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A new Sidetic vowel. Splitting a misread sign into two

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Abstract: This paper presents the decipherment of the new vocalic letter 𐤊, previously misidentified as sign no. 2 𐤌 *e* due to their great formal proximity. After an epigraphic revision of the available corpus, the letter 𐤊 shows a clear tendency to rather represent a *u*-value in examples that allow for a reliable interpretation. This new reading helps to better explain a new Sidetic graffito from Egypt, resolves old problems in some cases, and provides new identifications. Unfortunately, other examples remain obscure for now. The *u*-vocalism of this letter also challenges our current understanding of the Sidetic inventory of vowels and semivowels, particularly regarding the closest signs nos. 5 𐤍 and 6 𐤎. Their distribution is reviewed in general terms at the end, and a transcription is proposed for 𐤍 and 𐤊. In addition, this paper includes some important epigraphic revisions and an appendix with the Sidetic corpus revised according to the new reading proposals.

Keywords: Sidetic alphabet and language; Luwic languages.

Article note: The Sidetic inscriptions and signs are numbered according to Nollé (2001: 625–646); the Greek personal names are cited in accordance with the *LGPN*, the Lycian and Milyan in line with Melchert (2004), the Carian in line with Adiego (2007), and the Hittite in line with the *LNH*. I tentatively adopt the following transcriptions for signs nos. 15 𐤌 *s* and 24 𐤍 *b*, whose phonetic values remain very doubtful, whereas the value *k* for sign no. 23 𐤎, first proposed by Pérez Orozco (2003: 106–107), is now confirmed by Sid. *ekklešija*, a loanword from Gr. ἐκκλησία ‘assembly’ in a new, unpublished inscription (see Tekoğlu 2024: 503). Out of prudence, I preferred not to transcribe the uncertain signs nos. 9 𐤏, 18 𐤐, 22 𐤑, 25 𐤒, 26 𐤓, and 27 𐤔 (recently added by Tekoğlu 2024: 499), as well as the unnumbered signs 𐤔 and 𐤕, although a tentative value proposal is suggested for 𐤔 (see below, pp. 161–162). Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Ignasi-Xavier Adiego for his guidance and patience in preparing this paper, and for his many useful and insightful comments. This study owes much to him. Needless to say, any possible shortcomings are my own responsibility.

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1 Introduction

A new Sidetic graffito from Egypt, published in parallel by Phillips – Rutherford and Ferrer – Soler – Adiego in this journal, has posed serious problems in our current understanding of the Sidetic alphabet, while also providing decisive evidence for the decipherment presented in this paper. In light of this, I will take this graffito as the starting point of the discussion. The other concerned examples from the corpus will be addressed later, along with the subsequent linguistic implications for this alphabet and language.

According to the epigraphic analysis proposed by Ferrer – Soler – Adiego in this journal, the aforementioned graffito is most likely to be read as 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 , whose beginning, *poja-*, strongly resembles the already known Sidetic PN 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 *Pojaw* from the Name List Inscription (S9). While this connection can hardly be dismissed, the spelling 𐤒 instead of the anticipated sign no. 6 𐤒 *w* remains unexplained under the traditional interpretation of this character as a variant of sign no. 2 𐤒 *e*, since it would lead to an unsatisfactory equation *Pojae* $\neq$ *Pojaw*. However, as will be seen, the unexpected vowel *e* instead of *w* is, in fact, not an entirely new problem in Sidetic studies, nor does it constitute an insurmountable obstacle.

The letter 𐤒 is previously attested in Sidetic inscriptions S3, S9, S13, and S14.¹ In contrast to the common form 𐤒 for sign no. 2 *e*, the letter 𐤒 is distinguished by a further lower right stroke, forming a sort of tail. The rectangular *ductus* of this letter is particularly evident in the Lyrbe Stele (S13), where it is inscribed as 𐤒 . The Name List Inscription (S9) features a more rounded shape 𐤒 . The case of the Long Strategos Inscription (S3) is more complex. While, in some instances, it clearly displays 𐤒 , in others, the tail of this letter is less pronounced and takes the shape 𐤒 ,² then more closely resembling the abovementioned letter 𐤒 *e*. A similar situation can be observed in the new *tessera iudicis* (S14), where the following personal name contains both letters 𐤒 and 𐤒 , featuring a distinctive yet very close *ductus*:

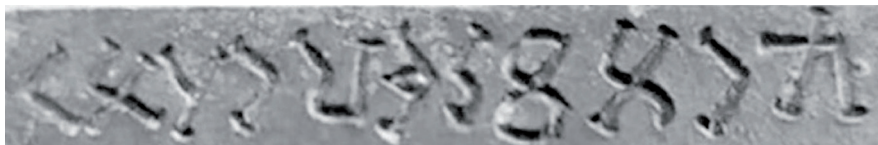


Fig. 1: Details of 𐤒 and 𐤒 in the Sidetic PN 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 (S14.1). Photograph cropped from Tekoğlu 2024: 508, Fig. 1

¹ For all the attested examples of 𐤒 in the Sidetic corpus, see below, Fig. 2.

² For the latter shape, see *Diun𐤒šijaš* (S3.2), *M𐤒wakaš* (S3.2) and *𐤓n𐤒barsakaša* (S3.3).

Given their great formal proximity, these letters have so far been treated interchangeably. Sign no. 2 *e* was first identified and deciphered by Darga (1967: 63–65), based on Sid. *anaθemataś* (S3.3, S4.4), a loanword from Gr. ἀνάθεμα ‘anything dedicated’. In fact, this sign had already occurred twice in the Artemon and Apollonios Bilinguals (S1–2), but it was misread by Bossert (1950: 8, 10) as signs nos. 3 *ʏ* in *deaθono* (S1.1) and 7 *✕* in *↑ue* (S2).³ Darga (1967: Res. 10, sign no. 24) therefore provided the new vocalic sign <e> to the Sidetic inventory, rendered in her table by the form *✕*.⁴ Shortly after, Neumann (1968: 90),⁵ Ševoroškin (1968) and Brixhe (1969a: 55, Fig. 1) correctly observed that, in some cases where Darga had read *✕*, a similar form *✕* was indeed attested. This formal correction, however, did not elicit any comments; instead, *✕* was simply added as a variant of sign no. 2 *e* in their respective sign lists. Initially, a few other scholars recorded both forms,⁶ but eventually, *✕* was no longer included in the Sidetic inventories,⁷ even though it continued to be depicted in some drawings of the inscriptions.⁸ To date, the standardised reading *e* has been adopted for all testimonies of both letters.

However, the new Sidetic graffito from Egypt seems to suggest a different approach to *✕* and *✕*. To this end, a comprehensive reassessment of the Sidetic corpus is evidently required.

³ For this reason, sign no. 2 *e* is absent from the tables of Bossert (1950: Lev. V, Abb. 11) and Brandenstein (1958: 90, Tafel 2). Surprisingly, in Brandenstein's column ‘Supp.’ (‘supponiert’ intermediate forms from Cypriot to Sidetic), the author conceived a form identical to *✕* for *ʏ* (his sign no. 5), but it is a mere coincidence. The readings as *e* in S1 and S2 were later corrected by Neumann (1968: 79–80).

⁴ Darga also recorded a very similar, but non-existent variant of *✕*, with intrusive upper strokes.

⁵ Neumann (1968: 83–84) properly distinguished both forms in his drawings of S3–4. By contrast, the form *✕* instead of *✕* recorded in his table for S1–2 is a mistake.

⁶ Korolev 1976: 54; Faucounau 1980: 654, Fig. 1; 1990: 170, Fig. 3; Eichner unpublished: 8.

⁷ Ševoroškin 1975: 165, Tabelle 1; Neumann 1978: 875, Abb. 3; Nollé 2001: 629; Adiego 2004: 312; 2018: 157, Table 7; Rizza 2005: 72, Table 2; 2019b: 260, Fig. 1; Pérez Orozco 2005: 80; 2007: 142, Cuadro 2; 2020: 147, Cuadro 1; Lebrun 2012: 357; Eichner 2013: 147; Kassian 2013: 177; Ch. Zinko 2016: 361, Abb. 2 (= Zinko – Zinko 2019: 422, Fig. 21.1); Bernard 2016: 61, Annex; 2021: 25, Tableau 14; M. Zinko 2020: 7, Tab. 1.

⁸ For S3, see Neumann 1968: 83; Eichner unpublished: 24 (= 1993: 127; 2013: 149); Faucounau 1990: 169, Fig. 2; Nollé 2001: 635 (adapted from Neumann's). For S9, see Nollé 2001: 643; however, Zinko (2016: 362, Abb. 3) apparently depicted all forms as *✕*. For S13, see Zinko – Zinko 2016: 379, Abb. 6, 380, Abb. 7 (= 2019: 428, Fig. 21.8, 429, Fig. 21.10); however, in their supplementary tables, *✕* was first recorded (2016: 379, Tafel 6, 380, Tafel 7), while it was later correctly revised as *✕* (2019: 428, Fig. 21.9, 429, Fig. 21.11).

