

## HERODOTUS' FIRST LANGUAGE: THE STATE OF LANGUAGE IN HALICARNASSUS

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*This paper will basically examine the validity of a widely accepted assumption that Herodotus was by nature a speaker of Ionic, not having learned it in Samos. In the discussion we will have to take into consideration both written and oral communication. As a result, the scope of this paper encompasses not only research on Herodotus himself but aims to shed light on the state of language in Persian Anatolia as it was during his time, by focusing on the most celebrated Asian Greek.*

### **Introduction**

Herodotus is probably one of the most well known writers on the subject of foreign languages among classical Greeks, who were by and large indifferent about them<sup>1</sup>. His notorious observation that Persian names have a rule of ending with the same letter of the Doric *san* or the Ionic *sigma* (Hdt. 1.139), although incorrect, is indicative of his interest in other languages. He refers several times to interpreters working at the Persian court: a Persian-Lydia interpreter in Cyrus' interview with Croesus (Hdt. 1.86), a Persian-Greek interpreter in the Samian Syloson's meeting with Darius (Hdt. 3.140), a Greek-Indian interpreter's role in facilitating an exchange between Greeks and the Callatian Indians in presence of Darius (Hdt. 3.38), and moreover, Ichthyophagian spies who knew the Ethiopian language and were employed by Cambyses (Hdt. 3.19)<sup>2</sup>. What is more, he made an effort to translate non-Greek words into corresponding Greek ones. For instance, "the land of 'the Deserters' [in Ethiopia] is called *Asmach* (Ἀσμάχ), which means, in the Greek language, 'those who stand on the left hand of the king'" (Hdt. 2.30) and "the name of the spring and the place from which it flows is *Exampaios* (Ἐξαμπαῖος) in Scythian, and *Hirai hodoi* (Ἱραὶ ὁδοί, the 'Sacred Roads') in Greek" (Hdt. 4.52).

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<sup>1</sup> For Herodotus' attitude towards languages, see Harrison 1998; Munson 2005. As for his foreign language proficiency, most scholars are sceptical about it, but Mandell 1990 argues that he knew Aramaic. For the Greek attitude towards foreign languages, see e.g. Rotolo 1972.

<sup>2</sup> For Herodotus' interpreters, see Mosley 1971, 5; Harrison 1998.

It might be reasonable to assume that Herodotus' linguistic curiosity, although perhaps not deeply insightful<sup>3</sup>, can be traced to the fact that his birthplace was near the border of the Greek speaking and the non-Greek speaking (or *barbaros* in the Greek terminology) worlds. Herodotus himself acknowledges the influence that environment can have on linguistic ability; when he makes mention of a linguistic experiment undertaken by Psammetichus, he adds that the babysitting shepherd was banned from speaking to the infant subjects so as not to interfere with their linguistic development (Hdt. 2.2)<sup>4</sup>. On the contrary, though, as far as we can ascertain from his texts, his writing style is not 'broken' by a mixture of Greek and non-Greek, as we might suppose from his background. For instance, Photius, one of the greatest scholars of the Byzantine Empire, praises Herodotus, saying that his language is "the canon of the Ionic dialect (Ἰωνικῆς δὲ διαλέκτου κανὼν)" just as Thucydides is the model of Attic (Phot. *Bibl.* [60] 19b16-18)<sup>5</sup>. We can clearly see this without consulting Photius, as Herodotus' books are routinely held up in contemporary university courses as excellent examples of the Ionic dialect.

When and where then did he acquire such a 'perfect' Ionic dialect? According to the lexicon of *Suda* (s.v. Herodotus, *eta*,536 [ed. Adler]), Herodotus was originally from Halicarnassus, a Dorian city (at present, the date of his birth is calculated at the 480s)<sup>6</sup>, but was trained in the Ionic dialect in Samos after being expelled by Lygdamis, the tyrant of Halicarnassus. This is not entirely implausible, because Greek writers did not always prefer their native tongue to another more suitable dialect for their literary work; for instance, lyric poetry was traditionally written in Doric, and writers of melic poetry preferred Aeolic<sup>7</sup>. Additionally, doctors from Dorian cities, such as Hippocrates of Cos (and his pupils) and Ctesias of Cnidus, employed the Ionic dialect instead of their supposed native language, although their Ionic style is less accomplished than that of Herodotus (Bigwood 1986, 400-406; Tuplin 2004, 311). The Ionic dialect was

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<sup>3</sup> Harrison 1998 does not value Herodotus' curiosity about foreign languages highly, and maintains that he (Herodotus) also had little systematic knowledge of them, not unlike many Greek writers.

<sup>4</sup> The details of this experiment are quite intricate and some of them are actually abhorrent to modern sensibilities. Psammetichus desired to prove who the oldest people in the world were and ordered his men to investigate what language infants isolated from all cultural contact would first utter. This chapter reveals Herodotus' two presuppositions that the first language must have been spoken by the first men (Herodotus neglects the possibility of the existence of an older people who did not have language yet) and that a language can emerge naturally and spontaneously in human beings. For the story of Psammetichus, see Vannicelli 1997; Harrison 1998; Gera 2003; Munson 2005, 19-23.

<sup>5</sup> See also Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 45a15-19, in which Photius compares Ctesias' writing style and that of Herodotus and praises Herodotus' language as "the canon of the Ionic dialect".

