

## THE PRONUNCIATION OF DELTA IN GREEK AND LYCIAN

The script which the Lycians used for writing their language was based largely on the Rhodian Greek alphabet,<sup>1</sup> and we can reasonably assume that the majority of Lycian symbols which are Greek in origin represented sounds approximating those of their Greek prototypes.<sup>2</sup> This is particularly evident in the bilingual texts, where a number of personal names appear in closely corresponding Greek and Lycian versions.<sup>3</sup>

One of the matters of special interest arising out of the name-equivalents is the way, or rather the ways, in which the Lycians represented the Greek symbol delta in their script. The Lycian equivalent of delta varies according to the position of the symbol in each word in which it occurs. We have examples of three such positions:

- (1) intervocalic Greek delta = Lycian *d* (e.g., Σιδάριος = Sideriya, TL 117. 2)<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Greek delta following nu = Lycian *t* following *ñ*<sup>5</sup> (e.g., Κοῦδορασις = Qñturaha, N 320. 10)<sup>6</sup>
- (3) Greek delta beginning a word = Lycian *ñt* (e.g., Ἀημοκλείδης = Ñtemuxlida, N 312. 4)

The equivalents above may well have implications for Greek as well as Lycian pronunciation, if we accept that in the name-equivalents the author of a bilingual text was not simply transcribing symbols from one language to the other, but trying to represent by symbols the same pronunciation in both languages. On this assumption, it is interesting to note that in transcribing the name Ἀημοκλείδης into their own language, the Lycians differentiated between the initial delta in the Greek name and the intervocalic delta: initial Greek delta = Lycian *ñt*, intervocalic Greek delta = Lycian *d*. Thus to Lycian ears, at least, the sounds represented by initial Greek delta and intervocalic Greek delta were clearly distinguishable.

Now if we assume that the initial Greek delta was pronounced as a voiced dental, then presumably we should attribute this value to Lycian *ñt* in the initial position—as, for example, in the Lycian name Ñturigaxa (TL 77. 2). In this case the *ñ* and the *t* in combination represent the voiced dental. Further confirmation

I would like to express my thanks to E. Coughanowr of Villanova University for her advice on references to the modern Greek language which are contained in this paper.

1. See Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leyden, 1965), p. 3, n. 4, and G. Neumann, "Lykisch," in *Alt kleinasiatische Sprachen*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1, Bd. 2 (Leyden, 1969), pp. 367, 371.

2. See Houwink ten Cate, *Luwian Population Groups*, pp. 101–6.

3. For a tabulation of the Lycian alphabet, see Neumann, "Lykisch," p. 374.

4. TL = *Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, ed. E. Kalinka (Vienna, 1901). The inscriptions were reedited by J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 52–90.

5. *ñ* is the conventional way of transcribing the Lycian nasal consonant *ñ*. In the epichoric inscriptions of the fifth–fourth centuries B.C. it is probably to be understood as a sonant version of N, although in most cases it appears to be virtually interchangeable with it.

6. N refers to the inscription numbers appearing in G. Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* (Vienna, 1979). A more complete text of the inscription N 312 is given by E. Laroche in *Fouilles de Xanthos*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1979), p. 78, n. 7, where the name Ñtemuxlida appears in full.

of this is provided by the Lycian rendering of the Persian name Δαρειός (as represented in Greek) in the form *Ñtariyeusehe* (gen. case) (TL 44 b 59). On the other hand, we see from the second example above that Lycian *ñt* within a word represents Greek *νδ*, so that in this case *ñ* and *t* are sounded separately, as nasal + voiced dental. It is interesting to compare the Lycian practice with modern Greek, where *ντ* is pronounced simply as a voiced dental at the beginning of a word (e.g., *ντελφίνι* = “dolphin,” *ντουλάπι* = “cupboard”), but as nasal + voiced dental within a word (e.g., *ἀντάμα* = “together,” *ἐντόσθα* = “entrails”).

We may be able to carry the parallel with modern Greek a little further. There are a number of words in modern Greek which begin with *ντ*, but these letters are pronounced as though they are in an intervocalic position—that is, *nd* instead of simply *d*; for example, *ντόπιος* = “native, indigenous,” *ντρέπομαι* = “be bashful, ashamed.” The explanation for this is that the initial *ν* stands for the prepositional prefix *εν-* ((*ἐ*)*ντόπιος*, (*ἐ*)*ντρέπομαι*), and the prefix, although losing its vocalic component, continues to be recognized in the *nd* pronunciation. I suggest that a similar situation may have existed in Lycian. A number of Lycian words incorporate the prepositional prefix *ñte* (Luwian *anda*)—for example, *ñte(pi)-ta-*, *ñta-ta-* (“place within”)—and it may well be that in these cases the prefix continued to be recognized in Lycian by pronouncing initial *ñt* in this case as *nd* and not simply as *d*.