2 Epigraphic revision of the Sidetic letters 𐤨 and 𐤩

In the following table, the letters 𐤨 and 𐤩 are critically distinguished for the first time based on epigraphic data. In addition, some important epigraphic revisions are included for inscription S13.⁹ Despite the close resemblance between the two letters, the attestations listed below have been securely identified unless otherwise indicated:¹⁰

𐤨		𐤩	
<i>anaθ𐤨mataś</i>	Gr. ἀνάθεμα	<i>Poja𐤩</i>	Sid. <i>Pojaw</i> ; Pamph. Παιάφας, Παιάηαι; Lyc. <i>Pajawa</i>
<i>𐤨wp𐤨ʔl</i>	Gr. Εὐέμπολος (Bil.) ¹¹	<i>Diun𐤩śijaś</i>	Gr. Διονύσιος
<i>T𐤨m𐤨n𐤨saś</i>	Gr. Τεμεριζεύς (Bil.) ¹²	<i>M𐤨wakaś</i>	Pamph. Μουακας; Luw. <i>mūwa-</i>
<i>𐤨𐤨m, -ś</i>	Sid. (-)𐤨𐤨m- ¹³	<i>Tbuatm𐤨wś</i>	Compound PN with Luw. <i>mūwa-</i>
<i>Uba↑𐤨𐤨m, -ś</i>	Sid. (-)𐤨𐤨m-	<i>Dark𐤨w</i>	Compound PN from * <i>dari-</i> + <i>kuwa-</i> (?)
[𐤨]𐤨mś	Sid. (-)𐤨𐤨m-	<i>Tob𐤨𐤨r𐤨mar</i>	cf. Gr. -(ζ)ρυμερις (?)

⁹ The readings have been checked against the photographs in Zinko – Zinko (2015: 10, Photo 15) and Zinko – Rizza – Zinko (2018: 9).

¹⁰ Unfortunately, the following attestations noted as ‘𐤨’ (elsewhere transcribed as ‘e’) do not allow reliable identification from an epigraphic point of view: *Kuar𐤨ʔ𐤨ʔ*[.]p S4.1; *𐤨wp𐤨ʔl* S6.1; *r[.]𐤨ʔ* S8.1; *r[]ri𐤨ʔ*[.] S8.2.

¹¹ For the reading of the second letter as sign no. 6 𐤨 w, see Ferrer forthcoming. The fourth sign is almost illegible; 𐤩 might also be considered, but there is no known example of a vowel adaptation of Gr. o by means of Sid. 𐤨 or 𐤩 to rely on.

¹² Ethnic name of an unknown place name; see Brixhe – Neumann 1988: 38; Eichner unpublished: 14, n. 27; Nollé 2001: 641. The cited form *T𐤨m𐤨n𐤨saś* seems to me the best option from a palaeographical point of view; for other possibilities, see Brixhe – Neumann 1988: 40; Nollé 2001: 640; Pérez Orozco 2003: 107.

¹³ The interpretation of this onomastic element is primarily hampered by the uncertain phonetic value of sign no. 26 𐤨. Pérez Orozco (2003: 107) first related Sid. (-)𐤨𐤨m- to some PNs ending in -ζημς (*LGP*N V5a-32250, V5c-27525–27533, V5c-37548), based on the proposed value z for the letter 𐤨. Building on this proposal, Melchert (*apud* Pérez Orozco 2007: 128–129; 2013: 47) suggested the identification with Luw. *azamma/i-* ‘favoured’; instead, Simon (2020d), without excluding Melchert’s proposal, formally argued in favour of a Luwian word **zemi-* of unknown meaning and origin. By contrast, Pérez Orozco (2020: 156, 162) now reads 𐤨 as δ, comparing these Sidetic personal names with the Greek PN Δᾱμος and its compounds; however, see the strong criticism by Simon (2021a: 381–383).

<i>jʰwasʰ</i> (bis)	Sid. ending -asʰ ¹⁴	°pʰbijasʰ°	cf. Lyc. <i>Pubiele</i> ; Gr. Πυβιάλης (?)
<i>abasʰ</i>	Sid. ending -asʰ	<i>Pbʰ8andbiʰm</i>	?
<i>masarasʰ</i>	Sid. ending -asʰ	°ʒnʰbarsakaša	?
°pʰbijasʰ°	Sid. ending -asʰ (?)	<i>Istorʰ'oʰr</i>	?
<i>Pbʰ8andbiʰm</i>	Compound PN with Luw. <i>piyama/i-</i> (?) ¹⁵		
<i>dʰ</i>	Luw. <i>anta</i> , <i>antan</i> ; Lyc. <i>ñte</i> (?) ¹⁶		
etc. ¹⁷			

Fig. 2: The distribution of the letters ʰ and ʰ¹⁸

As can be seen, the distribution of ʰ and ʰ in the Sidetic corpus is well-defined, with both letters co-occurring in the same inscription in S3, S9 and S14.

Regarding the letter ʰ, its value *e* is assured by Greek evidence in *anaθemataś* = Gr. ἀνάθημα, in the first vowel of *Ewpeʰl* = Gr. Εὐέμπολος (Bil.), and in *Temeneśaś* = Gr. Τεμεριεύς (Bil.). If the etymological connections are correct, Sid. ʰ *e* would also correspond to Luw. *a*, Lyc. *e* in (*Pbʰ8and*)-*biem* = Luw. *piyama/i-*, Lyc.

14 Of these, only *masarasʰ* has received a plausible etymological explanation, as a cognate of Sid. *masara* (S2), which Neumann (*apud* Friedrich 1957: 39) connected to Luw. *maššana/i-* ‘god’; however, see Schürr’s scepticism (2021: 125). For different interpretations of the ending -asʰ, reliably identified thanks to the parallelism *jʰwasʰ abasʰ... jʰwasʰ masarasʰ* in S3.1, see Ševoroškin 1975: 163; Eichner unpublished: 32, 37; Pérez Orozco 2007: 134, 138–139; 2020: 158, 159; Simon 2021a: 383; 2021c. For the uncertain segmentation of °pʰbijasʰ°, see below, p. 161.

15 Cf. Lycian -*bbijēme/i-*. While Tekoğlu’s interpretation (2024: 503–504) of the ending is compelling, see the full discussion of this name below, pp. 161–162.

16 Cf. also Hitt. *anda*, *andan*; Car. *den*; Lyd. *dān*. Part of the much-discussed sequence *dʰaθono* (S1.1), Adiego’s interpretation (2014: 245) of *dʰ* as a preposition is the most generally accepted; see also Pérez Orozco 2007: 136 (as an adverb); 2020: 155, 164; Rizza 2019a: 539–540; 2021: 584; Simon 2023.

17 The table includes only the examples of ʰ that are reliable and useful for establishing its value and distribution, as they suffice to distinguish it from ʰ. For all the attestations of ʰ, see next footnote.

18 The following epigraphic references are listed in order of appearance in the inscriptions: *dʰ* S1.1; *tuʰ* [S2]; *jʰwasʰ* S3.1 (bis); *abasʰ* S3.1; *ištratag-ʰjaś* S3.1; *masarasʰ* S3.1; *Darkʰw* S3.2; *Di-unʰšijaś* S3.2; *Mʰwakaś* S3.2; *ʰwś* S3.2; °pʰbijasʰ° S3.3; °ʒnʰbarsakaša S3.3; *anaθʰmataś* S3.3, S4.4; *ʰwpʰl* S6.1; *Tʰmʰnʰsaś* S6.2; *ʰʰm* S9.2; *ʰʰmś* S9.2; *Ubaʰʰʰm* S9.4; *Ubaʰʰʰmś* S9.4; *Pigśʰ[ś]* S9.5; *Tobʰʰʰmar* S9.6; [ʰ]ʰmś S9.8; *Istorʰ'oʰr* S13.1; *Tbuatmʰwś* S13.2; *Pbʰ8andbiʰm* S14.1; *ʰʰʰakotś* S14.2; *Tbiʰmʰśaś* S14.3; *Pojaʰ* Graffito. For other possible, but uncertain attestations, see above, p. 152, n. 10.

-*bbijēme/i-* and *de* = Luw. *anta*, Lyc. *ñte*. In addition, the Long Strategos Inscription (S3) and the Name List Inscription (S9) show consistent use of **✕** *e* in the repeated word *jewase*, in the onomastic element (-) **✕***em-* (both as a simple and compound name), and in the Sidetic ending *-ase*. This is a remarkable fact for the general discussion, as if **✕** and **✕** were mere variants of the same sign, one would rather expect a more arbitrary distribution.