<sup>6</sup> For his early biography, see e.g. Brown 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Mickey 1981, 36: "In the case of any particular genre, the dialect considered 'appropriate' was the dialect of the region in which it was first cultivated". See also Hainsworth 1967, 73-74; Hall 1995, 88; Morpurgo Davies 2002, 157-158.

considered to be appropriate for serious work in fields such as natural philosophy and medicine. The fact that Herodotus' *Histories*, which Rosalind Thomas has argued was a product of Ionian scientific and sophistic atmosphere, was written in the Ionic dialect, therefore, does not necessarily denote that it was his first language (Thomas 2000, 13-14). In addition, Herodotus' long sojourn to Samos is beyond doubt. He gives long accounts of Samian internal politics in the third book (Hdt. 3.39-49, 54-60, 120-125, 139-149), and his descriptions of the island in various books may reflect his sympathetic feelings towards Samos, especially the aristocratic group who are assumed to have received him as guest-friend<sup>8</sup>. During this period that he stayed at Samos as a young exile, he may have had opportunities to acquire various kinds of knowledge, including a language. However, a mid-fifth-century inscription discovered in Bodrum (the modern name of Halicarnassus), telling of a property dispute, was inscribed not only in the Ionic scripts but also in the Ionic dialect (*ML* 32: the 'Lygdamis inscription', named after the tyrant mentioned in)<sup>9</sup>. To resolve this contradiction, most scholars, by rejecting the tenth-century lexicon and trusting the contemporary inscription, suppose that Herodotus was a native Ionic speaker. John Marincola, for instance, has written, "the assertion that he [Herodotus] learned Ionic Greek there [in Samos] is patently absurd, since his own Dorian community of Halicarnassus used the Ionic dialect for its public inscriptions"<sup>10</sup>.

This paper will examine the validity of this contention, and will offer alternative interpretations where it is called into question. In the discussion we will have to take into consideration both written and oral communication. Given that we do not have any voice recordings from the time of Herodotus, such an examination might sound almost impossible, but we will pursue the most plausible conclusions based on the circumstantial evidence. As a result, the scope of this paper encompasses not only research on Herodotus himself but aims to shed light on the state of language in Persian Anatolia as it was during his time, by focusing on the most celebrated Asian Greek.

### **Ionic in Halicarnassus**

We must start our examination with a discussion of how a Dorian citizen could have been a native Ionic speaker. Herodotus states three times in his books that Halicarnassus is a Dorian city (Hdt. 1.144, 2.178 7.99), founded by colonists from Troezen (Hdt. 7.99). This genealogy was not Herodotus' idea alone, but

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<sup>8</sup> Mitchell 1975. See also Brown 1998, 12-14; Irwin 2009. Irwin stresses Herodotus' unstated intention to compare Polycratean Samos with Periclean Athens, rather than his simple biographical connection to the island.

<sup>9</sup> There are some other inscriptions found in Halicarnassus in addition to the 'Lygdamis inscription' but all of them were written in the Ionic dialect: see Jeffery 1990, 353. For the historical background of the 'Lygdamis inscription', see Virgilio 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Marincola 2003, ix-x. Cf. Legrand 1932, 11. Many scholars do not contest the information of the *Suda* directly but claim that the Halicarnassian language was 'pure' Ionic; see Mitchell 1975, 89 note 65; Meiggs/Lewis 1989, 72; Gould 1989, 8.

was shared by the Halicarnassians in the Hellenistic period<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, Herodotus explains the exclusiveness of Asian Greek cities. According to him (Hdt. 1.143-144), twelve Ionic cities and six Dorian cities in Asia Minor founded their own sanctuaries and did not allow any other cities to enter them. The six Dorian cities enjoyed a common athletic and religious festival in honour of Triopean Apollo (the sanctuary of Triopion was situated on the Cnidian peninsula: Th. 8.35). Winners of the games at the festival were awarded bronze tripods, which they were prohibited from taking out of the sanctuary. A Halicarnassian named Agasicles, however, violated the regulation and brought his trophy home with him and mounted it on his wall. The other five cities, due to his sacrilegious act, decided to expel him and his countrymen from their league. This incident possibly took place at some time after the second quarter of the sixth century<sup>12</sup>.

As mentioned above, the inscriptions found in Halicarnassus were written in the Ionic script and dialect. The habit of writing in the Ionic script was employed also by the Dorian neighbours of Halicarnassus, but Halicarnassus was unique in using the Ionic dialect as well as the script. From the anecdote above, we can surmise that Halicarnassus, open to her neighbours after the expulsion, saw her Dorian character diminish as the Ionic dialect was allowed to flow in. Lilian Jeffery suspects otherwise, though, and posits that the ejection from the league was not the cause but the result of Halicarnassus' acceptance of Ionic cultures; she goes on to say that a demographic shift caused this radical change of dialect<sup>13</sup>. Contrary to Jeffery's opinion, Jonathan Hall contends that the change of dialect was not necessarily connected with mass immigration. By examining the relation between Greek ethnicities (Dorians, Ionians, Aeolians etc.) and dialects, which are generally assumed to be the most important factor in defining ethnicities, he concludes that a language was but one among various obvious ways to identify ethnicities, and stresses the discursiveness and selectiveness of Greek ethnicities. "It is surely preferable", Hall insists, "to accept that Halicar-

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<sup>11</sup> This is attested to by a recently discovered inscription named the 'pride of Halicarnassus' (*SGO* 1.12.2), which must refer to the colonisation by Anthes or his descendants. Anthes was originally king of Troezen, but later he set sail for Asia Minor and founded Halicarnassus. The 'pride of Halicarnassus' was found in Salmacis, the western district of Bodrum in 1995, and is dated to around the mid or late second century BC: see Isager 1998, 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Halicarnassus joined the construction of the Hellenion in Naucratis (Egypt) with the Rhodian cities and Cnidus in the reign of Amasis (reg. 570-526) (Hdt. 2.178): cf. Bürchner 1912, 2256; Hiller von Gaertringen 1931, 757; Bresson 2000, 43. Bresson, insisting that her entry as a Dorian city is no more than Herodotus' claim, is slightly sceptical about this dating, but the fact that she participated jointly not with her Ionian neighbours but with the cities of the Dorian league could be evidence that Halicarnassus was still a member of the league at that time.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffery 1990, 353. How/Wells 1912, 121 also ascribed the cause of exclusion to the Carian and Ionian admixture at Halicarnassus. Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 175 is, however, more prudent, saying "in the 5th cent. it had a mixed Greek and Carian population, and the Ionian dialect and calendar were dominant. It is generally assumed that the city was excluded from the league for this reason, but actually the date of its expulsion is unknown".

nassus gradually came to adopt the dialect of her Ionian neighbours to the north without this having the slightest effect on her consciousness of remaining Dorian” (Hall 1995, 88. See also Hall 1997, 170). What can be safely said, at any rate, is that the Halicarnassians believed themselves to be Dorian in spite of not using a language common to other Dorian cities.

