *\*diém*, parallel Gr. forms Ζῆν, Δία, Δίφα. In all instances, it is governed by the preposition *ας* in 7.1, 7.3 and 46.1. In 2.2 the uses of the accusatives seem to be related to the unique sequence *εικαδ* present in this apodosis: *τιττετι|[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκαν Τιαν* ‘let him become accursed by’ the same great Zeus’. The last occurrence, 45.1, is in another possible imprecation but the context remains obscure and the reason for the presence of the DN is unclear: *ις κε εν | τοιςινοιο κνουμαν Τιαν τε[.][.]μαρδι ιδετοι οινις*. The gen. *τιος* appears in the apodosis formula *γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν* ‘let him have the curse’ of Zeus’. The word it modifies is *ουταν*. Morphologically, it goes back to PIE *\*diuós*, and presents the common drop of *\*u* before the vowel *o*. Compare with Gr. Διός, Διφός. The other occurrences, *tiei*, *τι*, *τιε* and *τιη*, are its dat. case, equated to Gr. Δί, Δίφι, reflecting the PIE form *\*diuéi*. Here, the drop of *\*u* has been explained as a levelling from the other cases. With the exception of the OPhr. occurrence, it appears in the same context as the acc., i.e. in the apodosis. The difference is that it is governed by the preposition *αδ / ατ*, whose dental geminates before that of DN and is often simplified. On occasion this dative is used without the preposition, but the meaning is clearly the same. The different graphemes are due to phonetic and graphical reasons. According to Lubotsky (1997, 126, fn. 23), the form *τι* only occurs before vowels while *τιη* only occurs before consonants. By contrast, *τιε* occurs in both instances, although it is less attested before vowels (only five times). Regarding the only OPhr. form, the dat. *tiei* appears in the obscure object governed by the preposition *ad*: *deVeti | toTi a tiei*. It is possible that this DN can be found in words such as *tiveia* and the unclear sequences *tiv[.].?n* and *tivo*, but the readings are not clear enough for this to be confirmed.

Heubeck 1987, 70-73; Lubotsky 1989a; Brixhe 1997, 42-47; Lubotsky 1997, 126, fn. 23; Lubotsky 1998; Brixhe 2002a, 7; Lubotsky 2004, 229-230; Matzinger 2006, 203.

**tiei** see **τιε**.

**tiveia** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.nom. *tiveia* G-183a

This graffito, read on the bottom of a bowl, is composed of two words: *tiveia imeneia*. Despite its simplicity, the circular disposition of the text does not allow *tiveia* to be conclusively identified as the first element, although its letters are bigger than those of *imeneia*. Some scholars have considered that these words refer to the object itself. However, it is more likely to be an anthroponym, in the light of the common practise in this type of text. Consequently, *tiveia* is

considered an *a*-stem fem. personal name in nom. Lubotsky (2004, 230) suggested that it is perhaps related to the DN *ti*- ‘Zeus’. In any case, it is very likely related to PNs read in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, Pisidia and Bithynia such as Τιβίος and Τιβείος (KPN 513 § 1556-1 - 1556-2, also borne by Phr. slaves in Greece, see e.g. the slaves list Chios 62). Consequently, *tiveia imeneia* is a compound anthroponymic formula (personal name + patronymic? ‘Tiveia (the daughter of) Iman’ or compound name ‘Tiveia Imeneia’, see M-03 [b<sup>7</sup>]abas iman) similar to *ates arkievavis*.

CIPPh I, 156-157; Innocente 1997, 39 and 40; Orel 1997a, 463; Brixhe 2004a, 83; Lubotsky 2004, 230; Wittke 2004, 201.

### **tivo** (?)

OPhr. *tivo* B-01, l. 4

No parallel to this sequence can be adduced. It occurs in a possible imprecative: *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin te[l]emi*. The relation with the DN *ti*- is suggested by Lubotsky (2004, 230) and Brixhe (2004a, 83).

Brixhe 2004a, 83; Lubotsky 1993, 96-97.

### **tiv[.].?n** (noun?)

OPhr. sg.acc. *tiv[.].?n* B-07, l. 2-3

Since this is the first element in a sequence of nouns in sg.acc. linked by the copulative conj. *ke*, it is very likely another noun in the acc.: *yos tiv[.].?n ke devun k(e) umnotan ordoineten*. The gap of one or two letters complicates the identification of this hapax. Lubotsky (2004, 230) and Brixhe (2004a, 83) suggested that it may be related to the DN *ti*- ‘Zeus’, but this is a mere hypothesis, as in the case of *tivo*.

Brixhe 2004a, 83; Lubotsky 2004, 230.

**τιη** see **τιε**.

### **tinu[---]** (PN)

OPhr. *tinu[---]* G-190

In this graffito incised on a potsherd the letter <u> is merged with <n>, after which no more letters can be read, only traces before the broken border. Despite the lack of parallels, it seems to be an abbreviated PN. The reading *tinuj* given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199) is far from being corroborated.

CIPPh I, 160-161; Orel 1997a, 201.

**τιος** see **τιε**.

### **tir** (PN?)

OPhr. *tir* or *tr* NW-111

According to Brixhe’s reading (2002a, 18-19), it is unclear whether this graffito incised on a potsherd is composed of two or three letters. However, it is very likely an abbreviation of a PN, despite the lack of parallels.

Brixhe 2002a, 18-19.

### **τις** (pronoun) ‘whoever, any’

NPhr. neut.sg.nom.-acc. **τι** 30.1 (39)  
 masc.nom. **τις** 28.1 (71)

This sequence, read only once, presents some problems. First of all, according to the first editor (Calder 1913, 101), who was the only person to see it, “there is a space, due apparently to an ancient fault in the Stone, between the first and second letters” where “no certain trace of a

letter could be made out in this space”. Secondly, it occurs at the beginning of a imprecative protasis instead of the common relative pronoun *γος / ιος*; *τις κ’ ἐγερε[ν/τ], τιττετικμ[ε]||νοι ιννου*. Consequently, it is very likely used as a relative pronoun. Note, however, that *τις* is expected to be pl. in the light of the apodosis but it is morphologically a sg. Thirdly, there appears to be a clear related to the Gr. indefinite pronoun *τις, τι*, which sometimes functions as the relative. However, it goes back to PIE *\*k<sup>u</sup>is*, which in Phrygian is attested in the neuter *κιν*, showing the Phrygian development *\*k<sup>u</sup>- > k-* consistent with other occurrences. Consequently, it must be a Gr. borrowing.

### **τισις** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *τισις* W-102

This single word incised on a potsherd is very likely an *i*-stem PN. However, no parallel can be adduced.

*Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 66.*

### **τιyes** (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. *tiyes* M-04

The inscription in which this name is read bears the title *modrovanak* ‘the King of Modro’. Some time ago *Tiyes* was interpreted as the nominative of the DN *ti-* by Lubotsky (1988, 12 fn. 3), but he later showed that this was incorrect (2004, 229 fn. 2). However, this mistake sometimes appears in the work of other scholars. As Orel (1997a, 26) argued, the origin of this name must be Anatolian in the light of occurrences such as Hitt. *Tīia-* and Gr. *Τιης* (also found in Phrygia) and *Τιος*, from Pisidia (KPN 513-514 § 1558).

*Neroznak 1978, 75; CIPPh I, 23; Lubotsky 1988, 12 fn. 3; Neumann 1988, 15; Inocente 1997, 38; Orel 1997a, 26 and 463; Brixhe 2002a, 61; Lubotsky 2004, 229 fn. 2; Wittke 2004, 201.*

†**τιηιον** see *μοτις & γος*.

### **τιτεγ[---]** (?)

NPhr. *τιτεγ[---]* 26.2 (38)

This word begins a sentence after the common NPhr. imprecative formula. However, this part of the inscription, *τιτεγ[.]] [circa 9 ]ις*, was badly damaged when Ramsay copied it (1905, 100) and no parallel has been found. Consequently, this word remains unclear, despite the fact that Orel considered it a possible *i*-stem word in sg.nom.

*Orel 1997a, 92 and 463.*

**ΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ, ΤΙΤΕΤΟΥΚΜΕΝΟΥΝ, ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΙ** and **ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΑ** see *ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ*.

### **ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ** (participle) ‘accursed’

NPhr. masc.sg.nom. *ατετικμενος* 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51)

masc.sg.nom. *ε̄τετικμενος* 17.4 (90)

masc.sg.nom. *θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς]* 45.1 (65)

masc.sg.nom. *τειττετικμενος* 55.1 (56)

masc.sg.nom. *τετικμενος* 57.1 (78)

masc.sg.nom. *τετιο|κμενος* 22.2 (118)

masc.sg.nom. *τιτετικμενος* 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 18.2 (5), 19.1 (96), 20.2 (128), 30.2 (68), 32.1 (93), 33.3 (127), 36.3 (94), 40.4 (102), 43.1 (69), 44.1 (61), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 61.1 (100), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20), 65.4 (124); *τιτε{τε}|τι[κμενο]ς* 20.1 (63); *[τι]τετικμενος* 26.2 (38)?;

	τιτετικμ[ενος] 27.1 (92)?; [τι]τετικμε[[νος] 39.1 (11); τιτετικμενος 5.1 (19)
pl.gen.	τιτετουκμενουν 33.1 (28)
masc.pl.nom.	τιττετικμενοι 28.1 (71); τιττ[ε]τικμενοι 17.3 (7)?
neut.pl.nom.	τιττετικμενα 40.1 (12)
masc.sg.nom.	τιττετικμενος 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 8.1 (86), 10.1 (112), 12..1 (121), 13.1 (122), 17.2 (3), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 29.1 (111), 30.1 (39), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 41.1 (45), 46.1 (53), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 56.1 (57), 63.1 (123), 65.3 (21); τιτ[τετικμενος] 10.2 (113); [τιττετικμε]γος 11.1 (17)?; [τιττετικ]μμενος 11.3 (17)?, 15.1 (120)?; [τιτ]τετικμενος 17.5 (91)?; [τιττετικ]μμενος 26.1 (8)?; [τιττ]ετικμενος 37.1 (10)?; [τιττετικμε]νος 42.1 (101)?; [τιττετικ]μμε[νος] 44.2 (70)?; τιτ[ετ]ικμενο[ς] 51.1 (80)

All occurrences are variants of the same basic form *τετικμενο-*, which only occurs in the apodosis formula: (με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε ατ τιε) τιττετικμενος ειτου. Its meaning, ‘accursed’, has been established since the earliest studies of Phrygian. Formally, it is the reduplicated past participle (\*-*mh<sub>1</sub>no-*) of the root *-τικ-*. The origin of this root has been identified by Lubotsky (1998, 420, fn. 22 and 2004, 235) in the PIE verbal root \**deik-* ‘to point, indicate’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 108-109, *IEW* 188-189), equated to Gr. verbs such as δια-δικάζω ‘to judge’ and κατα-δικάζω ‘to condemn’. Most of the forms present the preverb τι(τ)- < PIE \**d(ū)is-*. The last original \*-s of this preverb is the origin of the dental geminated sequence -ττ- through an assimilation, which often is later simplified. The form *τειττετικμενος* reflects the Gr. itacism and the spelling of *τετιοκμενος* is a hypercorrection after the Gr. shift /jɔ/ > /i/ (see ις for ιος), while *θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς]* is spelled with a hypercorrected *theta*. Also, the preverb ατ is present in two occurrences (44.3, 47.1) instead of τι(τ)-, although the last voiceless dental has been simplified after the appearance of the geminated cluster. Most occurrences are in the nominative singular, but *τιττετικμενοι* is in the masculine nominative plural, *τιτετουκμενουν* probably in the pl.gen. (Lubotsky 2004, 235) and *τιττετικμενα* in the neuter nominative plural.

Lubotsky 1998, 420, fn. 22; Lubotsky 2004, 235; Sowa 2007a, 89-90.

### **tvemes (?)**

OPhr. *tvemes* M-01dI

The only occurrence of this word is in the text *midas | s<sup>m</sup>materan | tvemes eneparkes*, in which only verb is the last word. Its agent must be *midas* and its direct object *s<sup>m</sup>materan*. The word *tvemes* could be a pl.acc. There is no connector between *materan* and this word. It may be an *e*-stem PI (without parallels) in the nominative but its relation with *midas* is strange and has led to suggestions that we are in fact dealing with two sentences. In any case, the question remains open.

*CIPPh* I, 14; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 178; Orel 1997a, 17-18.

**το** see τος.

### **τοα (?)**

NPhr. τοα 16.1 (116) l. 4

This is an unparalleled sequence which appears after a verb and before a preposition: ριδιτι ται τοα | με ογομανιας εναρκε ερω[λ]αος κναικο εκατηας. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 166) consider that τοα may stand for /twa/. Since the inscription is damaged at both margins and on other lines some letters are lost, it may have been followed by another letter. However, only *iota* fits there (Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 173).

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 166 and 173.

**τονο** see τος.

**τοισινιοι (?)**

NPhr. τοισινιοι 16.1 (116)

This word is read in a sentence which closes the inscription and is very likely to be an imprecation: ις κε εν | τοισινιοι κνουμαν τιν τε[.][.]μαρδι ιδετοι οινις. A hypothetical segmentation τοις ινιοι was suggested by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 182). Although it is an obscure sentence, ινιοι is not expected to resemble the verbal forms ισνιο[υ], ισνου or ιννου because they appears at the end of the apodosis, not at the beginning of the imprecation like ινιοι. Consequently, it remains unclear.

*Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 182-183.*

**tolos (PN?)**

OPhr. sg.nom. tolos M-07

The whole remaining inscription consists of this isolated word. It looks like an *o*-stem anthroponym in the nominative, but no parallel can be adduced.

*CIPPh I, 27; Neumann 1988, 15; Innocente 1997, 38; Orel 1997a, 30 and 464.*

**torvetun (verb) 'to cut wood'**

OPhr. masc.sg.nom.pres.part.? torvetun B-05, l. 11

Hämmig (2013, 150, fn. 52, see also Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185) suggested that *torvetun* probably derives from the PIE noun *\*doru-* 'tree, wood', found, e.g., in Gr. δόρυ 'wood, tree, spear', Skt. *dāru* 'wood', Hitt. *tāru* 'id.' and ToAB or 'id.'. Since the Gr. text of this inscription contains the imprecative protasis ὅστις περὶ τὸ ἱερόν κακουρ<γ>ετήσαι ἔδρῶν ἐκόψαι 'whoever messes up towards the sanctuary or cuts a tree...' and is an excellent fit with the Phr. protasis of l. 11 †iv† ?*imun inmeney asenān daket torvetun* †*iray ayniy oy tubnuv*, this proposal is very likely. Morphologically, it can be an *o*-stem noun in sg.acc. (Brixhe 2004a, 63) or, more likely on the basis of the syntax, a masc.sg.nom.pres.part. of a denominative verb derived from *\*doru-* (similar to Gr. ξυλίζομαι 'gather wood', Hämmig 2013, 150, fn. 52). The suffix remains unclear. Compare its ending with *kuryaneyon*. On the prohibition of cutting trees in shrines, see the very interesting parallels in Epikrates' Testament l. 74-76 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, from Yatağan, Mysia, Herrmann & Polatkan 1969) and in the confession inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia (such as de Hoz 1999, no. 61.23).

*Brixhe 2004a, 63; Hämmig 2013, 150, fn. 52; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 185; Hämmig fthc. a.*

**τος (anaphoric pronoun) 'that'**

OPhr. masc.-neut.sg.gen. tovo G-02c; [t]ovo P-01?

fem.sg.acc. tan W-01c

neut.pl.nom.-acc. [t]a B-01

particle t B-05 l.1 & l. 2, W-01b

neut.sg.nom.-acc. ti B-05 l. 1

NPhr. particle τ 53.1 (76)

masc.sg.nom. τος 17.2 (3), 18.3 (6), 19.2 (129), 35.1 (25), 43.1 (69), 59.3 (79), 66.1 (103)

fem.sg.acc. ταν 2.1 (15) l. 1, 11.2 (18) l. 5, 16.1 (116) l. 2, 37.2 (30)

fem.sg.dt. ται 11.2 (18), 16.1 (116) l. 4; [τ]αι 21.1 (42)?

fem.sg.dat. τα 4.1 (2), 11.2 (18) l. 5

neut.sg.dat. το 15.1 (120), 17.6 (119), 37.2 (27)

particle τι 30.1 (39), 35.1 (25), 44.3 (67), 66.1 (103)

neut.sg.dat. του 9.1 (87), 25.1 (115), 37.1 (10), 44.1 (61), 55.1 (56), 64.1 (81); τ[ου] 30.1 (39)?

This pronoun goes back to PIE anaphoric *\*to-* (LIPP II, 779-799). Although most forms are morphologically clear, some need to be explained. The OPhr. *tovo* has been interpreted as gen. with an epenthetic *-v-*: PIE *\*toso* > *to.o*. The presence of *tovo* in P-01 and P-04 c is highly doubtful. NPhr. *του* can be explained as a developing of *\*tōi*, whereas the forms *t*, *τ* and *ti*, *τι* seem to fall outside the paradigm and are used as emphatic particles in a similar position to *s*, *si*: note that it strengthens the demonstrative pronoun in, e.g., *esai=t* and *σεμουντ*. The masc.sg.nom. *τος* is always used as an anaphoric pronoun at the beginning of the imprecative apodosis: *ιος vi... τος vi...* ('whoever..., this one...'). This usage is also possible in G-02 *tovo* 'of him', considered by Kloekhost to be the ending of the imprecative protasis (*ios oporokitis | kakoioi tovo ÷ podaskai<sup>2</sup>*), and W-01c, where *tan* may refer to the represented *matar* (*ataniyen ÷ kuryaneyon ÷ ta|n egertoy*). However, this usage is not so clear in other occurrences. It often appears in agreement with nouns: B-01 *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin te[l]emi...*, 2.1 *Ξευνη των ειξα υψο|δαν...*, 4.1 *ιος τα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ...* In some instances it is unclear what it can refer to, as happens in 37.2 *οι αυτω αυταη κε των ειτγυυ*. In 4.1 *τα* is read in the position where the pronoun *σα(ι)* is expected, so it is used as a demonstrative: *ιος τα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ*. This oddity has been explained by Lejeune (1969b, 296) and Brixhe (1978b, 7) as the influence of the Gr. article. The form *το* is a mere graphic variant of *του* in inscriptions where the notation *ου* is avoided (see *σεμον* instead of *σεμουν*). Both forms perhaps function as a true article since they appear between a demonstrative pronoun and a noun: 37.1 *ιος vi σεμουν του κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ*. The sequence *σεμουν του κνουμανει* has been equated to the common Gr. *τούτω τῷ μνημείῳ*. However, while *του* is expected to be a masc.-neut.sg.dt., it also appears in fem.: 55.1 *ιος σας του σκερεδριας κακουν δακετ* (see also 25.1 and 64.1). So, it is difficult to consider a real concordance. It is probably used as an indeclinable particle, like *t* or *ti*. Indeed, in the light of this considerations, Brixhe (1978b, 21) defined *τι* and *του* as two different particles whose purpose is to reinforce the demonstrative pronoun.

*Gusmani 1958, 881; Lejeune 1969b, 296-27 and 299; Brixhe 1978a, 11-12; Brixhe 1978b, 7-8 and 21; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190; Kloekhorst 2015, 114; LIPP II, 779-799.*

### **tosk[---] (?)**

OPhr. *tosk[---]* G-147

An incomplete graffito on a potsherd. This beginning of a word follows the well attested word *mekas*. Due to the loss of its ending and the lack of parallels, it remains unclear, although Bayun and Orel (1988a, 195 and Orel 1997a, 192) gave the segmentation *mekas tos k[---]*.

*Bayun & Orel 1988a, 195; Orel 1997a, 192.*

### **τοσου (?)**

NPhr. (προ)τοσου 40.3 (31) l. 8

Anderson's drawing (1898, 121) suggests that after this text there were no more traces of letters. However, this cannot be corroborated. The word was preceded by *προ*. It is unclear if it was indeed used as a preposition or if we are dealing with one word: *προτοσου*. The lack of parallels and the presence of gaps greatly complicate the interpretation of the last part of this inscription, where *προτοσου* is read. Kowal (1984b, 184) is right to reject Haas' identification (1966, 104) of a verb in this sequence. Moreover, Orel (1997a, 335 and 457) suggested a borrowing from or a word related to Gr. *πρῶτος* 'first', but as a result of the last sequence *ου* is difficult to defend (it is true that an obscure *ουν* MPhr-01 is attested). In any case, this sequence remains unclear.

*Kowal 1984b, 184; Orel 1997a, 335 and 457.*

**totin** (noun) ‘offering’

OPhr. sg.acc. *totin* M-01f

The word *totin* is segmented by the interpunction used in this inscription. *CIPPh* (I, 17) suggested, with reservations, that it is perhaps a pronoun similar to Gaul. *sosin* (G-153, L-13) < \*so-sin, so Phrygian *totin* < \*to-tin. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 22 and 464) equated it to Skt. *tāti*, Gr. τόσ(σ)ος < \*totios and Lat. *tot*, translating it as ‘whole’, but the first interpretation is more attractive. What is clear is that it is probably a word in the acc. and, consequently, the direct object of the sentence [---]as *tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin edae[s]*. It does not seem to agree with another word and, because of the presence of *edaes*, it perhaps refers to something related to the monument. Recently, Ligorio (2016) identified here the PIE word \*dh<sub>3</sub>-ti- ‘gift’ (*NIL* 61), attested in Gr. as δόσις ‘id.’ and in Skt. compounds as *bhaga-tti-* ‘gift of luck’. According to Ligorio, the sentence basically means ‘[---]as has put (it) as a gift’. Since the context is clearly religious, perhaps it is better translated as ‘offering’.

*CIPPh* I, 17; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 179; Orel 1997a, 22 and 464; Ligorio 2016.

**ΤΟΤΟΣ** see ΤΟΤΟΣΣΕΙΤΙ.

**ΤΟΤΟΣΣΕΙΤΙ** (verb) ‘give’

OPhr. 3sg.aor.act.ind.? *etoves* B-08

NPhr. 3sg.pres.act.sub. *τοτοσσειτι* 7.1 (99); *τοτοσσε<sup>?</sup>ι<sup>?</sup>τι* 11.2 (18)?; [τοτο]σσει[τι] 56.3 (64)?

The segmentation of *τοτοσσειτι* has been discussed because of the uncommon sequence -σσ-. Although some scholars considered that it shows a word boundary (sometimes identifying *τοτος* with *τευτος*), Hämmig has recently interpreted it as a single word derived from the PIE \*deh<sub>3</sub>- ‘to give’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 105-106, *IEW* 223-225). Of course, this implies that it is a present reduplicated. However, a minor problem arises in the vocalisation of the reduplication, since something like PIE \*dé-deh<sub>3</sub>- (Vedic *dādāti*) > Phr. \*te-tō- would be expected in the light of *δεδασσιννι* 2.2 (130). Hämmig also considered -σσ- the reflex of the PIE suffix \*-sk-, although this is not at all clear (see § 4.2.2.1.1.2). In any case, it always occurs in imprecative apodosis: 7.1 *με κε οι τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος* ‘let Bat not give him bread’, 11.2 *βε<κ>ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσε<sup>?</sup>ι<sup>?</sup>τι τοτος σαρναν* (according to Hämmig *ftch.* a). The use of the subj. instead of the common impv. at the end of the imprecative apodosis is coherent with the presence of the prohibitive particle *με*. The OPhr. form is less clear. It occurs in the cultic inscription B-01: *si bevdos adi...[.] kavarmoyoy imroy edaes etoves niyo[y<sup>?</sup>]*. Formerly, it was segmented as *etovesniyo* (see Lubotsky 1993b, 96; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 186-187 segmented *etoves ni yo*), but the comparison with *επα<sup>?</sup>esniyoy* in B-08 provides the word boundary, despite the lack of space here (is *niyoy* a clitic word?). Recently, Brixhe and Vottéro (2016, 137) reconsidered the possibility that we are dealing with a verb (as Haas 1969, 77 suggested before). As a working hypothesis, and in the light of NPhr. *τοτοσσειτι*, one can consider *etoves* the Phr. outcome of PIE aor. \*déh<sub>3</sub>- / \*dh<sub>3</sub>- found in ved. *ádāt* ‘(s)he gave’, Gr. *ἔδομεν* ‘we gave’, Lacon. *ἔδον* ‘I gave’ (*IG* V(1) 1.B1), arm. *et* ‘(s)he gave’, etc.). In that case, the glide *v* can be explained as a mere antihhiatic spelling between the root and the ending (compare with *devos* ‘god’ < \*d<sup>h</sup>esós). In any case, the context is still obscure and it is difficult to corroborate this hypothesis.

Haas 1969, 77; Hämmig *ftch.* a; Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 137.

**ΤΟΥ** see *τος*.

**τοΤι** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.nom. *τοΤι* NW-101 A II

According to Brixhe, this word is perhaps an *i*-stem PN in nom. without ending -s. It is clearly the only word that can function as the agent of its sentence: *deVeti | τοΤι a tiei*. However, no

parallel can be adduced. The word present the strange letter T (n. 19 c of *CIPPh I*, 282 catalogue), discussed in § 3.1.2.

*Brixhe 2002a*, 8.

**tr** see *tir*.

**τρα[.....]τη[---]** (noun?)

OPhr. τρα[.....]τη[---] 21.1 (42)

Despite the fact that there are some gaps which cannot be restored due to the lack of parallels of this word and its context, it is probably a fem. noun with a meaning related to the tomb, because it occurs in an imprecative protasis after the pronoun σα. On the other hand, some scholars consider that the word is σατρα[...]. Orel (1997a, 95) suggested a reconstruction in the light of Gr. τράπεζα ‘table’, but it is an unfounded proposal without parallels.

*Orel 1997a*, 95 and 464.

**tu** (PN?)

OPhr. tu G-337 b

According to *Brixhe (2002a, 91-92)* this is a probable abbreviation of a PN. This graffito was incised on a ceramic vessel that also bears an isolated *t* and a nonverbal mark.

*Brixhe 2002a*, 91-92.

**tuaveniy** (?)

OPhr. tuave/niy M-01f

A word delimited by interpunction. The final glide is raised because of the initial vowel of the following word: [---]as *tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin ędaę[s]*. The nature and the function of the word remain obscure.

*CIPPh I*, 17.

**tubetiv** (verb) ‘?’

OPhr. 3sg.Subj.Pres tubetiv B-05 l. 9

OPhr. 3pl.imperat. tubnuv B-05 l.10

Two variants of an obscure verb which are read in two different but equivalent imprecative protases (following *Hämmig 2013, 132-133*): *tubetiv oy nevos deraliv...; ay niy oy tubnuv nevos mederitoy...* Since *tubetiv* is spelled differently to the expected \**tubetiy*, *Neumann (1997, 23)* and *Gorbachov (2008, 100-101)* preferred the segmentation *tubeti*. *Gorbachov* considered the possibility of a borrowing from Luw. *tūb(a)i-* ‘strike’ (found both in CLuw. and HLuw.), although he also admits that the Phr. form may continue PIE \*(s)tub<sup>h</sup>-, a protoform suggested by *Melchert (1994, 242)* for this Luw. verb and Lyc. *tubidi, tubeiti* ‘strike down’, also compared with Gr. στυφελίζω ‘to strike hard, maltreat’ (this etymon is not considered in *EDG 1418-1419*).

*Neumann 1997, 23; Gorbachov 2008, 100-101; Hämmig 2013, 132-133.*

**tubnuv** see *tubetiv*.

**ṭuvatis** (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. ṭuvatis or guvatis G-133

*I*-stem anthroponym in nom. Both readings possibilities go back to PNs found in Anatolia. However, the form *ṭuvatis* is preferred (following *Innocente 1997, 325*) because of the Luw. parallel *Tuwattis* (contrary to *Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198*).

*CIPPh I*, 122; *Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Neumann 1988, 17; Brixhe 1993, 339; Neumann 1995, 135; Innocente 1997, 35.*

**tumoy** (noun?) ‘house’?

OPhr. sg.dat.? *tumoy* B-06

This word is found after the relative pronoun *yos* and both are written together between interpunctuations because the pronoun is clitic. Although the inscription is in a precarious state of conservation (it was reused some centuries later), since *yos tumoy* occurs at the end of the text it is perhaps the beginning of a curse: [---]y : *yostumoy* :  $\uparrow$ *ekmatin* | [---]atonkeyen. However, there are too many gaps to clearly determine what the text says. Bakır and Gusmani (1991, 163) and Brixhe (2004a, 72) considered it a verb in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg.opt. However, the verb is not commonly found immediately after the relative pronoun and, if the sentence is a curse, we must remember that the optative is not used in the protasis. Vassileva (1995, 29-31) interpreted it as a variant of the word  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$  ‘religious association’, but this is difficult to defend from a phonetic perspective because no other example of the shift OPhr. *t* > NPhr. *d* is found. It is probably an *o*-stem noun in the sg.dat. and is perhaps based on the PIE root noun *\*dóm* ‘home, house’ with a secondary *o*-stem as well as Gr.  $\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  ‘house, living, room’ (often used in funerary contexts) and Skt. *dáma-* ‘house’ (EDG 347). This proposal is made on the basis of the change *\*d* > *t* (see e.g.  $\tau\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ), the vowel shift *\*o* > *u* (see e.g. *muksos*) and the possible reference to the monument itself as a ‘funerary house’. Indeed, if it is a curse, this reference is expected in such a position. Nonetheless, the word remains unclear because of the poor preservation of the text. Bakır & Gusmani 1991, 163; Vassileva 1995,29-31; Orel 1997a, 153 and 464; Brixhe 2004a, 72.

**tu<sup>o</sup>[---]** (?)

OPhr. *tu<sup>o</sup>[---]* G-302

Only two complete letters survive on this pottery fragment. The third shows a circular trace that may or may not be accidental. It could be an anthroponym, but this remains to be explained.

Brixhe 2002a, 63-64.

**tutut..** (?)

OPhr. *tutut..* W-01a

Text appearing after a relative pronoun: *yos tutut ...a-m-noy...* The following letters are illegible. However, CIPPh (I, 38) considered the reading *tututey* :  $\alpha\mu\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  to be the most probable. If they are right, these two words could be two datives (Lubotsky 1988, 16). They have recently been claimed to contain the root *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* present in NPhr.  $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\iota$ . However, this is not the common position for the verb and it does not fit the CIPPh reading. Consequently, this sequence remains obscure.

Neroznak 1978, 76; CIPPh I, 38; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 182; Lubotsky 1988, 16; Hämmig *ftbc*.

**tv.[...]** (?)

OPhr. *tv.[...]* 59.3 (79)

A sequence in a very damaged part of an imprecation. It is preceded by [...] $\tau\omicron\sigma$ . If this last sequence is the known pronoun it could mark the beginning of the apodosis. Nevertheless, this sequence is very difficult to interpret.



## Υ (u) - Υ υ

### u<sup>?</sup> (mark)

NPhr. u<sup>?</sup> G-278 a

Although there are more letters on this cup, this one, as well as Υ, occurs in an isolated position with the sequence [-?-].<sup>?</sup>[----]ai<sup>?</sup>. It is very likely to be a mere commercial or owner's mark.

*Brixhe 2002a, 38-39.*

### υ (adverb) 'neither, nor'

NPhr. υ 4.1 (2)

The presence of this word at the beginning of the apodosis υκε ακαλα ουιτετου ουα has been explained as a graphic variant of the dat. pronoun (ι)οι 'to him' by Heubeck (1958, 22-3) and Brixhe (1997, 49,67). However, some remarks can be made. First, it is an unusual spelling of /oj/ that has no parallels in the NPhr. corpus. Moreover, the presence of this suggested pronoun seems too pleonastic, since there is another reference to the accursed in the possessive ουα. Finally, if the verb means 'to find', it needs a negative particle in order to be something undesirable. *LIPP* (II, 338) provides another explanation: υκε goes back to \*h<sub>2</sub>u-k<sup>w</sup>e 'but also' but such an interpretation hardly fits the context. Consequently, neither interpretation is defensible and another reading is required. Indeed, it is more easily explained as the negative adverb parallel to Gr. οὐ, and, if this is the case, the construction υκε would be a parallel of Gr. οὔτε 'and not'. It is true that the prohibitive particle *me* would be expected here because of the imperative verb, but it is not an unattested occurrence in the light of the Gr. funerary formula from Phrygian Eumeneia οὐ τεθῆ and variants, see e.g. *MAMA VI* List 147,130 ἰς ὃ ἔτερος οὐ | τεθῆ: 'into which no-one else will be placed'. The verbs in these adduced parallels are in the subjunctive, but also the prohibitive particle μή would be expected instead of οὐ. Then, this form should be compared with Gr. οὐκ, οὐκ(ι), οὐχ(ι) 'not', Arm. օճ 'id.' and Alb. as 'id.', which is commonly considered the result of a PIE formation \*h<sub>2</sub>oiu(-k<sup>w</sup>id) (see *EDG* 1123, Martirosyan 2010, 531 and 2013, 91, with references). The NPhr. text points out a form without \*i, although a phonetic erosion – common in such grammatical words – cannot be ruled out, if not a consequence of the Gr. influence. In any case, the sentence in which it is found may mean 'and shall he not find his *akala*'.

*Heubeck 1958, 22-3; Neumann 1971, 156; Brixhe 1997, 49,67; LIPP II, 338.*

### uei (PN?)

NPhr. uei G-338

Complete graffito. According to Brixhe (2002a, 92-93) it is an abbreviated anthroponym, better than a complete nominative form (without the ending -s). However, no parallel has been identified.

*Brixhe 2002a, 92-93.*

### uva (PN)

NPhr. uva K-01 V

This PN features a nominative without the ending -s. It is characterised by the sign ( which is always followed by a PN. Since the following word presents the same sign we can assume that it is an anthroponymic sequence, despite the fragmentation of the text: [---],pa ( uva ( [---].

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 123.*

**υιταν** (verb?)

MPhr. 3pl.op.act.? υιταν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6

According to Brixhe (2004a, 21) it can be analysed as an *a*-stem noun in the sg.acc. or as a verb in the 3pl.opt.act. He considers the latter option more likely because παρτης is assumed to be its subject. Its roots seems to show that it is related to *vitaran* B-05, l. 3 and ουσιτετου, which goes back to the PIE root \**u̯eid-* ‘behold, see’ (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 665-667, *IEW* 1125-1127). Nonetheless, the sentence in which υιταν is read remains obscure: νικοστρατος κλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις μο.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..ρος παντης πεννιτι.

*Brixhe 2004a, 21.*

**uʔʔekey** (?)

OPhr. uʔʔekey G-11 a

The whole text in which this sequence is read remains obscure; even the disposition of the text has yet to be established. Following Brixhe (2002a, 35), while *key* could be identified as the copulative conj., it is preferable to take this sequence as one word. In the light of this observation, it could be a consonantal stem noun in the sg.dat. However, the word remains unclear.

*Brixhe 2002a, 35.*

**umnišet** (verb)

OPhr. 3sg.pres.act.sub. umnišet B-05, l. 7

MPhr. 3sg.pres.act.sub. ομνισιτ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 8

Despite the vocalic differences, these are probably different (but common) spellings of the same form. Nevertheless, the root \**umn-* (probably also present in the adj. *umnotan*) is not identified, so the meaning is unknown. Perhaps in B-05 the agent of *umnišet* is *kelmis*: *kelmis ke umnišet evraquš daķeraiš key iverais* [--] *atikraiu*. The form ομνισιτ occurs in a relative clause: ιος κορο αν(-)δετουγ | ςφυν ομαστα ομνισιτ ους.

*Brixhe 2004a, 24 and 59.*

**umnotan** (adj.)

OPhr. ac.sg. umnotan B-07

It is very likely it is an *a*-stem deverbative adj. with the suffix *-ta-* of the same root attested in *umnišet* and ομνισιτ. It agrees with the noun *ordoineten* in a relative clause: *yos tiv[.].?n ke devuñ k(e) umnotan ordoineten...*

*Brixhe 2004a, 84.*

**uposoy** (PN?)

OPhr. dt.sg. uposoy G-189

This complete isolated word on a potsherd is very likely an *o*-stem PN in the dat., although no parallel is found. The second *o* is barely visible and the first letter presents an accidental stroke. This led Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199 and Orel 1997a, 209-210) identified [--] *kposoy* as the same name that occurs in G-229 *sokposa*. However, their interpretation must be rejected because it is clear that G-189 did not contain any letter before the first letter of the reading.

*CIPPh I, 160.*

**uraka[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. uraka[---] G-292

Despite the fact that the last letters are lost and no parallels can be adduced, this isolated word on a potsherd is expected to be a PN.

*Brixhe 2002a, 53.*

### **urgitos** (PN)

OPhr. sg.gen. *urgitos* K-01 VI-VII a2

PN in gen. used as a patronymic of the name in nom. *masa* (with Hitt. origin). According to Brixhe (in Brixhe & Summers 2006, 125), \**Urgis* may be the nominate (for its inflection see *artimitos*). In any case, such a name is found only in the Hurrian PN of Mursili III, *Urḫi-Tešub* ‘Tešub is truth’ (vel. sim., LNH 198 § 1443). If the equation *urḫi-* > *urgi-* is right (a hypocoristic), it is a new example of the continuity of Anatolian royal onomastics in Phr. This is more plausible if we consider the location in which the stele was found: Kerkenes Dağ, in Cappadocia.

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 125.*

### **uriienoisḫu[---]** (?)

OPhr. *uriienoisḫu[---]* G-145

An obscure sequence preceded by the PN *voineios* (with a correction in the last letter). The presence of two *i* has been considered a possible word boundary (*CIPPh* I, 132) as in M-06 *davoi iman*, however two opposing parallels can be adduced: T-03 a I a<sup>↑</sup>*ii*a and P-02 *kanutiievanos*. Another possibility is to suggest a word boundary after *uriienois* (a word in dat.pl?). With their arguable etymological speculation, this last segmentation appears in Orel (1997a, 191) and Bayun and Orel (1988a, 195). In any case, this sequence remains unclear.

*Neroznak 1978, 101; CIPPh I, 132; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 195; Orel 1997a, 191.*

### **url** (PN?)

OPhr. *url* G-109

This sequence is the second and last of the G-109 ceramic graffito. It is preceded by the anthroponym *aladis* and a small amount of space is appreciated between the two words. Because of the unusual ending *-rl* it must be considered an abbreviation of a possible patronymic. However, no clear parallel can be adduced. Tentatively, Orel (1997a, 171 and 465) suggested a relation with *Οαρωλλου* (*KPN* 393 § 143-2), read in a Gr. inscription of unspecific origin. However, the difference in vowels casts doubt on his proposal. Another possibility is to read it as *urg* and consider it an abbreviated form of *urg(itos)* (K-01).

*CIPPh I, 103; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 171 and 465; Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 150.*

### **urunis** (PN)

OPhr. nom.sg. *urunis* G-346

This *i*-stem PN is written on a beam of Tumulus MM at Gordion, near three other PNs: *nana*, *mukšos* and *si<sup>↑</sup>idos* (Liebhart & Brixhe 2009). Regarding its origin, it must be the Luw. PN <sup>m</sup>*Urawanni* (an ethnic in origin, see Melchert 2013, 37), with the common simplification *wa* > *u*. In The the Phrygian inscription, *urunis* is preceded by the mark <sup>l</sup>, which occurs before a PN.

*Liebhart & Brixhe 2009, 150.*

<sup>t</sup>**υσδουνετ[.]ου** see υς and δουμ<sup>?</sup>ετυου.

### **υς** (PN?)

NPhr. υς 22.1 (9)

It appears at the beginning of an epitaph followed by a Lat. name: υς δουμ<sup>?</sup>ετυου πασε δεκμουταις... The inscription is bilingual, however the Gr. contexts are not the same as the Phr., although this part is obscure. Because of its position, it is very likely a PN followed by its patronymic in gen.: υς δουμετυου ‘Ys (the son) of Domitius’. It must be added that Orel (1997a, 73-74) manipulated the reading in the light of the name given in the Gr. text of the same inscription, Κοίτος ‘Ρούφου ‘Quintus son of Rufus’: ρ[υ]θυ[ς] ετ [ρ]ουπασς.

**υψοδαν** (adverb) ‘above, on the top’

NPhr. υψο|δαν 2.1 (15); [ο<sup>ς</sup>υ]|ψοδαν 16.1 (116)

An adverb identified by Lubotsky 1993a and equated to Gr. ὑψόθεν ‘from on high, from above’. Both forms go back to \**upsod<sup>h</sup>η*, derived from PIE \**up-s-* ‘above’ (LIPP II, 833). The Phrygian word shows the zero-grade of the locative particle \**-d<sup>h</sup>η*, attested in some Gr. dialects as -θα (e.g. Aeol. πρόσθα ‘before’). In the light of numerous occurrences, the last -v must be etymological. In both inscriptions, this adverb occurs alongside nouns referring to parts of the funerary monument. Lubotsky 1993a; Orel 1997a, 77 and 465; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 183; LIPP II, 833.

**υ7d (?)**

OPhr. υ7d G-106

This unparalleled sentence occurs in isolation on a bronze bowl. Because of the ending in -d, it is probably an abbreviation, perhaps a PN. The second letter is difficult to read in the light of other known examples. It can only be likened to a sign written in G-244 (see § 3.1.5). According to Brixhe (2004a, 28, who follows Lejeune 1970, 59-60) it could be a diacritic 7, denoting a voiced affricate sound (see also Brixhe 1982, 240-241). Orel’s (1997, 170 and 465) identification of the Pisidian or Lycaonian place name Οὐσάδα is unfounded.

Brixhe 1982, 240-241; CIPPh I, 101; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 185-196; Brixhe 2004a, 28.

## ‡ (y)

### y (owner's mark)

OPhr. y G-254

Since it is an isolated letter on a potsherd, it is probably a mere commercial mark, not necessarily an abbreviated form of a PN.

*CIPPh I, 198; Roller 1987a, 38; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 237 and 469.*

### [.ʔ]y[.ʔ]agaua (?)

OPhr. [.ʔ]y[.ʔ]agaua W-11

The ending has a parallel in *mʔonokaua*. On the basis of its ending in -a, [.ʔ]y[.ʔ]agaua has been considered an epiclesis of the goddess *Matar* by Brixhe (Brixhe & Sivas 2002, 108-109). However, he did not rule out a neut.pl.nom.-acc. noun as a secondary possibility. Its context, as well as the word itself, is badly damaged: [.ʔ]y[.ʔ]agaua | [-ʔ-]tataeʔ[.ʔ] | [ʔ]e[.ʔ].

*Brixhe & Sivas 2002, 108-109.*

### yeʔ (?)

OPhr. yeʔ NW-129

This sequence is written by a ligature and below an isolated *a*. Although this kind of short sequences are considered anthroponymic abbreviations, Brixhe (Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 133) does not rule out the possibility that we are dealing with a complete *e*-stem Lallname in the nominative without the ending -s.

*Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 133.*

### yəb..[---] (?)

OPhr. yəb..[---] K-01 Ib

The beginning of a very damaged sequence. The first letter could also be read as *i*-, which is less likely but remains defensible because the non-notation of the glide is found in the same inscription: -*tio*-. The last remains of letters are vertical, but illegible. This sequence remains unclear. It is preceded by [---]vos(*i*).

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 115.*

### [-ʔ-]yemeyon (?)

OPhr. [-ʔ-]yemeyon G-312

This graffito on a potsherd is complete at the end but unclear at the beginning. Brixhe (2002a, 70) suggested the possibility of a lost initial letter *i*, as in the case of *iyungidas*, because of the lack of words beginning with *y*- except the relative pronoun. This is categorically untrue, see *yenvra* and *yəb..[---]*. Also, the last yod has lost its bottom and, in fact, the reading is given in the light of the very suitable parallel *kuryaneyon*, a nominative singular of a present participle \*-ōn. However, the contexts are very different and in G-312 an anthroponym is expected. It could be an *n*-stem anthroponym.

*Brixhe 2002a, 70.*

### yenvra (?)

OPhr. yenvra B-03

This word occurs after the reduplicated relative pronoun *yosyos* in a probable imprecative protasis: *yosyos yenvra* | *etitevtevey me - oun lakeaq* | [-ʔ-]. It could be an *a*-stem word but its case it is unknown. It appears to be an *a*-stem nominative but that case it is not expected here.

**yos** (pronoun) ‘who, whoever’

OPhr.	masc.sg.nom.	yos B-01, B-05, B-06, B-07, W-01a, W-01b
	masc.sg.nom.	yosyos B-03
	masc.sg.nom.	ios G-02b, P-04a, P-04b, P-06
	masc.sg.nom.	†iv† B-05
MPhr.	masc.sg.nom.	ιος MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7
NPhr.	masc.sg.nom.	ιος 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 5.1 (19), 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 11.2 (18), 13.1 (122), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.4 (90), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 19.2 (129), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 22.2 (118), 23.1 (89), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 31.1 (29), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 37.2 (27), 37.1 (10), 41.1 (45), 43.1 (69), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70), 44.3 (67), 45.1 (65), 46.1 (53), 48.1 (81), 48.2 (84), 49.1 (110), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 51.1 (80), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.3 (109), 54.1 (108), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.1 (107), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 59.4 (106), 60.2 (60), 61.1 (100), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); [ι]ος 39,1 (44), 40.4 (102).
	masc.sg.nom.	ειος 40.1 (12)
	masc.sg.nom.	ις 17.1 (4 b), 12..1 (121), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116), 18.2 (5)
	masc.sg.nom.	ισος 34.1 (37)
	masc.sg.acc.	ιον 56.2 (58)
	fem.sg.acc.	ιαν 40.3 (31)

A relative pronoun derived from PIE  $*(H)i-o-$  ‘id.’ ( $*h_2i\acute{o}-$  in *LIP II*, 312-315) and equated to Gr. ὅς, ἧ, ὄ, Skt. *yás, yā, yād*, Av. *yō, yā, yaṭ*, etc. It usually introduces the protases of the curses. The forms *yos, ios* and *ιος* are the masculine nominative singular. Also, *ις* and *ειος* must be analysed in the same way. While *ις* is explained by the Gr. phonetic development  $\iota\omicron > \iota$  (Brixhe 1987a, 50-51), *ειος* is a graphic variant arising from the Gr. itacism. *yosyos* is a clear reduplicated form, similar to Lat. *quisquis, quaequae, quidquis* ‘whoever, whatever, everyone who’. In turn, *ισος* is probably a development of the same form, where *ι-* stands for *ιο-* (as *ις*) and *-sy-* (from *yos + yos*) has become *-σ-*. The form *†iv†* B-05 is particularly strange. Since it appears where *yos* is expected, Hämmig (2013, 149) considered it a mere error. The sg.acc.masc. *ιον* is a possible new segmentation of *μφο τηιον* as *μροτιη ιον*: *μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν* ‘only for the death whom it has written’. However, there is a problem in the gender because its antecedent *μροτιη* is fem. Finally, there is sg.acc.fem. *ιαν*, which goes back to  $*(h_1)i-eh_2-m$ .

Haas 1966, 226; Brixhe 1978b, 21-22; Brixhe 2004a, 72; Hämmig 2013, 149; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 190; *LIP II*, 312-315.

**†yostumoy** see *yos* & *tumoy*.

**yosyos** see *yos*.

## Υ

### Υ (mark)

OPhr. Υ G-278b, G-294, G-298

Incised on potsherds, an isolated letter used as a mark. In G-278 it occurs near an obscure sequence: [-?-].<sup>?</sup>[.]ai<sup>?</sup> u<sup>?</sup>.

*Brixhe 2002a, 38-40, 55-56 and 59-60.*

### Ψ (mark)

OPhr. Ψ G-322, G-324, NW-105, NW-112, NW-126 (*bis*), NW-128; Ψ NW-119, NW-122

Isolated mark incised on several potsherds. This mark has been catalogued as the sign 20b by *CIPPh* (I, 242). However, it is not necessarily a letter (see *Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 138*).

*Brixhe 2002a, 14, 19, 23, 78, 79-80; Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 130 and 132.*

### Υir (PN?)

OPhr. Υir G-339

An abbreviated word read on a sherd with some non-verbal marks. Because of the context it is probably an anthroponym. However, no parallel can be adduced.

*Roller 1987a, 24 and 40; Brixhe 2002a, 93.*

**Υuv** see ΥuvaΥaros.

### ΥuvaΥaros (PN)

OPhr. sg.nom. ΥuvaΥaros G-115

? Υuv G-224

The graffito G-115, read on a sherd dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, is complete and it is a clear *o*-stem anthroponym. It has been equated to the OP PN <sup>\*h</sup>Uvaxštra (without a clear etymology). It is also attested in Akkadian as <sup>m</sup>Ú-ak-sa-tar, <sup>m</sup>Uk-sa-tar and <sup>m</sup>Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar, in Elamite as *Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri* and *Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra* (note that in Elamite the sign ME/PI often represents /v/) and finally in Gr. through Herodotus 1.73, 1.103-07 as Κυαξάρης, who is said to be the son of Phraortes and the king of Media who conquered the parts of Asia Minor east of the Halys River (585 a.C.), in the same c. as the Phrygian graffito G-115. In addition to its cultural value, this name has often been used to establish the value of the letter Υ. According to *Lejeune 1978, 785-787*, the second Υ in this name is the reflex of the Persian variant -xš- instead of the Median -xštra-, and therefore stands for /ks/. An open problem is the beginning of the name, where Υ can only represent an original /h/, so the context is very different. *Lejeune* suggested a hypercharacterisation grounded in a regressive assimilation of /ks/ in order not to lose the initial sound (not used in Phrygian), but this explanation is difficult to corroborate. The graffito G-224, in which Υun is read, has been considered an abbreviation of ΥuvaΥaro.

*Haas 1966, 55-56; Schmitt 1973, 56-58; Haas 1976, 49-68; Lejeune 1978, 785-787; Schmitt 1978, 411-412; Schmitt 1982, 34-35; Diakonoff 1993, 478-479; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 197-227; Tavernier 2007, 466-467.*



## ↑ T

### ↑ (owner's mark)

OPhr. ↑ G-203a, G-225

In both of its occurrences this letter appears isolated among in potsherds and probably was used as a commercial or owner's mark. In the internal side of G-203 (from 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC) a mark X is also found and in G-225 (from 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC) an A.

*CIPPh I, 168 and 181; Roller 1987a, 31 and 48; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 215-216, 225; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 164.*

↑*ek* see ↑*ekmatin*.

### ↑*ekmatin* (noun?)

OPhr. sg.acc. ↑*ekmatin* B-06 l.3

pl.acc.? ↑*ekm<sup>2</sup>[at]eṣ* B-06 l.1?

This *i*-stem noun or adj. only occurs in a very damaged funerary stele. Since ματι(v) is attested in MPhr-01, one can suggest a segmentation ↑*ek matin* is possible. In any case, ↑*ek* remains unexplained: it is a preposition or a prefix?. The segmentation of this ↑*ekmati-* is unclear. In l.1, *ṣtal<sup>2</sup>a ke* : ↑*ekm<sup>2</sup>[at]eṣ key*[---]*a<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup>*[---], the restitution is a mere hypothesis suggested by Orel (1997a, 151), but it fits the lost space and the remaining strokes. Although the context is absolutely unclear, l.3 may contain an imprecative protasis: *yostumoy* : ↑*ekmatin* | [---]*atonkeyen*. Anyhow, its origin and meaning are unknown, contrary to Orel (1997a, 152 and 422, who considered it a PN (arbitrarily read as *dekmatin*)).

*Orel 1997a, 152 and 422; Brixhe 2004a, 72-73.*

### ↑*emeney* (noun)

OPhr. sg.dat. ↑*emeney* B-05

A clear *n*-stem noun (parallel inflection to *iman*, *imenos*), it is read in a protasis of a curse: *yos isekosos* ↑*emeney dupratoy veban ituv*. A recent analysis offered by Simon (2015, 25-27) considered it derived from a verb which goes back to PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'move' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 172, *IEW* 418), \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'leave behind, let return' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 173, *IEW* 418-419) or \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to come; to arrive' (*LIV*<sup>2</sup> 196, *IEW* 418-419), proposed in the light of ἐνθ|άδε ἦκοντι read in the Gr. part of this quasi bilingual inscription. However, the identification of both texts is not clear (at least the apodosis is not the same). On the other, Sowa (2015, 189) tentatively suggested a borrowing from Gr. σῆμα 'sign, mark, gravestone'.

*Neumann 1997, 52; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Gorbachov 2008, 102-105; Hämmig 2013, 151; Sowa 2015, 188-189; Simon 2015, 25-27.*

### T*i* (PN?)

OPhr. T*i* G-275

A complete graffito on a potsherd which must be an abbreviated word, probably an anthroponym, used as an owner's mark. The first letter has been considered a variant of ↑ because it is a hapax but similar to ↑ in a↑*iia* T-03.

*Heubeck 1986, 76; CIPPh I, 212; Roller 1987a, 41; Orel 1997a, 244 and 461; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 172; Brixhe 2004a, 96.*

↑*iray* (noun) ‘hand’

OPhr. sg.dat. ↑*iray* B-05

NPhr. pl.nom. ζειρα 40.1 (12)

sg.dat. ζειραι 59.4 (106)

A clear fem. *a*-stem noun equated to Gr. χείρ, χειρός ‘hand’, Arm. *jeṛn* ‘id.’, Skt. *hástā-* ‘id.’ (< \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-to-*), Hitt. *keššar* ‘id.’, etc., which goes back to PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-* ‘id.’ (NIL 170-172). The *a*-stem inflection of this Phr. word is clearly secondary. Alb. *dorë* ‘id.’ (\**dēr-ā* < \**dēr-* < PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-*) shows the same new inflection, although in this language almost all PIE C-stems become *o-* and *a-* stems (see Demiraj 1997, 140 with references). The OPhr. occurrence appears in an imprecative protasis: *†iv† <s>imun inmeney asenān daket torvetun ↑iray ayniy oy tubnuv...* According to Hämmig (2013, 150-151, who took up an old theory rejected by Brixhe 1991, 84-89 and other scholars), it is used there as an ins. ‘von Hand’ (a similar use in NPhr. 59.4). In the NPhr. subcorpus it again appears in curses: once in the apodosis, 40.1 *ειος νι σεμουν κνουμανι κακον | αδδακετ, ζειρα κε οι πετ<sup>?</sup>ες κε τιτ|τετικμενα ατ τιε αδειττου*, and once in a protasis 59.4 *ιος νι σεμουν κνου|μανει κακουν αδοκετ | ζειραι, τιτετικμενος ατ | τι αδειτου...*

Hämmig 2013, 150-151.

## Acephalous words

### [---]a (?)

OPhr. [---]a T-02b

Ending of a word segmented by interruption read on a stele: [---]tumida ÷ memeuis ÷ [---] | [---]a ÷ tesan ÷ a↑ion ÷ v[---]... It does not agree with the words that follow (in sg.acc.). Orel (1997aa, 471) considered it a sg.nom. of an *a*-stem, but this cannot be corroborated.

Orel 1997aa, 471.

### [---]a..[ (?)

OPhr. ]a..[ ] B-03

A seriously damaged part of this inscription on a stele. Its context is no clearer: ešk...a[ ] a.. [ ] | evtevey...

### [-?-.]a (PN?)

OPhr. [-?-.]a G-227

Graffito on a potsherd whose first letters are lost. Because the original text is only suggested to have four letters at most, *CIPPh* (I, 182) considered it a possible dissyllabic Lallname. However, it could also be an abbreviation. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199), on the other hand, read it as a sinistroverse *a*i[---], but the central appendix of the *a* is good evidence for the *CIPPh* (I, 182) reading. Finally, Orel's reading *...ita* (in the light of G-223, 1997, 472 and 225) is difficult to corroborate on the basis of the remaining strokes.

Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; *CIPPh* I, 182; Orel 1997aa, 472 and 225.

### [-?-.]ab see [-?-.]abas.

### [-?-.]abas (PN)

OPhr. [-?-.]ab G-217

[?-.]abas P-104

Graffiti read on sherds. Both seem to contain a PN very likely related to Αβ(β)ας (very common in Anatolia *KPN* 43-44 § 1). However, a relation with Βαβας (*KPN* 113 § 133-1) cannot be ruled out. G-217 is very likely an abbreviation.

Neroznak 1978, 111; *CIPPh* I, 248.

### [---]agineia see lagineios.

### [---]a<sup>2</sup>dad[---] (PN?)

OPhr. [---]a<sup>2</sup>dad[---] G-308

A damaged graffito on a potsherd. Although no parallel can be adduced in the Phrygian corpus, Brixhe (2002a, 68) suggested that it could be a Lallname (see *LNH* 241 *Adada*).

Brixhe 2002a, 68.

### [---].aesi.[---] see [---]m<sup>2</sup>aesi.[---].

### [---]aes (?)

OPhr. [---]aes G-149

Because of the evident similarity, Orel (1997a, 471) considered this fragmented graffito on a potsherd to be a 3sg.aor. verb (see, e.g., *edaes*). However, a verb like this is only read in monumental inscriptions.

Lubotsky 1988, 18; Orel 1997a, 193 and 471.

[---]avaş (PN?)

OPhr. [---]avaş G-142

Read on a potsherd, the complete graffito is [---]avaş[---]. Because the Phrygian alphabet does not note the geminates, a word boundary can be inserted between the two s (as suggested by *CIPPh* I, 129). However, no analysis can be given for [---]avaş, only that it could be a sg.nom. a-stem (Orel 1997a, 471) perhaps a masculine PN, see, e.g. *Midas*.

*CIPPh* I, 129; Orel 1997a, 189 and 471.

[-?-.]?[.]ai<sup>?</sup> (?)

OPhr. [-?-.]?[.]ai<sup>?</sup> G-278a

Two isolated letters incised on the same potsherd: u<sup>?</sup> and Υ. If the last letter is indeed an <i>, it could be a sg.dat. a-stem (Brixhe 2002a, 39). However, the sequence remains obscure.

*Brixhe* 2002a, 39.

[---]aios[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]aios[-?.] G-159 b

A fragment read on a pot sherd which seems to contain another fragmented inscription: G-159b [---]ser.[---]. According to *CIPPh* (I, 142-143), [---]aios could be an ending of a word, see *iketaios*.

*CIPPh* I, 142-143; Orel 1997a, 197 and 471.

[---]aine[---] (PN?)

OPhr. [---]aine[---] G-299

A word suggested doubtfully by Brixhe (2002a, 61) to be a PN. However, no parallel can be adduced.

*Brixhe* 2002a, 61.

[---]aişā[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]aişā[---] G-267

Read on a potsherd, this sequence has no parallels.

*CIPPh* I, 206-207; Orel 1997a, 241 and 471.

[---]ak[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]ak[---] G-309

Two letters read on a potsherd.

*Brixhe* 2002a, 67.

[---].akavi[---] (?)

OPhr. [---].akavi[---] G-172

Read on a potsherd. Before the first <a>, an angular remaining is observed which could be an *m* according to *CIPPh* (I, 150, accepted by Orel 1997a, 202 and 472). Orel interpreted it as a 3sg.pres, but did so speculatively.

*CIPPh* I, 150; Orel 1997a, 300.

[---]ake.ano[---] see *akenanogavos*.

[---]akios (PN?)

OPhr. [---]akios G-272

Read on a potsherd. It is the sg.nom. o-stem word. It has been equated to *akio*[---] by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 196) but remains unclear.

*CIPPh* I, 210; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 243 and 471.

**[-?-]akiti...s (?)**

OPhr. [-?-]akiti...s P-06

Written on an altar, it is not known if it was preceded by more text: [-?-]akiti...s | ai ÷ ios aeiketio [ ? ] ivi...se.[ ?]n. The sequence remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 242-243; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 243 and 471.

**[---]alabiōs[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]alabiōs[---] C-01

Incised on a calcareous slab, this inscription is badly damaged: [---]e[...]*alabiōs*[---]. Orel (1997a, 246 and 471) interpreted it as a PN (without parallels) and suggested a relation with the gloss ἀλάβη· λιγνύς· σποδός· καρκίνος· ὑπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων μαρίλη· ἄνθρακες (H. α 2719). However, the text is not clear enough for this suggestion to be seriously considered.

CIPPh I, 242-243; Orel 1997a, 246 and 471.

**[---].aḷe[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---].aḷe[---] G-171

This fragmented sequence on a potsherd could be read as [---]kaḷe<sup>?</sup>[---] or [---]uaḷe<sup>?</sup>[---]. Although Orel (1997a, 435) considered it a variant of [---]kalai[---] G-177 (specifically, a PN), the sequence is similar but not the same and the reading of the first letter of G-171 is not at all clear.

CIPPh I, 150; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 202 and 435.

**[---]amai..[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]amai..[---] G-155

A damaged graffito incised on a potsherd. The first doubtful letter could be read as *v* or *r* while the second is very dubious because only a vertical stroke remains. Interpretations such as the one offered by Orel (1997a, 196 and 471, who segmented [---]amai as *a*-stem sg.dat.) are very tentative.

CIPPh I, 139-140; Orel 1997a, 218 and 471.

**[---]amī.e[---] see [---]ani.e[---].**

**...a.m.<sup>?</sup>noy (?)**

OPhr. sg.nom? ...a.m.<sup>?</sup>noy W-01a

A damaged sequence read on a façade, possibly part of an imprecative apodosis: *yos tutut ...a.m.<sup>?</sup>noy ÷ akenanogavos | aey...* According to Orel (1997a, 35 and 423), whose reading of the beginning of the word (as well as his interpretation) is very tentative, it could be a sg.dat. noun.

CIPPh I, 37-38; Orel 1997a, 35 and 423.

**[---].an (PN?)**

OPhr. [---].an G-291

A sequence on a potsherd followed by a non-graphical mark. Following Brixhe (2002a, 52), it could be an abbreviated PN (the most likely possibility), an ending of a PN in the light of *iman*, or an unknown noun.

Brixhe 2002a, 51-52.

**[...]av (?)**

NPhr. [...]av 39.1 (11)

A fragment of a damaged but clear imprecative apodosis: [ιος σε]μον κνου|[μανε]ι κακων | [...]av αββε|[ρετ... The curse itself is very common but this sequence is never attested as part of it. The older restoration [ζειρ]av has been rightly rejected because of the lack of parallels. The ending refers to a sg.acc. *a*-stem noun, however it could also be a dat. or an adv.

**[---]ane[---]** (PN?)

OPhr. [---]ane[---] G-232

Graffito read on a potsherd. This sequence only has a parallel in the PN *manes*, but the identification is very tentative.

*CIPPh I*, 185; Orel 1997a, 228 and 471.

**[---]ani.e[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]ani.e[---] or [---]ami.e[---] G-209

An unparalleled sequence read on a potsherd. The reading (and its consequent interpretation) given by Orel (1997a, 196 and 471) does not fit with the remaining strokes.

*CIPPh I*, 171; Orel 1997a, 196 and 471.

**[---]arg** (PN?)

OPhr. [---]arg G-157 a

This fragmented graffito on a potsherd is written above an (uncertainly read) Aramaic text. Because the ending *-rg* is wholly unexpected, it has been considered an abbreviated PN by *CIPPh I* (I, 141). However, no parallel can be adduced.

*CIPPh I*, 141; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 196 and 471; Sowa 2005, 178.

**[---]ares** (?)

OPhr. [---]ares G-197

The end of a word read on a potsherd. The ending *-es* could correspond to a PN in the nom. However, no parallel can be adduced.

*CIPPh I*, 164; Orel 1997a, 213 and 471.

**[-?]-aratapa[-?]** (?)

OPhr. [-?]-aratapa[-?] G-221

An obscure, unparalleled sequence on a potsherd, following the PN *atas*: [-?]-a.iy[-?] | [-?]-keno[-?] | [-?]-atas [-?] | [-?]-aratapa[-?] | [-?]-o bata<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>..[-?].

*CIPPh I*, 178-179; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 223 and 471.

**[---]as** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.nom. [---]as M-01f

This is very likely the subject of its sentence: [---]as *tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin eḏaē[s]*. So, a masculine *a*-stem PN.

*CIPPh I*, 21; Orel 1997a, 213 and 471; Ligorio 2016.

**[---].as** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.nom.? [---].as G-218

Fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Very probably an ending of an *a*-stem masculine PN in nom. The remaining stroke at the beginning could be from a <u> or <n>, for example.

*CIPPh I*, 177; Orel 1997a, 221 and 471

**[---].astoy** (PN)

OPhr. sg.dat. [---].astoy G-164

sg.dat. [---]astoi G-113

Sequences incised on a potsherd. G-113 is followed by *pitave[---]*. The two occurrences are very likely to be different spellings of the same PN (the dedicatee). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199 and Orel 1997a, 199, also followed by Avram 2016b, 74) suggested that G-164 may be the ending of the *surgastoy* (Dd-164). However, their reading of the last part of G-113 (*ios toi pitave[---]*) is ungrounded.

CIPPh I, 177; Brixhe 1996, 145; Orel 1997a, 199 and 459; Brixhe 2002a, 76; Brixhe 2004a, 92; Avram 2016b, 74.

[---]asiya..? (?)

OPhr. [---]asiya..? B-05 l. 5

An unparalleled, damaged sequence: *daker qaratu enpsatus meka[---]asiya..? | nidus ad kalियay...* It was earlier read as *mek . a as-k<e>y* by Neumann (1997, 18).

Neumann 1997, 18 and 22; Brixhe 2004a, 48 and 65.

[---]astoi see [---].astoy.

[---].atq[---] (PN)

OPhr. [---].atq[---] G-120

A damaged PN on a potsherd. The unidentifiable strokes at the beginning could fit with a sequence *atata[---]*, similar to *atatas*. However, this identification is very tentative.

CIPPh I, 112; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 177 and 416.

[-?]-atesito.[-?]- (?)

OPhr. [-?]-atesito.[-?]- G-252

A fragmented graffito on a potsherd. We do not know whether it should be segmented into two words. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197, also Orel 1997a, 252) considered that a first word which can be read is the PN *ates*, but this remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 197; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 252.

[---]atonkeyen (?)

OPhr. [---]atonkeyen B-06

Written on a marble stele, this is what survives of the last line of the text: *yos tumoy : ↑ekmatin | [---]atonkeyen*. Since it appears to be a curse, *keyen* has been suggested to be a 3pl.opt. by Brixhe (1996, 135). The segmentation [---]aton keyen was proposed earlier by Gusmani (Bakır & Gusmani 1991, 162 fn. 23), who considered *keyen* an *e*-stem sg.acc. noun. However, the gaps and the lack of parallels render the sequence obscure, and these proposals are very tentative.

Bakır & Gusmani 1991, 162; Brixhe 1996, 135-136.

.au.[---] (?)

OPhr. .au.[---] G-169

Graffito incised on a potsherd. Because the bottom part is broken, we do not know whether the first letter is <l> or <y>. It is expected to be a PN, but no parallel can be adduced. Bayun and Orel (Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199 and 1988b, 134) considered it another occurrence of *lavageta-*, while Orel (1997a, 201 and 440) also connected it with the verb *lakedo*. However, neither of these proposals fits with the remaining angular stroke of the last conserved letter.

CIPPh I, 148-149; Bayun & Orel 1988b, 134; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 201 and 440.

[---].auş (?)

OPhr. [---].auş G-270

Graffito incised on a potsherd. It is clearly the ending of an unparalleled word. Perhaps a sg.nom. *u*-stem PN.

CIPPh I, 208-207; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 242 and 471.

[---]ay! [---] (owner's mark)

OPhr. [---]ay! [---] or [---]y!a [---] G-235

Graffito read on a potsherd. Because the bottom part of the text is badly damaged, both the letters and the writing direction are unclear. Orel (1997a, 229) suggested the segmentation

[---]ay (a-stem sg.dat.) l[---], but given the difficulties of reading and the shortness of the fragment this is a very tentative interpretation. Consequently, the sequence remains obscure. *CIPPh I*, 186-187; *Roller 1987a*, 41; *Orel 1997a*, 229, 440 and 471.

[---].ayost<sup>ʔ</sup>eş[---] (?)

OPhr. [---].ayost<sup>ʔ</sup>eş[---] G-176

Graffito incised on a potsherd. The segmentation [---].ayos t<sup>ʔ</sup>eş[---] has been doubtfully suggested by *CIPPh* (I, 153). Orel went one step further and interpreted [---].a yos t<sup>ʔ</sup>eş[---], taking yos as the relative pronoun. However, these segmentations are not well grounded: the sequence -st- in a word is not unknown (see *areyastin* and *surgastoy*) but the pronoun is not expected in such a text.

*CIPPh I*, 153; *Orel 1997a*, 204, 461 and 471.

[---]a<sup>ʔ</sup>yø<sup>ʔ</sup>[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]a<sup>ʔ</sup>yø<sup>ʔ</sup>[---] B-06

Read on the damaged first line of a stele: *stal<sup>ʔ</sup>a ke : ↑ek.[---]eşkey[---]a<sup>ʔ</sup>yø<sup>ʔ</sup>[---]*... The fragment is too short and the sequence too obscure to be interpreted satisfactorily.

[---]a.iy[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]a.iy[---] G-221

The first conserved line of a large graffito incised on a sherd: [---][[-?]a-iy[-?]][[-?]keno[-?]]. Orel (1997a, 222 and 414) equated it to *areyastin*, and while it is true that the second remaining letter could be read as <r>, this is far from clear and the contexts are very different.

*CIPPh I*, 153; *Orel 1997a*, 222, and 414.

[---]bal (PN?)

OPhr. [---]bal G-193

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito is considered an abbreviation by *CIPPh* (I, 162). No parallel can be adduced, it is perhaps a PN.

*CIPPh I*, 162; *Orel 1997a*, 211 and 419; *Sowa 2007a*, 161-162.

[---]bas[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]bas[---] G-186

Graffito incised on a potsherd. It could be a complete PN, however, according to *CIPPh* (I, 158), it is more likely to be the ending of a longer PN such as *abas* or *babas*. It may even be a PN ending in -asis or -asos.

*CIPPh I*, 158; *Bayun & Orel 1988a*, 197; *Orel 1997a*, 208.

[---]g[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]g[---] G-05

The only remaining letter on a fragment of calcareous stone. Orel (1997a, 164) suggested that it could be an abbreviated noun, as often found on potsherds. However, this is not the case here, and the text is too short to make an alternative suggestion.

[.]gat (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.imperfet [.]gat B-07

The use of interpunction identifies this as a clear ending of a word and very likely the ending of a sentence. Unfortunately, it is the first preserved word of this funerary inscription and its beginning has been lost: [.]gat : *s manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy*... According to Gusmani (2001, 165, who read [.]tat) and Brixhe (2004a, 76), it may be a verb, which fits well in this position, similar to *estāt*. Gusmani also suggested that this verb could be the 3sg. imperfect of

*egeseti*, εγῆσιτ and εγῆδου and, consequently, a form [e]gat could be considered. However, it remains unclear since the word is badly preserved and has lost its context.

*Gusmani 2001, 165; Brixhe 2004a, 76.*

### [---]gen (?)

OPhr. [---]gen or [---]ten M-10

Because it is followed by interpunction, this sole conserved sequence of an inscription on a stone block is a clear ending. The first remaining letter is not clear. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1988, 23) pointed out that *-en* is a highly unusual ending in Phr., though by no means unattested, see, e.g., *ataniyen*.

*CIPPh I, 29; Lubotsky 1988, 23; Orel 1997a, 32 and 473.*

### [-?-]go.[---] (?)

OPhr. [-?-]go.[---] G-201

Graffito incised on a potsherd. The last two traces of letters could be read as ⟨y⟩ or ⟨r⟩ and ⟨i⟩ or ⟨k⟩. However, there are no parallels to this sequence to clarify both the reading and the meaning.

*CIPPh I, 167; Orel 1997a, 214 and 431.*

### [---]d[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]d[---] G-300

Damaged graffito on a potsherd where only a letter remains.

*Brixhe 2002a, 61.*

### [-?-]dʹ[-?-] (?)

OPhr. [-?-]dʹ[-?-] G-330

Damaged graffito on a potsherd where only two fragmented strokes remain.

*Brixhe 2002a, 61.*

### [---]da (?)

OPhr. [---]da G-204

Incised on a fragment of a pithos, this sequence begins with a strange inscription: [---]da alu m s [-?-]. Orel (1997a, 216) connected it to the obscure W-10 formula *alūs siʿeto das* and, in 421, tentatively considered it a PN. However, the contexts are really different and this graffito remains still obscure.

*CIPPh I, 168; Orel 1997a, 216 and 421.*

### [---].da.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---].da.[---] G-238

Graffito incised on a potsherd. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198, and Orel 1997a, 230 and 445) considered it the dat. of *midas*: [m]idaḡi. Although it fits well with the remaining damaged strokes, it cannot be corroborated.

*CIPPh I, 188; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 230 and 445.*

### [---]deda[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]deda[---] G-01 a

Written on a highly fragmented calcareous slab, this sequence, as well as the rest of the text, remains unclear: [---]isvolkay ḡ dumey ay ḡ [---]deda[---]. According to *CIPPh* (I, 183), the tempting identification with the verb *edaes* is imprudent (even so, Orel 1997a, 156-157 restored this verb here).

*CIPPh I, 183.*

[---]dio[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]dio[---] or [---]odi[---] or [---]no[---] or [---]on[---] G-343

A graffito incised on a potsherd, its writing direction, as well as the reading itself, is ambiguous. Consequently, this sequence remains unclear.

*Brixhe 2002a, 97.*

[---]d<sup>o</sup>i<sup>i</sup>o<sup>o</sup>[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]d<sup>o</sup>i<sup>i</sup>o<sup>o</sup>[---] G-102 b

Graffito incised on a potsherd contiguous to [-?]-kad. Orel (1997a, 168 and 424), taking the reading as certain, connected it to PN's such as Δοα (Cappadocia) and Δοια (Pisidia, see *KPN* 149-150 § 291). However, since the reading is highly uncertain, this interpretation is of little value. *CIPPh I, 96-97; Orel 1997a, 167-168 and 424; Kloekhorst 2015, 115.*

[---]doika.[---] see *adoikavos*.

[-?]-e[.]u[...] (?)

OPhr. [-?]-e[.]u[...] P-01

A very obscure sequence at the beginning of the inscription on this stone block: [-?]- | [-?]-e[.]u[...]ovo *iman* [-?]- | [-?]-. It has been read as *evyuiu* by Orel (1997a, 209), but it does not fit well with the remaining traces.

*CIPPh I, 228; Orel 1997a, 209.*

[---].e (?)

OPhr. [---].e G-256

Graffito incised on a potsherd. It seems that the complete remaining letter is the last one because no more traces are found, but the text is too short to be interpreted.

*CIPPh I, 199; Orel 1997a, 237-238 and 471.*

[---]e[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]e[---] C-01

The remaining letter between two gaps on a fragment of calcareous slab, which cannot be identified. Its context is not much clearer: [---]e[---]alabı̇oş[---].

*CIPPh I, 220; Orel 1997a, 246 and 471.*

[---]e[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]e[---] B-05 l. 4

An unclear sequence. The context does not shed light on a possible interpretation: *key eştat pator.<sup>?</sup>ike[...].e[.] andati | vay niptiyay...*

[.....]ε (?)

NPhr. [.....]ε 58.1 (72) l. 6

Surviving text on a badly damaged unparalleled NPhr. imprecative apodosis: [α] κος κ[ακον αδα]κκίτορ, | [.] κε [.....]ε αυ|τος ειτου.

[---]eg<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]eg<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>.[---] G-206

Incised on a potsherd, this unparalleled sequence has not been definitively read. As such, it remains obscure.

*CIPPh I, 169; Orel 1997a, 206 and 472.*

[---]ed|eia[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]ed|eia[---] T-03a II l. 3-4

An unparalleled sequence on a badly damaged stele: [---]sn|a[---]||[---]ed|eia[---]o<sup>2</sup>r↑e|s : ar[---].  
*Brixhe 1991, 39; Orel 1997a, 472.*

[---]edekm[---] see *tekmor*.

[---].evei<sup>2</sup>s[---] (?)

OPhr. [---].evei<sup>2</sup>s[---] G-143

Graffito incised on a potsherd. Despite the difference of the vowel, it has been equated to the ending of *memevais* by Orel (1997a, 189-190). While this is the only feasible parallel, the sequence is so badly preserved that it must remain tentative.

*CIPPh I, 130; Orel 1997a, 186-187 and 472.*

[---]evi.<sup>?</sup> (?)

OPhr. [---]evi.<sup>?</sup> G-04

An obscure, damaged sequence on a fragmented calcareous block: [---]evi.<sup>?</sup> | tatas .[---] | [---].m.[---] | [-?-]. The last doubtful letter could be an <ο>.

*CIPPh I, 90; Orel 1997a, 163.*

[-?-]eiy[---] (?)

OPhr. [-?-]eiy[---] G-279

Fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. We do not know if its beginning is lost. Brixhe (2002a, 41). This sequence is only attested in the word P-03 *kanutieivais*. However, as Brixhe admitted, it could be the product of chance.

*Brixhe 2002a, 41.*

[---]ει (noun?)

NPhr. sg.dat.? [---]ει 37.2 (30)

Read on a Phrygian stele door, this inscription is badly damaged and has no clear parallel: [.....]ι επι | [.....]ει κ' ονομα | [.....] Δουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. It is probably the sg.dat ending of a noun. It should be noted that the common segmentation is εικονομα. However, this has been rejected here because ονομα is a clear word. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 323) considered the beginning of this text to be Gr.: [---]ι ἐπρί[ατο ---] εἶκῶ ονομα. However, this does not fit with the remaining letters and the expression ἐπρίατο is a highly unusual finding in tombs from Phrygia.

*Orel 1997a, 323.*

[-?-].eivanou<sup>s</sup> [-?-] (adjective?)

OPhr. sg. nom.? [-?-].eivanou<sup>s</sup> [-?-] G-250

This fragmented graffito on a potsherd has been equated to *kanutiivanos* (sg.nom.) by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200), despite the difference in *ie* ~ *ei*. However, it could be an analogous adj. formation. The spelling -ous remains the ending of the PN *vasous* (nom.). In the light of this parallel, a word boundary can be assumed after the last remaining letter.

*CIPPh I, 196; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 235 and 472.*

[---]ekā<sup>?</sup>[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]ekā<sup>?</sup>[---] T-01 a

One of the fragments of a stele on which only this sequence remains. Because of its brevity, this sequence remains unclear. The reading [vr]eku[n] given by Orel (1997a, 307) does not fit the last readable letter.

CIPPh I, 259; Orel 1997a, 307.

**[---]ε̑ε̑α̑ (DN?)**

OPhr. sg.dat. [---]ε̑ε̑α̑ G-10

Read on a fragment of stone. According to Brixhe (2002a, 31), it can be an *a*-stem sg.dat. word, perhaps an epiclesis of *matar* if this is the dedicatee of the inscription. The word is only followed by *imelan*, a possible noun referring to the object to which it is dedicated. However the text is too short to give a clear interpretation: [---]ε̑ε̑α̑ : *imelan*.

Brixhe 2002a, 31.

**...ε̑ε̑ς (noun)**

OPhr. pl.nom. ...ε̑ε̑ς HP-114

Read on the clay tablet from Persepolis, it is preceded and followed by the number 30. Despite the unreadable letters, it is very likely the ending of an athematic noun in the pl.nom, similar to the other words in the text such as *m<sup>2</sup>akȇes*.

Brixhe 2004a, 125.

**[---]ε̑<sup>2</sup>υ̑[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]ε̑<sup>2</sup>υ̑[---] or [---]ε̑<sup>2</sup>υ̑υ̑[---] G-180

Found on a potsherd, this graffito is badly damaged and even the reading remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 155; Orel 1997a, 206 and 472.

**[.....]ε̑με̑ρη (noun?)**

NPhr. sg.dat.? [.....]ε̑με̑ρη 59.3 (79)

Partial word read on a large worn slab used as tombstone. It occurs in an unparalleled imprecative protasis: [αββ]ε̑ρε̑το̑ | [----]ε̑με̑ρη | [---]υ̑ ο̑β̑ου̑ν | [----]. Since in this inscription the word boundaries fit with the lines it is clearly the ending of a word and because of the ending -η it is very likely an athematic sg.dat.

**[.]ε̑ρ̑κ̑ε̑υ̑ο̑ς (?)**

OPhr. sg.dat.? [.]ε̑ρ̑κ̑ε̑υ̑ο̑ς B-01

According to Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188, also Lubotsky 1993b, 97), this sequence on the Germanos inscription is likely to be an *o*-stem sg.dat. of an unidentified word. Orel's (1997a, 143) reading *verk̑ȇvȏs* and his consequent interpretation are difficult to defend in the light of the remaining letters and the lack of parallels.

Bayun & Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993b, 97; Orel 1997a, 139, 143 and 467.

**[---]ε̑s (PN?)**

OPhr. [---]ε̑s G-126; [---].ε̑s G-130

Graffiti on potsherds, in G-126 this ending has been identified by Orel (1997a, 183) as the ending of a verb in aor. However, it could be also the ending of a masc. PN in the sg.nom., e.g. in the light of *ates* or *manes*, as he also admits for G-130. In the latter inscription, it is followed by the unparalleled word(s) *servas bo*. [---].

Orel 1997a, 180, 183 and 472.

[---]ε̑<sup>2</sup>υ̑υ̑[---] see [---]ε̑<sup>2</sup>υ̑[---].

**[-?-]ε̑[.] (?)**

OPhr. [-?-]ε̑[.] W-11

Severely damaged text on an undated stone altar: [.]y[.]*agaua* | [-?-]tatȃε̑<sup>2</sup>[..?] | [-?-]ε̑[.]

