

Luwic dialects and Anatolian

Inheritance and diffusion

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, José Virgilio García Trabazo, Mariona Vernet,
Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach, Elena Martínez Rodríguez (eds.)



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Drawing of the Storm god Tarhunza in his chariot, copied
(J. D. Hawkins) from an orthostat. Anatolian Civilisations Museum,
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Foreword

Luwic Dialects and Anatolian: Inheritance and Diffusion inaugurates a new series, *Anatolica et Indogermanica*, which is part of the collection *Barcino Monographica Orientalia* of the Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic of the Universitat de Barcelona, directed by Prof. Adelina Millet Albà and Prof. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, and published by Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona. The volume focuses on the Luwic languages, by bringing together approaches from Indo-European linguistics and language reconstruction but also from other intrinsically related disciplines such as epigraphy, numismatics and archaeology, and shows very clearly how these disciplines can benefit from each other.

The choice of the topic *Luwic Dialects and Anatolian: Inheritance and Diffusion* as the general theme of this volume was partly motivated by the growing interest that the Luwic languages have aroused among scholars in recent decades. Another reason was the research focus of the Indo-European sections at the University of Barcelona and the University of Santiago de Compostela since 2013, which received funding for three research projects: *Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo anatolio indoeuropeo: aproximaciones genéticas y areales* (FFI2012-32672 2013-2015). *Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo antolio en su contexto lingüístico, geográfico e histórico* (FFI2015-68467-C2-1-P 2016-2018). *Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo anatolio: escritura, gramática, onomástica, léxico* (PGC2018-098037-B-C21). On the basis of these three projects, in 2013 an international research group with a strongly interdisciplinary approach was created, comprising leading researchers from seven countries. Since then, the members of the research group have met

annually at workshops held either in Barcelona or in Santiago de Compostela to present and discuss their research results. Although the focus of all these workshops was the Luwic languages (Luwian, Lycian, Carian, Sidetic and Pisidian), other language families were also present in the discussion (Hittite, Lydian and Phrygian).

This volume gathers together the most recent research results in our field and is the natural extension of the work done by the research group over these six years.

Among the 13 contributions, fitting neatly within the Luwic and other Anatolian languages, a rich variety of subjects are covered: an alphabetical and epigraphical interpretation in Carian (Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Zsolt Simon) and in Lycian (Birgit Christiansen), morphological perspectives in Hieroglyphic Luwian (José-Virgilio García Trabazo) and in Lycian (Matilde Serangeli), a numismatic-glyptic point of view in Lycian (Manuela Anelli) and in Phrygian (Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach), an archaeological perspective in Lycian (Martin Seyer), an etymological interpretation of specific or several words in Lycian (Elena Martínez Rodríguez), in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Alwin Kloekhorst), in Hittite (José Luis García Ramón) and in both these languages (Elisabeth Rieken), but also, last but not least, other aspects such as the Lydian dating formulae (Ilya Yakubovich).

The volume thus marks the beginning of a new series, *Anatolica et Indogermanica*, published at the Universitat de Barcelona, which focuses on Luwic and Anatolian studies. The series is sure to flourish in the years to come with new issues combining the efforts of linguists, epigraphists, philologists and archaeologists.

We would like to thank all the scholars who have contributed to this volume, and we would also like to express our gratitude to Meritxell Anton, editor of the Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, for the invaluable support she has given to the project from the very beginning. Our thanks also go to the rest of the members of the editorial committee who have made the edition of this volume possible, for their knowledge, patience and enthusiasm: Prof. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Prof. José Virgilio García Trabazo, Dr. Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Elena Martínez Rodríguez.