Regarding the letter **✕**, the available corpus does not allow for such internal comparisons. However, the revised occurrences of this letter now become particularly interesting in that they show a pattern clearly distinct from **✕** *e*. Most of the examples, at least those that can be reliably interpreted, point instead to a *u*-value, which unequivocally leads to the deciphering of **✕** as a different Sidetic vowel (numbered here as sign no. 28).¹⁹ Accordingly, I provisionally transcribe **✕** as <u₂> from this point onwards – since <u> is traditionally assigned to sign no. 5 **Υ** –, while a definitive transcription will be proposed in § 4, taking into account all attestations of this letter within the Sidetic inventory of vowels and semivowels. The clearest evidence of this value comes from the new graffito from Egypt discussed above, as the spelling *Pojau₂* can be much better explained than †*Pojae* as a simple case of graphic alternation between **✕** *u₂* and **✕** *w*: PN *Pojau₂*/*Pojaw*. Furthermore, the new reading **✕** *u₂* finally resolves the problematic correspondence between Sid. *te* and Gr. *v/ov* in *Diunu₂šijaš* instead of †*Diunešijaš* for Gr. Διονύσιος, *Mu₂wakaš* instead of †*Mewakaš* for Pamph. Μουκάας, and, if it is to be related, *Tobš₂ru₂mar* instead of †*Tobš₂remar* for Gr. -(ῥ)ρυμερίς.²⁰ Finally, this decipherment also yields new etymological identifications. Among them, the most significant is the Sidetic PN *Tbuatmu₂wš*, which can be interpreted beyond doubt as a compound name with Luw. *mūwa-* ‘might, power’. Thus, the Sidetic language joins other Luwic dialects, such as Lycian and Carian, that document by direct evidence this well-known onomastic element as a second member.

In the following section, I will reanalyse each attestation of sign no. 28 **✕** *u₂* in greater detail based on this decipherment. Unfortunately, some examples remain unexplained, although I hope this provides an important clue for future approaches.

¹⁹ Since Tekoğlu (2024: 499) numbered the new sign **8** as 27, I provisionally assign the following number 28 to **✕** here.

²⁰ Brixhe (1977: 169–170) was the first to raise the question regarding the Sidetic adaptation of the Greek name Dionysius, yet he did not attempt any answer. Pérez Orozco initially explained Sid. <e> as a sort of *schwa* (2007: 130), later as a labialised vowel (2020, 152). Alternatively, Schürr (2016: 150) proposed that the Greek upsilon was replaced by <e> because Sidetic had no sign for <u> (he read **Υ** as *w*), but only a single back rounded vowel <o>.

3 Linguistic analysis of the new readings

Sign no. 28 𐤮 u_2 is attested with certainty in the following nine examples, along with one further possible case. They are presented from the most to the least reliable etymological interpretation.

Pojau₂ (Graffito). PN in nominative. Documented in a new Sidetic graffito, exceptionally discovered in Egypt (see Phillips – Rutherford and Ferrer – Soler – Adiego, this journal), the same name is spelled as *Pojaw* in the Name List Inscription (S9).²¹ Thus, the Sidetic PN *Pojaw*/*Pojau₂* constitutes a clear example of graphic alternation between 𐤮 w and 𐤮 u_2 , providing further confirmation of this decipherment. As noted by Pérez Orozco (2003: 105; *contra* Schürr 2016: 150), this personal name corresponds to the Pamphylian PN Παῖδας and, in genitive, Παῖδαν (LGPV 5b-47270–47271) and the Lycian PN *Pajawa* (TL 40a, b.1, c.1).²²

Diunu₂šijaš (S3.2). PN in genitive. First related to the Greek PN Διονύσιος by Ševoroškin (1975: 161), this identification was confirmed thanks to the definitive decipherment of sign no. 12 𐤮 d .²³ The following Pamphylian forms are attested for this name: Διφονούσις, Διφονούσεις, Διφονύσις, Διφονύσεις, Διφονύσις, Διφονύσις and Διφονύσις (LGPV 5b-45744–45768). The new reading u_2 finally resolves the unexpected vowel 𐤮 e for Gr. $υ/ου$ in the Sidetic adaptation. Regarding the third letter 𐤮 u , see the discussion below, § 4.

Mu₂wakaš (S3.2). PN in genitive. The form †*Mewakaš*, initially related to Luw. *mawa* ‘four’ by Pérez Orozco (2003: 105; 2007: 127, 130; followed by Simon 2021g), was later reinterpreted by the same author (2020: 152, 154, 163) as a derivation from Luw. *mūwa*- ‘might, power’. In both etymological proposals, Pérez Orozco provided the relevant comparison with the Pamphylian PN Μουακάς (LGPV 5b-

²¹ This name is documented up to four times in this inscription, as 𐤮𐤮𐤮𐤮 *Poyaw* in nominative (S9.3, 7) and as 𐤮𐤮𐤮𐤮𐤮 *Pojawš* in genitive (S9.5, 7). As noted by Zinko (2016: 367), the genitive form †*Pojawaš*, quoted several times by Pérez Orozco (2007: 134, 137, 140; 2020: 150, 165, 169), is a misreading; see already the correct reading in Nollé (2001: 643).

²² For the *o*-vocalism in Sidetic, see Pérez Orozco 2003: 105; 2007: 131; 2020: 153. The Pamphylian forms are attested on a stele from Aspendos (Brixhe 1976: 235–236, no. 66), while the Lycian is found on a sarcophagus from Xanthos (TL 40). Metri (1954: 105; followed by Zgusta 1964a: § 1190) was the first to identify these forms as the same name. Houwink ten Cate (1961: 10, n. 1) even suggested that the Lycian individual might, in fact, be of Pamphylian origin. Brixhe (1976: 235) and Schürr (2012: 32) also supported this hypothesis. This personal name has been explained as a Greek theophoric name related to Παῖων (cf. Mycenaean *Pa-ja-wo-ne* KN V 52.2), which, as pointed out by Brixhe (1976: 251) and Nollé (2001: 644), was indeed rather common in Side; see Dressler 1965: 184; Neumann 1967: 32; Brixhe 1976: 235; Schürr 2012: 32.

²³ This value was definitively assured by the correspondence between Sid. *šdi*†š and Gr. Σίδιδοϝ in the Euempolus Bilingual (S6); see Brixhe 1977: 174, n. 39; Darga 1983: 405–406.

47017), for which Brixhe (1988: 168–169) had already connected the beginning to *mūwa-*, while not finding a conclusive explanation for the ending. According to Brixhe, *-κας* might perhaps be interpreted as a hypocoristic form of a compound name with the second element abbreviated, such as the Greek PN Διογᾶς from Διογένης,²⁴ or as a suffix, such as the PN Ουακα (LGPN V5c-40756) in comparison with Ουα (LGPN V5c-40748), Ουαλις (LGPN V5c-40968–40972).²⁵ The revised beginning *mu₂w(a)-* confirms beyond doubt the Sidetic and Pamphylian connection with Luw. *mūwa-* ‘might, power’, rather than *mawa* ‘four’.²⁶ Regarding the ending, perhaps two possible segmentations can be considered: *Mu₂wa-kaś* or *Mu₂w-akaś*, in light of the following cognate Sidetic PN *Tbuatmu₂wś*.

Tbuatmu₂wś (S13.2). PN in genitive. Initially published as two personal names †*Tbiat Memś* (*Tbiat Mems* in their transcription) by Zinko – Zinko (2016: 380–381; 2019: 429–430),²⁷ Simon (2019: 384–386) reanalysed it convincingly as a compound name †*Tbiatmemś*, the patronymic of the graffito. Regarding †*tbiat-*, Zinko – Zinko (2016: 380; 2019: 429–430) drew comparisons with the Cilician PN Τβίου (in genitive; LGPN V5b-34568)²⁸ and the Sidetic PN *Kuarśat*[?] (S8.2). Building on this proposal, Simon (2019: 384, 386, n. 6; 2021a: 383; 2021i) suggested a more detailed analysis, interpreting this Sidetic onomastic element as a derivation from **dwiyo* ‘second *vel sim.*’ (based on Valério 2015: 343) plus a suffix *-at-*, attested in Carian, Lydian and Pisidian. As for †*-mem-*, Zinko – Zinko (2016: 380; 2019: 430) related it to the Pisidian PN Μεμμας (LGPN V5c-35314–35315) and the Lycian PN *Mēmruwi* (TL 39.2). Pérez Orozco (2020: 152, 163), based on a presumed labialised articulation of Sid. <e> (see above, p. 154, n. 20), compared it with the Pamphylian PN Μουμους (LGPN V5b-47027) and the Lykaonian PN Μωμας (LGPN V5c-38395). By contrast, Simon (2019: 386, n. 6; 2021f) preferred to regard it as a genuine Sidetic word. However, the alleged reading †*Tbiatmemś* does not seem to be supported by the available photographs. As observed by Schürr (2016: 149,

²⁴ For the widely attested Greek PN Διογᾶς, see LGPN V4-17188, V5a-1605, 13619, 46713–46716, V5b-4591–4595, 28590–28591, 37255, V5c-20691–20707.