**[---].vei[.]s (?)**

OPhr. [---].vei[.]s G-247

Graffito incised on a potsherd. The first stroke could correspond to l or y. Close to this first sign are two points considered accidental by *CIPPh* (I, 194) but taken to be interpunction by Orel, who segmented the graffito as [---]y : vei[o]s, although this interpretation must be rejected in the light of the first considerations. The final doubt concerns a blank space where a small o could be written according to the first editors. If this were the case, it would correspond to an sg. nom. o-stem ending with the suffix -eio- attested in *langineios*, *voineios* and *kpiyanaveyos* / k<sup>↑</sup>ianaveyos.

*CIPPh* I, 194; Orel 1997a, 234.

**[---]yeṣṭa (?)**

OPhr. [---]yeṣṭa G-165

Unparalleled graffito on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 200) suggested that it could be a separate word and equated it to Gr. ἑστία 'hearth, fireplace, altar'. However, given the size of the space, where more letters would fit, this interpretation is highly tentative.

*CIPPh* I, 146; Orel 1997a, 200.

**[---]vo[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]vo[---] G-01 a

The two remaining letters of the first two lines of this stone slab.

**[---]voṣ|i[---] see voṣik<sup>2</sup>[---].**

**[---]v.i.s[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]v.i.s[---] G-152

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito could be read, without a clear favourite, as [---]v*ai*as[---], [---]v*ai*es[---], [---]v*ei*as[---] or [---]v*ei*es[---], according to *CIPPh* (I, 138). Orel (1997a, 194-195 and 466) overlooked the other possibilities and read it as *vai*as, for which he suggested an Iranian origin. However, his interpretation is ungrounded since no parallel can be adduced.

*CIPPh* I, 138; Orel 1997a, 194-195 and 466.

**[---]i (?)**

NPhr. [---]i 37.2 (30)

The first letter conserved in 37.2. It occurs in an unparalleled and badly damaged word: [---]i επρι | [---].

**[---]ia (PN?)**

OPhr. [---]ia P-102

On a fragment of handle, the whole sentence [---]ia *aspē*[---] has been interpreted, doubtfully, as a two-limbed PN by *CIPPh* (I, 245). Consequently, it is an *a*-stem nom. of an unknown PN.

*CIPPh* I, 245; Orel 1997a, 303 and 472.

**[---]ies (?)**

OPhr. [---]ies G-265

This fragmented graffito on a potsherd is convincingly equated by *CIPPh* (I, 205) to the nom. ending of PNs such as *eies*, *garies* or *paries* and *ieies*.

*CIPPh* I, 205; Orel 1997a, 241 and 472.

**[-?-]i<sup>o</sup>. (?)**

OPhr. [-?-]i<sup>o</sup>. or v<sup>o</sup>.[-?-] G-287

A very doubtful graffito read on a sherd. The writing direction is not at all clear, the key being found in a small stroke of what has been identified as a v, which could be accidental. Brixhe (2002a, 47-48) suggested that if it is to be read as [-?-]i<sup>o</sup> it can be a sg.gen ending. However, an abbreviated PN (the most common text in this kind of graffito) cannot be excluded here.

*Brixhe 2002a, 47-48.*

**[---]ime[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]ime[---] G-179

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito contains a sequence which is only attested in the name *iman*, *imenes* (only in oblique cases, perhaps a dat. *ime[ney]*) and its fem. *imeneia*. However, the reading is far from certain and should be treated with caution because we could be dealing with a word boundary like [---]i me[---].

*CIPPh I, 154; Orel 1997a, 206 and 472.*

[---]in see ni[---].

**[-?-]ir[-?-] (?)**

OPhr. [-?-]ir[-?-] or [-?-]kr[-?-] NW-114

The writing direction of this damaged graffito incised on a potsherd is unknown, so the reading of the remaining strokes is not at all clear.

*CIPPh I, 20.*

**[---]ις (?)**

NPhr. [---]ις 26.2 (38)

A damaged sequence found after a clear and complete imprecation. Because of the gaps, it remains obscure: τιτεϿ[-] | [- c. 9 -]ις.

**[. ?]isdϕ[---] (?)**

OPhr. [. ?]isdϕ[---] o [---]ϕusi.<sup>?</sup>[---] B-106 a

Incised on a potsherd, the writing direction of this graffito is unclear, so any interpretation must be highly tentative. If we accept the first reading, proposed by Brixhe (2004a, 91), a word boundary can be considered between the two consonants: [. ?]is dϕ[---]. On the other hand, if [---]ϕusi.<sup>?</sup>[---] is preferred, the presence of an ending -ous (see *vasous*) could be identified. The text, then, remains obscure.

*Brixhe 2004a, 90-91.*

**[---]isvolkay (?)**

OPhr. [---].isvolkay G-01a;

Found on a calcareous slab, the context and the word itself are unclear: [---]ϕ<sup>?</sup>lavj[---]isvolkay | : dumeyay : [---]dēda[---]. The reading given by Orel [---]a<sup>?</sup>isvo<sup>?</sup>ykay is ungrounded because the alleged first a is totally incompatible with the remaining strokes and the alleged first yod is not inclined.

*Lubotsky 1989b, 152.*

**[---]ita[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]ita[---] G-01 a

The few legible letters of a badly damaged inscription on a slab: [ ]ita.[ ]terkeya ask|[---]. The text is too short to be interpreted. The restitution [pr]oita[vos] given by Orel (1997a, 158) is based on the reading of an accidental mark on the surface of the stone and it must be rejected.

**[---]itan (?)**

OPhr. [---]itan T-03 b

A clear ending of a noun read on a fragment of stele found in Tyana: ÷ *eptuve*[---] | [---]itan  
*me*[---]p<sup>?</sup>is ÷ [---]. It may correspond to a word in sg.acc.

*Brixhe 1991, 39.*

**[-?]-kad see kad.**

**[---]kakrayun (?)**

OPhr. sg.ac. [---]kakrayun G-03

Read on a block, this unparalleled sequence is followed by a fragmented word: [-?]-kakrayun  
*ni*[-?]. It could be a sg.ac. noun with the same ending as *akaragayun*, but this is not at all clear.  
On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 162 and 412) read here an adj. *akrayun* equated to Gr. ἀκραιός  
'dwelling on heights' and considered it an epithet of a masculine god. However, the context  
does not allow this to be corroborated.

*CIPPh I, 88.*

**[-?]-kalaj[---] (?)**

OPhr. [-?]-kalaj[---] G-177

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Perhaps the beginning is preserved. It is very likely  
a PN. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198, also Orel 1997a, 204-205) considered it to be the anthroponym  
that occurs on G-171, which they read as *kaḷe* instead of [---].*aḷe*[---]. However, this last graffito  
is not as clear as it seems in Bayun and Orel and the relation is far from certain.

*CIPPh I, 153-154; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 204-205.*

**[-?]-keno[-?]- (?)**

OPhr. [-?]-keno[-?]- G-221

This sequence, incised on a potsherd, can only be equated to *kenos* G-297, but the relation is  
unclear. Note that in G-221 it appears in an obscure text ([?-].*a.iy*[-?]-][[-?]-*keno*[-?]-][[-?]-*atas*...),  
while in G-297 it is isolated. Orel (1997a, 222-223) gave the reading [---]*kena*[---] in his  
commentary (but not in the transliteration) and considered it another occurrence of  
*akenanogavos*. However, his adduced <a> (and his consequent interpretation) must be refuted in  
the light of *CIPPh I, 178*.

*CIPPh I, 178-179; Orel 1997a, 222-223.*

**[---]kob[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]kob[---] G-168

An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200, also Orel 1997a, 201)  
interpreted it in the light of B-01 *evkobeyan* as an epithet of a divinity. Nevertheless, the  
contexts and locations of the two words are completely different, so this interpretation remains  
unclear.

*CIPPh I, 148; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 201.*

**[---]ko[.?.]av[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]ko[.?.]av[---] G-316

A highly problematic sequence incised on a potsherd, which remains obscure.

*Brixhe 2002a, 73-74.*

**[-?]-kr[-?]- see [-?]-ir[-?]-.**

[---]k<sup>?</sup>tra see [---]u<sup>?</sup>tra.

[---].kui (?)

OPhr. [---].kui P-107

A clear ending of a word incised on a potsherd before the beginning of another word: [---].kui ÷ n[---]. It remains obscure.

CIPPh I, 251-252; Orel 1997a, 307.

[.ʔ]l (mark?)

OPhr. [.ʔ]l or [.ʔ]y G-344

An isolated letter incised on a potsherd. The reading is not at all clear.

Brixhe 2002a, 97-98.

[---].l (PN?)

OPhr. [---].l NW-104

A fragmented graffito on a potsherd. Only the last letter remains legible. Brixhe (2002a, 14) considered it an abbreviation of a PN.

Brixhe 2002a, 13-14.

[---]lasime.[---] (PN?)

OPhr. [---]lasime.[---] G-216

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd that remains obscure. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200) suggested a segmentation [---]las imen[---], where *imen[---]*, which they equated to the fem. PN *imeneia*. However, if this is true, here [---]las must be the ending of a masculine PN, thus it cannot be a compound PN in sg.nom. On the other hand, the adduced *imen[---]* could be a dat. *imen[ey]*. Nevertheless, this is far from certain and cannot be corroborated. Note that Orel (1997a, 220) equated it to PNs such as Λασαμος and Λασσαμος (attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, see KPN 269 § 798-2). However, the Phrygian occurrence does not fit at all with the adduced Gr. parallels.

CIPPh I, 175-176; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 196 and 200; Orel 1997a, 220.

[---]le.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]le.[---] K-01 VIII

An isolated fragment of the stele from Kerkenes Dağ. It is too short to provide any useful information.

Brixhe & Summers 2006, 129.

[---].len<sup>?</sup> (?)

OPhr. [---].len<sup>?</sup> T-01 b

A clear ending of a word in the severely damaged context of the stelae from Tyana: [---]sid.[---] | [---].len ÷ it[---] | [---]ponani ÷ [---]. Although the reading of the last letter is dubious (but *n* is more plausible than an ending in *-l*, which is another possibility), it is perhaps a word in sg.acc.; note that this ending is recorded in the fragment T-02 b, *oitumen*.

CIPPh I, 260.

[---]liake (?)

OPhr. [---]liake HP-02

Read on the stone inscription found in Parion. Brixhe and Keleş (2011, 158) suggested the possibility of an *a*-stem word [---]lia and the copulative conj. *ke*. However, it remains unclear because of the fragmentation of the text: [-? -] | *tanari*[---] | [---]liake | *edaie* [-? -].

Brixhe & Keleş 2011, 158.

[---]ʿi.ē...mi[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]ʿi.ē...mi[---] G-196

A very problematic graffito incised on a potsherd. The reading is far from clear. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198, also Orel 1997a, 213-214 and 442) considered that there is a beginning of a PN.

CIPPh I, 164; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 213-214 and 442.

[---].m.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---].m.[---] G-04

The only certain letter of the third remaining line of this stone block: [---]evi.<sup>?</sup> | tatas .[---] | [---].m.[---] | [-?-]. Orel (1997a, 163) read the word *iman* here, which is a plausible fit with the remaining strokes. However, it is preferable to be cautious because of the poor state of conservation of the text.

CIPPh I, 90.

[---]ma (PN?)

OPhr. [---]ma G-301

A graffito incised on a potsherd. According to Brixhe (2002a, 62), it is the ending of an *a*-stem PN in sg.nom. such as *mama*.

Brixhe 2002a, 62.

[---]mʿagi.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]mʿagi.[---] G-240

An incomplete graffito incised on a potsherd. Although the first letter is not at all clear, CIPPh (I, 190) ruled out the reading *ḏ*. Consequently previous and subsequent (such as Orel 1997a, 231 and 440) interpretations which equated it to *lagineios* must be rejected.

CIPPh I, 190.

.μαρδι (?)

NPhr. .μαρδι 16.1 (116)

An unparalleled sequence which appears in an obscure NPhr. curse: ις κε εϋ | τοιϱινιοι κνουµαν τιαν τε. | .μαρδι ιδετοι οινις.

[---]mʿaesi..[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]mʿaesi..[---] G-07

The sole remaining sequence of this stone inscription. It has no parallel. Orel (1997a, 164) suggested a word-division and the reading [---]mʿaes iyā[---]. However, despite his explanation (a verb equated to Gr. *μαίομαι* ‘strive, pursue, seek’ and a PN) this theory is absolutely ungrounded. Consequently, the sequence remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 91; Orel 1997a, 164.

[---]me.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]me.[---] G-220

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. It is too short to warrant discussion.

CIPPh I, 177-178; Orel 1997a, 221-222 and 472.

[...]meṣṣʿdʿuʿmiḏ (?)

OPhr. [...]meṣṣʿdʿuʿmiḏ B-05

A very dubious sequence at the end of the first line, whose reading and segmentation are unclear, as is the context: *sin-t imenān kaliyā ti tedat[...]edekm[...]meṣṣʿdʿuʿmiḏ | iben edatoy ḏakerān...* Perhaps there are two words: [...]meṣṣʿdʿuʿmiḏ.

**[-?-]me' Zi[-?-] (?)**

OPhr. [-?-]me' Zi[-?-] G-244

One of the two possible occurrences of the rare letter *Z*. However, a Gr. inscription cannot be ruled out. In any case, this graffiti remains unexplained.

*CIPPh I, 192; Orel 1997a, 232 and 472; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 190-196.*

**[---]n (?)**

OPhr. [---]n T-02 b; [---]n T-02b, G-288; [-?-]n G-260; [.]n B-07

In all cases it is the last letter of a lost word. In T-02, a stele fragment from Tyana, both instances seem to be the sg.acc. ending, especially the second one, which could agree with *batan*: [---]oitumen ÷ miḏa[---] | [---]n ÷ a↑ios ÷ mi[---] | [---]n ÷ batan ÷ e.[---]... In B-07 it is a damaged word in an imprecative apodosis: *yos tiv[.]n ke devuḥ k(e) umnotan ordoineten...* The other two occurrences are graffiti on potsherds where only this letter remains and are very likely to be owners' marks. G-260 is perhaps written in Gr. and not in the Phrygian alphabet (*CIPPh I, 201-202*).

*CIPPh I, 201-202; Roller 1987a, 41; Orel 1997a, 472.*

**[---].na (?)**

OPhr. [---].na T-02c

An unknown sequence on a badly damaged stele fragment from Tyana: [---] | ÷ ea.[---][[---].na.

**[---]ne[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]ne[---] G-156

A broken graffito incised on a potsherd.

*CIPPh I, 140; Orel 1997a, 196 and 472.*

**[---]nimoi (noun?)**

OPhr. [---]nimoi T-03c

A clear ending of a word, perhaps sg.dat. or pl.nom., read on a badly damaged fragment of a stele from Tyana: [---]uṣ.t[---][[---]nimoi ÷ ekḡ[---].

*Varnhoğlu 1991, 30; Vassileva 1992, 3; Orel 1997a, 315 and 472; Brixhe 2004a, 102.*

**[---]no (?)**

OPhr. [---]no G-320

According to Brixhe (2002a, 77), a clear abbreviation of a unclear word. It is read on a potsherd that shows an arrow incised under the word.

*Brixhe 2002a, 77.*

**[---]no[---]** see [---]dio[---].

**[---]nolḡ[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]nolḡ[---] G-255

A broken graffito incised on a potsherd. This sequence is unparalleled in Phr. and remains obscure.

*CIPPh I, 198-199; Orel 1997a, 237 and 472.*

**[---]nst[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]nst[---] W-05b

A severely damaged sequence read on a rock under a niche: [ ]nst[ ] e]daes por maṭe[...].  
*Orel 1997a, 45.*

[---]ϕ[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]ϕ[---] T-02a

The sole remaining letter of the first line of this obscure stele fragment from Tyana: [---]ϕ[---] | [---].tade.[---] | [---]pipi.[---] | [-?-].

[---]ϕ (?)

OPhr. [---]ϕ G-111

The last letter of a lost word. On the potsherd where it is read it is followed by an adjective, but the two forms do not seem to agree: [---]ϕ mekas.

CIPPh I, 104; Orel 1997a, 172 and 472.

[---]ođi[---] see [---]đio[---].

[---]oi (?)

NPhr. [---]oi 11.2 (18)

An unclear ending of a word in the first line of a NPhr. funerary stele: [---]oi κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|v. Perhaps this ending corresponds to a noun or adj. in sg.dat. or a pl.nom.

[---].oiduo.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---].oiduo.[---] P-105

An unparalleled, broken sequence incised on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 305 and 425) suggested that the sequence contains the numeral two after a sg.dat. ending. However, this must be rejected because the sequence is extremely doubtful and the conservation of the voiced stop is not expected.

CIPPh I, 248-249; Orel 1997a, 305 and 472.

[---]oitumen (?)

OPhr. [---]oitumen T-02 b

Read on the larger fragment of a stele from Tyana: [---]a ÷ tesan ÷ a↑ion ÷ v[---] | [---]oitumen ÷ miđa[---]... Orel (1997, 444) segmented [---]oitu men and equated the last word to the men Gr. μήν, μέν.

CIPPh I, 266; Lubotsky 1988, 23.

[---]oitio (?)

OPhr. [---]oitio K-01 III

Read on a fragment of the Kerkenes Dağ stele: [---]oitio ÷<sup>?</sup> vosi<sup>k</sup> [---]. The ending of this obscure word is problematic, as are the other occurrences, see, e.g., *kaḡarmoyo*.

Brixhe & Summers 2006, 118.

[---]o<sup>?</sup>lavi[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]o<sup>?</sup>lavi[---] G-01a

One of the fragments of this badly damaged inscription on a slab: [---]vo[---][---] şayuve[---] | [---]o<sup>?</sup>lavi[---]isvolkay | ÷ dumeyay ÷ [---]deđa[---].

[---]o<sup>?</sup>moy (PN?)

OPhr. sg.dat.? [---]o<sup>?</sup>moy G-323

According to Brixhe (2002a, 79), this fragment of a graffito on a potsherd is very likely to be the ending of a PN in dat.

Brixhe 2002a, 79.

[---]on[---] see [---]dio[---].

[---]o<sup>2</sup>r↑e|s (?)

OPhr. [---]o<sup>2</sup>r↑e|s T-03 a II

A badly damaged sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]sn | a[---] | [---]ed|eia[---] | [---]o<sup>2</sup>r↑e|s ÷ ar[---]. It is a clear ending of a word which, according to Brixhe (1991, 39), may correspond to an athematic pl.acc. or a verb in aor. However, a PN in sg.nom. cannot be ruled out. In any case, it remains unclear.

*Brixhe 1991, 39.*

[---]os (?)

OPhr. sg.nom.? [---]os G-318

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito shows an ending of a word and the beginning of another: [---]os ÷ im[---]. Although the words are unclear, [---]os is very likely a thematic sg.nom. ending. The same may also be said of [---]os G-191, if it is not read as so[---].

*Brixhe 2002a, 74-75.*

[---]osve[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]osve[---] G-08

Read on a stone fragment, according to *CIPPh* (I, 92-93) a word boundary can be considered between [---]os and ve[---], where the first element is a thematic sg.nom (thus Orel 1997a, 165). However, it remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 92-93; Orel 1997a, 165.*

[-?]-o<sup>2</sup>ss (?)

OPhr. o<sup>2</sup>ss[-?-] or [-?]-sso<sup>2</sup> G-248

An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. Even the writing direction is unclear. Note that the gemination is not expected in texts written in the Phr. Alphabet; when it appears, a word boundary can often be considered. However, this sequence is so short that it is difficult to apply the rule in this case. On the other hand, the possibility that we are dealing with “monogrammes indépendants” (Brixhe 2002a, 194) cannot be ruled out, in the light of G-204.

*CIPPh I, 194-195; Orel 1997a, 234.*

[---]osui[---] see [---]isdø[---].

[-?]-p see [-?]-p<sup>2</sup>asakas.

[-?]-p<sup>2</sup>asakas (PN?)

OPhr. [-?]-p<sup>2</sup>asakas W-101 b

Incised on a potsherd, where [-?]-p was also written before firing. The whole sequence is unparalleled, but *asakas* is found on a potsherd from Gordion. Consequently, this initial *p* is problematic. Is it a different PN from *asakas* or does it stand for another word? Note that the isolated *p*, which could be same element, may be an abbreviation of another PN. It is perhaps a compound noun whose first element is abbreviated, but this is a very tentative explanation and the reading remains unclear.

*Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 145.*

**[---].pa** (PN?)

OPhr. sg.nom. [---].pa K-01 V

A sequence read on a stele fragment of Kerkenes Dağ: [---].pa<sup>1</sup> uva<sup>1</sup>. [---]. Since it is followed by an onomastic sequence, it may be a PN in sg.nom. without the ending -s. However, it remains obscure.

*Brixhe & Summers 2006, 123.*

**[---]pbaş[-?]** (?)

OPhr. [---]pbaş[-?] G-174

Incised on a potsherd, this graffito shows an unparalleled cluster, tentatively compared with *bba* by *CIPPh* (I, 152). It is possible that the ending of the word is conserved and we can read a PN in sg.nom. However, this remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 151-152; Bayun & Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 203.*

**[---]pipi.[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]pipi.[---] T-02 a

An unparalleled sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]o[---] | [---].tade.[---] | [---]pipi.[---] | [-?]. Orel (1997a, 308 and 453) suggested that it could be a Lallname but the sequence is not clear enough for this to be stated with any certainty.

*Orel 1997a, 308 and 453.*

**[---]ponani** (?)

OPhr. [---]ponani T-01 b

An unparalleled sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---] | [---]sid.[---] | [---].len<sup>2</sup> ÷ it[---] | [---]ponani ÷ [---] | [-?].

*CIPPh I, 260; Orel 1997a, 308 and 473.*

**[---]p<sup>2</sup>is** (?)

OPhr. [---]p<sup>2</sup>is T-03b

Due to the interpunction, this sequence found on a stele fragment from Tyana is a clear ending of a word: [---]itan me|[---]p<sup>2</sup>is ÷ [---]. However, no other conclusions can be drawn. Perhaps, as Orel (1997a, 315 and 473) suggested, it is a sg.nom. of an *i*-stem word.

*Brixhe 1991, 39; Orel 1997a, 315 and 473.*

**[---]r.[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]r.[---] G-326

A badly damaged sequence on a potsherd. It is too short to be analysed.

*Brixhe 2002a, 80-81.*

**[---].re** (?)

OPhr. [---].re G-200

[---].re<sup>2</sup>[-?] G-205

Fragmented graffiti on potsherds.

*CIPPh I, 166 and 169; Orel 1997a, 214, 216 and 473.*

**[---]r<sup>2</sup>eme<sup>2</sup>[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]r<sup>2</sup>eme<sup>2</sup>[---] G-09

An obscure sequence read on a fragment of stone.

**[---]ripos (PN?)**

OPhr. [---]ripos HP-115

A graffito incised on the bottom of a bowl or vessel. It is very likely a PN, perhaps an o-stem in sg.nom. or a consonant-stem in sg.gen.

*Brixhe & Keleş 2011, 134.*

**[---]rkʰ.[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]rkʰ.[---] G-207

A fragment of a graffito incised on potsherd. It is far from being clear.

*CIPPh I, 170; Orel 1997a, 217.*

**[---]rmaniv[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]rmaniv[---] G-199

An unparalleled, fragmented sequence incised on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 214) read here a PN related to *manes*. However, this interpretation is very tentative and the whole sequence remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 165; Orel 1997a, 214.*

**[---]ronotʰoy (?)**

OPhr. sg.dat.? [---]ronotʰoy G-125

A graffito incised on a potsherd: [---]ronotʰoy ÷ *eneparkes tʰeies*. Despite the reading problems (note that *tʰ* could be read as <i> or <g>), it is very likely a PN in sg.dat., the addressee of the object given by *tʰeies*. However, this fragmented PN has no parallel. Orel (1997a, 179) suggested as a working hypothesis that if it is read as ]ronogios, it could be interpreted in the light of Gr. προνώπιος ‘in front, before the door’. However, this is mere speculation.

*CIPPh I, 116; Orel 1997a, 179.*

**..ροϝ (noun?)**

MPhr. οϝ..|ροϝ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6-7

An obscure sequence of unknown nature (perhaps a noun) with epigraphic reading problems. It occurs on a funerary stele: πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ροϝ παντης πεννιτι... Brixhe (2004a, 22) considered a segmentation οϝ..|ροϝ. On the segmentation, see κοροαν. The word can perhaps be restored as [σο]ροϝ, as found in l. 3, but this cannot be corroborated without a better understanding of the context.

*Brixhe 2004a, 22.*

**[---]s (?)**

OPhr. [---]s M-11

The end of a word incised on a rock before a clear verb: [---]s *estaes* [---].

**[---]saes[---] (?)**

OPhr. [---]saes[---] G-163

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. This sequence remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 145; Orel 1997a, 199.*

**[-?]-sar.[?-] (?)**

OPhr. [-?]-sar.[?-] G-192

A fragmented sequence incised on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 211) considered it the beginning of a PN of Anatolian origin. However, this cannot be corroborated.

*CIPPh I, 145; Orel 1997a, 199.*

**[-?]-s'au** (PN?)

OPhr. [-?]-s'au G-188

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. According to *CIPPh* (I, 159), it is an abbreviation because of the unparalleled ending *-au*. Perhaps a PN.

*CIPPh* I, 159; Orel 1997a, 209 and 471.

**[---]sayuve[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]sayuve[---] G-01 a

A fragment of the very damaged slab: [---]vo[---] | [---]sayuve[---] | [---]o<sup>2</sup>lavi[---]... This sequence, and indeed the whole inscription, remains unclear.

*CIPPh* I, 83.

**[---]ser.[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]ser.[---] G-159 a

Read on a potsherd which seems to have another non-contiguous written fragment: G-159a [---]aios[-?]. According to *CIPPh* (I, 142-143), they may be parts of the same text. Orel (1997a, 197 and 457), on the other hand, considered it another occurrence of *servas* in G-130. However, these interpretations are very tentative.

*CIPPh* I, 142-143; Orel 1997a, 197 and 457.

**[---]seti** see *ot*.[....]seti.

**[---]seu.[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]seu.[---] G-181

An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. It is too short to be analysed.

*CIPPh* I, 155-156; Orel 1997a, 206 and 473.

**[-?]-si[-?]** (PN?)

OPhr. [-?]-si[-?] NW-102

One of three graffiti incised on this potsherd: [-?]-si[-?] | *alis* | [---]. It is perhaps an abbreviation of a PN, in the light of *alis*.

*Brixhe* 2002a, 12.

**[---]sid.[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]sid.[---] T-01b

One of the few damaged fragments read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---] | [---]sid.[---] | [---].len<sup>2</sup> ÷ it[---] | [---]ponani ÷ [---] | [-?]. The text is completely fragmented and remains unclear.

*CIPPh* I, 259-260.

**[-?]-sit[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]sit[---] G-154

This graffito incised on a potsherd can also be read as [---]tis[-?], but the first reading is preferable because of the strokes of its *s*. Either way, it remains unclear.

*CIPPh* I, 195 and 457.

**[---]sn** (?)

OPhr. [---]sn T-03 a II

A very damaged sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]sn | a[---] | [---]ed|eia[---] | [---]o<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>e|s ÷ ar[---].

*Brixhe* 1991, 39.

[**-?-**]sso' see o'ss[**-?-**].

[**---**]š'ate.[**---**] (?)

OPhr. [**---**]š'ate.[**---**] G-307

An unparalleled, fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. It remains obscure.

*Brixhe 2002a, 66-67.*

[**---**].tade.[**---**] (?)

OPhr. [**---**].tade.[**---**] T-02a

An unparalleled sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [**---**]o[**---**] | [**---**].tade.[**---**] | [**---**]pipi.[**---**] | [**-?-**].

[**---**]ten see [**---**]gen.

[**---**]t'erkeya (?)

OPhr. [**---**]t'erkeya G-01 b

An obscure sequence on a badly damaged slab: [     ]ita.[     ]t'erkeya ask|[**---**]. It is very likely to be a fem. adj. in sg.nom. due to the presence of *-eya*, see, e.g., *kubeleya*. This does not mean that it is necessarily an epithet of the Mother-Goddess, as Orel (1997a, 158) considered. However, it remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 84; Orel 1997a, 158.*

[**---**]t'vitenorola[**---**] (?)

OPhr. [**---**]t'vitenorola[**---**] G-141

An unparalleled graffito incised on a potsherd. Despite the segmentation suggested by Orel (1997a, 188-189), it remains unclear.

*CIPPh I, 128-129; Orel 1997a, 188-189.*

[**---**]ti see it[**---**].

[**---**].ti (?)

OPhr. [**---**].ti P-106

A clear word end in a longer graffiti incised on a potsherd: [**---**].ti : makio<sup>2</sup>taTibi ÷ .[**---**]. It is perhaps a verbal ending (3sg., as Orel 1997a, 305 and 473 suggested) but it remains unclear, as does the remainder of the text.

*Orel 1997a, 305 and 473.*

[**---**]t'i'a (?)

OPhr. [**---**]t'i'a G-223

A graffito incised on a potsherd. Its first two remaining letters can be read in the opposite direction: [**---**]i't'a. It is considered an *a*-stem sg.nom. by Orel (1997a, 224 and 472), but it remains unclear because it could be a mere abbreviation.

*CIPPh I, 179-180; Orel 1997a, 224 and 472.*

[**---**]tivi.[**---**] (?)

OPhr. [**---**]tivi.[**---**] G-219

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Due to the lack of parallels it remains unclear.

**[---]t<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>siteoy** (PNs?)

OPhr. [---]t<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>siteoy or [---]g<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>siteoy B-104

The reading of the beginning of this broken graffito incised on a potsherd is far from clear. Moreover, the second remaining letter could also be read as *u*, although this is less probable. A very likely interpretation is given by Brixhe (2004a, 89), who suggested that two names can be read here: the sg.nom. ending of the first one [---]t<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>s and a complete second one in sag.dat., *iteoy*. However, this remains a working hypothesis.

*Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 144; Brixhe 1996, 140-141; Brixhe 2004a, 88-89.*

**[---]toyen** (PN?)

OPhr. [---]toy|en W-04

The last readable sequence of a text engraved on a rock niche: *matar kubileya* [---]toy|en. Its ending perhaps corresponds to a sg.acc. noun or the series of probable PN sg.nom. in *-en* (see Lubotsky 1988, 23). However, the loss of the previous word makes the interpretation of this text very doubtful.

*Lubotsky 1988, 23.*

**[..]toyo[.]is** (?)

OPhr. [..]toyo[.]is B-01

An damaged sequence in the obscure inscription from Germanos. However, it seems to be an imprecative context: *yos<sup>o</sup>tivo* [t]a *spereta ayni kin te*[l]emi | [..]toyo[.]is [.]erktevoys *ekey da*[b]ati... The possibility that there are two words is ruled out by Lubotsky (1993b, 95).

*Lubotsky 1993b, 95.*

**[---].tuti.[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---].tuti.[---] G-261

A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Orel equated it to the Anatolian PNs such as *Τουτας* (from Pisidia and Cilicia, *KPN 523 § 1596-1*). However, the unidentifiable stroke before the first readable letter invalidates this theory.

*CIPPh I, 202-203; Orel 1997a, 239 and 465.*

**[---]tumida** (?)

OPhr. sg.nom. [---]tumida T-02 b

An *a*-stem PN in sg.nom. without the ending *-s*, perhaps complete. It is followed by a patronymic on a fragment of a stele from Tyana: [---] | [---]tumida ÷ *memuis* ÷ [---] | [---]a ÷ *tesan* ÷ *a<sup>u</sup>ion* ÷ *v*[---]...

*CIPPh I, 266; Brixhe 1991, 42; Innocente 1997, 40; Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 156;*

**[---]v** (?)

OPhr. [---]v 59.3

The ending of an unknown word in a damaged sequence between a clear protasis and a clear apodosis. The verb suggests that it may be another kind of protasis: [αββ]ερετορ | [.....]εμερη | [...]*v* ορβουβ | [.....].

**[---]uα[---]** (?)

OPhr. [---]uα[---] G-328

A severely damaged graffito incised on a potsherd.

*Brixhe 2002a, 82-83.*

[---]uiva.[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]uiva.[---] P-103 a

Graffiti from potsherd with inscriptions on both sides: [---]uiva.[---] in the interior face and [---]uirḱ[---] on the exterior (P-103 b). Both graffiti remain unclear.

*CIPPh I, 246-247; Orel 1997a, 303-304 and 473.*

[---]uirḱ[---] see [---]uiva.[---].

[-?-]unik[---] (?)

OPhr. [-?-]unik[---] G-264

Graffito incised on a potsherd. The beginning is probably conserved but it remains unclear. The lack of parallels and the loss of the ending complicate its interpretation.

*CIPPh I, 204; Orel 1997a, 240.*

[---]υοις (?)

NPhr. [---]υοις 15.1 (120)

An unparalleled sequence read on a damaged sentence located after a common NPhr. apodosis: ουελας κωννου κ' ηνκ[.....]υοις γεντι βεπαι κε παρτης βεκος. It could be an archaic sg.dat. but is always written -ως or -ος in NPhr. inscriptions. On the other hand, perhaps we are dealing with a noun in pl.acc.?

[-?-].u.s[-?-] (?)

OPhr. [-?-].u.s[-?-] G-151

A badly damaged sequence incised on a potsherd. It remains obscure.

*CIPPh I, 137.*

[---]uεs[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]uεs[---] NW-122

An unparalleled and obscure sequence incised on a potsherd.

*Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 130.*

[---]ussa see assu<sup>2</sup>[---].

[---]uṣ.t[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]uṣ.t[---] T-03c

Read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]uṣ.t[---][---]ḡimoi : ekḡ.[---]. There is too much damage to reach any conclusions.

[---].uta (?)

OPhr. sg.nom. [---].uta G-296

According to Brixhe (2002a, 57-58), a probable PN in sg.nom. without the ending -s, similar to *mamutas*.

*Brixhe 2002a, 57-58.*

[---]utra (PN?)

OPhr. [---]u<sup>2</sup>tra[-?-] or [---]k<sup>2</sup>tra[-?-] G-233

A broken graffito incised on a potsherd. Despite the two possible readings, it remains unparalleled. It is perhaps an *a*-stem PN without the ending -s. Orel (1997a, 228 and 473) equated it to the Iranian onomastic element *-puθra* 'son', but it cannot be corroborated.

*CIPPh I, 185-186; Orel 1997a, 228 and 473.*

[---]y (?)

OPhr. [---]y B-06

A clear ending of an unknown word which is also the ending of an obscure sentence before a relative clause: *eventnoktoy : emetētariyois* | [---]y : *yostumoy* : ↑*ekmatin* | [---]atonkeyen.

Orel 1997a, 473.

[---]y<sup>2</sup>ib[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]y<sup>2</sup>ib[---] G-231

A broken graffito incised on a potsherd, without parallels. Orel (1997a, 227-228) considered the segmentation [---]y<sup>2</sup>ib[---] in the light of *ibeya*, which he considers an epithet of *Matar*. However, this theory is ungrounded, and *ibeya* is now considered a pronoun, which is not a good fit with this kind of text.

CIPPh I, 184-185; Orel 1997a, 227-228.

[---]y!a[---] see [---]ay! [---].

[---]yon (?)

OPhr. [---]yon B-101

A word ending. It could be considered a thematic masc.sg.acc. or neut.sg.nom.-acc. but also a masc.sg.nom. in the light of *kuryaneyon*. Either way, it remains unclear.

Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 143-144; Brixhe 1996, 137-138; Brixhe 2004a, 86.

[---]↑[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]↑[---] T-02 c

An isolated letter read on a badly damaged fragment of stele from Tyana: ÷ *ea*. [---] | [---].na [---] | [---] | [---]↑. This is not an expected ending so we can assume that the text continued after it.

CIPPh I, 267.

[---]πis (?)

OPhr. [---]πis NW-120

The end of a graffito incised on a potsherd which fits well as a sg.nom. ending of a *i*-stem word. Note the presence of the rare letter, tentatively read as /-ts<sup>2</sup>is/ by Brixhe and Sivas (2009, 129). However, it remains unparalleled.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 129.

[---]Υφ[---] (?)

OPhr. [---]Υφ[---] or [---]φΥ[---] G-306

An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. Even the writing direction is unclear.

Brixhe 2002a, 66.



## 6. The indirect sources: the glosses

The aim of this chapter is to give a relatively detailed account of the Phrygian glosses in the light of the information provided by the inscriptions. Although glosses were studied during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to establish the position of Phrygian in the Indo-European language family (see Morante Mediavilla 2007), they must be reconsidered in the light of our better knowledge of the inscriptions. However, because of the complexity of Phrygian onomastics, I decline to study here the anthroponyms, DNs (even epithets) and toponyms considered Phrygian by ancient sources (mainly Greek and Latin). Note that most of the PN borne by Phrygians were borrowed from the surrounding Anatolian languages or the ruling peoples. Glosses containing only PNs, as is the case of twenty *lemata* in Hesychius' lexicon, are also omitted.<sup>217</sup> Although some of these names are found in Phrygian and Greek inscriptions from Phrygia, finding the origin is often highly laborious, if not outright impossible. Consequently, I leave this question to be addressed in a future study.

In general, the 29 glosses are not hugely valuable to the knowledge of Phrygian. In some instances they are a good complement to the inscriptions, since they provide the meaning of a word attested therein. Most of them, however, are not expected to be found in the inscriptions because of the nature of these texts. Consequently, it is impossible to corroborate their filiation and one must treat them with particular caution because of the specific problems associated with this kind of evidence.

The first point to be considered is the distinction between the true and the fictitious glosses. Indeed, their origins are often obscure and the information they give (usually very poor) lacks precision. Moreover, it is not unusual for the attribution of a word to a given community to be refuted by other scholars, who may propose a new attribution. Phrygian is particularly susceptible to such false attributions because the ethnic is used as equivalent to 'Anatolian' or even 'oriental'<sup>218</sup> in compositions as fundamental as the Homeric poems or Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Even when Phrygia is used as a specific denomination it is important to consider that the territory occupied by the Phrygians changed considerably between the early Iron Age and Roman Imperial times. Most of the OPhr. territory was no longer considered Phrygian after the settlement of other peoples or was split in later provincial divisions. In such a scenario, it is easy to understand both why words which cannot be taken as Phrygian were attributed to this language and why some words identified as Phrygian were attributed to other surrounding peoples (e.g. Bythinians) in ancient sources.

Moreover, the textual transmission of the glosses is often highly complicated, and even their sources are unknown. To this problem, we must add the rarity of the words themselves. Indeed, most of them are hapax only transmitted in one or a small number of manuscripts. This implies that copyists could easily produce misspellings that would go unidentified and uncorrected. So, the the circumstances of the manuscripts and the palaeography are relevant questions.

The glosses now interpreted as having another origin are not included here. That is the case of Gr. ῥίσκος (borrowed in Lat. as *riscus*) 'coffer, chest', said to be Phrygian by Donatus (on *Ter. Eun.* 754). It is very likely to derive from the Proto-Celtic word *\*rusko-* 'bark' (attested in OIr. *rúsc* 'id.', MBret. *rusquenn* 'id.', Gaul. *rusc* 'beehive', etc., see Matasovič 2009, 317). Beekes (in *EDG* 1288-1289) considers that "the word would have reached Gr. from Galatian through Phrygian because of the change *u > i*". Although the Galatian origin is likely, Phrygian does not explain

---

<sup>217</sup> I follow the criteria established by Adiego 1992 and 2007, 7-8 in his overview of Carian glosses. Adiego's method is also applied by Molina Valero 2010 to Lycian. Both Carian and Lycian, share with Phrygian the problem of being fragmentary languages.

<sup>218</sup> See Haas 1966, 9, Heubeck 1967, 581, Innocente 1995, 216-217 and Matzinger 2005, 377.

such a shift (perhaps a mere itacism?). Consequently, there is no reason to relate this word to Phr.

Another gloss I omit is *tiara*, ‘a kind of cap’: *tiara est pileum Phrygium quod dicunt ‘tiara is a Phrygian cap, as others call it’ (Schol. Iuu. Sat. 6.516).*<sup>219</sup> Fick (1873, 415) considered it a gloss, but the scholiast does not say that the word is Phrygian: he merely describes the *tiara* in order to explain what Juvenal is recounting in his verse. At this point, the cap (not the word) is said to be Phrygian. In any case, although the etymology of *tiara* (Gr. τιάρα, τιήρης and τιάρις) is unknown, it is considered an oriental word (related to the Persian world) borrowed from a non-IE language (see EDG, 1481), so there are no grounds for claiming a Phrygian origin.

In addition, the commonly adduced platonic passage, which explains that some Phrygian words are very similar to the Gr. ones (*Cra.* 410, 1-7, Socrates is speaking), is also omitted from this Phrygian list of glosses: ‘Ὅρα τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα τὸ “πῦρ” μὴ τι βαρβαρικὸν ἦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε ῥάδιον προσάψαι ἐστὶν Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ, φανεροί τ’εἰσὶν οὕτως αὐτὸ καλοῦντες Φρύγες σμικρόν τι παρακλίνοντες· καὶ τό γε ὕδωρ καὶ τὰς “κύνας” καὶ ἄλλα πολλά ‘well, this word πῦρ is probably foreign; for it is difficult to connect it with the Gr. language, and besides, the Phrygians have the same word, only slightly altered. The same is the case with ὕδωρ (water), κύων (dog), and many other words.’ The reason this passage is disregarded is the absence of the Phrygian terms. Indeed, it is said that they are similar to the respective Phrygian words, but the Phrygian forms are not given.

After these considerations, only 28 glosses considered Phrygian by their sources can be analysed in the light of what we know about this language:

ἀδαμνεῖν· τὸ φιλεῖν. καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἀδάμνα λέγουσιν ‘A.: to love. Also, Phrygians call A. to a friend’ (H. α 999). It seems close to Gr. δάμνημι ‘to tame, subdue, conquer’ and some glosses such as δαμνήτις· δαμάζουσα. τιμωρός ‘δ.: she-dominating, she-avenger’ (H. δ 204). An inherited Phrygian word is incompatible with Gr. δάμνημι (< PIE \**demh*<sub>2</sub>- ‘tame’, see EDG 301) because of the preservation of the voiced stop. Indeed, a Greek formation (with the so-called “ἄ-intensive”) is the most likely explanation for ἀδαμνεῖν if one considers the sexual connotations of Gr. δάμνημι.

ἄζένα· πώγωνα. Φρύγες ‘ἄ.: beard’ (H. α 1451), also ἄζην (Herodianus grammaticus 1.15, 2.718). This word has been used to show the *satam* treatments of velars in Phrygian, since it has been considered to be derived from PIE \**ǵénu-* ‘chin’, as well as Gr. γένυς ‘jaw’, Lat. *gena* ‘cheek’ (but *dentes genuīnī* ‘molars’), Go. *kinnus* ‘id.’, Arm. *cnawt*, ToA *śanw-e-ṃ* ‘id.’, Skt. *hānu* ‘jaw-bone’, etc. However, ἄζένα has very significant differences with these suggested cognates: it is not a *u*-stem noun (Lat. *gena* is reshaped after *māla*) and the beginning ἄ- remains unexplained. Consequently, it is difficult to accept ἄζένα as a Phrygian word inherited from PIE \**ǵénu-*, although this etymology is very attractive and a secondary palatalization can be assumed.

ἄκριστιν· πέπτριαν. ἀλετρίδα. Φρύγες ‘A.: bakeress, female slave (who grinds corn). Phrygians’ (H. α 2576). It appears to be a spelling variant of the Hesychian gloss ἀκρηστής· δοῦλος ‘A.: slave’ (α 2560, as DGE 56 seems to assume). According to Kretschmer (1934, 205-206),

<sup>219</sup> *plebeia et Phrygia uestitur bucca tiara* ‘his plebeian cheeks are covered with a Phrygian tiara’. The whole scholium reads as follows: *Sacerdotis habitu. Tiara nam galea sacerdotis est, quae per malas veniens, mento subligatur. tiara est pileum Phrygium quod dicunt* ‘in priest dress, since *tiara* is a priest cap which, falling by the cheeks, is binded in the chin. *Tiara* is a Phrygian cap, as others call it’. Note that the explanation of this scholium is similar to Isidore’s of *Sevilla Etymologiae* 19.31.4-5 explanation of the *mitra*, another kind of cap, also considered Phrygian (and counted in Fisk list of Phrygian glosses): *mitra est pileum Phrygium, caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum. Sed pileum virorum est, mitrae autem feminarum* ‘*mitra* is a Phrygian cap which, protecting the head, is an ornament of the devoted women head. Although this cap is proper of men, it is also worn by women’. Although, other texts consider it Lyd. (*Alcm. Fr.* 1.1.67.69 or *Pi. N.* 8.15), nowadays its etymology is unclear (EDG, 959 considers a IIr. or Pre-Greek origin).

the suffix *-st-* could indicate Phrygian origin. However, Beekes (*EDG* 26) considers the possibility of a Pre-Gr. suffix. In any case, neither Phrygian nor Pre-Gr. is the most feasible explanation for this word. Indeed, ἄκριστιν seems to be a local variant of Gr. \*ἄχρηστις<sup>220</sup> and its masc. ἀκρηστής of \*ἀχρηστής, both with the meaning ‘useless’ (masc. and fem. forms, respectively), related to ἀχρησία ‘disuse, non-user’, ἀχρηστεύω ‘not to be in use’, ἀχρηστέω ‘to be useless’, ἄχρηστος ‘useless, unprofitable’, etc. All of them are derived from χράομαι ‘to desire, yearn after, use’. Compare the reconstructed form \*α-χρησ-τής ‘useless’ and ἀχρηστέω ‘to be useless’ with χρήστης ‘prophet, soothsayer, creditor, usurer, debtor’ and χρηστεύομαι ‘to be kind or merciful’, also derived from the same root. Anyhow, the plain pronunciation of the aspirated stop, χ > κ is a well-known feature of Gr. borrowings also found in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (see Brixhe 1987a, 110-113). This is very likely the reason why the gloss was attributed to Phrygian. It is also possible that in the source(s) of these glosses – perhaps a comedy – (Phrygian?) slaves were called ‘useless’ (incidentally, a common topos). One can adduce some verses of Aristophanes’ *Birds* where Manes (a slave with a Phrygian name!) is said to be lazy and worthless by his master: see, e.g. 1323-1325 ὡς βλακικῶς διακονεῖς. | ὡς βλακικῶς διακονεῖς: οὐ θᾶττον ἐγκονήσεις; ‘what a sluggish slave you are! Won’t you hurry up?’, 1329 Μανῆς γάρ ἐστι δειλός ‘Indeed, Manes is worthless’ or 1336 οὕτως ὀρῶν σε δειλὸν ὄντα καὶ βραδύν ‘since I see you are so worthless and slow’. Finally, note also that this explanation assumes a common itacism η > ι in the root of ἄκριστιν.

βαλῆν βασιλεύς. Φρυγιστί ‘β.: king in Phrygian’ (H. β 154, used in *A. Pers.* 657, *S. Fr.* 515), als βαλλήν is the name of a fabulous precious stone from βαλληναῖον ὄρος, = βασιλικόν ‘royal mountain’ in Phrygia, according to *Ps.-Plu.Flou.*12.3,4. This word has been considered a borrowing from Semitic בַּל ‘lord’ (see Sowa 2007b, 160-164, contrary to Beekes in *EDG* 197, who considered an Anatolian borrowing, adducing an assumed Lyc. word παλην, which must be the Gr. πάλη ‘fight, battle’). As Sowa (2007b, 164), the attribution to Phrygian is given because in the ancient grammatical tradition this term was labelled a “geographical term designating things of Asia Minor origin in general”. Consequently, it is very likely that this word is totally unrelated to the Phrygian language. Solmsen (1909, 138-139). This said, one can assume that it has an IE origin, as derived from PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>- ‘white’, with the same suffix -ην found in κίκλην (H. κ 2655). It would imply a semantic development ‘the white one’ > ‘splendorous’ > ‘king’.

βάμβαλον· ἱμάτιον. καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. Φρύγες ‘β.: a piece of dress, also pudenda. Phrygians’ (H. β 174). This gloss is said to encompass two different words (see Robert 1963, 153 and *EDG* 199). The second is perhaps a children’s word (see Solmsen 1897b, 72).

βέδου μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Φρύγας τὸ ὕδωρ φησὶ καλεῖν ‘it is said that Phrygians call β. to water’ (Clement. *Strom.*, 5.8.46-47). This word, which appears in a fragment of an Orphic ritual (*Orph. Fr.*219), is also found with the meaning ‘air’ in *Philyll.*19. Despite this divergence, its etymology seems to be clear, since it is similar to the PIE word for ‘water’ \*u<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>₂, if one considers that beta is a late spelling for /w/. In any case, the presence of the voiced dental means that a Phrygian origin cannot be claimed for this word.

βεκός [...] Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον ‘Phrygians call β. to bread’ (Hdt. 2.2.3) and βεκός· ἄρτος. [ἢ ἄβητος]. Φρύγες ‘β.: bread or ἄβητος. Phrygians’ (H. β 472). The Phrygian origin of this word is confirmed by the NPhr. inscriptions. It must go back to PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ós- (Panagl & Kowal 1983, 186-187 and Lubotsky 2004, 233).

βρικίσματα· ὄρησις Φρυγιακή ‘β.: Phrygian dance’ (H. β 1154). An unclear word, but one can consider a relationship with the ethnics Βερεκύνται and Βρίγες (see above).

<sup>220</sup> Not to be confused with H. α 2560, ἀκρηστὶς· ῥάχισ, καὶ ἄκρα ‘A.: chine, ridge, cape, crest’. A word clearly derived from ἄκρα ‘headland, cape’.

γάνος [...] <sup>221</sup> ἢ ὕαινα, ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Βιθυνῶν ‘γ.: the hyena for Phrygians and Bithynians’ (H. γ 1154). According to Morante Mediavilla (2006), it may be a form parallel to οὐάνουον ‘fox’ sg.acc. (found in St.Byz. s.u. Ἀζανοί and considered Phrygian on the basis of its context) <sup>222</sup> with the possible shift \*w- > g-. Although in general her analysis is highly sound, the spelling of γάνος is better explained as the common Hesychian confusion between gamma and digamma. <sup>223</sup> So, γάνος can be a misreading of \*φάνος and the sg.nom. of οὐάνουον. In such a scenario, Phrygian \*φάνος may have derived from PIE \*suH- ‘pig’ in parallel to Gr. ὕαινα ‘hyena’ from ὕς ‘pig, swine’ (with -αινα as in λύκαινα ‘she-wolf’ regarding to λύκος ‘wolf’). From a phonetic point of view, this gloss can be considered a Phrygian word.

γέλαρος: ἀδελφοῦ γυνή, Φρυγιστί ‘γ.: ‘wife of the brother in Phrygian’” (H. γ 288). To analyse this gloss one must consider the common confusion between gamma and digamma in parallel to γάνος. Then, a form \*φέλαρος can easily derive from the reflexive pronoun \*sme- as well as Gr. αἴλιοι (later spelling for \*ἔλιοι, H. α 1932), ἀ-έλιοι ‘brothers-in-law’ (H. α 1342; literally σύγγαμβροί ‘the husbands of two sisters’ and οἱ ἀδελφὰς γυναικας ἐσχηκότες ‘who have sisters as wives’, respectively) and ON *svilar* ‘brothers-in-law, whose wives are sisters’. All these forms share the presence of the suffix \*-lo- / -leh<sub>2</sub>- (see EDG 24-25). Finally, the Phrygian word \*φέλα- seems to have added a secondary suffix -ρο-. In Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 90, followed by Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 189), NPhr. ουελας ‘relatives’ (9.1 = 87, 15.1 = 120) is found to share the same origin. Consequently, there is no reason to reject \*φέλαρος as a Phrygian word. On the other hand, γέλαρος (read as \*γέλαφος) has been related to Gr. γαλόως ‘husband’s sister’ < \*γαλ-αφο-, a thematisation \*of \*ǵlh<sub>2</sub>-eu-, and Arm. *tal* ‘id.’ (see EDG 259 and Martirosyan 2010, 596). Similar formations are found in Lat. *glōs* ‘husband’s sister’ (derived from an unexpected form without laryngeal), OCS *zъlъva* ‘id.’ and Ru. *zólva, zolónka* ‘id.’ (forms with \*-uṃ-). Nevertheless, this interpretation can be rejected because if γέλαρος is Phr., it cannot go back to \*ǵelh<sub>2</sub>- because of the *Lautverschiebung* of this language.

<sup>221</sup> This lemma gathers some different words since γάνος is also said to mean παράδεισος. χάρμα. φῶς. αὐγή. λευκότης. λαμπηδών. ἡδονή (Eur. Ba. 383) ‘garden, light, light of the sun, whiteness, lustre, enjoyment’. With the first meaning, γάνος is a borrowing from North-West Semitic *gn* ‘garden’ (in Ugaritic, Aramaic and Hebrew, see HALOT s.u. גַּן, EDG 260).

<sup>222</sup> Ἀζανοί, Φρυγίας πόλις. Στράβων δωδεκάτη τῆς δ’ Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας Ἀζανοί τέ εἰσι καὶ Νακόλεια. οἱ πολῖται Ἀζανῖται, τὸ θηλυκὸν Ἀζανίτις. Ἡρωδιανὸς διὰ τῆς αἰ ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν καθόλου λέγων Αἰζὴν Ταντάλου παῖς, ἀφ’ οὗ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ πόλις Αἰζανοί. τινὲς δὲ Ἀζάνιον αὐτὴν φασιν. Ἑρμογένης δὲ φησιν οὐδὲ οὕτως, ἀλλ’ Ἐξουάνουον αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι λέγεται γὰρ παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγροικίας εἶναι, λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου συνελθόντες οἱ ποιμένες ἔθουον εὐβοσίαν γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀκούοντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν Εὐφορβὸς τὴν οὐανοῦν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀλώπηξ, καὶ ἔξιν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐχῖνος, θῦσαι τοῖς δαίμοσιν· εὐαρεστησάντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὐφορίαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν πολυκαρπῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους πυθομένους ἱερέα καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτὸν καταστήσαι. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν Ἐξουάνουον, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἔστιν ἐχίναλῶπηξ. ἔοικε δὲ μετηλλοιωῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Ἐξουάνουον τὸ Ἀζάνιον. ἔστι δὲ ὁμοίον τῷ Βιθυνίῳ, περὶ οὗ ἐροῦμεν. Ἀζανοί, a Phrygian city (in Strabo’s book 12) Aizanoi and Nakoleia are cities of Phrygia Epiktetos. Its citizens are called *Azanítai*, fem. *Azanítis*. Herodianos writes *ai-* in the first syllable saying that “*Aizēn* was the son of Talantos, after whom the city *Aizanoi* is called. Some people call it *Aznion*”. However, Hermogenes says that it is not right, but it was called *Exvanun*. Indeed, he tells that there are some villages around this place and, because of a hunger, shepherds, who met there, sacrificed means of subsistence. Nevertheless, since the gods did not herd them, Euporbos sacrificed a *vanos*, which is a fox, and an *exis*, which is a hedgehog, to the divinities. After this reconciliation with the gods, the earth produced many food and fruits and, when the neighbors knew it, they designated him priest and leader. After it, the city was called *Exvanun*, which is translated as hedgehog-fox [*echinalōpēx*]. It seems that *Exvanun* become Azanian in a similar way that Bythenion, about whom we speak.’ Of course, despite being an etiological explanation, far from providing a good etymology for the city, this text attests the name of these animals.

<sup>223</sup> See, e.g., γοῖνος for \*φοῖνος (Att. οἶνος) ‘wine’ or γίς for \*φίς ‘strength, force’ (Att. ἴς, Lat. *uis*).

γλούρεα· χρύσεια. Φρύγες καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός ‘γ.: golden things. Phrygians. Also γ. gold’ (H. γ 659). This gloss has a literary source, since it is found in Besantius’ *Bomos* 7, and was confirmed by MPhr-01 γλουρεος, a Phrygian word derived from PIE  $ǵ^{h}lh_{3}$ - ‘green, yellow’.

δάος [...] ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος ‘d.: ‘wolf’ for the Phrygians’ (H. δ 241). Since it does not go back to any IE word, its origin can be found in Aramaic  $dʔb$ ,  $dʔbʔ$  ‘wolf’ (see *CAL*, s.u. and, for Semitic cognates, Kogan 2011, 208). Phrygian seems to have borrowed it from the absolute  $dʔb$  [‘de:β], with the Aramaic allophonic [β] in such position, the common Phrygian shift  $*ē > ā$  and a thematisation in -os. Consequently, this Aramaic word may have been borrowed into Phrygian and, from this language, to Gr. Finally, note that in Aramaic it is also used as a PN (Lipiński 1975b, 225-226) and it could be the origin of the Phrygian PN  $*davos$  (OPhr. sg.dat. *davoi* M-06 and B-05, also borne by slaves in Gr. texts as Δᾶφος, Δᾶος and attested in Lat. as *Dauus*). Nevertheless, M-06, the earliest occurrence of this name, is dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c., before the Achaemenid conquest. It is therefore unlikely that Aramaic had sufficient influence to be the origin of such a characteristic Phrygian name.

ἔξις corresponds to Gr. ἐχῖνος ‘hedgehog’ according to St. Byz. s.u. ἄζανοί (see γάνος). Fick (1873, 412)<sup>224</sup> considered it a misreading of  $*ἔξις$  and related it to its equivalent words in other IE languages: Gr. ἐχῖνος, OHG *igil*, Lith. *ežys*, and SCr.CS *ježb*. All these forms go back to PIE  $*h_1eǵ^{h}-i-$  (IEW, 292; in OHG  $*egīla-$  replaced the expected  $*egīna-$ , while the Gr. word, as well as Arm. *ozni*, derives from  $*h_1oǵ^{h}-i(H)-n-$ ). Consequently, Fick’s reading and interpretation seem to be correct, since PIE  $*h_1eǵ^{h}is$  is expected to yield  $*ἔξις$  in Phrygian ( $*ǵ^{h} > *g > ζ$  before front vowel).

ζέλκια· λάχανα. Φρύγες ‘ζ.: vegetables. Phrygians’ (H. ζ 108). This gloss is related to some IE words for vegetation derived from PIE  $*ǵ^{h}elh_{3}$ - ‘green, yellow’ (EDG 1638-1639): Lith. *žėlti* ‘to green, sprout’, *žėlmuō* ‘plant, shoot, growth’, *žolė* ‘grass, herb, flower’, Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus*, -*eris* ‘green plants, vegetables, cabbage’ and Ossetian *zəldæ* ‘low grass’, etc. The same root is found in Phrygian γλουρεος (MPhr-01, also glossed in H. γλούρεα· χρύσεια. Φρύγες. καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός), parallel to Gr. χλωρός <  $*ǵ^{h}lh_{3}-rō-$ . The form ζέλκια clearly shows an *e*-grade and shows the Phrygian secondary palatalisation of  $*ǵ^{h} > *g$  before the front vowel. Although the development of its root seems to confirm that the word is Phrygian, the suffix -κί- is unapparelled. Perhaps it may be analysed as a secondary formation with  $*-jo-$  derived from and adj.  $*ζελ-κο-$ .

ζεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον. Φρύγες ‘ζ.: barbarian slave. Phrygians’ (H. ζ 109). The Phrygian gloss is confirmed by the NPhr. inscriptions since ζεμελωσ ‘human being’ (pl.dat.) is found in the formula με ζεμελωσ (κε) δεωσ (κε) ‘in the sight of men and gods’. It derives from PIE  $*d^{(h)}ǵ^{h}e-m-$  ‘earth’ with the suffix  $*-elo-$  (and very likely with simplification of the initial cluster):  $*(d^{h})ǵ^{h}e-m- > ζεμ-ελο-$ .

ζέτνα· Φρύγιος ἢ λέξις σημαίνει δὲ τὴν πύλην ‘ζ.: Phrygian word, meaning ‘door’ (Photius lexicographus s.u.). Although there is a textual variant, πυγὴν instead of πύλην ‘rump, buttocks’, Fick (1873, 413 s.u. ζέτνα) preferred the second form and suggested a relation with Gr. χανδάνω ‘to hold, include, contain’ and Lat. *prae-hendō* ‘to grasp, seize’, Go. *bi-gitan* ‘to find, discover’, which goes back to PIE  $*ǵ^{h}ed-$  ‘to seize, grasp, take’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> 194, IEW 437-438). So, ζέτνα can be analysed as  $*ǵ^{h}ed-neh_2$  (sg.fem.) or  $*ǵ^{h}ed-nh_2$  (pl.neuter). In any case, since it shows the Phrygian shifts  $*d > t$  and  $*ǵ^{h}e > ζε$ , the filiation of this gloss is very likely.

ζεῦμαν· τὴν πηγὴν. Φρύγες ‘ζ.: running water. Phrygians’ (H. ζ 128). A clear cognate with Gr. χεῦμα ‘id.’, which goes back to  $*ǵ^{h}eu-mh_2$ . As can be seen, both the root and the suffix show

<sup>224</sup> See also Morante Mediavilla 2006, 331 fn. 30 and 2007, 445 and EDG 489.

the expected Phrygian developments  $*g^he- > *ge-$  > ζε- and -μη > -μαν. Consequently, the Phrygian origin of this word is highly probable.

κίκλην· τὴν ἄρκτον τὸ ἄστρον. Φρύγες ‘κ.: the constellation Ursa Major’ (H. κ 2655). According to Fick (1873, 413), it is related to Gr. κύκλος, Anglo-Saxon *hwēol* (*hweowol*, *hweogol*), MoE wheel and Skt. *cakrá-*, all them with the meaning ‘wheel’ and derived from a reduplicated form of the root  $*k^wel(H)$ - ‘turn’:  $*k^we-k^wl-$ . The form κίκλην shows the same reduplication but there is no trace of thematisation:  $*k^we-k^wl-$ . Orel (1997-1998, 112) considered it to be derived from  $*k^w-k^wl-$  >  $*kukl-$  (as well as Gr. κύκλος) with a “New Phrygian” shift  $*u$  and  $*ū > i$ . However, this must be refuted in the light of  $*g^wn-$  ‘women’ > Phrygian *knais*, Gr. γυνή. Therefore, the development of the labiovelars is as expected in Phrygian, and the rising  $*e > i$  is a common feature, however the ending -ην is expected to appear as -ān in Phrygian. Then, it may have been adapted to ποιμήν-type Gr. inflection and its original meaning may be ‘wagon’ (see Porzig 1954, 183, Morante Mediavilla 2007, 444 fn. 947 and EDG 799). This gloss also explains the Mother-Goddess epithet Κικλέα, which occurs in two votive inscriptions from Roman Phrygia (one from Altıntaş and one from Appia / Pınarbaşı-Abya, see MAMA X 226). The interpretation of such adj. as ‘she of the chariot’ fits the iconography of this goddess in Roman times, since she is referred to and represented as driving a chariot drawn by lions.<sup>225</sup>

κίμερος νοῦς. Φρύγες ‘κ.: mind’ (H. κ 2799). A word without clear etymology. Orel (1997-1998) equated to Gr. κυβερνάω ‘to steer, drive’ (Cypr. inf. κυμερήναι, Aeol. κυμερνήτης = κυβερνήτης ‘governor, captain, pilot’) and Lat. *gubernō* ‘to pilot, steer a ship’ by considering these verbs derived from a non-IE borrowing “\*κύμερον or (less reliable) \*κύμερον “steer”” (following Furnée 1972, 215). In such a scenario, he explains the divergent vocalisation between Phrygian κίμερος and \*κύμερον as a “the New Phrygian shift of  $*u$ ,  $*ū$  to -i-” (Orel 1997-1998, 112). However, this shift can be also considered a mere Gr. itacism  $*u/y/ > /i/$  and there is no specific feature which connects this word to the Phrygian language. Consequently, this gloss remains unclear.

μᾶ πρόβατα. Φρύγες ‘μ.: cattle. Phrygians’ (H. μ 40). This is very likely to be an onomatopoeic word which may be related to “the sound-imitation μη ( $*mē$ )” (EDG 942), also found in Gr. μηκάς ‘bleating’, μηκάομαι ‘to bleat’, MHG *meckatzen* ‘bleat’, *mecke* ‘he-goat’, Lith. *mekčiōti*, *mekėnti* ‘id.’, Lat. *micciō*, ‘id.’, Skt. (lex.) *meka-* ‘he-goat’ and Arm. *mak’i* ‘sheep’. Perhaps μᾶ is derived from  $*mē$  with the common Phrygian shift of this long vowel and was secondarily considered pl.neuter, but it may also be a new creation in Phrygian.

νηνίατος νόμος παιδαριώδης. καὶ Φρύγιον μέλος ‘childish tune and Phrygian melody’ (H. ν 581). According to Hippon. fr. 129 Bgk. (= fr. 163 Masson, Poll. 4, 79), it is a tune for the flute. Following EDG (1016), it is derived from νηνία “a public eulogy, sometimes accompanied by the flute (Cic. *Leg.* 2, 24, 62)”, and it may also be the origin of Lat. *nēnia*. Its origin can be found in a *Lallwort* because of the reduplication of the consonant (see νέννος ‘maternal uncle or grandfather’). Then, as derived from νηνία, it can be considered a Gr. word. Note also that the presence of eta in the first syllable is problematic from a Phrygian point of view.

νώρικον δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τῆ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσιν ‘in their language, the Phrygians call a skin [or skin bag] *nōrikon*’ (Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Fluviis* 10.2, s.v. Μαρσύας), τινὲς δὲ ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ὅτι νώρικον οἱ Φρύγες τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσιν τῆ σφετέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ ‘some people report that the Phrygians call a skin *nōrikon* in their language’ (Eustathius of Thesalonica, Comm. Ad Dionis. Perieget. 121 = *Geogr. Graec.* Min. II 724) and, without linguistic filiation, ναρκίον ἄσκον ‘*narkíon*.: skin’ (H. ν 86). Following the useful analysis given by Kaczyńska (2011, 57-59), Hesychian ναρκίον must be a variant of νώρικον,

<sup>225</sup> Another word for ‘chariot’ sometimes claimed to be Phrygian is the poetic word σατίνα ‘carriage (for women)’. However, the beginning makes difficult to connect it with Phrygian. Then, a Thracian or Anatolian origin cannot be excluded, although it is far for being clear.

despite the differences in the root vocalism and the sound cluster because of “both the close form and the identical meaning”. After Haas tentatively established a relationship with the Slavic *\*nora* (referring to “animal’s underground hiding place, burrow, hole”, 1966, 154-155, however it can be considered a Ugro-Finnish borrowing), Crevatin (1972) considered it a borrowing from a Semitic language in the light of Assyrian *naruqqu(m)*, Babylonian *nuruqqum* ‘skin, skin vessel to contain water or wine; bag, sack’. Indeed, the Assyrian and Babylonian word explains where the meaning ‘skin’ comes from, however it does not mean that the Phrygian town Νώρικον (whose name is glossed by Pseudo-Plutarch and Eustathius) was in fact named after the Semitic word. A folk-etymology cannot be ruled out, even when it is accepted that Phrygian borrowed this word. By comparing νώρικον with *naruqqu(m)* / *nuruqqum*, a third, unclear, language must be identified to explain the vocalic divergences (*a / u > ó* and *u > i*).

ξενῶνες· οἱ ἀνδρῶνες ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν ‘ξ.: men’s apartments in a house (or banqueting-halls) for the Phrygians’ (H. ξ 54). It is the Gr. word ξενῶν, ὠνος ‘guest-chamber’, as is explained in the lexicon: ξενῶν· κατάλυμα. ἢ μέγας ἀνδρῶν ‘lodging or a big guest-chamber’ (H. ξ 53). Then, the attribution to the Phrygian language must be rejected.

ὄξυάκανθον· οἱ ἐν Καρία καὶ Φρυγία τὰ αἶμα-σιώδη φυτά> ‘ὄ.: people in Caria and Phrygia (call it to) garden plants’ (H. ο 42). It is indeed the masculinisation of the Gr. word ὄξυάκανθα ‘fiery thorn, *Cotoneaster Pyracantha*’. So, it is not related to the Phrygian language or to Carian.

τὸ ορου τὸ ἄνω δηλοῦν Φρυγῶν ἴδιον, ὡς Νεοπτόλεμος ἐν ταῖς φρυγίαις φωναίς ‘the (word) of the Phrygians *orou* clearly (corresponds to Greek) *anō* [=‘above’], as Neoptolemos (of Parion says) in his *Phrygian Phrases*’ (Achilles Tatius, *Ad Arato, Phaenom.* 85; see Mette 1980, 15). Gusmani (1959b, 14) equated *orou* to Hitt. *šarā* ‘up(wards), aloft’ and Lyc. *hri* ‘up; on (top)’ and considered it an isogloss between Phrygian and the Anatolian languages. However, it is not so easy. If *šarā* goes back to PIE *\*ser-*, *\*sr-* (see Kloekhorst 2008, 730), the first vowel of *orou* is unexpected (even more so if it is equated to Greek ῥίον ‘mountain-ridge’). A relation with Hitt. *aru-* ‘high’ and CLuw. *aru-* ‘id.’ is attractive. According to Kloekhorst (2008, 212), both Anatolian forms may go back to PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>(o)r-u-*. Consequently, *orou* can be explained both as a Phrygian cognate or a borrowing (despite the vocalism). Sowa (2012, 45 fn. 5) considered this gloss in his study of *opouan* ‘keeper, protector’.

πικερίω βουτύρω. ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς ὑομνήμασί φησιν, ὅτι Θόας ὁ Ἰθακήσιος ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Φρυγῶν πικέριον καλεῖσθαι τὸ βούτυρον ‘π.: butter. As well as Aristoteles in his *Commentaries*, Thoas of Ithaca observes that among the Phrygians ‘butter’ is called πικερίω’ (Erot. 73, 13 = Ar. Byz. F. 101 and Arist. Fr. 636 = Beeker – Gigon 773). The etymology of this word is unknown (EDG 1190) and this gloss cannot be corroborated.

σίκιννις· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως κωμικωτέρας, ἣν Φρύγες ὠρχοῦντο ἐπὶ Σαβαζίω Διονύσω, ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν τῆς Κυβέλης ὀπαδῶν Νυμφῶν, ἣ ὄνομα Σίκιννις ‘σ. more comic kind of dance which Phrygian used to dance for Sabazios Dionisos instead of that one of the Cybele’s attendant Nymphs’ (Eust. Ad *Il.* 20, 1077). Although σίκιννις was classed as Phrygian in Fick’s (1873) list of Phrygian glosses, no explanation has been given as to the origin of this word. If its origin is Phrygian (which is far from clear), it must go back to *\*ki-* (as the pronoun *\*kí > si*). As such, perhaps *kikinnis > σίκιννις* was an onomatopoeic word in origin. Nevertheless, it cannot be considered more than a working hypothesis.

σύχοι· ὑποδήματα Φρύγια ‘Phrygian sandals’ (H. σ 2243). It is also found as *συχάς*, -άδος and was borrowed into Lat. as *soccus* (see EDG 1421). It is considered by Knobloch (1958, 198-200) to be a loan from the Caucasus, perhaps also borrowed into Av. *haxa-* ‘sole of the foot’. In any case, the presence of chi means that the word cannot be Phrygian in origin.

Finally, one can add to this list another Hesychian gloss, although it is not explicitly considered Phrygian:

ἄδδε· ἐπείγου ‘ἄ.: ‘press, urge or hurry’ (H. α 1024). The origin of this gloss, often considered Pre-Gr., is not given. Nevertheless, this verb in impv., which “corresponds exactly to the Gr. imperative θέε from θέω ‘to run’” (Mihaylova 2016, 309, based on Georgiev 1941, 79; the root of the verb goes back to PIE \*d<sup>h</sup>eu- ‘to run, flow’ *IEW* 259-260- *LIV*<sup>2</sup> 147-148), is a clear borrowing in this language. The word also transmitted as gloss δύαν· κρήνην ‘δ.: ‘well, spring’ is also derived from the same root \*d<sup>h</sup>u(ṽ)eh<sub>2</sub>- (compare with Skt. *dhávate* ‘runs, flows’, *dhautí-* ‘spring, stream’ or OHG *tau*, Germ. *Tau*, OE *deaw* ‘dew’). Because ἄδδε has the preverb ἄδ- and the the shift \*d<sup>h</sup>- > δ-, Mihaylova (2016, 310 fn. 6) does not rule out a Phrygian origin. Indeed, both features are typically Phrygian and this possibility is very strong. The loss of \*-u- in \*d<sup>h</sup>eue > (ἄδ)δεε, which is unexpected from a Phrygian point of view, can be considered the result of the Gr. adaptation (compare with *davos* > Δᾶος).

After this detailed analysis, the glosses can be gathered into groups according to their relationship with Phrygian. Only three glosses from this extensive list can be confirmed as Phrygian because they occur in Phrygian inscriptions: βεκός ‘bread’, γλούρεα ‘golden’, ζέμελεν ‘slave’ (indeed ‘men’). The noun κλίκην ‘chariot’ can be also confirmed by Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia that corroborate its Phrygian origin. There are seven glosses that are very likely to be Phrygian on the basis of phonetic analysis, although they are never found in any inscription: \*φάνος (γάνος), \*φέλαρος (γέλαρος), \*ἕζις (ἕξις), ζέλκια, ζέτνα, ζεῦμαν and μᾶ. Note that some of them encountered obstacles to their transmission.

Less clear is the Phrygian filiation of ἀζένα, ἄδδεε, βαλήν, βάμβαλον, βρικίσματα, δύαν, κίμερος, νώρικον, ορου, πικέριον and σίκιννις. These ten words have no relevant features that confirm or contradict their Phrygian status. Finally, seven glosses cannot be considered Phrygian: ἀδαμνεῖν, ἄκριστιν, βέδου, δάος, νηνιάτος, ξενῶνες and ὄξυάκανθον. There are two reasons for their omission. The first is simply that these words are attributed to another language. Despite some particularities, ἄκριστιν ‘useless (slave)’, νηνιάτος ‘flute tune’, ξενῶνες ‘men’s apartments’ and ὄξυάκανθον ‘garden plant’ are Gr., δάος is an Aramaic borrowing and νώρικον is an Assyrian word. The second reason is the presence of features incompatible with Phrygian. This is the case of ἀδαμνεῖν ‘to love’ and βέδου ‘water’, where the continuity of the PIE voiced stop is unexpected.

According to the information given above, the following table summarises the degree of Phrygian filiation of each of the glosses, where ‘Confirmed’ means that the word appears in Phrygian or Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, ‘Very probable’ means that it has features which point to the Phrygian language, ‘Unclear’ means that there are no relevant features, and ‘Excluded’ means that the words cannot be considered Phrygian.

Table 36 Classification of the glosses regarding their relationship with Phrygian

Confirmed	Very probable	Unclear	Excluded
βεκός γλούρεα ζέμελεν κίκλην	*φάνος *φέλαρος *ἕζις ζέλκια ζέτνα ζεῦμαν μᾶ	ἀζένα ἄδδεε βαλήν βάμβαλον βρικίσματα δύαν κίμερος νώρικον ορου πικέριον σίκιννις	ἀδαμνεῖν ἄκριστιν βέδου δάος νηνιάτος ξενῶνες ὄξυάκανθον

## 7. Conclusions

After analysing 783 lemmata gathered (§ 5) from the 513 inscriptions considered in this dissertation, the main conclusion is obvious: most of the Phrygian words remain unexplained. Indeed, we do not know the grammatical category of at least 143 words, and 148 are only tentatively classified, as a result of the fragmentation of the inscriptions, difficulties with segmentation of the words and the abundance of *hapax legomenon* (especially in the Old Phrygian subcorpus and the MPhr-01 epitaph). In addition, the graffiti from Gordion contain many isolated personal names which in most instances provide scant information about the language, since most of them seem to be borrowed from the Anatolian repertoires. Nevertheless, there are many personal names without clear parallels, whose origin is unknown.

It is no less true that many words can be more clearly analysed. On the basis of these words, it can be assumed that most of the identified lexicon is inherited from Proto-Indo-European, although loanwords (mostly from Greek and the Anatolian languages) are also found (§ 4.4 and 4.6). Formulae are particularly productive for the identification of word meanings because they can be compared with similar texts found in other epigraphic corpora from Anatolia. Certainly, our better knowledge of the archaeology and history of Anatolia from the Iron Age to the Roman period is a useful source for interpreting the texts, and the in-depth study of Greek, Lydian, Lycian, Carian, Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions found in Anatolia has provided suitable parallels for the contents of the Phrygian inscriptions. As such, a purely etymological approach to the Phrygian lexicon (still found in some papers) must be ruled out.

In parallel with the analysis of the lemmata, the basic elements of the Phrygian grammar – as far as they can be established – are given in § 4. Note, however, that the Phrygian verb is still problematic (§ 4.2.2) because of the lack of forms and the specific features of some of the preserved examples (see *τοτοσσιτι* and *δεδασσιννι*). In any case, it seems clear that we are dealing with an Indo-European language very closely related to Greek (§ 4.5). Perhaps the most relevant feature corroborated here is the *Lautverschiebung* theory as proposed by Lubotsky (2004). Indeed, the extended implementation of his proposal has been highly productive in refining the etymology of some words, not only in this dissertation but also in papers by other scholars (see, for example, Hämmig 2013, Kloekhorst 2015 and Ligorio 2016). In addition, the shift *-Vns > -Vis*, first proposed by Brixhe (1990, 65-67), and the treatment of the PIE laryngeals closely related to the Greek equivalents is confirmed, among other Phrygian features. The loss of the PIE laryngeal *\*h<sub>1</sub>* in *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>#* (*\*meh<sub>1</sub>* > *me*, *με* and *kake(y)*, *κακε*) is one of the most relevant novelties identified here.

With regard to morphology, two features stand out. The patronymic suffix *-evais /-evanos* is corroborated as an inheritance from PIE poss. suffix *\*-uent-*. Also, *-avos* is accepted as a cognate of Epic Greek *-εύς / -ῆος* (also found as *-εύς / -έως*). Of course, some new lexical approaches are also suggested, among them *anivaYeti* (equated to Greek *ἄγνυμι*), *-ogavos* (in *akenan-ogavos*, Greek *ὄχεύς*), the name of the God *Βας* (Greek *φώς*, *φωτός*) and *τιαμα-* (a Luwic borrowing).

Other conclusions have a bearing on our knowledge of the Phrygian alphabet. This is the case of the letters *CIPPh* no. 20 (Υ, V), considered to be a mere graphic variant of <k> (K), and *CIPPh* no. 18, which is excluded from the repertory of letters. Finally, it is shown that analysis of the Phrygian language through the inscriptions must form the basis of any approach to the “Phrygian” words found in indirect sources (mainly glosses), since some of them are incompatible with a Phrygian origin. Some of these words also provide priceless information about the meaning of epigraphic evidence. This is the case of *βεκός* ‘bread’, *γλούρεα* ‘golden’, and *ζέμελεν* ‘slave’ (derived from ‘men’).

Despite the efforts of this dissertation, there are many aspects to be analysed in greater depth in future research, leaving aside the amount of unexplained words and the edition of new inscriptions. Perhaps the most important area for further study is the Phrygian verbal morphology, where new results could clearly modify our view of the language. A complete study of formulae (imprecatives or otherwise) used in Anatolia would be also desirable, covering aspects such as their survival from the Iron Age to the Roman Imperial period, the typology of the different variants, regional innovations, and so on.

Onomastics are also an important field to be fully studied, as we do not know the origins of many personal names found in Phrygian (sometimes shared with other corpora). Finally, a holistic approach to the Old Phrygian alphabet is essential for the future of this field and could shed light on complex questions such as the origin of the alphabet, its relation with Greek and the Anatolian scripts, the Phrygian alphabetic reform, the evolution of the letters, local variations, and so on.

As can be seen, the study of Phrygian is an open field that calls for an interdisciplinary approach (with contributions from archaeology, Indo-European, Greek, Anatolian, Aramaic, Iranian, etc.). I hope that this lexicon proves to be a useful tool for those interested in Phrygian and helps attract more scholarly attention which can improve our knowledge of this fragmentary language.

## Catalogue of the Phrygian inscriptions



Old Phrygian Inscriptions  
M - Midas City (Midas Kenti, Yazılıkaya)  
Stone inscriptions

**M-01**

Rock-cut façade dated to the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (earlier than 550 BC).

**M-01a**

Horizontal inscription under the pediment of the façade.

Mordtmann 1862, 21-23 no. 5 (Tafel A-B, no. 5); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 1; Ramsay 1883, 128-129 no. 1; Perrot & Chipiez 1890, 88-89; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 1; Körte 1898, 65; von Reber 1898, 566; Schwyzer 1923, Appendix IV, 8, 1; Sayce 1926, 32, no. 1; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 1; Haas 1951, 24 no. I; Haas 1966, 187-188 no. I; Haas 1970a, 52 no. M-01a; Haas 1970b, 24 no. I; Haspels 1971 I, 289, no. 1; Neroznak 1978, 71 no. A1; *CIPPh* I, 6-9 no. M-01 a (II, pl. I-1, I-2 and I-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 61 no. A 1; Woudhuizen 1993, 1-5 no. M-01; *TITUS*, no. M-1a; Orel 1997a, 9-12 no. M-01a; Berndt 2002, 9 no. 1 = M-01a (Abb. 10); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-234 no. 30 (Figs. 4, 50-53 and 134).

*ates : arkiavais : akenanogavos : midai : lavagtaei : vanaktei : edaes*

‘Attes the son of Archias, the *akenanogavos*, made (it) for Midas the leader (and) the king.’