Now I would like to consider briefly the substance of ‘dialects’ or regional languages and the standard Greek ‘language’ which subsumed various dialects<sup>14</sup>. Greeks certainly had a vague concept of ‘dialect’ and the Greek ‘language’, as shown by Herodotus’ famous passage about the reason why the Athenians would never betray Greece (Hdt. 8.144), in which he implies the notion of a common language shared by all Greek speakers, and by Thucydides’ description of the Messenians as “speaking the Doric dialect (Δωριῶτα τε γλῶσσαν ἰέντας)” (Th. 3.112)<sup>15</sup>. But on the other hand, “the classification of the Greek dialects into Ionic, Attic, Doric and Aeolic ... may be”, Anna Morpurgo Davies argues, “first attested in the third century text”<sup>16</sup> and, in reality, it would be dangerous to assume the existence of a homogeneous sphere of each dialect in the fifth and fourth centuries<sup>17</sup>. Herodotus also remarks that several local languages were spoken among the Ionian cities on the Asian coast (Hdt. 1.142). “They do not speak a single language (γλῶσσα), but four. Miletus is the southernmost among them, and then Myus and Priene follow her. They live in Caria and communicate with each other in the same language. Next are those in Lydia: Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea. Among these cities, a common language is spoken, but it is different from the language used in the cities mentioned before. There are three other cities, two of which are situated on islands, namely Samos and Chios, and one which is built on the main land, Erythrae. The Chians and Erythraeans communicate in the same language, but the Samians employ a unique language”.

These divisions, unfortunately, cannot be substantiated by inscriptions (Stüber 1996). But at the same time, it should be remembered that a piece of writing, especially an official document, is not direct evidence of the way people speak; it cannot perfectly represent stress, pronunciation, and aspiration. A linguist, Kees Versteegh, examined various examples from western and Arabic, ancient and modern sources, and pointed out the danger of overrating the value of written texts as evidence; he goes on to assert “The written record reflects the histo-

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<sup>14</sup> For the unclear distinction between ‘dialect’ and ‘language’, see Morpurgo Davies 2002, 154-155; she emphasises that “the labels ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ are applied on the strength of factors that need not be exclusively or even primarily linguistic”.

<sup>15</sup> For instance, Thucydides equates Doric not with Ionic but with Chalcidian (Th. 6.5). This reveals the vagueness of his classification.

<sup>16</sup> Morpurgo Davies 2002, 162. The supposedly most ancient source is a fragment of Ps.-Dicaearchus (fr. 61), now attributed to Heraclides Creticus (ca. 250 BC) (*FHG* 2.263). Cf. Hainsworth 1967, 65.

<sup>17</sup> The number of dialects the Greek language should be classified into varies among scholars, who recognise as many as nineteen sub-dialects: see Hainsworth 1967, 62.

ry of the metalinguistic attitude (the development of the standard norm) rather than an actual linguistic change” (Versteegh 2002, 72). To reconcile both Herodotus’ observation and the epigraphic data, we must in fact acknowledge the divergence between spoken/everyday and written/official forms (and it would seem quite a natural distinction to make, as we ourselves consciously or unconsciously differentiate the two forms in daily life). The ‘Lygdamis inscription’ therefore reveals Halicarnassus’ attitude towards her official language, or ‘the language of socio-cultural prestige’ in Versteegh’s wording (Versteegh 2002, 74), but on the other hand does not necessarily represent Herodotus’ first language accurately, although it is still a very strong testimony in showing his acquisition of a certain form of Ionic before leaving for Samos.

Returning to the discussion of Herodotus’ description, what can be deduced from it? Herodotus alludes clearly to the boundary between Caria and Lydia as lying between the cities of the first category (Miletus, Myus, Priene) and those of the second category (Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea). Lydians and Carians kept using their own languages until the Hellenistic period. As shall be mentioned later, the Lydian language was a descendant of the Hittite language, and the Carian language was a member of the ‘Luwian’ language group, although both of them are the Indo-European Asian languages<sup>18</sup>. There is a possibility that variations in the Ionic dialect were influenced and formed by the difference between the Lydian and the Carian language spheres; a Carian inscription was, in fact, found in Didyma, a sanctuary in the territory of Miletus; on the other hand, most Lydian inscriptions were from the capital city of Sardis and from the valley of the Hermus river flowing close to Sardis, but a few have been discovered in Ephesus, the Cayster valley south to Smyrna, and Pergamum<sup>19</sup>.

### **Carian in Halicarnassus**

How often, then, were Herodotus and his contemporary Halicarnassians in contact with the epichoric language? There is no direct indication that Herodotus was familiar with the Carian language, although he referred to it three times in his *Histories*. Firstly, as he examines where the Carians came from, Herodotus calls attention to the exclusive cult of Carian Zeus; the Carians do not allow any non-Carian peoples other than Mysians and Lydians to join the cult, even those who speak the same language as they do (Hdt. 1.171). Although not a direct mention of the Carian language, this sentence suggests that it was used among those who were thought to be non-Carians.

The next reference appears in the very next chapter (Hdt. 1.172). In the context of a series of the Achaemenid general Harpagus’ conquests, Herodotus tells of the cultural habits of the people in Caunus, a city situated on the border between

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<sup>18</sup> Bryce 1986, 2-3; Keen 1998, 7-8; Dusinberre 2003, 113-114; Adiego 2007, 345-347.

<sup>19</sup> For the Carian inscription from Didyma, see Adiego 2007, 145; for Lydian inscriptions, see Dusinberre 2003, 114.

