ADMOS
Zeitschrift
vorg- und frühgriechische
Epigraphik

Begründet von Ernst Grumach
fortgeführt von William C. Brice

in Verbindung mit Ekrem Akurgal, Izmir;
William C. Brice, Manchester; Claude Brixhe, Nancy;
Stelis Davaras, Athen; Roberto Gusmano, Udine;
Assos Karageorghis, Nikosia; Anna Morpurgo
Havies, Oxford; Günter Neumann, Würzburg,

herausgegeben von Wolfgang Blümel, Köln

Sonderdruck

Nicht im Handel

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York
H. CRAIG MELCHERT

CARIAN MDOΩUN ‘WE HAVE ESTABLISHED’

The new Carian-Greek Bilingual of Kaunos has amply confirmed the essential validity of the interpretation of the Carian alphabet initiated by John Ray and elaborated by Ignacio-Javier Adiego and Diether Schürr. At the same time, it has also added credence to the view that we must be prepared to find regional variation in the use of the Carian script: note the likely value of sign 15 as τ, in Kaunos (see Frei - Marek 1997: 34, 46 f.). The immediate contributions of the new Bilingual to our understanding of the Carian language have been more modest, for several reasons. One factor is that the contents of the text are very different from those of the other Carian texts available to us (with the important exception of text 16 R-D from Kaunos). Another is that our knowledge of the language prior to discovery of the Bilingual was quite limited, in contrast with the situation in Lycian, where scholars were much better prepared to exploit fully the additional information furnished by the Lycian-Greek-Aramaic Trilingual of the Letoon. Beyond several very welcome confirmations, there is much in the new Bilingual that is suggestive, but relatively little that may be regarded as assured in terms of Carian grammar. These circumstances suggest an order of presentation proceeding from that which seems most certain through the probable to the more speculative.

I take as my starting point lines 2-9 of the Carian text:1 nik[ok]lan lusiklas[n] ot, onosn sb lus[ik]lan lusikrat,as[n] ot, onosn sar[n]{R] mdoΩun sb und[ol]. {R}kbdun{R} sb υο. {R}ot, {R}sb . . . The personal names and accompanying ethnicon are clearly in the (animate) accusative singular, and I conclude with Frei - Marek (1997: 37 and 48) that the accompanying words ending in -R (sign 16) are

---

1 For all aspects of the text itself I refer the reader globally to the magisterial editio princeps of Frei - Marek 1997.

Kadmos Bd. 37, S. 33–41
© WALTER DE GRYTER 1998
ISSN 0022-7498
animate accusative plural (note with them in particular kbdāmR, surely “Kaunian, of Kaunos”). As further confirmation of this analysis one may cite ot7R, identified by several scholars independently as the cognate of Lycian atrâ: “them(selves)” (acc. pl. atras8r), the equivalent in context of Greek kûronR. We need an operative verb expressing bestowal of the proxeniat- status, and I follow Frei – Marek (1997: 37 fl.) in seeing this in the form mdoQum (line 7). I assume that the word is complete as given, but one should note that the break at the end of line 6 makes this assumption less than absolutely assured. As to the form, I take sign 23 (Ω) with Ševoroškin (1994: 152) as indicating a transition sound next to a rounded vowel, thus approximately [w], hence [mdowun]. Uncertainties regarding the syntactic structure of the opening of the text prevent us from proceeding further with a strictly combinatorial analysis. Comparative evidence suggests three plausible formal interpretations, each with merits and difficulties.3

Frei – Marek (1997: 38) propose a preterite third plural, pointing out the comparable phraseology of the Lycian Letoon Trilingual. One may compare for the ending Luvian -aumta, attested e.g. in Cuneiform Luvian na-ak-ku-us-ta-a-ti-un-ta and i-ik-ku-na-a-ti-un-ta and Hieroglyphic Luvian wali-la-u-ta ‘they have died’, whatever the ultimate source of this ending may be (see for a mere suggestion Melchert 1994: 260 fl.). However, if(!) my comparison (Melchert 1993a: 78) of Carian wbt with Lycian ubete ‘has dedicated’ is correct, then Carian agrees with Lycian (and probably Luvian) in showing a preterite third singular ending derived from a preform *VtV. One would thus tend to expect likewise a preterite third plural ending from *VntV (seen certainly in Lycian -Vte and probably Luvian -Vnta).4 By the same syncope and apocope as in w-b-t, one would expect a preterite third plural in Carian to end in -Δ,5 or with denasalization perhaps merely -t.