²⁵ Cf. also the Lycian PNs Τερμακας (LGPN V5b-43388), Τερμεκας (LGPN V5b-43389) in comparison with the Lycian and Pisidian PNs Τερμιλας (LGPN V5b-43390, V5c-48914–48926), Τερμιλα (LGPN V5c-48913).

²⁶ For the presence of *mūwa-* in Anatolian onomastics, see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 166–169; Zgusta 1964b: 157–172; Melchert 2013: 33–34, 42–43, 44, 46. For Pamphylian Greek sources, see Brixhe 1976: 211, 279–280.

²⁷ Followed by Rizza 2019a: 546; 2021: 581–582; Pérez Orozco 2020: 162, 163, 165, 166.

²⁸ Rizza (2019a: 545–546; 2021: 581–582) agreed with this identification, although he suggested a fricative pronunciation of the labial.

n. 4), the third letter is undoubtedly Υu instead of Υi .²⁹ Furthermore, the eighth letter must be read as $\Re w$ instead of $\text{<} m$.³⁰ Finally, as drawn by Zinko – Zinko (2016: 380, Abb. 7; 2019: 429, Fig. 21.10),³¹ the seventh letter is clearly $\text{𐌶} u_2$ (‘e in their transcription). As a result, the Sidetic PN *Tbuatmu₂wś* is obtained, which can be interpreted beyond doubt as a compound name with a second element equivalent to Luw. *mūwa*- ‘might, power’, such as the Lycian PNs *Punamuwe* (TL 35.12), *Pertinamuwa* (TL 66.1) or the Carian PNs *Uksmu* (E.Me 2), *Wksmu*- (E.Me 36), *Kbdmu*- (C.My 1).³² Unfortunately, the first element *tbuat*- requires greater caution given the still problematic phonetic values of the second and third letters, 𐌶 and Υ (for the latter, see the discussion below, § 4).³³

Darku₂w (S3.2). PN in nominative. Pérez Orozco has put forward up to four etymological proposals for †*Darkew*: 1) a Greek name in -εύς, perhaps a hypocoristic from Δρακωντ- (Pérez Orozco 2007: 129); 2) a hypothetical compound name **Darikewa*-, related to the Anatolian PNs Δερμιοας (LGPN V5b-36953), Δερειμς (LGPN V5b-36952) and Κευας (LGPN V5c-29978), Κευης (LGPN V5c-29979) (Pérez Orozco 2007: 129); 3) the Greek PN Δορκεύς (LGPN V2-19952–19956, V3a-28712), though with no supporting evidence for a vowel adaptation of Gr. o by means of Sid. a (Pérez Orozco 2020: 161, n. 60); and, finally, his latest interpretation; 4) the Greek PN Δερκύλος (occurring twice in Side; LGPN V5b-45668–45669), though by means of a shift from final -l to -w (v in his transcription) with no parallels and challenged by the Sidetic PN *Ewpe²l*, corresponding to the Greek PN Εὐέμπολος (Bil.) in S6 (Pérez Orozco 2020: 152, 157, 161). The revised ending -*u₂w* instead of †-ew excludes the comparison with Gr. -εύς in proposals 1–3, while Pérez Orozco himself has already pointed out the formal problems with the PN Δερκύλος. Nevertheless, an alternative solution for *Darku₂w* can be surmised through a partial revision of Pérez Orozco’s second proposal as a compound name. Certainly, the first element *dar*- can be explained as a non-metaphonic, syncopated form from **dari*-, comparable to the aforementioned Lycian personal names.³⁴ Regarding the

²⁹ In fact, Simon (2019: 384; 2021i) admitted that this reading seems epigraphically more appropriate, although he tentatively dismissed it because, according to him, there were no parallels.

³⁰ The upper stroke can be clearly seen in the image from Zinko – Zinko 2015: 10, Photo 15. Compare also its rounded shape to the angular *ductus* of $\text{<} m$ in the same word.

³¹ However, in Zinko – Zinko’s supplementary tables, 𐌶 was first recorded (2016: 380, Tafel 7), while it was later correctly revised as 𐌶 (2019: 429, Fig. 21.11).

³² For relevant literature on *mūwa*- in Luwian and Pamphylian onomastics, see above, p. 156, n. 26.

³³ For the alleged initial consonant cluster *tb*- in Sidetic, see Rizza 2019a: 546; Tekoğlu 2024: 501–503.

³⁴ For the absence of metaphony, see below, pp. 158–160, the possible connection between the Sidetic PN *Tob²ru₂mar* and Cil. -ζρυμερις / NA -zu-ru-me-ri. For the syncope of -i-, cf. the Side-

second member *-ku₂w*, it could perfectly correspond to the well-attested onomastic element *kuwa-*,³⁵ based on the formal comparison with the Sidetic compound name *Tbuatmu₂wś* from Luw. *mūwa-*. In Pamphylia, this element is represented by the PNs Κουιας (LGPN V5b-46599),³⁶ Κουας (also in Pisidia and Cilicia; LGPN V5b-32908–32913, 46598, 46600–46603, V5c-31136), Κυαιος (LGPN V5b-46649–46652) and very likely, as suggested by Brixhe (1966: 655–657; 1976: 301–302), the compound name Ουφραγφεις (LGPN V5b-47244–47245).³⁷ It also occupies the second position in many compound names such as the Cilician PN Ουβρανγουας (LGPN V5b-33843) and the Pisidian PNs Μιλικουας (LGPN V5c-37374), Πιλλακοας (also in Lycia; LGPN V5b-42361, V5c-43887–43906), Ειλαγοας (LGPN V5c-22663). Therefore, there are good parallels of **dari-* as a first member and *kuwa-* as a second member in Anatolian onomastics that may support a hypothetical compound name **Dari-kuwa-*, from which the Sidetic PN *Darku₂w* could have derived.

Tobṣru₂mar (S9.6). PN in nominative. It has been interpreted as a compound name, but there is no consensus on its segmentation and meaning. The beginning is seriously hampered by the uncertain phonetic value of some letters, and no plausible explanation has been provided to date. As for the ending, Nollé (2001: 644) first compared *-mar* to some PNs in *-μαρας* such as Μαρας (LGPN V5b-33138–33140, V5c-34015), Ιαμαρας (LGPN V5b-39550–39556), Ουαμαρας (LGPN V5b-42032), Κενδημαρας (LGPN V5b-46468, V5c-29942–29943). By contrast, Pérez Orozco (2007: 128) related it to the Cilician PNs Ρωζρυμερις, Ρωνζρυμερις (LGPN V5b-34167), and, perhaps, the reconstructed form [Ρω]σδρυμαριος (LGPN V5b-34219),³⁸ whose first element plausibly contains the Luwian stag-god name *Krunti(ya)-/Runti(ya)-*, at least in the first two personal names (Houwink ten

tic PNs *Kuar*ṽeʹ[.p] (S4.1) and *Kuarśat*[ʹ] (S8.2), which Pérez Orozco (2003: 106; 2007: 127; 2020: 163) related to Luw. *kwari-*, such as the Cilician PN Κουαρμιοας (LGPN V5b-32907); however, cf. Simon's alternative proposal (2020b; 2020c).

35 For this element in Anatolian onomastics, see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 152–153; Zgusta 1964b: 36–44.

36 In this regard, note, at first sight, the very transparent correspondence between the endings of the Sidetic PNs *Darku₂w* and *Tbuatmu₂w-* and the Pamphylian PNs Κουιας and, for instance, Κουδραμιοιας (LGPN V5b-46605–46606).

37 As noted by Brixhe, the Pamphylian PN Ουφραγφεις did formally correspond to the Cilician PN Οβρανγουεις (LGPN V5b-33686–33687), which Houwink ten Cate (1961: 153, 163) already explained as a compound name of *uppara-* and *kuwa-*, while the intermediate nasal was secondary; however, cf. the doubts regarding the second element by Zgusta (1964b: 38).

