

VLADIMIR OREL

TWO DIALECTS IN NEW PHRYGIAN?

The New Phrygian corpus comprises more than a hundred inscriptions (most of them “standard” texts) coming from a considerable territory in modern Central Turkey. While significant progress has been made in their interpretation and analysis (see Brixhe – Lejeune 1984; Bajun – Orel 1988a, 1988b and 1991; Lubotsky 1989a and 1989b), not much interest has been displayed as far as the phonological and grammatical variations of New Phrygian are concerned, although there can be no doubt that such variations exist and that they are of great importance. It is sufficient to quote here a few attested variants of what may presumably be treated as *one* New Phrygian form of a noun ‘bad, evil’ in acc. sg. going back to Old Phrygian *kakon*: *κακουν*, *κακον*, *κακων*, *κακευν*, *κακυν*, *κακεν*, *κακε* (see Bayun – Orel 1988b: 158). It may be argued that in the above forms the writers were trying to express a certain phonological or phonetic reality, namely, to render in the auslaut a sequence consisting of a nasalized narrow back (or central, cf. *κακευν*?) vowel with a weak nasal consonant, a consonantal glide. In any case, whatever may be said about this hypothetical auslaut, two more factors should be taken into account, those of time and space.

As far as the chronology of the New Phrygian inscriptions is concerned, nothing definite can be stated in relation to their variable phonetics. After all, the period during which New Phrygian existed was too short to make meaningful observations. On the other hand, the territory in which the inscriptions were found is relatively large, and thus the hypothesis of New Phrygian territorial dialects should be, at least, checked. The present paper deals with the verification of this hypothesis.

Two types of observation may be needed in order to prove that there existed territorial dialects in New Phrygian. First, it is important to show that certain phonological, grammatical or lexical features of New Phrygian can be mapped, i.e. these features had definitely

shaped territorial boundaries on opposite sides of which two different types of linguistic events occur. Second, it is desirable (although, logically, not necessary) to show that different linguistic features take the same shape when mapped, i.e. that their distribution is the same and depended upon the dialectal structure of New Phrygian.

While basic phonological alternations of New Phrygian, such as the narrowing of the final *-on* > *-un* or the change of *-e-* into *-i-*, do not display any relevant correlation with the territorial distribution of inscriptions, we may indicate at least one feature that apparently is connected with territorial dialects of New Phrygian: the reflexes of **eti* in its position before the participle (see Lubotsky 1989a). While it is preserved in some inscriptions as $\epsilon\tau\iota$ -, it appears in other texts as $\tau\iota$ -. The distribution is indicated in Fig. 1¹. With the single exception of N-6 where the $\tau\iota$ -form is attested although it is located at point 9, the map reflects a regular distribution dividing the New Phrygian territory into two main areas.

Some other important features, mainly lexical, seem to reflect the same division of the New Phrygian territory between two basic “dialects”. An interesting case is represented by two variants of apodosis occurring in standard formulae: the type including $\delta\epsilon\omicron$ - and/or $\zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ - gods of heaven and earth, vs. the type based on $\alpha\tau\tau\iota$ - (whatever the latter may reflect, *Attis* or **ad tiy-*). Phonetic and orthographical variants of both types have been described in Bajun – Orel 1988b: 161. The distribution is shown in Fig. 2. The only unexpected case, at point 3, may be interpreted differently (if $\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$ - is treated as a phonetic variant of **eti-eti-*).

In the present stage of our knowledge, we are unable to determine whether the picture in Fig. 2 reflects a purely *linguistic* phenomenon of two New Phrygian dialects or, rather, a *cultural* difference represented in alternative religious formulae, or both, i.e. a combination of linguistic and cultural factors.

Despite a general correspondence between the two maps, some areas remain problematic and contradictory. For example, it is clear that the north of the New Phrygian territory is divided differently in Fig. 1 and in Fig. 2. Dialectologically speaking, a fuzzy boundary is something one should expect from an interdialectal line as a spatial reflection of a linguistic change. To make this boundary more precise, one should simply add some more evidence by mapping more

¹ Our material as well as the numbers of geographic points are based on the map in Haas 1966: 70.