While my analysis of ubt must continue to be regarded as provisional (cf. the alternate analysis of text 34* by Janda 1994: 176 ff.), the new reading of sign 15 as t2 at Kaunos has yielded a number of very suggestive preterite third person verb forms in text 16 R-D. I call special attention to the sequence qrdsoR ait2 in line 8. A word boundary after ait2 seems assured by the appearance of the word t(mali, which recurs later, while qrdsoR recalls the other forms in -R of the immediately preceding lines, all very likely to be animate accusative plural, like the corresponding forms in the Bilingual. I tentatively take qrdsoR as an adjective with the suffix -ol- matching Luvian -alla-, derived from the noun qrds that appears earlier in line 1 of 16 R-D.6 In any case, I believe there is a good chance that we have in 16 R-D line 8 a collocation ‘(they) have made _ian’, in which Carian ait, matches exactly Lycian aite ‘made’ (pret. 3rd pl.).7 If this is true, then it becomes difficult to justify mdoQum as a preterite third plural ending in -n.

A second plausible analysis of mdoQum in comparative terms is as an infinitive: cf. Palaic and Luvian infinitives in -una and probably Lycian -Vnela. A construction of the type of Greek êdoγε plus infinitive is unlikely for Anatolian, but both Hittite and Lycian show rare examples of an infinitive construed with a verb indicating approval or injunction. For Hittite one may compare KBo II 6 iii 32-33: mān=ma=-za DINGIR. MEŠ ŠA tISTAR-atti SISKUR mantaliya ITTI 4UTU=t BAL-uwanzi malān ḫarteni ‘If you gods have approved the m.-ritual of Šaûšattû to be performed with respect to His Majesty.’ For Lycian note TL 112,4: t(e) me=i; mārttu: tdl[i]ke kbi alade[h]x-[xane] *or (if) he orders someone to be laid out/buried in it’.9 Similar syntax is thus quite possible for our Carian text.

---

2 In support of this interpretation one may cite with Ševoroškin the fact that all occurrences thus far of this sign in the immediate environment of rounded vowels: δQum (line 11 of the new Bilingual), goQum (15 R-D), ...,puQos,fb (16 R-D line 5), ...,moQos (16 R-D line 9), all from Kaunos. Compare with the last example the sequence owobms of the Bilingual line 16.
4 It is immaterial for present purposes whether this ending ultimately reflects medial *-onto (Yoshida 1991: 36 ff. and 1993) or active *-elont plus a prop-vowel (Ichner 1975: 80).
5 I accept fully the arguments of Schûrt (1991–93: 169 fl.) that sign 31 (δ) corresponds in all clear cases to a sequence of nasal plus dental stop nd elsewhere, whatever the precise synchronic realization may be in Carian.
6 Whether this further matches Milyan kridis (TL 44 c 54) and is a place-name may be left open.
7 I was pleased to see from his handout for the Feusisberg Tagung that Professor Ševoroškin had arrived independently at a similar analysis of ait.
8 This particular Lycian example shows the Anatolianberg version of the Indo-European "double-dative" construction, in which the logical object of the infinitive is in the dative, but the synchronically expected accusative is also found throughout the Anatolian languages (as in the Hittite example), and we would expect it in Carian as well.
However, we would then need to find a main verb expressing ‘has/have decided/approved’ or the like in the opening lines of the text. The suggestion of Frei – Marek (1997: 29 f.) that this lies in the sequence (f. 1)uiomλn i�ποξινεις ṭ ruαl is at this point speculative. I do find it likely that τ δ is a post-position [νδ] matching either Lycian ετί ‘under’ or ἄτε ‘in(to)’. The phrase i�ποξινεις ṭ ruαl would thus mean ‘under in the ship of Hipposthenes’ and correspond to ἐπι δημοσφηνος Ἰπποσθένους (which is now attested in the newly found third fragment). If the reading of the fifth sign as ι is correct, then kbid is in all likelihood the genitive (plural) of the place-name corresponding to an unattested Lycian Υβιδηα. This would argue that uiomo is a noun, putatively nom.-acc. sg. neuter, meaning ‘decree’ or similar: ‘A decree of Kaunos, under the ship of Hipposthenes: we have/ed ...’. I certainly do not insist on this analysis. Present evidence permits a number of possibilities, including ruαl as a verb form (even perhaps medio-passive ‘it was decided/decree’d), on which mdoQun as an infinitive could depend. I do think that a preterite first plural should also be considered.