Caria and Lycia<sup>20</sup>. According to him, the Caunians have a lifestyle very different from any other tribes, especially the Carians, but have a language that has become similar to that of the Carians (or perhaps *vice versa*). Caunus was actually a city of Lycian culture in terms of burial customs; in Caunus and other Lycian locations, the same type of rock-cut ‘temple’ tombs (the term ‘temple’ tomb does not imply any specific kind of worship practice that took place there but merely the architectural style) are to be found today. Although these tombs have been dated to the fourth century by research done on pottery fragments, i.e. a century after Herodotus’ era (Bean 1971, 175; Keen 1998, 184-185), they could lend support to his statement that the Caunians were culturally distant from the Carians. From the linguistic viewpoint, on the contrary, Caunus was a city in the Carian language sphere and the fact that as many as nine Carian inscriptions have been found there accords with his opinion<sup>21</sup>. The subtle observation of the use of not the ‘same’ but a ‘similar’ language was possibly an implicit reference to linguistic elements not easily detectable in written form such as pronunciation or accent. The Caunians could be one of those peoples who spoke Carian but were not admitted to the cult of Carian Zeus. In any event, it would seem to be ill-advised to conclude that Herodotus did not have any special knowledge of Carian.

The other description of the Carian language is as follows. A certain Mys of Europus, probably the Carian city known as Euromus<sup>22</sup>, was sent by the Persian general Mardonius to consult various Greek oracles in the winter of 480/479. As soon as this Mys arrived at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos in Thebes, the prophet started to speak in a non-Greek language. While the three Theban companions charged with writing down the oracles’ statement were at a loss upon hearing a barbarian language instead of Greek, Mys snatched the writing tablet away from them and started to transcribe what he heard, insisting that the oracle was speaking in Carian (Hdt. 8.133-135). Herodotus however did not research the instructions of Mardonius nor referred to the substance of the oracle’ utterings, and we cannot guess how much knowledge he had of the Carian language from this episode. Louis Robert has postulated that the oracle did not actually speak in Carian, but Mys simply read what he was looking for into what was to him incomprehensible babbling, obstinately asserting that the oracle’s language was Carian<sup>23</sup>. More remarkable, as Robert has pointed out, is that Mys was at least bilingual (Carian and Greek) and, bearing his position as Mardonius’ envoy in mind, most plausibly trilingual (Carian, Greek, and Persian) (Robert 1950, 38). Thucydides also reports that the Persian satrap Thissaphernes sent Gaulites, a

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<sup>20</sup> For the border between Caria and Lycia, see Keen 1998, 17-18.

<sup>21</sup> For the Carian inscription excavated in Caunus, see Adiego 2007, 151-158.

<sup>22</sup> Robert 1950, 31-37 suggests that Europus is another spelling of Euromus, a city situated inland between Halicarnassus and Miletus.

<sup>23</sup> Robert 1950, 29-30. Daux 1957 disputes to Robert’s suggestion, insisting that Herodotus’ story has no contradiction or ambiguity.

bilingual Carian to Sparta as ambassador (Th. 8.85). Should we suppose that the Greek language skills of Mys and Gaulites were so exceptionally high that they were employed by the empire? Robert however emphasises the importance of Persian language skills rather than the bilingual ability of Greek and a local language for the interpreters working for the Persian Empire (Robert 1950, 38). In fact, Diodorus (or more precisely his original source, Ephorus' *Histories*) informs us that at the moment of Cimon's enterprise to Caria in the late 470s or early 460s (that is, exactly the age of Herodotus), some Carian inland cities were bilingual (διγλωττοι), most likely in Greek and Carian (11.60.4; cf. *FGrH* 70 F191).

Carian had been an undeciphered and enigmatic language until recently, and one which stimulates the interest of linguists to this day. It was in 2007 when a Spanish linguist, Ignacio Adiego, published his work *The Carian Language*. What language is Carian? According to Adiego, Carian belongs to the Indo-European family of Anatolian languages, which includes Hittite, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian, and so on, and more specifically, it is a branch of the so-called 'Luwian' group. This means that Carian has more in common with Lycian than with Lydian in terms of phonological and morphological features (Adiego 2007, 345). Among approximately 200 Carian documents which have so far been published, surprisingly, only 15 percent were discovered in the Carian homeland. The other 170 are from Egypt (fifty new and still unedited inscriptions will be added to them in the future), and two are from the Greek mainland, namely from Athens and Thessaloniki (Adiego 2007, 17, 30). The reason that such an abundant number of inscriptions have been found in Egypt is that a huge Carian community existed there, Herodotus relates (Hdt. 2.152-154). Psammetichus I (reg. 664-610), in a bid to usurp power from the other eleven co-regent kings and establish his own reign, employed Ionian and Carian pirates who had been forced to put in on the Egyptian coast and, after seizing the throne, he gave them land in the Delta area. Afterwards King Amasis (reg. 570-526), who respected and employed them as personal bodyguards, moved the Ionian and Carian settlements from the Delta to the city of Memphis (Hdt. 2.154), where there were a Carian quarter and a Greek quarter (Steph.Byz. s.v. Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Καρικόν). These Carian immigrants, perhaps influenced by their Ionian colleagues<sup>24</sup>, left a great number of inscriptions. For this reason, while the Carian graffiti is found in various places throughout Egypt, probably as a result of military expeditions, no votive or funeral inscriptions come from sites other than Sais and Memphis (Adiego 2007, 30). The Carian inscriptions from Asia Minor, on the contrary, are more evenly distributed but much less numerous (Adiego 2007, 2). The definitive solution for the decipherment of Carian was in fact achieved by studying Carian-hieroglyphic bilingual inscriptions<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Boardman 1990, 134-137: some monuments to the Carian dead were probably "the work of a local, Greek-trained artist who had already been much affected by Egyptian forms and techniques".

<sup>25</sup> For more details on the history of the decipherment, see Adiego 2007, 166-204.