38 Pérez Orozco's identification has been followed by Zinko (2016: 368) and Rizza (2021: 582), who provided other possible comparisons that, however, would be formally problematic according to the most likely segmentation mentioned immediately below). For the reading [Ρω]σδρυμαριος instead of [Ρωσ]δρυμαριος, see Adiego 2019: 150.

Cate 1961: 131). Initially, Pérez Orozco proposed segmenting the second element of these Cilician names as *-ρυμερ-/ρυμαρ-* and, based on their comparison, the Sidetic element as *†-remar*.³⁹ Zinko (2016: 368) provided a further argument for Pérez Orozco's segmentation by comparing the Sidetic form with *†-remr* in S13.1, as a possible syncopated variant of the same onomastic element *†-rem(a)r*.⁴⁰ However, Simon (2016a; 2019: 385–388; 2021h; 2021j), while accepting Zinko's comparison, argued against Pérez Orozco's identification with the Cilician names and, following Nollé's proposal, analysed these two Sidetic forms as *†-rem(a)r*, which, according to him, would instead be phonologically regular and have well-attested parallels.⁴¹ As noted by Simon, the second element of the Cilician personal names is indeed more likely to be segmented as *-ζρυμερ-*, according to Goetze's identification (1939: 9) of *Πωζρυμερις* and *Πωνζρυμερις* with the name *'Ku-ru₃-ni-zu-ru-me-ri* in a Neo-Assyrian tablet found in Tarsus (Cilicia), which Houwink ten Cate (1961: 135–136) and, more recently, Adiego (2019: 150, 156–157; tentatively including *-σδρυμαριος*)⁴² suggested interpreting as a derivation from the god name *Šarruma* (however, see the scepticism expressed by Zgusta 1964b: 34; Melchert 2013: 49; Simon 2019: 387). Pérez Orozco (2020: 156, 163–164), despite Simon's objections, upheld the Sidetic comparison with the Cilician names, revising his previous segmentation of the second element to *†-Ṛremar* and suggesting an affricate value similar to /dʒ/ for sign no. 25 Ṛ, transcribed by him as <c>. Shortly after, Simon (2021a: 379, 380–381) categorically refuted this proposal, as Pérez Orozco (2020: 169) was in turn neglecting the testimony of Ṛ in some coin legends where it alternates with Ṛ, reading them as a unified form *siduvaniz*.⁴³ Cer-

39 Pérez Orozco considered that ζ belonged to the first element in *Πωζρυμερις* and *Πωνζρυμερις*, while δ, as suggested to him by Melchert, was epenthetic in the case of *[Πω]σδρυμαριος*.

40 This comparison is given only in Zinko's commentary (2016: 368) on S9, not in Zinko – Zinko's publication (2016) of S13 from the same year. Zinko – Zinko (2019: 429) included it in their later commentary on S13. Simon (2016a; 2019: 385–388; 2021h; 2021j), Pérez Orozco (2020: 163) and Rizza (2021: 582) also followed this connection.

41 Simon proposed relating Sid. *-re-* to the Luwian appurtenance suffix *-alla/i-* (Lyc. *-(e)le/i-*, Car. *-eḷ* or *-oḷ*) or the Luwian adjective suffix *-ara/i-* (Lyc. *-(e)re/i-*), while Sid. *-m(a)r* could be connected to Anatolian words meaning 'law', such as the Carian compound names with *-μαρας*. On the other hand, Simon argued that the PN *[Πω]σδρυμαριος* should not be considered due to its uncertain reading and analysis.

42 According to Adiego (2019: 156), if *-σδρυμαριος* was to be compared, 'it would represent the older, non-metaphonic form of the name'. In this regard, see below, p. 160, n. 44.

43 Pérez Orozco's reading *-wa-* (*-va-* in his transcription) instead of *-aw-* is based on an alleged confusion by the engraver, who would have inverted the Sidetic letters Ṛ *a* and Ṛ *w* while working in negative. However, this hypothesis overlooks the large number of dies (the majority!) that record *-aw-* and it is, therefore, a reductionist and false explanation; see Atlan 1967: 70–87. Furthermore, Pérez Orozco's alternative proposal that the penultimate sign on coins (transcribed by him

tainly, note that if Pérez Orozco's readings $\mathfrak{T} n/\mathfrak{T} c$ were strictly applied, it would lead to an insurmountable doublet *siduvaniz/siduvaciz* (in his transcription). In conclusion, the ending of this Sidetic personal name has been interpreted based on a set of assumptions that are also problematic. Without attempting to address all these issues here, I would like to point out two relevant contributions from this paper. On the one hand, the new reading u_2 instead of $\mathfrak{te}$ reinforces the comparison between the Sidetic PN *Tob $\mathfrak{Z}$ $\mathfrak{ru}_2$ mar* and the aforementioned Cilician personal names from the Greek and Neo-Assyrian sources, regardless of their possible connection with the god name Šarruma.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the reading *m* in $\mathfrak{t}$ -remr (S13.1), which supported the former segmentation $\mathfrak{t}$ -remar, might be incorrect (see below the PN *Istoru $_2$ o $\mathfrak{r}$ r*, pp. 163–164). As a result, the preceding Sidetic signs could also be considered for this comparison in the event that the Cilician personal names were to be segmented as -ζρυμερ-. Of course, this will primarily depend on sign no. 25 $\mathfrak{Z}$, whose phonetic value remains uncertain and, therefore, such a hypothesis is not impossible for now.⁴⁵

$\mathfrak{o}pu_2bijase^\circ$ (S3.3). Uncertain segmentation and meaning. After the onomastic formula *Darku $_2$ w Diunu $_2$ šijaš Mu $_2$ wakaš iſtratag*, the Long Strategos Inscription (S3), written in *scriptio continua*, ends with a rather impenetrable sequence *ewša-*

as *n*, but without specifying any form) could actually be 's3 $\tilde{n}$ ' and should be read as *siduvañiz* remains, as Simon noted, 'mysterious', since 's3' corresponds to $\mathfrak{V}$ *i* in his table, $\tilde{n}$ is assigned to 's24' $\mathfrak{Z}$, and neither bears any resemblance to $\mathfrak{Z}$ or $\mathfrak{T}$; see Pérez Orozco 2020: 147–148, Cuadro 1. In this regard, the same author (2020: 169, n. 114) added that this sign on coins specifically resembled the way 's3' is written in S9, which is also obscure, as neither $\mathfrak{V}$ nor $\mathfrak{Z}$ displays a distinctive *ductus* in this inscription. Finally, it should be noted that Simon primarily referred to the coin legends I published in the same journal issue (see Ferrer 2020), which Pérez Orozco was thus not able to consult for his study.

⁴⁴ Note, however, that if the Sidetic form was to be related with Šarruma (and/or -σδρυμαριος), it would be a non-metaphonic form, although the uncertain phonetic value of the preceding letters prevents us from going further. For another possible non-metaphonic Sidetic example in a very similar phonetic context, see the PN *Darku $_2$ w* above, pp. 157–158.

⁴⁵ *Contra* Pérez Orozco (2020: 169; see above, pp. 159–160, n. 43) and Simon (2021k; see below, p. 162, n. 52), sign no. 25 $\mathfrak{Z}$ is securely documented in the following examples from the Sidetic corpus: $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{Z}nu_2barsakaša$ (S3.3), *Tob $\mathfrak{Z}$ $\mathfrak{ru}_2$ mar* (S9.6) and *si $\mathfrak{L}uaw\mathfrak{Z}iš$* (and variants; S10); for the non-transcription of $\mathfrak{L}$, see Ferrer 2023: 83–84. Leaving aside the impenetrable sequence $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{Z}nu_2barsakaša$ (see below, pp. 162–163), the only examples that may be useful are this personal name and the alleged ethnic coin legend, which is no less problematic. Since I am currently working on an update of the different variants of Sidetic coin legends, I leave the discussion of the letter $\mathfrak{Z}$ (and, consequently, its examples) for that occasion, as it would mean deviating too far from the main goal of this study.

kopu₂bijase *ʒnu₂barsakaša ak ošad anaθemataš* (S3.2–3), whose segmentation is only reliable at the end.⁴⁶ The proposed form *°pu₂bijase°* is based on: 1) the Sidetic ending *-ase*, attested in the same inscription by *jewase* (S3.1 [*bis*]), *abase* (S3.1) and *masarase* (S3.1), and, therefore, reasonably also expected here;⁴⁷ 2) if > is to be read as *b*, the potential comparison of *pu₂bija-* with the Lycian PN *Pubiele* (TL 1174–5) and the corresponding Greek PN Πυβιαλης (Bil.; LGPN V5b-42731). Regardless of whether a personal name is to be expected in this part, an etymological connection between these words seems formally plausible.