Whether mdoQun is taken as an infinitive or preterite first plural, there remains the separate issue of its lexical content. The context calls for a sense ‘establish, appoint, install (as)’. The stem is probably mda- α (with an ο in Kaunos as in ot-onoi ‘Athenian’). I suggest as a likely comparandum Hittite midā-α: ‘fix, fasten’, attested chiefly in asyndeton with its near synonym tarmā-α: (cf. English ‘cease and desist’): n=t tarmā-ς mittai-ς ‘nails and fastens down’ (a bloody sheepskin); tarmānun mittānun ‘I have nailed and fixed’ (the wrath, anger, etc. of the Storm-god). For the sense I now follow Oettinger (1979: 377) and especially Catsanicos (1986: 254 ff.). The attempt of Gültner and Hoffner (1986: 304) to derive the verb from mittai- ‘red’ via a sense ‘tie with red wool’ (approved by me in Melchert 1994: 50) is not plausible. Such a development is not impossible in principle (cf. English ‘to redline’ is ‘to disapprove’ < ‘draw a red line through’). However, this presupposes a privileged role for red wool in tying objects for magical purposes, while the texts show the possibility that the entire phraseology of the Carian may also be quite independent of the very formulaic Greek.

Any analysis of the opening sequence kbid(τ) uiomλn i�ποξινεις ṭ ruαl is at this point speculative. I do find it likely that τ δ is a post-position [νδ] matching either Lycian ετί ‘under’ or ἄτε ‘in(to)’. The phrase i�ποξινεις ṭ ruαl would thus mean ‘under in the ship of Hipposthenes’ and correspond to ἐπι δημοσφηνος Ἰπποσθένους (which is now attested in the newly found third fragment). If the reading of the fifth sign as ι is correct, then kbid is in all likelihood the genitive (plural) of the place-name corresponding to an unattested Lycian Υβιδηα. This would argue that uiomo is a noun, putatively nom.-acc. sg. neuter, meaning ‘decree’ or similar: ‘A decree of Kaunos, under the ship of Hipposthenes: we have/ed ...’. I certainly do not insist on this analysis. Present evidence permits a number of possibilities, including ruαl as a verb form (even perhaps medio-passive ‘it was decided/decree’d), on which mdoQun as an infinitive could depend. I do think that a preterite first plural should also be considered.

Whether mdoQun is taken as an infinitive or preterite first plural, there remains the separate issue of its lexical content. The context calls for a sense ‘establish, appoint, install (as)’. The stem is probably mda- α (with an ο in Kaunos as in ot-onoi ‘Athenian’). I suggest as a likely comparandum Hittite midā-α: ‘fix, fasten’, attested chiefly in asyndeton with its near synonym tarmā-α: (cf. English ‘cease and desist’): n=t tarmā-ς mittai-ς ‘nails and fastens down’ (a bloody sheepskin); tarmānun mittānun ‘I have nailed and fixed’ (the wrath, anger, etc. of the Storm-god). For the sense I now follow Oettinger (1979: 377) and especially Catsanicos (1986: 254 ff.). The attempt of Gültner and Hoffner (1986: 304) to derive the verb from mittai- ‘red’ via a sense ‘tie with red wool’ (approved by me in Melchert 1994: 50) is not plausible. Such a development is not impossible in principle (cf. English ‘to redline’ is ‘to disapprove’ < ‘draw a red line through’). However, this presupposes a privileged role for red wool in tying objects for magical purposes, while the texts show

---

9 The tentative reading with -n is based on the report of Professor Frei at the Feusisberg Tagung that further examination of the inscription suggests that the damaged fifth sign of line 1 should be read as sign 22 (see p. 2 of this volume).