**M-01b**

Vertical inscription on the right pilaster of the façade.

Mordtmann 1862, 21-22 no. 6 (Tafel A-B, no. 6); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 2; Schmidt 1869, 137; Ramsay 1883, 129-130 no. 2; Pauli 1894, 58 no.2; Solmsen 1897a, 60-62; Körte 1898, 85; von Reber 1898, 566; Schwyzer 1923, Appendix IV 8,2; Sayce, 1926, 32 no.2; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. 2; Haas 1966, 190 no. II; Haspels 1971 I, 289-290, no. 2; Neroznak 1978, 72-73 no. A 2; *CIPPh* I, 9-10 no. M-01 b (II, pl. II-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 61-62 no. A 2; *TITUS*, no. M-1b; Orel 1997a, 12-14 no. M-01b; Berndt 2002, 9 no. 1 = M-02b (Abb. 11); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-234 no. 30 (Figs. 4, 50-53 and 134).

*baba : memevais : proitavos : kΦiyanaveyos : si keneman : edaes*

‘Baba the son of Meme(s), the *proitavos*, the *kΦiyanaveyos*, made this niche.’

**M-01c**

Inside the central niche, to the left, there are two adjacent inscriptions. Text II, to the right of I, was first incised.

Mordtmann 1862, 26-2 no. 8 (Tafel A-B, no. 8); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 5; Haspels 1971 I, 290 no. 4 (II fig. 599/4); Neroznak 1978, 108-109 no. A 78; *CIPPh* I, 11-12 no. M-01 c (II, pl. II-2 and

II-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 78; *TITUS*, no. M-1c; Orel 1997a, 14-16 no. M-01c; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-234 no. 30 (Figs. 4, 50-53 and 134).

I II

*maṭeṛ.. atatas ṁ<sup>?</sup>onokaua*

1 ḥonokaua *Haspels et Orel*.

### **M-01d**

Inside the central niche, to the right. Two inscriptions are readable, but more traces and some letters are visible at the lowest part. Also, two circles were drawn.

Mordtmann 1862, 26-27 no. 7 (Tafel A-B, no.7); Brandenburg 1906, 645; Haspels 1971 I, 290-291 no. 5 (II, fig. 298/5 and 599/5); Neroznak 1978, 109, no. A 79; *CIPPh* I, 12-14 no. M-01 d (II, pl. IV and pl. V); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 79; *TITUS*, no. M-1a; Orel 1997a, 16-19 no. M-01d; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-234 no. 30 (Figs. 4, 50-53 and 134).

I

← *midas*  
 ← *s<sup>?</sup>materan*  
 ← *tvemes eneparkes<sup>?</sup>*

II

← *matera[---]*  
 ← *avi[---]*

(III)

← *a b<sup>?</sup>[---].[.]nm.[---]*  
 [---]...[---]

(I) 'Midas engraved this Mother-Goddess *tvemes*.'

### **M-01 e**

On the socle to the right of the central niche.

*CIPPh* I, 15 no. M-01 e (II, pl. VI-1, 2 and VII-1,2); *TITUS*, no. M-1e; Orel 1997a, 19-20 no. M-01 e; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-234 no. 30 (Figs. 4, 50-53 and 134).

*.. a o.. maṭeṛey . ag<sup>?</sup>a ...*

1 .ag<sup>?</sup>a uel .ap<sup>?</sup>a.

### M-01 f

Inside a niche in the rock wall to the left of the façade.

Mordtmann 1862, 27 no. 9 (Tafel A-B, no. 9); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 3; Ramsay 1883, 130-131 no.3; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 3; Kretschmer 1901, 115-116; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 3; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 4; Haas 1951, 25 no. IV; Haas 1966, 190-191 no. IV; Haas 1970, 25 no. IV; Haspels 1971 I, 290 no. 3 (II fig. 599/3); Neroznak 1978, 71 no. 4 A 4; *CIPPh* I, 15-16 no. M-01 f (II, pl. III-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 4; *TITUS*, no. M-1f; Orel 1997a, 20-22 no. M-01 f; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-234 no. 30 (Figs. 4, 50-53 and 134); Ligorio 2016, 34.

[.?.]as ÷ tuave|niy ÷ ae ÷ esuryoyoy ÷ totin ÷ eḏaḏ[s]

‘X-as ... made this present/offering.’

### M-02

On a vertical side of an outcrop of rock (“altar”), almost contemporaneous with M-01b (575-550 BC).

Mordtmann 1862, 21 no. 11 (Tafel A-B, no. 11); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 7; Schmidt 1869, 136-137; Ramsay 1883, 129 and 132 no. 5; Ramsay 1889a, 185; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 5; Kretschmer 1899, 352-353; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 5; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 3; Haas 1966, 191 no. III; Haspels 1971 I, 291 no. 8 (II fig. 600/8); Neroznak 1978, 73 no. A 3; *CIPPh* I, 18-19 no. M-02 (II, pl. VIII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 62 no. A 3; *TITUS*, no. M-2; Orel 1997a, 22-24 M-01 f; Berndt 2002, 49-50 no. 71 (Abb. 88-90).

bba ÷ memevais ÷ proitavo[s]  
k↑ianaveyos ÷ akaragayun  
edaes

‘Baba the son of Meme(s), the proitavos, the k↑ianaveyos, made the akaragayun.’

### M-03

Undated step monument (“altar”), perhaps dated to the Middle Phrygian period I or II.

Mordtmann 1862, 30 no. 10 (Tafel A-B, no. 10); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 6; Ramsay 1883, 131 no. 4; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 4; Kretschmer 1899, 354; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 4; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. 5; Haas 1966, 191 no. V; Haspels 1971 I, 292 no. 9 (II fig. 30 and 600/8); Neroznak 1978, 75 no. A 5; *CIPPh* I, 19-21 no. M-03 (II, pl. VIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 62 no. A 5; *TITUS*, no. M-1f; Orel 1997a, 24-25 no. M-03; Berndt 2002, 50 no. 72 (Abb. 91); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 250-251 no. 69 (Figs. 4, 79 and 137).

[---] abas imañ akio[---]

[b]abas Pauli, Syce, Haas et Neroznak : abas *CIPPh* et Orel.

## M-04

On a step monument (“altar”) dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Mordtmann 1862, 22 no. 12 (Tafel A-B, no. 12); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 8; Ramsay 1883, 132 no. 6; Ramsay 1889b, 310; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 6; von Reber 1898, 584-585; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 6; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 6; Haas 1951, 24-25 no. VI; Haas 1966, 192 no. VI; Haas 1970b, 24-25 no. VI; Haspels 1971 I, 291 no. 7 (II fig. 28 and 599/7); Neroznak 1978, 75 no. A 6; *CIPPh* I, 21-23 no. M-04 (II, pl. X-1, 2 and XI-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 62 no. A 6; *TITUS*, no. M-1f; Orel 1997a, 25-27 M-04; Berndt 2002, 39-40 no. 58 (Abb. 62 and 63); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 251-252 no. 70 (Figs. 4, 80 and 136).

*akinanogavan* ∷ *tiyes*  
← *mođroyanak* ∷ *avara*[. ?]

## M-05

On the remains of a rock-cut pediment. Dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Ramsay 1883, 133 no. 10 (pl. 3, no. 10); Pauli 1894, 58 no. 10; Kretschmer 1899, 357; Sayce, 1926, 33 no. 10; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. A 8; Haas 1951, 25 no. VIII; Haas 1966, 192 no. VIII; Haas 1970b, 25 no. M-05; Haspels 1978 I, 292 no. 10 (II, fig. 33 and 600/10); Neroznak 1978, 79-80 no. A 8; *CIPPh* I, 24-25 no. M-05 (II, pl. IX-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 8; *TITUS*, no. M-5; Orel 1997a, 27-28 no. M-05; Berndt 2002, 54 no. 80 (Abb. 97-98); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 235-236 no. 33 (Figs. 4 and 42).

*apelan* (uac.) *mekas tevan*o[---]

## M-06

On a little rock-cut altar dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Haspels 1971 I, 291 no. 6 (II, fig. 31 and 603/6); Neroznak 1978, 109 no. A80; *CIPPh* I, 25-26 no. M-06 (II, pl. XII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 80; *TITUS*, no. M-6; Orel 1997a, 28-30 no. M-06; Berndt 2002, 34 no. 46 (Abb. 52); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 261-262 no. 94 (Fig. 4).

*rekun* ∷ *deiatiteeq*.?  
*davoi iman*

1 *Lapis rekun* : *ῥεκυν* Haspels : [v]ῥekun *CIPPh*.

‘Iman (made?) this work? ... for Davos.’

## M-07

On the wall of a cave. Undated.

Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 19; *CIPPh* I, 27 no. 27 (II, pl. XIII-1); *TITUS*, no. M-7; Orel 1997a, 30-31 no. M-07.

*tolos*

## M-08

On a rock. Undated.

*CIPPh* I, 27-28 no. M-08 (II, pl. XIV-2, 3 and XV-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. M-8; Orel 1997a, 31 no. M-08; Berndt 2002, 21 no. 14 (Abb. 27).

... .... *şabas*

## M-09

On an undetermined architectural element. Undated.

Calder 1926, 26 (fig. 1); Friedrich 1932, 127 no. 18; Haas 1966, 188-189 no. XVIII; Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 18; Neroznak 1978, 84 no. A18; *CIPPh* I, 28 no. M-09 (II, pl. XIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 18; *TITUS*, no. M-9; Orel 1997a, 31-32 no. M-09.

[---] *aken'ano*[---]

[---]ake]ano[---] *lapis ut uid. sec. Calder* : [---]ακειαν.[---] *Friedrich* : [---]akenano[---] *Haas, Haspels, Neroznak et Orel, cfr. akenanogavos M-01 a* : [---]akeiano[---] *aut* [---]aketano[---] *aut* [---]akegano[---] *mal. CIPPh.*

## M-10

On a stone block. Undated.

*CIPPh* I, 29 no. M-10 (II, pl. XIII-3); *TITUS*, no. M-10; Orel 1997a, 32 no. M-10.

[---]gen : [---] or [---]ten : [---]

## M-11

Incised on a rock, the text is very eroded.

Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 70-72 no. 4-b (75-76 fig. 6 and 7).

[---]ş eştaş

‘... erected.’

## Instrumenta

**M-101**

Incised on an undated sherd.

Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 69-70 no. 4a.

*şaragış*

## W - West-Phrygia (excluding Midas City)

### Stone inscriptions

#### W-01

On a rock-cut façade dated to ca. 550 BC, known as ‘Areyastin monument’. Situated 1.6 km north of Midas City among the rocks west of the road from Midas City to Çukurca. Three inscriptions surround its pediment.

#### W-01a

Mordtmann 1862, 23-24 no. 13 (Tafel A-B, no. 13); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 9; Ramsay 1883, 133 no. 8; Ramsay 1888, 380-381; Ramsay 1889b, 309; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 7; Torp 1896, 10; Körte 1898, 117 (and 85 no. 0); von Reber 1898, 571-572; Meister 1911, 22-25; Schwyzer 1923, 404 (Appendix IV 8,3 a); Sayce 1926, 33 no. 8; Friedrich 1932, 125-126 no. 7 a; Haas 1951, 22-23 (and 17-18) no. VIIa; Haas 1966, 193-197 no. VII a; Haspels 1971 I, 292 no. 11 a; Neroznak 1978, 76-77 no. A7 a; *CIPPh* I, 36-38 no. W-01 a (II, pl. XVI-2. XVII-1, 2, 3, 4 and XVIII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 7 a; Lubotksy 1988, no. W-01a (p. 10, Fig. 1); Woudhuizen 1993, 5-9 no. W-01; *TITUS*, no. W-1a; Orel 1997a, 33-36 W-01 a; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237-238 no. 37 (Figs. 47 and 49).

II ← *materan* : areyastin  
III → *bonok* : akenanogavos  
I ← *vrekun* : tedatoy : yos tutut ...a.m.noy : akenanogavos | aey

‘Bonok, the *akenanogavos*, made this Mother-Goddess as his idol<sup>?</sup>. Whoever...’

#### W-01b

Mordtmann 1862, 24-25 no. 14 (Tafel A-B, no. 14); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 9; Ramsay 1883, 132-133, no.7; Ramsay 1889b, 311; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 8; Torp 1896, 10; Körte 1898, 117; von Reber 1898, 571; Meister 1911, 22-25; Schwyzer 1923 (Appendix IV 8, 3 b); Sayce 1926, 32 no. 7; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 7 b; Haas 1951, 20-22 no. VIIb; Haas 1966, 195-197 no. VII b; Haas 1970b, 20-23 no. VIIb; Haspels 1971 I, 292-293 no. 11 a (II, fig. 83, 84, 601 and 602); Neroznak 1978, 76-77 no. A 7 b; *CIPPh* I, 39-41 no. W-01 b (II, pl. XVI-2, 3, 4 and XX-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 7 b; Lubotksy 1988, no. W-01b (p. 10, Fig. 1); *TITUS*, no. W-1b; Neroznak 1997, 36-39 no. W-01 b; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237-238 no. 37 (Figs. 47 and 49).

→ *yos esait* : materey : eveteksete<sup>?</sup>y : ovevin : onoman : daY et : la-  
← *kedo key* : venavtun : avtay : materey

1 eveteksetey leg. *CIPPh*. : eveteksetiy ceteri :  $\text{FFETFKS} \text{ET} \text{TS}$  legitur.

‘Whoever puts his own name in this Mother *eveteksete<sup>?</sup>y*, let him be took by the Mother-Goddess herself.’

### W-01c

Mordtmann 1862, 24-25 no. 14 no. 8 (Tafel A-B, no. 14); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 9; Ramsay 1883, 133 no. 9; Ramsay 1889b, 310; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 9; Torp 1896, 10; Körte 1898, 118; von Reber 1898, 572; Meister 1911, 319; Schwyzer 1923, Appendix IV 8, 3 c; Sayce 1926, 33 no. 9; Friedrich 1932, 126, no. 7 c; Haas 1951, 23, no. VIIc; Haas 1966, 197 no. VII c; Haspels 1971 I, 292-293 no. 11 b; Neroznak 1978, 76-77 no. A 7 c; *CIPPh* I, 41-42 no. W-01 c (II, pl. XVI-1 and XIX-3, 4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 7 c; Lubotksy 1988, no. W-01c (p. 10, Fig. 1); *TITUS*, no. W-1c; Orel 1997a, 39-40 W-01 c; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237-238 no. 37 (Figs. 47 and 49).

← *ataniyen : kuryaneyon : ta|n egertoy*

‘Ataniyen the ruler X-ed it.’

### W-02

“Façade Situated at Kümbet Asar Kale, c. 1.5 km north-east of the village of Kümbet” (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232). Dated to the middle 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Haspels 1971 I, 293 no. 12 (II fig. 98, 99 and 604); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 81; *CIPPh* I, 42-43 no. W-02 (II, pl. XX-1, 2 and XXI-1, 2, 3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 81; *TITUS*, no. W-2; Orel 1997a, 41-42 no. W-02; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 231-232 no. 29 (Fig. 31); Obrador-Cursach fthc. b.

*iketaios : pseika<sup>?</sup> eđ<sup>?</sup>[a]e<sup>?</sup>s*

‘Iketaios ... made.’

### W-03

On a rock-cut façade in Arslankaya “situated c. 4 km south-east of Döğler and c. 1.3 km south of Küçük Kapı Kaya [...]”. Arslankaya stands among other rocks at the border of the plain west of Emre Gölü” (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 222). Dated to the middle 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Kretschmer 1896, 218; Körte 1898, 93; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 11; Haas 1966, 197 no. XI; Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 20 (II, fig. 186-188); Neroznak 1978, 81 no. A 11; *CIPPh* I, 43-45 no. W-03 (II, pl. XXII-1, 2 and XXIII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 11; *TITUS*, no. W-3; Orel 1997a, 42 no. W-03; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 222-223 no. 16 (Fig. 27 and 122).

[---]m[...?].t....m[..?]m[..].[---]

## W-04

On undated step monument with a niche in Ayazini, “situated c. 600 m north of the road junction by the ‘Pointed Rock’, the Sivri Taş in the south of the Köhnüş valley” (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 245).

Ramsay 1883, 134 no. 11 (pl. 3 no. 11); Ramsay 1888, 371-372; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 11; Körte 1898, 120 (and fn. 3) and 121 no. 0; Sayce 1926, 33 no. 11; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 9; Haas 1966, 197 no. IX; Haspels 1971 I, 293 no. 13 (I, 293 and II fig. 604 no. 13); Neroznak, 1978, 80 no. A 9; *CIPPh* I, 45-47 no. W-04 (II, XXIV-1, 2, 3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 9; *TITUS*, no. W-4; Orel 1997a, 42-43 no. W-04; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 245-246 no. 56 (Figs. 5 and 73).

← matar kubileya [ ]toy-  
→ en

## W-05

Rock-cut façade at Mal Taş, “situated among the rocks bordering the Köhnüş valley on the east side, c. 700 m south of the tall rock called Sivri Taş” (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227). Dated to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

### W-05a

Kretschmer 1896, 218 (219); Körte 1898, 108-109; von Reber, 1898, 564 (pl. IV); Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 12; Haas 1966, 198 no. XII; Haspels 1971 I, 293 no. 14 (II fig. 157, 158 and 603 no. 14); Neroznak 1978, 81 no. A 12; *CIPPh* I, 47-78 no. W-05 a (II, XXV-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 12; *TITUS*, no. W-5a; Orel 1997a, 43-44 no. W-05 a; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227-228 no. 24 (Figs. 5 and 33-36)

*natimeyon na*

### W-05b

Haspels 1971 I, 293-294 no. 15 (II, fig. 603 no. 15); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 82; *CIPPh* I, 48-49 no. W-05 b (II, XXVI); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 82; *TITUS*, no. W-5b; Orel 1997a, 44-45 no. W-05 b; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227-228 no. 24 (Figs. 5 and 33-36); Lubotsky 2017.

[ ]nst[ e]daes por maṭe[...]

por maṭe[ran] siue por maṭe[rey] prop. Lubotsky : pormaṭe[.] dub. *CIPPh*.

‘... made (it) for the Mother-Goddess...’

## W-06

Rock-cut façade situated at Fındık site (c. 40 km south-west of Eskişehir) and dated to the MP II or LP.

Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 16 (II, fig. 218 and fig. 604); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 83; *CIPPh* I, 50 no. W-06 (II, XXVII-2 and XXVIII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 83; *TITUS*, no. W-6; Orel 1997a, 45 no. W-06; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 217-218 no. 5 (Fig. 6 and 16).

[?–] *matar* [?–]

‘... the Mother-Goddess...’

## W-07

On a niche at Fındık site (c. 40 km south-west of Eskişehir), dated to the MP II or later.

Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 17 (II, fig. 604); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 84; *CIPPh* I, 50-51 no. W-07 (II, XXVII-2, 3 and XXIX); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 84; *TITUS*, no. W-7; Orel 1997a, 45-46 no. W-07; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 216-217 no. 3 (Figs. 6 and 10).

[---]t[ ] : [ ]n[ ] *esagas* ÷ *akenaş* [---]

## W-08

Undated inscription engraved on a lone rock at Çepni. Its <b> appears as 8-shaped.

Brixhe & Drew Bear 1982, 68-79 no. I; *CIPPh* I, 52-53 no. W-08 (II, pl. XXXII, XXX-2 and XXXI-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 92; *TITUS*, no. W-8; Orel 1997a, 46-49 no. W-08.

→ [?–] *ates agomoi*  
← *sa<sup>Q</sup>ta tedaes*  
→ *alus si<sup>↑</sup>eto<sup>?</sup>*  
4 → *bateles bab.*[?–]

‘Attes made the *sa<sup>Q</sup>ta* for Agomos...’

## W-09

Undated inscription engraved on a lone rock at Çepni.

Brixhe & Drew Bear 1982, 79-81 no. II; *CIPPh* I, 54 no. W-09 (II, XXXIII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 93; *TITUS*, no. W-9; Orel 1997a, 49-50 no. W-09.

*si<sup>↑</sup>eto ae*  
*alus*

## W-10

Engraved on an undated sheer lone rock at Çepni.

Brixhe & Drew Bear 1982, 81-86 no. III; *CIPPh* I, 54-55 no. W-10 (II, pl. XXXVI, XXXIV and XXXV); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 94; *TITUS*, no. W-10; Orel 1997a, 50-52 no. W-10.

← *ḡtai edae lel/ravo*  
→ *vi↑e atevo atoios,*  
← *alḡs si↑eto das*

## W-11

On an undated altar “situated 500 m south of Demirli Köy among some rocks called Menekşe Kayaları” (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 269).

Brixhe & Sivas 2002; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 269-270 no. 112 (Fig. 75).

[.]y[.]*agaua*  
[-?]-*tatae*?[.?.?]  
[-?]-*e*[.]

## W-12

On a fragment of stone from Seyitömer (25 km far from Kütahya, formerly Kotiaaeion). dated to 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC as earlier.

Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 145-148 no. 2.

← *sitoros aros*  
← *ispas*

## W-13

On a vertical face of a massif in the surrounding area of Demirli Köy among some rocks called Menekşe Kayaları.

Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 66-69 no. 3.

*pe/li m*?[-?]-

or

*pe/lin*?

## Instrumenta

### W-101

On a fragment of a pot dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC found at Seyitömer (25 km far from Kütahya, formerly Kotiaieion). Inscription A was incised before firing.

Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011, 142-145 no. 1.

A ← [-?-]p  
B ← [-?-]p<sup>?</sup>asakas

### W-102

Undated sherd found in Yaslanbayır, a höyük near Emircik.

Brixhe & Sivas 2003, 65-66 no. 1.

← tişış

## B - Bithynia

### Stone inscriptions

#### B-01

Inscription under a niche located near Germanos - Soğukçam dated to the Phrygian Late Period (550–330 BC). All lines are sinistroversive. This text must be compared with B-08, also found in the same site (Brixhe et Vottéro 2016).

Tuğrul & Firatlı 1966, 230-235 and 236-241; Haas 1969, 70-75 no. XXVIII; Neroznak 1978, 89 no. A 28; *CIPPh* I, 62-68 no. B-01 (II, pl. XXXVII-1, 2, 3, 4, XXXVIII-1, 2, 3, 4, XXXIX-1, 2, 3, 4, XL-1, 2, 3, 4 and XLI-1, 2, 3, 4); Lubotsky 1993b; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 68 no. A 28; *TITUS*, no. B-1; Orel 1997a, 138-147 no. B-01; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 239-240 no. 40 (Figs. 48).

*si bevdos adi..[.]*  
*kaḡarmōyo imroy edaes etoves niyo[y<sup>?</sup>]*  
*matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy*  
4 *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin tel<sup>?</sup>emi*  
*[..]toyo[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey da[b]ati*  
*opito [k]ey oy evememesmeneya anato [.]?*  
*kavarmoyun matar otekonov [.]?*  
8 *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni*  
*pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*

1 *si bevdos adi..[.]* Lubotsky, s[.]bev[.]osadi[---] *CIPPh* || 2 *niyo[i<sup>?</sup>]* Brixhe et Vottéro 2016, cf. B-08 : *etovesniyo[.]* *CIPPh* : *etovesniyo* Lubotsky : *etovesniyo* cett. || 3 *evememesmeneya* Lubotsky, ev[.]m[.]mesmeneya *CIPPh* || 5 *da[b]ati* Brixhe et Vottéro 2016, cf. B-08 : *da[k]ati* cett.

‘Adi... (the son) of Kavarmoyos<sup>?</sup> made/put this statue for/in this field...’

#### B-02

Big Greco-Persian funerary stele found near Afşartarakçı Köyü (Afşarıvvel in *CIPPh*) and dated to the Phrygian Late Period (550–330 BC). Preserved in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums (inv. no. 5412).

*CIPPh* I, 68-71 no. B-02 (II, pl. XLII-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. B-2 (without transcription); Orel 1997a, 147-148.

*.u<sup>?</sup>teanom<sup>?</sup>tş.. p<sup>?</sup>op<sup>?</sup>.*

### B-03

On two contiguous sides of a large parallelepiped stone found in Firanlar. Undated.

*CIPPh* I, 69-71 no. B-03 (II, pl. XLIII-2, 3 and XLIV-1, 2); Woudhuizen 1993, 15-16 no. B-03; *TITUS*, no. B-3; Orel 1997a, 148-150 no. B-03.

ęšk...a[ ] a.. [...]  
evtevey ay yosyos yenvrā | eti-t evtevey me.oun laked<sup>?</sup>o | [-?-]

### B-04

On a lost marble block found in a wall of a house in Üyücek. It was considered Mysian in some old publications.

Cox & Cameron 1932; Friedrich 1932, 140-141, no. XI (as Mysian); Neroznak 1978, 36-37, no. B-01 (as Mysian); Bayun & Orel 1988c (as Phrygian); Orel 1997a, 52-56, W-11; *TITUS*, no. Mys. BO-1 - BO-7; Brixhe 2004a, 32-42 no. B-04.

[---]  
[.]a/di<sup>?</sup>kn[...<sup>?</sup>]a/d[.]e[...]a/d[---]  
lami<sup>?</sup>b<sup>?</sup>ay<sup>?</sup>aymokveš • amp<sup>?</sup>i  
4 a<sup>?</sup>m<sup>?</sup>o<sup>?</sup>p<sup>?</sup>to<sup>?</sup>v<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>iy • a<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> lavoy • ue  
eḍaviy p<sup>?</sup>is<sup>?</sup> • aḡerneuey  
v<sup>?</sup>a.oe<sup>?</sup>ap.earvi<sup>?</sup>s<sup>?</sup> • bato<sup>?</sup>ante  
. ? lakeš<sup>?</sup> bḡaterais pa<sup>?</sup>triyio<sup>?</sup>is<sup>?</sup> k(e)

### B-05

Great Greco-Persian stele found in Vezirhan (Archaeological Museum of Istanbul inv. no. 6219/71.27) dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The whole Phrygian text is sinistroversive while the Greek one is dextroversive.

Neumann 1997; Brixhe 2004a, 42-67 no. B-05; Gorbachov 2008, 92-93; Hämmig 2013 (lines 8-13); Sowa 2015, 184-190; Simon 2015 (only l. 13).

Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς ΗΙ<sup>?</sup>  
ΜΗΓΗΜΑΣ ἀνέ-  
θῆκεν. Ὅστις περὶ  
4 τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ<γ>ετήσαι ἔδρῶν  
ἐκόψαι, μὴ βίος μὴ γόνος γίνοιτ[ο]

- 1 *sin=t imenān kalyā ti tedat[oy.]edekm[...].meaş<sup>?</sup> d<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>mīd  
iben edatoy dakeran atriyas davoī okimaḳivā[---]  
vrekān vitāran artimitoš kraṇiyas [---]*
- 4 *paṇta vebraş adun p<sup>?</sup>os key estat pator.<sup>?</sup>ike[...].e[...]. andati  
vay niptiyay daker karatu enpsatus meka[---].asiya.<sup>?</sup>  
nidus ad kalyay karatu paṇato ando popostoīs kḷaṇiv  
kelmis ke umnişet evraduş dakeraiş key iverais [..]*
- 8 *atikraiu yos niy art sin=t imenān kaḳa oskavos kaḳey  
kaṇ dedasitiy tubetiv oy nevos deraliv mekaş key  
kovis abretoy nun ibey nevoṭan niptiyan sirun mireyun  
†iv† <s>imun inmeney asenān daket torvetun †iray ayniy oy*
- 12 *tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke abretoy nun oy nev<otan>  
yos isekosos †emeney đupratoy, vebaṇ ituv*

- 6 καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ-
- 7 ἀδε ἦκοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθά

1 [t]eḳm[oy]r] menan.a Neumann || 2 vrekān aḳivan Neumann || 3 kraṇiya-p Neumann : kraṇiya p[ Brixhe || 4 pator-p ike[.....].an dati Neumann || 5 meka as-k<e>y Neumann || 6 [.].a(:)kalyay karatu panato ando-p opostoīs kḷaṇiv Neumann : nidus ad kalyay karatu paṇato andopopostoīs kḷam<sup>?</sup>iv[...].? Brixhe || 7 kelmis-ke umniş etevraduş dakeraiş-key iveraiş Neumann || 8 art sin-t imenan Neumann || 9 : dedapitiy tubeti voynevos deragiv mekaş-key Neumann : de dapitiy tubeti voy kevos deraliv mekaş key Brixhe || 10 kovis abretoy(:)nun ibeyn erotan niptiyan girun mireyun Neumann || 11 †iv† ?imun Hämig cfr. ιος σεμουv passim : ivimum Brixhe : asenān Neumann et Hämig : as enan Brixhe : şirayay(:)niyoṭ Neumann : †iray ayni yoy Brixhe : †iray ayniy oy Hämig || 12 kovis ke abretoy nun oynev Neumann et Brixhe : abretoy nun oy nev<otan> Hämig || 13 pupratoy Neumann : đupratoy Brixhe.

[Greek] Kallias the son of Abiktos put this ... Whoever does harm around this shrine or cuts a tree, he shall not have neither life nor offspring and who comes here and reads it, let him have many and good things. [Phrygian] Kallias put this shrine ... [l. 8-13] whoever does harm around this shrine ... his son, his daughter and ... Whoever puts an asenan in this shrine, cutting a tree by his hand or ... his son, let him not ... his son. Whoever...'

## B-06

Damaged marble funerary stele found in a ground of a later tumulus of Daskyleion (dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC). Perhaps the stele dates to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1991; TITUS, no. Dask-1 - Dask-4 ; Orel 1997a, 151-153 no. B-04; Brixhe 2004a, 68-73 B-06.

- ştal<sup>?</sup>a ke : †ekm<sup>?</sup>[at]eş key[---].a<sup>?</sup>y<sup>?</sup>[---]  
deş[---] : event noktoy : eṃetētariyoīs  
[---]y : yos tumoy : †ekmatin
- 4 [---]atonkeyen

1 †ek.[---].eşkey[---] siue †ek.[---].eş key [---] Brixhe : †ekm[at]eş Orel.

## B-07

Great marble stele found in Daskyleion and dated to the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Gusmani & Polat 1999a; Gusmani 2001, 164-166; Brixhe 2004a, 73-85 no. B-07.

[.]gat : s=manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy est[.]  
[.]es va knais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is yos tiv[.]  
[.]n ke devuḡ k umnotan ordoineten, me kos anivaḡeti s=maniḡ

‘This (is) Manes (the son) of Iyungida, the grandson of Manes... his wife Manukka ... and Manes... Whoever ... of ... and the gods?... Let nobody do harm to Manes.’

## B-08

A great inscription engraved on a rock near B-01 in Germanos - Soğukçam and dated to the Phrygian Late Period (550–330 BC). Blanks are used to separate the words. The sinistroverse inscription is very eroded and only few letters are legible.

Brixhe & Vottéro 2016.

I

[---]  
[---] kavarmoyo [---]  
[---] epav<sup>2</sup>es niyoy [---]  
[--- mata]r kḡbeley[a ---]

II

si tadila[---]  
[---] bev<sup>2</sup>dos key [---]  
[---] key dabati [---]  
[---]  
[-?]

I 3 epav<sup>2</sup>esniyoy fort. epar<sup>2</sup>esniyoy.

## Instrumenta

### B-101

Fragment of an Attic cup found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 2013 = DASK 91: BUH). Dated to between 525 and 500 BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 136 no. 1 and 143-144; Brixhe 1996, 137-138 § 3.1.1; Brixhe 2004a, 85-86 no. B-101.

← [---]yon

### B-102

Fragment of an Attic cup found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 542 = DASK 90/91: BBG/BNY/BBS) and dated to between 480 and 470 BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 136-137 no. 2 and 143-144; Brixhe 1996, 138-139 § 3.1.2.; Orel 1997a, 153-154 no. B-101; Brixhe 2004a, 86-87 no. B-102.

← *vana*

### B-103

Fragment of an Attic kantharos found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 2014 = DASK 91: BTK). Dated to between 350 and 340 BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1993, 137 no. 3 and 143; Brixhe 1996, 139-140 § 3.1.3.; Orel 1997a, 154 no. B-102; Brixhe 2004a, 87-88 no. B-103.

← *karea[-?-]*

### B-104

Fragment of a northwestern Anatolian amphora (digging deposit inv. no. 935 = DASK 91: BPR) found in the satrapal palace in Daskyleion. First half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1933, 138-139 no. 5 and 144; Brixhe 1996, 140-141 § 3.1.4.; Orel 1997a, 154 no. B-103; Brixhe 2004a, 88-89 no. B-104.

[---]t/g<sup>2</sup>i/u<sup>2</sup>siteoy

### B-105

Fragment of northwestern Anatolian amphora (digging deposit inv. no. 298 = DASK 89: AKT) found in Daskyleion. Dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1933, 139 no. 6 and 143; Brixhe 1996, 141-142 § 3.1.5.; Orel 1997a, 154-155 no. B-104; Brixhe 2004a, 89-90 no. B-105.

*ak*

### B-106

Fragment of northwestern Anatolian amphora (digging deposit inv. no. 860 = DASK 91: BTS) found in Daskyleion. Dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1933, 140 no. 7 and 144; Brixhe 1996, 142-144 § 3.1.6.; Orel 1997a, 155 no. B-105; Brixhe 2004a, 90-91 no. B-106.

[-?-]isdø[---] or [---]pusi[-?-]

### B-107

Fragment of Mysian plate (digging deposit inv. no. 723 = DASK 91: BVB) found in Daskyleion. Dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Bakır & Gusmani 1933, 140 no. 8 and 144; Brixhe 1996, 144-145 § 3.1.7.; Orel 1997a, 155 no. B-106; Brixhe 2004a, 91-92 no. B-107.

← *.i|ay*

### B-108

Graffito incised on some contiguous fragments of a bowl dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 1225 = DASK 93: CUI-CUO).

Gusmani & Polat 1999b, 61-64; Brixhe 2004a, 92-93.

← *saragis :? mago?[s<sup>2</sup> ---]*

1 saragis *Brixhe* : ]saragiś siue ]saraliś *Gusmani et Polat*.

‘Saragis the magos?’

## G – Gordion (Yassihüyük)

### Stone inscriptions

#### G-01

Seven fragments of a calcareous slab found in Building NTC, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Ankara Museum inv. no. 12494).

Young 1951, 10 (pl. IV fig. 2); Young 1953, 21; Haas 1966, 198-199 no. XXIV (transliterated in 179); Young 1969, 276 no. 24; Lejeune 1969b, 289; Lejeune 1970, 70; Neroznak 1978, 84 no. A 24; *CIPPh* I, 81-85 (II, pl. XLIV-3, 4, XLV-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-85 no. A 24; *TITUS*, no. G-1; Orel 1997a, 156-158 no. G-01.

A

← [ ]vo[---]  
→ [---]şayuve[ ]  
← [ ]o<sup>?</sup>lavı[ ]isvolkay  
← : dumeyay : [ ]dēda[ ]

B

→ [ ]ita.[ ]terkeya ask  
[ ]

C

← [--- e]n[e]|p|arkes v[---]

#### G-02

Undated calcareous slab reused in a canal to the west of the Gate, uncertain date, although no later than the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 118). Two feet were engraved to the right of the slab.

Young 1955, 10-11 (pl. 5 fig. 22); Masson 1954, 441 no. 27; Brixhe 1968, 308; Haas 1969, 78-79 no. XXIX; Young 1969, 279-280 no. 43 (p. 277 fig. 7 and pl. 71); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 43; Lejeune 1970, 70 no. 43;

Neroznak 1978, 96 no. A 43; *CIPPh* I, 85-87 no. G-02 (II, pl. XLVI-2 and XLVII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 43; Woudhuizen 1993, 9-12 no. G-02; *TITUS*, no. G-2; Orel 1997a, 158-161; Kloekhorst 2015.

A *agarıtoi* : *pētes* : *adoikavoi*

B *ios oporokitis*.<sup>?</sup>

C *kakoioi tovo* : *podaskai*<sup>?</sup>

A ΑΓΑΡΙΤΟΙ : ΙΚΤΕΣ Young : *agarıtoi* : *iktes* *CIPPh* et Orel : *agarıtoi* : *petes* Kloekhorst || C *podaska*.<sup>?</sup> *CIPPh* et Orel : *podaskai*<sup>?</sup> Young and Kloekhorst.

‘Devoted foot of/for Adoikavos. Whoever ... harms it, ...’

#### G-03

Calcareous block which found reused in rubble packing for the bed of the north wall of MP Building C (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 127).

Young 1969, 271 no. 39 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 39; Lejeune 1970, 70 no. 39; Neroznak; 1978, 95 no. A 39; *CIPPh* I, 88 no. G-03 (II, pl. XLVI-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 39; *TITUS*, no. G-3; Orel 1997a, 162.

[?]-*kakrayun ni*[?]-

#### G-04

Calcareous block found re-used as a building stone in the wall of a Hellenistic house (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 420), uncertain date.

Young 1968, 235-236 (pl. 76 and 18); Haas 1969, 81 no. XXXI; Young 1969, 280 no. 44 (p. 277 fig. 7 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 44; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 44; Neroznak; 1978, 97 no. A 44; *CIPPh* I, 89 no. G-04 (II, pl.

XLVIII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 44; *TITUS*, no. G-4; Orel 1997a, 162-163.

[---]evi?  
tatas.[---]  
[---]i<sup>?</sup>ma<sup>?</sup>[n ---]  
[-? -]

### G-05

Undated fragment of calcareous stone reused in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC in the early east gate (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 47), uncertain date.

*CIPPh* I, 90-91 no. G-05 (II, pl. XLVIII-2); *TITUS*, no. G-5; Orel 1997a, 163-164.

[---]g[---]

### G-06

Undated fragment of calcareous stone found in the surface near Tumulus J (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 77).

*CIPPh* I, 91 no. G-06 (II, pl. XLIX-1); *TITUS*, no. G-6; Orel 1997a, 164.

[---]ba<sup>?</sup>ba<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-07

Fragment of calcareous stone reused in the repair of the east gate, dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or beginning 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 114).

*CIPPh* I, 91 no. G-07 (II, pl. XLIX-2); *TITUS*, no. G-7; Orel 1997a, 164.

[---]m<sup>?</sup>aesi.[---]

### G-08

Undated fragment of calcareous stone found in the surface close to Tumulus H (Inv. no. I 115).

*CIPPh* I, 92-93 no. G-08 (II, pl. XLIX-3); *TITUS*, no. G-8; Orel 1997a, 165-166.

[---]o<sup>?</sup>sve[---]

### G-09

Undated fragment of calcareous stone found in the surface close to Tumulus H (Inv. no. I 116).

*CIPPh* I, 93 no. G-09 (II, pl. L-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. G-9; Orel 1997a, 166.

[---]r<sup>?</sup>eme<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-10

Undated fragment of calcareous stone without clear origin (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 655).

Brixhe 2002a, 29-31 no. G-10.

[? -]  
← [---]e<sup>?</sup>ke<sup>?</sup>y  
→ : imelan

### G-11

Undated trapezoidal calcareous block found on the surface of a field 5 km far from Yassihöyük (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 655).

Brixhe 2002a, 29-31 no. G-11.

A ← u<sup>?</sup>l<sup>?</sup>ekey  
B + C ← sit kraroy veao|yoy[. ?]  
← dis

## Instrumenta

### G-101

Two undated, contiguous fragments of a pot (Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 4002).

Körte & Körte 1904, 172 no. 2 (fig. 152); Friedrich 1932, 127, no. 16; Haas 1966, 198 no. XVI (as Greek); Lejeune 1969a, 20 no. XVI; Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 16; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 16; Neroznak 1978, 83 no. A 16; *CIPPh* I 95-95 G-101 (II, pl. LI-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 16; *TITUS*, no. G-101; Orel 1997a, 166-167 G-101.

*kuliyā*[---]

### G-102

Two undated, contiguous fragments of a Cyprian cup (Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 4000).

Körte & Körte 1904, 172 no. 3 (fig. 152); Friedrich 1932, 127, no. 17; Haas 1966, 198 no. XVII; Lejeune 1969a, 20-21 no. XVII; Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 17; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 17; Neroznak 1978, 71 no. A 17; *CIPPh* I, 96-97 no. G-102 (II, pl. LI-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 17; Orel 1997a, 167-168 no. G-102.

A [-? -]kad

B [---]d<sup>2</sup>oi<sup>2</sup>o<sup>2</sup>[---]

### G-103

Undated broken handle of a Phrygian pot (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. no. 4609).

Körte & Körte 1904, 172 no. 4 (fig. 154); Lejeune 1969a, 21 no. XVI bis I; Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 17 bis; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 17 bis; Neroznak 1978, 84 no. A 17 bis; *CIPPh* 96-97 no. G-103 (II, pl. LI-3); Diakonoff &

Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 17 bis; *TITUS*, no. G-101; Orel 1997a, 168 no. G-103.

*kadiun*[---]

### G-104

Fragment of a deep bowl dated to the (early) 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, found below the final floor of Megaron 10 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 366).

Young 1966, 276 (pl. LXXIII); Lejeune 1969a, 23; Young 1969 257-259 no. 29 fig. 1 (pl. 67); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 29; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 29; Neroznak 1978, 91 no. A 29; *CIPPh* I, 98-99 no. G-104 (II, pl. LI-4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 68 no. A 29; Orel 1997a, 168 no. G-104; Brixhe 2004b, 276-277 no. G-104; Sams 2011, 65 and 67 (Fig. 4.16).

*kernō*[---] or *kernō*[---]

### G-105

Bronze bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, inv. no. 18441).

Young 1958, 153 (pl. XXV, 21); Young 1963, 362; Haas 1966, 198 no. XXV; Lejeune 1969a, 22 no. XXXV; Young 1969, 260 and 262 no. 25 (p. 258, fig. 1 and pl. 68); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 25; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 25; Neroznak 1978, 87-88, no. A 25; Young 1981, 130 fig. 84; Brixhe 1981, 273 no. MM 68 (p. 274, fig. 134 A and pl. 97 A); *CIPPh* I, 99-100 no. G-105 (II, LII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 25; *TITUS*, no. G-105; Orel 1997a, 169 no. G-105.

*si↑idos akor*

### G-106

Bronze bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find no. B 1040).

Young 1969, 262 no. 32 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 68); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 32; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 32; Neroznak 1978, 92, no. A 32; Brixhe 1981, 273 no. MM 67 (p. 274 fig. 134 B and pl. 97 B); Brixhe 1982, 240-241; *CIPPh* I, 100-101 no. G-106 (II, pl. LII-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 32; Orel 1997a, no. 169-170.

*u7d*

### G-107

Bronze bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, inv. no. 13067).

Young 1969, 262 no. 33 (p. 258 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 33 and 291; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 33; Neroznak 1978, 92 no. A 33; Brixhe 1981, 273-275 no. MM 69 (p. 274 fig. 134 C and pl. 97 C); *CIPPh* I, 101-102 no. G-107 (II, pl. LII-4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 33; *TITUS*, no. G-107; Orel 1997a, no. 170.

*ata*

### G-108

Bronze omphalos bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find. no. B 855).

Young 1969, 260 no. 30 (p. 261 fig. 2); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 30 (p. 291); Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 30; Neroznak 1978, 91-92 no. A 30; Brixhe 1981, 275-276 no. MM 119 (p. 274 fig. 134 D and pl. 98 A; p. 276); *CIPPh* I, 102 no. G-108 (II, pl. LIII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 30; *TITUS*, no. G-108; Orel 1997a, 170-171 no. G-108.

*eies*

### G-109

Contiguous sherds of a spherical jar dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, find. inv. no. P 1825). A space separates the words.

Young 1969, 260 no. 31 (p. 258 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 31 (p. 258 fig. 1 and 67; p. 291 and 292); Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 31; Neroznak 1978, 92 no. A 31; Brixhe 1981, 275-277 no. MM 362 (p. 274 fig. 134 D and pl. 98 A; p. 276); *CIPPh* I, 102-103 no. G-109 (II, pl. LIII-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 31; *TITUS*, no. G-109; Orel 1997a, 171 no. 109.

*aladis url*

*agadis urg dub. Young : agadis url Neroznak et CIPPh.*

### G-110

Sherd of a large spherical-bodied jug found in a house below Tumulus H and dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 40).

Young 1969, 267 no. 34 (p. 268 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 34 (p. 292); Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 34 (p. 57); Neroznak 1978, 93 no. A 34; *CIPPh* I, 103-104 no. G-110 (II, pl. LIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 34; *TITUS*, no. G-110; Orel 1997a, 171-172 no. G-110.

*lagineios*

### G-111

Fragment of a tall pithos or amphora in a house below Tumulus H and dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 41).

Young 1969, 267 no. 35 (p. 269 fig. 5); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 35 (p. 291); Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 35 (p. 54); Neroznak 1978, 93 no.

A 35; *CIPPh* I, 104 no. G-111 (II, pl. LIV-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 35; *TITUS*, no. G-111; Orel 1997a, 172 no. G-111.

[---]ϕ mekas

### G-112

Two contiguous sherds of a large coarse vessel found in a house under Tumulus E, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find no. I 1).

Young 1969, 270-271 no. 37 (p. 258 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 37 (p. 291); Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 37 (p. 63-64); Neroznak 1978, 94 no. A 37; *CIPPh* I, 105 no. G-112 (II, pl. LV-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 37; *TITUS*, no. G-112; Orel 1997a, 172-173 no. G-112.

e<sup>+</sup>ttā[---]

### G-113

Sherd found in Tumulus E, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., Find No. I 66).

Young 1969, 271 no. 38 (p. 71 fig. 38); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 38 (p. 293); Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 38 (p. 58); Neroznak 1978, 94 no. A 38; *CIPPh* I, 105-106 no. G-113 (II, pl. LV-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 38; *TITUS*, no. 113; Orel 1997a, 173-174 no. G-113.

[---]astoi pitave[---]

### G-114

Sherd found in a house under Tumulus E, perhaps to be dated to the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 163).

Young 1969, 270 no. 36 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 70); Lejeune 1969b, 289, no. 36; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 36; Neroznak 1978, 93 no. A 36;

*CIPPh* I, 106-107 no. G-114 (II, pl. LVI-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 36; *TITUS*, no. G-114; Orel 1997a, 174 no. G-114.

ise

### G-115

Fragment of a bowl found in a rubble filling near the Persian Gate Building and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 107).

Young 1969, 271 no. 40 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 67); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 40; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 40; Neroznak 1978, 95 no. A 40; *CIPPh* I, 107 no. G-115 (II, pl. LVI-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 40; *TITUS*, no. G-115; Orel 1997a, 174 no. G-115.

YuvaYaros

### G-116

Pithos found beneath the floor of Building M, dated to the MP period (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 2082).

Edwards 1959, 265; Lejeune 1969a, 22 no. 41; Young 1969, 271-272 no. 41; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 41; Neroznak 1978, 95 no. A 41; *CIPPh* I, 108-109 no. G-116 (II, pl. LVII-1, 2); Roller 1987a, 65, 3B-5; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 41; *TITUS*, no. G-116; Orel 1997a, 175 no. G-116.

(Metr. mark) 4

benagonos

### G-117

Pithos found just over the surface of the clay stratum of the Phrygian Terrace, dated to the MP period (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 2279).

Young 1969, 272 no. 42 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 70); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 42; Lejeune

1970, 72 no. 42; Neroznak 1978, 96 no. A 42; *CIPPh* I, 109-110 no. G-117 (II, pl. LVIII--1); Roller 1987a, 65 3B-7 (pl. 7); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 42; *TITUS*, no. G-117; Orel 1997a, 175-176 no. G-117.

[Metr. mark] 5½ 1

*iosais*

### G-118

Undated bottom of a bowl found in a clay filling inside Building N, dated to the MP period (Gordion inv. no. I 228).

Young 1969, 280-281, no. 45 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 45; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 45; Neroznak 1978, 97 no. A 45; *CIPPh* I, 110-111 no. G-118 (II, pl. LVIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 45; *TITUS*, no. G-118; Orel 1997a, 176 no. G-118.

*ata*

### G-119

Bottom of a bowl found in the west area of the north court of the MP-Persian Gate Building and tentatively dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion inv. no. I 62).

Young 1969, 281, no. 46 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 46; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 46; Neroznak 1978, 97 no. A 46; *CIPPh* I, 111 no. G-119 (II, pl. LIX-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 46; *TITUS*, no. G-119; Orel 1997a, 176-177 no. G-119.

[-?]-*ataş*

### G-120

Sherd found in the fill of the wall between Building M and N, belonging to the MP period (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 227).

Young 1969, 281, no. 47 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 47; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 47; Neroznak 1978, 97-98 no. A 47; *CIPPh* I, 112 no. G-120 (II, pl. LIX-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 47; Orel 1997a, 177 no. G-120.

[---]..*ata*[---]

### G-121

Undated fragment of a bowl found in a discard pile to the west of Megaron 3 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 189).

Young 1969, 281, no. 48 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 48; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 48; Neroznak 1978, 98 no. A 48; *CIPPh* I, 113 no. G-121 (II, LX-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 48; *TITUS*, no. G-121; Orel 1997a, 177 no. G-121.

← *baḅa*

### G-122

Fragment of a pithos found in a burned filling over the floor of a building (remodelled in Persian times) and dated to the middle 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 384).

Young 1969, 282, no. 49 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 49; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 49; Neroznak 1978, 98 no. A 49; *CIPPh* I, 113-114 no. G-122 (II, pl. LX-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 49; *TITUS*, no. G-122; Orel 1997a, 178 no. G-122.

← *tates*

### G-123

Fragment of a pot found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 436).

Young 1969, 282, no. 50 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 50; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 50; Neroznak 1978, 98 no. A 50;

*CIPPh* I, 114 no. G-123 (II, pl. LXI-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 50; *TITUS*, no. G-123; Orel 1997a, 178 no. G-123.

[?-]ates

### G-124

Fragment of a (Lydian?) vessel found over the rubble beddings for the foundation walls of Building B (Persian period), perhaps it dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 110).

Young 1969, 282, no. 51 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 51; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 51; Neroznak 1978, 99 no. A 51; *CIPPh* I, 115 no. G-124 (II, pl. LXI-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 50; Orel 1997a, 178 no. G-124.

[-?]-ates?[-]

### G-125

Fragment of a pot found in a filling which contained fragments ranging from pre-burning times into the fourth c. BC. Perhaps it dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 377).

Young 1969, 235, no. 52 (pl. 76-16); Haas 1969, 79-81 no. XXX; Young 1969, 282 and 284 no. 52; Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 52; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 52; Neroznak 1978, 99 no. A 52; *CIPPh* I, 115-116 no. G-125 (II, pl. LXII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 52; *TITUS*, no. G-125; Orel 1997a, 179-180 no. G-125.

← [---]ronoṭ<sup>?</sup>oy ḫ eneparkes ṭ<sup>?</sup>ei<sup>?</sup>es

‘Teyes engraved it for [---]ronotos.’

### G-126

Fragment of the shoulder of a pithos found in a filling outside the palace area. Perhaps it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 377).

Young 1969, 284, no. 53 (p. 268, fig. 5); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 53; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 53; Neroznak 1978, 99-100 no. A 53; *CIPPh* I, 117 no. G-126 (II, pl. LXII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 53; Orel 1997a, 180 no. G-126.

← [---]es

### G-127

Incised on two contiguous sherds of a vessel in the South Trench and date to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Ankara Archaeological Museum without inv. no., Founding No. I 31).

Young 1969, 284 no. 54 (p. 268, fig. 5); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 54; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 54; Neroznak 1978, 100 no. A 54; *CIPPh* I, 117-118 no. G-127 (II, pl. LXIII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 54; *TITUS*, no. G-127; Orel 1997a, 180 no. G-127.

ḫuliyas

### G-128

On an undated sherd of a pot found in a mixed fill (layer 4) over the area of Terrace Building Rooms 1-2 (Gordion Museum I 246).

Young 1969, 284 no. 55 (p. 268, fig. 5 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 55; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 55; Neroznak 1978, 100 no. A 55; *CIPPh* I, 118-119 no. G-128 (II, pl. LXIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 55; *TITUS*, no. G-128; Orel 1997a, 181 no. G-128.

atas kek.[---]

### G-129

On a fragment of a jug found above the clay on the area of Megaron 4 and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no., finding no. I 31).

Edwards 1963, 46-47 no. 25; Lejeune 1969a, 22; Young 1969, 284 and 286, no. 56 (p. 285, fig. 9 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 56; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 56; Neroznak 1978, 100-101 no. A 56; *CIPPh* I, 119 no. G-129 (II, LXIV-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 56; *TITUS*, no. G-129; Orel 1997a, 182 G-129.

*voines*

### G-130

Two contiguous fragments of a vessel found in the filling of a deep cellar dug into the clay just to the west of Megaron 5. Perhaps it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 363).

Young 1969, 286 no. 57 (p. 285, fig. 9 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 57; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 57; Neroznak 1978, 101 no. A 57; *CIPPh* I, 120 no. G-130 (II, pl. LXIV-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 57; *TITUS*, no. G-130; Orel 1997a, 182-183 no. G.130.

[---].es servas[[p]]bo.[---]

1 b *supra* p *scr.*

### G-131

On a handle of a jug found just below the surface of the mound in the area of Persian Building E, in mixed Hellenistic filling. Perhaps it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no. 18380).

Young 1969, 286 no. 58 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 58; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 58; Neroznak 1978, 102 no. A 58; *CIPPh* I, 120-121 no. G-131 (II, pl. LXII-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 58; *TITUS*, no. G-131; Orel 1997a, 183-184 no. G-131.

[-?-] *dumasta eia*[---]

### G-132

On a fragment of an undated pot found in a pit over the area of Megaron 4 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 234).

Young 1969, 286 no. 59 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 59; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 59; Neroznak 1978, 102, no. A 59; *CIPPh* I, 121-122 no. G-132 (II, pl. LXV-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 59; *TITUS*, no. G-132; Orel 1997a, 184 no. G-132.

*ploriata*[---]

### G-133

On a fragment of a bowl found in a filling of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, to the west of the Persian Gate Building (Layer 5b) (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no. 18379).

Young 1969, 286 no. 60 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 60; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 60; Neroznak 1978, 102-103 no. A 60; *CIPPh* I, 122 no. G-133 (II, pl. LXV-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 60; *TITUS*, no. G-133; Orel 1997a, 184-185 no. G-133.

*tuvatis* or *guvatis*

### G-134

On a handle of a jug found in the refill in the trench of a plundered wall bed of a building in the Persian city (above the Phrygian CC Building). Very likely it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 150).

Young 1969, 286 no. 61 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 71); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 61; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 61; Neroznak 1978, 103 no. A 61; *CIPPh* I, 123 no. G-134 (II, pl. LXVI-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 61; Orel 1997a, 185 no. G-134.

*va*.[---]

### G-135

Fragment of a handle of a cup found in the (disturbed) surface of the clay layer, to the north of Building I. Perhaps, it dates to the MP period (Gordion Museum I 225).

Young 1969, 287 no. 62 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 62; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 62; Neroznak 1978, 103 no. A 62; *CIPPh* I, 123-124 no. G-135 (II, pl. LXVI-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 62; *TITUS*, no. G-135; Orel 1997a, 185 no. G-135.

[?]-*agipeia*

[?]-*agipeia* Orel 1997.

### G-136

On a little alabaster figure of a falcon found in the plundered wall-trench of a bed for Building W (Persian Level). Tentatively dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no.).

Young 1964, 280-281 (pl. 83, 6, as Greek); Lejeune 1969a, 22 and 23; Haas 1969, 82-83 (as Greek); Young 1969, 287-288 no. 63 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 63; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 63; Neroznak 1978, 103-104, no. A 63; *CIPPh* I, 124-125 no. G-136 (II, pl. LXVII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 63; *TITUS*, no. G-136; Orel 1997a, 185-186 no. G-136.

*tadoy* : *iman* | *bagun*

'Iman (gave) this idol to Tados.'

### G-137

On a fragment of a vessel found just above the plundered west wall of the Phrygian city. Perhaps it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 407).

Young 1969, 288 no. 64 (p. 269, fig. 5 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 64; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 64; Neroznak 1978, 104 no. A 64; *CIPPh* I, 125-126 no. G-137 (II, pl. LXVII-3);

Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 64; *TITUS*, no. G-137; Orel 1997a, 187 no. G-137.

*midas* [?]-

### G-138

On a fragment of a dinos found in a fourth c. filling (Layer 5) in the area above Room 8 of the Phrygian Terrace Building, a context dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 249).

Young 1969, 288 no. 65 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 65; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 65; Neroznak 1978, 104 no. A 65; *CIPPh* I, 126 no. G-138 (II, pl. LXVIII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 65; *TITUS*, no. G-138; Orel 1997a, 187 no. G-138.

*babiy*[---]

### G-139

On a handle of a jug found in a mixed filling outside the Phrygian palace area. Perhaps it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 374).

Young 1969, 288 no. 66 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 66; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 66; Neroznak 1978, 105 no. A 66; *CIPPh* I, 127 no. G-139 (II, pl. LXVIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 66; *TITUS*, no. G-139; Orel 1997a, 187 no. G-139.

[?]-*kupolas*

### G-140

On a handle of an undated pot found in mixed disturbed filling at the west side of the mound (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 372).

Young 1969, 288 no. 67 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 71); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 67; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 67; Neroznak 1978, 105 no. A 67; *CIPPh* I, 127-128 no. G-140 (II, pl. LXVIII-3);

Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 67; *TITUS*, no. G-140; Orel 1997a, 188 no. G-140.

← *noievos*

### G-141

Fragment of a handle of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 410).

Young 1969, 288-289 no. 68 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 68; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 68; Neroznak 1978, 105 no. A 68; *CIPPh* I, 128-129 no. G-141 (II, pl. LXIX-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 68; *TITUS*, no. G-141; Orel 1997a, 188-189 no. G-141.

[---]ṭvitenorola[---]

### G-142

On a fragment of a bowl found in a cellar intruded into the clay layer and filled up around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 296).

Young 1969, 289 no. 69 (p. 283 fig. 8); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 69; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 69; Neroznak 1978, 106 no. A 69; *CIPPh* I, 129 no. G-142 (II, pl. LXIX-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 69; *TITUS*, no. G-142; Orel 1997a, 189 no. G-142.

[---]avaş ş[---]

### G-143

Fragment of a pithos found in a fill of a building which contained a mixture of diverse materials. Tentatively dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations with digging number I 18).

Young 1969, 289 no. 70 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 70; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 70; Neroznak 1978, 106 no. A 70;

*CIPPh* I, 129-130 no. G-143 (II, pl. LXX-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 70; *TITUS*, no. G-143; Orel 1997a, 189-190 no. G-143.

← [---].evei<sup>?</sup>s[---]

### G-144

On the bottom of a bowl or cup found in a building to the north of the Persian Gate. Perhaps it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations with the digging number I 111).

Young 1969, 289 no. 71 (p. 290 fig. 10 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 71; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 71; Neroznak 1978, 106 no. A 71; *CIPPh* I, 130-131 no. G-144 (II, pl. LXX-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 71; *TITUS*, no. G-144; Orel 1997a, 190 no. G-144.

*estatoi avun*

### G-145

On a handle of a jug found in a Hellenistic layer above the area of the street between the Phrygian Terrace and CC Buildings and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations digging no. I 264).

Young 1969, 289 no. 72 (p. 290 fig. 10 and pl. 70); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 72; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 72; Neroznak 1978, 100-101 no. A 72; *CIPPh* I, 131-132 no. G-145 (II, pl. LXIX-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 72; *TITUS*, no. G-145; Orel 1997a, 190-191 no. G-145.

*voineio*[[Υ]] *uriienois ku*[---]

S

Υ *corrigitur et S scrip. infra.*

### G-146

Two non-contiguous fragments of a pot found in a building to the north of the Persian Gate and dated to between the ending of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Young 1969, 291 no. 73 (p. 290 fig. 10 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 73; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 73; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 73; *CIPPh* I, 132-133 no. G-146 (II, pl. LXXI-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 73; *TITUS*, no. G-146; Orel 1997a, 191-192 no. G-146.

[---].....[--- a]doikavos

### G-147

Two sherds of a pithos found in the South Trench and dated to between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Young 1969, 291 no. 74 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 74; Lejeune 1970, 74 no. 74; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 74; *CIPPh* I, 133-134 no. G-147 (II, pl. LXXII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 74; *TITUS*, no. G-147; Orel 1997a, 192 no. G-147.

[---] mekas tosk[---]

### G-148

Fragment of a pot found in a disturbed pocket in the clay near the north end of the Gate Building and dated to between the ending of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Young 1969, 292 no. 75 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 75; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 75; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 75; *CIPPh* I, 134 no. G-148 (II, pl. LXXII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 75; *TITUS*, no. G-148; Orel 1997a, 192-193 no. G-148.

[-?]-ates

### G-149

Fragment of a pot found to the west of the palace area in the refill of a trench cut to plunder a wall of a Building and dated to 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 364).

Young 1969, 292 no. 76 (p. 290 fig. 10 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 76; Lejeune 1970, 74 no. 76; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 76; *CIPPh* I, 134-135 no. G-149 (II, pl. LXXI-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 76; Orel 1997a, 193 no. G-149.

[---]aes

### G-150

Fragments of a pithos found in a deposit of a pottery over the floor of a house and dated to the ending of the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations digging no. P 3541).

Young 1969, 292 no. 77 (p. 293 fig. 11); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 77; Lejeune 1970, 74 no. 77; Neroznak 1978, 108 no. A 77; *CIPPh* I, 135-137 no. G-150 (II, pl. LXXIII-1); Roller 1987a, 67 3B-30; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 77; *TITUS*, no. G-150; Orel 1997a, 193-194 no. G-150.

[Met. mark] 3

A olgiavos

B [---]..[---]

C asakas

### G-151

Fragment of a pithos found in a filling dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 48).

*CIPPh* I, 137 no. G-151 (II, pl. LXXIII-2); Orel 1997a, 194 no. G-151.

[-?]-.u.s[-?]-

### G-152

Fragment of a pithos found in a filling dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 69).

*CIPPh* I, 138 no. G-152 (II, pl. LXXIV-1); Orel 1997a, 194-195 no. G-152.

[---]v.i.s[---]

### G-153

Fragment of a bowl found in a filling of Building A dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 75).

*CIPPh* I, 138 no. G-153 (II, pl. LXXIV-2); *TITUS*, no. G-153; Orel 1997a, 195 no. G-153.

[--- a]ḏoikay<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-154

Undated sherd without known context provenience (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 76).

*CIPPh* I, 139 no. G-154 (II, pl. LXXV-1); Orel 1997a, 195 no. G-154.

← [-?-]sit[---]

or

→ [---]tis[-?-]

### G-155

Undated sherd without known context provenience (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 86).

*CIPPh* I, 139-140 no. G-155 (II, pl. LXXV-3); *TITUS*, no. G-155; Orel 1997a, 195-196 no. G-155.

[---]amai.<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-156

On a fragment of a cup found in the Gate Building and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 98).

*CIPPh* I, 140 no. G-156 (II, pl. LXXIV-4); Orel 1997a, 196 no. G-156.

[---]ne[---]

### G-157

Undated sherd found in the surface near Building NCT (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 103). Under the Phrygian inscription an Aramaic one was incised.

*CIPPh* I, 141 no. G-157 (II, pl. LXXIV-1); Orel 1997a, 196 no. G-157.

Phrygian: → [---]arg

Aramaic: ← l<sup>?</sup>...[---]

### G-158

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in a Hellenistic filling in the area of Building C and dated ca. 200 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 106).

*CIPPh* I, 141-142 no. G-158 (II, pl. LXXVI-2); Roller 1987a, 51 2B-193 (Fig. 72); *TITUS*, no. G-158; Orel 1997a, 197 no. G-158.

tib

### G-159

Two non-contiguous sherds found in a building to the north of the Persian Gate and dated to between the ending of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 122 a and b).

*CIPPh* I, 142-143 no. G-159 (II, pl. LXXVI-3 and LXXVII-1); *TITUS*, no. G-159; Orel 1997a, 197 no. G-159.

A            B  
[---]ser.[---]aios

### G-160

On a fragment of a cup found in the cellar cut in Building E and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 124).

*CIPPh* I, 143 no. G-160 (II, pl. LXXVII-2, 3); *TITUS*, no. G-160; Orel 1997a, 197-198 no. G-160.

aka.[---]

### G-161

Bottom of a cup perhaps found in the area of Building NCT and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 128).

*CIPPh* I, 143-144 no. G-161 (II, pl. LXXVIII-1); *TITUS*, no. G-161; Orel 1997a, 198 no. G-161.

asuiadoş or aşkiadoş

### G-162

Bottom of a cup found in a filling in the area of Building A and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 129).

*CIPPh* I, 144-145 no. G-162 (II, pl. LXXVIII-2); Roller 1987a, 46 2B-123 (Fig. 37); *TITUS*, no. G-162; Orel 1997a, 198-199 no. G-162.

→ pa or ← ap

### G-163

Sherd found in a filling in the area of Building G and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 140).

*CIPPh* I, 145 no. G-163 (II, pl. LXXIX-1); *TITUS*, no. G-163; Orel 1997a, 199 no. G-163.

[---]sq'es[---]

### G-164

Undated sherd found in a filling in the area of Building E (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 146).

*CIPPh* I, 145 no. G-164 (II, pl. LXXIX-2); *TITUS*, no. G-164; Orel 1997a, 199 no. G-164.

[---].astoy

Dub. [sur]gastoy

### G-164 bis

On a mortar found in the same confusing context of G-164 (Gordion Museum inv. no. St 238). Strokes without reading.

*CIPPh* I, 146 no. G-164 bis (II, pl. LXXIX-3).

### G-165

Fragment of the bottom of a bowl found in Building E and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 147).

*CIPPh* I, 146 no. G-165 (II, pl. LXXX-1); *TITUS*, no. G-165; Orel 1997a, 200 no. G-165.

[---]yeşta

### G-166

On the neck of a vessel found in Building R and dated to the ending of the 5<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 149).

*CIPPh* I, 146-147 no. G-166 (II, pl. LXXX-2); *TITUS*, no. G-166; Orel 1997a, 200 no. G-166.

abs

### G-167

Fragment of cup found in the area of Building A and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 152).

*CIPPh* I, 147 no. G-167 (II, pl. LXXX-4);  
Orel 1997a, 200-201 no. G-167.

*mē*[---]

### G-168

Sherd found in a filling dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>  
or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 153).

*CIPPh* I, 147-148 no. G-168 (II, pl. LXXX-  
3); Orel 1997a, 201 no. G-168.

[---]*kob*[---]

### G-169

Fragment of the bottom of an undated  
cup found in the area of Building B (Gordion  
Museum inv. no. I 164).

*CIPPh* I, 148-149 no. G-169 (II, pl. LXXXI-  
1, 2); Orel 1997a, 201 no. G-169.

*.au*<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-170

Fragment of a vessel found between  
Buildings C and G and dated to between the  
6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC  
(Gordion Museum inv. no. I 167).

*CIPPh* I, 149 no. G-170 (II, pl. LXXXI-3);  
*TITUS*, no. G-170; Orel 1997a, 201-202 no. G-  
170.

← *arē*<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-171

Fragment of a pithos found in the area of  
Building NCT and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC  
(Gordion Museum I 170).

*CIPPh* I, 149-150 no. G-171 (II, pl. LXXXII-  
1, 2); Orel 1997a, 202 no. G-171.

← [---].*alē*<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-172

Fragment of the bottom of a little cup  
found in Küçük Höyük sector and dated to  
the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion  
Museum inv. no. I 190).

*CIPPh* I, 150 no. G-172 (II, pl. LXXXII-3, 4);  
Orel 1997a, 202 no. G-172.

[---].*akavi*<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-173

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found  
in the façade of Building M and dated to the  
5<sup>th</sup> or the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no.  
I 201).

*CIPPh* I, 151 no. G-173 (II, pl. LXXXIII-3);  
*TITUS*, no. G-173; Orel 1997a, 202-203 no. G-  
173.

*mama*

### G-174

Fragment of a pithos found in the Küçük  
Höyük area and dated to a little after 547 BC  
(Gordion Museum inv. no. I 207).

*CIPPh* I, 151-152 no. G-174 (II, pl. LXXXII-  
5); *TITUS*, no. G-174; Orel 1997a, 203 no. G-  
174.

[---]*pbaš*[?]

### G-175

Fragment of the bottom of a pot found  
in a filling over Building M and dated to the  
5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 214).

*CIPPh* I, 152-153 no. G-175 (II, pl. LXXXIII-  
1); Orel 1997a, 203 no. G-175.

*en*[---]

or

*eṃ*[---]

### G-176

Fragment of a vessel found near Building M and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 222).

*CIPPh* I, 153 no. G-176 (II, pl. LXXXIII-2); *TITUS*, no. G-176; Orel 1997a, 204 no. G-176.

← [---].ayost<sup>2</sup>eš[---]

### G-177

Fragment of a cup found in Building M and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> or the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 226).

*CIPPh* I, 153-154 no. G-177 (II, pl. LXXXIII-4); *TITUS*, no. G-177; Orel 1997a, 204 no. G-177.

[-?-]kalai[---]

### G-178

On a little idol of calcareous stone found in the Terrace Building and dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 230).

*CIPPh* I, 154 no. G-178 (II, pl. LXXXIV-1 and LXXXIV-2); *TITUS*, no. G-178; Orel 1997a, 204-205 no. G-178.

eymiṣa<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>[---]

### G-179

On a sherd found in a filling near Building N and dated to the ending of the 4<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 236).

*CIPPh* I, 154 no. G-179 (II, pl. LXXXIV-3); *TITUS*, no. G-179; Orel 1997a, 206 no. G-179.

[---]ime[---]

### G-180

Sherd, perhaps found in a filling near Building N and tentatively dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 239).

*CIPPh* I, 155 no. G-180 (II, pl. LXXXV-1 and LXXXV-2); Orel 1997a, 206 no. G-180.

[---]e<sup>2</sup>ly[---]

or

[---]e<sup>2</sup>yv[---]

### G-181

Fragment of a cup found in a filling of Building P and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 243).

*CIPPh* I, 155-156 no. G-181 (II, pl. LXXXV-4); Orel 1997a, 206 no. G-181.

[---]ṣeu.[---]

### G-182

On a sherd found in the area of Building N and dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 253).

*CIPPh* I, 156 no. G-182 (II, pl. LXXXVI-1); *TITUS*, no. G-182; Orel 1997a, 207 no. G-182.

ta

### G-183

Bottom of a cup found in a filling in the area of Building R and dated ca. 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 253).

*CIPPh* I, 156-157 no. G-183 (II, pl. LXXXV-3); *TITUS*, no. G-183; Orel 1997a, 207 no. G-183.

A *tiveia*

B *imania*

### G-184

Sherd found in a filling near Building R and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 256).

*CIPPh* I, 157 no. G-184 (II, pl. LXXXV-4); *TITUS*, no. G-184; Orel 1997a, 208 no. G-184.

*bāb<sup>?</sup>ā<sup>?</sup>[-? -]*

### G-185

Sherd found in a filling near Building R and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 257).

*CIPPh* I, 158 no. G-185 (II, pl. LXXXVI-2); *TITUS*, no. G-185; Orel 1997a, 208 no. G-185.

← *sir*

### G-186

Sherd found in a filling near Building T and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 261).

*CIPPh* I, 158 no. G-186 (II, pl. LXXXVI-3); Orel 1997a, 208 no. G-186.

*[-? -]bas[-? -]*

### G-187

Sherd found in a filling near Building Q and dated to the 3<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 271).

*CIPPh* I, 159 no. G-187 (II, pl. LXXXVI-4); Orel 1997a, 209 no. G-187.

*as[---]*

### G-188

Fragment of a cup found in a filling near Building T and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 274).

*CIPPh* I, 159 no. G-188 (II, pl. LXXXVII-4); Orel 1997a, 209 no. G-188.

*[-? -]s<sup>?</sup>au*

### G-189

Handle of a pot found in a filling near Building O and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 277).

*CIPPh* I, 160 no. G-189 (II, pl. LXXXVII-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. G-189; Orel 1997a, 209-210 no. G-189.

*uposō<sup>?</sup>y*

### G-189 bis

Undated sherd found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 282). Not a sure Phrygian inscription, since only some strokes remain.

*CIPPh* I, 160 no. G-189 bis (II, pl. LXXXVII-3).

*a<sup>?</sup>*

### G-190

A fragment of a handle of a vessel found in Building W and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 287).

*CIPPh* I, 160-161 no. G-190 (II, pl. LXXXVIII-1); Orel 1997a, 210 no. G-190.

← *tinu*,[---]

### G-191

Fragment of an undated pithos found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 288).

*CIPPh* I, 161 no. G-191 (II, pl. LXXXVIII-2); Orel 1997a, 210 no. G-191.

[---]ϕs

or

sϕ[---]

### G-192

Sherd found in the area of Building P and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 290).

*CIPPh* I, 161-162 no. G-192 (II, pl. LXXXVIII-3); Orel 1997a, 211 no. G-192.

[-?]-sar.[-?]-

### G-193

Fragment of an undated pithos found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 293).

*CIPPh* I, 162 no. G-193 (II, pl. LXXXIX-1); Orel 1997a, 211 no. G-193.

← [-?]-ḅal

### G-194

Fragment of an undated bowl found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 302).

*CIPPh* I, 162-163 no. G-194 (II, pl. LXXXIX-2); Orel 1997a, 211-212 no. G-194.

→ sīt[---]

or

← sīt[---]

### G-195

Fragment of an undated bowl found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 304).

*CIPPh* I, 163 no. G-195 (II, pl. LXXXIX-3); Orel 1997a, 212 no. G-195.

ḅa<sup>?</sup>ḅa<sup>?</sup>[-?]-

Fort. ḅa<sup>?</sup>ḅa<sup>?</sup>[s]

### G-196

Sherd found in a filling in the area of Building W and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 316).

*CIPPh* I, 164 no. G-196 (II, pl. LXXXVIII-4); *TITUS*, no. G-196; Orel 1997a, 212-213 no. G-196.

[---]i.ē...mī[---]

### G-197

Sherd found in a filling in the area of Building W and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 332).

*CIPPh* I, 164 no. G-197 (II, pl. XC-1); *TITUS*, no. G-197; Orel 1997a, 213 no. G-197.

[---]a<sup>?</sup>res

### G-198

Undated fragment of a vessel handle found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 337).

*CIPPh* I, 165 no. G-198 (II, pl. XC-2); *TITUS*, no. G-198; Orel 1997a, 213 no. G-198.

← *gard*[---]

### G-199

Fragment of an undated jug found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 344).

*CIPPh* I, 165 no. G-199 (II, pl. XC-3); *TITUS*, no. G-199; Orel 1997a, 213-214 no. G-199.

[---]*rmaniv*[---]

### G-200

Fragment of an undated pithos found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 345).

*CIPPh* I, 166 no. G-200 (II, pl. XC-4); Orel 1997a, 214 no. G-200.

[---].*re*

### G-201

Undated sherd found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 347).

*CIPPh* I, 166-167 no. G-201 (II, pl. XCI-1); Orel 1997a, 214 no. G-201.

[?]-*go*..[---]

### G-202

Fragment of an undated bowl found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 355).

*CIPPh* I, 167 no. G-202 (II, pl. XCI-2); *TITUS*, no. G-202; Orel 1997a, 215 no. G-202.

← *ma*.[.]*as*

Fort. *man*[*a*].s.

### G-203

Fragment of the bottom of a bowl found in a filling near the walls and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 369).

*CIPPh* I, 167-168 no. G-203 (II, pl. XCI-3 and 4); Roller 1987a, 31 2A-206 (Fig. 25) and 48 2B-141 (Fig. 38); Orel 1997a, 215-216 no. G-203.

A ↑

B .X

### G-204

Fragment of a pithos found in the Terrace Building and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 378).

*CIPPh* I, 168 no. G-204 (II, pl. XCII-1); *TITUS*, no. G-204; Orel 1997a, 216 no. G-204.

[---]*da alu m s* [?]-]

### G-205

Fragment of a bowl found in a filling near the walls and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 387).

*CIPPh* I, 168-169 no. G-205 (II, pl. XCII-3 and XCII-4); Orel 1997a, 216 no. G-205.

[---].*re*[?]-]

### G-206

Sherd found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 388).

*CIPPh* I, 169 no. G-206 (II, pl. XCII-2); Orel 1997a, 216-217 no. G-206.

← [---]*eg*<sup>?</sup>*i*?.[---]

### G-207

Sherd found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 390).

*CIPPh* I, 170 no. G-207 (II, pl. XCIII-1); Orel 1997a, 217 no. G-207.

[---]rk<sup>2</sup>.[---]

### G-208

Fragment of a bowl found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 395). A non-verbal mark (contrary to Orel 1997a, 217).

*CIPPh* I, 170-171 no. G-208 (II, pl. XCIII-2); Roller 1987a, 25 2A-130 (Fig.18); Orel 1997a, 217 no. G- 208.

### G-209

Two contiguous sherds cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 402).

*CIPPh* I, 171 no. G-209 (II, pl. XCIII-3); Orel 1997a, 217-218 no. G- 209.

[---]amī<sup>2</sup>.e<sup>2</sup>[---]

or

[---]amī<sup>2</sup>.e<sup>2</sup>[---]

### G-210

Bottom of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 404).

*CIPPh* I, 171-172 no. G-210 (II, pl. XCIII-4); *TITUS*, no. G-210; Orel 1997a, 218 no. G- 210.

*iman*

### G-211

Fragment of the bottom of a vessel cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 405).

*CIPPh* I, 172 no. G-211 (II, pl. XCIV-1); Orel 1997a, 218 no. G- 211.

*em*.[. ?]

### G-212

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found just above the plundered west wall of the Phrygian city, perhaps dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 408).

*CIPPh* I, 173 no. G-212 (II, pl. XCIV-2); *TITUS*, no. G-212; Orel 1997a, 218-219 no. G- 212.

← *nina*

### G-213

Fragment of a saucer found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 416). Two nonverbal marks also incised.

*CIPPh* I, 173-174 no. G-213 (II, pl. XCIV-3); Orel 1997a, 219 no. G- 213.

A Mark

B Mark

C → [---]u<sup>2</sup>ssa

or

← *assu*<sup>2</sup>[---]

### G-214

Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 429).

*CIPPh* I, 174-175 no. G-214 (II, pl. XCIV-4); *TITUS*, no. G-214; Orel 1997a, 219-220 no. G-214.

*mor*<sup>2</sup>*o*.[---]

### G-215

Bottom of a cup or sauce found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 430).

*CIPPh* I, 175 no. G-215 (II, pl. XCV-1); Roller 1987a, 40 2B-35 (Fig. 31 and Plate 4); *TITUS*, no. G-215; Orel 1997a, 220 G-215.

*nm*

### G-216

Fragment of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 441).

*CIPPh* I, 175-176 no. G-216 (II, pl. XCV-2); *TITUS*, no. G-216; Orel 1997a, 220 no. G-216.

[---]*lasime*.[---]

### G-217

Sherd found in Building P and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 443).

*CIPPh* I, 176 no. G-217 (II, pl. XCV-4); Orel 1997a, 220-221 no. G-217.

[?]-*qab*

### G-218

Handle of a vessel found in the Persian-Phrygian Building (PPB) and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 444).

*CIPPh* I, 176-177 no. G-218 (II, pl. XCV-3); Orel 1997a, 221 no. G-218.

[---].*as*

### G-219

Fragment of a pithos found near the wall and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 447).

*CIPPh* I, 177 no. G-219 (II, pl. XCVI-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. G-219; Orel 1997a, 221 no. G-219.

[---]*tivi*.[---]

### G-220

Sherd found to the west of Terrace Building and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 449).

*CIPPh* I, 177-178 no. G-220 (II, pl. XCVI-3, 4); Orel 1997a, 221-222 no. G-220.

[---]*me*.[---]

### G-221

Sherd found near the west wall and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 450).

*CIPPh* I, 178-179 no. G-221 (II, pl. XCVII-1); *TITUS*, no. G-221; Orel 1997a, 222-223 no. G-221.

[?]-

← [?]-*a.iy*[?]-

← [?]-*ke*<sup>2</sup>*no*<sup>2</sup>[?]-

← [?]-*atas*

← [?]-*aratap*<sup>2</sup>*a*[?]-

← [?]-*obata*<sup>2</sup>*m*<sup>2</sup>..*[?]-*

[?]-

### G-222

Fragment of a vessel found in the Persian-Phrygian Building (PPB) and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 451).

*CIPPh* I, 179 no. G-222 (II, pl. XCVII-2); *TITUS*, no. G-222; Orel 1997a, 223 no. G-222.

*rig<sup>?</sup>aru*

### G-223

Sherd found in the Persian-Phrygian Building (PPB) and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 452).

*CIPPh* I, 179-180 no. G-223 (II, pl. XCVII-4); Orel 1997a, 223-224 no. G-223.

[---]t<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>a

### G-224

Marmite found in Building X and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 455).

*CIPPh* I, 180-181 no. G-224 (II, pl. XCVIII-1, 2 and XCI-1); *TITUS*, no. G-224; Orel 1997a, 224 no. G-224.

A *ata*

B *garies* or *paries*

C *Yuv*

### G-225

Bottom of a saucer found in Building PPB and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 457).

*CIPPh* I, 181 no. G-225 (II, pl. XCI-2); Roller 1987a, 48 2B-152 (Fig. 39 and Plate 4); Orel 1997a, 225 no. G-225.

A *a*  
B  $\uparrow$

### G-226

A jar (“amphorette” according to *CIPPh*) found in a layer dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum in. no. I 463). The shape of the letters are very similar to Greek ones and perhaps it is not Phrygian.