Mariona Vernet
Universitat de Barcelona
Barcelona, November 2019

A Kingdom for a Carian Letter

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego
Universitat de Barcelona

§ 1. *Introduction*

Although the decipherment of Carian alphabet was successfully accomplished some time ago – only a few scarcely documented letters continue to resist identification – our understanding of Carian texts is still very poor. It is easy to identify onomastic formulae, and we have been able to recognize some common words and analyse some syntactic structures, but the interpretation of the longer texts remains more a desire than a reality. The exasperating lack of fresh material (no new and really useful inscriptions have been published in recent years) leaves any possibility of bettering our knowledge of Carian to a more attentive examination of the existing corpus and of a reconsideration of certain currently accepted principles. In general, this examination and this reconsideration produce rather modest results, but very occasionally they can also bring unexpected surprises. In this paper I describe some exciting new proposals for the interpretation of several Carian inscriptions. I present them in the order in which they were discovered, because I am convinced that this order highlights clearly the main points of my proposal; at the same time, I hope to be able to reflect my growing astonishment as the results emerged.

§ 2. *Halicarnassus*

The starting point is the possible Carian name for Halicarnassus and the set of possibly Carian coins from this city. In my first article on Carian, I already pro-

posed that $A\Delta OM\chi AF\Upsilon OM$ *aloskarnos* in an Egyptian stele (E.Me 45, Fig. 1) and $A\Delta OM\hat{\chi}AF\Upsilon OM\hat{\chi}$ *alosδkarnosδ* in an inscription on a recipient (C.xx.2, Fig 2) could be the Carian forms of the place name of Halicarnassus (Adiego 1990b:135).

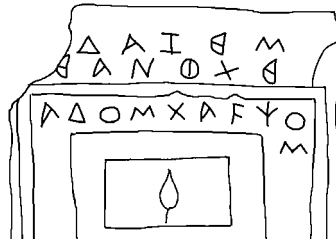


Fig. 1

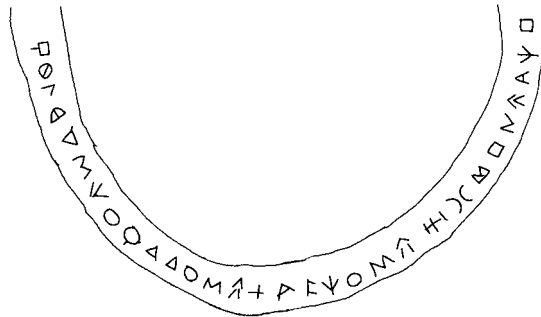


Fig. 2

This proposal has always been present in the discussion on Carian, but has not been fully accepted. The first inscription is from Memphis, and the second one is of unknown origin, and so the provenance cannot help to establish the identification; asserting that this latter inscription of unknown origin may come from Halicarnassus would be a circular reasoning! Moreover, the morphological analysis was unclear: *alosδkarnosδ* seems to point to two different words, inflected in the same way or accompanied by parallel clitics. So we would have *alos karnos* as the form of the place name. But then, how do we explain E.Me 45, where after an onomastic formula, an ethnic name rather than a place name would be expected? Certainly, these are not insurmountable objections, but without additional evidence for the indigenous name of Halicarnassus they inevitably weaken the hypothesis.

A further, more serious, objection was the fact that certain coins, judged by Hyla Troxell as coming from Halicarnassus (Troxell 1984:254), offered a legend

ΑϞΟ – sometimes abbreviated ΑϞ, which read *azo*, *az* – which was hardly compatible with *aloskarnos* (see fig. 3).



Fig. 3

A way to overcome this latter objection emerged when, some years ago, Koray Konuk proposed that these coins came from a different Carian city, Kasolaba (Konuk 2009). If so, the legend *azo* would have nothing to do with *aloskarnos* and/or Halicarnassus, but it would represent the initial letters of the place name Kasolaba.