Pbu₂ʒandbiem (S14.1). PN in nominative. Documented in a *tessera iudicis* recently published by Tekoğlu (2024), this personal name resists interpretation for the most part, mainly due to the uncertain phonetic values of >, here tentatively transcribed as *b*, and the new sign no. 27 ʒ. However, Tekoğlu (2024: 503–504) drew attention to two possible, suggestive comparisons: 1) the sequence *-ndb-* with Gr. *-vδβ-*, as rendered, for instance, in the Cilician PN Πωνδβιης (LGPN V5b-34194–34200), a compound name consisting of the aforementioned Luwian stag-god name *Krunti(ya)-/Runti(ya)-* and Luw. *piya-* ‘to give’ (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 131, 177);⁴⁸ 2) the ending *-biem* with compound names with Luw. *piyamma/i-* ‘given by’, such as the Lycian PNs *Natrbbijēmi* (in accusative; N 320.4) or, from Greek sources, Ἀρμαδαπιμς (LGPN V5b-36153), Ἀρσαδαπεμς (LGPN V5b-36211–36212).⁴⁹ In addition, the new Sidetic letter ʒ was formally compared by Tekoğlu (2024: 503) to Lydian *f* and Cypriot *le*, although, as he acknowledged, it proves useless. Merely tentatively, I instead propose relating this sign to the Pamphy-

46 A very similar sequence *osad woškiji anaθemataš* (S4.3–4) also occurs at the end of the Short Strategos Inscription (S4), a sort of additional text inscribed on the same stone, to the left of S3. Regarding *ak* (S3.3), as suggested by Neumann (1968: 85), it should most likely be segmented to avoid two consecutive *a*, even though its meaning remains unclear; see Pérez Orozco’s interpretations as a verb (2003: 106; 2007: 132, 136, 138–139; followed by Lebrun 2012: 356; Kassian 2013: 176; Simon 2021b) or as a connector (2020: 164, 167–168).

47 Despite different approaches, there has been a consensus among scholars in identifying the ending *-ase* in this sequence as well; see Neumann 1968: 91; Ševoroškin 1975: 163, 164; Deyanov 1976: 329; Faucounau 1980: 648, 650; Eichner unpublished: 32–34; Nollé 2001: 635, 636; Zinko – Zinko 2019: 421; Pérez Orozco 2020: 159, 167–168; Simon 2021a: 383; 2021c.

48 Tekoğlu also provides the form Πωνδβίος, which, however, is not recorded in the LGPN.

49 For further examples of *piya-* and *piyamma/i-* in Anatolian onomastics, see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 175–177; Zgusta 1964b: 93–102; Adiego 2007: 339; Melchert 2013: 41–42, 45–46, 47. It is worth noting the spelling *-ie-* of this name, which is consistent with the Sidetic PN *Tbiemešaš* (S14.3) and, perhaps, the fragmentary sequence *r[]rie[.]* (S8.2), in contrast with the presence of the glide in *-ija-* and *-iji-*, as seen in *Diunušijaš* (S3.2), *Polonijaš* (S2), *Talamonija[s]* (S9.6), *°pu₂bijase°* (S3.3), *woškiji* (S4.3).

lian letter Σ ξ , which could indeed provide some parallels.⁵⁰ If so, the resulting sequence $-\xi and-$ could then be interpreted as a syncopated form equivalent to the first element of the Pamphylian PN $\Xiανδαροιζας$ (LGNP V5b-7134), also attested in Mysia in the PN $\Xiανδα$ (LGNP V5c-51769).⁵¹ However, note that, if we assume an analysis $*-\xi and(a)-biem$, the pre-component pbu_2- would demand a separate explanation. Tekoğlu (2024: 504) vaguely alluded to the Lycian PN *Pubiele*, which is, however, more reminiscent of the revised sequence $^o pu_2 bi jase^o$ (see above, pp. 160–161).

$^o \Sigma nu_2 barsaka\acute{s}a$ (S3.3). Unknown segmentation and meaning. Unlike $^o pu_2 bi jase^o$, the cited form is not a segmentation proposal, but rather the result of segmenting the previous sequence until the first reliable word boundary *ak* (see above, pp. 160–161). Therefore, further internal segmentations should be considered in this sequence. *Contra* Simon (2021k), the identification of the first letter as sign no. 25 Σ is unequivocal from an epigraphic point of view.⁵² However, this

⁵⁰ The value ξ has not previously been proposed to any Sidetic sign. For the Pamphylian letter Σ and its possible origin, see Brixhe 1976: 4–5.

⁵¹ Cf. also the Carian PN $K\acute{s}at\acute{y}br$ (E.Th 2), the Lycian PN $\Xiανδυβερης$ (LGNP V5b-41764–41765), and the Cilician PN $\Xiανδοβηρας$ (LGNP V5b-49003); see Adiego 2007: 375. However, see Valério's alternative proposal (2015: 336–337) to explain the Lycian and Cilician names as reduced variants of $*\text{Oυα}\xi\alpha\text{νδυβερης}$ and $*\text{Oυα}\xi\alpha\text{νδοβηρας}$, which would exclude the connection between the Greek and Carian forms. In this regard, see also the possible extended form $*waksanda-$ considered by Valério (ibid.: 336, n. 21) for the Pamphylian PN $\Xiανδαροιζας$; if so, a segmentation $-u_2 \xi and-$ could then be proposed for the Sidetic name under discussion. Aware of the highly problematic analysis of these names, I wonder whether, even if $-\deltaυβερης/-δοβηρας$ were the proper segmentation, the connection with the Pamphylian (and perhaps Sidetic) form could still be upheld, explaining them through haplology: $\Xiανδυβερης < * \Xiανδα-δυβερης$ and $\Xiανδοβηρας < * \Xiανδα-δοβηρας$, similarly to the Hittite PNs *Tiwatapara* $< *Tiwata-tapara$ (LNH 1348), *Pittapara* $< *Pitta-tapara$ (LNH 1030) (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 159). The same phenomenon could perhaps be expected for the Carian form, if related.

⁵² According to Simon, these letters are formally close, but ‘not identical, especially not regarding the uppermost stroke, which has a completely different angle’, though I totally disagree. On the other hand, Simon (2021a: 384, n. 45; 2021k) stated that Eichner (1993: 127) and Zinko – Zinko (2019: 421) instead read this letter as sign no. 26 Σ (generally transcribed as *z*). However, there may have been merely a misunderstanding in the transmission of the text among these latter scholars. Eichner noted in his unpublished (!) work (p. 7) that he used ‘*z*’ for Σ as a ‘placeholder’, without phonetic meaning, while he did not mention it in the transcription of this inscription in his other publications (1993: 127; 2013: 149). This unpublished work seems to have been concluded earlier, around 1990 according to the bibliographical references, and it may have served as the basis for his subsequent studies, which omitted that annotation. Therefore, it is most likely that Zinko – Zinko (2019: 421; see also Hajnal 2003: 202) merely retransmitted Eichner’s transcription ‘*z*’, albeit without reference to him (nor Hajnal), since this letter evidently cannot be sign no. 26 Σ .

sequence remains impenetrable for now, as no word recognition can be safely established, and the phonetic value of 𐤆 is uncertain.⁵³

Istoru₂’o³r (S13.1). PN in nominative. Zinko – Zinko (2016: 379–381; 2019: 429–430; followed by Pérez Orozco 2020: 162, 165) initially interpreted it as two personal names, either as two nominatives †*Isto Remr* or, according to their latest reading, as a nominative and a reconstructed genitive †*Isto Remr*[š] (*Isto Remr*[s] in their transcription). By contrast, Simon (2019: 384–386; cf. also Rizza 2021: 582, n. 20) reanalysed it convincingly, without emendation to the text, as a compound name †*Istoremr*, the idionym of the graffito. According to these authors, the beginning *isto-* corresponded to the Sidetic PN *Istoš* (in genitive; S9.2), while †*-remr* was a syncopated form from †*-remar*, documented in the abovementioned Sidetic PN †*Tob𐤆𐤌remar* (S9.6). Regarding Sid. *isto-*, several comparisons have been proposed, both of Greek and Anatolian origin: 1) the Greek PN Ἰστιάιος (occurring once in Side; *LGPV* V5b-46379) (Nollé 2001: 644); 2) the Greek PN Ἐστιάιος (Pérez Orozco 2007: 129); 3) a hypothetical Anatolian preform **Istuwa* (Pérez Orozco 2007: 129); and 4) the Pamphylian PN Σταος (*LGPV* V5b-47638) (Pérez Orozco 2020: 162).⁵⁴ In contrast, Simon (2021d) excluded the Greek origin for *isto-* based on his Anatolian interpretation of †*-rem(a)r* and regarded it as a Sidetic word of unknown meaning. As for Sid. †*-rem(a)r*, the proposed explanations have already been presented in the discussion of the Sidetic PN *Tob𐤆𐤌ru₂mar* (see above, pp. 158–160). However, as acknowledged by Zinko – Zinko (2016: 380; 2019: 429) and Rizza (2021: 582), the form †*-remr* is far from certain from an epigraphic point of view, as the stele’s surface has extensive damage, especially to this name. Their reading proposal is primarily based on the comparison with the alleged onomastic element †*-remar* in S9.6, which is now read as *°ru₂mar* and is more likely to be