*CIPPh* I, 181-182 no. G-226 (II, pl. XCIX-3); *TITUS*, no. G-226; Orel 1997a, 225 no. G-226.

*murtan*

### G-227

Fragment of the bottom of a vessel found in a layer dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 466).

*CIPPh* I, 182 no. G-227 (II, pl. C-1); Orel 1997a, 225 no. G-227.

$\leftarrow$ ? [..].a

### G-228

Fragment of a handle of a vessel found in Building PPB and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 468). A bird is drawn before the inscription.

*CIPPh* I, 183 no. G-228 (II, pl. C-2, 4); Roller 1987a, 53 no. 2C-3 (Fig. 43 and Plate 4); *TITUS*, no. G-228; Orel 1997a, 226 no. G-228.

*voine*

### G-229

Handle of a vessel found in Building PPB and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 470).

*CIPPh* I, 183-184 no. G-229 (II, pl. C-3); *TITUS*, no. G-229; Orel 1977, 226-227 no. G-229.

*mamutas sokposa*  
*mamutas itoiesgloka*

### G-230

Fragment of a pithos found in the area of Megaron 8 and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 472).

*CIPPh* I, 184 no. G-230 (II, pl. CI-1); *TITUS*, no. G-230; Orel 1977, 227 no. G-230.

ey.[---]

### G-231

Fragment of a pithos found in the area of Megaron 8 and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 473).

*CIPPh* I, 184-185 no. G-231 (II, pl. CI-2); Orel 1977, 227-228 no. G-231.

[---]y<sup>2</sup>ib[---]

### G-232

Sherd found in the area of the Megaron 8 and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 474).

*CIPPh* I, 185 no. G-232 (II, pl. CII-1); Orel 1977, 228 no. G-232.

← [---]ane[---]

### G-233

Sherd found in the SE of Building PPB and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 475).

*CIPPh* I, 185-186 no. G-233 (II, pl. CI-4); Orel 1977, 228 no. G-233.

[---]u<sup>2</sup>tra

or

[---]k<sup>2</sup>tra

### G-234

Fragment of the bottom of a little cup found in a layer near the north wall and dated the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 484).

*CIPPh* I, 186 no. G-234 (II, pl. CII-2); *TITUS*, no. G-234; Orel 1977, 228-229 no. G-234.

←<sup>?</sup> ata

### G-235

Sherd found in a layer near the west wall and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 487).

*CIPPh* I, 186-187 no. G-235 (II, pl. CI-3); Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-51 (Fig. 32); Orel 1997a, 229 no. G-235.

→<sup>?</sup> [---]ay!<sup>2</sup>[---]

or

←<sup>?</sup> [---]y!<sup>2</sup>a[---]

### G-236

Sherd found in a layer near the west wall and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 490).

*CIPPh* I, 187 no. G-236 (II, pl. CII-3); *TITUS*, no. G-236; Orel 1997a, 229 no. G-236.

*nanav*<sup>2</sup>ata[-?-]

Fort. *manag*<sup>2</sup>ata[-?-].

### G-237

Fragment of a pithos found in a layer of Building X with materials dated to between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 497).

*CIPPh* I, 188 no. G-237 (II, pl. CII-4); *TITUS*, no. G-237; Orel 1997a, 230 no. G-237.

ako

### G-238

Fragment of a pithos found above the Megaron 7 and dated to between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 500).

*CIPPh* I, 188 no. G-238 (II, pl. CIII-1); Orel 1997a, 230 no. G-238.

[---].da.[---]

### G-239

Fragment of a pithos found above the Megaron 7 and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 501).

*CIPPh* I, 189 no. G-239 (II, pl. CIII-3); *TITUS*, no. G-239; Orel 1997a, 230-231 no. G-239.

mekaiṣ[-?]

### G-240

Sherd found above Megaron 7 and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 508).

*CIPPh* I, 189-190 no. G-240 (II, pl. CIII-2); Orel 1997a, 231 no. G-240.

[---]m<sup>2</sup>agi.[---]

### G-241

Fragment of a bowl found in a filling in the area of the west wall dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 509).

*CIPPh* I, 190 no. G-241 (II, pl. CIII-4); Roller 1987a, 49 no. 2B-167 (Fig. 40); Orel 1997a, 231 no. G-241.

← ku

### G-242

Fragment of a bowl found in a filling above the Megaron 7 and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 511).

*CIPPh* I, 190-191 no. G-242; Orel 1997a, 231-232 no. G-242.

← me

### G-243

Fragment of a bowl found in a filling above the Megaron 7 and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 512).

*CIPPh* I, 191 no. G-243; Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-52 (Fig. 32); Orel 1977, 232 no. G-243.

vi

### G-244

Fragment of a cup found in a filling near the west wall dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 520). Perhaps not Phrygian but Greek.

*CIPPh* I, 192 no. G-244 (II, pl. CIV-3); Orel 1977, 232 no. G-244.

[-?]-me<sup>2</sup>Zi[-?] or [-?]-ME<sup>2</sup>ZI[-?]

### G-245

Two fragments of a mortar found in a filling near the west wall dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 521).

*CIPPh* I, 192-193 no. G-245 (II, pl. CV-1 and CV-3); *TITUS*, no. G-245; Orel 1977, 232-233 no. G-245.

← *dumast.v.*[-?]

### G-246

Two contiguous fragments of a bowl found in a filling in the area of Building U dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 533).

*CIPPh* I, 193 no. G-246 (II, pl. CV-2); Orel 1977, 233 no. G-246.

← *dile.*?

### G-247

Sherd found in a filling in the area of the north wall and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 536).

*CIPPh* I, 194 no. G-247 (II, pl. CVI-1 and CVI-2); Orel 1977, 233-234 no. G-247.

← [---].*vei*[.?]s

### G-248

Fragment of a cup found in the area of Building U and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 537).

*CIPPh* I, 194-195 no. G-248 (II, pl. CV-4); Roller 1987a, 38 no. 2B-9 (Fig. 28); Orel 1997a, 234 no. 248.

→? *o*?*ss*[---]

or

←? [---]*ss*?

Roller *r s s*.

### G-249

Unfinished alabaster weight found in a layer of Building CC3 and dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 539).

*CIPPh* I, 195-196 no. G-249 (II, pl. CVI-3, 4); *TITUS*, no. G-249; Orel 1997a, 234-235 no. 249.

← *se*√*el t-*  
*ias*

‘Shekel of Ti-’

### G-250

Fragment of a jug found in a filling in the area of the north wall dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 543).

*CIPPh* I, 196 no. G-250 (II, pl. CVII-2); Orel 1997a, 235 no. 250.

[-?].*eivanou*[-?]

### G-251

Sherd found above the terrace wall of archaic circuit at west and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 544).

*CIPPh* I, 196-197 no. G-251 (II, pl. CVII-1); Orel 1997a, 235-236 no. 251.

← *ray* or *bay*

### G-252

Sherd found in a filling in the west wall dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 545).

*CIPPh* I, 197 no. G-252 (II, pl. CVII-3, 4); *TITUS*, no. G-252; Orel 1997a, 236 no. 252.

[-?].*atesito*.[-?]

Fort. [-?].*ates ito*.[-?]

### G-253

Sherd found in a filling or in the wall and dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 547).

*CIPPh* I, 197-198 no. G-253 (II, pl. CVIII-1); *TITUS*, no. G-253; Orel 1997a, 236-237 no. 253.

← *bab*[---]

### G-254

Fragment of a cup found in a filling in the area of Building U and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum I 548).

*CIPPh* I, 198 no. G-254 (II, pl. CVIII-2); Roller 1987a, 38 no. 2B-13 (Fig. 29); Orel 1997a, 237 no. G-254.

*y*

### G-255

Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 549).

*CIPPh* I, 198-199 no. G-255 (II, pl. CVIII-3); *TITUS*, no. G-255; Orel 1997a, 237 no. G-255.

[---] *nolo* [---]

### G-256

Sherd found in the Küçük Höyük dated before the Persian conquest (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 551).

*CIPPh* I, 199 no. G-256 (II, pl. CVIII-4); Orel 1997a, 237-238 no. G-256.

← [---].*e*

### G-257

Bottom of a cup found in the Küçük Höyük and dated to before the Persian conquest (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 552).

*CIPPh* I, 200 no. G-257 (II, pl. CIX-1); Roller 1987a, 37 no. 2B-4 (Fig. 28); Orel 1997a, 238 no. G-257.

*v*

### G-258

Sherd found in the Küçük Höyük and dated to before the Persian conquest (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 554).

*CIPPh* I, 200 no. G-258 (II, pl. CIX-2); *TITUS*, no. G-258; Orel 1997a, 238 no. G-258.

*pa*

### G-259

Fragment of the bottom of a vessel found inside the South Cellar and dated to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 556).

*CIPPh* I, 201 no. G-259 (II, pl. CIX-4); *TITUS*, no. G-259; Orel 1997a, 238-239 no. G-259.

*i*?*a*[---]

### G-260

Fragment of a vessel found in a layer dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 557).

*CIPPh* I, 201-202 no. G-260 (II, pl. CIX-3); Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-54 (Fig. 32); Orel 1997a, 239 no. G-260.

[?-] *n*

### G-261

Fragment of the bottom of a saucer found in a layer dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 558).

*CIPPh* I, 202-203 no. G-260 (II, pl. CIX-6); *TITUS*, no. G-261; Orel 1997a, 239 no. G-261.

← [---].*tuti*.[---]

### G-262

Fragment of a vessel found in a filling above Building E and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 559).

*CIPPh* I, 203 no. G-262 (II, pl. CIX-5); *TITUS*, no. G-262; Orel 1997a, 239-240 no. G-262.

*ṇaḗ*[---]

### G-263

Sherd found above Building NCT and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 560).

*CIPPh* I, 203-204 no. G-263 (II, pl. CX-1); Roller 1987a, 50 no. 2B-172 (Fig. 40); Orel 1997a, 240 no. G-263.

*ṣeṭ*[---]

### G-264

Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 579).

*CIPPh* I, 204 no. G-264 (II, pl. CX-2); *TITUS*, no. G-264; Orel 1997a, 240 no. G-264.

[?]-*unik*[---]

### G-265

Fragment of the bottom of a little cup found in a house below Tumulus H and dated to before the 650 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 582).

*CIPPh* I, 205 no. G-265 (II, pl. CXI-1); Orel 1997a, 240-241 no. G-265.

[---]*ies*

### G-266

Three contiguous fragments of a little plate found in a filling dated to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 587). There are two nonverbal marks also incised.

*CIPPh* I, 205-206 no. G-266 (II, pl. CX-3); Roller 1987a, 41 2B-56 (Fig. 33); Orel 1997a, 241 no. G-266.

*leṭ*?[---]

### G-267

Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 593).

*CIPPh* I, 206-207 no. G-267 (II, pl. CXI-2); Orel 1997a, 241 no. G-267.

[---]*aṣṣa*?[---]

Fort. ← [---]*aṣṣa*[---].

### G-268

Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 594).

*CIPPh* I, 207 no. G-268 (II, pl. CXI-3);  
*TITUS*, no. G-268; Orel 1997a, 241-242 no. G-268.

$\dot{i}l\grave{a}[-?-]$  or  $iy\grave{a}[-?-]$

### G-269

Fragment of a little cup found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 595). The writing direction is unclear.

*CIPPh* I, 208 no. G-269 (II, pl. CXIII-1);  
*TITUS*, no. G-269; Orel 1997a, 242 no. G-269.

$aoa$

### G-270

Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 596).

*CIPPh* I, 208-209 no. G-270 (II, pl. CXI-4);  
Orel 1997a, 242 no. G-270.

$[-\text{---}].\grave{a}u\grave{s}$

### G-271

Three contiguous fragments of a pithos found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 603).

*CIPPh* I, 209 no. G-271 (II, pl. CXII-1); Orel 1997a, 243 no. G-271.

$\leftarrow [-?-]p\grave{a}$

### G-272

Fragment of a little cup found below the habitation floor in the Tumulus E and dated to before 520-500 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 604).

*CIPPh* I, 210 no. G-272 (II, pl. CXII-2);  
*TITUS*, no. G-272; Orel 1997a, 243 no. G-272.

$\leftarrow [-\text{---}]\grave{a}kios$

### G-273

Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 610). Found in Tumulus E. Writing direction unknown.

*CIPPh* I, 210-211 no. G-273 (II, pl. CXIII-2);  
Roller 1987a, 19 no. 2A-44 (fig. 9); Orel 1997a, 243 no. G-273.

$\leftarrow^? i\grave{k}[-?-]$

### G-274

Three contiguous fragments of a vessel found in a filling tentatively dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. St 658).

*CIPPh* I, 211 no. G-274 (II, pl. CXII-3, 4);  
*TITUS*, no. G-274; Orel 1997a, 244 no. G-274.

A  $\leftarrow mam^?i$

B  $\rightarrow it[-?-]$  or  $[-?-]ti$

### G-275

Sherd found in a filling dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 574).

*CIPPh* I, 212 no. G-275 (II, pl. CXIII-3);  
Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-55 (Fig. 32 and Plate 4); *TITUS*, no. G-275; Orel 1997a, 244 no. G-275.

$Ti$

### G-276

Fragment of a bowl found in a filling dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 626).

*CIPPh* I, 212-213 no. G-276 (II, pl. CXIII-4); *TITUS*, no. G-276; Orel 1997a, 245 no. G-276.

[---]aḡineia

1 fort. [l]aḡineia.

### G-277

Fragment of a cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 300).

Roller 1987a, 21 no. 2A-67 (fig. 11); Brixhe 2002a, 37-38 no. G-277.

*armam*

or

*arma.a*

### G-278

Two contiguous fragments of a cup found in the South Cellar dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 301 and I 315).

Roller 1987a, 21 no. 2A-66 (fig. 11) and 39 no. 2B-25 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 38-40 no. G-278.

A [-?-.]?[.]ai<sup>?</sup> u<sup>?</sup>

B Υ

### G-279

Fragment of a vessel found in the South Cellar dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 318).

Brixhe 2002a, 41 no. G-279.

[-?-]eiy[---]

### G-280

Sherd found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 319).

Brixhe 2002a, 41-42 no. G-280.

*n*

### G-281

Sherd perhaps found in the Tumulus E and dated to before the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 597).

Brixhe 2002a, 42 no. G-281.

A a or l or d

B Mark

### G-282

Fragment of a cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 563).

Roller 1987a, 39 n° 2B-23 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 43 no. G-282.

*d*

### G-283

Fragment of a pithos found in Tumulus E (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 613). Undated.

Brixhe 2002a, 44-45.

← [-?-.]aḡsi i<sup>?</sup>. [---]

### G-284

On a fragment of a handle of a jug found in an undated filling (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 637).

Roller 1987a, 23 no. 2A-92 (fig. 13);  
Brixhe 2002a, 44-45.

mark

*kikos*

### G-285

Fragment of an undated cup found in  
Megaron 4 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 651).

Brixhe 2002a, 45-46.

*ik*

### G-286

Fragment of a handle of an undated  
vessel found in the north wall (Gordion  
Museum inv. no. I 653).

Brixhe 2002a, 46-47 no. G-286.

*voines*

### G-287

Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv.  
no. I 654).

Brixhe 2002a, 47-48 no. G-287.

→ [-? -]i<sup>2</sup>o.

or

← v<sup>2</sup>o.[-? -]

### G-288

Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv.  
no. SF 89-23).

Brixhe 2002a, 48-49 no. G-288.

→ η[---]

or

→ [---]η

### G-289

Fragment of a cup found in a pit and  
dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion  
Museum inv. no. SF 89-144).

Brixhe 2002a, 49-50 no. G-289.

*ain*<sup>2</sup>[---]

### G-290

Fragment of a vessel tentatively dated to  
the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF  
89-232).

Brixhe 2002a, 50-51 no. G-290.

*luk*

### G-291

Sherd found in a pit in the ground of  
Building I:1 and dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of  
the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF  
89-319). Also, a non-verbal mark was  
incised.

Brixhe 2002a, 51-52 no. G-291.

[---].ḅn

### G-292

Sherd found in a pit in the middle of  
Building I:2 and dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or the 7<sup>th</sup> c.  
BC. (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-337).

Brixhe 2002a, 52-53 no. G-292.

*uraka*[---]

### G-293

Bottom of a bowl found above Buildings  
I and tentatively dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC  
(Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-364).

Brixhe 2002a, 53-55 no. G-293.

*daguvaṣ*

### G-294

Sherd found in a context and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-397).

Brixhe 2002a, 55-56 no. G-294.

Υ

### G-295

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in a pit in Building I:2 and dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-475).

Brixhe 2002a, 56-57 no. 295.

← [-?-]aḅa

### G-296

Fragment of a jar dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-476).

Brixhe 2002a, 57-58 no. 296.

← [---].uta

### G-297

Cup found in the Secondary Citadel and dated to the Midel Phrygian period, 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-484).

Brixhe 2002a, 58-59 no. 297.

*kenos*

### G-298

Fragment of a vessel found in a filling in Building I:2 and dated to before the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-643).

Brixhe 2002a, 59-60 no. 298.

Υ

### G-299

Sherd found in a layer of Building I:2 and dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-652).

Brixhe 2002a, 60-61 no. 299.

[---]aine[---]

### G-300

Sherd found in pit and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-675).

Brixhe 2002a, 61 no. 300.

[---]d[---]

### G-301

Fragment of a pithos found in a pit in Building I:2 and dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-362).

Brixhe 2002a, 62 no. G-301.

[---]ma

### G-302

Fragment of a pithos found above Building I:1 and dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-477).

Brixhe 2002a, 62-63 no. G-302.

*tuo*<sup>?</sup>[---]

### G-303

Sherd dated to between 500 and 300 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-682).

Brixhe 2002a, 63-64 no. G-303.

← da[---]

### G-304

Fragment of the bottom of a little cup dated to between 500 and 300 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-687).

Brixhe 2002a, 64-65 no. G-304.

*n*

### G-305

Sherd found in a filling of Building I:2 and dated to between the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-692).

Brixhe 2002a, 65 no. G-305.

*ri*

### G-306

Sherd dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-693).

Brixhe 2002a, 66 no. G-306.

→ [---]Υϕ[---]

or

← [---]ϕΥ[---]

### G-307

Sherd found in a pit in Building I:2 and dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-700).

Brixhe 2002a, 66-67 no. G-307.

[---]ṣ<sup>?</sup>ate.[---]

### G-308

Sherd dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-705 = YH 34716).

Brixhe 2002a, 67-68 no. G-308.

[---]a<sup>?</sup>ḍaḍ[---]

### G-309

Sherd found in the Lower Town between the Citadel Mound and the Küçük Höyük and dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-125).

Brixhe 2002a, 68 no. G-309.

[---]ak[---]

### G-310

Fragment of a handle of an undated pot found in the Lower Town (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94-41).

Brixhe 2002a, 68-69 no. 310.

← *pa*

### G-311

Sherd perhaps found in the NW sector of the city in a Hellenistic layer and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94-76). Phrygian?

Brixhe 2002a, 69 no. 311.

*a*

### G-312

Sherd found in the Lower Town and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94-255).

Brixhe 2002a, 70-71 no. G-312.

[?-]yemeyon

### G-313

Sherd found in the Lower Town and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94-267).

Brixhe 2002a, 71 no. G-313.

← *amos*

### G-314

Fragment of a handle found to the west of the city and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94-267).

Brixhe 2002a, 72 no. G-314.

*eyiy*[---]

### G-315

Sherd dated to between the 5<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and found in the Secondary Citadel Mound (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-61 = YH 43750).

Brixhe 2002a, 72-73 no. G-315.

*v.*[---]

### G-316

Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-239.02).

Brixhe 2002a, 73-74 no. G-316.

[?]-]ko[.?.?]av[---]

### G-317

Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC found in the Western Mound (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-262).

Brixhe 2002a, 74 no. G-317.

α[---]

### G-318

Undated sherd found in the Lower Town (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-269).

Brixhe 2002a, 74-75 no. G-318.

[---]os : *im*[---]

### G-319

Bottom of a cup found in the NW sector of the citadel and dated to Hellenistic times (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-327 = YH 43944).

Brixhe 2002a, 75-76 no. G-319.

*aiay*

### G-320

Hellenistic sherd found in the Mosaic Building (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-328 = YH 43592). An arrow was incised under the letters.

Brixhe 2002a, 76 no. G-320.

[---]no

→

### G-321

Fragment of a tile found in a Hellenistic wall and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC found in a wall (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 96-73).

Brixhe 2002a, 76-78 no. G-321.

*enumalay*[?]-]

### G-322

Sherd dated to between 560 and 550 BC found in the west sector of the city (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-247 = YH 56127).

Brixhe 2002a, 78 no. G-322.

∇

**G-323**

Fragment of a pithos found in Building I and dated to between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89-671).

Brixhe 2002a, 78-79 no. G-323.

[---]ϕ<sup>?</sup>moy

**G-324**

Fragment of the handle of a vessel found in the Lower City (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-141 = YH 35580). Tentatively dated to the Hellenistic or Roman period.

Brixhe 2002a, 79-80 no. G-324.

∇

**G-325**

Sherd found in the west sector of the city (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 93-142 = YH 37944). Tentatively dated to the Hellenistic or Roman period.

Brixhe 2002a, 79-80 no. G-324.

ni[---]

or

[---]in

**G-326**

Undated fragment of a pithos (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-339 = YH 44144).

Brixhe 2002a, 80-81 no. G-326.

[---]r.[---]

**G-327**

Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-252 = YH 57632).

Brixhe 2002a, 81-82 no. G-327.

→ a[-? -]

or

← [-? -]a

**G-328**

Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-251 = YH 57633).

Brixhe 2002a, 82-83 no. G-328.

[---]uα[---]

**G-329**

Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-249 = YH 57635).

Brixhe 2002a, 83-84 no. G-329.

[-? -]bα[-? -]

**G-330**

Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-254 = YH 57636).

Brixhe 2002a, 84 no. G-330.

[-? -]d[-? -]

### G-331

Fragment of an oenochoe found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-250 = YH 57637).

Brixhe 2002a, 84-86 no. G-331.

*ę.gi.vą*

### G-332

Two contiguous sherds found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 57638).

Brixhe 2002a, 86 no. G-332.

*m*

### G-333

Two contiguous fragments of a vessel found in the Secondary Citadel Mound dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 57639).

Brixhe 2002a, 87-88 no. G-333.

*be*

### G-334

Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 57640).

Brixhe 2002a, 88 no. G-334.

→<sup>?</sup> a[-?]

### G-335

Two contiguous fragments of a vessel found to the south of the City and dated to between 6<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 33 a/b).

Roller 1987a, 23 no. 2A-102 (fig. 14); Brixhe 2002a, 88-89 no. G-335.

A ..

B .

### G-336

Cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> C or the beginning the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 3400).

Roller 1987a, 21 no. 2A-73 (fig. 11) and 39 no. 2B-27 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 89-90 no. G-336.

*ape*

### G-337

Cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> C or the beginning the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 349).

Roller 1987a, 20 no. 2A-29 (fig. 10) and 39 no. 2B-22 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 91 no. G-337.

A *t*

B *tu*

C *mark*

### G-338

Jug found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 3215).

Roller 1987a, 20 no. 2A-51 (fig. 9) and 39 no. 2B-19 (fig. 29); Brixhe 2002a, 92-93 no. G-338.

*uei*

### G-339

Cup dated to between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 1886). Several nonverbal graffiti were also incised.

Roller 1987a, 24 no. 2A-111 (fig. 16) and 40 no. 2B-44 (fig. 31 and photo pl. 3); Brixhe 2002a, 93-94 no. G-339.

← *Υir*

### G-340

Fragment of an Attic cup found in the NW of the city and dated to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97-276 = YH 58004).

Brixhe 2002a, 94-95 no. G-340.

*teu[-?-]*

### G-341

Fragment of a probable Attic plate dated to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 93-15 = YH 35694).

Brixhe 2002a, 95 no. G-341.

← *de*

### G-342

Fragments of the bottom of a jug found in the Middle Phrygian Building E and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 1144).

Brixhe 2002a, 96 no. G-342.

*apel*

### G-343

Sherd found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 641).

Brixhe 2002a, 97 no. G-343.

[---]ηo[---] or [---]διο[---]

or

[---]oη[---] or [---]oδι[---]

### G-344

Sherd tentatively dated to the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 33908).

Brixhe 2002a, 97-98 no. G-344.

← [-?-]!

### G-345

Fragment of a cup tentatively dated to the end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95-183).

Brixhe 2002a, 98-99 no. G-345.

*mey?*

*Fort. μεχ ut Brixhe pro.*

### G-346

Graffiti incised on a roof beam of the tomb chamber in Tumulus MM and dated ca. 740 BC.

Sams 2009; Liebhart & Brixhe 2009.

*nana muksos*  
*si↑idos*

*(urunis*

### **G-347**

Pyramidal stamp seal made of rock following the Achaemenid type. A direct reading is needed.

Körte & Körte 1904, 170-171 no. 1 (Abb. 151).

## C- Central Phrygia (excluding Gordion)

### Stone inscriptions

#### C-01

A calcareous slab found at Karahüyük (35 km far from Ankara, between Hacituğrul and Yenidoğan) and preserved (without Inv. No.) in the site deposit.

*CIPPh* I, 220-221 no. C-01 (II, pl. CXIV); *TITUS*, no. C-1; Orel 1997a, 246 no. C-01.

[---]e[...]*alabiş*[---]

### Instrumenta

#### C-101

An undated fragment of a plate found at Karahüyük (same context of C-102 and C-103) and preserved in the site deposit (temporary no. Y.H. 23. 72).

*CIPPh* I, 221 no. C-101 (II, pl. CXV-1); *TITUS*, no. C-101; Orel 1997a, 288 C-101.

← *kad*[---]

#### C-102

An undated fragment of a pot with fragment of a handle found at Karahüyük (same context of C-101 and C-103) and preserved in the site deposit (temporary no. Y.H. 75/10).

*CIPPh* I, 221-222 no. C-102 (II, pl. CXV-2); *TITUS*, no. C-102; Orel 1997a, 288-289 C-102.

*amos*

#### C-103

Upper part of an undated kind of lekythos found at Karahüyük (same context of C-101 and C-102) with a graffito incised on the handle. Preserved in the site deposit (temporary no. Y.H. 75/9).

*CIPPh* I, 222 no. C-103; Orel 1997a, 289 C-103.

→ *di*

or

← *id*

## P – “Pteria” (Alacahöyük, Pazarlı and Boğazkale)

### Stone inscriptions

#### P-01

Undated stone block documented by Hamilton in a house of Alacahöyük (before 1842) but now lost.

Hamilton 1842 I, 383; Sayce 1885, 910; de Saussure 1898, 167 (fig. 166) [= 1922, 544]; Körte & Körte 1904, 19 no. 1; Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 13; Haas 1966, 183 no. XIII; Neroznak 1978, 81 no. A 13; *CIPPh* I, 228-229 no. P-01 (CXV-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 13; *TITUS*, no. P-1; Orel 1997a, 290-291 no. P-01.

[-?-]  
← [-?-]e[..]u[. t]ovo iman [-?-]  
[-?-]

#### P-02

Undated stone block found in a house of Alacahöyük, now preserved in the Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 10110).

Mordtmann 1861, 191 (wrongly considered P-01); Ramsay 1883, 123 no. 13 (pl. III); de Saussure, 1898, 171 (fig. 168) [= 1922, 550]; Körte & Körte 1904, 19; Sayce 1926, 33 no. 13; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 10; Haas 1966, 182-183, no. X; Neroznak 1978, 80 no. 10; *CIPPh* I, 229-231 no. P-02 (II, CXVI-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 10; *TITUS*, no. P-2; Orel 1997a, 291-292 no. P-02.

← *sest bugnos va-*  
← *sos kanutii<sup>2</sup>evanoş<sup>2</sup>*

2 *fort.* kanutie<sup>2</sup>evanoş<sup>2</sup>.

‘... of Vasos (the grandson) of Kanutî.’

#### P-03

Slab found in Alacahöyük by Chantre in 1893 (in the same house of P-04), preserved in the Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 7820). Tentatively dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC by Bossert 1942, 289.

De Saussure 1898, 174-165 no. I (Fig. 167) [= 1922, 546-547 (pl. II)]; Kretschmer 1899, 355-357; Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 14; Bossert 1942, 284 no. 1102; Haas 1951, 23-24 no. XIV; Haas 1966, 182 no. XIV; Haas 1970b, 23-24 no. XIV (Tafel III); Neroznak 1978, 82 no. A. 14; *CIPPh* I, 231-234 no. P-03 (II, pl. CXVII-2 and pl. CXVIII-1,2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 14; *TITUS*, no. P-3; Orel 1997a, 292-294 no. P-03.

← *vasous iman mekas*  
 → *kanutieivajis*  
 ← *deyos ke mekas*

‘Vasos Iman the great (the son) of Kanutî and the great god.’

### P-04

Stone block found in Alacahöyük by Chantre (in the same house of P-03) with inscriptions in three faces dated not after the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (*CIPPh* I, 235). Preserved in Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 10756).

De Saussure 1898, 174-177 no. II [= 1922, 553-556 no. II (p. 563, fig. 169 and pl. I)]; Calder 1913, 102-103 (only P-04 a); Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 127 no. 15; Haas 1951, 18-19 no. XV; Haas 1966, 179-181 no. XV; Haas 1970a, 44 no. XV (Tafel II); Haas 1970b, 18-20 no. XV; Neroznak 1978, 82-83 no. A 15; *CIPPh* I, 234-240 no. P-04 (II, pl. CXIX-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 65 no. A 15; Woudhuizen 1993, 13-15 no. P-04; *TITUS*, no. P-4; Orel 1997a, 294-299 no. P-04.

A	←	<i>otuvoi vetei etlnaie</i>
	→	<i>ios ni akenan egeseti</i>
	←	<i>ø<sup>3</sup>k<sup>2</sup>irterko[...]. tekmoṛ</i>
4	→	<i>ot.[....]seti vebru</i>
B	←	<i>ios er<sup>2</sup>v<sup>2</sup>ot<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ati kakuioi</i>
C	←	<i>iman olitovo</i>
	←	<i>edaḡ[s] mekas</i>

1 otuvoi fort. otu voi.

### P-05

Unfinished statue of a lion found in 1937 in the south of Alcahöyük. Perhaps the statue is older than the inscription, but both remain undated (another lion found near to this one was dated by Bossert 1942, 83 no. 1057 to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, see also Summers & Özen 2012, 516-518).

*CIPPh* I, 240-241 no. P-05 (II, pl. CXXII-2 and CXXIII-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. P-5; Orel 1997a, 299-300 no. P-05.

*vasus kanutie[---]*

Fort. kanutie[(i)vanos].

## P-06

Altar found in the west summit of a mountain called Kalehisar, near Mahmudiye village and 4 km from Alacahöyük. The altar is incised in the rock and oriented to South-East, also the feet of a statue of the Mother-Goddess remain.

*CIPPh* I, 242-243 no. P-06 (CXXIV-1, 2, 3, 4 and CXXV-1, 2, 3); *TITUS*, no. P-6; Orel 1997a, 300-301 no. P-06; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 266-267 no. 108 (Fig. 95).

→ [-?]-a<sup>?</sup>kiti<sup>?</sup>...s  
← ai : ios aeiketio [.] ivi..se.[.]n<sup>?</sup>

## Instrumenta

### P-101

Bottom of a pot dated to the 7th c. BC (according to Bossert 1942, 289), broken in two fragments. Was found in Pazarlı in a preliminary prospection (inv. no. 6236) but now it is lost. Its letter *b* is 8-shaped.

Koşay 1937, 33 (fig. 16); Koşay 1939, 9 and 20 (pl. XVI fig. 19); Koşay 1941, 16 (pl. XVII); Bossert 1942, 289 fig. 1106; Akurgal 1943, 43 no. 116; Masson 1954, 442 no. 25; Haas 1966, 183 no. XXVI; Neroznak 1978, 88 no. A 26; *CIPPh* I, 244-245 no. P-101 (II, pl. CXXVI-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 26; *TITUS* no. P-101; Orel 1997a, 301-302 no. P-101.

ai<sup>?</sup>ni | dab<sup>?</sup>ula i<sup>?</sup>sini

1 dab<sup>?</sup>ula i<sup>?</sup>sini *CIPPh* post multas lectiones.

### P-102

Graffito on a fragment of a handle dated to the 7th c. BC found in Boğazkale (excavation no. 102 d) and preserved in the Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 3547).

Bittle & Güterbock 1935, 57 and 84-85 (pl. 31-13); Bossert 1942, 289 no. 1105; Haas 1966, 184 no. XX; Neroznak 1978, 85 no. A 50; *CIPPh* I, 245 no. P-102 (II, pl. CXXVI-2);

Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 20; Orel 1997a, 302-303 no. P-102.

[---]ia aspē[---]

### P-103

Fragment of a ceramic vessel dated to the 8th or 7th c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1955 (excavation no. Bo 155/n) with one graffito in each face.

Neumann 1975, 76-77 no. 1; Neroznak 1978, 77 no. A 85; *CIPPh* I, 246-247 no. P-103 a and P-103 b (II, pl. CXXVII-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 85; Orel 1997a, 303-304 no. P-103a and P-103b.

A [---]uiva.[---]

B [---]u<sup>?</sup>irk<sup>?</sup>[---]

### P-104

On a fragment of a cup dated to the 7th or 6th c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1958 (excavation no. Bo 377/q).

Neumann 1975, 77-78 no. 2; Neroznak 1978, 111 no. A 86; *CIPPh* I, 248 no. P-104 (II, pl. CXXVII-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 86; Orel 1997a, 304 no. P-104.

[?]-a<sup>?</sup>bas[?]-

### P-105

On a sherd dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, found in Boğazkale in 1958 (excavation no. Bo 377/q).

Neumann 1975, 79-80 no. 4; Neroznak 1978, 111 no. A 87; *CIPPh* I, 248-249 no. P-105 (II, pl. CXXVIII-1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 87; Orel 1997a, 304 no. P-105.

←<sup>?</sup> [---].*oiduo*. [---]

### P-106

On a sherd dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC found in Boğazköy in 1961 (excavation no. Bo 790/t). Perhaps this is a fragment of the same vessel of P-107 (found in the same context). Its letter *b* is 8-shaped.

Neumann 1975, 81-82 no. 5; Neroznak 1978, 111 no. A 88; *CIPPh* I, 249-250 no. P-106 (II, pl. CXXVIII-2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 88; *TITUS* no. P-106; Orel 1997a, 305-306 no. P-106.

[---].*ti* : *makio<sup>?</sup>ta*ṫ*ibi* : . [---]

### P-107

On a sherd dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1961 (excavation no. Bo 791/t). Perhaps it was the same vessel than P-106 (found in the same context).

Neumann 1975, 82 no. 6; Neroznak 1978, 112 no. A 89; *CIPPh* I, 250-251 no. P-107 (II,

pl. CXXVII-4); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 89; Orel 1997a, 306 no. P-107.

[---].*k.ui* : *n*[---]

### P-108

Stamp seal made of stone and found in Boğazköy following the Neo-Assyrian style, very similar to HP-116. A direct reading is needed.

Bittle & Güterbock 1935, 79-80 (Taf. 29, no. 16); Haas 1966, 184 no. XXVII; Boehmer & Güterbock 1987, 88 no. 277 (Taf. XXXIV no. 277).

## T- Tyana (Tuwanuwa, Kemerhisar)

### T-01

Two lost fragments of a basalt stele dated to the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC found in a house of Kemerhisar in 1895.

Pridik 1900, 26 no. 29; Myres 1908, 13-16 (Pl. XIII); Friedrich 1941, col. 869 no. 21; Ruge 1948, col. 1630 no. 7; Masson 1954, 441; Haas 1966, 200 no. XXI; Neroznak 1978, 85-86 no. A 21; *CIPPh* I, 258-260 no. T-01 (II, pl. CXXIX-1, 2); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 21; Orel 1997a, 307-308 no. T-01a and T-01b.

A  
 → [---] [---]  
 ← [---]  $\text{eka}^?$  [---]  
 [---] [---]

B  
 [---] [---]  
 [---] [---]  
 → [---] *sid*. [---]  
 ← [---] *len*? : *it* [---]  
 4 → [---] *ponani* : [---]  
 [---] [---]  
 [---] [---]

### T-02

Fragments of a basalt stele dated to the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC and found in 1906 and 1907. Now they are lost.

Weber 1908, 370 no. 77 (current frag. B); Garstang 1908, 10 (pl. XIII-1; current frag. B); Myres 1908, 13-16 (ordered B + C + A); Sayce 1926, 34-35 (current frag. B); Friedrich 1932, 127-128 no. 19 (where a = current B, b = C, c = A); Ruge 1948, col. 1635 no. 8; Haas 1966, 199-200 no. XIX; Lejeune 1969a, 26 no. 33 and 42; Lejeune 1970, 85; Neroznak 1978, 84-85 no. A 19; Mellink 1979, 249-280 (fig. 1 a, b, c and d); *CIPPh* I,

262-267 no. T-02 (II, pl. CXXX-1 - CXXX-3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 19; *TITUS*, T-02 (only b); Orel 1997a, 308-311 no. T-02.

A  
 [---]  $\varnothing$  [---]  
 → [---] *tade*. [---]  
 ← [---] *pipi*. [---]  
 [---] [---]  
 [---] [---]

B  
 [---]  
 → [---] *tumida* : *memeuis* : [---]  
 ← [---] *a* : *tesan* : *a*↑*ion* : *v* [---]  
 4 → [---] *oitumen* : *mida* [---]  
 ← [---] *n* : *a*↑*ios* : *mi* [---]  
 → [---] *n* : *batan* : *e*. [---]

C  
 ← :? *ea*. [---]  
 → [---] *na*  
 [---] [---]  
 4 [---] [---]  
 [---]↑ [---]

### T-03

Fragments of a basalt stele dated to the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC and found in Kemerhisar in 1982.

*CIPPh* I, 268 no. T-03 (only mentioned; II CXXXI-1 - CXXXI-4); Çınaroğlu & Varinlioğlu 1985; Brixhe 1991; Varinlioğlu 1991; *TITUS*, no. T-03; Orel 1997a, 311-315 no. T-03; *CIPPh* Sup. II, 94-103 no. T-03.

A I  
 → *a*↑*iai* : *polodre*-  
 ← *tes* : *poreti* : *otu*-?  
 [---]

A II		→	∶ eptuve[---]		
	→	[---]sn	←	[---]itan me-	
	←	a[---]	4	→	[---]p <sup>?</sup> is ∶ [---]
	→	[---]ed-			[? -]
4	←	eia[---]	C		
	→	[---]p <sup>?</sup> r↑e-	←	[---]uș.t[---]	
	←	s ∶ ar[---]	→	[---]nimoi ∶	
B			←	eko.[---]	
	←	[---]oi ∶ avtoi			

## K - Kerkenes Dağ

### Stone inscriptions

#### K-01

Several fragments of a white stone stele dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC and found at the Cappadocia gate.

Brixhe & Summers 2006.

I a	→	[---] vøş i[---]
I b	→	iëb..[---] or yëb..[---]
II	→	şr[---]
III	→	[---]oıtio ì? vosik <sup>2</sup> [---]
IV - X		
IV a		...
IV b	→	eniye[---]
V	←	[---].pa <sup>(</sup> uva <sup>(</sup> .[---]
VI+VII a1	←	[---] <sup>(</sup> mąsa u-
VI+VII a2	→	rgitos dakor s=vebra[---]
VI+VII b	→	tataniyen <sup>?</sup> eđaes
VIII	→	[---]le.[---]
IX		.

VI+VII b tata niye[---] eđaes Brixhe & Summers 2006, 127.

‘... Uva ... Masa (the son) of Urgi(s) ... Tataniyen made this *vebras*...’

### Instrumenta

#### K-101

Graffiti incised on the bottom of a clay bowl (identification no. 04TR11U22pot01) found in the Palatial complex

Brixhe and Summers 2006, 133, fig. 35.

a	←	n <sup>?</sup>
b	←	s <sup>?</sup>
c	←	si <sup>?</sup>

### **K-102**

Jug with incised mark, perhaps a letter. Found in the Palace Complex.

*Kerkenes News* 4 2001, 11–12 (fig. 16).

←  $n^?$

### **K-103**

Sherd from the shoulder of a closed vessel with a letter incised after firing. Cappadocia Gate (Kerkenes inv. no. K11.275).

*pot01* <http://www.kerkenes.metu.edu.tr/kerk1/07finds/InPottery/SherdwithGraffito.html#11TR24U25>

←  $y$

### **K-104**

Flat base of a pot with a letter incised mark before firing, perhaps a letter. Cappadocia Gate (Kerkenes inv. no. K00.092).

*pot01* <http://www.kerkenes.metu.edu.tr/kerk1/07finds/InPottery/SherdwithGraffito.html#11TR24U17>

←  $n^?$

## NW – Dorylaion (near Eskişehir)

### Stone inscriptions

#### NW-01

On the upper face of a stone block with a relief of a horseman. It is preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. The text is very eroded and only few letters and strokes remain.

Unpublished.

### Instrumenta

#### NW-101

Terracotta disc found in zone R 6-9 of Dorylaion höyük surface and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (find no. ŞH 90-1). Both faces are written, however their reading in some instances are not clear. Another incised similar disc also incised was found there but without text (see. *CIPPh* Supp. I, 10-11 no. \*NW-101a).

Darga 1993, 488 and 497 (fig. 9d-e); Brixhe 2002a, 4-10 no. NW-101.

Face A I      *deVeti*  
          A II      *toTi a tiei*

Face B      *as-*  
          ← *na isnou*

#### NW-102

Fragment of the bottom of a bowl found in the zone G 14 of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 12 no. NW-102.

a      [-?]-si[-?]-

b      *alis*

c      .[---]

#### NW-103

Sherd found in the G 14 zone of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 13 no. NW-103.

[-?]-ta

#### NW-104

Sherd found in the G 14 zone of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

*CIPPh* Supp. I, 13-14 no. NW-104.

[---].l

#### NW-105

Sherd found in the G 14 zone of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 14 no. NW-105.

∇

### NW-106

Bottom of a cup found in the sector I 13 (ABIB level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 14-15 no. NW-106.

→? s

### NW-108

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the sector S 24 (AARH level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 16-17 no. NW-108.

d[-?-] or a[-?-]

### NW-109

Fragment of the bottom of a cup with non-verbal marks found in the sector S 24 (AAVG level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 17 no. NW-109.

### NW-110

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the sector H 14/b (BBBO level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 18 no. NW-110.

v

### NW-111

Sherd found in the sector H 13/d (ABCY level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 18-19 no. NW-111.

tir or tr

### NW-112

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the level AACE of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 19 no. NW-112.

∇

### NW-113

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the level AAYY of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 19-20 no. NW-113.

γ or ε

### NW-114

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the level AAKP of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 20 no. NW-114.

[-?-]ir[-?-] or [-?-]kr[-?-]

### NW-116

Sherd found in the sector I 13/d (AALP level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 21 no. NW-116.

[?-]ded<sup>?</sup>[---]

### NW-117

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the sector I 14 (AAHO level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in Eskişehir the ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 22 no. NW-117.

→<sup>?</sup> s<sup>?</sup>

### NW-118

Fragment of a cup found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Only an upper angle of a letter remains. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 22-23 no. NW-118.

### NW-119

Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in Eskişehir the ETİ Archaeology Museum. Only an upper angle of a letter remains. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe 2002a, 23 no. NW-119.

∇

### NW-120

Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 05, M 20 a+b ACCU). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 129 no. NW-120.

[---]Tis

### NW-121

Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 05, T24 c+d ACCU). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 129-130 no. NW-121.

∇

### NW-122

Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 00 H13 ABHK). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 130 no. NW-122.

← [---]u<sup>ş</sup>[---]

### NW-123

Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, V13 a, ACYC). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 130-131 no. NW-123.

← [-?-]a  
or  
→ a[-?-]

### NW-124

Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 96, surface, AANM). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 131 no. NW-124.

*a*

### NW-128

Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 132 no. NW-128.

∇

### NW-125

Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06 U13 a+-c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 131-132 no. NW-125.

*e*

### NW-129

Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13b, ACKS). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 133 no. NW-129.

→? *a*  
← *yē?*

### NW-126

Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, J16 a+b, ACOMO). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 132 no. NW-126.

∇ ∇

### NW-130

Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13 a+c ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 133 no. NW-130.

*a*

### NW-127

Bottom of a pot found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06 U13 b, ACLZ). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 132 no. NW-127.

*a*

### NW-131

Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH J14 d, ACJD). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 133-134 no. NW-131.

*ga*

### NW-132

Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 134 no. NW-132.

*a*

### NW-133

Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 134-135 no. NW-133.

*e?*

### NW-134

Fragment of the bottom of a cup with a non-verbal mark found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, V13 a, ACYB). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 135 no. NW-134.

∇

### NW-135

Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 135-136 no. NW-135.

*miye[-?]-o†i*

### NW-136

Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 01, H13-I13, ABOJ). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 136 no. NW-136.

← *idn[-?]-*

### NW-137

Sherd with a non-verbal mark found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, V13 b, ACTK). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 136-137 no. NW-137.

∇

### NW-138

Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, J16 b, ACSG). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 137 no. NW-138.

*a*

### NW-139

Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, U13 a+b, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.

Brixhe & Sivas 2009, 137-138 no. NW-139.

*a↑[i/e?.?]*

## Dd - Diverse documents

### Dd-101

Pyramidal seal stamp made of chalcedony with a silver handle. There is an inscription under the stamp. Its provenance is unknown. It is preserved in the private collection of Jonathan Rosen, New York (formerly belonged to Dr. Borowski). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC (Genz 2009, 310 fn. 20 i 21).

Gusmani & Poetto 1981; *CIPPh* I, 271 no. Dd-101 (II, pl. CXXXII-1, 2, 3); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 90; *TITUS*, no. Dd-101; Orel 1997a, 360 no. Dd-101; Obrador-Cursach fthc. b.

← *pser<sup>?</sup>keyoy atas*

or

← *pseu<sup>?</sup>keyoy atas*

‘Atas for Pser/ukeyos’.

### Dd-102

Undated silver bowl preserved in the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève (inv. no. 23469, formerly AD 2386). There are obvious signs that a previous inscription had been removed.

Lazović, Dürr, Durand, Houriet & Schweizer 1977, 7 and 18 no. 2 (p. 40-41, fig. 11; as Greek); *CIPPh* I, 27-271 no. Dd-102 (II, pl. CXXXIII-1, 2); *TITUS*, no. Dd-102; Orel 1997a, 361 no. Dd-102.

← *surgastoy inas*

‘Inas for Surgastos’

### Dd-103

Agate cylindrical seal made of agate dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC and preserved in the Buffalo Museum of Science (inv. no. C 15046). Its origin is unknown. With the inscription a man dressed in Persian style is depicted with two lions.

Friedrich 1965, 154-156; Haas 1966, 176-177 no. c; Neroznak 1978, 86 no. A 22; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 22; Masson 1987a; Orel 1997a, 361-362 no. Dd-103; Brixhe 2004a, 126-127 no. Dd-103.

→ *mane*

← *on: en*

## HP - Dispersed inscriptions found outside Phrygia

### Stone inscriptions

#### HP-01

A Phrygian graffito incised on a Hieroglyphic Luwian orthostat found in Karkemiš and dated to 850 BC. Because of historical reasons, the Phrygian inscription is to be dated to the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Börker-Klähn 1994.

→ *atatas*

#### HP-02

Big stone slab found in the downtown of Kocagür (perhaps the ancient Pitya Pityeia, 14 km from Parion, Mysia on the Hellespont). The alphabet is clearly Phrygian, but the language not so sure according to editors.

Brixhe & Keleş 2011.

[-?-]

← *tanari*[---]

→ [---]*liake*

← *edaie* [-?-]

### Instrumenta

#### HP-101

Undated clay spindle whorl found in a höyük from Çamönü (formerly Karasonya, northern Lydia) and preserved in the Manisa Museum (without inv. no.?).

Diñç & Innocente 1999; Brixhe 2004a, 103-106 no. HP-101.

← *p<sup>2</sup>erbastidages*

or

← *p<sup>2</sup>er bastidages*

#### HP-102

Silver cup found in the main tumulus of İkiztepe (Lydia) by clandestine diggers, now preserved in the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (inv. no. 75-5-66).

Gusmani 1988; Brixhe 1989-1990; *TITUS*, no. W-11; Orel 1996; Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 106 no. 60; Orel 1997a, 135-137 no. W-101; Brixhe 2004a, 106-108 no. HP-102.

← *midas aiasay ma..uñ*  
'Midas (gave) *ma..un* to Ayasa(s).'

#### HP-103

Silver cauldron found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 11-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 11-12 no. 1; *TITUS*, no. Bay-1; Orel 1997a, 316 no. L-101; 2004a, 109-110 no. HP-103.

*ates*

#### HP-104

Silver cauldron found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 12-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 11-12 no. 2; *TITUS*, no. Bay-2; Orel 1997a, 316 no. L-102; 2004a, 110-111 no. HP-104.

*ates*

### HP-105

Silver ladle found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 43-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 11 no. 3 (pl. I); *TITUS*, no. Bay-3; Orel 1997a, 316-317 no. L-103; 2004a, 111-112 no. HP-105.

*ates*

### HP-106

Silver plain omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 6-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 14 no. 4 (pl. II); *TITUS*, no. Bay-4; Orel 1997a, 317 no. L-104; 2004a, 112 no. HP-106.

*ates*

### HP-107

Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 19-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14 no. 5; *TITUS*, no. Bay-5; Orel 1997a, 317 no. L-105; 2004a, 113 no. HP-107.

*ates*

### HP-108

Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 14-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14 no. 6; *TITUS*, no. Bay-6; Orel 1997a, 317-318 no. L-106; 2004a, 113 no. HP-108.

*ates*

### HP-109

Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 15-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14-15 no. 7; Orel 1997a, 318 no. L-107; 2004a, 114-115 no. HP-109.

*a↑ses*

### HP-110

Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. D-16). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 13 and 15 no. 8; *TITUS*, no. Bay-8; Orel 1997a, 318-319 no. L-108; 2004a, 115-116 no. HP-110.

*si↑idos*

### HP-111

Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 17-21-87). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 13 and 15 no. 9; *TITUS*, no. Bay-9; Orel 1997a, 319 no. L-109; 2004a, 116 no. HP-111.

→? *ata*

### HP-112

Bronze petaled omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. D-18). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 13 and 15 no. 10; TITUS, no. Bay-10; Orel 1997a, 319-320 no. L-110; 2004a, 116-117 no. HP-112.

← *dide*

### HP-113

Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. D-26). Dated to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 13 and 15-16 no. 11; Orel 1997a, 319 no. L-111; 2004a, 117-118 no. HP-113.

→? *idi*

### HP-114

Clay tablet dated to the ending of the 6<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC found in the Fortification Archive of Persepolis among many tablets written in Elamite and Aramaic. Preserved in the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum (inv. no. A 29797).

Friedrich 1965, 154-156; Haas 1966, 176 no. b; Neroznak 1978, 86-87, no. A 23; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 23; Orel 1995, 128-132; Orel 1997a, 363-364 no. Dd-104; Brixhe 2004a, 118-126 no. HP-114.

30<sup>?</sup> ...*ēkeš* 30<sup>?</sup> *i*<sup>?</sup>  
 .. 30<sup>?</sup> *ṽ<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>ēkeš<sup>?</sup>*  
 . 30<sup>?</sup> *knays* 30<sup>?</sup> *š<sup>?</sup>*  
 4 *i<sup>?</sup>ṽ<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>i* 40<sup>?</sup> *knayke<sup>?</sup>[s]<sup>?</sup>*  
 .<sup>?</sup> 40<sup>?</sup> *m<sup>?</sup>akeres* 40<sup>?</sup>  
 [---]  
 [-?]  
 .. *anamaqa*

'30 ...*ekes*, 30 *i...*, 30 *vrekas*, 30 women, 30 (s)ivri, 40 women, 40 *makers*, 40... (in the month of) Anamaka.'

### HP-115

Fragment of the bottom of a three-legged bowl or vessel made of soft greenish gray stone with an inscription suggested to be Phrygian by Brixhe & Summers 2006, 134. Found in Alişar Höyük (Cappadocia, not far from Kerkenes Dağ).

Schmidt & Krogman 1933, 133, 109-110 fig. 172 (as Byzantine); Gelb 1935, 77 no. 94 (as Greek); Brixhe & Summers 2006, 134 (as Phrygian).

← [---]*ripos*

### HP-116

Stamp seal made of rock following the Neo-Assyrian style found in Nemrut Dağ. Its style is very similar to P-108. A direct reading is needed.

Mellink 1960, 64 (Pl. 12, fig. 9a-9b); Boehmer 1977, 81 (80, Abb. 6); Boehmer & Güterbock 1987, 86 (Abb. 56).

## Middle Phrygian Inscriptions

### MPhr-01

Great funerary stele dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and found in Alanyurt (olim Bavurdu, not far from the ancient city of Dokimeion). Preserved in the Afyon Museum (without inv. no.). A colon occurs after each verse of this metric epitaph.

Brixhe 2004a, 7-26 no. W-11; Lubotsky 2017.

μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε-  
ναν νεκοινουν : ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενουγ  
σα σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λογγ-  
4 ιου μοτις λαπτα ματι αιουνου : νικοστρατος  
κλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις : μο-  
.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..-  
ρος παντης : πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετουγ  
8 σουν ομαστα ομνισιτ ους

6-7 πορκορο οσ..|ρος Brixhe : πορ κοροο σ..|ρος Lubotsky || 7 κοροαν δετουγ Lubotsky : κορο αν δετουγ Brixhe.

- (a) μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν :
- (b) ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενουγ | σα σοροι ματι μακραν :
- (c) βλασκον κε τακρις κε λογγ|ιου μοτις λαπτα ματι αιουνου :
- (d) νικοστρατος | κλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισις :
- (e) μο|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ρος παντης :
- (f) πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετουγ | σουν ομαστα ομνισιτ ους.



## New Phrygian Inscriptions

### 1. Eskişehir (Dorylaion)

#### 1.1

Stele found, traced and copied by Ἰ. Μηλιόπουλος in a neighbourhood of Eskişehir (“0,95<sup>m</sup> langen, 0,55<sup>m</sup> breiten”, letters “5cm hohe”, “Funde”1898, 362). The inscription is lost, but an impression and a drawing are preserved in the Kleinasiatische Kommission of the Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften (Lubotsky 1997, 115 fn. 1).

“Funde” 1898, 362-363; Ramsay 1905, col. 103-14 no. XLVIII; Calder 1911, 188-189 no. XLVIII; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 48; MAMA V Lists I no. 182.89; Haas 1951, 7-9 no. 48; Haas 1966, 120, no. 48; Haas 1970a, 38-39 no. 48; Haas 1970b, 7-9 no. 48; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 86, no. C 48; TITUS, no. 48 (only the Phrygian text); Lubosky 1997, 115-130; Orel 1997a, 97-102 no. W-34.

0 [                    ].  
1 ε[.]γεντουμενος  
   νιοισιος ναδροτος  
   ειτου. μιτραφατα  
4 κε μας τεμρογε-  
   ιος κε πουντας  
   βας κε ενσταρνα.  
   δουμε κε οι ουε-  
8 βαν αδδακετ ορου-  
   αν, παρεθέμην τὸ  
   μνημεῖον τοῖς προ-  
   γεγραμμένοις θε-  
12 οῖς κὲ τῆ κώμη·  
   ταυθ' ὁ πατήρ  
   Ἀσκληπιός.

1 ε..ιθνιουμενος *Mittheilunge, Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : Ἔτ(ου)ς τθ' νιουμενος *Haas* : ε[τ]ιθνιουμενος *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : Ε[--]ΤΕΝΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ *TITUS* : ε[--]γεντουμενος *uel* ε[--]τεντουμενος *TITUS 1997* : εἰτω νιουμενος *Orel* || 2 νιοις ιος ναδροτος *Orel* || 3 Μιτρα Φατα|κε *Haas* || 5 ιος κε Πουντας|βας *Mittheilunge et MAMA* || 6 κε Ενσταρνα *Mittheilunge, Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : κὲ Ενσταρνα|δουμθ *MAMA* : εν σταρνα *Haas* : κε ενσταρνα *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ενσταρνα *TITUS* : κε ενς ταρνα|[i] *Orel* || 7 δουμθ κε Οιουθ|βαν “Funde”, *Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : δουμω κε οι ουε|βαν *Haas* : δουμω κεοι ουθβαν *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : δουμε κε οι ουε|βαν *TITUS et Orel* || 8 Αδδα κε Τορου|αν *Mittheilunge* : αδδακετορ ου|ραν *Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich* : Αδδακετορ ου|αν *MAMA* : αδδακετ ορου *Haas* : αδδακετ ορου|αν *Diakonoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel* || 9 ανπαρεθέμην τὸ *Haas* || 10 μνημεῖον τοῖς προ *Mittheilunge* : μνημεῖ ον τοῖς προ *Haas* : μνημεῖον τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις *cett.* || 12 κ(αἰ) τῆ κώμη *Mittheilunge et MAMA* : κὲ τῆ κώμη *Ramsay et cett.*

‘[Phrygian] ... let him become X-ed and νιοισιος and impotent. Mithrapata and Mas Tembrogios and the Pontic Bas... and for the community the father does this tomb. [Greek] I, the father Asklepios, erected this memorial for the above-mentioned gods and the town’.

## 1.2

“Grey marble stele with acroteria; in pediment, rosette; in field, defaced ox-head [...] H. 1.38 m.; W. (base) 0.45 m., (shaft) 0.37 m.; Th. 0.185 m. Letters (slight apices) 0.016 m. to 0.02 m.” (Macpherson 1954, 13). Lunate sigma and epsilon. It is preserved in the Eskişehir Museum (inv. no. 57).

Macpherson 1954, 13-15 (with photograph) (= SEG 14.783); Haas 1966, 127 no. 98; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 87 no. C 98; TITUS no. 98 (only Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 359-360 no. Dd\*-01.

Κλωδία  
Σοφοκλέ-  
ως θυγά-  
4 τηρ καὶ Τερ-  
τίας παρ-  
θένε, χαῖρε.  
δακαρεν πα-  
8 τερης ευκιν  
αργου.

7-9 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου Haas, TITUS et Orel : ΔΑΚΑΡΕΝΠΑ | ΤΕΡΗCΕΥΚΙΝ | ΑΡΓΟΥ Macpherson.

[Greek] Clodia the daughter of Sofocles and Tertias: hail maiden. [Phrygian] Her parents made (it) as a vow’.

## 2. Seyitgazi (Nakoleia)

### 2.1

Monolingual inscription on a stele. Copied twice by Ramsay (June of 1881 and August of 1883), also by J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 394). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 394 no. XV (without edition); Ramsay 1905, col. 114-116 no. XV; Calder 1911, 172-174 no. XV; Friedrich 1932, 131 no. 15; Haas 1966, 116 no. 15; Kowal 1984a, 6-9; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 84, no. C 15; TITUS, no. 15; Orel 1997a, 76-79 no. W\*-21.

Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο-  
δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ-  
ξαν μανκαν αμι-  
4 ασιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα-  
[νος ---]

1 ΞΕΥΝΗΤΑΝΕΙΞΑΥΨΟ Ramsay 1887 : ΞΕΥΝΗ ΤΑΝΕΙΞΑΥ [Κ]Ο|ΔΑΝ uel ΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΛΥΜΟ|ΔΑΝ Ramsay 1905 : Ξευνη τανειξ[α] υ[κ]ο|δαν Calder et Friedrich : Ξευνη τανειξαυκο dub. Haas : Ξευνη ταν εικσα υκοδαν dub. Diakonoff-Neroznak : Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν TITUS et Orel || 2 ΠΡΟΤΥΣ Σ[.] ΣΤΑΜ|ΕΝΑΝ Ramsay 1905 : προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|[ε]ναν Calder et Friedrich : προτυσσ [ε]σταμ Haas : προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|[ε]ναν Diakonoff - Neroznak et Orel

: ΠΡΟΤΥΣΣ[.]ΣΤΑΜ|ΕΝΑΝ TITUS || 3 ΜΑΝΚΑΝ ΑΜΙ|[Α]ΣΙΑΙΟΙ Ramsay 1905 : μανκαν Αμ[ι]|[α]ς Calder et Friedrich : [ε]ναν μανκαν αμι dub. Haas : μανκαν αμ[ι]ο]σιανιοι Diaknoff-Neroznak : ΜΑΝΚΑΝ ΑΜΙ|ΑΣΙΑΝΙΟΙ TITUS : μανκαν αμ[ι]ας ιαν ιοι Orel || 4 ΑΝΑΡ ΔΟΡΥΚ[Λ Ramsay 1905 : ιαν ιοι αναρ Δορυκ[λα Calder et Friedrich : ασιανιοι αναρ Δορυκα[νός...] dub. Haas : αναρ δορυκα[ Diaknoff-Neroznak : αναρ δορυκα[νός...] TITUS et Orel.

‘For Xeune this... this stele ... her husband Dorykanos’

## 2.2

Big altar (188 x 27 x 35 cm) dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD found in Nakolia and now preserved in the garden of the Eskişehir Museum (inv. no. A – 434 – 08). Its four faces are decorated with reliefs which represent one person in each of its four faces (very likely the promoter of the altar, Brogimaros, and his family) and hexametric inscriptions preserved can be read. The Phrygian text is in the Face A (under the Greek inscription) and it was incised after Brogimaros’ death, as well as the other Greek inscription (sponsored by Brogimaros’ son). Indeed, two different lapicides worked on it in two different times. Rectangular sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Hämmig 2013, 131 fn. 16 (only l. 1); Avram 2015; Obrador-Cursach 2016; de Hoz 2017, 141 (l. 1-4).

A	Βρογιμαρος Ἐπικράτου Διὶ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρί- α εὐχὴν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔαυ- 4 τῷ μνημόσυνον. uac. αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε- ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο- 8 υννου uac. <i>Relief</i> αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο- [υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, τιττετι- [κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ- 12 αν τιαν uac.
---	---

10 γουμ ειε Avram || 11-12 μεκ|αν τιαν Obrador-Cursach : μεκα|[ς?] αν Τιαν Avram.

B	Εὐξάμενος πρὸς ἔπ- ος ἱεραῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἐν- γελάον uac. ἐγὼ uac. πάτρη τε 4 [γόν]οις μου, χεῖρ ὑπὲρ ΙΣ- [.]Α[.....]εχειν uac. <i>relief</i> [---]λακεδο<v>ων μηγε- [---]ροιο δάμαρτος Ο uac.
---	--



1986, 96 no. 226 (Tafel 33, no. 226 and Tafel 103); *TITUS*, no. 97 (only Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 118-119 no. W\*-50.

Διόδοτος καὶ Θήρυνος καὶ Πείσας καὶ Αὔκτος

Αὔκτω τῷ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

4 Αὔκτου καὶ Νανα συνβίου ἔτι δὲ ζώσης  
διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμόνοιαν.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανε κακεν αδακετ αινι  
μανκα, με ζε<με>λωσ κε δεωσ κε τιε τιτε-  
τικμ[ενος ειτου].

6 με ζελωσ κε δεωσ κ ετιετιετικμ[ενος ειτου] Haas : με ζε<με>λωσ κε δεωσ κε τι ετιε[τικμ[ενος ειτου].  
*MAMA et Waelkens* : με ζε<με>λωσ κε δεωσ κε τιε τι τετικμ[ενος ειτου] *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Greek] Diodotos and Therynos and Pisas and Auktos for their father Auktos in memory. Of Auktos and Nana, his wife, whilst she is alive, for their concord. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or the stele, let him [become] accurse[d] by Zeus among men and gods.’

#### 4. Üçyüük

##### 4.1

A lost funerary stele dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD and copied by Ramsay in August 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 386-387 no. II (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 105-106 no. II (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 165 no. II; Friedrich 1932, 128 no. B-2; Haas 1951, 4-5 no. 2; Haas 1966, 43 and 114 no. 2; Haas 1970b, 4-6 no. 2; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 2 (only the Phrygian text); *TITUS*, no. 2 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 57- 60 no. W\*-12; Brixhe 1999, 300, 301 and 311 (only l. 8).

4 Ἀντίπα-  
τρος καὶ Βα-  
βους Πασίω-  
νος Λεοντ[ίω]  
ἀδελφῶ ἰδί-

v.

ῶ και Αφία γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Γλύκω[ν γ]αμ<β>ρὸς μνήμης χάρι-

ιος τα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ, τιε τιτ[τ]ετικμενος ειτου

8 υ κε ακαλα ουσιτετου ουα 𐌶

6 Γλύκων γαμβρὸς Ramsay || 7 ἰος ταμαν και κακουν αἰδακεττι, εἰττετικμενος Ramsay 1887 : ἸΟΣ ΤΑ-  
 ΜΑΝΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΤΙ, ΕΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Ramsay 1905 : ἰος τα μανκαι κακουν αἰδακετ, τι  
 εἰτ[τ]ετικμενος Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak : ἰος τα μανκαι κακουν αἰδακετ τι | εἰτ[τ]ετικμενος  
 εἰτου Haas : ἰος τα μανκαι κακουν αἰδακετ τι|ε tit [t]ετικμενος εἰτου TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] Antipatros and Babus (sons of) Pasion for his own brother Leontios and for  
 Aphia, his daughter. Also, Glykon his son-in-law in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to  
 this stele, let him become accursed by Zeus and let him not find ακαλα’.

## 5. Ortaköy (formerly Alikel Yaila, Orkistos)

### 5.1

First New Phrygian inscription published by Pococke, who only commented that it was  
 found among broken stones (1752, 9).

Pococke 1752, 9 no. 3 (a copy); CIG III no. 3822e (with Pocockes’s copy); Gosche 1864, 225  
 no. 14; Ramsay 1887, 395-396 no. XIX (with Pococke’s copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 116-117 no. XIX  
 (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 174 no. XIX; Friedrich 1932, 131 no. B-19; Haas 1966, 117  
 no. 19; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 19 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS  
 19 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 86-87 no. W\*-24.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τύραννος Παπα καὶ Εἰρήνη  
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν  
 μνήμης χάριν. ἰος σεμου κνου-  
 4 μανει κα[κον] <αἰδακ>ε<τ>, τιτετικμενος εἰτο[υ].

1 ΚΑΙΣΙΠΕΝΗ Pococke et CIG III leg. : καὶ [Ε]ἰρήνη CIG III ed., seq. cett. || 4 <αἰδακ>ετ uel <αββερ>ετ :  
 ΜΑΝΕΚΑ... \ Pococke et CIG III leg. : κνουμανει κα[κον].... Ramsay : ΕΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣΕΙΤΟ Pococke et CIG  
 III : εἰττεικ[μ]ενος εἰτο[υ] Calder et Friedrich : εἰττεικμενος εἰτο[υ] Haas : <αἰδακετ> εἰττετικμενος εἰτο[υ]  
 Lubosky 1989 : Ε ΤΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟ[Υ] TITUS : κα[κον...]ε τι τετικμενος εἰτο[υ] Orel.

‘[Greek] Aur(elios) Tyrannos Papa and Irene, his wife, made it for themselves in  
 memory. [Phrygian] Whoever <mak>es ha[rm] to this tomb, let him become accursed.’

## 6. Bağlıca

### 6.1

“Bağlıca, in the wall of the cemetery behind the tekke. Limestone stele. H., 1:82; w.,  
 0:84; letters, ll. 1-7, 0:025, ll. 8,9, 0:0175. Of the inscription, ll. 1-7 are carved in a tabula ansata, l.  
 8 on the border of the tabula, and l. 9 on the shaft immediately below the receding surface”  
 (MAMA I, 216-217). Preserved in the Konya Museum. A last Greek line was added ignoring the  
 Phrygian text, since it is related to the first Greek text. Lunate sigma and epsilon, minuscule  
 omega. Ivy leaves delimiting the code-switching.

MAMA I, 216-217 no. 413 (with photographs); Friedrich, 1932 140 no. 88 (SEG 6.96); Gusmani 1958, 903; Haas 1966, 108-110 and 126 no. 88; Haas 1970a, 47 and 51 no. 88; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81 no. B 88; Lubotsky 1989b no. 88; TITUS, no. 88 (only the Phrygian text); RECAM IV, no. 96 (SEG 52.1458, only the Greek text); Orel 1997a, 109-112 no. W\*-42.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μηνόφιλος Οὐενούστου κὲ Μα-  
 νια Ἄντιόχου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Αππη καὶ  
 Οὐεναουιη τέκνοις ἄωροις καὶ  
 4 ἔαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν. 𐌸𐌰 10ς  
 νι σεμον κνουμανει κακε  
 ἀδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας, τιγ-  
 γεγαριτμενος ιτου, πουρ ουανα-  
 8 κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ<sup>?</sup>εικετ διουνσιν. 𐌸𐌰

𐌸𐌰 καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίω) Σώζοντι Κανκαρου ἀνδρὶ τῆς Οὐεναουιης.

6 ἄωρω Haas : τιγ|γεγαριτμενο<ς> MAMA, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak : τιγ | γεγαριτμενο<ς> Haas et TITUS : γεγαριτμενος ιτου Brixhe : τιγ | γεγαριτμενο ειτου Orel || 7 ουανα|κτον Diakonoff - Neroznak || 8 ιστεικετ Brixhe 1999, 304 fn. 46 prop. et Lubotsky 2004, 235 seq. : ισγεικετ cett.

‘[Greek] Aur(elios) Menophilos (the son) of Venustos and Mania (the daughter) of Antiochos, his wife, for Appe and Venavia, their untimely (dead) children in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb of the untimely (dead) Venavia, let him be at the mercy of and reckon with the heavenly king Dionysos. [Greek] Also for Aur(elios) Sozon (the son) of Kankaros, Venavia’s husband.’

## 7. Erten

### 7.1

“Copied in or before 1934 by Süleyman Gökçe at Erten Yayla, in front of the Kale. Erten Yayla is between Kümbet and Hoşref Paşa Han; the stone has since disappeared” (MAMA VII 1956, xxviii).

MAMA VII, xxviii no. (c); Haas 1966, 128, no. 99; Haas 1970a, 45 no. 99; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81 no. B 99; TITUS, no. 99; Orel 1997a, 119-120 no. W\*-51.

10ς νι σεμον κνουμανει κα-  
 κε ἀδακετ, τιτετικμενος  
 ας τιαν ξιτου, με κε οι  
 4 τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος.

3 ας Τιαν ξιτου με κε οι MAMA et TITUS : αστι ανειτου Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak || 4 τοτος σειτι Βας βεκος MAMA et Brixhe : τοτοσς ειτι Βας βεκος Haas : κειοι | τοτος σειτι βας βεκος Diakonoff - Neroznak : ΤΟΤΟΣΣΕΙ ΤΙ ΒΑΣ ΒΕΚΟΣ TITUS : τοτοσς ειτι βας βεκος Orel.

‘Whoever does harms to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus and let Bas not give bread to him’.

## 7.2

“Erten. On a hilly ridge NW of the village, in the ancient necropolis. Inscription on slab forming part of a tomb construction of considerable size, in dark gray hard stone. The slab was originally decorated with a relief showing two doors, consisting of four panels each. Two panels only preserved, decorated each with a frontal figure, the one male, the other female. Inscription carved on flat band running along upper part. Band h. 0.235 (chipped off above, along a first line, now disappeared, spoiling top of first surviving line). Inscription broken at both ends. The two lines together h. 0.08 to 0.09; line 2 w. 1.02 (extant). Letters h. 0.02 to 0.05.” (Haspels 1971: 316). Lunate sigma and epsilon, minuscule omega.

Haspels 1971 I, 316 no. 45 (II, fig. 617 or 614 no. 45 photograph of a squeeze); Brixhe 1978a, 5 no. 111 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 128-129 no. 319 (Tafel 47 no. 319, with Haspel’s Photograph); *TITUS*, no. 111 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 120-121 no. W\*-54.

[---]  
[--- κ]αὶ τέκνοις καὶ [.]αται Νυνφηδώρω Ι[---]  
[---] ιος ἀδακετ, βας ιοι βεκκος με βερετ [---]

3 ΒΣΚΟC *lapis* : ιος ἀδακετ βασιοι β<ε>κος *Haspels* : . ος ἀδακετ βασιοι β(ε)κος *Brixhe* : ιος ἀδακετ βασιοι β<ε>κος μεβερετ *Waelkens* : .ΟΣ ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΒΑΣ ΙΟΙ ΒΕΚΟΣ ΜΕΒΕΡΕΤ | ?[ΙΟΣ ΣΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΙΝ]ΟΣ *TITUS* : [---]νος ἀδακετ βας ιοι βεκκος με βερετ *Orel*.

‘[Greek] ... and for the children and [.]atas Nymphedoros ... [Phrygian] Whoever does (harm to this tomb), let Bas not produce bread to him’.

## 7.3

Copied by Ramsay in Hürsevpasha in May 1881 and August 1883, also by J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 393). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 393-394 no. XIV (with copy); Ramsay 1905, colum. 114 no. XIV (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 172 no. XIV; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 14; Haas 1966, 116 no. 14; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 14 (only the Phrygian text); *TITUS*, no. 14 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 325-326 no. S\*-05.

Τείμαιος καὶ Απ-  
η θυγατρὶ Μάνη  
ἄωρη καὶ Τειμό-  
4 θεος συνβιῶ μνή-  
μης ἔ- νεκρον

10ς νι σεμουν κνο-  
 υμανει κακιν αδα-  
 8 κετ αιν' αδ ατεαμα-  
 ς, τιτετικμενος α-  
 σ τιαν [ειτο]υ.

1 [Τ]είμαιος καὶ Ἄπ[π]η *Ramsay 1887 et cett.* || 6 10ς *Ramsay 1887, Ramsay 1905 et Calder* : [ι]ος *Friedrich, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 6-7 κνο|υμανει *Ramsay 1887, Ramsay 1905 et Calder* : κνο|[υ]μανει *Friedrich, Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak, TITUS et Orel* || 7-8 αδα|κετ *Ramsay 1905 et cett.* : αδ[α]|κετ *Ramsay 1887* || 8 αινι *fort.* : αιναδατεαμα *dub. Ramsay 1887* : ΑΙΝΑ ΔΑΤΕΑΜ[Α] uel ΔΑΤΕΜΑ[Μ] *Ramsay 1905* : αιν αδατεα, Μ[α] *Calder* : αιν αδατεα Μα|τιτετικμενος *Friedrich* : αινα δα τεαμας *Haas et Orel* : αι ν' αδα τια Μας *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΑΙΝ' ΑΔΑ ΤΕΑΜΑΣ *TITUS* || 9-10 [ε]τιτετικμενος αστιαν [ειτο]υ *Ramsay 1887 et 1905 et Calder* : Αστιαν [ειτο]υ *Friedrich* : τι τετικμενος αστι αν[ειτ]ου *Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : τι τετικμενος ασ τιαν [ειτ]ου *TITUS et Orel*.

'[Greek] Timaios and Ape for (their) untimely (dead) daughter Manes and Timotheos for (his) wife in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this plot, let him be accursed by Zeus.'

## 8. Güney

### 8.1

"Geinik, in a heap of building material. Bomos of white marble, broken above, worn at the edges. H., 0.34; base, 0.40; th., 0.37; letters, 0.025; h. of inscription, 0.21" (*MAMA I*, 212). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*MAMA I*, 212 no. 405 (with photograph); *Friedrich 1932*, 140 no. 86; *Haas 1966*, 126 no. 86; *Haas 1970a*, 45 no. 86; *Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985*, 83 no. B 86; *TITUS*, no. 86; *Orel 1997a*, 106-107 no. W\*-40.

10ς νι σεμουν κ[νου]-  
 μανι κακουν αδδ[α]-  
 κετ αινι μανκης, βα[ς]  
 4 10ι βεκος με βερε[τ]  
 ατ τη κε τιτετικμ[ε]-  
 νος ειτου.

3 βα[-] *MAMA, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : βα[-]|ι *Haas* : βα[ς] *TITUS et Orel* || 4 10ι βεκος μεβερε[-] *MAMA et Friedrich* : 0ι βεκος με βερε[-] *Haas* : 10ι βεκος με βερε[ν] *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : IOI BEKOS ME BEPE[-] *TITUS* : 10ι βεκος με βερε[τ] *Orel* || 5 Αττη κε τιτετικμ[ε]||νος *MAMA et Friedrich* : αττη κ ετιτετικμ[ε]||νος *Haas* : Αττη κ' ετιτετικμ[ε]||νος *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ατ τη κε τι τετικμ[ε]||νος *TITUS et Orel*.

'Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this stele, let Bas not produce bread to him and let him become accursed by Zeus'.

## 9. Beyköyü

### 9.1

“Bey Köi, in the cemetery. Block of bluish limestone, cut flat in front, sides rough-hewn, back unworked. H. 1·10; w. 0·54; th., 0·61; letters, 0·015 to 0·0225. The inscription begins m. 0·035 from the top of the stone, a nits h. is 0·12” (MAMA I 1928, 212). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA I, 212 no. 406 (with photograph); Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 87; Haas 1966, 126 no. 87; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79-80, no. B 87; *TITUS*, no. 87 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 107-108 no. W\*-41.

ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ  
ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ ΤΙΑ-  
ΜΑΣ, Α ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ ΟΥΕΛΑΣ ΚΕ  
4 ΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΙΣΝΟΥ ΑΣΤΟΙ ΠΑΡΤΗΣ.

3 ΑΤΙ ΜΑΜΑ, Friedrich et Diakonof-Neroznak : ατι Haas : α τι TITUS et Orel || 4 αστοιπαρτης ΜΑΜΑ et Friedrich : αστοι παρτης Haas et TITUS : ισνουαστοι παρτης Diakonoff - Neroznak : ας τοι παρτης Orel.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb or the plot, let him become accursed by Zeus and ...’

## 10. Gökçeyayla (formerly Orhaniye and Kilise, near Malos)

### 10.1

Found by Haspels: “Kilise-Orhaniye, in the village. Rectangular block of gray marble, built into corner of house, base buried in ground. Inscription (a) in *tabula ansata*. Inscription (b) above a small four-panelled “door”, sculptured lower down on the stone, a little left of centre; on the two upper panels, a knocker and a key-plate. Right upper part of inscription (a) rather damaged. Stone h. from “door” to top 0.72, w. 0.54, th. 0.39. “Door” h. 0.20, w. 0.17, d. 0.015. Inscription (a) h. 0.245, w. 0.47. Letters h. 0.012 to 0.02.” (Haspels 1971, 321). Lunate sigma and epsilon. The last Greek text seems to be a later addition.

Haspels 1971 I, 321, no. 56 (II, fig. 619, no. 56 photograph); Brixhe 1978, 5-6 no. 112; Waelkens 1986, 122 no. 292 (Tafel 44, no. 292 with Haspels’ photograph); *TITUS*, no. 112 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 121-122 no. W\*-53.

Νανα ζῶσα καὶ φρονοῦ-  
σα ἀνδρὶ Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ θ-  
υγατρὶ Τατια μνήμα ἀνέσ-  
4 τησεν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ Φιλ-  
ωτᾶ ὃν ἀνεθρείψαντο ἀνθ’ υἱοῦ  
[ι]ος νι σεμον κνουμανε κακον αδακ-  
εξ αινι α τεαμας, με δεως τιε τιττετικμ-  
8 ενος ειτου.

Ἀντίοχε,  
χαῖρε.

5 υἰόν *Haspels* : υἰοῦ *Brixhe et Orel* : υἰοῦ *Waelkens* || 7 ατελμας με δεως τι επιτετικμ|ενος *Haspels* : ατε<α>μας με δεως τι επιτετικμ|ενος *Brixhe et Waelkens* : α τεαμας με δεως τιε τιτ τετικμ|ενος *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Greek] Nana, whilst she is alive and of sound mind, for her husband Alexandros and his daughter Tatia built this tomb with Alexandros and Philotas, whom she grew up like a son. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or the plot, let him become accursed by Zeus among gods. [Greek] Hail Antiochos!’.

## 10.2

“Kilise-Orhaniye. In the village, in front of a house SW of mosque. Fragmentary dark marble “door-stone”, partly covered by earth. The right side seems to have been sawn off straight at some time or other, probably for re-use; more than half remains. The left side of the pediment survives, with traces of a side-akroterion. In the door-panels, knocker in left lower panel, and remains of key-plate in what is left of right upper panel. Inscription begins above “door”, but here is entirely illegible as the surface is damaged; it is then carried on the upper part of the door-frame (see the transcription). “Door-stone” h. 0.68, w. below 0.46 (extant). Door panels h. 0.145, w. 0.145. Inscription w. 0.42 (extant). Letters h. 0.01 to 0.015” (*Haspels* 1971, 321-322). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*Haspels* 1971 I, 321-322, no. 57 (II, fig. 619 no. 57 with photograph of the squeeze); *Brixhe* 1978a, 6-7 no. 113; *Waelkens* 1986, 122 no. 293; *TITUS*, no. 113 (only the Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 122-123 no. W\*-54.

[---]

[κακο]υν αββερετοι, με σζεμελωσ κε δυωσ κε τιτ-  
[τετικμενος ειτου].

1 ΑΒΒΕΡΕΤΟΙ *lapis* || 1-2 αββερετοι μεσ ζεμελωσ κε δυωσ κε τιτ|[τετικμενος *Haspels* : αββερετο(ρ) με σζεμελωσ κε δυωσ κ επιτ|[τετικμενος *Brixhe et Waenkels* : ΑΒΒΕΡΕΤΟ(Ρ) ΜΕ ΣΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ ΚΕ ΔΥΩΣ ΚΕ ΤΙΤ | [ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ *TITUS* : [κακο]υν αββερετοι, με σζεμελωσ κε δυωσ κε τιτ | [τετικμενος *Orel*.