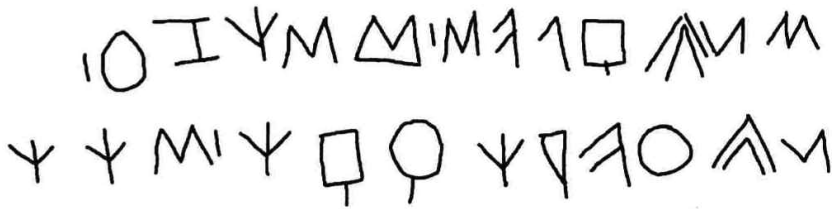


Fig. 1. *CL C.Ha 1*. The inscription runs from right to left and reads as follows:  
 smðýbrs | psnλo |  
 mλ orkn týn | snn  
 “Smðýbrs gave this bowl to Psnλo” (after Adiego 2007, 144).

A single Carian inscription is reported to be from Halicarnassus; it is a series of letters engraved on a bronze *phiale* dated to ca. 500<sup>26</sup>. The sentence is probably to be translated as “Smðýbrs gave this bowl to Psnλo” (*CL C.Ha 1*) (Fig. 1)<sup>27</sup>. What is inscribed is quite simple, but this is an important piece of evidence that shows that the Carian language was not yet extinct in fifth- and fourth-century Halicarnassus. Given the easy portability of a *phiale*, it is true that we cannot exclude the possibility that this *phiale* was made somewhere else and brought to Halicarnassus. What is more, this *phiale* has no archaeological context except for the dealer’s claim that it was from Bodrum. A most tempting interpretation is, of course, to assume the common use of Carian in Halicarnassus, but we would need more supportive evidence in order to make a stronger case for that. There are two more inscriptions indicating that the Halicarnassians used Carian. One is an epitaph written on a ‘false-door’ stela in Memphis (*CL E.Me 45*) (Fig. 2). This inscription most likely dates to some time after King Amasis moved the Carian settlement from the Delta to Memphis, supposedly in a later period of his reign when the fear of Persia intensified<sup>28</sup>. It reads, “[Q]lalis, son of [?]jams, *alos karnos*”<sup>29</sup>. The last two words, ‘*alos karnos*’, seem likely to represent the origin of the deceased such as his hometown or clan. Adiego identified ‘*alos karnos*’ with Halicarnassus on the basis of their phonic similarity (Adiego 2007, 351). The activities of Halicarnassians in Egypt are attested to in Herodotus’ narrative as well. When the Persian king Cambyses was preparing to attack Egypt but had

<sup>26</sup> For the dating and the circumstances of discovery, see Jucker/Meier 1978.

<sup>27</sup> There are various possible interpretations of ‘psnλo’: see Adiego 2007, 283-284.

<sup>28</sup> According to Cook 1937, 236, Amasis shifted his policy from an anti-Greek sentiment to philhellenism as the fear of the Persian invasion intensified, and the recall of the mercenaries as his bodyguards likely belongs to the latter stage of this policy.

<sup>29</sup> The left edge of the stela is broken away and the first letters of two personal names are missing. Qlalis’ first ‘q’ is supplied on conjecture based on its inclusion in the name as it appears in *CL E.Me 37*: see Adiego 2007, 68.

not yet instigated the assault, a man called Phanes came to Persia via Asia Minor. Phanes was a highly regarded soldier among the Egyptian mercenary troops, but was feeling himself ill treated for some reason by Amasis. He then fled from Egypt to Lycia to give what proved to be useful advice to Cambyses, who successfully conquered Egypt thanks to it (Hdt. 3.4). What should be noted here is Herodotus' statement that Phanes was "a Halicarnassian by birth (γένος μὲν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς)". This passage hints that the mercenary community in Egypt kept accepting newcomers after it was settled in the middle of the seventh century, or at least that even children or grandchildren of immigrants were still identified by the birthplace of their forebears. Not only foreigners who were military minded, but merchants also came to settle in Egypt in the reign of Amasis. This 'philhellene' King concentrated Greeks in Naucratis and granted them land to build altars and sanctuaries to their gods<sup>30</sup>. According to Herodotus, the Halicarnassians also involved themselves in this venture and joined in the erection of the most important sanctuary, called the Hellenion (Hdt. 2.178)<sup>31</sup>. Is it possible to suppose any connection between the mercenary colony in Memphis and the prosperous trading station in Naucratis? At any rate, we should not consider the Carian homeland and the Egyptian colonies to be entirely separated, but can assume a connection. Herodotus indeed reveals that Greeks obtained reliable information about contemporary Egypt from the mercenaries (Hdt. 2.154)<sup>32</sup>.

The other artefact that we will consider is a bronze *dinos*, on the rim of which characters from the Carian alphabet were engraved. Unfortunately its exact provenance is unknown, although it is assumed to be from Caria (Adiego 2007, 159). The precise dating is also not certain, but I tentatively deduce that it belongs to just a generation previous to Herodotus, given Meier-Brügger's speculation that this bronze *dinos*, the bronze *phiale* of CL C.Ha 1 (dated to ca. 500), another bronze *phiale* (of unknown provenance, dated roughly to the sixth century: CL C.xx 1), and moreover an animal-shaped cult object of bronze (of unknown provenance, dated roughly to the sixth century: CL C.xx 3) were originally an assemblage, but were stolen at the same time from a certain Carian location and were introduced into the European antiquities trade in recent years<sup>33</sup>. The inscription discussed here can be interpreted as "Ύσβικς brought it to Jzpe, *alosδ karnosδ*" (CL C.xx 2) (Fig. 3). The enigmatic phrase, '*alosδ*

<sup>30</sup> Herodotus describes Amasis as a philhellene, but actually he was between the anti-Greek movement and philhellenism: see Cook 1937.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus seems to ascribe the foundation of Naucratis to Amasis, but archaeological evidence goes against his statement. It should be dated to some time between the late seventh century and the early sixth century: see Boardman 1990, 121. Amasis perhaps made some reorganisation such as a distinction between residents and temporary sojourners, which Herodotus misleadingly refers to: see Cook 1937, 233; Bresson 2000, 15-23.

<sup>32</sup> For the connection between the Carian homeland and Egypt, see also Hornblower 1982, 354-357.