10 Carian certainly would have had a range of suffixes available for forming ethnica: Luvian shows -zzæ and -iya besides -uuon(i): (the last matching the -in of kbidan-), and such a use of -ol = Luvian aili- would not surprise me. But if kbid. is to be ‘the Kaunians’, the subject of uiomln, then the fifth letter must contain the inflectional ending (a zero ending for the animate nominative plural is not credible in the face of Luvian -Vn, Milyan -Vz, Lycian -Vt, and Lydian -Vs, all reflecting -VVn [see Melchert 1991: 138 with note]).

11 The former idea is mine; the latter that of L. Hajnal (personal communication).

12 Carian uiomln may be equated in purely mechanical fashion with a Luvian *wayyanan, which could be taken as a substantivized adjective from the noun attested in CLuvian wayyanan- ‘cry, howl’ (of a wolf). Cf. Hittite uiyi- ‘to cry, wail’ (also of people). The attested meanings are not encouraging for a connection with the Carian, but the semantic development of ‘proclamation’ from Latin proclamatio ‘outcry, shout’ shows that the difference is not unbridgeable.
tying with white, blue and yellow/green wool as well as red.\textsuperscript{13} There is no evidence at all in some cases for wool being involved in the action expressed by *middâ(i)-*. The single passage where the verb takes SIG ‘wool’ as a determinative may be a conscious or unconscious play on SIG *mittâli- ‘red wool’, but this does not justify extending this connection to all instances of the verb. The virtually constant pairing with *tarmâ(i)- ‘nail (down)’ argues for the sense ‘fix, fasten’.\textsuperscript{14}

For the semantic development from ‘fix, fasten’ to ‘appoint, establish as’ compare the use of Italian *fissare* to mean ‘designate, incaricarne, scegliere una persona (da assumere al proprio servizio, da destinare a particolari uffici)’, e.g. ‘in ogni quartiere ... sarà fissato un medico, un cerusico, ed una levatrice’.\textsuperscript{15} A Carian *mdoQun ‘we have appointed, established as’ cognate with Hittite *middâ(i)-‘fix, fasten’ is thus quite in order.

My main purpose here has been to make a case for the connection of Carian *mdoQun with Hittite *middâ(i)-*, but there may be further cognates in Anatolian. If we assume that the secondary semantic development took place already in Proto-Anatolian, i.e., that it applied already to the noun *h₂-moito-soro, not only *‘fixing’ but also *‘appointing’*, then this nominal base may also be indirectly reflected in HLuvian *mi-ti(s)-, conventionally rendered as ‘servant’.\textsuperscript{16} This interpretation rests chiefly on KARATEPE I.6, where HLuvian EGO-nominal *A-za-ti-i-wal-ta-sa (DEUS) SOL-mi-sâ CAPUT-ti-i-sâ

(15) TONITRUS-LU-’na-ta-sa mi-ti-sa ‘I am Azatiwasadas, person of the Sun-god’,\textsuperscript{17} m. of the Storm-god’ is matched by Phoenecian *’nk *’ztdw h-brk-B ’bd B ’bd-B ‘I am A., whom Baal blesses, servant of Baal’. In view of the very approximative Phoenecian rendering of the first title, we can harbour some doubt about the precise equation of *mi-ti- and *’bd ‘servant’. The HLuvian word, used consistently with genitive of a divine or human name (*’beloved’ of X) certainly refers to someone in a subordinate position, but nothing shows that it is the word for an ordinary servant or slave. CLuvian *butarla- and Lycian *xdaça- (see Eichner 1983: 54 ff.) would in fact point to another word for the latter, while *mi-ti- could easily be ‘appointee, designee, representative’. The i-stem mi-ti- ‘appointee’ would stand in relation to *middâ- ‘appointing’ as Lycian *xítawata- ‘ruler’ to *xítawata- ‘rule, ruling’.