⁵³ Perhaps the ending *°ša* can also be segmented, if it is to be related to *ša* in S3.1, which Ševoroškin (1975: 163–164) interpreted as a copulative conjunction, comparable to Lyc. *se*; see Fauconnau 1980: 648; Pérez Orozco 2007: 136, 138–139; 2020: 166, 167–168. The alternative segmentation proposal *†abaša*, primarily based on the comparison with the Luwian demonstrative pronoun *apa-*, is now impeded by the decipherment of sign no. 23 *P* as *k* instead of *†b* (see above, p. 149, article note); see Ševoroškin 1975: 160, 162, 164; Deyanov 1976: 329–330; Korolev 1976: 65; Neumann 1978: 874; Eichner unpublished: 28, 30–32; 1993: 127–128; 2013: 149–150; Hajnal 2003: 202. Conversely, Nollé (2001: 635, 636) and Simon (2016b) considered the segmentation of this sequence uncertain, which also seems to me the most prudent option for now. On the other hand, see the recent striking proposal by Pérez Orozco (2020: 164, 168) to identify in *°arsaka°* (*arzaka* in his transcription, due to a typo) the Parthian king Arsaces II.

⁵⁴ As stated by Simon (2021d), Zinko’s comparisons (2016: 366) with the Greek PN Στέφανος and the Pamphylian PN Ἰσθαρίας have no basis. For the possible prothetic *i* in this name, as is the case in *ištratag* (S3.1 [?], 2, S4.2–3), a loanword from Gr. στρατηγός ‘general’, see Pérez Orozco 2007: 134; 2020: 152.

timonies and cautiously pointing out some aspects that, in my opinion, may be relevant and insightful. Therefore, I will avoid a deeper etymological discussion here and will focus solely on their distribution.

𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇
a	e	i	o	u	u ₂	j	w

Fig. 3: Vowels and semivowels in the Sidetic alphabet

The following examples of 𐤄, 𐤇 and 𐤅 have been compiled from the Sidetic corpus (in order of appearance in the inscriptions). Sign no. 5 𐤄 u is attested in: 𐤏𐤕𐤁[S2; *Diunu₂šijaš* S3.2; *Kuar[?]e[?][.]*p S4.1; *Uba[?]woroš* S5.1, 2; *Kuaršat[?]* S8.2; *Uba[?]em* S9.4; *Uba[?]χarš* S9.4; *Uba[?]emš* S9.4; *si[?]uaw[?]iš*, *si[?]uawa[?][iš][?]* and variants S10; *Tbuatmu₂wš* S13.2. Sign no. 6 𐤇 w is attested in: *jewase* S3.1 (*bis*); *Darku₂w* S3.2; *Mu₂wakaš* S3.2; *ewš* S3.2; *woškiji* S4.3; *Uba[?]woroš* S5.1, 2; *Ewpe[?]l* S6.1; *Pojaw* S9.3, 7; *Pojawš* S9.5, 7; *si[?]uaw[?]iš*, *si[?]uawa[?][iš][?]*, *si[?]uaw[?][iš][?]* and variants S10; *Tbuatmu₂wš* S13.2. Sign no. 28 𐤅 u₂ is attested in: *Darku₂w* S3.2; *Diunu₂šijaš* S3.2; *Mu₂wakaš* S3.2; *°pu₂bijase°* S3.3; *°nu₂barsakaša* S3.3; *Tob[?]ru₂mar* S9.6; *Istoru₂°o[?]r* S13.1; *Tbuatmu₂wš* S13.2; *Pbu₂gandbiem* S14.1; *Pojau₂* Graffito.

The phonetic proximity between these three letters is inferred not only from the proposed etymological explanations but also from two examples of graphic alternation: 𐤄 u/𐤇 w in *si[?]uaw[?]/si[?]uaw[?]*-, and 𐤇 w/𐤅 u₂ in *Pojaw/Pojau₂*.

The letters 𐤅 u₂ and 𐤇 w are the ones that provide clearer examples for interpreting their phonetic values. The letter 𐤅 u₂ shows an eminently vocalic character (*Darku₂w*, *Diunu₂šijaš*, *Mu₂wakaš*, *°pu₂bijase°*, *°nu₂barsakaša*, *Tob[?]ru₂mar*, *Tbuatmu₂wš*, *Pbu₂gandbiem*, and, perhaps, *Istoru₂°o[?]r*),⁵⁷ with the sole exception of the case of graphic alternation in *Pojau₂*. By contrast, the letter 𐤇 w consistently functions as a semivowel, whether in initial position (*woškiji*), in intervocalic position (*jewase*, *Mu₂wakaš*, *si[?]uawa[?][iš][?]*), in diphthongs (*ewš*, *Ewpe[?]l*, *Pojaw*, *Pojawš*, *si[?]uaw[?]iš*, *si[?]uaw[?][iš][?]*, *Darku₂w*, *Tbuatmu₂wš*), and between consonant and o (*Uba[?]woroš*). Furthermore, it is very interesting to note the potential comparison between the spellings -𐤇𐤅- -u₂w- and -𐤅𐤄- -ij-, both in diphthongs, such as *Darku₂w* and *Polonij* (S2) or *Tbuatmu₂wš* and *Θanpijš* (S1.1, S8 [*bis*], S9.6),⁵⁸

57 If compared to *Uba[?]woroš* (also preceding o), perhaps *Istoru₂°o[?]r* indicates a more vocalic articulation.

58 This new comparison may provide further insight into the latter personal name. While the Sidetic PN *Θanpijš* appears to correspond to the Greek PN Αθηνοβίου – albeit almost illegible and, therefore, dubious (see Rizza 2019a: 537–539) – in the Artemon Bilingual (S1), the unexpected letter 𐤏 p has been explained in two alternative ways. According to some scholars, this Sidetic letter could occasionally also represent (but note the possible assignment of this value to sign no.

and as glides after <u₂>, <i> in hiatus, such as *Mu₂wakaś* and *Polonijaś* (S2). This seems to suggest that *ʒ* u₂ and *ʒ* w may be the counterparts of *ʒ* i and *ʒ* j in the Sidetic alphabet, and, therefore, that the letter *ʒ* actually represents the vowel /u/.

In contrast, the case of the letter *ʒ* u, generally considered the vowel /u/ in Sidetic (*contra* Schürr 2016; 2021: 125; who has instead argued for /w/), is rather more complex. Firstly, its attestation is highly limited in practice, as many examples of this letter are reduced to the same onomastic elements *Ubaʔ*- (*Ubaʔworoś*, *Ubaʔʒem*, *Ubaʔʒemś*, *Ubaʔʒarś*) and, probably, *Kuar*- (*Kuarʒeʔ*[.], *Kuarśat*[?], as well as the ethnic name *siʒua*- (*siʒuawʒiś*, *siʒuawaʒiś*) and variants). Secondly, the available examples do not offer enough clarity for establishing its role as a vowel or semivowel, but three groups can be distinguished to address this issue: 1) *Diunuśijaś*; 2) *Ubaʔ*-; and 3) *Kuar*-, *siʒua*-, *Tbuatmu₂wś* and *ʔue*[. On the one hand, the particular case of *Diunuśijaś* provides Greek evidence that *ʒ* may be the outcome of -f- after the syncope of -o- if compared to Pamph. Δίφο(ι)ν-,⁵⁹ although this does not help to reach a definitive conclusion.⁶⁰ On the other hand, while it seems to have a vocalic character in *Ubaʔ*-, it could function as either a vowel or a semivowel in *Kuar*-, *siʒua*-, *Tbuatmu₂wś* or *ʔue*[.