<sup>33</sup> Meier-Brügger 1994, 113. For the dating of C.xx 1 and C.xx 2, see Gusmani 1978; for the dating of C.xx 3, see Meier-Brügger 1994, 113.



*karnosδ*’, is obviously connected with the ‘*alos karnos*’ mentioned on E.Me 45, and Adiego tentatively interprets ‘*alosδ karnosδ*’ as the ablative singular of ‘*alos karnos*’, that is to say, ‘from Halicarnassus’ (Adiego 2007, 351). If we accept this explanation, the inscription commemorates what must have been a common occurrence, a citizen of Halicarnassus gifting something, in this case a bowl, to a friend.

### **The interaction between Greek and Carian**

We can now assume that the Greek speakers in Halicarnassus, including Herodotus, interacted routinely with Carian speakers. If Meier-Brügger’s aforementioned speculation is true, we will have no less than four Carian inscriptions from sixth- and fifth-century Halicarnassus, and we will permit ourselves to conclude that Carian was still widely used there, even though the presumption that they were originally an assemblage deserves consideration. What else warrants consideration? Firstly, the possibility of interference between Greek and the epichoric language needs to be examined. Strabo, in his discussion of the puzzling phrase “the Carians of barbarian speech (Καρῶν...βαρβαροφώνων)”<sup>34</sup> in Homer (Hom. *Il.* 2.867), refers to *the Carian History* of Philip, who was an early Hellenistic writer from Carian Theangera<sup>35</sup>, and argues that the Carian language was blended with many Greek loanwords. Strabo, generalising the phenomenon of interaction between Greek and non-Greek, goes so far as to say, “thick, barbarian-like accent (κακοστομία καὶ οἷον βαρβαροστομία) was the result when a person speaking Greek pronounced it incorrectly, and pronounced the words like barbarians who are only beginning to learn Greek and are unable to speak it accurately, as we do the same when we attempt to speak their languages” (Str. 14.2.28 = *FGrH* 741 F1).

Strabo talks mainly about the mutability of Greek pronunciation (στόμιον, lit. mouth), but sentence structure can be clearly seen in inscriptions, although it does not always accurately reflect casual, spoken language. In Lycia, the dominant language was Lycian until Alexander’s conquests, and there are about 175 Lycian inscriptions, of which approximately ten are Lycian-Greek bilinguals. These bilinguals are supposedly pairs of a Lycian original and a Greek translation from it, based on the fact that some clauses in the Lycian are not translated in the Greek<sup>36</sup>.

In the Greek sentences, at the same time, some awkward characteristics are pointed out. For instance, definite articles are occasionally omitted, probably

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<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of this phrase, see e.g. Hall 2002, 111-112.

<sup>35</sup> It is significant for this paper that Theangera was a neighbouring city of Halicarnassus. Although Pliny’s *Natural History* (Plin. *Nat.* 5.29.107) reports that Theangera was attributed to Halicarnassus in the fourth century, this cannot be correct (see Hornblower 1982, 81-83. Cf. Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124 F 25: Theangela was not included in the synoecism but ‘preserved’).

<sup>36</sup> Bryce 1986, 52-53 note 21; Keen 1998, 67-68; Rutherford 2002, 198-201; Brixhe 2007, 925-926.

because the Lycian language has no articles (Rutherford 2002, 208-209; Brixhe 2007, 930). Likewise the time is specified by the ‘when’-clause, and not by the genitive absolute, which is used in most Greek decrees (Rutherford 2002, 217). Ian Rutherford has suggested that these phenomena resulted from verbatim translation rather than casual interference (Rutherford 2002), but what is remarkable is that some people communicated in Greek while thinking in non-Greek. There was not a single ‘Greek’ but plural ‘Greeks’ of non-native Greek speakers as there are plural ‘Englishes’ like Spanglish and Hinglish. Some of the people of Halicarnassus would have used Greek in a Carian way, just like inhabitants of Lycia Lycian-Greek.

Greek speakers also could have been affected by non-Greek languages. First of all, Herodotus’ account of the four different forms of speech in Ionia is valuable firsthand evidence, as I have already mentioned. The Scythian Geloni, originally Greek trading colonists, planned their sanctuaries in Greek fashion but spoke a half-Scythian and half-Greek language (γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῆ χρέωνται) by the time of Herodotus (Hdt. 4.108). In Side, a colony of Aeolian Cyme on the coast of Pamphylia, Arrian quotes the Sidetans themselves and mentions (Arr. *An.* 1.26.4) that the immigrants forgot their native tongue soon and spoke a non-Greek language. Noteworthy here is that their new language was different from that of their ancestors and that of neighbouring foreigners as well (οὐδὲ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὐπω πρόσθεν οὔσαν τὴν φωνήν); it could have been a hybrid language of both<sup>37</sup>. Furthermore the philosopher Pythagoras, after leaving Samos early in the tyrannical reign of Polycrates (*ca.* 530), settled in the town of Croton in Southern Italy and built the Pythagorean society there. According to the late Roman philosopher Iamblichus (Iamb. *VP* 34.241), Pythagoras told Greek newcomers to the society to use their ancestral language (φωνῆ χρησθαι τῆ πατρώα), because he did not respect a foreign accent (τὸ γὰρ ξενίζειν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον). This episode hints that the original language of the colonists of Southern Italy (Doric) may have already employed epichoric idioms and pronunciation after long-term interaction with the locals (cf. Werner 1983, 584-585; Hall 2002, 115), and that Pythagoras himself believed his language to be uncontaminated by non-Greek. We should also note that Pythagoras was from the island where Herodotus spent his early adulthood.

It would not be hard to believe that close interminglement, especially intermarriage, stimulated such a linguistic change, namely the creation of a new language as a result of the blending of two or more languages. For instance, Xanthus of Lydia (a contemporary of Herodotus) states that the Mysians, who were originally Lydians, spoke a half-Lydian and half-Phrygian language (μιζολύδιον γάρ

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<sup>37</sup> Arrian’s description might leave us with the impression that the Sidetans created their own new language *ex nihilo*, but Bosworth 1980, 167 suggests that he slightly exaggerated the uniqueness of the Sidetic language. It actually seems to bear the characteristics of other Anatolian languages and the Greek dialect of Pamphylia. See also Adiego 2007, 200.