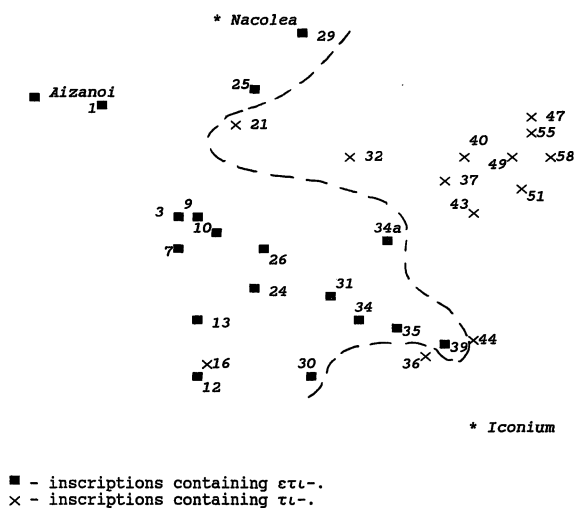


Fig. 1. τι-τετικμενο- vs. ετι-τετικμενο-

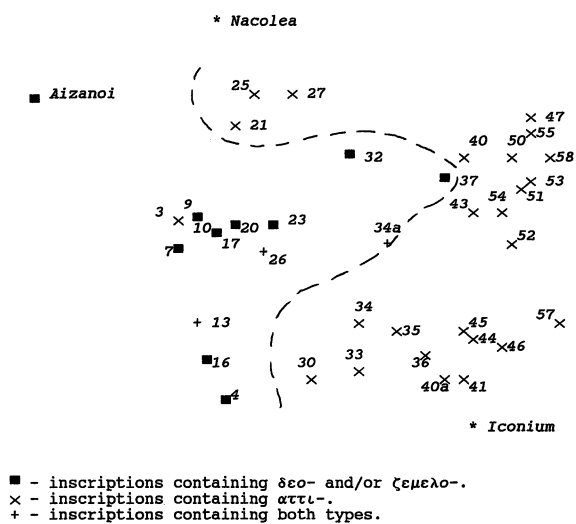


Fig. 2. δεο- and ζεμελο- vs. αττι-

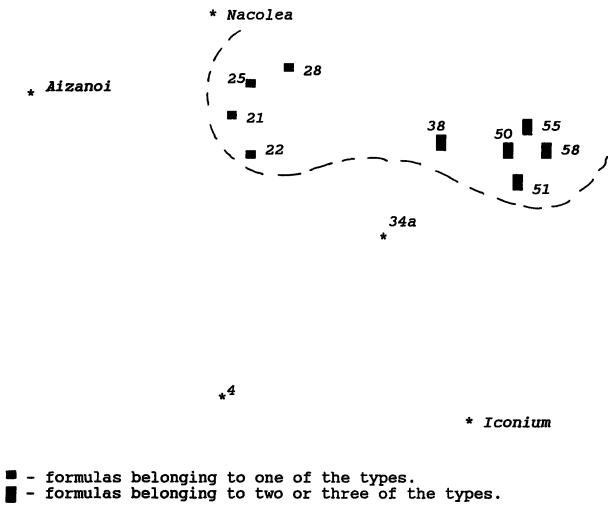


Fig. 3. Standard formulae with β εκo-, γεγαριτμενο- and γεγρειμενα-

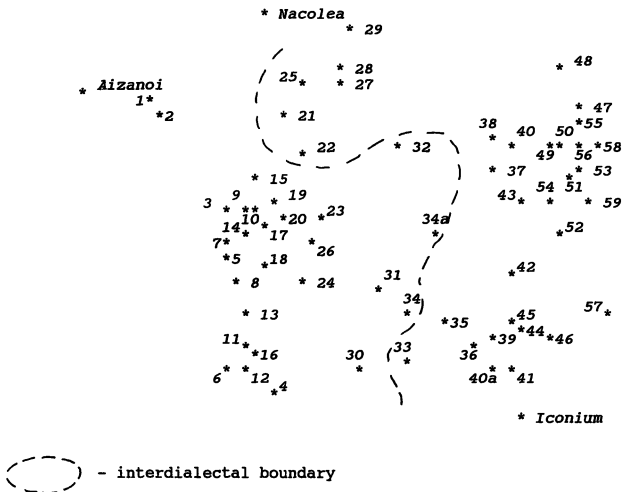


Fig. 4. Two Dialects in New Phrygian

linguistic features. In this particular case, I adduce the data mapped in Fig. 3: the distribution of formulae including βεχο-, γεγαριτμενο- and γεγεμενα- (see our description of these in Bajun – Orel 1988b: 162–164 and also Bajun – Orel 1990).

We arrive now at a more or less clear picture of two New Phrygian dialects: West New Phrygian and East New Phrygian (see Fig. 4). Compared to West New Phrygian, the Eastern dialect seems to be rich in innovations. It may be connected with the fact that it is attested in the territory where Old Phrygian was spoken, while West New Phrygian texts are found in the areas without previous Phrygian tradition, and thus formed a peripheral dialect naturally preserving archaisms.

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