‘[Whoever] brings [har]m [to this tomb], [let him be] ac[cursed] among men and gods.’

## 11. Bayat (\*Etsyena)

### 11.1

Last words of a curse: a participle and the imperative verb. Copied by Ramsay in August 1884 (*Ramsay* 1887, 395). According to Haas (perhaps based on Friedrich 1932, 138 fn. 74), it is the same inscription of 11.3, but *Brixhe* (1999, 286) considered that very likely they are two different inscriptions.

*Ramsay* 1887, 395 no. XVII (only copy); *Friedrich* 1932, 131 no. 17; *Haas* 1966, 116 no. 17 (confused with 11.3); *Waelkens* 1986, 214 no. 544 (confused with 11.3); *TITUS*, no. 17.

## [--- ...με]γος ειτου.

1 [----- επιττετικμε]νος ειτου *Friedrich* : [----ττετικμε]γος ειτου *Haas* : [----ΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ]ΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : -]γος ειτου *Brixhe*.

‘... let him be [---]ed’

### 11.2

Found in a fountain, “the following inscription was clearly cut in small well-formed letters, but some zealous Kizilbash (Bayat is a village of heretics) has taken the trouble to deface every line with a chisel. I made an impression in the hope that some elucidative text might hereafter be discovered. There were originally several more lines at the top: 10 is complete and ends the inscription” (Ramsay 1887, 395). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 395 no. XVIII (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 110 no. XVIII (the three last lines); Calder 1911, 174 no. XVIII (the three last lines); Calder 1926, 26-27 no. XVIII (revision of some lectures); Friedrich 1932, 131, no. 18 (without lines 1-3, 5 and 6); Haas 1951, 9-10 no. 18; Haas 1966, 85-87 (with copy) and 116-117 no. 18 (p. 99 copy); Haas 1970b, 9-10 no. 18; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 84-85 no. C 18; *TITUS*, no. 18; Orel 1997a, 79-86 no. W\*-23; Hämmig fthc. a. No. 18.

[---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδ̄ᾱ μανκα-  
ν μιμογαδ̄ις ακ̄ε̄νικου οκαυγοσι  
μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ  
4 λευκις μιμογας κε ε ματαρ ευγεξα-  
ρναι κ’ο τα τ̄ιαμα κνουμεν ταν ε-  
[.]τας ται κολταμανει ιος νι ουκρα-  
ον λατομειον εγδαες μουρσα  
8 αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ-  
ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα, βε<κ>ο-  
ς ιοι με τοτοσσει<sup>?</sup>τ<sup>?</sup>ι σαρναν.

1]AN[ *Ramsay 1887* : ]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδ̄ᾱ μανκα|ν *Haas, TITUS et Lubostky* || 2 NOMADISAKI[-]NIKOYOKA *Ramsay 1887* : Μιμογα δ̄ις ακ̄[.]νικου οκ αυγοσι *Haas* : δῑσακ̄ινικουκαυγοσι *Diakonoff et Neroznak* : διε̄ ακ̄ενικου οκαυγοει *Orel*: ΜΙΜΟΓΑ ΔΙΣ ΑΚ[.]ΝΙΚΟΥ ΟΚΑΥΓΟΣΙ *TITUS* : μιμογα διε̄ ακ̄ενικου οκαυγοει *Orel* || 3 ]ΑΚΑΙΔΑΔΟΥΛΕΡΚΓΩΔΑΚΑΡ *Ramsay 1887* : Μιδακας Δαδου Λευκίωι δακαρ *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 4 ευγεξαρναι *fort.* ευγε ξαρνα : Ε.ΝΙΜΟΓΑΕΚΕΙΝΑΙΛΡΕΥΤΕΞΑ *Ramsay 1887* : [πρι]β̄ις Μιμβ̄ιας κε ματαρ Ευρεξα *Friedrich* : Λευκις Μιμογας κε [?] ματαρ Ευγεξα|ρναι *Haas et TITUS* : λευκις μιμογας κει ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι *Orel* || 5 κ’ οτ̄ ᾱτ̄ιαμα *dub., fort.* κο τ̄ᾱ τ̄ιαμα : ΡΝΒΕΚΟΤΑΠΡΑΜΑΝ[-]ΥΜΕΝΤΑΝΕ *Ramsay 1887* : κο τᾱ ᾱτ̄ιαμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας *Haas* : ΚΟ ΤΑ Τ̄ΙΑΜΑ ΚΝΟΥΜΕΝ ΤΑΝ Ε|[?]ΤΑΣ *TITUS* : ε|τ̄ ασται *Orel* || 6 ΠΑΕΤΑΙΚΛΓΑΜΕ[-]Ε[-]ΟΣΜΟΙΚΡΑ *Ramsay 1887* : τας ται κολταμαν̄ εῑ ιος̄ μοῑ κ̄ρα|[ο?] *Haas* : ΤΑΙ ΚΟΛΤΑΜΑΝΕΙ ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΟΥΚΡΑ|ΟΝ *TITUS* : κολταμανει ιος νῑ μοικραν̄ *Orel* || 7 [-]N[-]ΤΑΤΟΛ[-]ΕΟΝΕΙ[-]ΑΕΣΜΟΥΡΣ/ *Ramsay 1887* : [-----] εκ̄υαες [-----] *Friedrich* : ν[?] λατομειον εγδαες̄ μουρα *Haas* : ΛΑΤΟΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΓΔΑΕΣ ΜΟΥΡΣΑ *TITUS* || 8 ΑΙΝΙΚΟΣ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ Κ|ΑΚΟΥΝ *Ramsay 1905* : αῑ νῑ κος̄ σεμουν̄ κνουμανεῑ κ|ακουν̄ *Calder et Friedrich* : αινῑ κος̄ σεμουν̄ κνουμανεῑ κ|ακουν̄ *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 9

ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ ΜΑΝΚ(Α) ΑΚΕΟ *Ramsay 1905* : ἀδδακετ αινι μανκα βEO *Calder et Friedrich* : αδδακετ αινι μανκα βEO *Haas* : αδδακετ αινι μανκα βε<κ>ο|ς *TITUS et Orel* || 10 ευγισαρνα *fort.* ευγε σαρνα : ΣΙΟΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΤΟΣ ΣΕΥΓΙΣΑΡΝΑΝ *Ramsay 1905* : ΣΙΟΙΜΕΤΟΤΟΣΣΙΙΙΣΑΡΝΑΝ *Calder* : ΣΙΟΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΤΟΣ Σευγισαρναν *Friedrich* : σιοι με τοτοσς Ευγισαρναν *Haas* : ΙΟΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΤΟΣΣ' ΕΥΓΙΣΑΡΝΑΝ *TITUS et Orel* : ιοι με τοτοσσειτ σαρναν *legend. Hämmig.*

'[L. 8-10] If someone does harm to this tomb or to the stele, let Sarnan not give him bread'

### 11.3

Copied by Calder in 1912, "above the triangular pediment of a doorstone" (*Calder 1926, 23*). Lunate sigma and epsilon. This inscription was confused with 11.1 by *Haas (1966, 116 no. 17 and 124, no. 74)*. However, *Brixhe (1999, 286.)* argued that 11.1 (17) and 11.3 (74) are two different inscriptions.

*Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXIV; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 74; Haas 1966, 116 no. 17 and 124, no. 74 (redirecting to his no. 17 = 11.1); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 B 17 (as variant of B 10); Waelkens 1986, 214 no. 544 (also confused with 11.1); TITUS, no. 17 (following Haas); Orel 1997a, 79 no. W\*-22; Brixhe 1999, 286.*

[--- ...]μϛενος ειτο[υ].

1 ]μϛενος ειτο[υ *Calder, Friedrich et Brixhe* : [----ττετικμϛ]ενος ειτου *Haas* : [---]ττετικ]μϛενος ειτου. *Waelkens* : [----ΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ]ΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : ...]μϛενος ειτου *Orel*.

'... let him be [---]ed.'

## 12. Akpınar

### 12.1

Fragment of a door-stele (0,135 x 0,51 x 0,24 m, letters 0,015, *Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 92*). Now preserved in the Afyon Museum (inv. no. E 9991). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 91-95 no. IV (with photograph); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 121 (only the number is given to it).*

[-?-]

Ῥιποτειτω μϛ[ήμησ χαριν]. ις γ[ι κακου]γ [αδδ]-  
ακετορ, διως ορ ζεμ[ελ]ως τιττετικμενος  
4 [ειτου].

1 Ριποτειτω μϛ[ήμησ χαριν]. ις γ[ι κακου]γ *dub.* : ΡΙΠΟΤΕΙΤΩΜΝ -ca 6/7.ΙϜΝ-ca 5/6-Ν[.δ]|ακετορ *dub.* *Brixhe - Drew-Bear* || 2 τιτ τετικμενος *Brixhe - Drew-Bear.*

'[Greek] ... for Rhipotitos in memory in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [ma]kes har[m], let him be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.'

## 13. Özbek

### 13.1

Gray basalt stele-door (1,25 x 1,48 x 0,50 m ; letters 0,03) dated to 190 BC because of its typology (Drew-Bear & Lochman 1996, 123). It was found in a fountain from Kaklık Mevkii. Some reliefs of tools were engraved on the panels of the door. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Drew-Bear & Lochman 1996, 123 (Levha / Pl. XXII with photograph); Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 95-98 no. V (with photographs); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 122 (only enumerated).

[ιο]ς [σε]μουν [κ]νουμαγει κακουν [αδ]δ[ακετ],  
[ατ τιε τιττετικμενος] ειτου. uac.  
[’Αλ]έξανδρος ’Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Τατια<ς> σύμβιος αὐτοῦ  
4 ζῶντες ἑαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν.

1 [αδ]δ[ακετ] *dub.* : --κν]ουμαν[ε κακ]ουν [-----] Drew-Bear-Lochman : [ ][---]Δ[----] Brixhe - Drew-Bear || 2 *e.g., fort.* δεως κε ζεμελωσ (κε) : [-----] ειτου Drew-Bear-Lochman et Brixhe - Drew-Bear.

‘[Phrygian] [Wh]oever [ma]k[es] harm to this tomb, let him be [accursed by Zeus]. [Greek] [Al]exandros (the son) of Alexandros and Tatias, his wife, whilst they are alive, made it for themselves in memory.’

## 14. Göynük

### 14.1

Fragment of an inscription engraved on a door-stele found in a wall of the *oda* by Calder (1926, 22).

Calder 1926, 22-23 no. LXXIII; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 73; Haas 1966, 124 no. 73; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 73 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 203 no. 505; *TITUS*, no. 73; Orel 1997a, 105-106 no. W\*-39.

Βαβεις ’Αμμωνίου θυγάτηρ Νουνα {συ}σύνβ[ιο]ν κὲ [ἑαυτῆ].  
ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αι νι σας μδυει, [δεως]  
ζεμελωσ τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου.

2 μδυει [με δεως] Calder et Waelkens : ΜΔΥΕΙ[ Friedrich, Haas et *TITUS* : αι νι σας μλυει[ας? με δεως] Diakonoff - Neroznak : αι νι σας μαγκι [---] Orel || 3 ζεμελωσ τι ετιττετικμενος ειτου Calder et Waelkens : ζεμελος τι ετιττετικμενος ειτου Diakonoff-Neroznak : *om. cett.*

‘[Greek] Babis the daughter of Ammonios for Nunas, her husband, and [for herself]. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb and to this μδυει, let him be made accursed (by) Zeus (in the sight of) [gods] and men’.

## 15. Sopalının köprü

### 15.1

Door-stele (0,81 x 0,55 m; letters 0,015) found in Sopalının köprü, in the south of the Seyitler Gölü (not far from Gezler Köyü, Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 86-87). Some relieves were engraved on the panels. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 86-91 no. III (with photographs); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 120 (only enumerated).

[..... π]αρτυς ουεβρα. ιος νι σεμον το  
[κνουμα]γε κακον αδδακετ αιν' α τεαμα, ις τιε τι-  
[ττετικ]μενος ειτυ ουελας κοννου κ' ηγκ-  
4 [.....]υοις γεντι βεπαι κε παρτης βεκος.

2 ις τιε τι Brixhe - Drew-Bear || 3 κ' HNK Brixhe - Drew-Bear || 4 ]ΥΟΙϚΓΕΝΤΙΒΕΠΑΙ Brixhe - Drew-Bear.

'... Whoever does harm to this [tom]b or to this plot, let him be [accur]sed by Zeus...'

## 16. Gezler Köyü

### 16.1

White marble stele with a pediment in the top (93 x 36 x 12,5 cm) identified by Brixhe in Afyon Museum (without inv. no.). The 14 lines of this inscriptions are eroded in both margins. It is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> or beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC because of palaeographic reasons (considered one of the oldest NPhr. texts by Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 161). Classic letters without apices but rectangular sigma.

Brixhe & Neumann 1985, 161-184 (pl. I-III with photographs and copy); Lubotsky 1993a, 128 (only l. 1-4); *TITUS*, no. 116; Orel 1997a, 125-135 no. W\*-57.

ξεννε ισος κε δετοϚ [ο<sup>?</sup>υ]-  
ψοδαν κε ταν σαυναμαν [.]  
κνουμαν κ ακροδμαν κε λο-  
4 διμον μειομον ριδιτι ται τοα  
με ογομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]-  
αος κναικο<ς> εκατης  
ομουσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.]  
8 δεο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]  
γυταις εδαες πινκε τας δ[α<sup>?</sup>]-  
κερης ονομανιας μηρου ικ[.]  
κναικαν εδαες, ις αργμενα[.]  
12 οπαρικο οαν οεαυται ις κε εν  
τοισινιοι κνουμαν τιν τε[.]  
[.]μαρδι ιδετοι οινις.

1-2 [υ]|ψοδαν fort. [ου]|ψοδαν : ιος {ος} Orel || 5-6 Ερωω[.]|λος Brixhe-Neumann et TITUS : ερωω|..ος Orel || 6 κναικο εκατηας cett. || 9 πιγκε τας Ligorio-Lubotsky 2013 : πιγκετας cett. || 11-12 τε|κμαρ δι Orel || 12 οανο εαυται Brixhe-Neumann.

## 17. Afyonkarahisar (Akroenos)

### 17.1

Copied by Seetzen (according to CIG III, 10). It is said to be engraved in a little altar. Only the beginning of the imprecative protasis remains of the Phrygian text.

CIG III, 10 no. 3880 (with copy but only edition of the Greek text); Ramsay 1887, 388 no. IV bis; Calder 1911, 167, IV (bis); Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 4 bis; Haas 1966, 114 no. 4bis; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 4 bis (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 4b (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 65-66 no. W\*-15.

[Δ]αδης κατρεσκέα[σε]ν τοῖς <έ>νγόνους,  
Μάνη καὶ Ζωτικῶ. ις νι σεμου κνο[υμανει]  
[---]

1 Ἀσκληπιιάδης ? κα[τεσ]κέα[σε]ν τοῖς ἐνγόνους [ἐαυτοῦ] dub. CIG III : Ἀσκληπι]άδης κα[τ]εσκέα[σε]ν τοῖς [ἐ]νγόνους Ramsay : [Δ]άδης κα[τεσ]κέα[σε]ν τοῖς <έ>νγόνους Calder, Friedrich et Haas || 2 ις uel ιο<ς> : ιος Ramsay : ιο<ς> Calder et Friedrich : ιο Haas et TITUS : ις uel ιο Diakonoff - Neroznak : ιο νι [σ]εμου Orel.

‘[Greek] Dades built (it) for her children, Manes and Zotikos. [Phrygian] Whoever [does] ha[rm] to this tom...’

### 17.2

Inscription dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. Copied by Ramsay in November 1881 (1887, 387).

Ramsay 1887, 387 no. III (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 106 no. III; Meister 1909, 317-318; Calder 1911, 166 no. III; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 3; Haas 1966, 114 no. 3; TITUS, no. 3; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 3 (as variant of B 6); Waelkens 1986, 198 no. 490; Lubotsky 1998, 418 no. 3; Orel 1997a, 60-61 no. W\*-13.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ  
[αινι]<sup>?</sup> μαγκαι, τος νι με [δ]ε[ως κε ζεμελωσ κ]ε Τιε

τιττετικμ-  
ενοσ ειτου.

4

1 αδδακετ Ramsay 1887 et cett. || 2 [αινι] μαγκαι, τος νι dub. : δεως fort. δεος : ταικαι τος νι με [ζ]ε[μελωσ κε δεως κ]ε Lubotsky 1998 : [δεως κε ζεμελζωσ κ]ε, Brixhe et Waelkens e.g., TITUS et Orel suppl. : [ΝΑΙΚ? ΔΙ?]ΔΕΟΣ • ΖΙΜΕΛΩΣ [12 letters] ETI Ramsay 1905 conl. : μ]α[ν]κα[ν, τ]ος [νι με διος κε ζεμελωσ] ετι Calder conl. et Friedrich et Wawlkens seq. : Haas non suppl. || 2-4 κ]ε τιε | τιτ τετικμ]ενοσ TITUS et Orel : ετι ετιττετικμενοσ

Ramsay 1887 : ΕΤΙ|ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜ|ΕΝΟΣ Ramsay 1905 : ετι ετι | ττετικμενος ετι ατ Τιαδ Meister : ε|τιττετικμ|ενοσ  
Calder et Friedrich : ετιετιττετικμενοσ Haas : τιττετικμ|ενοσ ειτου Waelkens.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb [or] stele, let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of [g]o[ds and men].’

### 17.3

Copied by Hamilton in 1836 and, later by Ramsay in November 1881. It was found “in the Armenian burial-ground” of Ayfon (according to Hamilton 1842, 432).

Hamilton 1842, 432 Appendix V no. 165 (with copy); *CIG III* 3882c (only a drawing based on Hamilton); Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 1 (pl. A); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 11; Ramsay 1887, 389-391, VII; Ramsay 1905, col. 10 no. VII; Calder 1911, 168 no. VII; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 7; Haas 1966, 115 no. 7; *TITUS*, no. 7; Orel 1997a, 70-71 no. W\*-18.

[ιοσ σεμου]ν κνουμανι κακα  
[αδδακ]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελωσ κε]  
[---] ακε οι ειροι α τιε τιττ[ε-  
4 τικμενοι ειττ]νου.

1 σεμο]ν fort. : κακα[ν Ramsay et Calder: κακα[.] Haas et *TITUS* : κακα[ν] Orel || 2 ZEMI.. Hamilton, *CIG III*, Mordtmann et Gosche : χειραν αδακ]εν δεος κε ζεμ[ελω Ramsay : ζειραν αδδακ ?]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελωσ Calder : α]εν δεος κε ζεμ[ελω] Haas et *TITUS* : αββε]ρεν δεος κε ζεμ[ελωσ] Orel || 3 ΑΚΕΟΙΕΙΡΟΙΑΤΙΕΤΙΠ. Mordtmann || 3-4 ...ζεip]α κε οι ειριοιατι ειττ[ετικμενα . . . . . ειτ]νου Ramsay : ακεοι ειροια τι ειττ[ε - ] ? τικμενα ειττ]νου Calder et Friedrich : ατιετιττ[ε | τικμενοι ειττ]νου Haas : ...]ακε οι ειροι α τιε τιτ τ[ε]|τικμενοι ειττ]νου *TITUS* et Orel.

‘[Whoever] does harms [to thi]s tom, (in the sight of) gods and m[en] ... and let his ειροι b[e accursed] by Zeus.’

### 17.4

“Afion Karahisar, in the garden of the Primary School. Limestone stele with a male and a female figure standing above and uninscribed panel. Beside the male figure, a stylus-case; beside the female figure, a keyplate with keyhole (symbolising a doorstone). On either border, a rope festoon with tassels. H. 1·18; w. 0·84; th. (top) 0·32, (shaft) 0·26; letters, 0·015 to 0·02. The inscription is carved on the upper moulding” (*MAMA IV* 1933: 6). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*MAMA IV*, 6 no. 16 (Pl. 13); Haas 1966, 126 no. 90; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B-90 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); Waelkens 1986, 195 no. 484 no. 484 (Tafel 74); *TITUS*, no. 90; Orel 1997a, 112-113 no. W\*-44.

[---]μογ μνειά[ς χ]άριγ. [ιοσ σεμουν]  
[κνουμ]ανε κακουν αδδακετ, #<τ>εττετικμενος ειτο[υ].

2 αδδακετ {ετ} τετικμενος Orel.

‘[Greek] ... in memory. [Phrygian] [Whoever] does harm [to this tom]b, let him b[e] accursed.’

## 17.5

White marble door-stele (45 x 78 x 26,5 cm) preserved in the Afyon Museum (without inv. no.), found “in the yard of the Secondary School” (MAMA IV, 6). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

MAMA IV, 6 no. 17; Haas 1966, 126 no. 91; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 91 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 191 no. 469 (Tafel 70 no. 469); TITUS, no. 91 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 113-114 no. W\*-45.

[ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει]  
[κ]ακου[ν α]ββερετοι α<ι>νι  
α̣σ̣ται σα μ[ανκ]ε, [τιτ]-  
4 τετικμενος ειτου.

Αφφια ιδίω άνδρί Δηδη έποίησεν μνήμης χάριν.

2 ABBEPETOIANI lapis : α]ββερετοι α<ι>νι MAMA : α]ββερετ οι α[ι]νι Haas et TITUS : α]ββερετο<ρ> α<ι>νι Waelkens : α<ι> νι Orel || 3 μ̣ε̣ι̣μι̣σα μ[.....] MAMA : α̣σ̣ται̣ σα̣ μ[ανκ̣α?] Haas et Waelkens : Α̣Σ̣ΤΑΤ̣ Σ̣Α̣ Μ[ΑΝΚΑ]||E Diakonoff - Neroznak et TITUS : ..... σαμ.....ε Orel || 4 ε[τι]|τετικμενος MAMA, Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak et Waelkens : [τι]|τ τετικμενος TITUS et Orel || 5 'Αφφια MAMA et Haas : Αφφια Waelkens.

‘[Phrygian] [Whoever] brings [h]ar[m to th]is [tomb] or α̣σ̣ται̣ this s[te]l[e], let him be accursed. [Greek] Appia made (it) for her own husband Dedes in memory.

## 17.6

Broken door-stele (0,97 x 0,75 x 0,25 m) found in 1987 in the north of Afyon, during the scoring of the industrial area called Çapak Çayırı. In the light of its iconography, it has been considered to come from İscehisar (Dokimeion). It was later reused and now it is preserved in the Afyon Museum (inv. no. 10102). Relieves of a couple and some objects engraved on the doors. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 80-86 no. II (with photograph); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 119 (only enumerated).

[---]  
[..... μνήμη]ς χάριν. uac. ιος νι σεμ[ουν] το  
κνουμανε κακεν αδδακετ, με ζεμελωσ κε δεωσ κε  
τιτετικμενος ειτου.

3 τι τετικμενος Brixhe - Drew-Bear.

[Greek] ... in [menor]y. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[is] tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of men and gods.'

## 18. Sülümenli (Augustopolis)

### 18.1

Inscription copied by Ramsay in 1881 and in 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Ramsay 1882, 143; Ramsay 1887, 387-388 no. IV (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 106 no. IV; Calder 1911, 166 no. IV; Friedrich 1932, 128 no. 4; Haas 1966, 114 no. 4; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 6; *TITUS*, no. 4 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 62-65 no. W\*-14.

Διόδοτος Μακεδονικό[ς καὶ Αλέξαν]δρος Ἀριστάρχου ἐποίησεν Δέ-  
τη ἰδία πενθερά. ιος νι σεμον[ κνουμανει] κακουν αδακετ αινι οι  
θαλαμει, δη διως ζεμελω[ς τιτετ]ικμενος ειτου.

1 Μακεδονικό[ς ὁ καὶ Μέναν]δρος Ramsay 1882 suppl. et cett. secuti || 2 πενθερά Ramsay, Friedrich, Haas et Orel : πενθερά Calder : κνουμανει Ramsay 1882 suppl. et cett. secuti : ΑΙΝΙ ΟΙ *TITUS* leg. : αινιοι Ramsay 1887 et 1905 et Haas : αιν οι Calder et Friedrich : αι νι οι Orel || 3 ζεμελω[ς τιτ τετ]ικμενοσ Lubostsky et Orel suppl. : ζεμελω [ετιτετ]ικμενος ειτου Ramsay 1887 et Haas : ΖΕΜΕΛΩ[Σ? ΕΤΙΤΤΕΤ]ΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Ramsay 1905 : ζεμελω[ς τιτετ]ικμενος ειτου vel dub. ζεμελ[ω ετι - - Calder : ζεμελω[ς τιτετ]ικμενος ειτου Friedrich.

[Greek] Diodotos Macedonia[n and Alexan]dros (the sons) of Aristarkhos made it for Dete, their own mother-in-law. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this [tomb] or its (funerary) chamber, let him be [accu]rsed among gods (and) men.'

### 18.2

Inscription found and read by Hamilton. Cursive omega, lunate sigma and epsilon.

Hamilton 1842 II, 477 no. 376 (only copy); *CIG* III, Add., no. 3883c; Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 2 (pl. A, no. 122, copy based on Hamilton); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 15; Ramsay 1887, 388-389 no. V (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 108-109 no. V (with copy); Calder 1911, 167 no. V; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 5; Haas 1966, 115 no. 5; Haas 1970a, 48 and 60 no. 5; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 75 (only the Phrygian text); Strubbe 1997, 178 no. 257 (only the Greek text); *TITUS*, no. 5 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 66-68 no. W\*-16.

Λα Ιμενος ἀνδρί γλυκυτάτω Ζωτι[κ]ῶ μ-  
νήμησ χάριν· ις κε σεμονν κ<ν>ουμινοσ <κακουν>  
αδακεν, με διω[ς ζ]εμελωσ τιτετικμενοσ ητου.  
4 ὃσ ἄν δὲ κακῶσ [π]υήσε, τέκνα ἄω-  
ρα ἐντύ[χοιτο].

1 Λᾶ ἴ[μ]ενοσ ἀ[νρί] Calder, Haas et Orel : [ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκέυ]α[σ]εν [τ]έ[κνω] dub. Ramsay 1887 : [Μνησιθῆ]α [νίω] γλυκυτάτω dub. Ramsay 1905 || 2 σεμονν fort. σεμουμ : ΙΚΚΕΚΕΜΟΥΝΚΝΟΥΜΙΝΟC Mordtmann : σεμου

κ[ν]ουμινος Ramsay 1887 : ΣΕΜΟΥΝ Κ[Ν]ΟΥΜΙΝ[Ε ΚΑΚΟΥΝ Ramsay 1905 : σεμου[ν] κ(ν)ουμινος (κακουν) Calder : σεμουμ κουμινος <κακουν> Haas : σεμου[ς] κ<ν>ουμινος <κακουν> Diakonoff - Neroznak : ΣΕΜΟΥΜ Κ<Ν>ΟΥΜΙΝΟΣ <ΚΑΚΟΥΝ> TITUS : σεμουμ κουμινος Orel || 3 ΑΔΑΚΕΝ, ΜΕ ΔΙΩ[Σ Ζ]ΟΜΟΛΩΣ ΤΙ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΤΟΝ TITUS : ΑΛΑΚΕΝΜΕΔΙΩ . . . ΟΜΟΛΩΕΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Mordtmann : α[δ]ακεν με διω[ς ζ]ε[μ]ε[λ]ω ετιτετικμενος ηετο[υ] Ramsay 1887 : Α[Δ]ΑΚΕΝ, ΜΕ ΔΙΩ[Σ Ζ]ΟΜΟΛΩ[Σ] ΤΙ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΕΤΟ[Υ] Ramsay 1905 : με διω[ς ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου Calder et Friedrich : με διω[ς ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου Diakonoff - Neroznak : ΗΤΟΝ Haas : αδακεν με διω[ς ζ]εμελω[ς] τιτετικμενος ητου Orel || 4 ΗΥΗCE Hamilton: [π]υήσε<ι> CIG III : [π]υήσε[ι] Ramsay 1887 leg. et cett. seq. : <π>υήσε Strubbe || 5 ΑΩ|ΡΑΕΝΤΥ.. Hamilton : ἄω|ρα [-] CIG III : ἐντύ[χοιτο Ramsay 1887 et cett. seq. : ἐντύ[χυτο] uac. Strubbe || 4-5 Orel om.

‘[Greek] La (the daughter) of Iman for her dearest husband Zoti[k]os in memory. [Phrygian] And whoever does <harm> to this tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of god[s] (and) m[en]. [Greek] Whoever does harm (to it), let him have children untimely (dead).’

### 18.3

Inscription copied by Ramsay in August 1884, found “beside Surmeneh, on one of the circle of stones (χρηπίς) which surrounded a small tumulus. There seem to have been in this neighbourhood many small tumuli, built all in the same way with a low circular wall enclosing and holding together a mound of earth” (Ramsay 1887, 389). The letters were eroded when copied. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 389 (with copy), VI; Ramsay 1905, col. 109-110 no. VI; Calder 1911, 167-167 no. VI; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 6; Haas 1951, 6-7 no. 6; Haas 1966, 115 no. 6; Haas 1970b, 6-7 no. 6; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 6; TITUS, no. 6; Orel 1997a, 68-69 no. W\*-17.

[ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε κ[ακον]  
αββερετ ατ νου. μου[ρου]ν,  
τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος  
4 κε τη τιττετικμενος ε[ι]του.

1 κνουμανει [κακουν] Ramsay 1887 : ΙΟ]Σ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕ Κ[ΑΚΙΝ Ramsay 1905 || 2 Α[Ι]ΝΟΥ [Μ.]ΜΟΝΚ[ΚΑ]Ν TITUS : α[ι]νου[ν] μο[υρα]τος Ramsay 1887 : Α[Ι]ΝΟΥ[Ν] Μ[Α]ΝΚ[Α]Ν.[ΑΥ Ramsay 1905 : α[ι]νου[μ] μ[α]ν[κα]ν Calder et Friedrich : α[ι]νου[μ] μον[κα]ν Haas 1966 : ατνου[μ] μον[κα]ν Haas 1970b : αι νου[μ] μον[κα]ν Orel || 3-4 .. ετι ητιττετικμενος Ramsay 1887, 1905, Calder et Friedrich : [. .] | [ασ]τιη τιττετικμενος Haas : Κ]Ε ΤΙΗ ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Diakonoff - Neroznak : [κ]ε τη τιτ τετικμενος ε[ιτ]ου Orel.

‘[Wh]oever brings h[arm] to this tomb ..., let him be made accursed by Zeus in the sight of men and gods.’

## 19. Sülün (formerly Süğlün, Prymnessos)

### 19.1

With the marble Door-stele (85,5 x 71 x 13,5 bottom - 20,5 above) preserved in the Afyon Museum (inv. no. E 1550/80, ). Dated to between 138-161 AD (Waelkens 1986, 199). Rectangular sigma and epsilon. Greek protasis followed by a Phrygian apodosis.

MAMA VI 1939, 133 no. 382 (pl. 67 no. 382); Haas 1966, 127 no. 96; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81 no. B 96; Waelkens 1986, 199 no. 493 (Tafel 71, no. 493); *TITUS*, no. 96; Orel 1997a, 118 no. W\*-49; Brixhe 2002a, 252-253.

ὄς ἂν τούτω τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς προσποιήσῃ ἢ τοῖς  
προγεγραμμένοις ὑπεναντίον τι πράξῃ, με δεῶς κε

ζεμελωσ κε τιτετικμενος ειτου.

3 ζεμελωσ κ ειτετικμενος ειτου *MAMA et Haas* : ζεμελος κ ειτετικμενος ειτου *Waelkens* : ζεμελωσ κε τι τετικμενος *Diakonoff - Neroznak, TITUS et Orel*.

[Greek] Who damages this monument or contravenes the foregoing injunctions, [Phrygian] let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men.'

### 19.2

Upper fragment of a calcareous stele found in höyük located in the Ahmet Karahisar campus of the Kocatepe University at Afyon-karahisar and preserved in the museum of this city. It was dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC by the first editors (Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010, 162), but recently Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 considered it as a NPhr. inscription, so dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD. The shape of the sigma is classic but, it is not a so conclusive feature to consider it an Hellenistic inscription.

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 129 (only enumerated).

ἰος νι σα μαγ<sup>2</sup>-  
ρε κακον αββε -  
ρετοι αι νι σερ<sup>2</sup>-

4 οα, τος νι με  
ζεμελω[ς ....]  
[---]

1-2 μαγ<sup>2</sup>|ρε *Brixhe - Drew-Bear* : ματ<sup>2</sup>|ρε *Ligorio - Lubotsky*.

'Whoever brings harm to this mother or to this *serva*, [let] him ... in the sight of me[n...]'.

## 20. Bolvadin (Polybotos)

### 20.1

Inscription copied by Calder in 1908 and 1910 (with a better reading). Although he was able to see it again in 1912, now it is lost. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1911, 208-210 no. LXIII (with copy); Calder 1926, 28 no. LXIII (revised reading); MAMA I, 201 no. 385 (with photograph); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 63; Haas 1966, 123 no. 63; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 63 (as variant of B 6); Waelkens 1986, 204-205 no. 509 (with photograph from MAMA I); TITUS, no. 63 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 102-103 no. W\*-36.

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδα-  
κεττορ, δεωσ ζεμελωσ κε τιτε{τε}-  
τι[κμενο]ς [ειτου].

2-3 [τ]ε τιτετ[οκμενος uel εικμενος ειτου] Calder : τε τιτε{τε}τι[κμενο]ς [ειτου] MAMA et Friedrich : τετιτετε[τι[κμεν]ς [ειτου] Haas : <κ>ε τι τε{τε}τι[κμενο]ς Waelkens : TE TI{TE} TE|TI[KMENO]Σ TITUS : κε τι τε{τε}τι[κμενος ειτου] Orel.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb, [let him] be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.’

### 20.2

Stele (“H. 1.82; w. (top) 0.515, (shaft) 0.46, (bottom) 0.54; th. max. 0.175; l. h. 0.02”) found in Dura Yeri, now preserved in the Bolvadin Museum. It has three acroteria decorated with palmetes, “triangular pediment with raised boss centre, below which is a shell motif between mouldings of stylized eggs and darts above a Lesbian leaf motif surmounting pilaster capitals (that on right damaged) with double volutes and stylized floral decoration. On the shaft, between fluted pilasters above bases with mouldings in relief, is a male child between two standing figures [...] on a broken base” (Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 113). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 113-115, no. 3 (with photograph and the translation); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 128 (only enumerated).

4 Πασικράτης β'  
Χάρμου ζῶν καὶ  
φρονῶν σὺν γυ-  
ναικὶ Τατια καὶ  
τέκνοις Ἀριστογέ-  
νη καὶ Ἀλεξάν-  
δρω.

8            ιος νι σεμουν κνου-  
                   μανε κακουν αδδα-  
                   κετ, με δδεω με ζεμε-  
                   λος τιτετικμενος  
 12                            ειτου

ας βαταν ορουεναν κε.

‘[Greek] Pasikrates, son of Pasikrates grandson of Charmos, whilst he is alive and of sound mind, with his wife Tatia and their children Aristogenes and Alexandros. [Phrygian] Whoever afflicts harm to this grave, let him be cursed among gods and men by Bat and the Father.’

### 20.3

Complet Phrygian inscription engraved in a block stone found in 1910 in the east of the Bolovadin road to Çay. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 203-208 no. LXII (with copy); *MAMA I*, 200 no. 384 (with photograph); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 62; Haas 1966, 123 no. 62; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79 no. 62; *TITUS*, no. 62 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 102 no. W\*-35.

                  ιος νι σεμυν κν<sup>ο</sup>υ-  
                   μανει κακυν αδδα-  
                   κετ αι καν, ατ τη κε  
 4            δεως κε τιτετικμε-  
                   νος ειτου.

3 Αττιη *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : αττιη *Haas* : ατ τη *TITUS et Orel* || 4 τιτετικμε|νος *Calder et Friedrich* : ετιτετικμε|νος *Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : τιτ τετικμε|νος *TITUS et Orel*.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb or whatever, let him be accursed by Zeus and the gods.’

## 21. Kocaöz (formerly Feleli)

### 21.1

Copied by Hogarth: “Fellelü: on a door-tomb of which three panels remain; in the upper two are female figures, and in the lower one a wheatsheaf. The stone is half buried in packed earth, upside down, and thus the first lines and much of the right-hand portion cannot be seen. The Phrygian part of the lettering is smaller and more crowded” (1890, 158-159). Ramsay added that it was recopied by Hogarth in 1890, “when a few letters were added” (1905, col. 102). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Hogarth 1890, 158-159 no. 2 (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 102 no. XLII (with copy); Calder 1911, 184-185 no. XLII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 42; Haas 1966, 120 no. 42; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 42 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 204 no. 507; *TITUS*, no. 42; Orel 1997a, 94-96 no. W\*-32.

[---]

αὐτός κα[ί --- ζῶντες]  
καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς --- μνήμης]  
χάριν· ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ου]μανε[ι κακ]ο[υν ]  
4 [τ]αι σα τρα[---]τη[ ζε]-  
μελω[ς] κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ]  
αι παρτης.

1 [Ἐο δεινα τοῦ δεινος ἀνεστησε] | αὐτός κα[ί] ἢ δεινα ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζωντες] *Hogarth* : αὐτός κ[α]ί ἢ δεινα ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζωντες] *Ramsay* : αὐτός κ[α]ί . . . . . ζῶντες] *Calder, Friedrich et Haas* : --- | αὐτός κα[ί] --- ζῶντες] *Waelkens* || 2 καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς τῷ δεινὶ τῷ τέκνῳ μνήμης] *Hogarth* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς ἑαυτοῖς τὸ μνημεῖον ἐποίησαν μνήμης] *Ramsay* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς ἀνέστησαν μνήμης] *Calder et Friedrich* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς . . . . .] *Haas* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς --- μνήμης] *Waelkens* || 3 χάριν· Ἴος νι σεμον [κ]νουμανε[ι κακ]ο[υν] δακε[τ]αι *Calder et Friedrich* : χάριν· Ἴος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ι]μαν[ε]ι κακ]ο[υν] δακε[τ]αι *Haas et Waelkens* : ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ι]μαν[ε]ι κακ]ο[υν] δακε[τ]αι | [α]ι *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ἼΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ [Κ]Ν[Ο]ΥΜΑΝ[Ε]Ι ΚΑΚ]Ο[ΥΝ ΔΑΚΕ]||[Τ]ΑΙ *TITUS* : ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ι]μαν[ε]ι κακ]ο[υν] δακε[τ]αι || 4 σα . . . . . [ . . . . . ] με ζε[μ]ελω[ς] *Hogarth* : [με ζε]μελω[ς] *sic Ramsay* : σα τρα[ . . . ]τη[ . . . . . ] με ζε[μ]ελω[ς] *Calder et Friedrich* : σα τρα[ . . . ]τη[ . . . . . ] με ζε[μ]ελω[ς] *Haas* : σα τρα[πε]ζη [ . . . ]μελω[ς] *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : σα τρα[ . . . ]τη[ — — — ] με ζε[μ]ελω[ς] *Waelkens* : ΣΑΤΡΑ[ . . . ]ΤΗ[ . . . . . ] [ΖΕ]ΜΕΛΩΣ *TITUS* : τρα[ . . . ] με ζε[μ]ελω[ς] *Orel* || 5 μελω[ς] κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με ις νι . . . . . *Hogarth* : ΚΕ [Δ]Ε[Ο]Σ ΜΕ ΚΟΝΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΙΣΝΙΟ[Υ] *Ramsay* : κε [δ]ε[ω]ς ΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕΙΣΝΙΟ[Υ] // *Calder et Friedrich* : κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ] *Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak et TITUS* : [δ]ε[ω]ς <κ>ε κοννου κε ισνιο[υ] *Waelkens* : κε [δ]ε[ω]ς μεκον νου κε ισνιο[υ] *Orel* || 5 αι παρτης *Hogarth* : ΑΙ ΠΑ *Ramsay* : ΑΙΠΑΡΤΗΣ *Calder et Friedrich* : αι παρτης *Haas* : ..αι παρτης *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : αι παρτης *Waelkens* : αι παρτης *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Greek] ... himself and [---, whilst they are alive] and of sound min[d, --- in] memory. [Greek] Whoever [--- ha]rm to this t[o]m[b] ...’, let him ... (in the sight of) men and gods ...’

## 21.2

Inscription engraved “on a door-tomb, broken top and right, and no built into a courtyard wall” (1890, 158). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Hogarth 1890, 158 no. 1 (copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 103 (with Hogarth’s copy); Calder 1911, 185 no. XLIII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 43; Haas 1966, 120 no. 43; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 43 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 14); Waelkens 1986, 203-204 no. 506; *TITUS*, no. 43; Orel 1997a, 96-97 no. W\*-33.

[--- μνήμης]  
1 χάρι]ν.

[ι]ος νι σεμ- ουν κνου[μ]-  
 ανει κακουν αδδακετ αι νι α  
 4 [τεαμας? ]

1 χάρι]ιν Hogarth || 2 [ι]ος νι σεμ[--]ουν κνου[μ]ανει Waelkens || 3 ανει κακουν αδδακετ αι νια  
 [έτιτετικμενος είτου dub. Hogarth : ΚΑΚΟΥΝ Α[ΔΔ]ΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ Α[ Ramsay : ανει κακουν α[δδ]ακετ αι νι  
 α[δδα] dub. Calder et Friedrich : κακουν αδδακετ αι νια[--- Haas : ατεαμας mal. Brixhe : ανει κακουν  
 α<δδ>ακετ αι νι α[τεαμα? ] Waelkens : ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ Α[ΤΕΑΜΑ dub. TITUS : κακουν αδδακετ αι  
 νι α[---] Orel.

‘[Greek] [... in] memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this to[m]b or to [this plot? ---]’

## 22. İşıklar

### 22.1

“White marble stele. H. 0.76; w. 0.46; th. 0.20; letters, 0.02. Pediment with foliate side-pieces and acroterion, containing boss” (MAMA IV, 6). Inscription copied by Ramsay in August 1884, who found it “among the hills south of Tchobanlar [...] in a fountain” (Ramsay 1887, 390). Dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 390-391 no. IX (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 110-112 no. IX (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 169 no. IX; Friedrich 1932, 129-130 no. 9; MAMA IV, 6-7 no. 18 (Pl. 14); Haas 1966, 115 no. 9; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 84 no. C 9; TITUS, no. 9; Orel 1997a, 72-76 no. W\*-20.

υς δουμ<sup>?</sup>ετουσ πασε  
 δεκμουταις κινου[υ]-  
 μα ετι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμ-  
 4 εναγ δαδιτι νεν[νε]ρια  
 παρτυς ουβρα.  
 Κόιντος Ρούφου τῆ ιδί-  
 α γυναικί Νενυερια μν-  
 8 [ήμη]ς ἀ[ιδ]ιότατον ίνεκα.  
 [---]

1 ΥΣΔΟΥΝΕΤ[.]ΟΥΠΑΣΕ Ramsay 1887 : ΥΣΔΟΥΝΕΤΟΥΠΑΣΕ Ramsay 1905 : ?Θ]υς Δουμ[μ]ετ[α]ου  
 Πασε|δεκμουταις Calder : Ὑς Δουμ[μ]ετ[α]ου Πασε| δεκμουταις Friedrich : υσδουνετουσ πασε MAMA :  
 [-----] τ[.] ΟΥΠΑΣΕ Haas : [ΥΣΔΟΥΝΕ]Τ[Υ]ΑΥΠΑΣΕ TITUS : κρο[υ]θου[σ] ετ [ρ]ουπασ Orel || 2  
 ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΣΚΙΝΟ[---] Ramsay 1887 : ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΣΚΙΝΟ Ramsay 1905 : κινου[υ]|μα[ν] Calder : κινουμ[μα]ν  
 Friedrich : δεκμουτα ισκινο{γο} MAMA : δεκμουνταις κινου Haas : ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΣ ΚΙΝΟΥ|ΜΑ Diakonoff -  
 Neroznak et TITUS : δεκμουνταις κνου|μα Orel || 3 ΜΑ[.]ΤΙΜΝΚΑΝΟΤΕΣΤΑΜ Ramsay 1887 et 1905 : τι  
 μ<α>νκ[α]ν οπε σταμ|ν[αν] Calder et Friedrich : μαγ τι μνκαν οπε εταμε|ναγ MAMA : μα ετι μνκαν οπεσταμ  
 Haas : τι μ<α>νκαν οπεσταμε|ναγ Diakonoff-Neroznak : ΕΤΙ ΜΝΚΑΝ ΟΠΕΣΤΑΜ|ΕΝΑΝ TITUS : ετι μ<α>νκα  
 οπεσταμ|ενα Orel || 4 Ν[.]ΔΑΔΙΤΙΝΕΝ[.]ΡΙΑ Ramsay 1887 : ΝΑΗΔΑΔΙΤΙΝΕΝΥΞΡΙΑ Ramsay 1905 : δαδιτι  
 Νενυερια Calder et Friedrich : δαδιτι Νενυερια MAMA et Diakonoff-Neroznak : εναγ δαδιτι Νενυερια Haas :  
 ΔΑΔΙΤΙ ΝΕΝΥΕΡΙΑ TITUS : δαδιτι νενυερια Orel || 5 ΠΑΡΤΥΣΟΥΒΡΑ Ramsay 1887 et 1905 : Παρτυσουβρα Caldet  
 et Friedrich : παρτυσουβρα MAMA et Diakonoff - Neroznak : [ε]παρτυς ουκρα Haas et TITUS : παρτυ σουβρα Orel  
 || 6 Κόιντος, Ρούφου τῆ ιδί|α MAMA : Κοίντος Ρούφου τῆ ιδί|α Ramsay 1887 : Κόιντος Ρούφου τῆ[ι] ιδί|αι  
 Calder et Friedrich : Κοιτος Ρούφου τῆ ιδί Haas et Orel || 7 [γ]υναικί Νενυερία μν[ήμη]ς Ramsay 1887, Calder et

*Friedrich* : Νενυερία *MAMA* : γυναικ[ι] Νενυερία μν[ει]ας *Haas et Orel* || 8 ἄ[ι]διότατον ἴνεκα *MAMA* : ἄ[ιδ]ιότατον <e>ἴνεκα *Calder et Friedrich* : ἄ[ιδ]ιότατον <e>ἴνεκα κ.τ.λ. *Ramsay 1887* : [α---]ότατον [ἴν]εκα *Haas* : ἄ[... ]ότατον [ἔν]εκα *Orel*.

‘[Phrygian] ... [Greek] Quintus Rufus (made it) for his own daughter Nenueria in eternal memory.’

## 22.2

Lower part of a broken stele preserved in the Afyon Museum (inv. E. 1978). Under the figures of a man and a woman a complete Phrygian curse was engraved. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Mitchell 1993, 186 fig. 33 (Photograph only); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 118 (only enumerated).

ιος νι σεμον  
 κνουμανει  
 κακον αδδ-  
 4 ακετ, τετιο-  
 κμενος ειτου διως  
 κε ζεμελωσ κε παρ-  
 της.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men *partes*.’

## 23. Kuzören (Selmea)

### 23.1

Fragment of an inscription found by Anderson (no more information available). Now lost. Only a Greek anthroponym and the beginning of a common Phrygian protasis was read. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Anderson 1899 II, 300 no. 224; Haas 1966, 126 no. 89; *TITUS*, no. 89; Orel 1997a, 112 no. W\*-43.

Ἑρμογέν[ης ---]  
 ιος νι σε[μουν ---]

2 σε[μουν *Anderson, Haas et Orel* : ΣΕ[MOYN KNOYMANEI *TITUS*.

‘[Greek] Hermogenes [---] [Phrygian] Whoever to th[is ---]’

## 24. Efesultan

### 24.1

“Plain limestone block. H. 0·97; w. 0·89; letters, 0·04. The inscription begins 0·085 from the top of the Stone” (MAMA IV, 24). It was found by Legrand and Chamonard in a wall of a mosque on the road side. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Legrand & Chamonard 1893, 289 no. 94 (only copy); Radet & Ouvré 1896, 111-114 no. 7 (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 101 no. XL (where it is said to be following Anderson’s copy 1898, 122, although actually it is the inscription no. 41.1); Calder 1911, 184 no. XL; MAMA IV, 24 no. 76 (pl. 22); Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 40; Haas 1966, 119 no. 40; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 40 (as variant of B 6); *TITUS*, no. 40; Orel 1997a, 94 no. W\*-31.

ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕ ΚΑΚΕΝ  
ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΟΡ, ΔΕΩΣ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ ΚΕ ΤΙΤ-  
ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ- • ΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ.

1 Σ[E]ΜΟΥΝ Ramsay : σεμουν *cett.* || 2 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΟΡ ΔΕΩΣ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ Κ(Ε) ΕΤΙΤ|ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ[N]ΟΣ Ramsay : αδδακετορ, δεως ζεμελωσ κε τιτ|τετικμε[v]ος Calder : αδδακετορ δεως ζεμελωσ κε τιτ|τετικμενος Ramsay: αδδακετορ δεως ζεμελωσ κ επιτ|τετικμενος Haas : αδδακετορ δεως ζεμελωσ κε τιτ|τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed (in the sight o) gods and men.’

## 25. Şuhut (Synnada)

### 25.1

Door-stele (1 x 0,75 x 0,16-0,20 m) identified in 1973 by Marc Waelkens in Afyon Museum (without inv. no.), it is said to be found in Çai, but because its typology is considered to come from Synnada. “Il s’agit d’un monument rectangulaire, taillé dans un bloc de marbre blanc veiné de rouge des carrières de Dokimeion. Son dos a été travaillé à la pinte, tandis que les côtés et la face sont dressés à la gradine. Ce traitement indique que le monument - comme le groupe de pierres tombales à fausse porte qu’il imite et don il sera question plus loin - fut à l’origine encastré dans un ensemble funéraire plus grand” (Brixhe & Waelkens 1981, 68). Dated ca. 150-200 AD. The inscription is engraved in the pediment. Cursive letters (0,9 cm) with ligatures.

Brixhe & Waelkens 1981, 68-75 (with photograph); *SEG* 31.1126; Waelkens 1986, 191 no. 470 (Tafel 70, no. 470); *TITUS*, no. 115 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 124-125 no. W\*-56.

Ἀριστόξ[ενος] ἰδ[ί]ω πενθερῶ Ἀδυμήτω Θαλαμείδα.  
ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ ΣΑ Τ[Ο]Υ ΤΕΓΜΑΣ,  
ΤΙΕ ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ.

1 Θαλαμείδα Brixhe - Waelkens et Orel : θαλαμείδα Waelkens : θαλαμείδα *SEG* || 3 τι επιτετικμενος Brixhe-Waelkens, Waelkens et *SEG* : τιε τιτ τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

[Greek] Aristox[enos] for his own father-in-law Adymetos Thalamidas. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this plot, let him be accursed.'

## 25.2

Complete inscription on a broken stele ("H. 0.53, w. 0.40, th. 0.12, l. h. 0.03" Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 109), preserved in Afyon Museum. The stele preserves the settings lines above and below the letters. Interpunction is used only in the syllables of the common theonym and participle of the Phrygian imprecation. Rectangular sigma and epsilon. Hedera separates the Greek text from the Phrygian one.

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 109-111 no. 1; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 126 (only enumerated).

Τρόφιμος Καί-  
σαρος δοῦλος  
καὶ Οὐαλερία Γλυκέ-  
4 α Κλαυδία Πρεπούση  
συνγενίδι καὶ εὐεργ-  
έτιδι. 6• ιος νι σεμουν  
κνουμανε κακ[ου]ν αδ-  
8 δακετ, Τι•ε τιτ•τε[•]τι•-

[κμενος] ειτου.

[Greek] Trophimos slave of Caesar and Valeria Glykea (made it) for Claudia Preopusa their relative and benefactor. [Phrygian] Whoever does ha[r]m to this tomb, let him be acc[ursed] by Zeus.'

## 26. Inli

### 26.1

Inscription copied by Ramsay in August 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 390 no. VIII (with copy); Calder 1911, 168 no. VIII; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 8; Haas 1966, 115 no. 8; *TITUS*, no. 8; Orel 1997a, 71-72 no. W\*-19.

[--- ...]μενος ειτου.

1 ]μενος *TITUS et Orel* : τετικ]μενος *Clader et Friedrich* : ] μενος *Haas* : fort. [--- (τι)(τ)τετικ]μενος aut [--- γεγαριτ]μενος.

'[---] let thim be [---]ed.'



1 [Ἀπολ]λώνιος Μά[νου δις(?)] *MAMA et Orel* || 2 [καὶ Ἀθην]αῖς Ἀτεμει[σίου(?) ὑῶ] *MAMA et Orel* || 3 [Γ]αίω [κα]ῖ πενθερᾶ *MAMA et Orel* : [---- καὶ] πενθερ *Haas* || 7 ΣΥΝΕΠΕΚΕΥΑΣΑΝ *lapis* : συνεπε<σ>κεύασαν *MAMA et Orel* : συνεπεσκεύασαν *Haas* || 12 ουε[βας] *fort. \*ουε[βενος]* || 12-13 κορου ΟΥΤ[----- ζεμ]ελωσι κε δεως [κε Αττιε(?)] *MAMA* : κ ορου ου[εβαν εγερει ? ζεμ]ελωσι κε θεως [-----] *Haas* : κ'ορουε[.....ζεμ]ελωσι κε θεω[σι Diakonoff - Neroznak ΚΟΡΟΥ ΟΥ[Ε.ΒΑΝ ΕΓΕΡΕΤ? ΖΕΜ]]ΕΛΩΣΙ ΚΕ ΔΕΩΣ [ΚΕ ΑΤΤΙΕ] *TITUS* : νι κ ορου ουταν ....[ζεμ]μελωσι *Orel* || 14 κε τιτετικμ[ενος *MAMA* : κ επιτετικμ[ενος *Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : κε τι τετικμ[ενος *TITUS et Orel* || 15 στ' ἐκτει[σει] *dub.* : ΚΕΟΤΕΚΤΕΙ *MAMA* : στ εκτει[σει] *dub. Haas et dub. TITUS* : κε στ τ<αλάντους> ἐκτει[σει(?)] *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : κε στεκτει[---] *Orel*.

[Greek] [Apol]onios (and) Man[os ...] Athenians, Atemi[... and G]aius and (their) mother-in-law [and dau]ghter Ammia made this memorial for (their) parents for the sake of their goodness and [their] children A[mmia] and Manes and Photion and Mamme built (it) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [does] harm to th[is to]mb [o]r the plot of this mem[orial], [let him be] accurs[ed by Zeus in the sight of m]en and gods [Greek] and he shall pa[y] 370 (drachmae).'

## 28. Sağır

### 28.1

Inscription read on a bomos found “on an Imperial Estate near Antiochia ad Pisidiam” (Calder 1913, 101) by Ramsay and Calder in 1911.

Calder 1913, 101-103 no. LXXI; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 71; Haas 1966, 124 no. 71; Haas 1970, 49 no. 71; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 71; *TITUS*, no. 71; *Orel* 1997a, 104-105 no. W\*-38.

τις κε γερε[ν/τ],  
τιτετικμ[ε]-  
νοι ιννου.

1-3 τις κ<ε> εγερει[τ, ε]|τιτετικμ[ε]|νοι ιννου *Calder et Friedrich* : τις κ εγερει[τ ε]|τιτετικμ[ε]|νοι ινοου *Haas* : ις(?) *uel* τις κε γερε[ν ε]|τικμ[ε]|νοι ιννου *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΤΙΣ Κ ΕΓΕΡΕ[Τ] | ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜ[Ε]ΝΟΙ ΙΝΝΟΥ *TITUS* : τ.ις κε γερε[τ] | τιτ κμ[ε]νοι ιννου *Orel*.

‘Whoever ..., let them be accurs[e]d.’

## 29. Yukarıkaşıkara

### 29.1

Calcareous pediment-stele (0,52 x 0,73 x 0,36; letters 0.025) found by Drew-Bear in the wall of a house. In 1997 Brixhe and Drew-Bear were able to see it again and complete the reading.

Brixhe 1978a, 7 no. 114 (fragment); Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1978, 50-54 (fragment); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 83-84 no. B 111 (fragment); *TITUS*, no. 114 (fragment); Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 71-80 no. I (fig. 4, complete); *Orel* 1997a, 123-124 no. W\*-55 (fragment).

4            ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε-  
               ρετ ατ νουκτ-                    ον μρος σας, ιος  
               κε βρειτ περβ-                    εδαν, τη τιτ-  
               τετικμενο-                            ς ειτου.

1 ιος νι σεμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε|ρετ *Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1997* : [ ca. 13/14 lettres ] μανη κακον αββε|[ρετ] *Brixhe* : [ιος νι σεμον κνου]μανη κακον αββε|[ρετ] *Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1978, Diakonoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel* : ασβε|[ρετ] *quoque dub. propg. Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 2 νουκτον fort. νουκτ[-]ον : ατ νουκτον μροσσας *Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1997* : ατνου κτον μρος σας *Lubotsky in Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1997* : ]ΟΝΜΠΟΣΣΑΣ, ιος *Brixhe et Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1978* : ]ον μρος σας, ιος *TITUS et Orel* || 3-4 κεβρειτ περβεδαν, τη τιτ | τετικμενος *Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1997* : ]ΕΔΑΝ τι ητιτ[ε|τικμενο]ς *Brixhe et Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1978* : ]εσαντητιτ[ε|τικμενο]σειτου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ]εδαν τη τι τ[ε|τικμενο]ς *TITUS et Orel*.

‘Whoever brings harm to [t]his tomb by beating to this μρος and who breaks’ the monument<sup>2</sup>, let him be accursed (by) Zeus.’

### 30. Karadilli

#### 30.1

Inscription found by Ramsay “on the top of a fountain in the plain below Kara-dil-li”, who also added that “the stone has been carefully defaced by the mason; and only a few letters are legible” (Ramsay 1905, 101). According to Calder, “the stone bearing this inscription had been deliberately hacked all over, and it was difficult in many places to distinguish the modern chisel-marks from the original letters” (1913, 98). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 101 no. XXXIX; Calder 1911, 182-183 no. XXIX; Calder 1913, 97 no. XXXIX; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 39; Haas 1966, 119 no. 39; Haas 1970a, 47 no. 39; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 39 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 6); *TITUS*, no. 39 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 92-93 no. W\*-30.

4            [                    ] A-  
               φφα ή άδεληφ ή αυ-  
               [τοϋ                    ]  
               [                    ]  
               [... μ]νήμησ χ[άρι]ν.  
               ιος νι σ[εμ]ον τ[ου] κνου-  
               μαν[ε] κακουν τι αδ[δ]α-  
               8            κετ, διοσ [κ]ε σζεμελωσ  
               κε τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμεν[οσ] ει-  
               του, ατ τη κε αδειτου.

1 κ]α[ι Calder 1913, Friedrich et Orel || 2 ]ΛΗΛΔΕΙΦΗΛΥ Ramsay : -ίλ]λη άδε[ρ]φή [α]ύ|[τοϋ] Calder 1911 : \*A]φφα ή άδεληφ ή αυ|[τοϋ] Calder 1913 et Friedrich || 4 [άνέστησ]αν Calder 1911 et Calder 1913 || 5 [μ]νήμησ χ[άρι]ν Calder 1913, Friedrich, Haas et Orel || 8 [δ]ιοσ [κ]ε [σ?]ζμ[ελ]ωσ Calder 1913 et Friedrich : διοσ [κ]ε σζεμελωσ Haas, *TITUS* : σζεμ[ελ]ωσ Orel || 9 κε τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμε[νοσ] ει|του Calder 1913, Friedrich : κ

ξιτι[τ]ε[τ]ικμεν[ος] ει[του] Haas : ΚΕ ΤΙΤ [Τ]Ε[Τ]ΙΚΜΕΝ[ΟΣ] ΕΙ[ΤΟ]Υ ΤΙΤΟΥ TITUS : κε τιτ [τ]ε[τ]ικμεν[ος] Orel || 10 του Αττιη κε αδειτου Ramsay : ΤΟ - Γ Αττιη κε αδειτου Calder 1911 : Αττιη κε αδειτου Calder 1913, Friedrich : αττιη κε αδειτου Haas : ατ τη κε αδειτου TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] [---] Appa, his sister [--- i]n memory. [Phrygian] Whoever d[o]es some harm to t[h]is tom[b], let him be a[c]cu[r]se[d] (in the sight of) gods [a]nd men and let him become (accursed) by Zeus.’

## 30.2

Copied by Calder in 1911, “the stone on which this inscription was engraved had just been broken into fragments to build into the wall of a new mosque. I was able to find only [...] two pieces. It is uncertain how many lines are lost after the first line; the edges did not fit exactly, and a thin piece had been lost” (Calder 1913, 98). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1913, 98 no. LXVIII; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 68; Haas 1966, 124 no. 68; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 68 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 68 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 103-104 no. W\*-37.

1 Ἀπολλώνιος [  
 ---  
 2 ζῶν]-  
 3 τες και φρονου̣[τες ανέστη]-  
 4 σαν. ιος νι <σ>εμ[ουν κνουμανε? κα]-  
 κουν αδακε[τ --- ατ τι]-  
 ε τιτετικ[μενος ειτου].

1 Ἀπολλώνιος [καὶ ἡ δεῖνα] Calder et Friedrich : Ἀπολλώνιος [καὶ ---] Haas et Orel || 2 [σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶν]|τες Calder et Friedrich : [... ζῶν]|τες Haas et Orel || 5 αδακε[τ, δεως ζεμελωσ] Calder et Friedrich : αδακετ[... Haas : ΑΔΑΚΕ[...]|Ε TITUS : αδακε[τ, δεως ζεμελωσ κ]|ε Orel || 6 αδειτου] uel ειτου] : ετι[τ]τετικ[μενος ειτου] Calder, Friedrich et Haas : τι[τ] τετικ[μενος ειτου] titus et Orel.

‘[Greek] Apolonios [---], whilst they are alive and of sound mi[nd, erect]ed (it). [Phrygian] Whoever doe[s ha]rm to <t>hi[is tomb ---, let him be] accur[sed by Zeu]s.’

## 31. Büyükkabaca

### 31.1

“Stele with gable in the wall of a large water-trough in the village fountain. The inscription is partly submerged” (Sterrett 1888b, 402). “Limestone pediment, with circular ornament in tympanum and acroteria on each side; much worn by water, and lower edge (now forming the upper front of the trough) broken and chipped. H. 0.70; w. 1.40; th. at edge, 0.14; letters, 0.02 to 0.032”. Nowadays it can be seen in the façade of the mosque of Dere Mahallesi, according to Brixhe & Drew-Bear (1997, 100). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 400 no. XXIX (only Sterrett’s copy of the Phrygian text); Sterrett 1888b, 402 no. 590; Ramsay 1905, col. 119-120 no. XXIX; Calder 1911, 177-178 no. XXIX; Friedrich 1932,

132 no. 29; *MAMA* IV, 88-89 no. 240 (fig. 21); Haas 1966, 120 no. 29; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 29 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 26); *TITUS*, no. 29; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 110-113 no. VIII; Orel 1997a, 90-91 no. W\*-27; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 125 (only enumerated); Bru 2017, 409 Fig. 39 (only photo).

(Pediment:)

Μεννέας, Αππας, Διογέν-  
ης, υἱὸι Διογένους, ἐποίησαν  
διὰ τεχνήτο<υ> Νουναδος.

(Molding:)

4 ιος σεμουν κνουμανε  
αινι μαγκᾱ κᾱκον αδδακ-  
[ετ, ---]

2 οἱ Διογένους ἐποίησαν *Sterrett, Ramsay 1905, Calder et Friedrich* : υἱὸι Διογένους *MAMA, Haas et Brixhe - Drew-Bear* || 3 ΔΙΑΤΕΧΝΗΤΟΝΟΥΝΑΔΟΣ *lapis* : διὰ τεχνητ[ῶ]ν *et dub.* Οὐνά(λ)π[ου] *Sterrett* : διὰ τεχνήτο<υ> Νουναῶ. δπσ' *Ramsay 1905, Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et Orel* : διὰ τεχνίτο<υ> Μουναδος *Brixhe - Drew-Bear* || 4 ιος σεμουν κνουμανε *Ramsay 1905, MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel* : κνουμανε|ι *Calder et Friedrich* || 5 κε] αινι μανκα κακον αδδακ|[ετ] *Ramsay 1905* : αινι μανκα κακον αδδακ|[ετ] *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : αινι μανκαν κακουν αδδακ| *Haas et TITUS* : αινι μαγκᾱ κᾱκον αδδακ|[ετ] --- *Brixhe - Drew-Bear* : αι νι *Orel*.

‘[Greek] Menneas, Appas (and) Diogenes, children of Digones, made it through the craft Nunas. [Phrygian] Whoever do[es] harm to this tomb or stele, [---].’

## 32. Alcibar - Senirkent

### 32.1

“Aljibar, in a courtyard. Plain limestone slab. H. 0·74; w. 0·92; th. 0·23; letters, 0·02 to 0·035, clear but not deep cut. The inscription is aligned 0·09 from the l. edge and begins 0·09 from the top; the slab is otherwise uninscribed” (*MAMA* IV, 88). Dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.

*MAMA* IV, 88 no. 239 (pl. 51); Haas 1966, 127 no. 93; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 47 (as variant of B 75); *TITUS*, no. 93; Orel 1997a, 116-117 no. W\*-47.

ιος νι σεμον  
κνουμανε κακοῦ  
αδακετ, δεως  
4 ζεμελωσ τιτετικ-  
μενος ειτου.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb, let thim be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.’

### 33. Yassiören

#### 33.1

Found and copied by Sterret: “Yaztü Verau. In the wall of the Djami” (Sterrett 1888b, 393). “Limestone bomos, with defaced bust in relief on the front; the text runs above, below, and on each side of the bust. H. 0·55; w. 0·36; th. 0·22; letters, 0·015 to 0·03” (MAMA IV 1933: 89). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 400 no. XXVIII (with Sterrett’s copy of the Phrygian text); Sterrett 1888b, 393 no. 571; Ramsay 1905, col. 118-119 no. XXVIII (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 177 no. XXVIII (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 28 (only the Phrygian text); Calder, MAMA IV, 89 no. 241 (pl. 52); Haas 1966, 118 no. 28; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 28 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 28 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 89-90 no. W\*-26.

Νεικων καὶ Νεικη  
ἐατῶ καὶ τοῖς  
ἰδίοις τέκνοις  
4 μνήμης (*eroded*  
*relief*) χάριν.  
ιοσ νι σε- μουν  
κνου- μανε  
8 κακο- υν αδα-  
κετ, ι<sup>2</sup>ος τιτετουκμε-  
νουν ειτου.

1 Νείκων καὶ Νείκη Sterrett, MAMA et Orel : Νεικων καὶ Νεικη Haas || 3 ΤΕΚΤΟΙΣ lapis. : ἰδίοις τέκτοις Sterrett : τέκ(ν)οις MAMA : ἰδίοις τέκ[ν]οις Haas et Orel || 7 κνουμανε MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel : κνουμανε[ι] dub. Ramsay 1905, Calder et Friedrich || 8 ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔ[ΔΑ] Ramsay 1905 : κακουν αδ[δα]κετ Calder et Friedrich : κακουν αδα|κετ MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel || 9 ι<sup>2</sup>ος : fort. τοσ : ΚΕΤ ΙΣ ΕΤΙΤΕΤΟΥΚΜΕ|ΝΟΥΝ Ramsay 1905 : ις ετιτετουκμε|νουν Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak : ιος τιτετουκμε|νουν MAMA : ιος τι τετουκμε|νουν TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] Nikon and Nike for himself and their own children in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let them be accursed.’

#### 33.2

“Yaztu Veran, in the gate beside a foundation known locally as the Hamam. Limestone architrave, with projecting moulding, formerly bearing two lines of script, the upper one of which is now erased; broken at both ends. H. 0·40; w. 1·15; th. 0·70; letters, 0·025” (MAMA IV, 89).

MAMA IV, 89 no. 243 (pl. 52); Haas 1966, pg. 127, no. 95; TITUS, no. 95; Orel 1997a, 117 no. W\*-48.

[---]  
[..]. ιος σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν [.....]  
[---]

‘[---]. Whoever does harm [---]’

### 33.3

Broken gravestone with pediment where an eagle is depicted (“H. 0.65, w. 1.14, th. 0.37, l. h. line 1 0.02, line 2 0.025, line 3 0.015” Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 111) found in 2002 in the school of the village (said to be taken from the Gani Baba street) and preserved in the Isparta Museum. Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky & Üyümez 2008, 111-112 no. 2; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 127 (only enumerated).

Ζωσᾶς καὶ Βαβεις Ἀντιόχῳ Μενέου Αἴθοντος καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν]  
γονεῦσιν ζῶσιν καὶ φρονοῦσιν εὐνοίας καὶ μν[ήμης χάριν].  
ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αδακετ, τιε τιτετικμεν[ος ειτου].

3 ΑΔΑΚΤΕ *lapis*.

‘[Greek] Zosas and Babeis, for Antiochos (son) of Meneas (grandson) of Aithon, and for [their] parents who are alive and of sound mind, because of their good will and in their memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm on this grave, [let him be] accurse[d] by Zeus.’

## 34. Senirkent

### 34.1

Inscription read “on a fragment of architrave of a large heroon: the inscription was engraved in two long lines, most of which is lost. Complete on right” (Ramsay 1905, colum. 100). The block (H. 0.42; w. 1.08; letters, 0.025) was used in the wall of the Büyük mosque (MAMA IV, 89). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 100 no. XXXVII; Calder 1911, 184 no. XXXVII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 37; MAMA IV, 89 no. 242 (pl. 52); Haas 1966, 119 no. 37; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 37 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); *TITUS*, no. 37 (only the Phrygian text).

[ μ]νήμης χάριν. ̣̣ ιος κε σεμουν κνουμανε ̣̣  
[κακουν αδδακετ, τιτετικμενο]ς ειτου.̣̣

1 μνήμης χάριν ι{σ}ος κε σεμουν κνουμανε *propg. Ramsay, seq. Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et TITUS* || 2 κακουν αδδακετ τετικμενο]ς ειτου *Calder, Haas et TITUS* : κακουν αδδακετ τετικμενο[ς ειτου] *sic Friedrich* : [. . . τετικμενο]ς ειτου (*leaf*) *MAMA*.

‘[Greek] [--- i]n memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [does harm] to this tomb, let him be [accurse]d.’

### 35. Uluborlu (Apollonia)

#### 35.1

Inscription copied by Hamilton.

Hamilton 1842, 490 Appendix V no. 449; *CIG* III, 58 no. 3974; Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 4 (pl. A); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 12; Ramsay 1887, 339 no. XXV; Ramsay 1905, col. 118 no. XXV; Calder 1911, 176-177 no. XXV; Friedrich 1932, 132 no. 25; Haas 1966, 117 no. 25; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 81-82 no. B 25 (as variant of B 6); *TITUS*, no. 25; Orel 1997a, 87-89 no. W\*-25; Obrador-Cursach 2016, 182.

ιος νι σιμου  
κνουμανι κακουν αβ-  
βιρετο αινι μμυρα, τος  
4 νι δ[ιως ζ]ιμελωσ τι μεκα  
τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου.

2 κνουμαν[ε]ι [κ]ακουν *et dub.* αββιρετο Ramsay 1887 : KNOY MANI [K]AKOYN *et dub.* AB|BIPETO Ramsay 1905 : κνουμανι [κ]ακουν αβ|βιρετο<ρ> Calder et Friedrich : κνουμανι [κ]ακουν αβ|βιρετο Haas, *TITUS* et Orel || 3 αινιμ μμυρα τος|νι Haas : AINIM *et dub.* ΜΥΡΑΤΟΣ Ramsay 1905 : μ<α>[νκ]α, τος Calder et Friedrich : αινιμ μμυρα τος|νι Haas : AINI ΜΜΥΡΑ ΤΟΣ *TITUS* et Orel || 4 μεκα *fort.* μεκα[ι] : νι [δεος?] ζ[ε]μ[ε]λω [ε]τιμεκατ[ι] Ramsay 1887 : ΝΙ [ΔΕΟΣ Ζ]ΙΜΕΛΩΣ ΤΙ ΜΕΚΑ|Τ[ι] Ramsay 1905 : νι [δεος ζ]ιμ[ε]λωσ τι με κ<ε> Α|τ[τι] Calder et Friedrich : [δεος ζ]ιμελωσι με κα|τ[---]τιττετικμενος Haas : Δ[ΕΩΣ Ζ]ΙΜΕΛΩΣ ΤΙ ΜΕ Κ Α|Τ[---] *TITUS* : δ[εωσ ζ]ιμελωσ τι μεκα|τ[..] Orel || 5 τιττετικμενος Calder et Friedrich : [ε]τιττετικμενος Ramsay 1887 et 1905 : τιτ τετικμενος ειτου *TITUS* et Orel.

‘Whoever brings harm or mistreatments to this tomb, let thim be accursed by the great Z[eus] (in the sight of) g[ods and m]en.’

### 36. Şarkıkaraağaç (Tetrapolis)

#### 36.1

Copied by Sterrett.

Sterrett 1885, 11 no. 6; Sterrett 1888a, 176 no. 175; Ramsay 1887, 399-400 no. XXVI; Ramsay 1905, col. 118 no. XXVI; Calder 1911, 177 no. XXVI; Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 26; Haas 1966, 117 no. 26; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 26; *TITUS*, no. 26; Orel 1997a, 327 no. S\*-06.

ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑ-  
ΝΕ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ  
ΜΑΝΚΑ, ΤΙΕ ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙ-  
4 ΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ.

2 δακετ, αινι *Ramsay 1887* || 3 μανκατι επιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887* : ΜΑΝΚΑ ΤΙ ΕΤΙΤΤΕΤΙ|ΚΜΕΝΟΣ *Ramsay 1905* : μανκα, τι επιττετι|κμενος *Calder* : μανκα τι επιττετι|κμενος *Friedrich, Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : μανκα τιε τιτ τετι|κμενος *TITUS et Orel*.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb or stele, let him be accursed (by) Zeus.’

### 36.2

Copied by Sterret. Beginning of a Phrygian imprecative protasis.

*Sterrett 1885*, 11 no. 7; *Ramsay 1887*, 400 no. XXVII; *Ramsay 1905*, col. 118 no. XXVII; *Calder 1911*, 177 no. XXVII; *Friedrich 1932*, 133 no. 27; *Haas 1966*, 117 no. 27; *Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985*, 77 no. B 27 (as variant of B 10); *TITUS*, no. 27; *Orel 1997a*, 327-328 no. S\*-07.

ΙΟΣ ΣΕΜΟΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΟΔ[---]

1 οδ[---] *fort.* οδ[(δ)ακετ].

‘Whoever d[oes] harm to this tomb [---].’

### 36.3

Read on a “block with plain moulding in front. H. 0·44; w. 0·76; th. 0·46; letters 0·03 to 0·04” (*MAMA VIII*, 62).

*MAMA VIII*, 62 no. 347 (pl. 171); *Haas 1966*, 127 no. 94; *Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985*, 82 no. B 94 (as variant of B 75); *TITUS*, no. 94; *Orel 1997a*, 349-350 no. S\*-19

[ΙΟΣ Σ]Α ΜΑΚΚΑ ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΑΚΕΤ,  
ΑΤ ΤΙΕ ΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ.

1 [ΙΟΣ Σ]Α ΜΑΚΚΑ *suppl.* *MAMA et cett. seq.* || 2 Αττι επιτετικμενος *MAMA* : αττι τετικμενος *Haas* : ατ τιε τι τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Whoever] does harm to [th]is tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus.’

### 37. Akşehir (Philomelion)

#### 37.1

Found and copied by Sterrett and Ramsay “high in the wall of the Mekteb Djami” (Ramsay 1887, 391). Lunate sigma and epsilon. A later Byzantine inscriptions with a cross was added.

Ramsay 1887, 391 no. X; Ramsay 1905, col. 112-113 no. X; Calder 1911, 169-170 no. X; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 10; Haas 1966, 115-116 no. 10; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 10; *TITUS*, no. 10 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 321- 322 no. S\*-01.

Αμμια Πατ[ηρᾶ] καὶ [Πα]ππα,  
[πα]ιδίοις [αὐτ]ῆς μνή-  
μη[ς χάρι]ν.  
4 ιος νι σεμουν του κνου-  
μανει κακουν αδδακετ,  
[τιττ]ετικμενος ειτου.

✠ Νηκίτας

1 Ἀμμία Πατ[ηρᾶ] καὶ [Παπ]πᾶ Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel || 2-3 <τέκνοις> ιδίοις [αὐτ]ῆς μνή||μη[ς χάρι]ν  
Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel || 6 ΕΤΙΤ]ΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Ramsay 1905, Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak : [τιτ]ετικμενος  
Calder et Friedrich : [τιτ τ]ετικμενος *TITUS* et Orel || 7 om. Calder.

‘[Greek] Ammia for Pat[era] and [Pa]pa, [h]er [ch]ildren, in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be [ac]cursed. [Greek] Niketas.’

#### 37.2

On the top of a door-stone (“H. 0·98; w. 0·65; letters 0·02” *MAMA* VII, 39). Seen for the last time by Calder in 1910. Classic sigma but lunate epsilon.

Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 163 no. 271; Ramsay 1905, col. 86-88 no. XXX; Calder 1911, 178-179 no. XXX; Friedrich 1932, 132 no. 30; *MAMA* VII, 39 no. 195 (pl. 10-11 no. 195); Haas 1951, 14-15 no. 30; Haas 1966, 118 no. 30; Haas 1970a, 49 and 60 no. 30; Haas 1970b, 14-15 no. 30; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 85 no C 30; Waelkens 1986, 263-264 no. 6780 (Tafel 86 no. 678); *TITUS*, no. 30; Orel 1997a, 328-329 no. S\*-08 (lines 1-2 as Greek).

[.....]ι επι  
[.....]ει κ' ονομα

[.....] δουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. σιβη  
4 [.....] ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειτ'ου.

1-2 om. *Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* || 1 ]ιεπρι *Haas* : ]ι επρι *TITUS* : [---]ι έπρ[[ίατο . . .] *Orel* || 2 εικονομα *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : εικω όνομα *sic. Orel* || 3 Αύρ. Δουδας ακαλας εθκιν αργου σιβη]ους *Calder et Friedrich* : Δουδας Ακαλας ευκιν αργου ΣΙΒΗ *Haas et Titus et Orel* : Δουδας Ακαλας ευκιν αργου ΣΙΒΗ *Waelkens* || 4 ]ουεβαν *fort.* ]ουεβαν : βανεκος Τοια κ<ε> Κιολτα ηκεταν έπ<οίησε>ν *Calder et Friedrich* : ]ουεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω αυτα ηκεν ανειτγου *Haas* : ουεβαν ΕΚΡΕΤΟΙΑΚΚΟΛΤΑ ηκετ ΑΝΕΙΤΗΝ *Waelkens*: ]ΟΥΕΒΑΝ ΕΓΕΡΕΤ ΟΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΑΥΤΑΗ ΚΕ ΤΑΝ ΕΙΤΤΗΝΟΥ *TITUS* : [...]ουεβαν εγερετοι ακ κολταη κε ταν επταν *sic. Orel*.

### 38. Doğanhisar (near Hadrianoupolis)

#### 38.1

Inscription found by Sterrett: “Daghan Hissar. On a sarcophagus used as a water-trough in a fountain near a Djami” (1888a, 176). Ander and Calder (in 1908) were able to copy it again, but now it is lost. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Sterrett 1888a, 176 no. 174; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLIV; Calder 1911, 185 no. XLIV; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 44; *MAMA VII*, 27 no. 137, (pl. 8); Haas 1966, 120, no. 44; *TITUS*, no. 44; *Orel 1997a*, 336-337 no. S\*-11.

[ι]ος αγ σ[ε]μων κακου]ν κνουμ-  
μανει δοκε[τ, ατ τ]ι αδειτου.

1 [Ι]ΟΣ ΑΝ Σ[Ε]ΜΟΥΝ ΚΑΚΟ]Ν ΚΝΟΥΜ|ΜΑΝΕΙ *Ramsay* : [ι]ος αν σ[ε]μων κακου]ν κνου[μ]|μανει *Calder et Friedrich* : [ι]ος αγ σ[ε]μων κακου]ν κνουμ|μανει *Haas, TITUS et Orel* : ος αγ σ[ε]μων? κακου]ν κνουμ|μανει *MAMA* || 2 δοκε [..... αττ]ιαδ ε ιτου *Anderson* : ΔΟΚΕ[Τ...ΑΤΤ]ΙΑΔ ΕΙΤΟΥ *Ramsay* : δοκε[τ, Αττ]ι αδειτου *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : δοκε[τ αττ]ιαδειτου *Haas* : δοκε[τ ατ τ]ι αδειτου *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Wh]oever doe[s harm to this tomb], let him become (accursed) [by Ze]us.’

### 39. Argitanı

#### 39.1

Copied by Sterrett and Ramsay in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 391). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Ramsay 1887, 391-392 no. XI; Ramsay 1905, col. 113 no. XI; Calder 1911, 70 no. XI; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 11; Haas 1966, 116 no. 11; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 11; *TITUS*, no. 11; *Orel 1997a*, 322-323 no. S\*-02.

[ι]ος σε]μων κνου-  
[μανε]ι κακων  
[....]αν αββε-  
4 [ρετ, τι]τετικμε-  
[νος α]τ τι αδε-  
[ι]του.