πως εἶναι καὶ μίξοφρύγιον), as a result of the Phrygian invasion of Asia and their subsequent settling of land near the Mysians (*FGrH* 754 F15). Thucydides relates (Th. 6.5) that at Sicilian Himera, which was founded by Chalcidian Zancle and exiles from Syracuse, their language had become a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric (φωνὴ μὲν μεταξύ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη), although this is a case of intra-Greeks. Herodotus also reports that the Ammonians, originally immigrants from both Egypt and Ethiopia, used a language that was a mix of Egyptian and Ethiopian (φωνὴν μεταξύ ἀμφοτέρων) (Hdt. 2.42). These two cases of Himera and Ammon refer to a joint colonisation, and a new medium of reciprocal communication would have been needed in such a situation.

We can find an episode that illustrates how Herodotus recognised the connection between intermarriage and the development of a new language in his account of the genesis of the Scythian Sauromatae (Hdt. 4.110-117). When a group of Scythian men came into contact with a fleeing band of Amazon women, the two groups gradually moved closer to each other until they lived together; the Amazons, however, refused to join the existing Scythian tribe because they did not have a culture similar to that of the Scythian women. They then persuaded their husbands to emigrate across the Don River and to form a new tribe, the Sauromatae. Although this ancestral tradition itself is of dubious truth, the interesting thing is Herodotus' comment following it that the Sauromatae use in fact the Scythian language but deform it (σολοικίζοντες), because the Amazons learnt it imperfectly at first and their inaccuracies were then integrated into their tribal language. *Soloikizein* is a relatively uncommon verb, and as far as we know, Herodotus is the first writer who used it. Rosaria Munson points out that '*soloikizein*' is applied in other texts to bad Greek as 'a virtual synonym of *barbarizein*'<sup>38</sup>. In the case of Herodotus' usage, however, this term seems more unprejudiced, and John Gould explains it as 'a form of Scythian pidgin' (Gould 1989, 132). Does this acute linguistic awareness reflect the state of language in his native city?

Halicarnassus presents some evidence of intermarriage and interminglement. Vitruvius reports a Halicarnassian tradition that the first Greek colonists threw the indigenous people from their land. The Carians who were driven into the mountains occasionally went down to and plundered the Greek city, but after a certain Greek opened a new taverna, the Carians were attracted to it. Coming down one by one, they abandoned their barbarian behaviour and picked up Greek customs and manners (Hdt. 2.8.12). More reliable information about the early contact, though not specifically about Halicarnassus, makes mention of the Greek colonists in Miletus, who are said to have married the indigenous women after slaughtering their men (Hdt. 1.146). Much later, in 405, Lysander con-

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<sup>38</sup> Munson 2005, 73. Cf. Arist. *SE* 165b20; Plu. *Mor.* 59F. This term is alleged to originate from the incorrect Attic spoken by the Athenian colonists of Soli in Cilicia: Str. 14.2.28; D.L. 1.51.

quered Cedreiae, a small island in the Ceramic gulf (the gulf between the Halicarnassian peninsula and the Cnidian peninsula), whose inhabitants were, according to Xenophon, half-barbarians (μιξοβάρβαροι) (X. *HG* 2.1.15); this term probably indicates intermarriage between Greeks and the native islanders<sup>39</sup>. Intermarriage may be further substantiated by the jumbled appearance of onomastics. In the ‘Lygdamis inscription’ mentioned at the beginning of this paper appear six personal names of officials with patronymics, three of which have unambiguously Greek names but Carian patronymics (such as Leon son of Oasassis, Phormio son of Lygdamis, and Apollonides son of Panyassis). Another inscription dated to the same period as the ‘Lygdamis inscription’, a list of purchases of sacred land (Dittenberger *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 46), is more laconic in what is said but much more informative about personal names: it provides us with a record of more or less 100 Halicarnassian names with patronymics. Among them, the proportion of mixed examples (Greek names with Carian patronymics and Carian names with Greek patronymics) slightly overwhelms those of simple ‘Greek-Greek’ and ‘Carian-Carian’ examples<sup>40</sup>. Herodotus also, in fact, came from such a family in which Greek names and Carian names appear one after another. According to the two biographies in the *Suda* (s.v. Herodotus, *eta*,536, and Panyassis, *pi*,248), Herodotus, his brother Theodorus, and his uncle Polyarchus have Greek names, in contrast to his father Lyxes and his cousin (or his uncle in another tradition) Panyassis, who have Carian names<sup>41</sup>. All these testimonies strongly suggest the existence of mixed marriage, or at least close cohabitation between the Greeks and the locals<sup>42</sup>. The ‘Lygdamis inscription’ indeed tells of a joint council (σύλλογος) of the Halicarnassians and the men of Salmacis, a district to the west of Halicarnassus, which Stephanus of Byzantium says was a Carian community (s.v. *Salmakis/Σολμακίς*)<sup>43</sup>.

Among the supportive evidence is a Carian inscription showing the admixture of names, though it is not from Halicarnassus proper but from an inland area

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<sup>39</sup> Asheri 1983, 23 interprets μιξοβάρβαροι as a pejorative synonym for δίγλωττοι, but I am not certain if the term specifically refers to their language. It could be more plausible to assume that the term primarily indicates an admixture of blood.

<sup>40</sup> For the classification of names, see Haussoullier 1880; Newton 1880, 427-451; Masson 1959; Adiego 2007, 459-462.

<sup>41</sup> The name of Herodotus’ mother is Dryo in the entry on ‘Herodotus’, but Rhoeo in that on ‘Panyassis’. This could be a textual corruption, but in any case, both Dryo and Rhoeo are Greek names.

<sup>42</sup> Habicht 2000 suggests four patterns of foreign names in Athenian nomenclature: ritualised friendship (*xenia*), intermarriage, named after a king or another foreign celebrity, and naturalisation of foreigners into the citizenry. In the case of Halicarnassus, the abundance of Carian examples strongly implies intermarriage and the enlargement of the citizen body through it.