Finally, I recall also the problematic hapax Lycian verb *nmaite in the phrase *nmaite kumeziq ħkd-’ed a sacred votive offering’ in line 7 of the Letoon Trilingual. My own solution (Melchert 1993b: 45) of an “allegro-form” of *m-e’n-qitē ‘they made it’ is entirely ad hoc. Eichner (1983: 59–60\textsuperscript{11}) suggests either a perfect *mimaye < *mi-‘fasten, fix’ or a cognate of HLuvian *dama- ‘build’ with syncope of the first syllable and assimilation: *dama- > *dl-m(m)- > *nm. Neither of these derivations accounts for the attested inflection of Lycian *nma(i)-, which is most easily analyzed as a denominative stem in *-eb-yelo- (cf. Lycian *xtta(i)- ‘harm’ derived from a noun cognate with CLuvian *batta- ‘violence, harm’). I suggest that Eichner’s first connection with the PIE root *(b)mei-‘fix, fasten’ is correct, but the immediate preform of Lycian *nma(i)- is the same denominative verb stem that yields Hittite *middâ(i)- and Carian *mdoQun. I concede that this equation requires an unusual progressive assimilation in Lycian in both manner and place of articulation for which there is predictably no relevant corroborating or refuting evidence. This proposal must remain therefore mere speculation.

We have travelled a considerable distance from the text of the new Carian-Greek Bilingual. In the absence of a compelling interpretation based on combinatorial analysis alone, I believe it is legitimate to draw with due caution upon comparative evidence from

\textsuperscript{13} See for example KUB IX 31 iix 20–24, KBo IV 2 i 28 ff, V 1 i 14–15, or V 2 ii 19–22.

\textsuperscript{14} In rejecting Catsanos’ derivation of *middâ(i)- from a base *h₂-moito- ‘fixing, fastening’, I was influenced in part by my belief that a diphthong *a-o would lead to Hittite *e (see Melchert 1994: 149). Strictly speaking, however, we have no evidence for the Hittite result of pretonic *V (see the examples cited there). Since we have attested only the derived verb *middâ(i)-, where the accent was probably on the second syllable, one can easily construct a chronology by which *h₂-moito- > *mêdo- (‘lentition’ after accented long vowel) and later in the derived verb pretonic *ê > Hitt. i, a claim which cannot to my knowledge be affirmed or falsified. For the rest of the phonological developments see Catsanos (1986: 165 ff.). Another solution is to take the word as Luvian (or derived from a Luvian base noun), where an i-diphthong probably would yield i-vocalism under all conditions (Melchert 1994: 265). This idea may not be as ad hoc as it first appears – see immediately below.

\textsuperscript{15} See S. Battaglia, Grande Dizionario della Linguà Italiana 6.39.

\textsuperscript{16} For the reading mi-ti-ti-sa(i)- with i-vocalism instead of mi-ta-sa(i)- see Hawkins – Morpurgo Davies 1975: 131 f. For further evidence for the use of the sign usually read *ta as /di/ see Poetto (1992: 432) and Hawkins (1995: 115). If one assumes an a-stem in Luvian, then the word could represent a direct concretization of the noun *h₂-moito- ‘appointing’ > ‘the appointed, appointee’. Cf. Palaiq tātār- ‘curse’. For the correct analysis of (DEUS) SOL-mi-sa (‘tiwadamis’) as an adjective of appurtenance functioning as a genitive see Arbeitman (1980: 10 ff). There is no need, however, to assume that the form is the participle of an unattested verb. It may easily be a direct denominative adjective from the noun tiwad-s: cf. CLuvian *maššanānami- ‘priest’ < *(one) belonging to the god(s)’.
Carian's closest known relatives. Whether my particular application of this method has been successful only time and further investigation can determine.

References


Catranicos, J. 1986. À propos des adjectifs hitt. śu-hmili- et ved. sú-máya:- quelques remarques sur le traitement du groupe “V-HaC” à la jointure des composés. BSL 81, 121–180


Schürr, in press. Karisch “Mutter” und “Vater”. Sprache 38


ZU DEN MÜNZLEGENDEN VON KAUNOS

1. Allgemeines


Die Forschung im Bereich des Karischen steht heute unter besonderen Bedingungen: „The rapidity of current developments in Carian studies has created a situation in which several scholars are apt to arrive independently at similar analyses. While such a convergence of views is welcome, it does make it difficult to give proper credit for particular ideas“ (Melchert, Remarks 1993 p. 77 Anm. 1).

2. Der karische Name der Stadt Kaunos


Die Bestimmung von Xbid- als kaunischem Stadtnamen führt zu einem neuen Verständnis der Textpartie 44c.6–7 auf der lyk. beschrif-