1-2 ἰος σε]μον κνου[μ]ανε]ι Ramsay 1887 et cett. secuti || 3 [----]αν Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak et TITUS : [χειρ?]αν e.g. Ramsay 1887 : [ZEIP?]AN e.g. Ramsay 1905 : [ζειρ]αν Calder et Friedrich : [μ]ανκ]αν Orel || 3-6 αββε|[ρετ ετι]τετικμε|[νος ας]ττιαδ ε|[ι]του Ramsay 1887 : ABBE|[PET], TETIKME|[NOS A]TTIAΔ E|[ι]TOY Ramsay 1905 : αββε|[ρετ, τι]τετικμε|[νος Α]ττι αδε|[ι]του Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak : αββε|[ρετ ετι]τετικ[μ]ε|[νος α]ττι αδε|[ι]του Haas : αββε|[ρετ τι] τετικ[μ]ε|[νος α]τ τι αδε|[ι]του TITUS et Orel.

‘[Who]ever brin[gs] harm to this t[om]b, let him become [a]ccursed [b]y Zeus.’

## 40. Ilgin (\*Lageina)

### 40.1

On a white marble stone reused in the wall of a bath (CIG, 62). Copied by Seetzen in October 1803 according to CIG, and by Hamilton. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Hamilton 1842 II, 478 Appendix no. 383; CIG III, 62 pars XVII no. 3986; Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 3 (pl. A); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 13; Schmidt 1869, 132-136; Ramsay 1887, 391-393 no. XII; Ramsay 1905, col. 113-114, XII; Calder 1911, 170-172 no. XII; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 12; Haas 1966, 116 no. 12; Haas 1970a, 60 no. 12; TITUS, no. 12; Orel 1997a, 323-324 no. S\*-03.

Εὐδαμ[ος ἰ]π[π]εὺ[ς]  
 Πρήσχη γυν<α>ικ[ἰ]  
 καὶ ἑαυτῶ ζῶν  
 4 μνήμης χάριν.

ΕΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ  
 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ, ΖΕΙΡΑ ΚΕ ΟΙ ΠΕΤΕΣ ΚΕ ΤΙΤ-  
 ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΑ ΑΤ ΤΙΕ ΑΔΕΙΤΤΝΟΥ.

1 ΕΥΔΑΜ..... Hamilton, qui ΠΠΥ om. : Εὐδαμ[ί]ων ἐπίσηε τῇ CIG : Εὐδαμ[ος Ἀρχί]π[που] Ramsay 1887 : Εὐδαμ[ίνω] Π[ρ]ε[ι]βει] Ramsay 1905 : Εὐδαμ[ος ἰ]π[π]εὺ[ς] Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel || 2 [Π]ρήσχη dub. : Hamilton om. : [τ]ῆ [γ]υν[α]ικὴ CIG et Ramsay 1905 : ....]χη [γ]υν[α]ικὴ Ramsay 1887 : [Π]ρ[ή]σχη [γ]υν<α>ικ[ἰ] dub. Calder et Friedrich : [π]ρ[ή]σχη [γ]υν<α>ικ[ἰ] Haas || 6 ζειρα κε οιπεις κ<ε> ετι|τετικμενα Ramsay 1887 : ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΖΕΙΡ[ΑΝ], ΑΚΕΟΙ ΠΕΙΕΣ Κ<Ε> ΕΤΙΤ|ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΑ Ramsay 1905 : αδδακετ ζειρ ακεοι πειες κε τιτ|τετικμενα Calder et Friedrich : αδδακετ ζειρ ακε οι πειες κ ετιτ|τετικμενα Haas : αδδακετ ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιτ TITUS et Orel || 7 τετικμενα ατ Τιε αδειττνου TITUS : TETIKMENA ATTIEAD EITTONOY Ramsay 1905 : Αττι[ε] αδειττνου Calder et Friedrich : αττι[ε] αδειττνου Haas : ατ τι [ε] αδειττνου Orel.

‘[Greek] Eudam[os e]q[u]ite[s] for his wife Presche and for himself, whilst he is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let his hands and feet become accursed by Zeus.’

## 40.2

Inscription copied by Ramsay in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 393). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 393 no. XIII; Calder 1911, 172 no. XIII; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 13; Haas 1966, 116 no. 13; *TITUS*, no. 13; Orel 1997a, 325 no. S\*-04

[--- κ]ακουν αββερετ αιγ[ι ---]  
[---] αδειτου.

1 αισ fort. αιγ[ι] uel αι τ[ι]ε : ιος σεμον κνουμανι κ]ακουν αββερετ, αι. Ramsay 1887 : αββερεται, [ε]τιττετικμενος Calder et Friedrich : κ]ακουν αββερετ αι[. Haas, *TITUS et Orel* || 2 ..... επιττετικμενος αστι]αδ ειτου. Ramsay : [Αττιε] αδειτου. Calder et Friedrich : [-----]αδειτου Haas, *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[---] brings [h]arm o[r ---], let him become [---].’

## 40.3

Copied in Ilghin by Anderson (1898 II, 121). According to Ramsay (1905, col. 88), it is “the oldest of the whole series, and stands midway between the archaic inscriptions and those of the Roman times.”

Anderson 1898 II, 121 no. 67; Ramsay, 1905, col. 88-94 no. XXXI; Calder 1911, 179-180 no. XXXI; Friedrich 1932, 132-133 no. 31; Haas 1951, 12-14 no. 31; Haas 1966, 103-104 II §16/3 and 118 no. 31; Haas 1969, 80-81 no. 31; Haas 1970b, 12-14 no. 31; Kowal 1984b, 180-185; Neumann 1986a; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 85-86 no. C 31; *TITUS*, no. 31; Orel 1997a, 330-331 no. S\*-09.

ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ  
ξενυνοι αδικες εσ'αν uac.  
μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε  
4 μαιμαρηαν, πουκρος μανισ-  
[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετου.  
[... ξ]ενυναν αι δμωσ βροκειω  
[.....] δεκμουταης ιου  
8 [.....] προ τοσου

1 ΑΣΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝ ΑΔΙΘΡΕΡΑ Κ(Ε) Ramsay : ασ σεμουν κνουμανα διθρερα κ<ε> Calder et Friedrich : ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ Haas, *TITUS et Orel* : ας σεμουν κνουμαν' αδιθρερακ' Kowal : Αδιθρερακ Neumann prop. || 2 αδικεσιαν fort. αδικειαν uel αδικερεαν uel αδικερεαι α<ι>ν<ι> : ΞΕΥΝΕΟΙ ΔΔΙΚΕΡΕΙΑΝ Ramsay : Ξενυνοι 'δδικε[τ] ειαν Calder : Ξενυνοι 'δδικες ειαν Friedrich : Ξενυνοι [α]δικεσει αν|μανκαν Haas et Brixhe seq. : Ξενυνοι αδικεσιαν uel αν|μανκαν Kowal : ΞΕΥΝΕΟΙ ΔΔΙΚΕΣ ΕΙΑΝ *TITUS* : εσαν Neumann propg. : ξενυνοι [ε]δικεσιαν [-?] Orel || 3 μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich, Kowal, *TITUS et Orel* : ιαν μανκαν Haas || 4 ΜΑΙΜΑΡΗΑΝ ΠΟΥΚΡΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΣ|ΙΟΥ Ramsay : μαιμαρηαν Πουκρος Μανις|[ου] Calder et Friedrich : μαιμαρηαν πουκρος Μανισουεναπαρκεσδετου Haas : μα<ρ>μαρηαν | Πουκρος Μανις|[ο]υ Kowal : ΜΑΙΜΑΡΗΑΝ ΠΟΥΚΡΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΣΟΥ ΕΝΕΠΑΡΚΕΣ ΔΕΤΟΥΝ *TITUS* : μαιμαρηαν πουκρος μανις | .υ Orel || 5 ΕΝΕΠΑΡΚΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΝ|[βον] Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich : ενεπαρκες δετου Kowal et Orel || 6 Ξ]ενυναν

*dub.* : ΞΕΥΝΑ ΝΑΙΔΜΩΣ ΒΡΟΚΕΙΩ *Ramsay* : Ξευνα ΝΑΙΔΜΩΣΒΡΟΚΕΙΩ *Calder et Friedrich* : Ξευν αναιδμωσ βροκειω *Haas* : Ξευναν αιδμωσ βροκειω *Kowal* || 7 ΠΑΣΕ]ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΗΣΙΟΥ *dub. Ramsay* : ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΗΣΙΟΥ *Calder et Friedrich* : δεκμουταης ιου *Haas, Kowal, TITUS et Orel* || 8 ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ[ΒΡΑ] *dub. Ramsay* : ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ *Calder et Friedrich* : προ τοσου *Kowal* : ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ [ ? *TITUS* : προτοσου [---] *Orel*.

#### 40.4

Stone block “with moulding on the left side, rough below. H. 0·83; w. 0·61; th. 0·19: letters 0·02 to 0·03” (MAMA VII, 21).

MAMA VII, 21-22 no. 108 (pl. 128); *Haas* 1966, 128 no. 102; *TITUS*, no. 102; *Orel* 1997a, 350-351 no. S\*-21.

[ι]ος νι σεμον κνουμανε  
[κα]κον αδακετ αινι α τεαμ-  
[ας, α] τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ-  
4 [ου].

2 αινι ατε<α>μ|[α] MAMA : αινια τεαμ|[α] *Haas* : AINI A TEAM|[ΑΣ] *TITUS* : αι νι α τεαμ|[α] *Orel* || 3 Ατ|τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ|[ου] MAMA : [ε]τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ|[ου] *Haas* : α] τιε τι τετικμενος ειτ|[ου] *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Wh]oever does [ha]rm to this tomb or this plo[t], let him b[e] accursed [b]y Zeus.’

### 41. Mahmuthisar

#### 41.1

“Pedestal with circular column-rest above. Planed in front and on half the sides, otherwise left, otherwise left rough. Pedestal: h. 0·69; w. 0·50 to 0·40; th. 0·60; letters 0·02 to 0·035. Column-res (not rounded behind); h. 0·15; diam. 0·50” (MAMA VII, 27). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*Anderson* 1989 II, 122 no. 68; *Ramsay* 1905, col. 103 no. XLV; *Calder* 1911, 185 no. XLV; MAMA VII, 27 no. 136 (pl. 123); *Friedrich* 1932, 135 no. 45; *Haas* 1966, 120 no. 45; *TITUS*, no. 45; *Orel* 1997a, 337-338 no. S\*-12.

ιος σεμου[ν κ]νουμ-  
ανει κακου[ν α]δδακετ  
τιτετικμενος ατ Τι-  
4 ε αδειτου.

1 ιος σεμου[ν κ]νουμ|ανει *Anderson, Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : ιος σεμου [κ]νουμ|ανει MAMA, *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 2 κα[κ]ε[υ]ν[ν] αδακε[τ] *Anderson, Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : κακευν αδακετ|τιτετικμενος sic. MAMA : κακευν αδακετ *Haas* : κακευν αδδακετ *TITUS et Orel* || 3 τιτετικμενος αττι|εαδ *Anderson et Ramsay* : τιτετικμενος αττι|ε *Calder, MAMA et Friedrich* : τι τετικμενος αττι|ε *Haas* : τιτ τετικμενος ατ τι|ε *TITUS et Orel* || 4 ειδτου *Anderson et Ramsay* : αδειτου *cett.*

‘Whoever does har[m] to th[is t]omb, let him become accursed by Zeus.’

## 42. Söğütözü

### 42.1

Broken calcareous stele (“h. 0-77; w. 0-50; th. 0.41; letters 0-0175 to 0-0225” *MAMA* VII, 2).

*MAMA* VII, 2 no. 10 (pl. 1); Haas 1966, 128 no. 101; *TITUS*, no. 101; Orel 1997a, 350 no. S\*-20.

[ιος νι σεμουν κνο]υνημανει κακουν αδ-  
[δακετ, τιτ<sup>2</sup>τετικμε]νος ατ τι αδειτου.

1 [ιος νι σεμουν κνο]υνημανει κακουν αδ|[δακετ *MAMA et Orel* : [ιος --- κνο]υνημανει κακουν αδ|[δακετ *Haas et TITUS* || 2 τιτετικμεν]ος Αττι αδειτου *MAMA* : τετικμε]γος αττι αδειτου *Haas* : [..ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ]ΝΟΣ ΑΤ ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : τι τετικμε]νος ατ τι αδειτου *Orel*.

‘[Whoever] d[oes] harm [to this to]mb, let him become [accurs]ed by Zeus.’

## 43. Kadınhanı

### 43.1

Engraved on the panels of a stele-door found by Ramsay “in the front wall of the ruined Khan” (Calder 1913, 99). Its “upper panels are broken across the middle, but there is no Greek inscription on the part which remains, and the above is very probably the complete epitaph” (Calder 1913, 99). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omegas.

Calder 1913, 98-101 no. LXIX; *MAMA* I, 23 no. 33; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 69; Haas 1951, 10-12 no. 69; Haas 1966, 124 no. 69; Haas 1970a, 53-54 no. 69; Haas 1970b, 10-12 no. 69; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 86-87 no. C 69; Waelkens 1986, 256-257 no. 664 (*SEG* 36.1191); Laminger-Pascher 1989, 51-53 (lines 1-13 as Greek!) (*SEG* 39.1416); *TITUS*, no. 69; Orel 1997a, 343-348 no. S\*-17; Hämmig fthc. a. no. 69.

	εινεα μ-		
	δους, ξευ-		οκκαυγοι
	νε πειρ α-		ουργουσαε-
4	ρεοπ αδε-		ν. ιος σαι κα-
	ν<π>ατω κγου-	16	κον αδδα-
	μαν [ο]υεκρ-		κετ μανκ-
	ω δαδωνε-		αι, τ[ος] νι
8	ι ονουεια ει-		ζως κε π-
	ροι τε αδενπ-	20	εις κε τιτε-
	ατης δεουε-		τικμενος
	ιας μανεις		ειτου.
12	δαδων κε		



## 44.2

Copied by Calder in 1911, “was engraved on a round pillar; there was no Greek inscription accompanying it. The erasure of most of the letters appeared ancient, and was carefully executed” (Calder 1913, 101).

Calder 1913, 101 no. LXX; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 70; Haas 1966, 124 no. 68; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 7 (confused with 42.1); *TITUS*, no. 70; Orel 1997a, S\*-18.

ιος [νι σεμουv]  
κν[ουμανει κ]-  
ακο[υv αδδα]-  
4 κετ, [τιττετικ]-  
με[νος ατ τι]-  
ε α[δειτου].

1 ιος [νι σεμουv] *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : ιος [- σεμουv] *Haas et TITUS* : [ις(?) νι σεμου]v *Diakonoff - Neroznak* || 2 κν[ουμανει κ]|ακο[υv *Calder et cett.* : κνουμανι κακα[ν *Diakonoff - Neroznak* || 3 τι αδδα]|κε[τ *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : αδδα]|κετ *Haas et TITUS* : αι καν αββε]ρεv *Diakonoff - Neroznak* || 4 τιττετικ]|με[νος] *Calder et Friedrich* : [τετικ]|με[νος] *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 5 Αττι]|ε *Calder et Friedrich* : αττι]|ε *Haas* : ατ τι]|ε *TITUS et Orel*.

‘Who[ever do]es [h]arm to [this] to[mb], [let him become accurs]e[d by Ze]us.’

## 44.3

Copied by Hogarth, who found it in a “Road-side cemetery, a mile beyond Kunderaz: on a stele which has been much worn by exposure” (1890, 159). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Hogarth 1890, 159-160 no. 3; Ramsay 1905, col. 101-102 no. XLI; Calder 1911, 213-214 no. XLVII (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 67; Haas 1966, 123 no. 67; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 67 (only the Phrygian text); *TITUS*, no. 67 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 335-336 no. S\*-10.

Ἀμμώνιος  
Πατροκλέος  
ἀπελεύθερος  
4 Ἀλεξάνδρω  
καὶ Διογενίδι  
καὶ Β[α]σιλείδι  
τέκνοις μνή-  
8 μης χάριν, καὶ Σα-  
τείρη γυναι-  
κὶ ζώση. ιος  
σα τι σκελεδριαί  
12 κακουν δακετ, α-  
τετικμενος ατ  
τι αδειτου.

6 Β[α]σιλείδι *dub.* : [Μ]ελιάδι *Hogarth, Calder et Friedrich* : Βασιλείδη *Calder (rev.)* : Βασιλείδη *Haas et Orel* || 11 σα τις κ[νουμανει] *Hogarth et Ramsay* : σα τισκελεδρια *Calder et Friedrich* : σα τι σκελεδρια *Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak, TITUS et Orel* || 12 κακουν μακετα *Hogarth* : [ΑΔ]ΔΑΚΕΤ[Ι] *dub. Ramsay* : κακουν [δ]ακετα[ι] *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : κακουν δακετα[ι] *Haas* : ΔΑΚΕΤ Α *TITUS* : κακουν δακετ α [ι] *Orel* || 13 τετικμενος ἀ|τιαδ *Hogarth* : ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Α|ΤΙΑΔ *Ramsay* : τ[ε]τικμενος Α[τ]|τι *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : τετικμενος ατ[τι] *Haas* : ατετικμενος *Brixhe* : τετικμενος ατ *TITUS et Orel* || 14 εϊτος *dub. Hogarth* : ΕΙΤΟ[Υ] *Ramsay* : αδ[ε]ϊτου *Calder* : αδειτου *Friedrich, Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak TITUS et Orel.*

‘[Greek] Ammonios the son of Patrocles, libertus, for his children Alexandros and Basilis in memory. Also for Satire his wife, whilst she is alive. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this *skeledria*, let him become accursed by Zeus.’

## 45. Kurşunlu

### 45.1

Copied by Calder in 1910 in the cemetery of Kurşunlu. “The inscription is engraved immediately under the pediment (broken) of a buried doorstone (?). I thought there had been a line (doubtless of Greek) above the inscription, but T was the only surviving trace of it. (Probably ἀνέστ[ησεν.]” (*Calder 1911, 211*). “H. 1.00; w. 0.90; th. 0.18; letters 0.025 to 0.04” (*MAMA VII, 45*). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*Calder 1911, 211 no. LXV; Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 65; MAMA VII, 45 no. 215 (pl. 12 no. 215); Haas 1966, 123 no. 65; Waelkens 1986, 223 no. 573 (Tafel 80, no. 573); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 65 (as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 65; Orel 1997a, 342-343 no. S\*-16.*

[ ]T[ ]  
 ιος σεμου κνουμαν[ει κα]κου[ν] αδ[δακε]τ, ατ τι-  
 η θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου.

1 ἀνέστ[ησεν] *dub. Calder, Friedrich et MAMA, Orel seq.* || 2 α[δδακετ], Ατι|η *Calder* : αδ[δακετ] Ατι|η *Friedrich* : α[δδακετ] Ατι|η *MAMA* : α[δδακετ] ατι|η *Haas* : α[δδακε]τ ατι|η *Waelkens* : α[δδακετ] ατ τι|η *TITUS et Orel* || 3 [θ]ιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς ις αδ]ειτου *dub. Calder et Friedrich* : θιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς αδε]ϊτου *MAMA et Waelkens* : [ετ]ιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου *Haas* : θιτ [τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου *TITUS et Orel.*

‘... Whoever d[oes ha]rm to this tom[b], let him be accursed by Zeus.’

## 46. Sarayönü

### 46.1

“Stele of bluish limestone, broken down right side. H., 1.14; w., 0.46; th., 0.39. In the pediment, flanked by palmettes, and broken above, a lion, seated, facing r. Between the two parts of the inscription, a pick, satchel, and stylus?” (*MAMA I, 22*). Found in the eastern cemetery and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1911, 197 no. LIII; MAMA I, 22 no. 32; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 53; Haas 1966, 121 no. 53; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 53; TITUS, no. 53 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 339-341 no. S\*-14.

[.....]ος Γαλ-  
 λικ[ῶ] τῶ ιδίω  
 τέκνω μνήμ-  
 4 ης χάριν.

ιος νι σεμουν κν[ου]-  
 μμανει κακουν [α]-  
 δδακεττ αι καν,  
 8 τιττετικμεν[ος]  
 ας τIAN ειτου.

1 [Λούκι]ος e.g. Calder et Friedrich : [.....]ος Haas, MAMA et Orel || 7 [α]δδακεττ[α]ι, κ[α]ι [έ]τιττετικμεν[ος] Calder et Friedrich : α|δδακεττ(α)ι κ(α)ι MAMA : [α]δδακετ τ[α]ικ[α]ι [ε]τιττετικμεν[ος] Haas : αδδακετ αι καν(?) Diakonoff - Neroznak : [α]δδακεττ αικαι TITUS et Orel : αικαι/ν Brixhe || 8 τιττετικμεν[ος] Calder, MAMA, Friedrich, et Haas : [ε]τιττετικμεν[ος] : Diakonoff - Neroznak : τιτ τετικμεν[ος] TITUS et Orel || 9 Αστιαν ειτου Calder, Friedrich et MAMA : αστιανειτου Haas : αστι ανειτου Diakonoff - Neroznak : ας τIAN ειτου TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] [---] for his/her own son Gallicos in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or whatever, let him be accurse[d] by Zeus.’

## 47. Zivarikhan - Altinekin

### 47.1

Copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910, “the stone had been hollowed out to make a water-spout; lines 2 and 4, where the restorations are certain, confirm or estimate of the number of letters lost in the Phrygian portion” (1911, 194). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 194-195 no. LI; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 51; Haas 1966, 121 no. 51; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 51; TITUS, no. 51 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 338-339 no. S\*-13.

Ασκλ[ᾶς ....]νι τε-  
 κνω [γλυκυτ]άτω  
 {τέκν[ω]} καὶ ἕα]υτῶ  
 4 {τω} ζῶ[ντι μν]ήμη[ς]  
 χάριν. [ιος σεμ]ον ρε-  
 κτεογ [κακου]ν αδα-  
 κε, ατε[τικμενο]ς ατ τ[ι]  
 8 αδει[του. ....] ασυ

1 Κλέω]νι e.g. *Calder, Orel seq.* || 6-7 αδ[α]κεατ, (τ)ε[τικμενο]ς Αττ[ι] *Calder et Friedrich* : αδ[α] κε ατε[τικμενο]ς αττ[ι] *Haas* : αδ[α]κεδ *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΑΔ[Α]ΚΕ ΑΤΕ[ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟ]Σ ΑΤ Τ[Ι] *TITUS* : αδ[α]κε {α} τε[τετικμενο]σ ΑΤ Τ[Ι] *Orel* || 8 ασγ *dub. Calder, Friedrich et Haas* : ]ας π[---] *Orel* : om. *TITUS*.

‘[Greek] Ascl[as ---] his [dea]rest son and for [her]self, whilst she is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] [Whoever] does [har]m to [thi]s *rekteon*, [let him] become ac[urse]d by Ze[us].’

## 48. Çeşmelisebi

### 48.1

Found by Calder in 1913: “[o]n a stele representing a distyle temple in front view, with a round arched pediment. In the pediment two female busts, two sets of spindle and distaff, wool-basket, and crescent. Broken below; the bait of a large reward failed to produce the lower part of the stone” (*Calder* 1926, 25). Only the very beginning of a Phrygian imprecative protasis remains.

*Calder* 1926, 25 no. LXXXI; *Friedrich* 1932, 139 no. 81; *Haas* 1966, 125, no. 81; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 77 no. B 81 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); *TITUS*, no. 81 (only the Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 278-279 no. C\*-26.

Ὀρέστης καὶ Δουδης εϞ καὶ  
Δαδα εϞ Δαδα τῆ ἔαυ-  
τῶν θυγατρὶ καὶ Δαδα ἔαυ-  
4 τῆ ζώση μνήμ[ης χάριν].  
ιος κγ[ουμανει ---]

1 Δουδης *Calder et Friedrich* : Δούδης *Haas et Orel*.

‘[Greek] Orestes and Dudes and Dudas for Dada their daughter and Dada for herself, whilst she is alive, [in m]emory. [Phrygian] Whoever to the t[omb ---].’

### 48.2

“Stele of bluish limestone, defaced above and at the sides, broken below. H., 1.45; w., 0.63; th., 0.28; letters ll. 1-3, 0.04 to 0.05; ll. 4, 5, 0.03; ll. 6- 7, 0.025 to 0.03.” (*MAMA I*, 178). Found lying near the mosque. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

*MAMA I*, 178 no. 340; *Friedrich* 1932, 140 no. 84; *Haas* 1966, 126 no. 84; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 77 no. B 84 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); *TITUS*, no. 84 (only the Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 280-281 no. C\*-28.

Μουνα Μανηδ-  
ος Αττας Λουκί-  
ω ἀνδρὶ κὲ Αττας

4 ἰδί[ω πα]τ[ρι]  
μν[ήμης χάριν].

ιος σεμ[οὺν του]  
κνου[μανει ---]

6 σεμ[ον του] MAMA, Friedrich et TITUS : σεμ[οὺν ---] Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak et Orel || 7 κνο[μανει  
κακ][[κουν αδδακετ κτλ.] MAMA et Friedrich : κνου[μανει ---] Haas, TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] Muna Manedos Attas for Lucius her Husband and Attas for his ow[n fa]th[er] in  
memory. [Phrygian] Whoever to th[is] tom[b ---].’

### 48.3

“Cheshmeli Zebir, near the fountain below the mound. Block of grey limestone with  
plain moulding above. H., 0·77; w., 0·83; th., 0·28 (the moulding protrudes m. 0·07 in front);  
letters, 0·04 to 0·045. The block has been cut away on the l., or the inscription and decoration  
was carried over from an adjoining block in a built tomb. Part of a table, and a basket and spindle  
and distaff survive” (MAMA I 1928, 179). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA I, 179 no. 341; Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 85; Haas 1966, 126 no. 85; Diakonoff &  
Neroznak 1985, pg. 77 no. B 85 (as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 85; Orel 1997a, 281-282 no. C\*-29.

[--- ...τετικμεν]ος ατ τι αδειτου.

1 τετικμεν]ος Αττι αδειτου MAMA : [τετικμεν]ος Αττι αδειτου Friedrich : [τετικμεν]ος αττι αδειτου Haas :  
[τετικμεν]ος ατ τι αδειτου TITUS et Orel.

‘[---] let him become [accurs]ed by Zeus.’

## 49. İnsuyu

### 49.1

“İnsuyu, near Katirli Mesarlik. Round pillar. H. 1·60; diam., top 0·37, base 0·47. On the  
top, nine round holes round the edge and one in centre. The inscription, broken away below, is  
at the base” (MAMA VII 1956, 110).

MAMA VII, 110 no. 522 (pl. 143); Haas 1966, 129 no. 110; TITUS, no. 110; Orel 1997a, 287-  
288 no. C\*-37.

ιος σεμουν κνο[υ]-  
μ[αν]ει κακ[οὺν]  
[---]

‘Whoever to this to[m]b har[m ---].’

## 50. Bögürdelik

### 50.1

Inscription on a stele copied by Calder in 1908, his reading was revised and improved with Ramsay in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omegas.

Calder 1911, 197-198 no. LIV; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 54; Haas 1966, 121 no. 54; Haas 1970a, 48 no. 57; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 54 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 61); *TITUS*, no. 54 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 259-260 no. C\*-11.

Ὑλας ἰδίῳ πα-  
τρὶ Διονυσίῳ κ'  
Εὐρυδήμῳ ἐγγ-  
4 ὄνῳ κὲ μητ[ρὶ] Δ-  
ουδοῦ μνήμη-  
ς χάριν. [ι]ὸς κε  
σεμουν κνο[υ]μα-  
8 νει κακουν δο-  
κετ, ατ τι αδει[του].

9 Αττι αδει[του] *Calder et Friedrich* : αττι αδει[του] *Haas et TITUS* : ατ τι αδει[του]... *Orel*.

'[Greek] Hylas for this own father Dionisios and his son Eurydemos and his mother Dudu in memory. [Phrygian] [Wh]oever does harm to this to[m]b, let him become (accursed) by Zeus.'

### 50.2

Inscription engraved on a stele copied by Calder in 1908 (in 1910 he was still able to see it again, but it was broken). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 198-198 no. LV; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 55; Haas 1966, 121 no. 55; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 55 (as variant of B 10); *TITUS*, no. 55; Orel 1997a, 260-261 no. C\*-12.

Αὐρήλιος Ἄσ-  
κλαῖς Ἄ[χ]ιλλεῖ-  
ως Κλαυδιο-  
4 λαο[δ]ικεὺς  
τῇ ἰδία συμ-  
βίῳ Θεοδώ-  
ρα μνήμησ  
8 χάριν.

ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουιν  
 κ[νουμα]νει  
 κ[ακουιν] αδδα-  
 12 κ[ετ, ..]ι οι που-  
 σ[....]ι διισιν.

12-13 ..]ΙΟΙΠΟΥ | C[...]ΙΔΙΙCIN *Calder et Friedrich* : ..]ι οι που|σ[ουσ]ι διισιν *Haas et dub. TITUS*.

‘[Greek] Aurelius Asklas the son of Achilleus, Claudioladikeian for his own wife Theodora in memory. [Phrygian] Wh[oever] do[es] h[arm] to [thi]s t[om]b, ...’

## 51. Çarbaşı Yayla

### 51.1

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 and 1913 “on the two top panels of a doorstone, the top of which is lost. Very rude engraving” (*Calder* 1926, 24). “In the panels, knocker, keyplate, spindle and distaff, defaced object. H. 0·66; w. 0·66; w. 0·64; th. 0·34; letters 0·02 to 0·025” (*MAMA* VII, 77).

*Calder* 1926, 24-25 no. LXXX; *Friedrich* 1932, 139 no. 80; *MAMA* VII, 77 no. 317; *Haas* 1966, 125 no. 80; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 77 no. B 80 (as variant of B 61); *Waelkens* 1986, 233 no. 595; *TITUS*, no. 80; *Orel* 1997a, 277-278 no. C\*-25.

[ιος σεμο]υν κνου-  
 [μανει] κακουιν  
 [α]δδακετ, τιτ-  
 4 [ετ]ικμενο[ς] ατ τι αδ-  
 ειτου.

3 [α]δδακετ τιτ|[ετ]ικμ[ενο]ς *Calder et Friedrich* : [-α]δδακετ τιτ|[τετ]ικμενο[ς] *Haas et TITUS* : [α]δδακετ τιτ|[ετ]ικμενο[ς] *MAMA et Waelkens* : [α]δδακετ τιτ | [τετ]ικμενο[ς] *Orel* || 4 Ατ]τι *Calder et Friedrich* : Αττι αδ]ειτου *MAMA* : αττι *Haas et Waelkens* : ατ τι *TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Whoever m]akes harm [to thi]s to[m]b, let him become ac[cu]rse[d] by Zeus.’

## 52. Sarıkaya

### 52.1

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 “on the base of a *bomos*, broken at the top and on the right. A Greek inscription may have been carved on the lost portion of the *bomos*. It is impossible to say how many letters were lost on the r[ight] of l. 1” (*Calder* 1926, 23).

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXV; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 75; MAMA VII, 86 no. 364(pl. 23); Haas 1966, 124 no. 75; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 75; TITUS, no. 75; Orel 1997a, 271-272 no. C\*-20.

ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αι νι [---]  
ζεμελωσ πιε τιττετικμενος ειτου.

1 ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αι νι [μανκαι δεωσ *dub. Calder et dub. Friedrich* : ιος κακον αββερετορ αι νι [---] MAMA, Haas et TITUS : ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αι νι [---] Diakonoff - Neroznak et Orel || 2 πιε *simillimum uidetur* : ITE lapis : ζεμελωσ ιτ επιττετικμενος ειτου Calder et Friedrich : ζεμελωσι τεπιττετικμενος ειτου MAMA, *dub. Haas et Brixhe* : ζεμελωσ τι επιττετικμενος ειτου Diakonoff - Neroznak : ZEMELΩΣ ITE TIT TETIKMENOΣ EITOU TITUS et Orel.

‘Whoever brings harm to this tomb or [---], let him become accursed by Zeus (in the sight of) men.’

### 53. Kelhasan

#### 53.1

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 “on a doorstone. Above, in an arched pediment, woman, child and man, standing. The panels of the door are decorated with (1) comb and keyhole-plate; (2) table; (3) tripod supporting two-handled basin, under it a pitcher with one handle; (4) spindle and distaff, boss, and crescent” (Calder 1926, 23). “H. 1·25; w. 0·50; th. 0·58; letters 0·01 to 0·0175” (MAMA VII, 106).

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXVI; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 76; MAMA VII, 106 no. 495 (pl. 25 no. 495); Haas 1966, 124-125 no. 76; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 76 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 33); Waelkens 1986, 247 no. 638 (Tafel 84 no. 638); TITUS, no. 76; Orel 1997a, 272-273 no. C\*-21.

Ἄλέξανδρος καὶ Μητ-  
ρα υἱῷ μνήμης χάριν.  
ιος νι σεμιντ κνουμανει κακουν  
4 αδδακετ, τιττετικμενος ατ τι αδει-  
του ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ει-  
του, γεγρειμεναν  
γεδου κ' ε-  
8 τιος  
ου-  
τα-  
ν.

2 υἱῷ MAMA et Waelkens : υ[ι]ῷ Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel || 3 σεμιν τ<ου> κνουμανει Calder, Friedrich et MAMA : σεμιντ Haas : σεμιν τ κνουμανει Waelkens, TITUS et Orel || 4 τιττετικμενος Αττι Calder, Friedrich et MAMA : τιττετικμενος αττι Haas : τι ττετικμενος αττι Waelkens : TIT TETIKMENOΣ AT TI TITUS et Orel || 5 ΔΡΕΡΟΥΝ lapis : ακκειοι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρερουν Calder, Friedrich et MAMA : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος

τιδρεγρουν Haas : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρε<γ>ρουν Waelkens : AK KE OI BEKOS AKKALOS TI ΔΡΕ<Γ>ΡΟΥΝ TITUS : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν Orel || 6 κ<ε> Calder, Friedrich et MAMA : κ Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel || 7-8 ε|γεδου|τιος Haas.

‘[Greek] Alexandros and Metra for (their) son in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus and let his bread be innutrible and let him have the written curse of Zeus.’

### 53.2

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 “on a stele (over 6 feet high) broken at the top. Below the inscription, a tripod supporting a cooking-pot, a spindle and distaff, and a wool-basket on a table. The cross carved at the end of this inscription is a later addition” (Calder 1926, 23).

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXVII; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 77; Haas 1966, 125 no. 77; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. 77 (as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 77; Orel 1997a, 273-274 no. C\*-22.

0 [ιος νι κουμα]-  
1 [ν]ει κακ[ου]ν αδ-  
δακετ, τιττετι-  
κμενος ατ τι α-  
4 δειτου. †

1 [ιος νι σεμουν][του κνουμα][ν]ει κακ[ου]ν Calder, Friedrich et Orel : [ιος... .. κνουμα][ν]ει κακ[ου]ν Haas et TITUS || 2 τιττετι|κμενος Calder et Friedrich : τιτ τετι|κμενος Haas, TITUS et Orel || 3 Αττι Calder et Friedrich : αττι Haas : ατ τι TITUS et Orel.

‘[Whoever] does ha[rm to the tom]b, let him become accursed by Zeus.’

### 53.3

“Stele, top concealed, base broken away. H. (visible) 0.40; w. 0.52; th. 0.12; letters 0.02 to 0.025” (MAMA VII, 107).

MAMA VII, 107 no. 496; Haas 1966, 129 no. 109; TITUS, 109; Orel 1997a, 287 no. C\*-36.

Ἄυρ(ήλιος) Ἄλέ-  
ξανδρος Μενν-  
εου Σεκούμδω  
4 καὶ Μειρω γλυκυ-  
τάτοις ἀδελφοῖς  
μνήμης χάριν. ιος νι  
[---]

[Greek] Aur(elios) Alexandros (the son) of Menneos for Secundus and Miros his dearest brothers in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [---].’

## 54. Bulduk

### 54.1

Inscription engraved on a damaged bomos, “H. 0·98; w. 0·56; th. 0·42; letters 0·0275 to 0·03” (MAMA VII, 100).

MAMA VII, 100 no. 454 (pl. 140); Haas 1966, pg. 129, no. 108; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. 108 (as variant of B 33); TITUS, 108; Orel 1997a, 386 no. C\*-35.

ιος ν[ι σεμουν κ]νουμανει  
κακο[υν αδδακ]ετ, τιττετ-  
τικμε[νος α]τ [τι] αδειτου  
4 γεγρειμε[ναν κε εγεδ]ου  
τιος ουτ[αν ακκε οι] βε-  
κος ακκαλο[ς τιδρ]εγρο-  
υν ειδο[υ].

1 ν[ι σεμουν κ]νουμανει MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel || 2 κακο[υν αδδακ]ετ τιττε|τικμε[νος MAMA : κακο[υν αδδακ]ετ, τιτ τε|τικμενος Haas, TITUS et Orel || 3 Α]τ[τι] αδειτου MAMA : α]τ[τι] αδειτου Haas : α]τ [τι] αδειτου TITUS et Orel || 5 ουτ[αν ακκεοι] MAMA : ουτ[αν ακκε οι] Haas, TITUS et Orel || 6 τι δρ]εγρο|υν MAMA, TITUS et Orel : τιδρ]εγρουν ειδο[υ] Haas.

‘Whoever [mak]es [h]arm [to this t]omb, let him become accurs[ed b]y [Zeus] and let him [ha]ve the writt[en] cur[se] of Zeus [and] let [his] bread akkalo[s] be [innu]trible.’

## 55. Küçükbeşkavak

### 55.1

Broken stele (“H. 1·04; w., top 0·50, shaft 0·46, base 0·51; th. 0·28; letters 0·02 to 0·03” MAMA VII, 106) with a pediment (containing man, woman and some objects) copied by Calder in 1908 and later by Ramsay in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 199-200 no. LVI; MAMA VII, 106 no. 492; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 56; Haas 1966, 121-122 no. 56; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 56 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 56 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 261-262 no. C\*-13.

Σαγάριος Λο-  
 υκίου Δουδα  
 τῆ ἰδία σ[υ]ν-  
 4 βίω καὶ ἑατῶ  
 ζῶντι μνήμ-  
 ης χάριν.

[ι]ος σας του σκερεδ-  
 8 ριας κακουν δακετ, [τ]-  
 ξιττετικμενος  
 ατ τιε ειτου.

7 [ι]ος σας του σκεδ[ρ]ιας *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA et Haas* : [ι]ος σας του σκερεδριας *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΣΑΣ  
 ΤΟΥ ΣΚΕΡΕΔ[Ρ]ΙΑΣ *TITUS* : σας του σκερεδ[ρ]ιας *et Orel* || 8 [τ]ε[ξ]ιττετικμενος *Calder et Friedrich* :  
 [τ]ε[ξ]ιττετικμενος *MAMA et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [..]ε[ξ]ιττετικμενος [....].] *Haas* : ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ [....].] *TITUS* :  
 τ[ε]ττετικμενος *Orel* || 9 [Ατ]τιε ειτου *Calder* : Αττιε ειτου *Friedrich* : Αττιε ειτου *MAMA et Diakonoff - Neroznak* :  
 αττιε ειτου *Haas* : ΑΤ ΤΙΕ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : ατ τιε ειτου *Orel*.

‘[Greek] Sagarios (the son) of Lucius for his own wife Duda and for himself, whilst he is  
 alive, in memory. [Phrygian] [Wh]oever does harm to this *skeredrias*, let him become [a]ccursed  
 by Zeus.’

## 56. Büyüç Beşkavak

### 56.1

Broken door-stele (“H. 1:25; w. 0:75; th. 0:39; letters 0:025 to 0:03” *MAMA VII*, 105) with a  
 pediment with a relief (perhaps a horse). The Greek text was very eroded, only few letters were  
 legible, while the Phrygian curse is complete. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

*Calder* 1911, 200-201 no. LVII; *MAMA VII*, 105 no. 487 (pl. 27 no. 487); *Friedrich* 1932, 136  
 no. 57; *Haas* 1966, 122 no. 57; *Waelkens* 1986, 244 no. 629 (Tafel 84 no. 629); *Diakonoff &*  
*Neroznak* 1985, 77 no. B 57 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 61); *TITUS*, no. 57 (only the  
 Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 263-264 no. C\*-14.

[---]  
 [--- χ]άριν[---]  
 [---]

4 ιος νι σεμ- ουν κνου-  
 μανε κα- κουν αδ-  
 δακετ, τ- τιττετικμ-  
 ενος α- τ τι αδει-  
 8 του.

1-3 *Waelkens* : *cett. om.* || 6 τῖττετικμ|ενοσ *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Waelkens* : τῖτ τετικμ|ενοσ *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 7 Αττι ἀδει|του *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Waelkens* : αττι ἀδει|του *Haas* : ΑΤ ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙ|ΤΟΥ *TITUS* : ατ τι ἀδει|του *Orel*.

‘[Greek] [---] in [memory ---]. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus.’

## 56.2

Door-stele with an inscription copied by Calder in 1908 and by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

*Calder* 1911, 201-202 no. LVII[I]; *Friedrich* 1932, 136 no. 58; *MAMA* VII, 105 no. 488 (only the Greek text); *Haas* 1966, 122 no. 58; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 86 no. C 58 (only the Phrygian text); *Waelkens* 1986, 244 no. 630; *TITUS*, no. 58 (only the Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 264-266 no. C\*-15.

4	Ἀπολλωνία ἀνδρὶ καὶ υἱῷ μ- νήμης χάριν. Διογένεια πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῷ μνήμ- ης χ- ἀριν.
8	μοναν μροτιη ἰον εγεσι- τ γε- γρι- με- νο- ν.

2 Διογένη[ς] *Calder* : Διογένεια *MAMA et Waelkens* || 6-7 ΜΟΝΑΝΜ-ΡΟ τηῖον εγεσιτ *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Waenkels* : μοναν μροτι(?) ἡῖον *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΜΟΝΑΝΜ(-)ΡΟ ΤΗΗΙΟΝ ΕΓΕΣΙ|Τ *TITUS* : μοναν μρο τη ἰον εγεσιτ *Orel*.

‘[Greek] Apollonia for her Husband and her son in memory. Diogeneia for his father and his brother in memory. [Phrygian] Only for the dead whom it has written.’

## 56.3

Damaged stele found by Calder and Ramsay in the north of Beşkavak, beside a wall. Rectangular sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

*Calder* 1911, 210-211 no. LXIV; *Friedrich* 1932, 137 no. 64; *Haas* 1966, 123 no. 64; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 79 no. B 64 (only the Phrygian text); *TITUS*, no. 64 (only the Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 268-269 no. C\*-18.



‘Whoever d[o]es harm to this [t]omb, let him b[e] [a]ccurs[e]d. [---]’

## 58. Hatırlı

### 58.1

Badly defaced inscription engraved on a round pillar found by Callander, Ramsay and Calder, who copied it in 1912. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1913, 103-104 no. LXXII; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 72; Haas 1966, 124 no. 72; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 72 (only the Phrygian text); *TITUS*, no. 72 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 262-271 no. C\*-19.

ιος [νι κε σ]εμουν  
κ[νο]υ<μανει> {σεμον} κακον  
αδακετ, [τ]ιτετικμε  
4 γος [ατ] τι αδειτου,  
[αι] κος κ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ,  
[.] κε [.....]ε αυ-  
τος ειτου.  
8 [....]νος ζ[ωτ]αιλου  
[ ]α τῶ ιδίω π[ατρ]ι  
μ[νήμη]ς ἔνεκεν.



1 ιος[ . . . σ]εμουν *Calder et cett.* : ιος κε αυ [σ]εμουν *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ιος [κε .. σ]εμουν || 2 κουσσ[ . . ]ον κακον *Calder et Friedrich* : ΚΟΥΣΣΑΛΛΟΝ κακον *Haas* : κουσσααλον κακον *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΚΟΥΣΣΑΛΛΟΝ ΚΑΚΟΝ *TITUS* : κ[νο]υ σεμον κακον *Orel* || 3 αδακετ [τ]ιτετικμε[ν]ος *Calder et Friedrich* : αδακετ [τ]ι τετικμε|νος *Haas, Diakonoff - Neroznak et Orel* : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ [Τ]Ι ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ|ΝΟΣ *TITUS* || 4 [Ατ]τι [αδ]ειτου *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [ατ]τιαδειτου *Haas* : [ΑΤ]ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : [ατ] τι αδειτου *Orel* || 5 [αι] κος κ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ *e.g.* : [αι?] κος[ . . αδδα]κκιτορ *Calder et Friedrich* : [..] κος ι[....]κκιτορ *dub. Haas* : [αι] κος ι[xx xx]κκοτρ *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : [..]ΚΟΣ Ι[....]ΚΚΙΤΟΡ ([ΑΔΔΑ]ΚΚΙΤΟΡ?) ΚΕ [.....]Ε Α[Υ?]|ΤΟΣ *TITUS* : [αι] κος σι[αδδα]κκιτορ *Orel* || 6 κε . . . . . ε[ν][τ]ος *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff - Neroznak* : κε [..]ς α[τ] *Orel* || 7 τ[ι]ος ειτου *Orel* || 8 . . . . . ? κ[α]ι Λου[?] κιος *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 9 και Β[α] τῶ ιδίω π[ατρ]ι *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel*.

‘[Phrygian] And whoever does harm to [t]his t[omb], let him be [a]ccursed [by] Zeus. [If] anybody [m]akes h[arm] [---], let him be [---] [Greek] [---]nos the son of Sotelos [---] for his own father in memory.’

## 59. Kozanlı

### 59.1

Stele first published by Anderson in 1899 and read by Calder in 1910. It is decorated “with rounded pilasters and arched pediment containing woman, spindle and distaff. H. 1·57; w. 0·57; th. 0·50; letters 0·02 to 0·03” (*MAMA VII*, 97). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Anderson 1899, 119 no. 117; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLVI; Calder 1991, 185 no. XLVI; MAMA VII, 97 no. 437; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 46; Haas 1966, 129 no. 107; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 107 (only the Phrygian text as variant of 10); TITUS, no. 107 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 257-258 no. C\*-09.

Σασας καὶ Ὅας  
καὶ Πρειουεις [γυ]-  
νή αὐτῶ Δι..-  
4 δι τῆ ἰδεία θυγ-  
γατρὶ γλ[υκυ]-  
τάτη παρθ[ένω]  
ἀνέστησαν  
8 μνήμης χάριν.  
ιος σεμιν κνο-  
[μανει        ]  
[---]

1 Σαλω[νεῖος *dub.* : Σαλ[ωνίνους] Anderson : Σα[γ]ά[ριος τοῦ δεῖνος *dub.* Calder et Friedrich : Σασας καὶ Ὅσας MAMA, Haas et Orel || 2 καὶ Πρεουεις [γυ]|νή Anderson : καὶ Πρεουεις [γυ]|νή Calder et Friedrich : καὶ Πρεουεις γυ|νή MAMA, Haas et Orel || 3 αὐτο[ῦ] Anderson : αὐτῶ Διδω[οι] Calder et Friedrich : αὐτῶ Δ[.]|δι MAMA et Haas || 4 *om.* Anderson : τῆ ἰδεία θυγ|γατρὶ Calder et Friedrich : τῆ ἰδεία θυ|γατρὶ MAMA, Haas et Orel || 5 πατρὶ γλ[υκυτάτῳ] Anderson : γλ[υκυ]|τάτη Calder et Friedrich : γλυκυ|τάτη MAMA, Haas et Orel || 6 *om.* Anderson : παρθ[ένω] Calder et Friedrich : παρθέν[ω] MAMA, Haas et Orel || 7 ἀνέστησεν Anderson : ἀνέστησαν Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et Orel || 8 μνήμης χ[άριν] Anderson : μνήμης χάριν Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et Orel || 9 ἰος σε[μουν κνουμανει κ.τ.λ] Anderson : ἸΟΣ ΣΕ[ΜΟΥΝ ΚΤΛ.] Ramsay : ἰος σε[μουν ... Calder et Friedrich : σεμιν κνο MAMA, Haas et TITUS : σεμιν κνο[... Orel.

‘[Greek] Sasas and Was and Preivis, his wife, for *Di..di*, their own dearest daughter, still a girl, dedicated (it) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever to this to[mb ---].’

## 59.2

Inscription read by Anderson in “Sultân Mezarlik (1 h. 20 m. towards the south of Kozanli)” (1899, 122). The lower part was lost. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Anderson, 1899, 122, no. 127; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLVII (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1991, 186 no. XLVII; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 47; Haas 1966, 129 no. 47; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 47 (only the Phrygian text as variant of 10); TITUS, no. 47 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 258-259 no. C\*-10.

Διονύσιος  
Αννα θυ[γ]α-  
τρὶ μνή[μη]ς  
4 ἔνεκεν.

5 ιος νι σεμ[υ]ν  
 κνουμα-  
 νει κακο[υ]ν  
 8 αδδακετ, [---]  
 [---]

5 ιος νι σεμ[ιυ] *dub.* Anderson : ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜ[ΥΝ] uel Μ[ΙΝ] Ramsay : σεμ[υν] Calder, Friedrich, Haas, TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] Dionysios (made it) for his daughter Anna in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[i]s tomb, [---].’

### 59.3

Inscription first published by Crowfoot in 1899 (only the Greek text). In 1912 Ramsay and Calder were able to read it again and recover a Phrygian fragment. A man and a woman are represented in the pediment of the broken stele (“H. 1.79; th. 0.45; letters 0.03 to 0.035” MAMA VII, 97). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Crowfoot 1899, 121 no. 123 (only the Greek text); Calder, 1926, 24 no. LXXIX (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 79 (only the Phrygian text); MAMA VII, 97 no. 435; Haas 1966, 125, no. 79; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 79 (only the Phrygian text as variant of 33); TITUS, no. 79 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 275-276 no. C\*-24.

Σωσίβιος Αννα  
 μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ Εὐ-  
 τυχίῳ νι ζῶντι  
 4 γλυκυτάτοις ἀ-  
 νέστησεν μνή-  
 μης χάριν.  
 μνημόσυνον τοῦ-  
 8 τ' ἐστὶ βίου λίτος· ἄλ-  
 λο γὰρ οὐδέν. τις δὲ  
 προνεῖ ξεῖνος ἀνή[ρ]  
 μνημοσύνης ἔνε-  
 12 κεν. [ι]ος σεμουν  
 [κνο]υμανει κα-  
 [κου]γ αδδακετ,  
 [αββ]ερετορ  
 16 [.....]εμερη  
 [...]υ ορβουν  
 [...]τος τυ.-  
 [.. γεγ]αριτμ-  
 20 [ενοσ ειτου].

15 [αββ]ερετορ *Calder, MAMA et Orel* : [κ<ε> αββ]ερετορ *dub. Friedrich* : [---] ερετορ *Haas* : [---]ερετορ *TITUS* || 17 ]ΟΡΒΟΥΝ *Calder et Friedrich* : [---] υορβουν *MAMA* : ]υ ορβουν[ *Haas* : ]Υ ΟΡΒΟΥΝ *TITUS* || 18 ΤΟΣΤΟΥ· *Calder* : [--]ΤΟΣΤΟΥ[-] *Friedrich*: [---] τος τυ [-] *Haas* : [----]ΤΟΣ ΤΥ[-] *TITUS* : .... τος τυ κ *Orel* || 19-20 γεγ]αριτμ[ενος] *Calder, Friedrich, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 20 *veri simile* αδειτου uel ειτου.

‘[Greek] Sosibios for his dearest mother Anna and father Eutychnion, whilst he is alive, erected (it) in memory. This stone is the memorial of life: there is nothing else (after death). A foreigner meditates (on it) on account of this remembrance. [Phrygian] [Wh]oever does ha[r]m to this [t]omb, ...’

## 59.4

Phrygian curse engraved on a stone block with panel, “H. 0·51; w. 0·72; letters 0·0125 to 0·02” (*MAMA VII, 97*).

*MAMA VII, 97 no. 436* (pl. 25); *Haas 1966, 106*; *Haas 1970a, 60 no. 106*; *Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 106*; *TITUS, no. 106*; *Orel 1997a, 285-286 no. C\*-34*.

ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥ-  
ΜΑΝΕΙ ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΟΚΕΤ  
ΖΕΙΡΑΙ, ΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΤ  
4 ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ, ΓΕΓΡΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ  
Κ’ ΕΓΕΔΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΝ.

3 ζειρα ιτιτετικμενος Ατ|τι *MAMA* : ζειραι τι|τιτετικμενος ατ|τι *Haas* : ζειρα τι τετικμενος Αττι *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ζειραι τι | τετικμενος ατ | τι *TITUS et Orel* || 5 κ<έ> εγεδου *MAMA* : κ εγεδου *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel*.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb with (his) hand, let him become accursed by Zeus and let him suffer the written curse of the Keeper.’

## 60. Kerpic

### 60.1

Stele with a fragmented inscription copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910.

*Calder 1911, 202 no. LIX*; *Calder 1926, 27 no. LIX* (correction of his previous copy); *Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 59*; *Haas 1966, 122 no. 59*; *RECAM II, no. 369*; *Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 59* (as variant of B 33); *TITUS, no. 59* (sols text frigi); *Orel 1997a, 266-268 no. C\*-16*.

1 [---] τ,  
κακ[ου]γ αδδακε-  
γεγρειμεναν ε-  
γεδ[ου τ]ιος ουαν.

1-2 ἀδδακε|τ *legend.* || 4-3 ε|γεδ[ουτ] ιος ου<τ>αν *Calder, Friedrich et Mitchell* : ε|γεδ[ου τ]ιος ου<τ>αν *Haas, TITUS et Orel.*

‘[Whoever] do[e]s harm, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.’

## 60.2

Inscription engraved on a broken stele (“h. (visible) 1.32; w. 0.52; th. 0.40; letters 0.0175 to 0.02” *MAMA VII*, 92) with pediment (with reliefs of two man and a woman between them and some objects) and read by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 202-203 no. LX; Calder 1926, 27-28 no. LX (improved copy); Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 60; *MAMA VII*, 92 no. 406; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 60 (only the Phrygian part as variant of B 33); Haas 1966, 122-123 no. 59; *RECAM II*, no. 370; Waelkens 1986, 241-242 no. 620; *TITUS*, no. 60 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 266-267 no. C\*-17.

Λανμουσος Ἀ[σκ]-  
ληπιός καὶ Βαβα  
υῖῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ κα-  
4 ἰ ἔατοῖς ζῶντε-  
ς ἀνεστήσαμε-  
ν Δεῖός τε καὶ Μ-  
ανης ἀδελφῶ ἀ-  
8 ὠρῶ μνήμης  
χάριν. ιος νι σαν  
κακουν ἀδ[δα]κε  
μανκαι, γεγ[ρε]ιμε-  
12 ναν εγεδου τιος  
ουταν.

1 [Λ]ανμουσος *pr. Calder 1911* : Λανμουσος *adn. Calder 1926 et seq. MAMA, Haas et Orel* : Λανμουσος *Friedrich* : [Π]άνμουσος *RECAM* : Πάνμουσος *Waelkens* || 12 εγεδουτ ιος *Calder et Friedrich* : εγεδου Τιος *MAMA et cett.*

‘[Greek] Lanmusos Asklepios and Baba erected (it) for his son Asklepios and for themselves, whilst they are alive, in memory and Deios and Manes for (their) brother untimely (dead) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.’

## 61. Saatlı - Modanlı

### 61.1

Inscription “recorded (photograph and impression) by Ian W. Macpherson near Modanlı in 1953” (MAMA 1956, xxviii).

MAMA VII, xxviii-xxix no. (d); Haas 1966, 128 no. 100; Haas 1970a, 48 no. 100; *RECAM* II, 366; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 100; *TITUS*, no. 100 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 281-282.

ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]-  
[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν, τιτετικμεν[ος]  
[ατ τ]ιε αδε[ι]του. uac. Δόμνος [---]

1 ΜΟΥΡΟΥ[. . .][...]νι MAMA et *RECAM* : μουρου[ν δα|κετ αι-?]νι Haas et Diakonoff - Neroznak : μουρου[ν δα|κετ αι]νι *TITUS* et Orel || 2-3 κιν τιτετικμεν[ος | Ατ][τ]ιε MAMA et *RECAM* : κιντι τετικμεν[ος] | [αττ]ιε Haas : κιν τι τετικμεν[ος Αττ]ι Diakonoff - Neroznak et Lubtosky || 3 [ατ τ]ιε αδε[ι]του Orel : [Αύρ] Δόμνος *dub.* MAMA et Orel.

‘[Phrygian] Whoever [does] any silliness to this tomb [or] to any harm, let him become accurse[d by Z]eus. [Greek] Domnos [---]’

## 62. Sinanlı

### 62.1

Broken door-stele (“H. 1·64; w. 0·47; th. 0·25; letters 0·01 to 0·02” MAMA VII, 76) with some reliefs (a man, a woman and several objects) published by Ramsay in 1905 (also seen by Calder in 1910).

Ramsay 1905, col. 93-94 no. XXXII; Calder 1911, 180-181 no. XXXII; MAMA VII, 76 no. 312, (pl. 19 no. 312); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 32; Haas 1966, 119; Haas 1970a, 48 no. 32; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 32 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 33); Waelkens 1986, 236 no. 605 (Tafel 82 no. 605); *TITUS*, no. 32 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 249-250 no. C\*-04.

Κλα̃ρος καὶ Δουδα ἢ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ  
Σουσου νιῶ μνήμης χάριν

καὶ Δουδα ἑαυτῆ ζῶσα.

4 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει  
[[ιο]]  
κακουν αδδακεκ, γεγρειμενα-  
ν εγεδου τιος ουταν.

1 Κλάρος καὶ Δούδα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ *Ramsay et cett.* : Δουδα *Calder, Friedrich, Haas, Waelkens et Orel* : Κλάρος καὶ Δουδα *MAMA* || 2 Σούσου νίϙ μνήμης χάριν *Ramsay et cett.* : Σουσου *Waelkens* || 3 καὶ Δούδα ἑαυτῆ ζῶσα *Ramsay et cett.* : Δουδα *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA et Haas* || 6 ΚΑ]ΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΚ, ΓΕΓΡΕΙΜ[Ε]ΝΑ[N *Ramsay* : κα]κουν αδδακεκ, γεγρειμ[ε]να|ν *Calder* : [κα]κουν αδδακεκ γεγρειμ[ε]να|ν *Friedrich, Haas et TITUS* : κακουν αδδακεκ *MAMA et Calder* || 7 ΕΓΕΔΟΝ]ΤΙΟΣ ΟΥΤΑΝ *Ramsay* : εγεδουτ ιος αυταν *Calder et Friedrich* : εγεδου Τιος ουταν *MAMA, Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel*.

‘[Greek] Klaros and Duda, his wife, for his son Susos in memory and Duda for herself, whilst she is alive. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.’

## 62.2

“Doorstone with arched pediment containing two men and a woman. Panels empty. H. 1.99; w. 0.78; th. 0.40; letters 0.02 to 0.025” (*MAMA VII*, 76). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omegas.

*Ramsay* 1905, col. 95-98 no. XXXIII; *Calder* 1911, 181-182 no. XXXIII; *MAMA VII*, 76 no. 313 (pl. 19 no. 313); *Friedrich* 1932, 133 no. 33; *Haas* 1966, 118 no. 33; *Diakonoff & Neroznak* 1985, 80 no. B 33; *Waelkens* 1986, 234-235 no. 602 (Tafel 82 no. 602); *TITUS*, no. 33 (only the Phrygian text); *Orel* 1997a, 251-253 no. C\*-05.

3 ἐποίησαν καὶ ζῶντες ἑαυτοῖς.

1 Μειρος τέκτων καὶ Ἀμμια ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ τέκνω ἰδί-

2 ω Μάρκω τέκτονι καὶ ζωγράφω αὐώρω μνήμης ἔνεκεν

4 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ, γεγειμεναν ε-

5 γεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου 𐌶𐌷

6 αυτος κε ουα κροκα γεγα- ιασ. ριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους.

4 ιος νη σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγειμεναν *Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Diakonoff - Neroznak et Waelkens* : ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ γεγ<ρ>ειμεναν *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 5 ε|γεδουτιος ουταν: ακκειοι βεκος ακαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου *Ramsay* : ε|γεδουτ ιος ουταν· ακκειοι βεκος ακαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου *Calder, Friedrich, Waelkens* : εγεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου *MAMA et Haas* : ε|γεδου Τιος ουταν ακ κειοι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΕΓΕΔΟΥ ΤΙΟΣ ΟΥΤΑΝ ΑΚ ΚΕ ΟΙ ΒΕΚΟΣ ΑΚΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΙ ΔΡΕΓΡΟΥΝ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : ε|γεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου *Orel* || 6 *omn. leg.* κε ροκα : αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος αβαταν τευτους *dub. Ramsay et MAMA* : αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος αιβαταν τευτους *Calder et Friedrich* : αυτος κε ουα κ εροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους *Haas et Waelkens* : αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος α βαταν τευτους *Diakonoff - Neroznak* : ΑΥΤΟΣ ΚΕ ΟΥΑ Κ ΕΡΟΚΑ ΓΕΓΑΡΙΤΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΣ ΒΑΤΑΝ ΤΕΥΤΟΥΣ *TITUS* : αυτος κε ουα κεροκα γεγαριτμενος α βαταν τευτους *Orel*.

‘[Greek] Miro, the carpenter, and Ammia, his wife, for their own son Markos, the carpenter and painter, untimely (dead) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this

tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus and let the bread be innutrible to him and let him and his κοροκα τευτουζ (verb) by<sup>7</sup> Bas.’

### 62.3

“Doorstone with arched pediment containing boy, man, woman, girl, the man and woman holding hands. In the panels: (1) knocker, (2) keyplate, (3) tripod (with jar beneath supporting pot, (4) spindle and distaff and basket. H. 2·11; w. 0·87; th. 0·05 to 0·05; letter 0·015 to 0·02” (MAMA VII, 76). Classic letters but rectangular sigma and epsilons.

Ramsay 1905, col. 98-99 no. XXXIV; Calder 1911, 182 no. XXXIV; MAMA VII, 76 no. 314, (pl. 19 no. 314); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 34; Haas 1966, 119 no. 34; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 80 B 34 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 33); Waelkens 1986, 235 no. 603 (Tafel 82 no. 604); TITUS, no. 34 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 253-254 no. C\*-06.

Μουζος Δειναρχίδι συμβίω σεμνοτάτη καὶ Βωδορει καὶ Να-  
να τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν  
μνήμης χάριν.

4 ιος κε σεμ<ου>ν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν  
εγεδου τιος ουταν.

4 ιος νε σεμν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν Ramsay et Calder : ιος κε σεμν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ γεγρειμεναν Friedrich, MAMA Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel || 5 ΕΓΕΔΟΥΤΙΟΣ ΟΥΤΑΝ Ramsay : εγεδουτ ιος ουταν Calder et Friedrich : εγεδου τιος ουταν MAMA, Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel.

‘[Greek] Mouzos (made it) for his honourable wife Deinarchis and for (their) dearest children Bodoris and Nana and for himself, whilst he is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[i]s tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.’

### 62.4

“Doorstone, broken above and below, with pediment containing woman, spindle and distaff, basket. H. 0·51; w. 0·68; th. 0·31; letters 0·0225 to 0·025” (MAMA VII, 77). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 99 no. XXXV; Calder 1911, 182 no. XXXV; MAMA VII, 77 no. 315 (pl. 21 no. 315); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 35; Haas 1966, 119 no. 35; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78-79 no. B 35; Waelkens 1986, 235 no. 604 (Tafel 82 no. 694); TITUS, no. 35 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 254-256 no. C\*-07.

Ἄλεξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ ἰδία γλυκυ-  
τάτη Ακκα μνημης ἔνεκεν. ιος νι σαι κακο-  
υν αδδακεμ μανκαι, ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα

4 <ι>ν- νου.

3 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΜ ΜΑΝΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΝ uel ΑΣΑΝ ΑΝΚΑΙΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΚΕΝΑ|ΝΝΟΥ Ramsay : αδδακεμ μανκαι  
 ΑΣΑΝΑΝΚΑΙΟΙΠΑΝΤΑΚΕΝΑ Calder et Friedrich : αδδακεμ μανκαι ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα Haas et  
 Waelkens: αδακεμ μανκαι ασανανκαιοιπαντακεναννου ΜΑΜΑ : αδακεμ μανκαι ατ(?) ανανκαι οι παντα  
 κεναννου Diakonoff - Neroznak : ΑΔΔΑΚΕΜ ΜΑΝΚΑΙ ΑΣ ΑΝΑΝΚΑ ΙΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΕΝΑ ΤΙΤΟΥS || 4 ΝΝΟΥ Calder  
 et Friedrich : [ι]ν νου Haas : <ι>|ν νου Waelkens : [ι]ννου ΤΙΤΟΥS : [ι]ν-νου Orel.

‘[Greek] Alexandros the son of Alexandros (made it) for his dear mother Akka in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let his whole offspring be under the necessity.’

## 62.5

Broken door-stone (“H. 1:05; w.0:59; th. 0:20; letters 0:0125 to 0:03” ΜΑΜΑ VI, 77) with reliefs (a woman, a man and some objects) and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 99-100 no. XXXVI; Calder 1911, 182-183 no. XXXVI (with copy); ΜΑΜΑ VII, 77 no. 316 (pl. 21); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 36; Haas 1966, 119 no. 36; Waelkens 1986, 237-238 no. 610; ΤΙΤΟΥS, no. 36 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 256-257 no. C\*-08.

Λαλ<α> Εὐδήμων[ος]  
 Δουδα ὑδ[ίω ἀνδρὶ κὲ ἐ]-  
 αὐτῆ μνήμης χ[άρι]ν. ιο-  
 4 ς κε σεμουν κνουμαν-  
 ι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγ-  
 ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ]  
 τιος ουταν, αυτος κ’ ου-  
 8 α κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο-  
 ς α βαταν τ-  
 ευτους.

1 Λαλε[ις] Δήμω[νος] dub. Ramsay : Ἀλλεγδήμων Calder : Εὐδήμων ΜΑΜΑ, Friedrich, Haas, Waelkens et Orel  
 || 2 Δουδα ὑδ[ίω ἀνδρὶ κὲ ἐ]|αὐτῆ Ramsay : Δουδα ἰδίω ἀνδ[ρὶ καὶ ἐ]|αὐτῆ ΜΑΜΑ et Orel : Δουδα ὑδ[ίω ἀνδρὶ  
 κὲ ἐ]|αὐτῆ Calder et Friedrich : Δουδα ἰδίω ἀνδ[ρὶ καὶ ἐ]|αὐτῆ Haas et Waelkens || 3 μνήμης χ[άρι]ν Ramsay :  
 μνήμης χ[άρι]ν. ιο|ς Calder : μνήμης χά[ι]ν. ιο|ς ΜΑΜΑ et Orel : μ<ν>ήμης χ[άρι]ν ιο|ς Friedrich : μνήμης  
 χαρ[ι]ν ιο|ς Haas : μνήμης χά[ρι]ν Waelkens || 5-6 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΕΡΑ? ΓΕΓ|ΡΕΙΜΕΝ[Α]Ν Ramsay : αδ[δα]κετε ρα,  
 γ[ε]γ|ρειμεν[α]ν Calder et Friedrich : αδακετ ερα γεγ|ρειμεναν Haas, Waelkens et ΤΙΤΟΥS : αδακετερ α  
 γεγ|ρειμεναν Orel || 6-7 ΕΓ[Ε]ΔΟΝ|ΤΙΟC ΟΥΤΑΝ. Δ[ Ε?Τ?]ΟΥ Ramsay : εγεδο[υ]|τ ιος ουταν ατος κε<ε>  
 ου|α Calder et Friedrich : εγεδου | τιος ουταν αυτος κε ου|α Haas, Waelkens, ΤΙΤΟΥS et Orel || 8 ΑΚΟ[ ]Ο  
 Ramsay : κ[ε ρ]οκα [γ]ε[γαριτ]μ[ν]ο|ς Calder et Friedrich : κ οροκα γεγαριτμενο|ς Haas et ΤΙΤΟΥS : κ οροκα  
 γεγαριτμενο|ς Waelkens : κοροκα γεγαριτμενο|ς Orel || 9-10 [ΑCΒ]ΑΤ[ΑΝ] Τ|ΕΥΤΕΥC Ramsay : αβαταν  
 τ|ευτευς Calder : αβαταν τευτους Friedrich : α Βα ταν τευτους Haas et Waelkens : Α<Σ> ΒΑΤΑΝ Τ|ΕΥΤΟΥS  
 ΤΙΤΟΥS : α βαταν τευτους Orel.

[Greek] Lala, (the daughter) of Eudemon, for h[er own husband] Doudas [and] for herself in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus and let him and his κοροκα τευτουζ (verb) by<sup>7</sup> Bas.’

## 62.6

“Stele with pediment containing girl, woman, man. Field weathered out but lower parts of bureau and of tripod survive at bottom. The inscription is on the base. H. 1:27; w. 0:49; th. 0:30; letters 0:025 to 0:03” (MAMA VII, 77).

MAMA VII, 77 no. 318 (pl. 21); Haas 1966, 128 no. 105; *TITUS*, no. 105; Orel 1997a, 284-285 no. C\*-33.

ιος νι σεμουν κνου-  
 μανει κακουν αδ-  
 [κ]ετ, γεγρειμεναν εγεδο-  
 4 υ τιος ουτ[αν ]  
 [---]

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curs[e] of Zeus [---]’

## 63. Davulga (near Amorion)

### 63.1

White marble block (“h. 0,43; l. 1,32; épg. max. 0,26; h. l. 0,02” Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 98) reused as a bank. A Greek hexametric epigram is engraved in a corner, with a hemistich in each side. The Phrygian imprecation can be read in the second face. Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 98-102 no. VI (*SEG* 47.1725); Merkelbach & Stauber 1998, 354 no. 16 / 43 / 02 (only the Greek epigram); Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 123 (only enumerated)-

Σύμφωνος Πρεῖμα τ’ Ἄ]ρουντιοι ἐνθάδε κείνται  
 οὖς κτερίσας μ[--- | ---] τῆδε κόνει πέτασεν.  
 Εὕτακτος υἱὸς ἄρι[στο]]ς ε..στο νέας προπόλοιο  
 4 τειμήσας τειμα[ῖς μ]]νημοσύνης ἔνεκεν.

ιος νι σεμ[ουν κνου]μα-  
 νει κακ[ουν αδ]δ[ακ]ετ,  
 8 τιε τιτ[ξε]τικμενος  
 ειτ[ου].

<sup>7</sup> τιε τιτ [ξε]τικμενος Brixhe - Drew-Bear.

‘[Greek] The Aruntians Symphonos and Prima lie here, whom after been buried [---] spread in the dust. Eutaktos, excellent son of the young servant having honoured them with honours in remembrance. [Phrygian] Whoever [m]a[k]es ha[rm] to th[is tom]b, let him be accursed by Zeus.’

## 64. Peribeyli

### 64.1

Round pillar found by Calder in 1913 with a Greek hexametric epigram (each line contains one hemistich) and a Phrygian imprecation. Its higher part, where almost one initial verse is expected to contain the name of the dead girl, is lost.

Calder 1922, 123-124 no. 7 (*SEG* 1.454); Calder 1926, 25 no. LXXXII (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 82; *MAMA* VII, 56 no. 258, (pl. 15); Haas 1966, 125 no. 82 (only the Phrygian text); Wilhelm 1980, 86, no. 112 (*SEG* 30.1488); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 82 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 2); *TITUS*, no. 82 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 279-280 no. C\*-27; Merkelback & Stauber 1998, 356 no. 16 / 43 / 04.

[---]

- 1 [ἔ]κτον καὶ δέκατον ἐ[πιδ]-  
οὔσα ἔτος ἔνθα τέθα[ψται]  
ἐκ τοκετοῦ δυσμóρ[ου γὰρ]  
4 ἀνήρπασε βάσκανος Ἄ[δης]  
εἰκόνα σωφροσύνης [καὶ αἰ]-  
δοῦ[ς] μεγάλης ἐπὶ[γαίη]  
καὶ μετ’ ἐπιστήμη[ς]  
8 ἔργ’ ἐπιδεικνυμένη  
πέντε ἔτη δὲ συνοίκησεν  
καὶ αἴλινα κλαῦε Κοδρᾶτος  
γῆ κρύπτων [σ’] οἴην  
12 ἐλπίδα καὶ γονέων.  
ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ-  
δακετ, τιτετικμενος ειτου.

2 τέθα[πται] Calder 1922, Friedrich, *MAMA* et Orel : τέθα[μμαι] Wilhelm : τέθα[ψται] emend. Wilhelm || 3 δυσμóρο[ου] Calder, Friedrich, *MAMA* et Orel : δύσμορ[ρον] Wilhelm, fort. δύσμοιρον ἀνήρπασε βάσκανος Ἄιδης || 9 fort. legend. συνοικήσθη Wilhelm : συνοικήσθαι Calder 1922 et Friedrich : συνοίκησεν (= συνῶκοεν) propg. Cr., *MAMA* et Orel || 10 κλαῦε Wilhelm, *MAMA* et Orel || 14 τιτετικμενος Calder, Friedrich, *MAMA* et Wilhelm : τι τετικμενος Haas et *TITUS* : τι τετικμενος Orel.

[Ἔ]κτον καὶ δέκατον ἐ[πιδ]οῦσα ἔτος ἔνθα τέθα[ψται]  
 5-6 ἐκ τοκετοῦ δυσμόρ[ου γάρ] | ἀνήρπασε βάσκανος Ἄ[δης]  
 εἰκόνα σωφροσύνης [καὶ αἰ]δοῦ[ς] μεγάλης ἐπὶ[γαίη]  
 καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμη[ς] | ἔργ' ἐπιδεικνυμένη  
 9-10 πέντε ἔτη δὲ συνοίκησεν | καὶ αἴλινα κλαῦε Κοδράτος  
 γῆ κρύπτων [σ'] οἶην | ἐλπίδα καὶ γονέων.

[Greek] You who have lived sixteen years are buried here. Hades the envy took away after an unhappy childbirth an earthly picture of chastity and great reverence, that accomplished every work with prudence. In the funeral chant, Quadratus cried when he hid you in the earth, after having been living with you for five years, you who also were the only hope of the parents. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let him be accursed.'

## 65. Aşağipiribeyli (Petinessos)

### 65.1

Double door-stone (" . h. 1'29; w. 1'62; th., top 0'17, base 0'39; letters 0'021 to 0'026" MAMA VII, 57) broken on right and above with some reliefs (two people and several objects in the pediment) and an inscription on the upper moulding. Rectangular sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Ramsay 1887, 396 no. XX; Ramsay 1905, col. 117 no. XX; Calder 1911, 176 no. XX; Friedrich 1932, 131 no. 20; MAMA VII, 56-57 no. 259 (pl. 15); Haas 1966, 117 no. 20; Waelkens 1986, 218 no. 554 (Tafel 80 no. 554); TITUS, no. 20; Orel 1997a, 246-247 no. C\*-02.

[... Πομ]πέϊος καὶ Καρικόδς καὶ Παπια οἱ Καρικοῦ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ ἰδί[ω πα]-  
 [τ]ρὶ γλυκυτάτ[ω κ]αὶ Τατει ἀδελφῆ ἄώρω καὶ μητρὶ Τατια ζώση μνήμη[ς χάριν].  
 ἰος νι σεμ[ουν κνου]μανει κακουν αδακετ, τιτετικμενος αας κνουμ[---]

1 [Αὐρήλιοι] Πείϊος *dub.* Ramsay 1887 : [Αὐρ.] Πονπέϊος Ramsay 1905 : [?Αὐρ.] Πονπέϊος MAMA : Αὐρ. Πονπέϊος Calder, Friedrich, Haas, Waelkens et Orel || 1-2 ἰδί[ω αὐτῶν πατ]ρὶ Ramsay 1887 : ἰδί[ω πατ]ρὶ Ramsay 1905, MAMA et Waelkens : ἰδί[ω | π]ατρὶ Calder, Friedrich et Haas || μνή[μης χάριν] Ramsay 1887 : μνή[μης χάριν] Ramsay 1905 : μνή[μης | χάριν] Calder, Friedrich et Haas : μνήμη[ς χάριν] Waelkens || 3 ἰος νι σεμ[ουν κνου]μανει Ramsay 1887 : ΣΕΜ[Ν ΚΝΟΥ]ΜΑΝΕΙ Ramsay 1905 : σεμ[ον κνου]μανει Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et TITUS : ἰος νι σεμ[ον κνου]μανει Waelkens : αδακετ, [ε]τιτετικμενος αασκνουα[ Ramsay 1887 : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΤΙ, ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΑΣΝΟΥ[ΜΕΝΟΣ Ramsay 1905 : αδακετ, τιτετικμενος αασκνου[μενος *dub.* Calder et Friedrich : αδακετ τιτετικμενος αασκνου [---] MAMA : αδακετ τι τετικμενος αας κνου[---(--)] Haas et TITUS : αδακετ τι τετικμενος αας κνουμ[α?---] Waelkens.

[Greek] [Aur(elius)] Pompeius and Karikos and Papia, Karikos' heirs, for their own deares[t fa]ther [a]nd for Tatis (their) untimely (dead) sister and for (their) mother Tatia, whilst she is alive, in me[mory]. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[is to]mb, accursed ... [---].'

## 65.2

A fragment of an inscription “on a smoothed surface on a rough block, lying near no. 259 [= 63.1], and possibly a detached part of the same memorial” (MAMA VII, 57).

MAMA VII, 57 no. 259a; Haas 1966, 128 no. 104; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 104 (as variant of B 10); *TITUS*, no. 104; Orel 1997a, 283-284 no. C\*-32.

[ τιττετι]-  
uacat. κμενος ειτου. uacat.

‘[---] let him be [accur]sed.’

## 65.3

Inscription copied by Ramsay in 1883, who read it “in a panel on the side of a large sarcophagus, in distinct letters of late style” (Ramsay 1887, 396). Dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC by Ramsay.

Ramsay 1887, 396-397 no. XXI; Ramsay 1905, col. 117 no. XXI (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 176 no. XXI; Friedrich 1932, 131-132 no. 21; Haas 1966, 117 no. 21; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 21; *TITUS*, no. 21; Orel 1997a, 247-249 no. C\*-03.

Αὐρ(ήλια) Κύριλλα Μύρωνος  
σύμβιος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Παπα Μενέ-  
ου τοῦ καὶ Κυρίωνος καὶ Απ-  
4 πας γαμβρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ Τατ-  
α ἢ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ζῶντες  
κατεσκεύασαν τῆ μητρὶ τὴν  
σορόν. ιος σα σορου κακε  
8 αδακετ, με ζεμελωσ τιττετι-  
μενος ειτου.

1 Αὐρ. Ramsay 1887 et cett. || 2 Αὐρ. Παπᾶ Μεν<v>|ου Ramsay 1887 et cett. || 8 αδακετ, με ζεμελωσ  
ετιττετικμενος Ramsay 1887 : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ, ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ (Ε)ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙ|ΚΜΕΝΟΣ Ramsay 1905 : αδακετ, με  
ζεμελωσ τιττετι|κμενος Calder : αδακετ με ζεμελωσ τιττετι|κμενος Friedrich et Haas : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ  
ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Diakonoff - Neroznak, *TITUS* et Orel.

‘[Greek] Aur(elia) Kyrilla (the daughter) of Myron the wife of Aur(elius) Papas Meneos the son of Kyrion and Appas her brother-in-law and Tata his wife, whilst they are living, built this coffin for (their) mother. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this coffin, let him be accursed in the sight of men.’

## 65.4

Inscription engraved on a white marble block (“h. 1,10; l. 1,72; épg. 0,50; h. l. 0,04” Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 102) found in the courtyard of a mosque, which is said to come from the old mosque recently demolished. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 102-110 no. VII; Ligorio & Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 124 (only enumerated).

[Αὐ]ρ(ήλιος) Μενέας Παπα καὶ Κυρίων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
[κ]αὶ ἡ σύνβιος Κουιντιανὴ ζῶντες  
κατεσκεύουσαν ἑατοῖς μνή-  
4 μης χάριν. ⚭ ιος σα του σορου κακε  
αδδακετ, με ζεμελωσ οττιπτετικμε-  
⚭ νος ειτου. ⚭  
⚭

5 οτ τιτ τετικμε|νος Brixhe - Drew-Bear.

‘[Greek] [Au]r(elius) Meneas Papa and Kyrion, his son, and his wife Quintiane build in life for themselves in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this coffin, let him be accursed in the sight of men.’

## 66. Turgut

### 66.1

“Stele with a male and a female figure above. H. 2:30; w. 0:60; th. 0:23; letters 0:02 to 0:035” (MAMA VII, 44). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA VII, 44 no. 214 (pl. 13); Haas 1966, 128 no. 103; Haas 1970a, 60-61 no. 130; TITUS, no. 103 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 282-283 no. C\*-31; Strubbe 1997, 188 no. 274 (only the Greek text and a commentary of the Phrygian text following Haas).

[Αὐρ](ήλιος) Σιδηρίων Μαμα ἑαυτῶ  
[ζῶν] κἔ <τ>ῆ ἑαυτοῦ συνβίω Μαμμη  
[κἔ Ἀπ]πιῶ ἀδελφῶ φιλοστοργίας  
4 [ἔνε]κεν κἔ Μαρμας κἔ Βενιος το[ῖς]  
[ἑαυ]τῶν γονεῖσιν <μ>νήμης χάρ[ιν].  
[ιος] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ]-  
[ον α]βερети ζει[ραι] παρταν, το[ς]  
8 [νι με] ζι[μελως] α τι ατιτικμενος  
[ειτ]ου.  
[τίς ἄν] τούτω κακὴν χεῖρα  
[προσ]οίσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λ[ί]-  
12 [ποιτ]ο, χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔ-  
[ρημ]ον.