Since in Lycian the voiced dental seems to have been represented by the combination *ñt*, we might then ask what sound the delta symbol represented in Lycian. To begin with, we might note that the symbol occurs most commonly within Lycian words in an intervocalic position (e.g., *lada* = “wife,” *tideimi* = “son”), but it also occurs quite frequently between a vowel and *r* (e.g., the personal name *Padrñma*). A further instance of the latter is provided by the Lycian version of the term “satrap,” which appears twice in the Lycian inscriptions in the form *χssadrapa* (TL 40 d 1 and 44 b 26). We may compare this with the Lycian verbal form *χssaθrapazate* (“he became satrap”), which occurs in the first line of the Lycian version of the Letoon trilingual and corresponds to *ξαδράπης ἐγένετο* in the Greek. The comparison may shed some light on the pronunciation of delta in Lycian.

The Greek symbol theta does not occur in the Lycian script, but scholars commonly use it in transcriptions to represent the native Lycian symbol *ϣ*, which had the sound of a dental aspirate. Accepting this convention, we note that in *χssaθrapazate* *θ* replaces *δ* in the Lycian rendering of the term “satrap.” This suggests that the two symbols represented sounds so similar that they could be interchanged, which may in turn indicate that *δ*, like *θ*, had an aspirate quality. The close connection between the two symbols is further indicated by forms such as *laθθi* and *teθθi*, which E. Laroche had plausibly explained as genitive forms arising out of *\*ladahi* and *\*tedehi*.<sup>7</sup> The former in particular is placed virtually beyond doubt by the context in which it occurs in TL 83. 13–15: *esedeñnewe:ebttehi:tibe laθθi ebttehi* (“the descendants/blood-relations of themselves or of their wives”). *Laθθi* < *\*ladhi* < *\*ladahi* (gen. case). In other words, the *dh* in Lycian is equivalent to *θθ*. How do

7. “Comparaison du louvite et du lycien,” *BSL* 55 (1960): 182, n. 2; id., *Fouilles de Xanthos*, 6: 14; cf. Neumann, “Lykisch,” p. 378.

we explain the equivalence? The doubling of  $\theta$  may have had the effect of intensifying the aspirate element contained in the single consonant. And presumably a similar effect resulted from combining  $d$  with the aspirate  $h$  (the Lycian symbol  $+$ ), which reinforced the already existing aspirate element in  $d$ .

Clearly all this has interesting implications for the pronunciation of delta in Greek. The Lycian transcription of the name  $\Delta\eta\mu\sigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  as  $\tilde{N}temuxlida$  reflects a clear distinction between the initial delta of the name and the intervocalic delta. The Lycians transcribed the former as  $\tilde{n}t$ , probably representing a simple voiced dental, and the latter as  $d$ , which may well have represented a voiced dental aspirate. It is arguable, then, that the sound represented by delta in Greek may have varied according to the position in which the symbol occurred within a word. While initial delta in Greek words was probably pronounced as a simple voiced dental, the intervocalic delta perhaps had the sound of a voiced dental aspirate. In modern Greek, delta is regularly pronounced in this way, and in the intervocalic position the pronunciation of delta in classical Greek may not have differed markedly from its pronunciation in the modern language.

T. R. BRYCE

*The University of New England*

#### NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE CIRCULATION OF THE TEXT OF VALERIUS FLACCUS?

Until recently, modern scholars had assumed that the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus remained unknown throughout the late Middle Ages. The humanist scholar Poggio is credited with putting into circulation a partial text of the poem (l. 1–4. 317) (S), discovered at St. Gall in the summer of 1416, which was supplemented thirteen years later by a fuller version (l. 1–8. 467) (L), transcribed by Niccoli from a now lost exemplar.<sup>1</sup> The opening paragraph to W. Summers' study reflects the tone which dominated scholarly understanding of the medieval circulation of this text throughout the early twentieth century:

Until Poggio's discovery in 1417 of a manuscript of Valerius Flaccus at St. Gall, the poet was a mere name to classical scholars and no more. Whilst Silius and his poem, which met with a fate in many respects so similar to that of Valerius, were from the first known to us from the writings of the younger Pliny, Martial and Sidonius Apollinaris, Quintilian is the only writer of antiquity who mentions our poet, *and not so much as the subject matter of his poem or even its nature was known until the appearance of this manuscript* (italics mine).<sup>2</sup>

B. L. Ullman's probing research on the twelfth-century *Florilegium Gallicum*, published in a series of articles in *Classical Philology* from 1928 to 1932,<sup>3</sup>

1. For a detailed discussion of the textual tradition of the *Argonautica*, see W. W. Ehlers, *Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der "Argonautika" des C. Valerius Flaccus*, Zetemata 52 (Munich, 1970), and E. Courtney, "*Argonauticon*" libri octo (Leipzig, 1970). M. D. Reeve's lucid article in *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 425–27, corrects some of the earlier errors of Courtney.

2. *A Study of the "Argonautica" of Valerius Flaccus* (Cambridge, 1894), p. 1.

3. "Tibullus in the Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *CP* 23 (1928): 128–74; "Valerius Flaccus in the Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *CP* 26 (1931): 21–30; and "Classical Authors in Certain Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *CP* 27