<sup>43</sup> Hornblower 1982, 85-86 envisages σύλλογος as “a kind of ‘power-sharing executive’ for two communities”. The existence of this council implies that Salmacis enjoyed some autonomy without being fully incorporated into Halicarnassus: see Virgilio 1988, 67-68.

between Halicarnassus and Miletus; it is an epitaph excavated from Euromus. It reads “This is the tomb of Ktais, son of Idyrikś” (*CL C.Eu 1*) (Adiego 2007, 132-133). The two names, Ktais and Idyrikś, seem to be Carian names at first glance, but should be considered in association with a Greek-Carian bilingual inscription from the sanctuary of Sinuri near Mylasa. The Carian portion of this inscription is well-preserved but has a great number of incomprehensible words, while the Greek part is too heavily damaged to make sense of what is said or to be used as a help in understanding the Carian one. From the few intact Greek words and from their correspondent Carian words, the first sentence can be translated as “Idrieus, son of Ῥτμῆος (Ἐκατόμνωος in Greek), and Ada, daughter of Ktmnos, grant tax exemption to the priest Πῆμνσῆ (Πομμοοννοος in Greek)” (*CL C.Si 2*)<sup>44</sup>. The Hecatomnus mentioned here was a member of the indigenous dynasty and was employed as Persian satrap in the early fourth century. His son and daughter, Idrieus and Ada, jointly succeeded his satrapy after their elder brother and sister, Mausolus and Artemisia, died. This inscription therefore, exceptionally among Carian inscriptions, can be given the precise date between 351/350 and 344/343 reasonably from the historical context<sup>45</sup>. This bilingual decree provides us with the information about a transliteration rule between Greek and Carian that Ἐκατόμνωος was equivalent to Ῥτμῆος. In accordance with this rule, ‘Ktais’ in *CL C.Eu 1* should have been the transliterated name of the Greek Ἐκαταῖος (Adiego 2007, 288-289). On the other hand, it is suggested that the stem of Idyrikś (yrikś-) is correspondent to the Greek -υριγος, and therefore the Carian name Idyrikś is to be transliterated as Ἰδυριγος in Greek (Adiego 2007, 262-263). Taking everything into consideration, the epitaph of Ktais son of Idyrikś, or Hecataeus son of Idyrigus in Greek, indicates an admixture of Greek and Carian names which could also mean that there was a linguistic interaction between the Greek and Carian speakers; the Persian envoy Mys, who was most probably from the town where this inscription was found, Euromus was actually Greek-Carian bilingual as I have already mentioned.

## Conclusion

We started our discussion with the problem of how to explain the gulf between the *Suda* reporting of Herodotus’ acquisition of Ionic in Samos and the ‘Lygdamis inscription’ written in Ionic. When we look at sources without presuming that official written documents directly reflect the casual language of the people and that there was a homogenous sphere of the Ionic dialect, we reach the simple conclusion that Herodotus used the Halicarnassian Ionic when he was young, but later acquired the ‘authentic’ Ionic (‘authentic’ at least from the view-

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<sup>44</sup> The corresponding Carian word for the Greek Ἰδρεύς is missing. Ada appears as ‘Ada’ both in the Greek and Carian versions.

<sup>45</sup> For the period of the joint reign, see Hornblower 1982, 41-45.



point of Photius) in Samos, which was a more appropriate place to study it; we are no longer bound to rule out one of the two testimonies, but can accept both of them with slight modification.

How did the languages in Halicarnassus evolve over the passage of time? The Greek colonists spoke Doric there as well as in other neighbouring Dorian cities several generations before Herodotus, but gradually adopted the Ionic dialect from their Ionian neighbours after or before Halicarnassus was expelled from the Dorian league. At the same time their language could have been altered by the indigenous Carian language through casual interaction. The admixture of names and the tradition of colonisation imply intermarriage or close friendship between Greeks and Carians from early on, perhaps from the foundation of the city, and the joint council mentioned in the 'Lygdamis inscription' supports their cohabitation in the fifth century, while on the other hand the Carian language was not extinct yet and was still used in and around Halicarnassus of Herodotus' time. We of course cannot ignore the possibility that the Ionic dialect that flowed in Halicarnassus was already separated by the Carian influence from that of the northern Ionian cities, which were situated in the Lydian language sphere, and that of the islanders, of which Pythagoras might have believed was the language's pure form. In such a situation, a new language would have been demanded and created for daily communication, like the examples I have discussed. If we are allowed to define it more precisely, we could name it 'pidgin' or 'creole' Ionic, or if we hesitate to apply these modern terms to classical studies, we could regard it more simply as a language which was quite different from what we imagine from the text of Herodotus today.

I do not claim here that Herodotus had no opportunity to learn the 'authentic' Ionic in Halicarnassus since at least the author of the 'Lygdamis inscription' used it. Especially for Herodotus, who, according to the *Suda*, came from a distinguished family (τῶν ἐπιφανῶν), such an opportunity would have been more available than for others. Yet, as we have accepted the information of the *Suda* as reliable, it should be assumed that opportunities to acquire the 'authentic' Ionic dialect were limited, even for a son of the élite in Halicarnassus.

In the end, we are left to wonder to what extent Herodotus understood the Carian language. Did he know next to nothing, was he as proficient as a native speaker, or did his ability lie somewhere in between? While we unfortunately have insufficient evidence to definitively answer this question, we can say with certainty that the Carian language was much more familiar to him than previous scholars have supposed. This supposition will paradoxically explain why Herodotus was so indifferent to the Carian language: he refers to it only three times in his books (Hdt. 1.171, 172, 8.135), as already mentioned. He generally recorded what looked curious and novel to his eyes (we should remember that he did not record the contemporary history of Halicarnassus either, even the political strife which he was involved in and was expelled as a result of), and the Carian language was so un compelling a topic for him that he did not think of it as worth relating in depth.

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