7 <αιν>ι ζει[ρα-] *dub.* : α]βερετι ζει [---] παρταντο [.] MAMA : α]βερετ{ιτετικ.}παρταν το[ς] Haas et TITUS : α]βερετ ι[-----] παρταν το- *Orel* || 8 υτι[----]ατια τιτικμενος MAMA : [νι με] ζι[μελω] ατιατιτικμενος Haas : [NI ME] ΖΙ[ΜΕΛΩ] Α ΤΙΑ ΤΙΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ TITUS : ----- α τια τιτικμενος *Orel*.

‘[Greek] [Aur(elius)] Siderion Mama for himself, [whilst he is alive], and for his wife Mamme [and for his brother Ap]pios [for the]sake of affection and Mamas and Benios for their parents in memory. [Phrygian] [Whoever] brings h[arm] to this tomb with his hand *partan*, let him [be] accursed by Zeus [among] m[en]. [Greek] [Whoever br]ings a bad hand to this tomb, may he l[eav]e behind his children orphaned, an empty life, his house d[ese]rted.’

## Appendix: Greek inscriptions enumerated in the traditional list of New Phrygian inscriptions

Although they are Greek, the following inscriptions were transmitted within the New Phrygian corpus, for reasons including the following: they are a calque of a Phrygian curse inscription (App. 1), they contain a word considered to be Phrygian (ΠΡΙΕΙΣ in App. 8), they are completely misunderstood (App. 11). After Brixhe (1999, 287-292), they can no longer be included in the Phrygian corpus.

### 1. Greek inscription from Çayırbaşı (no. 1)

Greek inscription found in Çayırbaşı and copied by Ramsay in 1884.

Ramsay 1887, 386 no. I; Calder 1911, 165 no. I; Friedrich 1932, 128 no. B 1; Haas 1966, 114 no. 1; Strubbe 1997, 129 no. 177 (l. 3-4).

Τάτεις ἐτείμησεν τὸν Ἀπποῦν τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄν-  
δρα ἔτι ζῶσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα μνήνης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτήν·  
τίς δὲ ταύτη θαλάμειν κακὸν ποσποιήσει, κατηραμένος ἦτω  
4 αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τέκνων τέκνα.

‘Tatis honoured her husband Appos and their children in memory and herself, whilst she is alive. Whoever does harm to this (funerary) chamber, let him be accursed, himself and his children and the children of his children.’

### 2. Greek inscription from Kuyucak (no. 16)

Greek inscription found in Kuyucak and copied by Sterrett in 1883.

Ramsay 1887, 394-395 no. XVI (copy); MAMA V, 150 no. R 7; Haas 1966, 115 no. 16; Drew-Bear 1978, 29 no. 2 (MAMA V 208; SEG 29.1174).

Ξευνα Ἰασονο[ς]  
σύνβιος περὶ τῶ-  
ν ἰδίων ἰδίων σωτηρί-  
4 ας Μηνὶ Οὐρανί-  
ω κε Ἀπόλλωνι  
εὐχὴν.

‘Xeuna the wife of Iaso (made) a vow to the heavenly Men and Apollo on the sake of his own safety.’

### 3. Greek inscription from Yukarı Piribeyli (no. 22)

Inscription found in Yukarı Piribeyli by Ramsay and Sterrett in 1883. Dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Ramsay 1887, 397 no. XXII (as Greek); Haas 1966, 117, no. 22. Cf. Calder 1911, 176 no. XXII; Brixhe 1999, 287 no. 22.



‘Aurelius Klodios Sagarios and his wife Kyrilla for their untimely (dead) children Karikos and Tatias in memory...’

#### 6. Greek inscription from Aşağipiribeyli (no. 24b)

Greek inscription found in Aşağipiribeyli and copied by Ramsay in 1883. Dated to the 3rd century BC.

Ramsay 1887, 398 no. XXIVb (as Greek); MAMA VII 276; Waelkens, 1986 no. 556.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Αλεξανδρος [---]  
[---]  
[---]  
ὅς αν  
κακῶς  
πυήσει  
τῶ μνή-  
μα-  
[τι ---] αὐτῶ καὶ τοῖς<ς> τ[έ]κνο[ις].

‘Aurelios Alexandros [---] Whoever does harm [to] this monument [---], let him and his childrend [---].’

#### 7. Greek inscription from Aşağipiribeyli (no. 24c)

Greek inscription in a small panel from Aşağipiribeyli and copied by Ramsay in 1883. Dated to the 3rd century BC.

Ramsay 1887, 398 no. XXIV (copy, as Greek).

[A]ὐρ(ήλιος) Τειμοθέος γλυκύτατῶ  
συνβίῳ Ἰταλικῇ ἀναστής  
μνημης χα-  
4 ριν.

‘[A]urelios the son of Timotheos erected (it) for his dearest wife Italike in memory.’

#### 8. Greek inscription from Iconion (NPhr. 49)

Greek inscription found in Konya (Iconion) and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Although it was considered Phrygian, it is clearly Greek. Only l. 9 ΠΠΙΕΙΣ remains unclear.

Calder 1911, 188-192 no. XLIX (copy); SEG 6.434; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 49; Haas 1966, 120-121 no.49; Laminger-Pascher 1984, 46-49 no. 62 (213 and Calder’s copy); Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 86 no. C 49; Brixhe 1999, 287-291 no. 49.cc

4 Ἥλιος Γάϊος ἀγο-  
ράνι ἀχανές το-  
πον καὶ φάνι ἀ-  
πραγματικ-  
ὸν ἀτῶ καὶ  
εἰστάνι π-

8           έλτα καὶ Ἡλι-  
               ἀδι θρεψά-  
               σα Πριεις Αὐρ-  
               ηλίαν Βάσ[αν].  
               Ἵστις ἐπ[ιβιά]-  
 12         σηστε, δώ[σει]  
               τῷ φίσκ[ω]  
               \*, α.

‘Helios Gaios bought this plot free of constructions and declared it inalienable from him. He also raised the base (of a sarcophagus) for Helia, the nurse of (his) ΠΡΙΕΙΣ Aurelias Bas(s)a. Whoever violates (it), will pay 1000 denarii to the imperial treasury.’

### 9. Greek inscription from Iconion (no. 50)

Greek inscription found in Konya (Iconion) and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910.

Calder 1911, 192-194 no. L (copy, as Phrygian); Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 50 (as Phrygian); Haas 1966, 121 no. 50 (as Phrygian); Brixhe 1999, 291-292 no. 50 (as Greek).

Τῆς Πάρθε-  
 και Δικαίω  
 <εὐ>χήν.

‘Tes put this vow to Dikaios.’

### 10. Greek inscription from Sarayönü (no. 52)

Greek inscription found in the wall of the main Djami of Sarayönü and copied by Ramsay in 1905 (again together with Calder in 1910).

Calder 1911, 195-197, LII (copy); MAMA I, no. 11 (SEG 34.1375); Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 52; Haas 1966, 121, no. 52.

Αὐρ(ήλιος)  
 Φρούγι-  
 ος Νεστορι-  
 4         ανοῦ Ποκ-  
           ωμήτης  
           παρεθθον  
           ύση Ὀρονδί-  
 8         ω

εὐχίην.

‘Aurelios Phrugios the son of Nestorianos villager of Poa put this vow for (his) son Orondios.’

### 11. Greek inscription from Sultan Mezarlığı Inscriptió (NPhr. 66)

Greek inscription on an altar, with serpent in relief on one side. Copied by Anderson in 1989.

Anderson 1899, 123 no. 132 (copy); Calder 1911, 212 no. LXVI (copy); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 66; Haas 1966, 123 no. 66.

Μηνουδοῦτο  
Ἐστάρτωνος  
μήτερ ἔστησ-  
4 ξν.

‘For Menodotos the son of Starton, his mother erected (it).’

### 12. Hexametric inscription from Gözlü (no. 83)

A Christian, hexametric inscription on a rough stele, found in Gözlü by Calder in 1913. Dated not earlier than the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Calder 1926, 25 after no. LXXXII (l. 1-2 as Phrygian); Friedrich 1932, 139, no. 83 (l. 1-2 as Phrygian) (*SEG* 6.291); Haas 1966, 125 no. 83 (l. 1-2 as Phrygian); Brixhe 1999, 287 no. 83 (l. 1 as Phrygian).

† υῖος ἀνὴρ βέννεν  
ἀμιδέα δώματα, Ν-  
ινυ Εὐγένιος Σύρου  
4 μεγαλήτορος ἀγλα-  
ὸς υἱός σὺν ἀλόχῳ  
δευτέρῃ κεκλημένη  
τοῦνομα Θέκλα, ὃς  
8 κὲ τίθλον ἔδιμεν· τὸ  
γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θα-  
νότων.

A † ω

L. 1 υῖος = οἶος. L. 2 ἀμιδέα = ἀμειδέα; Νινυ, a local name, see Νινεις or Νιννις *KPN* 361 § 1040-8 and 1040-12. L. 8 τίθλον = τίτλον, ἔδιμεν = ἔδειμεν.

υῖος ἀνὴρ βέννεν | ἀμιδέα δώματα, Ν|ινυ  
1. 4 Εὐγένιος Σύρου | μεγαλήτορος ἀγλα|ὸς υἱός  
σὺν ἀλόχῳ| δευτέρῃ κεκλημένη τοῦνομα Θέκλα,  
1. 8 ὃς | κὲ τίθλον ἔδιμεν· τὸ | γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θα|νότων.

‘What man *bennes*? the gloomy houses! Nini Eugenios the noble son of the great-hearted Syros, together with his second wife called Thekla, he who also prepared this inscription: “that is the privilege of the dead” [= *Il.* 23.9; *Od.* 24.190].’



## Abbreviations and Bibliography

### Abbreviations

AnnÉp = *L'Année épigraphique*.

BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.

CAL = *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, available at: <http://cal.huc.edu/>

CIG = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*.

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.

CIPPhr = Brixhe, C., and Lejeune, M., 1984, *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes. I Texte, II Planches*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

CLL = Melchert, H. C., 1993, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*, Chapel Hill.

CTH = Laroche, E., 1971, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris, Klincksieck.

DELG = Chantraine, P., 1968-1980, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque : histoire des mots*, Paris, P Klincksieck.

EDG = Beekes, R. S. P., 2010, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.

eDIANA = *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*, available at: <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/phrygian/phryg.html>

IDR III,5 = Piso, I., 2001, *Inscriptions d'Apulum (Inscriptions de la Dacie Romaine — III 5)*, Paris, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.

HALOT = Koehler, L., and Baumgartner, W., 1994, *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament*, Leiden - New York, Brill.

IEW = Pokorny, J., 1959, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern, Francke.

IGBulg III = Mihailov, G., 1961, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae III, 1. Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: Territorium Philippopolis*, Sofia, Academia Litterarum Bulgarica.

IGBulg IV = Mihailov, G., 1966, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae Vol. 4. Inscriptiones in territorio Serdicensi et in vallibus Strymonis Nestique repertae (1966)*. Sofia, Academia Litterarum Bulgarica.

IGBulg V = Mihailov, G., 1997, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae V. Inscriptiones novae, addenda et corrigenda*, Sofia, Academia Litterarum Bulgarica.

IGR = Cagnat, R., Toutain, J. and Jouguet, P., 1901-1927, *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, Paris, Ernest Leroux.

IK Iznik = Şahin, S., 1979-1982, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*, Bonn, R. Habelt.

IK Rhod Peraia = Blümel, W., 1991, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia*, Bonn, Habelt.

KILyK = Laminger-Pascher, G., 1992, *Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens, fasc. 1*, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- KON = Zgusta, L., 1984, *Kleinasiatische Orstnamen*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter.
- KPN = Zgusta, L., 1964, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag, Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- LIPP = Dunkel, G. E., 2014, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- LIV<sup>2</sup> = Rix, H., 2001, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert.
- LNH = Laroche, E., 1966, *Les noms des hittites*, Paris, C. Klincksieck.
- MAMA I = Calder, W. M., 1928, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I. Eastern Phrygia*, Manchester, The Manchester University Press.
- MAMA IV = Buckler, W. H., Calder, W. M., and Guthrie, W. K. C., 1933, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV. Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*, Manchester, The Manchester University Press.
- MAMA V = Cox, C. W. M., and Cameron, A., 1937, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V. Monuments from Dorylaeum et Nacolea*, Manchester, The Manchester University Press.
- MAMA VI = Buckler, W. H., and Calder, W. M., 1939, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VI. Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, Manchester, The Manchester University Press.
- MAMA VII = Calder, W. M., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VII. Monuments from Eastern Phrygia*, Manchester, The Manchester University Press.
- MAMA VIII = Calder, W. M., and Cormack, J. M. R., 1962, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VIII. Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*, Manchester, The Manchester University Press.
- NIL = Wodtko, D. S., Irslinger, B., and Schneider, C., 2008, *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexicon*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- RECAM II = Mitchell, S., 1982, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, II: The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia*, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports.
- RECAM IV = McLean, B. H., 2002, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archeological Museum*, London, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- RPC = Burnett, A., Amandry, M., and Ripollès, P. P., 1992, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. I (1992): From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*, London - Paris, British Museum Press - Bibliothèque Nationale.
- SB 3 = Bilabel, F. (ed.), 1926-127, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten 3*, Strassburg, K. J. Trübner.
- SEB = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SERP = Ramsay, W. M. (ed.), 1906, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press.

TAM V,1 = Herrmann, P., 1981, *Tituli Asiae Minoris, V. Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti Vol. 1, Regio septentrionalis, ad orientem vergens*, Vienna.

TITUS = Lubotsky, A., 1994, “Corpus of Phrygian Inscriptions”, *Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien*, available at:  
<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/phrygian/phryg.html>

TL = Kalinka, E., 1901, *Tituli Asiae Minoris 1, Tituli Lyciae, lingua Lycia conscripti*, Vienna, A. Hoelder.

TLE = Pallottino, M., and Angeletti, M. P., 1978, *Thesaurus linguae Etruscae, I. Indice lessicale*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

## Bibliography

Adiego, I.-X., 1992, “Glosses i pseudoglosses càries en fonts gregues”, in Zaragoza, J., and González Senmartí, A. (eds.), *Homenatge a Josep Alsina. Actes del X<sup>e</sup> Simposi d'Estudis Clàssics, Tarragona 28-30 de novembre del 1990 I*, Tarragona, Diputació de Tarragona, 51–54.

Adiego, I.-X., 2004, “Los alfabetos epicóricos anhelénicos de Asia Menor”, in Bádenas de la Peña, P., Torallas Tovar, S., Luján, E. R., and Gallego, M. A. (eds.), *Lenguas en contacto: el testimonio escrito*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 219–320.

Adiego, I.-X., 2007, *The Carian Language*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.

Adiego, I.-X., 2011, “Avatares licios de luvita *im(ma)ra/i*- ‘campiña’”, in Luján, E. R., and García Alonso, J. L., *A Greek man in the Iberian street. Papers in Linguistics and Epigraphy in Honour of Javier de Hoz*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 327–335.

Adiego, I.-X., forthcoming a, “Local Adaptations of the Alphabet among the Non-Greek Peoples of Anatolia”, in Ferrara, S., and Valério, M. (eds.), *Paths into Script Formation*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

Adiego, I.-X., forthcoming b, “Lycian *Wexssere, Waxssepddimi* and related forms”, in Simon, Z., *Current Research on Lycian, proceedings of the International Workshop of the Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*, Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 16-17 February 2017, Hamburg, Baar Verlag.

Agostiniani, L., 1982, *Le “iscrizioni parlanti” dell'Italia antica*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki.

Åkerström, Å, 1966, *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*, Lund, Gleerup.

Akurgal, E., 1943, “Pazarlı'da çıkan eserler üzerinde yeni araştırmalar”, *Belleten* 7, 1–22 and 23–43.

Aldea Celada, J. M., 2013, “Apolo en el Valle del Duero. El *dumus sacratus* de Lancia (Villasabariego, León)”, Sastre Blanco, J. C., Catalán Ramos, R., y Fuentes Melgar, P. (coords.), *Arqueología en el Valle del Duero. Del Neolítico a la Antigüedad tardía: nuevas perspectivas*, Madrid, Ediciones de la Ergastula, 165–173.

Anderson, G. E., 2012, “In the Shadow of Tumulus MM: the Common Cemetery and Middle Phrygian Houses at Gordion”, in Rose, C. B. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania), 171–188.

Anderson, J. G. C., 1897, “A Summer in Phrygia: I”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 17, 396–424.

- Anderson, J. G. C., 1898, “A Summer in Phrygia: II”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18, 81–128 and 340–344.
- Anderson, J. G. C., 1899, “Exploration in Galatia cis Halym. Part II. Topography, Epigraphy, Galatian Civilisation”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 19, 53–134 and 280–318.
- Altheim-Stiehl, R., and Cremer, M., 1985, “Eine gräko-persische Türstele mit aramäischer Inschrift aus Daskyleion”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 6, 1–16.
- Avram, A., 2015, “Ein Altar aus Nakoleia und seine griechisch-phrygischen Inschriften”, *Gephyra* 12, 199–229.
- Avram, A., 2016a, “Zur Bezeichnung des Grabes und der Grabanlagen im Phrygischen”, Takmer, B., Arca, E. N. A., and Özdil, N. G. (eds.), *Vir Doctus Anatolicus. Studies in memory of Sencer Şahin / Sencer Şahin Anısına Yazılar*, İstanbul, Kuzgun Yayınevi, 122–133.
- Avram, A., 2016b, “Two Phrygian gods between Phrygia and Dacia”, *Colloquium Anatolicum* 15, 70–83.
- Avram, A., forthcoming, “Phrygian Personal Names in Phrygian Inscriptions”, in Tsetskhladze, G. R. (ed.), *Phrygian Lands Over Time*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Bakır, T., and Gusmani, R., 1991, “Eine neue phrygische inschrift aus Daskyleion”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18, 157–164.
- Bakır, T., and Gusmani, R., 1993, “Graffiti aus Daskyleion”, *Kadmos* 32, 135–144.
- Balkan, K., 1959, “Inscribed bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili”, *Anatolia* 4, 123–129.
- Barnett, R. D., 1967, *Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Baughan, E. P., 2013, *Couched in death: klinai and identity in Anatolia and beyond*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press.
- [Bayun & Orel 1988a =] Баян Л. С., and Орел, В. Э., 1988a, “Язык фригийских надписей как исторический источник. I”, *Вестник древней истории* 1, 173–200.
- [Bayun & Orel 1988b =] Баян Л. С., and Орел, В. Э., 1988b, “Язык фригийских надписей как исторический источник. II”, *Вестник древней истории* 4, 132–168.
- Bayun, L. S., and Orel, V. E., 1988c, “The ‘Moesian’ inscription from Uyučik”, *Kadmos* 27, 2, 131–138.
- [Bayun & Orel 1989 =] Баян Л. С., and Орел В. Э., 1989, “Фригийско-анатолийские языковые отношения”, in Нерознак, В.П. (ed.), *Палеобалканистика и античность*, Москва, Academia, Наука, 180–195.
- Bayun, L. S., and Orel, V. E., 1990, “Die neuphygischen Inschriften mit dem Partizip  $\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$ ”, *Kadmos* 29, 1, 35–37.
- Bayun, L. S., and Orel, V. E., 1992–1993, “Palaeo-Balkan epigraphic monuments: new discoveries and interpretations”, *Folia Orientalia* 29, 5–17.
- Beekes, R. S. P., 1969, *The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek*, The Hague – Paris, Mouton.

- Beekes, R. S. P., 1995, *Comparative Indo-European linguistics: an introduction*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins.
- Beekes, R. S. P., 1998, “The origin of Lat. *aqua*, and of \**teutā* ‘people’”, *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 26, 3-4, 459–466.
- Beekes, R. 2003 “The prehistory of the Lydians, the origin of the Etruscans, Troy and Aeneas”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 59, 3-4, 205–241.
- Beekes, R. S. P., 2003, *The Origin of the Etruscans*, Amsterdam, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
- Berenguer Sánchez, J. A., 2000, *Estudio sobre las partículas indoeuropeas con base consonántica y laringal*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Berenguer Sánchez, J. A., and Luján Martínez, E. R., 2005, “Falisco faced y el perfecto de \**dheH<sub>1</sub>-k* ‘hacer’ en las lenguas itálicas”, *Emerita* 73, 2, 197–216.
- Berndt, D., 2002, *Midasstadt in Phrygien. Eine sagenumwobene Stätte im anatolischen Hochland*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S., 2006, *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines. Structure, Function, and Cult Practice*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S., 2008, “The Chronology and Historical Context of Midas”, *Historia* 57, 1, 1–37.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S., 2012, “Frig Krallığı: Kökenleri, Tarihi ve Politik Gelişimi / The Phrygian Kingdom: Origins, History and Political Development”, in Sivas, T. T., and Sivas, H. (eds.), *Frigler. Midas’ın Ülkesinde, Anıtların Gölgesinde / Phrygians. In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, İstanbul, Tüpraş – Yapı Kredi Yayınları işbirliği ile hazırlanmıştır, 16–41.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S., 2015, “Cutting the Gordian knot. The iconography of Megaron 2 at Gordion”, *Opuscula* 8, 99–122.
- Bilgen, A. N., Brixhe, C., and Coşkun, G., 2011, “Un Nouveau site épigraphique paléo-phrygien: Seyitömer Höyük”, *Kadmos* 50, 141–150.
- Bittle, K., and Güterbock, H. G., 1935, *Boğazköy I: neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt*, Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Blanco-Pérez, A., 2016, “Mên Askaenos and the native cults of Antioch by Pisidia”, in de Hoz, M<sup>a</sup>. P., Sánchez, J. P., i Molina, C. (eds.), *Between Tarhuntas and Zeus Polieus: Cultural Crossroads in the Temples and Cults of Graeco-Roman Anatolia*, Leuven, Peeters, 119–150.
- Blažek, V., 2005, “Paleo-Balkan languages I: Hellenic Languages”, *Studia Minora Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis* 10, 15–33.
- Boehmer, R. M., 1977, “Siegel phrygischer Zeit”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 67, 1, 78–84.
- Boehmer, R. M., and Güterbock, H. G., 1987, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, Berlin, Mann.
- Börker-Klähn, J. 1994, “Ein Phryger in Kargamiš”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 21, 1, 198.
- Börker-Klähn, J., 2000, “Nachlese an phrygischen Fundplätzen” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 24, 35–69.

- Bossert, E., 1942, *Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien. Von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur*, Berlin, Wasmuth.
- Brandenburg, E., 1906, “Neue Untersuchungen im Gebiet der Phrygischen Felsenfassaden”, *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 23, 637-716.
- Brixhe, C., 1968, “Un ouvrage sur la langue phrygienne”, *Revue de Philologie* 42, 306-319.
- Brixhe, C., 1976, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*, Paris, Lib. d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Brixhe, C., 1978a, “Études néo-phrygiennes”, *Verbum* I, 1, 3-21.
- Brixhe, C., 1978b, “Études néo-phrygiennes II”, *Verbum* I, 2, 1-22.
- Brixhe, C., 1979a, “Études néo-phrygiennes I”, *Verbum* II, 2, 177-192.
- Brixhe, C., 1979b, “Le nom de Cybèle. L'antiquité avait-elle raison?”, *Die Sprache* 25, 40-45.
- Brixhe, C., 1981, “Inscriptions: les graffites du grand tumulus [appendix I]”, in Young, R. S., 1981, *The Great Early Tumuli, Philadelphia, The University Museum – University of Pennsylvania*, 273-277.
- Brixhe, C., 1982, “Palatalisations en grec et en phrygien: problèmes phonétiques et graphiques”, *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 77, 209-249.
- Brixhe, C., 1983, “Epigraphie et grammaire du phrygien: état présent et perspectives”, in Vineis, E., (ed.), *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione - Die indogermanische Retsprachen. Atti del Convegno della Società di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft, Udine, 22-24 settembre 1981*, Pisa, Giardini, 101-133.
- Brixhe, C., 1987a, *Essai sur le grec anatolien au debut de nostre ère*, Nancy, Presses universitaires de Nancy.
- Brixhe, C., 1987b, “La Langue comme critère d'aculturation: l'exemple du grec d'un district phrygien”, *Hethitica* 8, 45-80 [= Lebrun, R. (ed.), *Acta Anatolica E. Laroche Oblata. Colloque anatolien, Paris, 1-5 juillet 1985, Paris, Louvain, Peeters*].
- Brixhe, C., 1989-1990, “La plus occidentale des inscriptions phrygiennes”, *Incontri linguistici* 13, 61-67.
- Brixhe, C., 1990, “Comparaison et langues faiblement documentées : l'exemple du phrygien et de se voyelles longues”, in Dor, J., and Kellens, J. (eds.), *La reconstruction des laryngales*, Liège, Université de Liège, 59-99.
- Brixhe, C., 1991, “Les inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes de Tyane: leur intérêt linguistique et historique”, in le Guen-Pollet, B., and Pelon, O. (eds.), *La Cappadoce méridionale jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine. État des recherches. Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul (Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes 13-14 avril 1987)*, Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 37-46.
- Brixhe, C., 1993, “Du paléo- au néo-phrygien”, *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1993. Avril-Juin*, Paris, Diffusion de Boccard, 323-344.
- Brixhe, C., 1994, “Le phrygien”, Bader, F. (ed.), *Langues indo-européennes*, Paris, C.N.R.S., 165-178.
- Brixhe, C., 1996, “Les documents phrygiens de Daskyleion et leur éventuelle signification historique”, *Kadmos* 35, 125-148.

- Brixhe, C., 1997, "Les clitiques du néo-phrygien", in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 41–70.
- Brixhe, C., 1999, "Prolégomènes au corpus néo-phrygien", *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 94, 285–315.
- Brixhe, C., 2002a, "Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes : Supplément II", *Kadmos* 41, 1–102.
- Brixhe, C., 2002b, "Interactions between Greek and Phrygian under the Roman Empire", in Adams, J. N., Janse, M., Swain, S. (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Word*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 246–266.
- Brixhe, C., 2004a, "Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes : Supplément II", *Kadmos* 43, 1–130.
- Brixhe, C., 2004b, "Nouvelle chronologie anatolienne et date d'élaboration des alphabets grec et phrygien", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 148, 1, 271–289.
- Brixhe, C., 2006, "Préhistoire et début de l'histoire des dialectes grecs", *Incontri linguistici* 29, 39–59.
- Brixhe, C., 2008, "Phrygian", in Woodard, R. D., *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 69–80.
- Brixhe, C., 2013, "The personal onomastics of Roman Phrygia", in Thonemann, P. (ed.), *Roman Phrygia. Culture and Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 55–69.
- Brixhe, C., and Drew-Bear, T., 1978, "Un nouveau document néo-phrygien", *Kadmos* 17, 1, 50–54.
- Brixhe, C., and Drew-Bear, T., 1982, "Trois nouvelles inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes de Çepni", *Kadmos* 21, 64–87.
- Brixhe, C., and Drew-Bear, T., 1997, "Huit inscriptions néo-phrygiennes", in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 71–114.
- Brixhe, C., and Drew-Bear, T., 2010, "Inscription phrygienne hellénistique de Prynnessos", *Kadmos* 49, 161–168.
- Brixhe, C., and Keleş, V., 2011, "Une inscription paléo-phrygienne dans la région de Parion ?", *Kadmos* 50, 151–160.
- Brixhe, C., and Neumann, 1985, "Découverte du plus long texte néo-phrygien; l'inscription de Gezler Köyü", *Kadmos* 24, 161–184.
- Brixhe, C., and Sivas, T. T., 2002, "Dédicace paléo-phrygienne inédite (Menekşekaya/Demirli)", *Kadmos* 41, 103–116.
- Brixhe, C., and Sivas, T. T., 2003, "Exploration de l'ouest de la Phrygie, nouveaux documents Paléo-Phrygiens", *Kadmos* 42, 65–76.
- Brixhe, C., and Sivas, T. T., 2009, "Nouveaux graffites paléo-phrygiens de Şarhöyük-Dorylaion", *Kadmos* 48, 125–140.

- Brixhe, C., and Summers, G. D., 2006, “Les inscriptions phrygiennes de Kerkenes Dağ (Anatolie Centrale)”, *Kadmos* 45, 93–135.
- Brixhe, C., and Vottéro, G., 2016, “Germanos Sogukçam, nouvelle inscription paléo-phrygienne dans une aire culturelle remarquable”, *Kadmos* 55, 1, 131–146.
- Brixhe, C., and Waelkens, M., 1981, “Un nouveau document néo-phrygien au Musée d’Afyon”, *Kadmos* 20, 66–75.
- Bru, H., 2017, *La Phrygie Parorée et la Pisidie septentrionale aux époques hellénistique et romaine: Géographie historique et sociologie culturelle*, Leiden, Brill.
- Brugmann, K., and Delbrück, B., 1906, *Grundriss Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen 2.1*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.
- Bryce, T., 2012, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History*, Oxford – York, Oxford University Press.
- Bubenik, V., 1989, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a sociolinguistic area*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Burke, B., 2001, “Anatolian origins of the Gordion knot legend”, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 42, 3, 255–261.
- Burke, B., 2005, “Textile production at Gordion and the Phrygian economy”, in Kealkhofer, L. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 69–81.
- Calder, W. M., 1911, “Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 31, 161–215.
- Calder, W. M., 1913, “Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum II”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 33, 97–104.
- Calder, W. M., 1926, “Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum III”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46, 22–28.
- Calder, W., M., 1922, “Inscriptions grecques métriques inédites d’Asie Mineure (Phrygie, Galatie, Lycaonie, Isaurie)”, *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes* 46, 2, 114–131.
- Carruba, O., 1978, “La scrittura licia”, *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa, classe di lettere e filosofia*, Serie III, 8, 3, 849–867.
- Cassola, F., 1997, “Rapporti tra Greci e Frigi al tempo di Mida”, in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1º Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 131–152.
- Cau, N., 2003, “Nuovi antroponimi indigeni nelle iscrizioni greche della Licia di età ellenistico-romana, II”, *Studi Ellenistici* 15, 297–340.
- Chantraine, P., 1984, *Morphologie historique du grec*, Paris, Éditions Klincksieck.
- Chiai, G. F., 2009, “Die Ortsgebundenheit des Religiösen: das Paradigma der ländlichen Heiligtümer Phrygiens in der Kaiserzeit”, in Auffarth, C., Hannemann, T., and Züchner, O. (eds.), *Religion auf dem Lande : Entstehung und Veränderung von Sakrallandschaften unter römischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 133–160.

- Çınaroğlu, A., and Varinlioğlu, E., 1985, “Ein neuer schwarzer Stein aus Tyana. Eine neue altphrygische Inschrift aus Tyana”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 5, 5–11.
- Cox, C. W. M., and Cameron, A., 1932, “A native inscription from the Myso-Phrygian Borderland”, *Klio* 25, 34–49.
- Clackson, J., 1994, *The linguistic relationship between Armenian and Greek*, Oxford - Cambridge, Blackwell.
- Clackson, J. P. T., 2008, “Classical Armenian”, in Woodard, R. D., *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 124–143.
- Crevatin, F., 1972. “Mote frigi, I. norikon ‘otre””, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 86, 2, 178–189.
- Cross, F. M., 1966, “An Aramaic inscription from Daskyleion”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 184, 7–10.
- Crowfoot, J. W., 1899, “Exploration in Galatia cis Halym”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 19, 34–14 and 318.
- Cuntz, O., 1990, *Itineraria Romana 1. Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Darga, A. M., 1993, “Şarhöyük Dorylaion Kazıları”, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 15, 1, 481–501.
- de Lamberterie, C., 1991, “Le verbe βινεῖν et le nom de la femme”, *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 65, 149–160.
- de Hoz, M. P., 1999, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn, Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- de Hoz, M. P., 2006, “Literacy in rural Anatolia: the testimony of the Confession Inscriptions”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 155, 139–144.
- de Hoz, M. P., 2017, “Prayer to the deceased? Relations between gods, dead and the living in Phrygia Epictetus”, *Ancient West & East* 16, 139–154.
- De Jong, 1997, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*, Leiden, Brill.
- Demiraj, B., 1997, *Albanische Etymologien. Untersuchungen zum albanischen Erbwortschatz*, Amsterdam-Atlanta, Rodopi.
- de Saussure, F., 1898, “Inscriptions Phrygiennes. Description des textes” in Chantre, E., *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale: mission en Cappadoce 1893-1894*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 165–191. [=de Saussure, F., 1922, *Recueil des publications scientifiques de F. de Saussure*, Genève, Société anonyme des éditions Sonor, 542–575]
- Detschew, D., 1976, *Die Thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften,
- Deutsch, R., and Millard, A., 2014, “Ten unpublished West Semitic bronze weights”, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 18, 15–26.
- de Vaan, M., 2008, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden – Boston, Brill.
- DeVries, K., 1990, “The Gordion Excavation Seasons of 1969-1973 and Subsequent Research”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 94, 3, 371–406.

- DeVries, K., 1997, "The Attic Pottery from Gordion", in Oakley, J. H., Coulson, W. D. E., and Palagia, O. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings*, Oxford, Oxbow, 437–45.
- DeVries, K., 2005, "Greek Pottery and Gordion Chronology", in Kealkhofer, L. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 36–55.
- Diakonoff, I. M., 1993, "Cyaxares", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VI, 478–479.
- Diakonoff, I. M., and Neroznak, V. P., 1985, *Phrygian*, Delmar, New York, Caravan Books.
- Dınc, R., and Innocente, L., 1999, "Ein Spinnwirtel mit phrygischer Inschrift", *Kadmos* 38, 65–72.
- Draycott, G. D., and Summers, G. D., 2008, *Sculpture and inscriptions from the monumental entrance to the palatial complex at Kerkenes Dağ*, Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications.
- Dressler, W., 1964, "Altkleinasiatische Miszellen", *Die Sprache* 10, 110–115.
- Dressler, W., 1965, "i-Prothese vor s impurum in Kleinasien (und im Vulgärlatein)", *Balkansko Ezikoznanie* 9, 2, 93–100.
- Drew-Bear, T., and Lochman, T., 1996, "Grabreliefs aus Amorion, Orkistos und der antiken Siedlung von Bağlıca, Zeugen verlorengegangener Grabbauten", *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 4, 109–134.
- Drew-Bear, T., Lubotsky, A., and Üyümez, M., 2008, "Three New Phrygian Inscriptions", *Kadmos* 47, 109–116.
- Drew-Bear, T., and Naour, C., 1990, "Divinités de Phrygie", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 18, 3, 1907–2044.
- Duhoux, Y., 2000, *Le verbe grec ancien. Éléments de morphologie et de syntaxe historiques*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters.
- Duhoux, Y., Palaima, T. G., and Bennet, J. (eds.), 1989, *Problems in Decipherment*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters.
- Dupont-Sommer, A., 1966, "Une inscription araméenne inédite d'époque perse trouvée à Daskyleion (Turquie)", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 110, 1, 44–58.
- Eckhardt, B., 2016, "Romanization and Isomorphic Change in Phrygia: the Case of Private Associations" *The Journal of Roman Studies* 106, 147–171.
- Edwards, G. R., 1959, "The Gordion Campaign of 1958: Preliminary Report", *American Journal of Archaeology* 63, 3, 263–268.
- Edwards, R., 1963, "Gordion: 1962", *Expedition* 5(3), 42–48.
- Fales, F. M., and Jakob-Rost, L., 1991, "Neo-Assyrian texts from Assur. Private archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part I", *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 5, 1, 3–157.
- Fauth, W., 1989, "Mykenisch du-ma, phrygisch dum-", *Historische Sprachforschung* 102, 187–206.
- Fick, F. C. A., 1873, *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der indogermanen Europas: eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht's Verlag.

- Fol, A., 1997, "The paredroi between "Midas' City" and "Midas' Gardens", in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 261–266.
- Fontenrose, J., 1988, *Didyma : Apollo's Oracle, cult, and companions*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Furnée, E. J., 1972, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen*. The Hague - Paris, Mouton.
- Freeman, P., 2001, *The Galatian language. A comprehensive survey of the language of the ancient Celts in Greco-Roman Asia Minor*, Lewiston, The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Friedrich, J., and Röllig, W., 1970, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, Roma, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Friedrich, J., 1932, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, de Gruyter.
- Friedrich, J., 1941, "Phrygia (Sprache); Phrygia (Geschichte)", *Pauly-Wissowa Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 20, 1, 868–891.
- Friedrich, J., 1965, "Ein phrygisches Siegel und ein phrygisches Tontafel", *Kadmos* 4, 154–156.
- "Funde", 1898, *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 23, 359–367.
- García Ramón, J. L., 1987, "Sobre las variantes Διεννυσοϛ, Δινυσοϛ y Διννυσοϛ del nombre de Dioniso: Hechos e hipótesis", *Minos* 20-22, 183–200.
- Garstang, J., 1908, "Notes on a journey through Asia Minor", *Annals of Archaeology and Antropology* 1, 1–12.
- Gelb, I. J., 1935, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Genz, H., 2009, "Thoughts on the use of seals in Iron Age central Anatolia", Saglamtimur, H., Abay, E., Derin, Z., Erdem, A. Ü., Batmaz, A., Dedeoğlu, F., Erdalkıran, M., Baştürk, M. B. i Konakşı, E. (eds.), *Altan Çilingiroğlu'na armağan yukarı denizın kıyısında Uratu krallığı'na Adanmış bir hayat - A life dedicated to Urartu on the shores of the upper sea. Studies in Honour of Altan Çilingiroğlu*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 309–317.
- Genz, H., 2011, "The Iron Age in central Anatolia", in Tsetschladze, G. R. (ed.), *The Black Sea, Greece, Anatolia and Europe in the First Millennium BC*, Leuven, Peeters, 331–368.
- Georgiev, V. I., 1941, *Vorgriechische Sprachwissenschaft*, Sofia, Imprimerie de l'Université.
- Georgiev, V. I., 1981, *Introduction to the history of the Indo-European languages*, Sofia, Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.
- Gérard, R., 2005, *Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne*, Peeters, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- [Gindin 1981 =] Гиндин, Л. А., 1981, *Древнейшая ономастика Восточных Балкан: фрако-хетто-лувийские и фрако-малоазийские изоглоссы*, София, Болгарской Академии нау.
- Gorbachov, Y., 2005, "The origin of the Phrygian aorist of the type *edaes*", in Jones-Bley, K., Huld, M., Della Volpe, A., and Dexter, M. R., (eds.), *Proceedings of the sixteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. Los Angeles. November 2–3, 2006*, Washington DC, Institute for the Study of Man, 191–217.

- Gorbachov, Y., 2008, "Nine observations on the Old Phrygian inscription from Vezirhan", *Kadmos* 47, 91–108.
- Gosche, R., 1864, "Über phrygische Inschriften", *Verhandlungen deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Meissen* 22, 84–103.
- Guarducci, M., 1978, *Epigrafia greca IV: epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane*, Roma, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- Gusmani, R., 1958, "Le iscrizioni dell'antico frigio", *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere* 92, 870–903.
- Gusmani, R., 1959a, "ΑΓΔΙΣΤΙΣ", *Folia Orientalia* 29, 202–211.
- Gusmani, R., 1959b, "Relazioni linguistiche tra Frigia e Licia", *Archivio glottologico italiano* 49, 9–16.
- Gusmani, R., 1964, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter.
- Gusmani, R., 1980, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter.
- Gusmani, R., 1980–1981, "Note d'antroponomastica lidia", *Incontri linguistici* 6, 21–27
- Gusmani, R., 1988, "An epichoric inscription from the Lydio-Phrygian borderland", in Imparati, F. (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a G. Pugliese Carratelli*, Florence, Elite, 67–73.
- Gusmani, R., 2001, "Altphrygisches", in Wilhelm, G. (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie. Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 161–166.
- Gusmani, R., and Poetto, M., 1981, "Un nouvo sigillo frigio iscritto", *Kadmos* 20, 64–67.
- Gusmani, R., and Polat, Y., 1999a, "Ein neues phrygisches Graffito aus Daskyleion", *Kadmos* 38, 59–64.
- Gusmani, R., and Polat, G., 1999b, "Manes in Daskyleion. Die Stele und das Relief", *Kadmos* 38, 137–162.
- Haas, O., 1951, "Zur Deutung der phrygischen Inschriften", *Revue hittite et asianique* 11, 1–30.
- Haas, O., 1961, "Phrygische Inschriften. Berichtigte Lesungen – verbesserte Deutungen", *Die Sprache* 7, 77–92.
- Haas, O., 1966, *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Sofia, Academie Bulgare des Sciences.
- Haas, O., 1969, "Neue phrygische Sprachdenkmäler", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 83, 70–87.
- Haas, O., 1970a, "Das problem der Herkunft der Phryger und ihrer Beziehungen zu den Balkanvölkern", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae* 18, 31–69.
- Haas, O., 1970b, "Zur Deutung der phrygischen Inschriften", *Revue hittite et asianique* XI, 53, 1–30.
- Hajnal, I., 2005, "Das Frühgriechische zwischen Balkan und Ägäis. Einheit over Vielheit?", in Meiser, G., and Hackstein, O. (eds.), 2005, *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel. Akten der XI. Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17–23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale. Wiesbaden, Reichert*, 185–214.

- Hamilton, W., 1842, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia; with some account of their antiquities and geology*, London, J. Murray.
- Hämmig, A. E., 2013, “Nevotan niptiyan, die Fluchformel der Stele von Vezirhan”, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 118, 125–154.
- Hämmig, A. E., forthcoming a, “The Language of the Phrygians and its Ongoing Decipherment”, in Tsetskhladze, G. R. (ed.), *Phrygian Lands Over Time*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Hämmig, A. E., forthcoming b, “The Phrygian ‘set(i) forms’ and the Armenian subjunctive in -ič-”.
- Haspels, C. H. E., 1971, *The Highlands of Phrygia: sites and monuments*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Heberdey, R., and Wilhelm, A., 1896, *Cilicia Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien, Carl Gerold’s Sohn.
- Herrmann, P., and Polatkan, K. Z., 1969, *Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue Inschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa*, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Heubeck, A., 1958, “Bemerkungen zu den neuphrygischen Fluchformeln”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 64, 13–25.
- Heubeck, A., 1986, “Bemerkungen zur altphrygischen Inschrift T-03”, *Kadmos* 25, 1, 75–79.
- Heubeck, A., 1987, “Phrygiaka I-III”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 100, 1, 70–85.
- Hogarth, D. G., 1890, “Notes in Phrygia Paroreus and Lycaonia”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11, 151–166.
- Holzman, S., 2016, “Tortoise-Shell Lyres from Phrygian Gordion”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 120, 4, 537–564.
- Innocente, L., 1997, “Questioni di onomástica ‘frigia’”, in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 33–40.
- Janda, M., 1997, “Zur altphrygischen Areyastis-Inschrift”, in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 271–277.
- Janko, R., 2015, “From Gabii and Gordion to Eretria and Methone: the rise of the Greek alphabet”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 58, 1, 1–32.
- Jasanoff, J. H., 2003, *Hittite and the Indo-European Verb*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Jeffery, L. H., 1961, *The local scripts of archaic Greece*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Jiménez Delgado, J. M., 2013, “A note on the Mycenaean thematic genitive ending in month names”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 118, 111–124.
- Jiménez Delgado, J. M., 2015, “The etymology of Myc. *ku-na-ke-ta-i*, Ion.-Att. *κυνηγέτης*, and Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta*, Dor. *λαγέτας*”, *Glotta* 91, 116–128.
- Jokl, N., 1927, “Phryger”, in Ebert, M. (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 10, Berlin, De Gruyter, 143.
- Kaczyńska, E., 2011, “Phrygian glosses in Pseudo-Plutarch’s Works *de Fluviis*”, *Lingua Posnaniensis* 53, 1, 58–63.

- Kaptan, D., 2002, *The Daskyleion bullae: seal images from the western Achaemenid empire, Part 1*, Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Kaptan, D., 2013, “Déjà vu? Visual culture in Western Asia Minor at the beginning of Hellenistic Rule”, in Stavrianopoulou, E. (ed.), *Shifting social imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period. Narrations, Practices, and Images*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 25–50.
- Kelp, U., 2013, “Grave monuments and local identities in Roman Phrygia” in Thonemann, P. (ed.), *Roman Phrygia. Culture and Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 70–94.
- Kelp, U., 2015, *Grabdenkmal un lokale Identität. Ein Bild der Landschaft Phrygien in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn, Habelt.
- Kloekhorst, A., 2008, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- Kloekhorst, A., 2014, “Proto-Indo-European “thorn”-clusters”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 127, 43–67.
- Kloekhorst, A., 2015, “The Old Phrygian word for ‘feet’: new readings in the ‘*podas*’-inscription (G-02)”, *Kadmos*, 54, 1, 107–118.
- Klingenschmitt, G., 1994, “Das Albanische als Glied der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie”, in Rasmussen, J. E. (ed.), *In honorem Holger Pedersen, Kolloquium der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 25. bis 28. März 1993, in Kopenhagen*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 221–233.
- Knobloch, J., 1958, “Ein kaukasisches Lehnwort in den Klassischen Sprachen”, *Die Sprache* 4, 198–200.
- Kogan, L., 2011, *Proto-Semitic lexicon*, in Weninger (ed.) *The Semitic languages*, Berlin – Boston, Walter de Gruyter, 179–258.
- Körte, A., 1898, “Die phrygischen Felsdenkmäler”, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 23, 80–153.
- Körte, G., and Körte, A., 1904, *Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900*, Berlin, Georg Reimer.
- Koşay, H., 1937, “Les sondages de Pazarlı”, *La Turquie kémaliste* 21-22, 25–35.
- Koşay, H., 1939, “Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Pazarlı Hafriyatı / Les fouilles de Pazarlı. Exécutées par les soins de la Société d'Histoire Turque”, *Belleten* 3, 9, 15–25.
- Koşay, H., 1941, *Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından yapılan Pazarlı hafriyatı raporu / Les fouilles de Pazarlı entreprises par la Société d'histoire turque*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Kowal, B., 1984a, “Zur spätphrygischen Inschrift 15”, *Klagenfurter Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 10, 1, 6–9.
- Kowal, B., 1984b, “Zur spätphrygischen Inschrift 31”, *Kadmos* 23, 2, 180–185.
- Kretschmer, P., 1899, “Neue phrygische Inschriften”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 13, 352–362.
- Kretschmer, P., 1900, “Bilinguis aus Dorylaion”, *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts. Athenische Abtheilung* 25, 445–446.
- Kretschmer, P., 1901, “Zu der phrygischen Inschrift Bd. XIII, S. 352”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 15, 115–116.

- Kretschmer, P., 1932, “Χθών”, *Glotta* 20, 65–67.
- Kroonen, G., 2013, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*, Leiden – Boston, Brill.
- Kubińska, J., 1968, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Warszawa, PWN – Editions Scientifiques de Pologne.
- Kuniholm, P. I., and Newton, M. W., 2011, “Dendrochronology at Gordion”, in Rose, C. B., and Darbyshire, G. (eds.), 2011, *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania), 79–122.
- Lafli, E., 2017, “Select Funerary and votive monuments in Graeco-Roman Cilicia: Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine examples in the museums of Mersin and Alanya”, *Anatolian Studies* 67, 145–180.
- Laminger-Pascher, G., 1984, *Beiträge zu den griechischen Inschriften Lykaoniens*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Laminger-Pascher, G., 1989, *Lykaonien und die Phryger*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lancellotti, M. G., 2002, *Attis, between myth and history: king, priest, and god*, Leiden, Brill.
- Lane, M. F., 2012, “Linear B wo-wo / wo-wi-ja”, *Pasiphae* 6, 117–183.
- Lazović, M., Dürr, N., Durand, H., Houriet, C., and Schweizer, F., 1977, “Objets byzantins de la collection du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire”, *Genava* 25, 5–62.
- Legrand, P. E., and Chamonard, J., 1893, “Inscriptions de Phrygie”, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 17, 241–293.
- Lejeune, M., 1939, *Les adverbes grecs en -θεν*, Delmas, Publications de l'Université de Bordeaux.
- Lejeune, M., 1969a, “Discussions sur l'alphabet phrygien”, *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 10, 19–47.
- Lejeune, M., 1969b, “Notes paléo-phrygiennes”, *Revue des études anciennes* 71, 287–300.
- Lejeune, M., 1970, “Les inscriptions de Gordion et l'alphabet phrygien”, *Kadmos* 9, 51–74.
- Lejeune, M., 1978, “Sur l'alphabet paleophrygien”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia, Serie III* 8, 3, 783–790.
- Lejeune, M., 1979, “Regards sur les sonores I.E. en vieux phrygien”, in *Florilegium anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris, de Boccard, 219–224.
- Lemaire, A., 1994, “Deux nouvelles stèles funéraires araméennes de Cilicie orientale”, *Epigraphica anatolica* 22, 91–98.
- Lemaire, A., 2000, *Textes araméens d'Anatolie d'époque perse*, available at: <http://www.achemenet.com/en/tree/?/textual-sources/texts-by-languages-and-scripts/aramaic>
- Liebhart, R. F., and Brixhe, C., 2009, “The recently discovered inscriptions from Tumulus MM at Gordion. A preliminary report”, *Kadmos* 48, 141–156.
- Ligorio, O., 2016, “Old Phrygian totin”, *Lucida intervalla* 45, 33–39.

- [Ligorio & Lubotsky =] Лигорио, О., and Лубоцкий, А., 2013, “Фригийский язык”, in Коряков, Ю. Б., and Кибрик, А. А. (eds.), *Языки мира, Реликтовые индоевропейские языки Передней и Центральной Азии*, Москва, Academia, 180–195.
- Lipiński, E., 1975a, *Studies in Aramaic inscriptions and onomastics I*, Leuven, Leuven University Press.
- Lipiński, E., 1975b, *Studies in Aramaic inscriptions and onomastics II*, Leuven, Leuven University Press.
- Locatelli, L., 2015, “Le cheval dans l’onomastique du Sud-Ouest de l’Anatolie”, *BABELAO* 4, 101–110.
- Lochman, T., 2003, *Studien zu kaiserzeitlichen Grab- und Votivreliefs aus Phrygien*, Basel, Skulpturhalle.
- Lubotsky, A., 1988, “The Old Phrygian Areyastis-inscription”, *Kadmos* 27, 1, 9–26.
- Lubotsky, A., 1989a, “New Phrygian ετι and τι”, *Kadmos* 28, 1, 79–88.
- Lubotsky, A., 1989b, “The syntax of the New Phrygian inscription No. 88”, *Kadmos* 28, 1, 146–155.
- Lubotsky, A., 1993a, “New Phrygian υψοδαν”, *Kadmos* 32, 127–134.
- Lubotsky, A., 1993b, “Word boundaries in the Old Phrygian Germanos inscription”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 21, 93–98.
- Lubotsky, A., 1997, “New Phrygian Inscription No. 48: Paleographic and Linguistic Comments”, in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 115–130.
- Lubotsky, A., 1998, “New Phrygian metrics and the δεως ζεμελωσ formula”, in Jasanoff, J., Melchert, H. C., and Olivier, L. (eds.), *Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*. Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 413–421.
- Lubotsky, A., 2004, “The Phrygian Zeus and the Problem of the ‘Lautverschiebung’”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 117, 2, 229–237.
- Lubotsky, A., 2008, “Old Phrygian bevdos ‘statue, image’, Greek βεῦδος ‘woman’s dress’”, *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 36, 96–97.
- Lubotsky, A., 2017, “The Phrygian inscription from Dokimeion and its meter”, in Hajnal, I., Kölligan, D., and Zipsper, K. (eds.), *Miscellanea Indogermanica. Festschrift für José Luis García Ramón zum 65. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 427–431.
- Luján, E. R., 2009, “On the grammaticalization of \*k<sup>w</sup>i-/k<sup>w</sup>o- relative clauses in Proto-Indo-European”, in Bubenik, V., Hewson, J., and Rose, S. (eds.), *Grammatical change in Indo-European languages. Papers presented at the workshop on Indo-European linguistics at the XVIIIth international conference on historical linguistics, Montreal, 2007*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing, 221–234.
- Macpherson, I. W., 1954, “Inscriptions from Eskisehir and District”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 49, 11–16.
- Mallory, J. P., and Adams, D. Q., 2006, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

- Manning, S. W., and Kromer, B., 2011, “Radiocarbon Dating Iron Age Gordion and the Early Phrygian Destruction in Particular”, in Rose, C. B., and Darbyshire, G. (eds.), 2011, *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania), 123–154.
- Martirosyan, H., 2010, *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden, Brill.
- Martirosyan, H., 2013, “The place of Armenian in the Indo-European language family: the relationship with Greek and Indo-Iranian”, *Journal of Language Relationship* 10, 85–13.
- Masson, O., 1954, “Épigraphie asianique: Bibliographie relative aux inscriptions lyciennes, cariennes, lydiennes et phrygiennes”, *Orientalia* 23, 4, 439–442.
- Masson, O., 1987a, “Le sceau paléo-phrygien de Mane”, *Kadmos* 26, 2, 109–113.
- Masson, O., 1987b, “Le mot ΔΟΥΜΟΣ ‘confrérie’ dans les textes et les inscriptions”, *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure*, 41, 145–152.
- Matasovič, R., 2009, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- Matzinger, J., 2005, “Phrygisch und Armenisch”, in Meiser, G., and Hackstein, O. (eds.), *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel: Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.-23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale / Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.-23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig, Reichert, 375–394.
- Matzinger, J., 2006, “Interpretation sprachlicher Daten aus Rest- und Trümmersprachen. Das Fallbeispiel der Streitfrage um eine phrygische Lautverschiebung”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 119, 190–210.
- Mayrhofer, M., 1973, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das Altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Tafelchen*, Wien, Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- McLean, B. H., 2014, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.
- Meier-Brügger, M., 1992, *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, de Gruyter.
- Meier-Brügger, M., 2003, *Indo-European Linguistics*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- Meissner, T., 2016, “Archaeology and the Archaeology of the Greek language: on the origin of the Greek nouns in -εύς”, in Bintliff, J., and Rutter, N. K. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greece and Rome, Studies In Honour of Anthony Snodgrass*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 22–30.
- Meister, R., 1909, “Die äolischen Demonstrativa ὄνε, ὄνι, ὄνυ und die Partikel νι (νε) im Phrygischen”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 25, 312–325.
- Meister, R., 1911, “Beiträge zur griechischen Epigraphik und Dialektologie X: Kyprische Inschriften (mit einem Exkurs über die altphrygische Arezastis-Inschrift)”, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 63, 17–38.
- Melchert, H. C., 1994, *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, Amsterdam – Atlanta, Rodopi.
- Melchert, H. C., 2004, “Second Thoughts on \*y and \*h<sub>2</sub> in Lydian” in Mazoyer, M., and Casabonne, O., *Studia Anatolica et Varia. Mélanges offerts à Professeur René Lebrun, Volume II*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 139–50.

- Melchert, H. C., 2005, “The problema of Luvian influence on Hittite”, in Meiser, G., and Hackstein, O. (eds.), *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel. Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.-23. September 2000*, Halle an der Saale, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 445–460.
- Melchert, H. C., 2008, “Lycian”, in Woodard, R. D., *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 46–55.
- Melchert, H. C., 2013, “Naming practices in Second- and First-Millennium Western Anatolia”, in Parker, R., *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 31–49.
- Mellink, M. J., 1960, “Archaeology in Asia Minor”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 1, 57–69.
- Mendel, G., 1909, “Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et byzantins du Musée Impérial Ottoman de Brousse”, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 33, 245–435.
- Méndez Dosuna, J., 1985, *Los Dialectos dorios del noroeste: gramática y estudio dialectal*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- Méndez Dosuna, J., 2012, in Giannakis, G. K. (ed.), “Ancient Macedonian as a Greek dialect: a critical survey on recent work”, *Ancient Macedonia: Language, History, Culture*, Thessaloniki, Centre for the Greek Language, 133–145.
- Merkelbach, R., and Stauber, J., 1998, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten, Bd. 1. Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Mette, H. J., 1980, “Neoptolemos von Parion”, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, 123, 1, 1–24.
- Mihaylova, B., 2016, “The Pre-Greek substratum revisited”, in Hansen, B. S. S., Whitehead, B. N., Olander, T., and Olsen, B. A. (eds.), *Etymology and the European Lexicon. Proceedings of the 14th Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17-22 September 2012*, Copenhagen, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 307–317.
- Miltner, F., 1937, “Epigraphische Nachlese in Anakar”, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 30, 9–66.
- Mitchell, S., 1993, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor. Vol. I: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Molina Valero, C., 2010, “Las glosas licias en fuentes griegas”, en Cortés Gabaudan, F., and Méndez Dosuna, J. V. (Eds.), *DIC MIHI, MVSA, VIRVM, Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 459–464.
- Moncunill Martí, N., 2007, *Lèxic d'inscripcions ibèriques (1991-2006)*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona (PhD dissertation).
- Morante Mediavilla, B., 2000, *El alfabeto epicórico frigio. Problemas epigráficos, paleográficos y de interpretación y su incidencia en nuestro conocimiento de la lengua frigia*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona (master dissertation).
- Morante Mediavilla, B., 2006, “La glosa hesiquea γάνος y su acepción ἕαινα ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Βιθυνῶν”, *Emerita* 74, 2, 321–340.
- Morante Mediavilla, B., 2007, *Studia Phrygia: la incidencia del testimonio de la literatura griega y romana en la descripción y las tentativas de determinar la posición lingüística de la lengua frigia desde*

- la Antigüedad hasta el auge de la Lingüística Indoeuropea, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona (PhD dissertation).
- Mordtmann, A. D., 1862, “Ueber die altphrygische Sprache”, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, philosophische-philologische Classe vom 4. Januar 1862*, 12–35.
- Müller, S., 2007, *Zum Germanischen aus laryngalthoretischer Sicht: Mit einer Einführung in die Grundlagen der Laryngaltheorie*, Berlin - New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- Munn, M., 2006, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Munn, M., 2008, “Kybele as Kubaba in a Lydo-Phrygian context”, in Collins, B. J., Bachvarova, M. R., Rutherford, I. C. (eds.), *Anatolian Interfaces. Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbours*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 159–164.
- Muraoka, T., 2016, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Myres, J. L., 1908, “Midas beyond the Halys: a further note on the Black Stone from Tyana”, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 1, 13–16.
- Naveh, J., 1979, “The Aramaic Ostraka from Tell Beer-Sheba (Seasons 1971–76)”, *Tel-Aviv* 6, 182–95.
- Neri, S., 2005, “Riflessioni sull’ apofonia radicale del proto-germanico \**namō* ‘nome’”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 118, 201–250.
- [Neroznak =] Нерознак, В. П., 1978, *Палеобалканские языки*, Москва, Наука.
- Neumann, G., 1961, *Untersuchungen zum Weiterleben hethitischen und luwischen Sprachgutes in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz.
- Neumann, G., 1975, “Bruchstücke alphabetischer Schriftdenkmäler aus Boğazköy”, in Bittel, K. (ed.), *Boğazköy* 5, Berlin, Mann, 76–84.
- Neumann, G., 1979, “Phryger, 2. Sprache”, in *Der kleine Pauly*, München, 824–825.
- Neumann, G., 1986a, “Zur Syntax der neuphygischen Inschrift Nr. 31”, *Kadmos* 241, 79–84.
- Neumann, G., 1986b, “Modrovanak”, *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 8, 52.
- Neumann, G., 1988, *Phrygisch und Griechisch*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Neumann, G., 1997, “Die zwei Inschriften auf der Stele von Vezirhan”, in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 13–32.
- Neumann, G., 2007, *Glossar des Lykischen*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Nikolaev, A., 2017, “Sidetic *masara* ↑*ue*”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 122, 219–226.
- Nussbaum, A. J., 2014, “Greek τέκμαρ ‘sign’ and τέκμων ‘sign’: Why both?”, in Oettinger, N., and Steer, Th. (eds.), *Das Nomen im Indogermanischen. Morphologie, Substantiv versus Adjektiv, Kollektivum. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 14. bis 16. September 2011 in Erlangen*, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 215–260.

- Obrador-Cursach, B., 2016, “Phrygian *mekas* and the recently discovered New Phrygian inscription from Nacoleia”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121, 177–186.
- Obrador-Cursach, B., 2017, “The Phrygian god Bas”, 76, 2, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 307–317.
- Obrador-Cursach, B., forthcoming a, “The Luwian origin of the Phrygian imprecations”, in Tsetskhladze, G. R. (ed.), *Phrygian Lands Over Time*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Obrador-Cursach, B., forthcoming b, “Ψερκιοκωμήτης, un etnònim nubi a Pisídia”, in Guzmán, A., and Velaza, J., *Miscellanea philologica et epigraphica Marco Mayer oblata*, Barcelona, Edicions Universitat Barcelona.
- Obrador-Cursach, B., forthcoming c, “Phrygian in contact with Greek: an overview”, in de Hoz, M. P., García Alonso, J. L., and Guichard, L. A. (eds.), *Local cultures and Greek paideia*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Opfermann, A., 2017, “Griechische, Armenische und Albanische ‚Frauen‘ und die Wurzel \*G<sup>u</sup>en-”, in Bichlmeier, H. and Opfermann, A. (eds.), *Das Menschenbild bei den Indogermanen*, Hamburg, Baar-Verlag, 55-80.
- Orel, V., 1996, “The west Phrygian inscription from İköztepe”, *Kadmos* 35, 53–54.
- Orel, V., 1997-1998, “Phrygian Κίμερος”, *Glotta* 74, 1, 111–113.
- Orel, V., 1997a, *The Language of Phrygians*, Delmar, New York, Caravan Books.
- Orel, V., 1997b, “The vocabulary of Phrygian”, *Orpheus* 7, 37–77.
- Oreshko, R., 2013a, “Hieroglyphic inscriptions of Western Anatolia: long arm of the Empire or vernacular tradition(s)?”, in Mouton, A., Rutherford, I., and Yakubovich, I. (eds.), *Luwian Identities. Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 346–420.
- Oreshko, R., 2013b, “Hipponax and linguistic, ethnic and religious milieu of western Anatolia. Some further notes on: Shane Hawkins The language of Hipponax, 2013”, *Hephaistos* 30, 79–104.
- Özgen, I., and Öztürk, J., 1996, *The Lydian Treasure*, Ankara.
- Panagl, O., 2005, “Graeco-phrygische Kontaktzonen”, in Meiser, G., and Hackstein, O. (eds.), *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel. Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.-23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 483–494.
- Panagl, O., and Kowal, B., 1983, “Zur etymologischen Darstellung von Restsprachen : am Beispiel des Phrygischen”, Bammesberger, A., *Das etymologische Wörterbuch. Fragen der Konzeption und Gestaltung*, Verlag Friedrich Pustet Regensburg, 185–199.
- Papadopoulos, J. K., 2016, “The early history of the Greek alphabet: new evidence from Eretria and Methone”, *Antiquity* 90, 353, 1238–1254.
- Parker, R., 2016, “‘For Potamos, a vow’: river cults in Graeco-Roman Anatolia”, in Hoz, M.-P., Sánchez Hernández, J. P., and Molina Valero, C. (eds.), *Between Tarhuntas and Zeus Polieus : cultural crossroads in the temples and cults of Graeco-Roman Anatolia*, Leuven, Peeters, 1–13.
- Pat-El, N., 2012, *Studies in the historical syntax of Aramaic*, Piscataway, Gorgias Press.
- Pauli, K., 1894, *Altitalische Forschungen II*, Leipzig, Johan Ambrosius.

- Payne, A., 2010, *Hieroglyphic Luwian. An Introduction with Original Texts. 2<sup>nd</sup> Revised Edition*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Payne, A., 2017, “Determination in the Anatolian Hieroglyphic Script of the Empire and Transitional Period”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 44, 2, 221–234.
- Payne, A., and Sasseville, D., 2016, “Die lydische Athene: eine neue Edition von LW 40”, *Historical Linguistics*, 129, 1, 66–82.
- Payne, A., and Wintjes, J., 2016, *Lords of Asia Minor. An Introduction to the Lydians*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Pérez Orozco, S., 2007, “La lengua sidética. Ensayo de síntesis”, *Kadmos* 46, 125–42.
- Perrot, G., and Chipiez, Ch., 1890, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité V*, Paris, Hachette.
- Peters, M., 1993, “Beiträge zur Griechischen Etymologie,” in Isebaert, L. (ed.), *Miscellanea Linguistica Graeco-Latina*, Namur, Société des études classiques, 101–108
- Petrakis, V., 2016, “Writing the wanax: Spelling peculiarities of Linear B wa-na-ka and their possible implications”, *Minos* 39, 61–158.
- Pinault, G. J., 2008, *Chrestomathie tokharienne: textes et grammaire*, Leuven, Peeters.
- [Pridik =] Придик, Е. М., 1900, *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения Часть 328*, 18–26.
- Pocetti, P., 2012, “La particella ke del frigio tra eredità indoeuropea ed interferenza”, in Orioles, V. (ed.), *Per Roberto Gusmani. Linguistica storica e teorica. Studi in ricordi II*, Udine, Forum, 321–333.
- Pococke, R., 1752, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Graecarum et Ltinarum Liber. Acc. Numismatum Ptolemaeorum, Imperatorum, Augustorum et Caesarum, in Aegypto cursorum e scriniis Britannicis, catalogo a Rich. Pococke typis mandati*, London – Oxford, Milles.
- Polito, M., 2004, *Il δοῦμος. Un'associazione sacra in zone di contatto*, Napoli, Università degli studi di Salerno, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità.
- Polito, M., 2005, “IK 5.37: un δοῦμος a Cuma eolica?”, in Mele, A., Napolitano, M. L., and Visconti, A. (eds.), *Eoli ed Eolide tra madrepatria e colonie*, Napoli, Luciano Editore, 525–532.
- Pope, M., 1999, *The Story of Decipherment: From Egyptian hieroglyphs to Maya script*, London, Thames and Hudson.
- Porzig, W., 1954, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- Probert, P., 2015, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Prósper, B. M., 1993, *La Reconstrucción del adverbio indoeuropeo*, Madrid, Editorial de la Universidad Complutense.
- Radet, G., and Ouvré, H., 1896, “Inscriptions de Phrygie”, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 20, 107–118.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1882 “Prymessos and Metropolis”, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung* 7, 126–145.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1883, “On the early historical relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 15, 100–135.

- Ramsay, W. M., 1887, "Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 28, 381–400.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1888, "A Study of Phrygian Art (Part I)", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9, 350–382.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1889a, "A Study of Phrygian Art (Continued)", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 10, 147–189.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1889b, "Phrygian notes", *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 14, 308–312.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1890, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London, John Murray.
- Ramsay, W. M., 1905, "Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 8, 79–120.
- Ricl, M., forthcoming, "Cults of Phrygia Epiktetos in the Roman Imperial Period", in Tsetskhladze, G. R. (ed.), *Phrygian Lands Over Time*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Rieken, E., 2001, "Einige Beobachtungen zum Wechsel u/(u)ṽa in the hethitischen Texten", in Carruba, O., and Meid, W. (eds.), *Anatolisch und Indogermanisch / Anatolico e Indoeuropeo. Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft. Pavia, 22.-25. September 1998*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 369–379.
- Riis, P. J., and Buhl M-L., 1990, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 II 2: Les Objets de la Periode dite Syro-Hittite (Age du Fer)*, Copenhagen, Fondation Carlsberg.
- Robert, L., 1933, "Inscriptions d'Érythrai", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 57, 467–484.
- Robert, L., 1963, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine I*, Paris, A. Maisonneuve.
- Robert, L., 1974, "Des Carpathes a la Propontide. VIII. De Pèrinthe à Apamée, Cyzique et Claros." *Studii Clasice* 16: 61–80.
- Roller, L. E., 1987a, *Gordion special studies I: Nonverbal graffiti, dipinti, and stamps*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania).
- Roller, L. E., 1987b, "Hellenistic epigraphic texts from Gordion", *Anatolian Studies* 37, 103–133.
- Roosevelt, C. H., 2006, "Symbolic Door Stelae and Graveside Monuments in Western Anatolia", *American Journal of Archaeology* 110, 1, 65–91.
- Rose, C. B., 2012, "Introduction: the Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion", in Rose, C. B. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania), 1–19.
- Rose, C. B., and Darbyshire, G. (eds.), 2011, *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania).
- Ruge, W., 1948, "Tyana", *Pauly-Wissowa Real-encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A-2, 1630–1642.
- Şahin, S., 1978, "Zeus Bennios", in Şahin, S., Schwertheim, E., and Wagner, J.(eds.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976. Zweiter Band*, Leiden, Brill, 771–790.
- Şahin, S., 1986, "Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasiens. I. Strabon XII 3,7 p-543. Der Fluss Gallos, die Stadt Modr<en>e in Phrygia Epiktetos und die Schiffbarkeit des Sangarios", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 7, 125–152.

- Sams, G. K., and Voigt, M. M., 2011, "In Conclusion" in Rose, B., and Darbyshire, G. (eds.), *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania), 155–168.
- Sams, G. K., 1979, "Imports at Gordion. Lydian and Persian Period", *Expedition* 21, 6-17.
- Sams, G. K., 2009, "Gordion, 2007", *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30, 3, 139–150.
- Sams, G. K., 2011, "Artifacts", in Rose, B., and Darbyshire, G. (eds.), *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania), 59–78.
- Sass, B., 2005, *The alphabet at the turn of the millennium. The west Semitic alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE. The antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian alphabets*, Tel Aviv, Emery and Claire Yass publications in archaeology.
- Sayce A. H., 1885, "Appendice II: les inscriptions trouvées a Hissarlik", in Schliemann, H., *Ilios, ville et pays des troyens. Résultat des fouilles sur l'emplacement de Troie et des explorations faites en Troade de 1871 a 1882*, Paris, Librairie Firmin-Didot et C<sup>ie</sup>, 901–917.
- Sayce, A. H., 1926, "The New. Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46, 29–35.
- Sharankov, N., 2009, "Notes on Ancient and Mediaeval Latin and Greek Inscriptions from Bulgaria", *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, 13, 3, 47–61.
- Schaaf, I., 2014, "Trick and Trade? : The Eretrian 'Hymn to the Idaean Dactyls' (IG XII, 9. 259)", in Harder, M. A., Regtuit, R. F., Wakker, G. C. (eds.), *Hellenistic poetry in context*, Leuven, Peeters, 303–322.
- Schmidt, W. C. M., 1869 *Neue lykische Studien*, Jena, Mauke's Verlag.
- Schmidt, F., and Krogman, W. M., 1933, *The Alishar Hüyük Season of 1928 and 1929*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Schmitt, R., 1972, "Die achämenidische Satrapie "tayaiy drayahyā"", *Historia* 21, 4, 522–527.
- Schmitt, R., 1973, "Deiokes", *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 110, 137–147.
- Schmitt, R., 1982, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch Band V. Iranische Namen in Nebenüberlieferungen indogermanischer Sprachen Faszikel 4: Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasien (Lykisch, Lydisch, Phrygisch)*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Schmitt, R., 2003, *Meno-logium bagistano-persepolitenum. Studien zu den altpersischen Monatsnamen und ihren elamischen Wiedergaben*, Wien, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Schürr, D., 1991-1993, "Imbr- in lykischer und karischer Schrift", *Die Sprache* 35, 163–174.
- Schürr, D., 2017, "Vom Aussterben der luwischen ziti-Namen, lykisch *Ipresida* und dem kaunischen *Imbros*", *Gephyra* 14, 1–13.
- Schwabl, H., 1999, "Zum Kult des Zeus in Kleinasien (II). Der phrygische Zeus Bennisos und Verwandtes", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 39, 345–354.
- Schwyzler, R. (ed.), 1923, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*, Leipzig, Hirzel.
- Simon, Z., 2014a, "Phrygisch *niptiyan* und eine gemeinanatolische Formel", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 68, 1, 141–148.

- Simon, Z., 2014b, "Awarikus und Warikas: zwei Könige von Hiyawa", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 104, 1, 91–103.
- Simon, Z., 2015, "Die letzte zeile der phrygischen Inschrift von Vezirhan", *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 51, 17–30.
- Simon, Z., 2016, "The etymology of Hittite-Luwian *Gurta*", *AIΩN* n.s. 5, 189–203.
- Simon, Z., 2017a, "Selected Pisidian problems and the position of Pisidian within the Anatolian languages", *Journal of Language Relationship* 15, 1, 31–42.
- Simon, Z., 2017b, "Kurtis: A Phrygian Name in the Neo-Hittite World", *News from the Lands of the Hittites* 1, 113–118.
- Smyth, H. W., 1920, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press
- Solmsen, F., 1897a, "Zum Phrygischen", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 34, 1, 36–68.
- Solmsen, F., 1897b, "Thrakisch-Phrygisches", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 34, 1, 68–80.
- Solmsen, F., 1909, *Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung*, Strassburg, Trübner.
- Sowa, W., 2005, "Anmerkungen zum Balkanindogermanischen", in Schweiger, G. (ed.), *Indogermanica. Festschrift für Gert Klingenschmitt. Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien dem verehrten jubilar Dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, Taimering, Schweiger VWT-Verlag, 611–628.
- Sowa, W., 2007a, "Anmerkungen zum Verbalsystem des Phrygischen", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 112, 69–95.
- Sowa, W., 2007b, "A note to "Phrygian" words in Greek", *Studia Eymologica Cracoviensia* 12, 153–170.
- Sowa, W., 2008, *Studien zum Phrygischen*, Göttingen, Cuvillier Verlag.
- Sowa, W., 2015, "Griechisch-phrygische bilinguale Inschriften und die Stele von Vezirhan", in Dupraz, E., and Sowa, W. (eds.), *Genres épigraphiques et langues d'attestation fragmentaire dans l'espace méditerranéen*, Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre.
- Sterrett, J. R. S., 1885, *Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Journey Made in Asia Minor During the Summer of 1884*, Boston, Cupples, Upham and Co.
- Sterrett, J. R. S., 1888a, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, Boston, Damrell and Upham.
- Sterrett, J. R. S., 1888b, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Boston, Damrell and Upham.
- Strubbe, J. H. M., 1997, *ΑΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ. Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor. A Catalogue*. Bonn, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH.
- Summers, G. D., 1997, "The Identification of the Iron Age City on the Kerkenes Dağ in Central Anatolia", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56, 2, 81–94.
- Summers, G. D., and Özen, E., 2012, "The Hittite Stone and Sculpture Quarry at Karakız Kasabası and Hapis Boğazı in the District of Sorgun, Yozgat, Central Anatolia", *American Journal of Archaeology* 116, 507–19.
- Tabbernee, W., 1997, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: epigraphic sources illustrating the history of montanism*, Macon, Mercer University Press.

- Tavernier, J., 2007, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Leuven, Peeters.
- Thonemann, P., 2013, “Phrygia: an anarchist history, 950 BC-AD 100”, in Thonemann, P. (ed.), *Roman Phrygia. Culture and Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1–40.
- Thumb, A., 1901, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strassburg, Trübner.
- Torp, A., 1896, “Zu den phrygischen Inschriften aus römischer Zeit”, *Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabssekabet i Christiana (Hist.-fil. Klasse)*, 3–19.
- Torp, A., 1908, “Eine altphrygische Inschrift aus Kappadokien”, in *Sproglige og Historiske Afhandlinger Viude Sophus Bugges Minde, Med Tillæg til Ungdomsbreve Fra Sophus Bugge*, Kristiana, H. Aschehough & Co., 210–215.
- Tsetschladze, G. R., 2007, “Thracians versus Phrygians: about the origin of the Phrygians once again”, in Çilingiroglu, A., and Sagona, A. (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 6*, Leuven, Peeters, 283–310.
- Tucker, E., 2001, “Greek and Iranian”, in Christidis, A. F. (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 773–785.
- Tuğrul, L. and Firatlı, N., 1967, “Germonaos Phryg Kitabesi”/ “The Phrygian Inscription of Germanos”, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yilligi - Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* 13-14, 230–235 (Turkish), 236–241 (English).
- Untermann, J., 2000, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter.
- Valério, M., 2016, *Investigating the Signs and Sounds of Cypro-Minoan*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona (PhD dissertation).
- van den Hout, Th. P. J., 2006, “Administration in the Reign of Tutḫaliya IV and the Later Years of the Hittite Empire”, in van den Hout, Th. P. J. (ed.), *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV - Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. De Roos, 12-13 December 2003*, Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 77–106.
- van Dongen, E., 2014, “The extent and interactions of the Phrygian Kingdom”, in Gaspa, S., Greco, A., Bonacossi, D. M., Ponchia, S., Rollinger, R. (ed.), *From Source to History. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern. Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday on June 23, 2014*, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 698–711.
- Varinlioğlu, E., 1991, “Deciphering a Phrygian inscription from Tyana”, in le Guen-Pollet, B., and Pelon, O. (eds.), *La Cappadoce méridionale jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine. État des recherches. Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul (Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes 13-14 avril 1987)*, Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 29–36.
- Varinlioğlu, E., 1991, “The Phrygian Inscriptions from Bayındır” *Kadmos* 31, 10–20.
- Vassileva, M., 1995, “Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone: the Daskyleion evidence”, *Orpheus* 5, 27–34.
- Vassileva, M., 1997, “A few notes on the recent Phrygian epigraphic data”, in Gusmani, R., Salvini, M., and Vannicelli, P. (eds.), *Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995*, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 267–270.

- Vassileva, M., 2008, “King Midas in Southeastern Anatolia”, in Collins, B. J., Bachvarova, M. R., Rutherford, I. C. (eds.), *Anatolian Interfaces. Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbours*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 165–171.
- Vassileva, M., 2015, “Phrygia and the southern Black Sea littoral”, in Tsetschladze, G. R., Avram, A., and Hargrave, J. (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC - 10th Century AD). Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities (Belgrade - 17-21 September 2013)*, Oxford, Archaeopress Archaeology, 91–96.
- Velaza, J., 1991, *Léxico de inscripciones ibéricas: 1976-1989*, Barcelona, Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona.
- Vijūnas, A., 2009, *The Indo-European primary t-stems*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck Bereich Sprachwissenschaft.
- Vine, B., 2010, “Old Phrygian *iman*”, in Kim, R., Oettinger, N., Rieken, E., Weiss, M. (eds.), *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert on the occasion on his sixty-fifth birthday*, Ann Arbor, Beech Stave Press.
- Voigt, M. M., DeVries, K., Henrickson, R. C., Lawall, M., Marsch, B., Gürsan-Salzman, A., and Young, T. C. jr, 1997, “Fieldwork at Gordion, 1993–1995”, *Anatolica* 23, 1–59.
- von Prott, H., 1898, “Funde”, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 23, 359–368.
- von Reber, F., 1898, “Die phrygischen Felsendenkmäler” *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 21, 529–598.
- Waelkens, M. 1986, *Die Kleinasiatischen Türsteine. Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür*. Mainz am Rhein, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Weber, W., 1908, “Inscripfen”, in Rott, H., *Kleinasiatischer Sprachdenkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, Leipzig, Theodor Weicher, 347–382.
- Weeden, M., 2010, “Tuwati and Wasusarma: imitating the behaviour of Assyria”, *Iraq* 72, 39–61.
- West, M. L., 2001, “Atreus and Attarissiyas”, *Glotta* 77, 262–266.
- West, M. L., 2003, “Phrygian metre”, *Kadmos* 42, 77–86.
- Wilhelm, A., 1980, *Griechische Epigramme*, Bonn, Habelt.
- Willi, A., 2013, “Epicharmus, Simonides, and the ‘invention’ of the Greek alphabet”, *Museum Helveticum* 70, 2, 129–140.
- Witczak, K. T., 1991–1992, “Some remarks on the New Phrygian inscription no. 88”, *Lingua Posnaniensis* 34, 157–162.
- Witczak, K. T., 1992–1993, “Two Bithynian deities in the Old and New Phrygian inscriptional texts”, *Folia Orientalia* 29, 265–271.
- Wittke, A. M., 2004, *Mušker und Phryger. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Anatoliens vom 12. bis zum 7. Jh. v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Wittke, A. M., 2014, “Überlegungen zur Lage von Pteria”, in Gaspa, S., Greco, A., Bonacossi, D. M., Ponchia, S., Rollinger, R. (ed.), *From Source to History. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern*.

*Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday on June 23, 2014, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 745–765.*

- Woodard, R. D., 1997, *Greek writing from Knossos to Homer*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Woodard, R. D., 2014, *The textualization of the Greek alphabet*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Woodhouse, R., 2006, “Conditioned devoicing of mediae in Phrygian”, *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 11, 157–191.
- Woodhouse, R., 2007, “New Phrygian ζειρα(ι), ζως, πεις and πειες”, *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 12, 189–201.
- Woodhouse, R., 2009, “An overview of research on Phrygian from the nineteenth century to the present day”, *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 126, 167–188.
- Woudhuizen, F. C., 1993, “Old Phrygian: some texts and relations”, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 21, 1–25.
- Woudhuizen, R., 2008–2009, “Phrygian & Greek”, *Talanta* 40–41, 181–217.
- Yakubovich, I., 2007, rec. “*The Luwians*. Edited by H. Craig Melchert. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One. The Near East and Middle East, vol. 68. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66, 2, 140–144.
- Yakubovich, I., 2008, “The Origin of the Luwian Possessive Adjective”, in Jones-Bley, K., Huld, M., Della Volpe, A., and Dexter, M. R., (eds.), *Proceedings of the sixteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. Los Angeles. November 2–3, 2006*, Washington DC, Institute for the Study of Man, 193–217.
- Yakubovich, I., 2013, “Anatolian names in -wiya and the structure of Empire Luwian onomastics”, in Mouton, A., Rutherford, I., and Yakubovich, I. (eds.), *Luwian Identities. Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 87–123.
- Yakubovich, I., 2015, “Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia”, *Anatolian Studies* 65, 35–53.
- Young, R. S., 1951, “Gordion – 1950”, *University Museum Bulletin* 16, 1, 3–20.
- Young, R. S., 1953, “Where Alexander the Great cut the Gordian knot: excavations which throw new light on the Phrygians and Hittites of ancient Gordion”, *Illustrated London News* 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 20–23.
- Young, R. S., 1955, “Gordion: preliminary report, 1953”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 59, 1, 1–18.
- Young, R. S., 1958, “The Gordion Campaign of 1957: Preliminary Report”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 62, 2, 139–154.
- Young, R. S., 1964, “The 1963 Campaign at Gordion”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, 3, 279–292.
- Young, R. S., 1966, “The Gordion Campaign of 1965”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 70, 3, 267–278.
- Young, R. S., 1968, “The Gordion Campaign of 1967”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 72, 3, 231–241.

Young, R. S., 1969, "Old Phrygian inscriptions from Gordion: towards a history of the Phrygian alphabet", *Hesperia* 38, 2, 252-296.

Young, R. S., 1981, *The Great Early Tumuli*, Philadelphia, The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania).

## Concordances

### Akurgal 1943

116 P-101

### Anderson 1898

67 40.3  
68 41.1

### Anderson 1899

117 59.1  
127 59.2  
132 App. 11  
224 23.1

### Avram 2015

passim 130 2.2

### Bakır & Gusmani 1991

passim B-06

### Bakır & Gusmani 1993

1 B-101  
2 B-102  
3 B-103  
5 B-104  
6 B-105  
7 B-106  
8 B-107

### Bayun & Orel 1988c

passim B-04

### Berndt 2002

1 M-01a,  
M-01b  
14 M-08  
46 M-06  
58 M-04  
71 M-02  
72 M-03  
80 M-05

### Berndt-Ersöz 2006

3 W-07  
5 W-06  
16 W-03  
24 W-05a,  
W-05b  
29 W-02  
30 M-01a,  
M-01b,  
M-01c,  
M-01d,  
M-01e,  
M-01f  
33 M-05  
37 W-01a,  
W-01b,  
W-01c  
40 B-01  
56 W-04  
69 M-03  
70 M-04  
95 M-06  
108 P-06  
112 W-11

### Bittle & Güterbock 1935

p. 57 & 84-85 P-102  
p. 79-80 P-108

### Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011

1 W-101  
2 W-12

### Boehmer 1977

Abb. 6 HP-116

### Boehmer & Güterbock 1987

277 P-108  
p. 86 HP-116

**Bossert 1942**

1102	P-03
1105	P-102
1106	P-101

**Börker-Klähn 1994**

Passim	HP-01
--------	-------

**Brandenburg 1906**

p. 645	M-01d
--------	-------

**Brixhe 1968**

p. 308	G-02
--------	------

**Brixhe 1978a**

111	7.2
112	10.1
113	10.2
114	29.1

**Brixhe 1981**

MM 67	G-106
MM 68	G-105
MM 69	G-107
MM 119	G-108
MM 362	G-109

**Brixhe 1982**

p. 240-241	G-106
------------	-------

**Brixhe 1989-1990**

passim	HP-102
--------	--------

**Brixhe 1996**

p. 137-138 § 3.1.1.	B-101
p. 138-139 § 3.1.2.	B-102
p. 139-140 § 3.1.3.	B-103
p. 140-141 § 3.1.4.	B-104
p. 141-142 § 3.1.5.	B-105
p. 142-144 § 3.1.6.	B-106
p. 144-145 § 3.1.7.	B-107

**Brixhe 1999**

49	App. 8
50	App. 9

**Brixhe 2004a**

W-12	MPhr-01
------	---------

**Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982**

I	W-08
II	W-09
II	W-10

**Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1987**

<i>passim</i>	29.1
---------------	------

**Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997**

I	29.1
II	17.6
III	15.1
IV	12..1
V	18.2
VI	19.6
VII	65.4
VIII	31.1

**Brixhe & Drew-Bear 2010**

<i>passim</i>	19.2
---------------	------

**Brixhe & Keleş 2011**

<i>passim</i>	HP-115
---------------	--------

**Brixhe & Neumann 1985**

pgs. 161-184	16.1
--------------	------

**Brixhe & Sivas 2002**

<i>passim</i>	W-11
---------------	------

**Brixhe & Sivas 2003**

1	W-102
2	W-103

3	W-13	XL	24.1
4-a	M-101	XLII	21.1
4-b	M-11	XLIV	38.1
		XLV	41.1
<b>Brixhe &amp; Summers 2006</b>		XLVI	59.1
		XLVII	59.2
<i>passim</i>	K-01	XLVIII	1.1
fig. 35	K-101	XLIX	App. 8
p. 134	HP-116	L	App. 9
		LI	47.1
<b>Brixhe &amp; Waelkens 1981</b>		LII	App. 10
		LIII	46.1
pgs. 68-75	26	LIV	50.1
		LV	50.2
<b>Calder 1911</b>		LVI	55.1
		LVII	56.1
I	App. 1	LVII[I]	56.2
II	4.1	LIX	60.1
III	17.2	LX	60.2
IV	18.1	LXI	44.1
IV ( <i>bis</i> )	17.1	LXII	20.3
V	18.2	LXIII	20.1
VI	18.3	LXIV	56.3
VII	17.3	LXV	45.1
VIII	26.1	LXVI	App. 11
IX	22.1	LXVII	44.3
X	37.1		
XI	39.1	<b>Calder 1913</b>	
XII	40.1		
XIII	40.2	LXVIII	30.2
XIV	7.3	LXIX	43.1
XV	2.1	LXX	44.2
XVIII	11.2	LXXI	28.1
XIX	5.1	LXXII	58.1
XX	65.1	p. 102-103	P-04a
XXI	65.3		
XXV	35.1	<b>Calder 1922</b>	
XXVI	36.1		
XXVII	36.2	7	64.1
XXVIII	33.1		
XXIX	31.1	<b>Calder 1926</b>	
XXX	37.2		
XXXI	40.3	p. 26	M-09
XXXII	62.1	LXXIII	14.1
XXXIII	62.2	LXXIV	11.3
XXXIV	62.3	LXXV	52.1
XXXV	62.4	LXXVI	53.1
XXXVI	62.5	LXXVII	53.2
XXXVII	34.1	LXXVIII	57.1
XXXVIII	26.2	LXXIX	59.3
XXXIX	30.1	LXXX	51.1

LXXXI	48.1	A 7 a	W-01a
LXXXII	64.1	A 7 b	W-01b
LXXXIII	App. 11	A 7 c	W-01c
		A 8	M-05
<b>CIG III</b>		A 9	W-04
		A 10	P-02
3822e	5.1	A 11	W-03
3880e	17.1	A 12	W-05a
3882c	17.3	A 13	P-01
3883c	18.2	A 14	P-03
3974	35.1	A 15	P-04
3986	40.1	A 16	G-101
		A 17	G-102
<b>Cox &amp; Cameron 1932</b>		A 17 bis	G-103
		A 18	M-09
passim	B-04	A 19	T-02
		A 20	P-102
<b>Crowfoot 1899</b>		A 21	T-01
		A 22	Dd-103
123	59.3	A 23	HP-114
		A 24	G-01
<b>Çınaroğlu &amp; Varinlioğlu 1985</b>		A 25	G-105
		A 26	P-101
passim	T-03	A 28	B-01
		A 29	G-104
<b>Darga 1993</b>		A 30	G-108
		A 31	G-109
p. 488 & 497	NW-101	A 32	G-106
		A 33	G-107
<b>de Saussure 1898</b>		A 34	G-110
		A 35	G-111
p. 167	P-01	A 36	G-114
p. 171	P-02	A 37	G-112
p. 174-175	P-03	A 38	G-113
p. 174-187	P-04	A 39	G-03
		A 40	G-115
<b>de Saussure 1922</b>		A 41	G-116
		A 42	G-117
p. 544	P-01	A 43	G-02
p. 550	P-02	A 44	G-04
p. 546-547	P-03	A 45	G-118
p. 553-556	P-04	A 46	G-119
		A 47	G-120
<b>Diakonoff &amp; Neroznak 1985</b>		A 48	G-121
		A 49	G-122
A 1	M-01a	A 50	G-123
A 2	M-01b	A 51	G-124
A 3	M-02	A 52	G-125
A 4	M-01f	A 53	G-126
A 5	M-03	A 54	G-127
A 6	M-04	A 55	G-128



<b>Friedrich 1932</b>		B 26	36.1
		B 27	36.2
	OPhr.	B 28	33.1
		B 29	31.1
A 1	M-01a	B 30	37.2
A 2	M-01b	B 31	40.3
A 3	M-02	B 32	62.1
A 4	M-01f	B 33	62.2
A 5	M-03	B 34	62.3
A 6	M-04	B 35	62.4
A 7a	W-01a	B 36	62.5
A 7b	W-01b	B 37	34.1
A 7c	W-01c	B 38	26.2
A 8	M-05	B 39	30.1
A 9	W-04	B 40	24.1
A 10	P-02	B 42	21.1
A 11	W-03	B 43	21.2
A 12	W-05a	B 44	38.1
A 13	P-01	B 45	41.1
A 14	P-03	B 46	59.1
A 15	P-04	B 47	59.2
A 16	G-101	B 48	1.1
A 17	G-102	B 49	App. 8
A 18	M-09	B 50	App. 9
A 19	T-02	B 51	47.1
A 21	T-01	B B52	App. 10
		B 53	46.1
	NPhr.	B 54	50.1
		B 55	50.2
B 1	App. 1	B 56	55.1
B 2	4.1	B 57	56.1
B 3	17.2	B 58	56.2
B 4	18.1	B 59	60.1
B 4 <i>bis</i>	17.1	B 60	60.2
B 5	18.2	B 61	44.1
B 6	18.3	B 62	20.3
B 7	17.3	B 63	20.1
B 8	26.1	B 64	56.3
B 9	22.1	B 65	45.1
B 10	37.1	B 66	App. 11
B 11	39.1	B 67	44.3
B 12	40.1	B 68	30.2
B 13	40.1	B 69	43.1
B 14	7.3	B 71	28.1
B 15	2.1	B 72	58.1
B 17	11.1	B 73	14.1
B 18	11.2	B 74	11.3
B 19	5.1	B 75	52.1
B 20	65.1	B 76	53.1
B 21	65.3	B 77	53.2
B 25	35.1	B 78	57.1

B 79	59.3
B 80	51.1
B 81	48.1
B 82	64.1
B 83	App. 12
B 84	48.2
B 85	48.3
B 86	8.1
B 87	9.1
B 88	6.1
XI	B-04

**Friedrich 1965**

p. 154-156	Dd-103
p. 154-156	HP-114

**“Funde” 1898**

pgs. 362-363	1.1
--------------	-----

**Garstang 1908**

p. 10	T-02b
-------	-------

**Gelb 1935**

94	HP-116
----	--------

**Gosche 1864**

1	M-01a
2	M-01b
3	M-01f
5	M-01c
6	M-03
7	M-02
8	M-04
9	W-01
11	17.3
12	35.1
13	40.1
14	5.1
15	18.2

**Gusmani 1988**

<i>passim</i>	HP-102
---------------	--------

**Gusmani 2001**

p. 164-166	B-07
------------	------

**Gusmani & Poetto 1981**

<i>passim</i>	Dd-101
---------------	--------

**Gusmani & Polat 1999a**

<i>passim</i>	B-07
---------------	------

**Gusmani & Polat 1999b**

<i>passim</i>	B-108
---------------	-------

**Haas 1951**

	OPhr.		
I			M-01a
IV			M-01f
VI			M-04
VIIa			W-01a
VIIb			W-01b
VIIc			W-01c
VIII			M-05
XIV			P-03
XV			P-04
XXVII			P-108

	NPhr.		
2			4.1
6			18.3
18			11.2
30			37.2
31			40.3
48			1.1
69			43.1

**Haas 1966**

	OPhr.		
I			M-01a
II			M-01b
III			M-02
IV			M-01f
V			M-03
VI			M-04
VII a			W-01a
VII b			W-01b
VII c			W-01c
VIII			M-05

IX	W-04	35	62.4
X	P-02	36	62.5
XI	W-03	37	34.1
XII	W-05a	38	26.2
XIII	P-01	39	30.1
XIV	P-03	40	24.1
XV	P-04	42	21.1
XVI	G-101	43	21.2
XVII	G-102	44	38.1
XVIII	M-09	45	41.1
XIX	T-02	46 = 107	59.1
XX	P-102	47	59.2
XXI	T-01	48	1.1
XXIV	G-01	59	App. 8
XXV	G-105	50	App. 9
XXVI	P-101	51	47.1
p. 176-177 no. c	Dd-103	52	App. 10
p. 176 no. b	HP-114	53	46.1
	NPhr.	54	50.1
1	App. 1	55	50.2
2	4.1	56	55.1
3	17.2	57	56.1
4	18.1	58	56.2
4bis	17.1	59	60.1
5	18.2	60	60.2
7	17.3	61	44.1
8	26.1	62	20.3
9	22.1	63	20.1
10	37.1	64	56.3
11	39.1	65	45.1
12	40.1	66	App. 11
13	40.2	67	44.3
15	2.1	68	30.2
16	App. 2	69	43.1
17	11.1,	71	28.1
	11.3	72	58.1
18	11.2	73	14.1
19	5.1	74	11.3,
20	65.1		11.1
21	65.3	75	52.1
22	App. 3	76	53.1
25	35.1	77	53.2
26	36.1	78	57.1
27	36.2	79	59.3
28	33.1	80	51.1
29	31.1	81	48.1
30	37.1	82	64.1
31	40.3	83	App. 12
32	62.1	84	48.2
33	62.2	85	48.3
34	62.3	86	8.1



13	W-04	<b>Körte &amp; Körte 1904</b>	
14	W-05a		
15	W-05b	1	G-347
16	W-06	2	G-101
17	W-07	3	G-102
18	M-09	4	G-103
19	M-07		
20	W-03	<b>Koşay 1937</b>	
45	7.2		
56	10.1	p. 33	P-101
57	10.2		
<b>Heberdey &amp; Wilhelm 1896</b>		<b>Koşay 1939</b>	
		p. 9 & 20	P-101
43	37.2	<b>Koşay 1941</b>	
<b>Hogarth 1890</b>			
		p. 16	P-101
1	21.2	<b>Kretschmer 1896</b>	
2	21.1		
3	44.3	p. 218	W-05
<b>Kerkenes News</b>		<b>Kretschmer 1899</b>	
4 (2001) p. 11-12	K-102	p. 352-353	M-02
		p. 354	M-03
		p. 355-357	P-03
		p.357	M-05
<b>Kowal 1984a</b>		<b>Kretschmer 1901</b>	
15	2.1		
<b>Kowal 1984b</b>		p. 115-116	M-01f
31	40.3	<b>Laminger-Pascher 1984</b>	
<b>Körte 1898</b>		62	App. 8
p.19 no. 1	P-01	<b>Laminger-Pascher 1989</b>	
p. 19	P-02		
p. 64	M-01a	p. 51-53	43.1
p. 85	M-01b	<b>Lazović, Dürr, Durand, Houriet &amp; Schweizer 1997</b>	
p. 93	W-03		
p. 108-109	W-05a	2	Dd-102
p. 117	W-01a	<b>Legrand &amp; Chamonard 1893</b>	
p. 117	W-01b		
p. 118	W-01c	94	24.1
p. 120	W-04		

<b>Lejeune 1969a</b>		62	G-135
		63	G-136
XVI	G-101	64	G-137
XVI bis I	G-103	65	G-138
XVII	G-102	66	G-139
XXXV	G-105	67	G-140
22	G-129	68	G-141
23	G-104	69	G-142
22 y 33	G-136	70	G-143
33 and 42	T-02	71	G-144
		72	G-145
<b>Lejeune 1969b</b>		73	G-146
		74	G-147
p. 289	G-01	75	G-148
16	G-101	76	G-149
17	G-102	77	G-150
17 biss	G-103		
25	G-105	<b>Lejeune 1970</b>	
29	G-104		
30	G-108	16	G-101
31	G-109	17	G-102
32	G-106	17 bis	G-103
33	G-107	24	G-01
34	G-110	25	G-105
35	G-111	29	G-104
36	G-114	30	G-108
37	G-112	31	G-109
38	G-113	32	G-106
39	G-03	33	G-107
40	G-115	34	G-110
41	G-116	35	G-111
42	G-117	36	G-114
43	G-02	37	G-112
44	G-04	38	G-113
45	G-118	39	G-03
46	G-119	40	G-115
47	G-120	41	G-116
48	G-121	42	G-117
49	G-122	43	G-02
50	G-123	44	G-04
51	G-124	45	G-118
52	G-125	46	G-119
53	G-126	47	G-120
54	G-127	48	G-121
55	G-128	49	G-122
56	G-129	50	G-123
57	G-130	51	G-124
58	G-131	52	G-125
59	G-132	53	G-126
60	G-133	54	G-127
61	G-134	55	G-128

56	G-129	I, no. 33	69	43.1	
57	G-130	I, no. 340	84	48.2	
58	G-131	I, no. 341	85	48.3	
59	G-132	I, no. 384	62	20.3	
60	G-133	I, no. 385	63	20.1	
61	G-134	I, no. 405	86	8.1	
62	G-135	I, no. 406	87	9.1	
63	G-136	I, no. 413	88	6.1	
64	G-137	IV, no. 16	90	17.4	
65	G-138	IV, no. 17	91	17.5	
66	G-139	IV, no. 18	9	22.1	
67	G-140	IV, no. 76	40	24.1	
68	G-141	IV, no. 108	102	40.4	
69	G-142	IV, no. 116	92	27.1	
70	G-143	IV, no. 239	93	32.1	
71	G-144	IV, no. 240	29	31.1	
72	G-145	IV, no. 242	37	34.1	
73	G-146	IV, no. 243	95	33.2	
74	G-147	V, Lists I 182.89	48	1.1	
75	G-148	V, no. R 7	16	App. 2	
76	G-149	VI, no. 382	96	19.1	
77	G-150	VII, pg. xxviii, (a)	97	3.1	
		VII, pg. xxviii, (c)	99	7.1	
		VII, pgs. xxviii-xxix, (d)	100	61.1	
		VII, no. 10	101	42.1	
<b>Liebhart &amp; Brixhe 2009</b>		VII, no. 79	79	59.3	
passim	G-346	VII, no. 136	45	41.1	
		VII, no. 137	44	38.1	
<b>Lubotsky 1989b</b>		VII, no. 195	30	37.2	
no. 88	6.1	VII, no. 214	103	66.1	
		VII, no. 215	65	45.1	
<b>Lubotsky 1993</b>		VII, no. 258	82	64.1	
		VII, no. 259	20	65.1	
pg. 128	16.1	VII, no. 259a	104	65.2	
		VII, no. 276	24b	App. 6	
<b>Lubotsky 1997</b>		VII, no. 312	32	62.1	
		VII, no. 313	33	62.2	
48	1.1	VII, no. 314	34	62.3	
		VII, no. 315	35	62.4	
<b>Lubotsky 1998</b>		VII, no. 316	36	62.5	
		VII, no. 317	80	51.1	
pg. 418, no. 3	17.2	VII, no. 318	105	62.6	
		VII, no. 364	75	52.1	
<b>Macpherson 1954</b>		VII, no. 370	60	60.2	
		VII, no. 436	106	59.4	
pgs. 13-15	1.2	VII, no. 437	107	59.1	
		VII, no. 492	56	55.1	
<b>MAMA</b>		VII, no. 495	76	53.1	
	common	here	VII, no. 496	109	53.3
I, no. 11	52	App. 10	VII, no. 522	110	49.1
I, no. 32	53	46.1	VII, no. 545	108	54.1

VIII, no. 347	94	36.3	9	M-01f
			10	M-03
<b>Masson 1954</b>			11	M-02
			12	M-04
25	P-101		13	W-01a
27	G-02		14	W-01b,
p. 441	T-01			W-01c
<b>Masson 1987a</b>				NPhr.
			1	17.3
<i>passim</i>	Dd-103		2	18.2
			3	40.1
<b>Meister 1909</b>			4	35.1
pgs. 317-318	17.2			
				<b>Myres 1908</b>
			<i>addendum</i>	T-01
			p. 13-16	T-02
				<b>Neroznak 1978</b>
			A 1	M-01a
			A 2	M-01b
			A 3	M-02
<b>Mellink 1960</b>			A 4	M-01f
			A 5	M-03
p. 64	HP-116		A 6	M-04
			A 7 a	W-01a
<b>Mellink 1979</b>			A 7 b	W-01b
			A 7 c	W-01c
p. 249-280	T-02		A 8	M-05
			A 9	W-04
<b>Merkelback &amp; Stauber 1998</b>			A 10	P-02
16 / 43 / 04	82	64.1	A 11	W-03
			A 12	W-05a
<b>Mitchell 1993</b>			A 13	P-01
			A 14	P-03
p. 186, fig. 33	118	22.2	A 15 a	P-04a
			A 15 b	P-04b
<b>Miltner 1937</b>			A 15 c	P-04c
			A 16	G-101
colum. 51-52, no. 55	3.1		A 17	G-102
			A 17 bis	G-103
<b>Mordtmann 1861</b>			A 18	M-09
			A 19 a	T-02b
p. 191	P-02		A 19 b	T-02c
			A 19 c	T-02a
<b>Mordtmann 1862</b>			A 20	P-102
			A 21	T-01
	OPhr.		A 22	Dd-103
5	M-01a		A 23	HP-114
6	M-01b			
7	M-01d			
8	M-01c			

A 24	G-01	A 76	G-149
A 25	G-105	A 77	G-150
A 26	P-101	A 78	M-01c
A 28	B-01	A 79	M-01d
A 29	G-104	A 80	M-06
A 30	G-108	A 81	W-02
A 31	G-109	A 82	W-05b
A 32	G-106	A 83	W-06
A 33	G-107	A 84	W-07
A 34	G-110	A 85	P-103
A 35	G-111	A 86	P-104
A 36	G-114	A 87	P-105
A 37	G-112	A 88	P-106
A 38	G-113	A 89	P-107
A 39	G-03		
A 40	G-115	<b>Neumann 1975</b>	
A 41	G-116		
A 42	G-117	1	P-103
A 43	G-02	2	P-104
A 44	G-04	4	P-105
A 45	G-118	5	P-106
A 46	G-119	6	P-107
A 47	G-120		
A 48	G-121	<b>Neumann 1997</b>	
A 49	G-122		
A 50	G-123	<i>passim</i>	B-05
A 51	G-124		
A 52	G-125	<b>Orel 1995</b>	
A 53	G-126		
A 54	G-127	p. 128-132	HP-114
A 55	G-128		
A 56	G-129	<b>Orel 1996</b>	
A 57	G-130		
A 58	G-131	<i>passim</i>	HP-102
A 59	G-132		
A 60	G-133	<b>Orel 1997</b>	
A 61	G-134		
A 62	G-135		OPhr.
A 63	G-136	W-11	B-04
A 64	G-137	W-101	HP-102
A 65	G-138	B-04	B-06
A 66	G-139	B-101	B-102
A 67	G-140	B-102	B-103
A 68	G-141	B-103	B-104
A 69	G-142	B-104	B-105
A 70	G-143	B-105	B-106
A 71	G-144	B-106	B-107
A 72	G-145	L-101	HP-103
A 73	G-146	L-102	HP-104
A 74	G-147	L-103	HP-105
A 75	G-148	L-104	HP-106

L-105		HP-107	S*-05	14	7.3
L-106		HP-108	S*-06	26	36.1
L-107		HP-109	S*-07	27	36.2
L-108		HP-110	S*-08	30	37.2
L-109		HP-111	S*-09	31	40.3
L-110		HP-112	S*-10	41, 67	44.3
L-111		HP-113	S*-11	44	38.1
Dd-104		HP-114	S*-12	45	41.1
			S*-13	51	47.1
			S*-14	53	46.1
NPhr.	common	here	S*-15	61	44.1
C*-02 (20)	20	65.1	S*-16	65	45.1
C*-03	21	65.3	S*-17	69	43.1
C*-04	32	62.1	S*-18	70	44.2
C*-05	33	62.2	S*-19	94	36.3
C*-06	34	62.3	S*-20	101	42.1
C*-07	35	62.4	S*-21	102	40.4
C*-08	36	62.5	W*-12	2	4.1
C*-09	46, 107	59.1	W*-13	3	17.2
C*-10	47	59.2	W*-14	4	18.1
C*-11	54	50.1	W*-15	4bis	17.1
C*-12	55	50.2	W*-16	5	18.2
C*-13	56	55.1	W*-17	6	18.3
C*-14	57	56.1	W*-18	7	17.3
C*-15	58	56.2	W*-19	8	26.1
C*-16	59	60.1	W*-20	9	22.1
C*-17	60	60.2	W*-21	15	2.1
C*-18	64	56.3	W*-22	17, 74	11.1 and 11.3
C*-19	72	58.1	W*-23	18	11.2
C*-20	75	52.1	W*-24	19	5.1
C*-21	76	53.1	W*-25	25	35.1
C*-22	77	53.2	W*-26	28	33.1
C*-23	78	57.1	W*-27	29	31.1
C*-24	79	59.3	W*-29	38	26.2
C*-25	80	51.1	W*-30	39	30.1
C*-26	81	48.1	W*-31	40	24.1
C*-27	82	64.1	W*-32	42	21.1
C*-28	84	48.2	W*-33	43	21.2
C*-29	85	48.3	W*-34	48	1.1
C*-30	100	61.1	W*-35	62	20.3
C*-31	103	66.1	W*-36	63	20.1
C*-32	104	65.2	W*-37	68	30.2
C*-33	105	62.6	W*-38	71	28.1
C*-34	106	59.4	W*-39	73	14.1
C*-35	108	54.1	W*-40	86	8.1
C*-36	109	53.3	W*-41	87	9.1
C*-37	110	49.1	W*-42	88	6.1
Dd*-01	98	1.2	W*-43	89	23.1
S*-01	10	37.1	W*-44	90	17.4
S*-02	11	39.1	W*-45	91	17.5
S*-03	12	40.1	W*-46	92	27.1
S*-04	13	40.2			

W*-47	93	32.1		
W*-48	95	33.2	pg. 143	18.1
W*-49	96	19.1		
W*-50	97	3.1	<b>Ramsay 1883</b>	
W*-51	99	7.1		
W*-52	111	7.2	1	M-01 a
W*-53	112	10.1	2	M-01b
W*-54	113	10.2	3	M-01f
W*-55	114	29.1	4	M-03
W*-56	115	25.1	5	M-02
W*-57	116	16.1	6	M-04
			7	W-04b
<b>Özgen &amp; Öztürk 1996</b>			8	W-01a
			9	W-01c
60	HP-102		10	M-05
			11	W-04
<b>Pauli 1894</b>			13	P-01
1	M-01a		<b>Ramsay 1887</b>	
2	M-01b			
3	M-01f		I	App. 1
4	M-03		II	4.1
5	M-02		III	17.2
6	M-04		IV	18.1
7	W-01a		V	18.2
8	W-01b		VI	18.3
9	W-01c		VII	17.3
10	M-05		VIII	26.1
11	W-04		IX	22.1
			X	37.1
<b>Perrot &amp; Chipiez 1890</b>			XI	39.1
			XII	40.1
pp. 88-89	M-01 a		XIII	40.2
			XIV	7.3
<b>Pococke 1752</b>			XV	2.1
			XVI	App. 2
caput I, sectio III pag. 9, no. 3	5.1		XVII	11.1
			XVIII	11.2
<b>Pridik 1900</b>			XIX	5.1
			XX	65.1
29	T-01		XXI	65.3
			XXII	App. 3
			XXIII	App. 4
			XXIV	App. 5
<b>Radet &amp; Ouvré 1896</b>			XXIV	App. 6
			XXIV	App. 7
no. 7	52.1		XXV	35.1
			XXVI	36.1
			XXVII	36.2
			XXVIII	33.1
<b>Ramsay 1882</b>			XXIX	31.1

XXX	37.2	XXXVIII	26.2
<b>Ramsay 1888</b>		XXXIX	30.1
p. 371-372	W-04	XL	24.1
p. 380-381	W-01a	XLI	44.3
<b>Ramsay 1889a</b>		XLII	21.1
		XLIII	21.2
		XLIV	38.1
		XLV	41.1
185	M-02	XLVI	59.1
<b>Ramsay 1889b</b>		XLVII	59.2
		XLVIII	1.1
		<b>RECAM</b>	
309	W-01a	II, no. 366	61.1
310	M-04	II, no. 369	60.1
310	W-01c	II, no. 370	60.2
311	W-01b	IV, no. 96	6.1
<b>Ramsay 1905</b>		<b>Roller 1987a</b>	
II	4.1	2A-29	G-337
III	17.2	2A-44	G-273
IV	18.1	2A-51	G-338
IV bis	17.1	2A-66	G-278
V	18.2	2A-67	G-277
VI	18.3	2A-73	G-336
IX	22.1	2A-102	G-335
X	37.1	2A-111	G-339
XI	39.1	2A-130	G-208
XII	40.1	2A-206	G-203
XIII	40.2	2B-4	G-257
XIV	7.3	2B-9	G-248
XV	2.1	2B-13	G-254
XVII	17.3	2B-19	G-338
XVIII	11.2	2B-22	G-337
XIX	5.1	2B-23	G-282
XX	65.1	2B-25	G-278
XXI	65.3	2B-27	g-336
XXV	35.1	2B-35	G-215
XXVI	36.1	2B-44	G-339
XXVII	36.2	2B-51	G-235
XXVIII	33.1	2B-52	G-243
XXIX	31.1	2B-54	G-260
XXX	37.2	2B-55	G-275
XXXI	40.3	2B-56	G-266
XXXII	62.1	2B-123	G-162
XXXIII	62.2	2B-152	G-225
XXXIV	62.3	2B-167	G-241
XXXV	62.4	2B-172	G-263
XXXVI	62.5	2B-193	G-158
XXXVII	34.1		

2C-3	G-228	App. IV, 8, 2	M-01b
3B-5	G-116	App. IV, 8, 3 a	W-01a
3B-7	G-117	App. IV, 8, 3 b	W-01b
3B-30	G-150	App. IV, 8, 3 c	W-01c
<b>Ruge 1948</b>		<b>SEG</b>	
7	T-01	1.454	64.1
8	T-02	6.96	6.1
		6.291	App. 12
<b>Sams 2009</b>		6.434	App. 8
		14.783	1.2
p. 141-143	G-346	29.1174	App. 2
		30.1126	25.1
<b>Sayce 1885</b>		30.1488	64.1
		36.1191	43.1
p. 910	P-01	39.1416	43.1
		47.1725	63.1
<b>Sayce 1926</b>		52.1458.96	6.1
1	M-01a	<b>Solmsen 1897a</b>	
2	M-01b		
3	M-01f	p. 60-62	M-01b
4	M-03		
5	M-02	<b>Sterrett 1885</b>	
6	M-04		
7	W-01b	6	36.1
8	W-01a	7	36.2
9	W-01c		
10	M-05	<b>Sterret 1888a</b>	
11	W-04		
13	P-02	174	38.1
p. 34	W-05a	175	36.1
p. 34	P-01		
p. 34	P-04		
p. 34-35	T-02b		
		<b>Sterrett 1888b</b>	
<b>Schmidt 1869</b>		571	33.1
		590	31.1
p. 132-136	40.1		
p. 136-137	M-02	<b>Strubbe 1997</b>	
p. 137	M-01b		
		177	App. 1
<b>Schmidt &amp; Krogman 1933</b>		257	18.2
		274	66.1
p. 133, 109-110	HP-115		
<b>Schwyzer 1923</b>			
App. IV, 8, 1	M-01a	<b>TITUS</b>	

			44	38.1
	OPhr.		45	41.1
W-11	HP-102		47	59.2
Dask-1-4	B-06		48	1.1
Bay-1	HP-103		51	47.1
Bay-2	HP-104		53	46.1
Bay-3	HP-105		54	50.1
Bay-4	HP-106		55	50.2
Bay-5	HP-107		56	55.1
Bay-6	HP-108		57	56.1
Bay-8	HP-110		58	56.2
Bay-9	HP-111		59	60.1
Bay-10	HP-112		60	60.2
	NPhr.		61	44.1
2	4.1		62	20.3
3	17.2		63	20.1
4	18.1		64	56.3
4bis	17.1		65	45.1
5	18.2		67	44.3
6	18.3		68	30.2
7	17.3		69	43.1
9	22.1		70	44.2
10	37.1		71	28.1
11	39.1		72	58.1
12	40.1		73	14.1
13	40.2		75	52.1
14	7.3		76	53.1
15	2.1		77	53.2
17	11.1, 11.3		78	57.1
18	11.2		79	59.3
19	5.1		80	51.1
20	65.1		81	48.1
21	65.3		82	64.1
25	35.1		84	48.2
26	36.1		85	48.3
27	36.2		86	8.1
28	33.1		87	9.1
29	31.1		88	6.1
30	37.2		89	23.1
31	40.3		90	17.4
32	62.1		91	17.5
33	62.2		92	27.1
34	62.3		93	32.1
35	62.4		94	36.3
36	62.5		95	33.2
37	34.1		97	3.1
38	26.2		98	1.1
39	30.1		99	7.1
40	24.1		100	61.1
42	21.1		101	42.1
43	21.2		102	40.4

103	66.1	293	10.2
104	65.2	319	7.2
105	62.6	469	17.5
106	59.4	470	25.1
107	59.1	484	17.4
108	54.1	490	17.2
109	53.3	493	19.1
110	49.1	499	26.2
111	7.2	505	14.1
112	10.1	506	21.2
113	10.2	507	21.1
114	29.1	509	20.1
115	25.1	544	11.1 and 11.3
116	16.1	554	65.1
		556	246
		573	45.1
<b>Torp 1896</b>		595	51.1
10	W-01	602	62.2
		603	62.3
<b>Tuğrul-Firatli 1966</b>		604	62.4
p.230-235 and 236-241	B-01	605	62.1
		610	62.5
		620	60.2
<b>Varinlioğlu 1992</b>		629	56.1
1	HP-103	630	56.2
2	HP-104	638	53.1
3	HP-105	650	57.1
4	HP-106	664	43.1
5	HP-107	678	37.2
6	HP-108		
7	HP-109	<b>Weber 1908</b>	
8	HP-110		
9	HP-111	77	T-02b
10	HP-112		
11	HP-113	<b>Wilhelm 1980</b>	
		112	6
<b>von Reber 1898</b>			
p. 564	W-05a	<b>Young 1951</b>	
p. 566	M-01a		
p. 566	M-01b	p. 10	G-01
p. 571	W-01b		
p. 571-572	W-01a	<b>Young 1953</b>	
p. 572	W-01c		
p. 584-585	M-04	p. 21	G-01
<b>Waelkens 1986</b>		<b>Young 1955</b>	
226	3.1	p. 10-11	G-02
292	10.1		
548			

<b>Young 1958</b>		44	G-04
		45	G-118
p. 153	G-105	46	G-119
		47	G-120
<b>Young 1963</b>		48	G-121
		49	G-122
p. 362	G-105	50	G-123
		51	G-124
<b>Young 1964</b>		52	G-125
		53	G-126
p. 280-281	G-136	54	G-127
		55	G-128
<b>Young 1966</b>		56	G-129
		57	G-130
p. 276	G-104	58	G-131
		59	G-132
<b>Young 1968</b>		60	G-133
		61	G-134
p. 235-236	G-04	62	G-135
		63	G-136
<b>Young 1969</b>		64	G-137
		65	G-138
24	G-01	66	G-139
25	G-105	67	G-140
29	G-104	68	G-141
30	G-108	69	G-142
31	G-109	70	G-143
32	G-106	71	G-144
33	G-107	72	G-145
34	G-110	73	G-146
35	G-111	74	G-147
36	G-114	75	G-148
37	G-112	76	G-149
38	G-113	77	G-150
39	G-03		
40	G-115	<b>Young 1981</b>	
41	G-116		
42	G-117	p. 130 fig. 84	G-105
43	G-02		



## Indices

Numbers refer to pages. Hittite and Cuneiform Luwian are given in the order used by Kloekhorst (2008, 159). Lycian by Neumann (2007, XIII). Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek and Tocharian A and B are given in the order of their own alphabet. The other languages are given in the order of the Latin alphabet.

### I. Common words

ANATOLIAN		HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN	
HITTITE			
<i>anda</i>	141	<i>anta</i>	141
<i>arā<sup>-</sup></i> , <i>ari-</i>	118, 144	<i>atri(ya)-</i>	118
<i>aru-</i>	343	<i>azzu-</i>	209
<i>ištarna</i>	182	<i>ḥandawat(i)-</i>	166
<i>kā-</i>	77	<i>tūb(a)i-</i>	298
<i>keššar</i>	70, 370	<i>immar(i)-</i>	117
<i>gimra-</i>	206	<i>massan(i)-</i>	117, 237
<i>kuiš</i> , <i>kuit</i>	82	<i>wani-</i>	118
<i>gurta-</i>	116, 117	<i>wasu</i>	190
<i>lāman</i>	257	<i>za-</i>	77
<i>mit(t)a-</i> , <i>miti-</i>	115, 242		
<i>nu</i>	251		LYCIAN
<i>padda<sup>-i</sup></i> / <i>padda-</i>	268	<i>arñima-</i>	145
<i>piḥaim(m)i-</i>	156	<i>erije-</i>	118, 144
<i>piḥam(m)i-</i>	156	<i>esb-</i>	209
<i>piḥaššašši-</i>	156	<i>hri</i>	343
<i>puḥru</i>	265	<i>xñtawat(i)-</i>	166
<i>pulluriya</i>	115, 269	<i>mahan(a)-</i>	118, 237
<i>šāmāna-</i>	115, 278	<i>ñte</i>	141
<i>šarā</i>	343	<i>siḫla-</i>	45 fn. 72, 120, 218
<i>šarku-</i> / <i>šargau-</i>	116, 119, 284	<i>tubeiti</i>	298
<i>šīuna(na)-</i>	118 fn. 206	<i>tubidi</i>	298
<i>tāru</i>	295		
<i>uttar</i> / <i>uddan-</i>	117, 262		LYDIAN
<i>uāk<sup>-i</sup></i> / <i>uākk-</i>	44, 142	<i>armta-</i>	145
<i>uēp<sup>-zi</sup></i>	191	<i>artimus</i>	98
<i>uēpa-</i>	191	<i>asinas</i>	118, 147
		<i>ciw-</i>	118 fn. 206
		<i>mru-</i>	119, 239, 245
		<i>tašēv</i>	119, 288
			Indo-Iranian
			SANSKRIT
		<i>ájati</i>	143
		<i>áti</i>	185
		<i>aśani</i>	136
		<i>ásti</i>	208

<i>inddhé</i>	134
<i>īḍé</i>	134
<i>eti</i>	187, 211
<i>kím</i>	82, 224
<i>kúha</i>	171
<i>khánati</i>	104, 218
<i>gṛhá-</i>	116
<i>gnā</i>	220
<i>ca</i>	216
<i>cakra-</i>	342
<i>jathára-</i>	222
<i>tíṣṭhati</i>	185
<i>dádati</i>	297
<i>dádhāti</i>	130
<i>dáma-</i>	299
<i>dāru</i>	295
<i>diśāti</i>	210
<i>devá</i>	171
<i>dvis</i>	172
<i>dhautí-</i>	344
<i>dhávate</i>	344
<i>dhyāman-</i>	289
<i>nā</i>	141
<i>nápāt</i>	248
<i>naptí-</i>	250
<i>naśyati</i>	251
<i>nú</i>	251
<i>nū</i>	251
<i>nūnám</i>	251
<i>pancan</i>	269
<i>pánthāḥ</i>	272
<i>pitṛ</i>	267
<i>bāhú-</i>	121 fn. 214
<i>bhagatti-</i>	297
<i>bhárati</i>	127
<i>bhrātar</i>	159
<i>bhriṇánti</i>	160
<i>máhi</i>	104
<i>majmán-</i>	197
<i>mányate</i>	178
<i>mā</i>	103, 239
<i>yás, yā, yád</i>	82, 306
<i>va-</i>	178, 179, 180
<i>vabh-</i>	191
<i>vindāti</i>	193
<i>véda</i>	258
<i>sáḥ, sā, tát</i>	79
<i>sáhate</i>	37, 176
<i>sva-</i>	81, 192
<i>śvásúra</i>	261
<i>hānu</i>	338

<i>hari-</i>	104, 163
<i>háryati</i>	162
<i>hásta</i>	310

OLD PERSIAN (AND MEDIAN)

<i>anāmaka</i>	123, 140
<i>aspa-</i>	122, 147, 209
<i>baga</i>	63, 121, 155
<i>napā</i>	248
<i>maguš</i>	122, 233
<i>mā</i>	239

AVESTAN

<i>ana</i>	44 fn. 69, 140
<i>asan-</i>	136
<i>kudā</i>	171
<i>paθnī-</i>	103
<i>baodah-</i>	157
<i>naptī-</i>	250
<i>mā</i>	103, 239
<i>moγu-</i>	122, 233
<i>yō</i>	306
<i>haxa</i>	343

Tocharian

TOCHARIAN A

<i>or</i>	295
<i>pont-</i>	265
<i>mā</i>	103, 239
<i>wāk-</i>	44, 142
<i>wāp-</i>	191
<i>śanwem</i>	338
<i>śām</i>	220

TOCHARIAN B

<i>aknātsa</i>	103
<i>or</i>	295
<i>pont-</i>	265
<i>mā</i>	103, 239
<i>wāk-</i>	44, 142
<i>wāp-</i>	191
<i>śana</i>	220
<i>śärk-</i>	284

<b>Greek</b>	
MYCENAEAN	
<i>e-we-pe-se-so-me-na</i>	191
<i>ko-wa</i>	223
<i>ko-wo</i>	223
<i>ku-na-ki-si</i>	220
<i>po-si</i>	271
<i>po-ti-ni-ja</i>	103
<i>ra-wa-ke-ta</i>	229
<i>to-ro-qa</i>	290
<i>wa-na-ka</i>	109
<i>we-te-i</i>	192
<i>wo-wo</i>	259

ALPHABETIC GREEK

ἀγάθοις	62 fn. 106
ἀγαθούς	62 fn. 106
ἄγνυμι	44, 142
ἄγω	143
ἀδικέομαι	132
ἄελιοι	340
αἶ	95, 151
αἶδομαι	134
αἶθω	134
αἶλιοι	340
ἄκιυς	112
ἄκολος	112
ἄκονη	136
ἄκρα	339 fn. 220
ἄκραϊος	323
ἀκρῆστις	339 fn. 220
ἄκρος	110, 135, 139
ἀλάβη	313
ἀλφή	144
ἄν	140, 215
ἀνά	44 fn. 69, 93, 140
ἀνάγκα	114
ἀνάγκη	110, 141
ἀνανδρόομαι	247
ἀνάνδρωτος	61, 247
ἄναξ	64, 109, 190
ἄνατος	141
ἀνεψιός	248
ἀνήρ	141
ἄνωγα	77
ἀπευθής	157
ἄρα	94, 145, 184
ἄρτι	93, 145
ἀρχή	144

ἀρχός	144
ἄρχω	144
ἀσπαίρω	147
ἀστυάναξ	244
ἄσφι	93
ἄτρον	150
αὐτός	81, 151
αὐτως	103
ἀχάριστος	127
ἀχρησία	339
ἀχρηστεύω	339
ἀχρηστέω	339
ἀχρηστέω	339
ἄχρηστος	339
ἄωρος	110, 151
βαλήν	339
βανά	159
βέκος	59, 158
βέν(ν)ιος	112-114
βέν(ν)ος	112-114
βενέω	113
βεννά<ρ>χην	113
βεννευε	113
βεῦδος	59, 112, 157
βῖνέω	113
βονά	159
βροκός	160
γάϊος	135
γαλώως	340
γάνος	340 fn. 221
γάρ	152
γενεά	217
γένυς	338
γῆ	156
γλουρός	59, 112, 163
γόνος	163, 248, 250
γράφω	102
γυνή	220, 342
Γωλεός	22
-δα	93
δαίω	176
δάμνημι	338
-δε	92, 93,
δέκομαι	44 fn. 70, 130
δέμω	110, 139
δέχομαι	44 fn. 70, 130
δή	170
διά	93, 168
διαδικάζω	92, 294
δίδωμι	297
δικάσταις	62 fn. 106

δικαστάς	62 fn. 106	ἔχω	37, 176, 210
δῖς	93, 172	φε	81, 192
δμῶς	172	ζῶ	197
δόγμα	144	ζῶς	90, 110, 197, 267
δόμος	299	ἦ	151
δόρυ	295	ἦδη	168
δόσις	297	ἦέ	151
δοῦμος	112, 173, 299	ἦρωος	178
ἔ	81, 192	ἦρωος	178
ἑαυτόν	81, 192	ἦτρον	150
ἐγγόνιον	163	-θα	93, 104, 304
ἔγγονον	110, 176	θαλάμη	55, 110, 111, 114, 201, 222, 288
ἔγγονος	163	θάλαμος	222
ἐγείρω	176	θεῖος	82, 246
εἰ	95, 152	-θεν	93, 170
εἶδον	258	θεός	171
εἰλικρινής	110, 111, 177	θερμός	67 fn. 113
εἶμι	187, 211	θετός	170
εἰμί	208	θέω	344
εἰς	91 fn. 151, 92, 93	θρέψις	131
ἐκεῖ	77, 93, 180	θωμός	173
ἐκυρός	261	ιδεῖν	193
ἐμμενές	104, 205	ιδέτω	258
ἐν	93, 181	ἱερόν	99
ἐνδείκνυμαι	210	ἴστημι	99, 185
ἔνδον	92, 141	κακός	93, 214, 215
ἐνέπω	208	κακόω	214
ἔνθα	93	κακῶς	93, 214
ἔνθεν	93	κάλοις	62 fn. 106
ἐνς	92, 93	καλός	138
ἔξαρνος	186	καλούς	62 fn. 106
έοῖ	80, 207	καν	215
ἐπί	183	καταδικάζω	294
ἔρ	94, 184	κε	215
ἔρα	94, 184	κεινός	104, 218
ἐργάτης	284	κενέβρεια	282
ἔργον	194	κενεός	104, 218
ἐρέας	178	κενός	104, 217, 218, 271
ἐς	91. 93	κέραμος	218
ἐστία	321	κέρνος	218
ἐσχάρα	136	κεχαρισμένος	162
ἔτι	185	κῆκυς	112, 114, 219
ἔτος	192, 260	κικύω	112
εὐ-	178, 179, 180	κλᾶρος	225
εὐθενέω	158	κλῆρος	225
εὐθύς	180	κνύω	68, 221
εὐμένεια	179	κοιρανέω	90, 110, 226
εὐχή	186, 187	κοίρανος	104, 226
εὐχος	186	κόρη	104, 223
ἐχέσθω	87	κόρος	104, 223
ἐχῖνος	341		

κοῦρος	104	μωρός	245
κοῦρος	223	νειός	149
κράνα	110, 114, 224	νεός	149
κρανιάς	224	νέποδες	248
κράννα	75, 110, 114, 224	νηνία	342
κρήνη	75, 110, 114, 224	νι	103, 249
κρηνιάς	224	νι	103, 249
κτάομαι	181	νυ	251
κυβερνάω	342	νῦν	251
κυβερνήτης	342	νύξ	251
κύκλος	342	νύσσω	251
κυμερῆναι	342	νύττω	251
κυμερνήτης	342	ξενών	342
κώμη	173	Ξευνα	253
κῶρος	223	Ξευνη	253
λαγέτας	229	ξυλίζομαι	90, 295
λαμβάνω	64, 104, 230	ό, ή, τό	79
λαός	229	οί	80, 207
λατόμιον	110, 230	οἶνος	193
λατομίσ	110, 230	όνε, τόνε, τάνε	249
λύκος	340	ὄνομα	257
μάγος	122, 233	ὄπισθα	93
μαίνομαι	178	ὄπισθε	93
μάκαρ	234	ὄπισθεν	92, 258
μάκρα	233, 234	ὄρος	259
μακρός	234	ὄρφανός	259
μάκτρα	233	ὄς, ή, ὄ (poss.)	83, 189
μανικά	236	ὄς, ή, ὄ (rel.)	82, 306
μαρμαίρω	234	ὄτρύνω	92
μαρμάρεος	124, 234	οὔ(κ)	94, 301
μάσσω	233	οὐάνουν	340
μάσσω	234	οὐράνιος	262
μάτηρ	237	οὐρανός	262
μέγας	44, 104, 240	οὔρος	259
μείων	248	οὐτάω	262
μεμόριον	124, 234	οὔτε	94, 301
μεσόδημη	110, 139	ὄχεύς	77, 103, 137
μετά	93, 239	πάλη	339
μέχρι	239	πάρ	91, 93, 270
μή	44, 103, 239	παράδειγμα	144
μηδεῖς	82	πᾶς	265
μηκάομαι	342	πατήρ	259, 267
μηκάς	342	πάτριος	267
μῆτε	94, 239	πέντε	269
μήτηρ	237	περί	268
μίτος	115	πέρνημι	271
μνημεῖον	191	πηρός	266
μοῖσα	62 fn. 106	πῆχυς	121 fn. 214, 155
μόνος	244	ποινή	248
μοῦσα	62 fn. 106	πόντος	272
μύρτος	246	πορνή	271



sin 104, 218

zɔɫɔva 340

**Albanian**

RUSSIAN

as 94, 301  
aý 103  
dorë 70  
gardh 116  
mo 103, 239  
motër 166  
zjarm 67 fn. 113  
zjarr 67 fn. 113

bažát 158  
bažít 158

**Italic**

LATIN

abs 91 fn. 150  
ad 93, 129

**Baltic**

LITHUANIAN

arti 92, 145  
bedù 268  
ežys 341  
gařdas 116  
gùltas 222  
gul̃ti 222  
guõlis 222  
láidoti 231  
láidyimas 231  
mekčióti 342  
neptė 250  
nù 251  
nū 251  
peršėti 182  
peřšti 182  
š̃i 77  
š̃is 77  
viešpatni 103  
želmuõ 341  
žėlti 341  
žolė 341

nenia 342  
aedes 134  
soccus 343  
guberno 342  
miccio 342  
alumnus 103  
aqua 138  
ars 145  
glos 340  
atque 94, 138  
bis 172  
riscus 337  
cedo 77  
cis 77  
deus 171  
dico 210  
dumopireti 173  
dumus 173  
eo 187, 211  
noceo 251  
et 185  
facio 41, 89, 130, 182  
femina 103  
gena 338  
scio 248  
fero 127  
fodio 268  
frater 159  
frio 160  
genus 217  
helus 104, 163, 341  
ne- 248  
ne 248  
nescio 248  
hic 77  
(h)olus 104, 163, 341  
horitur 162  
humilis 197  
humus 37

LATVIAN

dzîga 112  
guõļa 222

**Slavic**

OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

briti 160  
gradъ 116  
mazati 234  
s 77

<i>ignotus</i>	103		OSCAN
<i>tot</i>	297		
<i>rectio</i>	275	<i>adpúd</i>	129
<i>erectio</i>	275	<i>niir</i>	141
<i>lectus</i>	275	<i>sifei</i>	203
<i>inde</i>	92		
<i>inquam</i>	208		<b>Celtic</b>
<i>tiara</i>	338		OLD IRISH
<i>is, ea, id</i>	207		
<i>pons</i>	272	<i>ainmne</i>	104, 205
<i>is, ea, id</i>	80	<i>ad</i>	129
<i>maxime</i>	93	<i>and</i>	141
<i>neptis</i>	250	<i>bé</i>	114 fn. 197
<i>manus</i>	236	<i>cob</i>	179
<i>orbis</i>	259	<i>rúsc</i>	337
<i>pater</i>	267		
<i>mater</i>	237		GAULISH
<i>num</i>	251		
<i>nunc</i>	251	<i>bnanom</i>	114 fn. 197
<i>mors</i>	246	<i>brogi-</i>	123
<i>nepos</i>	248	<i>maros-</i>	123
<i>quiuus</i>	219	<i>rusc</i>	337
<i>praehendo</i>	341	<i>sosin</i>	297
<i>maximus</i>	93		
<i>memoria</i>	124, 234		<b>Germanic</b>
<i>nequis</i>	82		GOthic
<i>quam</i>	94, 215		
<i>quinque</i>	269	<i>ahva</i>	138
<i>-que</i>	216	<i>aistan</i>	134
<i>quis</i>	82, 224	<i>at</i>	129
<i>quisquis</i>	82, 306	<i>bigitan</i>	341
<i>se</i>	81	<i>doms</i>	174
<i>sibi</i>	203	<i>faur</i>	270
<i>socrus</i>	261	<i>gards</i>	116
<i>soccer</i>	261	<i>hina</i>	77
<i>sperno</i>	147	<i>iþ</i>	185
<i>sto</i>	185	<i>kilpei</i>	22
<i>sum</i>	208	<i>kinnus</i>	338
<i>praetor</i>	272	<i>mikils</i>	240
<i>ubi</i>	171	<i>qino</i>	220
<i>uetus</i>	192	<i>qius</i>	112
<i>ueto</i>	262	<i>sa, sō, þata</i>	79
<i>uicis</i>	193	<i>wait</i>	258
<i>uideo</i>	193, 258		
<i>uigeo</i>	112		OLD NORSE
<i>uinum</i>	193		
<i>uiuo</i>	112	<i>baka</i>	158
<i>uiuus</i>	60	<i>svilar</i>	340
<i>utinam</i>	152		

	OLD ICELANDIC		<i>naruqqum</i>	342
			<i>nuruqqum</i>	342
<i>kvikr</i>	112		<i>sikkanum</i>	115, 217
<i>kykr</i>	112			
				UGARITIC
	OLD HIGH GERMANIC		<i>gn</i>	340 fn. 221
<i>aha</i>	138		<i>p̄hr</i>	265
<i>bahhan</i>	158			
<i>neva</i>	248			ARAMAIC
<i>weban</i>	191		<i>bʕl</i>	339
<i>nūn</i>	251		<i>mḡšy</i>	122
<i>igil</i>	341		<i>šql</i>	43, 45, 46 fn. 74, 120, 281
<i>tau</i>	344		<i>w</i>	121
	<b>Semitic Languages</b>			<b>Elamite</b>
	AKKADIAN			
	(including Assyrian and Babylonian)		<i>Ḥanāmakaš</i>	140
<i>akalum</i>	114, 123			
<i>magus</i>	122, 233			

## II. Personal names

	<b>In cuneiform sources</b>	<i>Wanni</i>	118, 189
<i>Agga-</i>	184		<b>In Hieroglyphic Luwian</b>
<i>Akiya-</i>	137	<i>Ku-li-i(a)</i>	98, 117, 226
<i>Al(l)uwa-</i>	118, 139	<i>Kurtis</i>	116, 118
<i>Ali-</i>	116, 139	<i>Kwa/i-li-i(a)</i>	98, 117, 215, 226
<i>Armapiya</i>	145	<i>Muksasa-</i>	111, 246
<i>Armawiya</i>	145	<i>Takuwa</i>	165
<i>Ar-ma-zi-ti-</i>	145	<i>Tuwattis</i>	117, 298
<i>Aya-</i>	116, 134	<i>Wana-</i>	118
<i>Gurdîs</i>	116	<i>Wasurunti(ya)-</i>	117, 190
<i>Immaraziti</i>	117	<i>Wasusarma-</i>	117, 190
<i>Kanutî</i>	62, 74, 123, 216	(DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa	145
<i>Ku-li-a</i>	117		
<i>Masa</i>	116 fn. 201, 117, 237		<b>In Lycian</b>
<i>Mitā</i>	115, 242	<i>iḡtta</i>	187
<i>Muwatti-</i>	117	<i>ipresidah</i>	323
<i>Pariziti</i>	161	<i>miθrapata</i>	122, 243
<i>Tjia-</i>	293	<i>mizrppata</i>	122, 243
<i>Ú-ak-sa-tar</i>	40, 122, 307	<i>purihimeti</i>	270
<i>Uk-sa-tar</i>	40, 122, 307	<i>waxssepddimi</i>	40 fn. 65
<i>Ú-ma-kiš-tar</i>	40	<i>wexssere</i>	40 fn. 65
<i>Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar</i>	40, 122, 307		
<i>Urawanni</i>	98, 117, 303		
<i>Urḥitešub</i>	116, 303		
<i>Wana</i>	189		

	<b>In Lydian</b>	Αμμως	140
<i>ate-</i>	119, 149	Ἄντιγόνη	131, 247
<i>alus</i>	118, 119, 139	Αουα	142
<i>manes</i>	119, 235	Απ(π)ας	143
<i>śrkaštus</i>	116, 284	Απ(π)ης	143
	<b>In Carian</b>	Ἄπελλα(ς)	143
<i>mane</i>	235	Αρμαπιας	145
<i>mute-</i>	117	Ἄρτίμας	22 fn. 32
<i>šdṭatś</i>	282	Ἄρχίας	74, 111, 145
<i>msnord-</i>	118	Ασκιπρασις	147
	<b>In Sidetic</b>	Ἄστυάναξ	244
<i>śdi↑s</i>	118, 277, 282	Ἄστυάνασσα	244
	<b>In Pisidian</b>	Ατας	148
Γδαβα	166	Ἄτρέας	150
Γδεβετις	166	Ἄτρεύς	137, 150
	<b>In Old Persian</b>	Αττας	148, 149
<i>Anāhitā</i>	224	Αττης	33, 73, 149
<i>Bagāna-</i>	62	Αύρήλια	29
<i>Manukka</i>	122, 237	Αύρήλιος	29, 124
	<b>In Greek</b>	Βαβας	155, 311
	<b>In Mycenaean</b>	Βρογιμαρος	123
<i>mo-ḡo-so</i>	98, 111, 246	Βωδορις	123
<i>mo-ḡo-so-jo</i>	111, 246	Γα	161
	<b>In alphabetic Greek</b>	Γορδίας	116, 118
Αβας	311	Γορδίας	116, 118
Αββας	311	Γόρδιος	116, 118
Ἄγιππος	128	Δαδα	166
Αζιος	152	Δαδας	166
Αινας	135	Δαδδος	166
Ακεπτος	135	Δαδης	166
Ακετας	135	Δαδων	166
Ακης	137, 138	Δᾶος	41, 124, 166
Ακιερους	135	Δαῦος	124, 166
Ακκα	135	Δᾶφος	341
Ακκις	137	Δηδης	171
Αλυς	118, 139	Δηδης	171
Αμιας	140	Διδας	171
Αμμια	140	Δοα	318
		Δοια	318
		Δορμισπας	209
		Δορυκανος	111, 173
		Δουρμισβας	209
		Εια	177
		Ειας	177
		Ειλας	205
		Ἑκαταία	111, 180, 205
		Ἑνυμαντιάδα	182
		Ερεμαστου	120
		Ερμαπιας	145
		Ἑρμόλαος	111, 186
		Ια	177

Ιας	177
Ιδδιος	203
Ιδιοσ	203
Ίκέτας	111, 187, 205
Ικτας	187
Ιλλας	205
Ιμαν	206
Ινας	207
Ιννεας	178
Καλλίας	63, 75 fn. 121, 106, 111, 362, 150, 215
Κερνας	218
Κίκκος	112, 219
Κίκκων	219
Κίκος	112, 219
Κίκων	219
Κλεόμαχος	53, 111, 220
Κλυνισβ  ας	209
Κυαξάρης	40, 46 fn. 73, 98, 122, 123, 307
Λασαμος	325
Λασσαμος	325
Λεύκιος	111, 231
Λιρ	281
Μαμα	120
Μαμα	235
Μαμαστα	120
Μαμαστις	120
Μαμμα	235
Μαμοτασις	117
Μαμοτης	117, 235
Μαμουσις	117, 235
Μαμωτασις	117, 235
Μανεις	73, 235
Μανης	73, 235, 236
Μανις	73, 235
Μανιτους	73
Μαρας	238
Μαρεας	238
Μαρεις	238
Μαρευς	238
Μάσας	117
Μασνανισβου	209
Μέγας	241
Μειλας	241
Μεμμας	74
Μιθρωπάστης	122, 123, 243
Μιτροβάτης	122, 123, 243
Μόξος	98, 111, 246
Μουτας	117
Μόψος	98, 111, 246

Νανα	247
Νανας	247
Νανηρις	248
Νεν(ν)ας	120
Νεναρις	248
Νενεστος	120
Νενης	120
Νενυερια	248
Νικόστρατος	53, 111, 249
Νινα	249
Νιννα	249
Οαρωλλου	303
Οασις	190
Όιλεύς	256
Ότυς	260
Ουαναλις	189
Ουαναξιων	189
Ουαναξος	189
Ουαναξων	189
Ουασασας	190
Ουασσης	190
Ουεναυια	118
Ουεναυιη	118
Πα	265
Παπουστις	120
Παππος	120
Παρισπου	209
Πας	142
Ποριματις	270
Σαβις	277
Σαβυς	277
Σαγάριος	233
Σαγάριος	277
Σαριδηρας	131
Σιδιδος (gen.)	282
Σιτάλκας	282
Σιτάλκης	282
Σπερχειός	111, 273
Σπερχίς	111, 273
Σπερχύλειος	111, 273
Τιηος	293
Τιος	293

#### In Latin

<i>Dauus</i>	124, 166, 341
<i>Domitius</i>	124, 172
<i>Nero</i>	141
<i>Sergestus</i>	120, 284

	<b>In Gaulish</b>		<b>In Phoenician</b>
<i>Borodix</i>	123	<i>mpš</i>	111, 246
<i>Brogimaros</i>	123		<b>In Elamite</b>
	<b>In Aramaic</b>	<i>Áš-šá-ka<sub>4</sub></i>	122, 146
<i>bgn</i>	62	<i>Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri</i>	40, 122, 307
<i>mny</i>	235	<i>Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra</i>	40, 122, 307
<i>dʔb</i>	341		<b>In Etruscan</b>
<i>sgr</i>	233, 277	<i>sekštalus</i>	120 fn. 210

### III. Divine names

	<b>In Hittite</b>	<i>Κυβέλη</i>	225
<i>Hé-pit</i>	187	<i>Κυβήβη</i>	226
	<b>In Hieroglyphic Luwian</b>	<i>Μήν Ἀσκαηνός</i>	147
<i>Kubaba-</i>	226	<i>Μήν</i>	237
	<b>In Greek</b>	<i>Μήτηρ Ὀρεία</i>	225
	<b>In Mycenaean</b>	<i>Ϝ&lt;υ&gt;βάβας</i>	226
<i>pa-de</i>	156	<i>Ϝυβάλας</i>	225
<i>pa-de-i</i>	156	<i>Σαριδηρας</i>	131
	<b>In alphabetic Greek</b>	<i>Σαρνενδηνος</i>	119 fn. 208, 278
<i>Ἄγδιστις</i>	56 fn. 94, 120, 144	<i>Συργαστειος</i>	119, 284
<i>Ἀθηναία</i>	225	<i>Συργάστης</i>	119, 120, 284
<i>Ἀθήνη</i>	225	<i>Συργάστος</i>	119, 120, 284
<i>Ἀναείτις</i>	224		<b>In Latin</b>
<i>Ἀπόλλων</i>	143	<i>Cybele</i>	124, 225
<i>Ἄρτεμις</i>	98, 145	<i>Surgasteo</i>	120
<i>Βαγαῖος</i>	155		<b>In Lydian</b>
<i>Βέν(ν)ιος</i>	114	<i>artimus</i>	145
<i>Βενδῖς</i>	113	<i>kuwawa</i>	226
<i>Διόνυσος</i>	111, 171		<b>In Lycian</b>
<i>Εἵπτα</i>	183, 187	<i>ertēmi</i>	145
<i>Ζεύς</i>	191		<b>In Sanskrit</b>
<i>Ἴμρουγαρηνη</i>	206	<i>Bhadrā</i>	156
<i>Ἴπτα</i>	183, 187	<i>Mās</i>	237
<i>Κέλμις</i>	217		
<i>Κρανομεγαληνή</i>	224		
<i>Κυβελεία</i>	226		
<i>Κυβελείη</i>	226		

## Maps

Map 1. The Phrygian Inscriptions<sup>226</sup>

Map 2. The Old Phrygian Inscriptions

Map 3. Plan of the eastern side of the Citadel Mound of Gordion during the Middle Phrygian period (Gordion Project, Penn Museum)

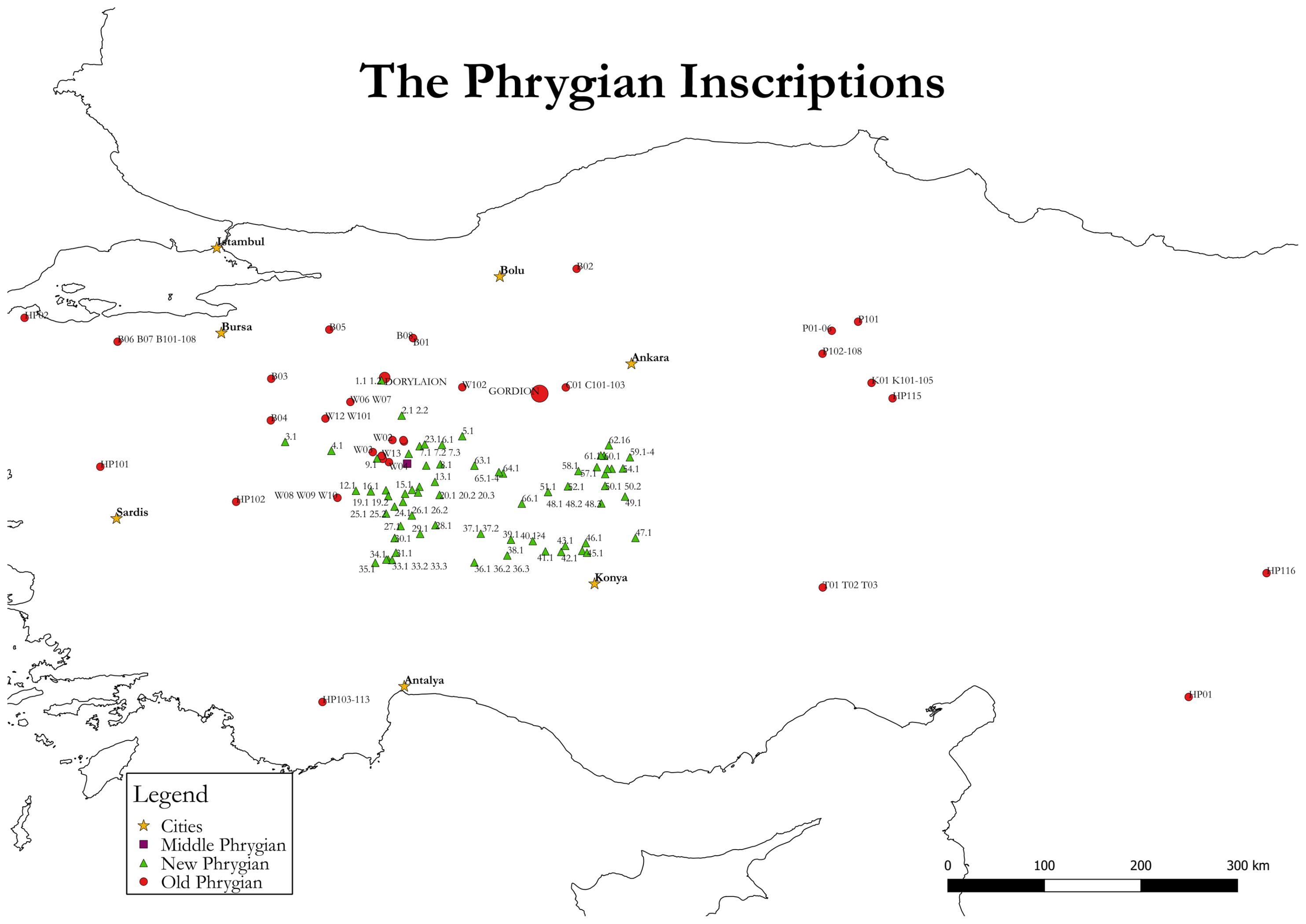
Map 4. The New Phrygian inscriptions (numbers)

Map 5. The New Phrygian Inscriptions (cities)

---

<sup>226</sup> Excluding HP-114, from Persepolis.

# The Phrygian Inscriptions

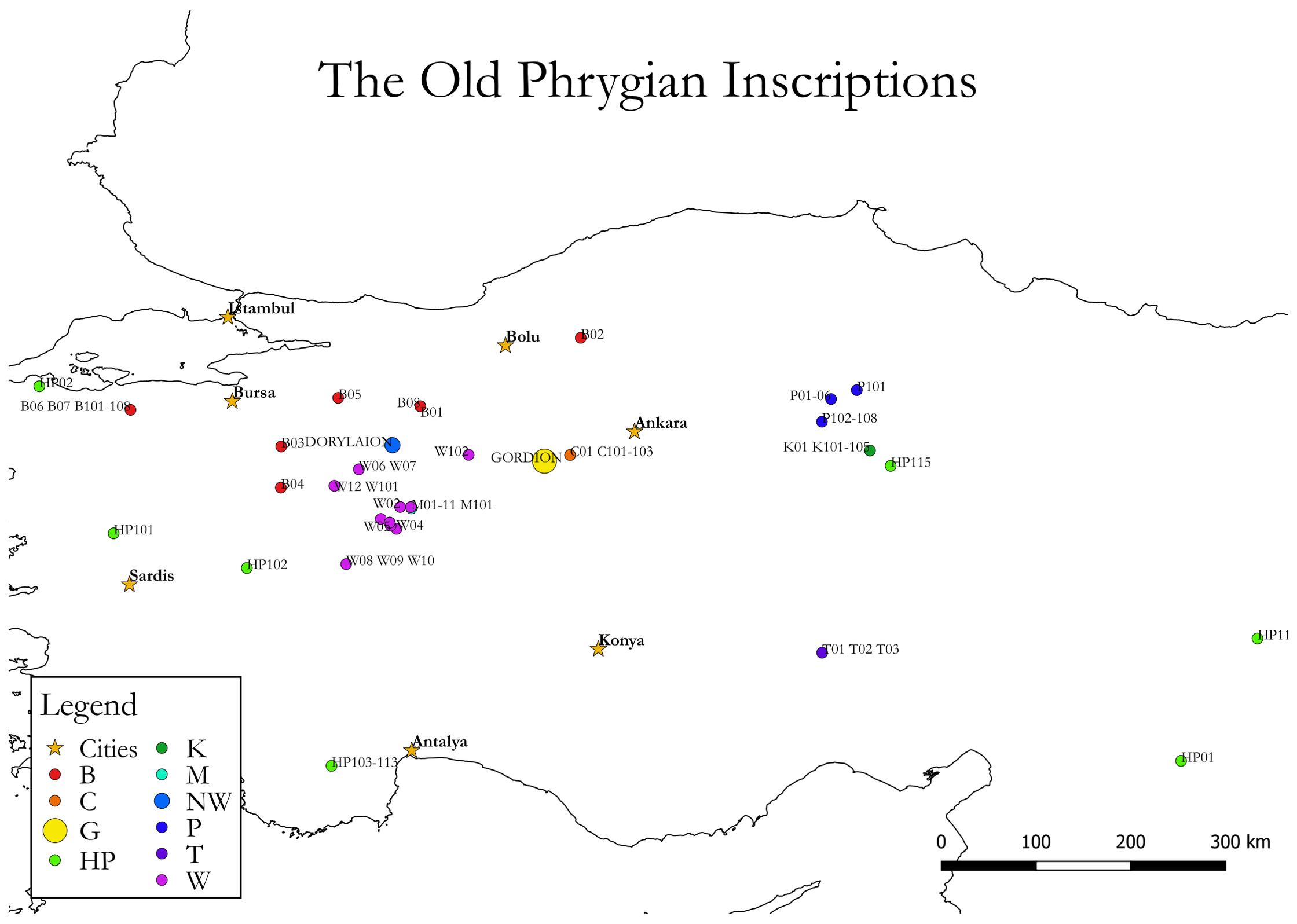


**Legend**

- ★ Cities
- Middle Phrygian
- ▲ New Phrygian
- Old Phrygian

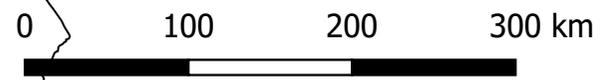


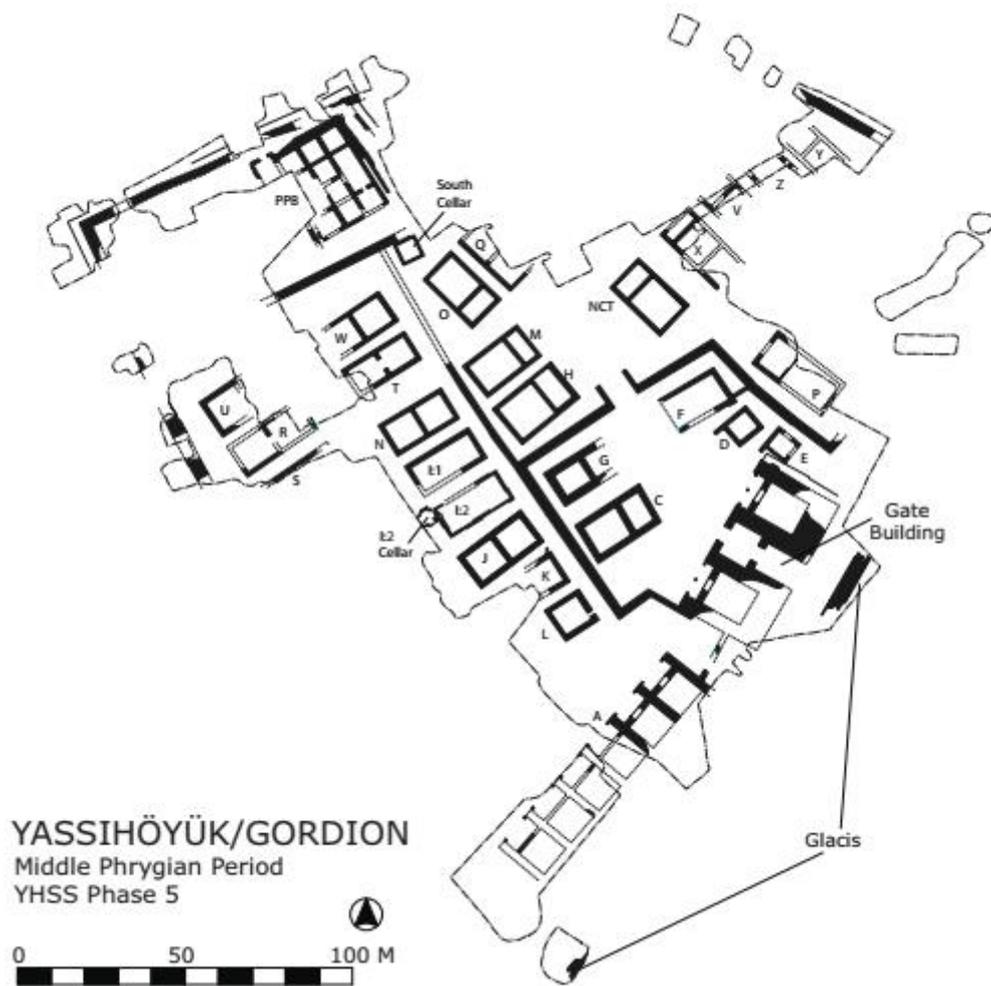
# The Old Phrygian Inscriptions



## Legend

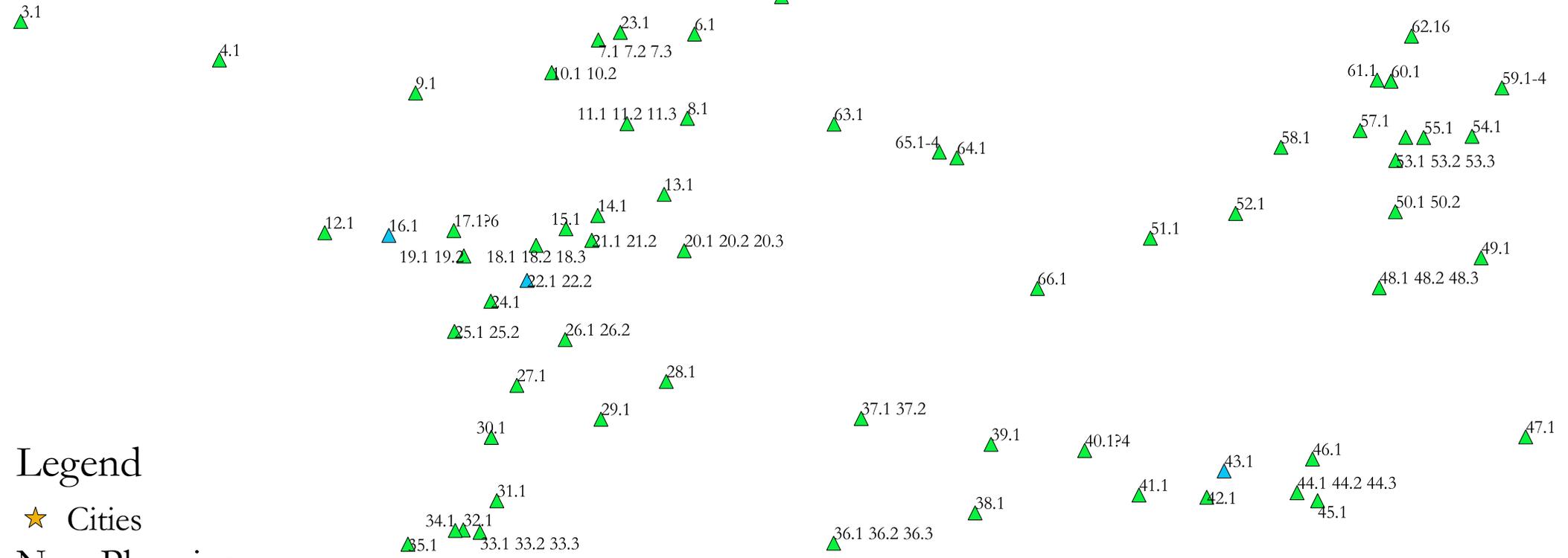
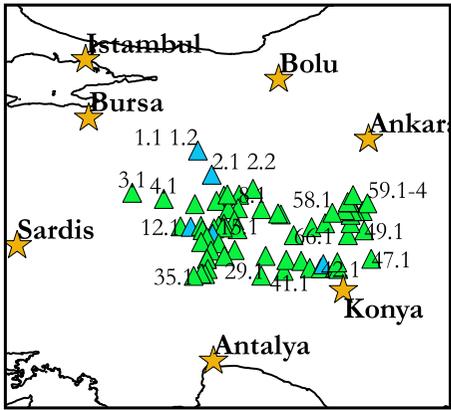
- |   |        |   |    |
|---|--------|---|----|
| ★ | Cities | ● | K  |
| ● | B      | ● | M  |
| ● | C      | ● | NW |
| ● | G      | ● | P  |
| ● | HP     | ● | T  |
|   |        | ● | W  |





# The New Phrygian Inscriptions

★ Ankara



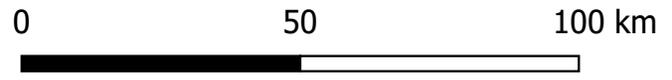
## Legend

★ Cities

New Phrygian

▲ Only curses

▲ Not only curses



★ Konya

# The New Phrygian Inscriptions

★ Ankara

▲ Eskisehir

▲ Seyitgazi

▲ Ortakoy

▲ Cavdarhisar

▲ Ucuyuk

▲ Erter ▲ Gozsuszlu ▲ Baglica

▲ Sinanli

▲ Beykoyu

▲ Gokceyayla

▲ Mondali ▲ Kerpic

▲ Kozanli

▲ Bayat ▲ Guney

▲ Davulga

▲ Hatirli ▲ Kandil ▲ Bekavak ▲ Bulduk

▲ Asagipiribeyli ▲ Peribeyli

▲ Kelhasan

▲ Ozburun

▲ Goynuk

▲ Bogrudelik

▲ Akpinar ▲ Gezler Koyu ▲ Sopalini kopru ▲ Kocaoz ▲ Bolvadin

▲ Carbasli Yayla

▲ Insuyu

▲ Sular ▲ Sulumeni

▲ Turgut

▲ Csmelisebi

▲ Efesutan

▲ Isiklar

## Legend

★ Cities

## New Phrygian

▲ Only curses

▲ Not only curses

▲ Suhut

▲ Inli

▲ Sagir

▲ Icikli

▲ Yukarikasikara

▲ Aksehir

▲ Karadilli

▲ Argitani

▲ Ugin

▲ Zivarik

▲ Buyukcabaca

▲ Doganhisar

▲ Mahmuthisa ▲ Sogutozu

▲ Kadinhani ▲ Ladik ▲ Kursunlu

▲ Senirken ▲ Yassiorem

▲ Sarkikaraagac

★ Istanbul ★ Bursa ★ Ankara ★ Konya ★ Antalya



★ Konya