24 >); see Neumann 1988: 64; Pérez Orozco 2003: 107; 2007: 131–132; 2020: 154–155; Schmitt 2016: 302; Brixhe 2018: 165; Rizza 2019a: 544–547; 2021: 583–584. According to others, this personal name would in fact be a hybrid of Gr. Ἀθηνᾶ and Luw. *piya*- ‘to give’; see Eichner 1988: 49, n. 18; unpublished: 42; 2013: 149; Nollé 1993: 277; Zinko 2016: 369; Rizza 2019a: 542–543. However, I believe there are yet further arguments for the Anatolian interpretation. Without attempting to address the allomorphy of the Sidetic genitive as a whole (see especially Brixhe 1969b: 147–150; 2018: 165; Eichner 1988: 46, n. 7; unpublished: 36) or its morphological and phonetic details, I think it is no coincidence that, regarding the forms ending in -iś vs -ijaś, *ʔanpij-ś* is the only one that stands apart from the rest (furthermore, consistently in S1, S8, and S9), whereas the other forms clearly derive from Greek names in -ιος: *Polonij-aś* (S2) for Gr. Ἀπολλώνιος (Bil.), *Diunuśij-aś* (S3.2) for Gr. Διονύσιος, and *Talamonij-a[ś]* (S9.6) for Gr. Τελαμώνιος; cf. also *lj-aś* (S7). Accordingly, one would rather expect the genitive form **ʔanpijaś* if it were derived from Gr. Ἀθηνόβιος. Furthermore, this hypothesis is now also supported by the formal comparison between the genitive PNs *Tbuat-mu₂w-ś* and *ʔan-pij-ś*, whose spellings would be more consistent if explained as Sidetic reflections of the Luwian elements *mūwa*- and *piya*-.

⁵⁹ For the Pamphylian forms of this name, see above, p. 155.

⁶⁰ Regarding this case in particular, see the different positions taken by Schürr (2016: 150; 2021: 125) and Simon (2020a: 201; 2020c). With the exception of Schürr’s transcription as *diwn*-, the beginning of this name has generally been transcribed as *diun*-; see Ševoroškin 1975: 162; Deyanov 1976: 329; Orel 1989: 36; Eichner unpublished: 24; 1993: 127; 2013: 149; Neumann 1992: 58; Pérez Orozco 2003: 107; 2007: 138; 2020: 167; Hajnal 2003: 202; Kassian 2013: 175; Brixhe 2018: 167; Zinko – Zinko 2019: 420; Ferrer 2023: 87; 2024: 438; Simon 2020a: 201; 2020c; 2021a: 380, 382. More prudently, Neumann (1978: 880; 1984: 76), Nollé (1988: 62, n. 16; 2001: 635) and Rizza (2021: 582) did not transcribe it.

In fact, I believe that these last examples may not exclude the possibility that, in some contexts, Υ could be an avatar of $\text{z}w$ between consonant and a, e , with the sole exception of the case of graphic alternation in *si* Ω *waw* Υ $[i\acute{s}]$,⁶¹ whereas $\text{z}w$ would be used between consonant and o , as seen in *Uba* $\Uparrow$ *woroš*. Perhaps a similar phenomenon may have occurred in diphthongs following i instead of a, e, u_2 , as in *Diunu*₂ *šijaš*. However, this must be taken with the utmost caution, especially given the scarcity of the testimonies.

For these reasons, I propose transcribing sign no. 28 H by $\langle u \rangle$. Regarding sign no. 5 Υ , I adopt the provisory transcription $\langle y \rangle$,⁶² rather as a purely conventional one, until further research can better determine a more precise phonetic value. As for sign no. 6 z , the transcription $\langle w \rangle$ is kept.

5 Conclusions

In this paper, I have explored the problem posed by a new Sidetic graffito from Egypt against the traditional interpretation of H as a mere variant of sign no. 2 X e . After reviewing both forms in the Sidetic corpus, the compiled examples have clearly and consistently confirmed that H is actually a distinct letter with a u -value (numbered here as sign no. 28 and transcribed henceforth as u). This decipherment has not only clarified the interpretation of the graffito but also finally resolved the problematic reading te in some previous examples. Furthermore, it has provided new identifications, some of which are particularly important for reinforcing Sidetic's position within the Anatolian family. In contrast, the discovery of a new vowel u has required reconsidering other letters in the Sidetic alphabet, particularly the closest signs nos. 5 Υ (now provisionally transcribed as y) and 6 $\text{z}w$. Much further research is still needed on this issue.

To conclude, the Sidetic alphabet has once again stressed the caution required not only in the still ongoing decipherment of the phonetic values but also in the proper identification of the letters, a task particularly hindered by the highly cursive character of this script. The additional epigraphic revisions provided in this study and those still to be verified are evidence of this. For this reason, there is no need to emphasise the importance of autopsies or, if not possible, optimal epigraphic editions to work reliably with this alphabet and language.

⁶¹ This variant is documented in a single die (Atlan 1967: pl. IV, no. 86); therefore, this spelling would be rather exceptional. For a detailed discussion, see Ferrer 2020.

⁶² Note that Eichner (1988: 46, n. 7) used the transcription y^2 for the Sidetic adaptation of the Greek name Dionysius, albeit without any arguments, whereas in his later studies, he opted for u instead (see above, p. 166, n. 60).

6 Appendix: The Sidetic corpus with the new readings⁶³

Below, I revise the previously published Sidetic corpus according to the new value proposals for signs nos. 5 Υ *y* and 28 H *u*, as well as some epigraphic revisions presented in this paper. I exclude from this compilation the ‘Characters’ of Mnemon from Side (S11) and the *Scarabaeus* (S12) published by Nollé (1983) and Rizza (2005) respectively, since their attribution to the Sidetic corpus remains highly uncertain and, in any case, they do not provide any legible text. For the two new Sidetic graffiti from Egypt, the reader is referred to the editions by Phillips – Rutherford and Ferrer – Soler – Adiego published in this journal.

To avoid delving into the interpretation of these texts, I transcribe them in lowercase and in *scriptio continua* unless the words appear separated by spaces in the inscription.

S1. Artmon Bilingual

- 1 *deaθono artmon θanpijs*
2 *maljadaś*

S2. Apollonios Bilingual

- polonij por H orś polonijaś masara H ye[*

S3. Long Strategos Inscription

- 1 *jewaseabaseiśtratagejaśśajewasemasarase*
2 *darkuwdiynuśijaśmuwakaśiśtratagewśako*
3 *pubijase H ubarsakaśaakośadanaθemataś*

S4. Short Strategos Inscription

- 1 *kyar Y ?e H [.]pθami*
2 *Y orśθandorśiśtra*
3 *tagośadwoskiji*
4 *anaθemataś*

S5. Tessera iudicis 1

- 1 *artmonyba H woroś*
2 *yba H woroś*

⁶³ For an alternative numbering of the Sidetic inscriptions proposed by M. and Ch. Zinko and A. Rizza, based on typological criteria, see Zinko 2016: 372; Zinko – Zinko 2016: 373, Tafel 1; 2019: 418; Rizza 2021: 585–586, Fig. 2.

S6. Euempolos Bilingual

1 *ewpeʷlśdi↑ś*2 *temenesáś*

S7. Vessel Inscription

]jaśartmonś

S8. Heracles Relief Inscription

1 [θa]np[i]jśθanpijśr[.]eʷ

2 r[]rieʷ[.]kyarśatʷ

S9. Name List Inscription

1]r[

2 ʷemiśtośʷemśartmonś

3 pojawθandorśgariś

4 yba↑ʷemyba↑χarśyba↑ʷemś

5 θandorpojawśθandorśpigśe[ś]

6 tobʷʷumarθanpijśtalamonija[ś]

7 [p]ojawpojawśθandorśgariś

8 [ʷ]emś

S10. Coin Legends⁶⁴Ethnic legend: *si ʷyawʷiś*, *si ʷyawaʷ[iś]ʷ*, *si ʷwawʷ[iś]ʷ* and variants

Personal name (?): =]ʷgʷ/ʷʷ/kʷdokl

Monograms, single letters and letter combinations: ʷ, ↑, śʷ, ʷθʷ, etc.

S13. Lyrbe Stele

1 *iśtoruʷoʷr*2 *tbyatmuwś*

⁶⁴ As mentioned above (p. 160, n. 45), I am currently working on an update of this material. Therefore, I provisionally refer to Ferrer (2020) for the ethnic legends, to Ferrer (2023; 2024: 449–450) for the personal name, and to Atlan (1967: 166–168; 1968: 71–72) for the monograms, single letters and letter combinations. Regarding this last group, I prefer not to transcribe the Sidetic signs, as their interpretation remains uncertain. On the other hand, I transcribe ʷ as *k* in the personal name, as the definitive decipherment of sign no. 23 ʷ *k* (see above, p. 149, article note), in my opinion, strongly supports the hypothesis put forward in Ferrer (2023: 86–87) that both letters have a single origin and that this name derives from a Greek personal name ending in -δοκλῆς or similar. For the non-transcription of ʷ, see Ferrer 2023: 83–84.

- S14. *Tessera iudicis* 2
 1 *pbu&andbiem*
 2 *ʎe↑akotś*
 3 *tbiemeśaś*

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