However, Konuk's proposal comes up against serious difficulties. The equivalence *azo* = Kasolaba is hard to accept, due to the absence of *k* in the Carian form. Konuk adduced cases like $\eta\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma$ vs. $\text{Κυβλι}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (plural ethnic of the Carian place name $\text{Κυβλι}\sigma\sigma/\omicron\varsigma/$, Zgusta 1984 § 1396, Blümel 1998[2012]:172) or $\Upsilon\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ vs. $\text{Κυ}\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (variants of the Carian place name $\text{Ευ}\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$, Zgusta 1984 § 1412, Blümel 1998[2012]:185), but both examples show an alternance of $\kappa/h/\theta$ before υ . No cases of such an alternance are attested when *k* precedes *a*. Moreover, there is a possible example of the name Kasolaba in Carian inscriptions: in a funerary stele from Saqqâra we find the word *ksolb-ś* (E.Me 43), which is undeniably related to Kasolaba: very probably, according to a hypothesis formulated by Janda (1994:176) this is an ethnic name, indicating Kasolaba as the place of origin of a Caromemphite. This *ksolb-* is difficult to reconcile with *azo*.

Therefore, Konuk's identification to Kasolaba, based exclusively on linguistic arguments, is very unlikely, and the information about the Halicarnassian origin of different exemplars of the coins given by Troxell cannot be ignored; it implies that the name of the city was (or began with) *azo*, and that the equivalence *aloskarnos* = Halicarnassus is hardly tenable.

I confess that I was often intrigued by this ΑϞΟ *azo* vs. ΑΔΟ(ΜΧΑΦVOM) *alo(skarnos)*. The vowels coincide, but the consonant is not the same: *l* in the name documented in the inscriptions, *z* in the sequence engraved on the coins. The forms show a certain proximity, but they are clearly different.

However, this conclusion was based on the assumption of a value z (i.e., a sound /sd/, /st/, /ts/, /dz/ or the like) for the letter \mathfrak{S} . But is this assumption guaranteed by convincing arguments? The answer is clearly ‘no’. To understand the value $\mathfrak{S} = z$ we must go back to Ševoroškin (1965), where the letter \mathfrak{S} was considered a variant of the letter \mathfrak{X} , attending to the formal resemblance of both signs and to their complementary distribution: \mathfrak{X} is found in the alphabetic variants used in Egypt and in Kaunos, whereas \mathfrak{S} appears in other local alphabets from Caria proper. The assumption of the proximity of the two letters is also implicitly present in Masson’s ordering of the Carian letters, where \mathfrak{X} is the sign n° 35, and \mathfrak{S} the n° 36 (see the tables in Masson 1976, Masson 1978:10). When Diether Schürr established convincingly a value z for 35 (Schürr 1996), this value was generally attributed to 36, although no clear evidence could be presented (see Adiego 2007:251, and particularly the reservations regarding the decipherment of the letter expressed in Adiego 2005:87).

To sum up, there are two reasons for considering a value z for \mathfrak{S} : the formal resemblance to \mathfrak{X} z , and the apparently complementary distribution. However, these reasons do not provide compelling evidence. In fact, there is no evidence at all, and my present inquiry begins by rejecting the equivalence $\mathfrak{S} = z$ and by assessing the results of giving to \mathfrak{S} a value l or l -like. (Henceforth and until further notice, I will use conventionally a “diacritized l ” $\langle \acute{l} \rangle$ to represent this hypothetical new value). With a l or l -like value, a reading *álo* of the coin legends would serve to support a threefold equivalence *álo* = *aloskarnos* = Halicarnassus.¹

§ 3. Mylasa

The next stage in this inquiry was to review the examples of \mathfrak{S} in the inscription of Mylasa, C.My 1. This inscription consists basically of a list of persons (name + father’s name in genitive), preceded by a short heading where the word *molš*, for which I proposed the meaning ‘priests’, appears. So we appear to be dealing with a list of priests.

In Mylasa C.My.1, the letter \mathfrak{S} shows an angular form \mathfrak{S}^{\angle} , as do the other letters in the inscription (e.g., \mathfrak{L}^{\angle} for \mathfrak{E} i). It appears three times: in the names in nom-

1. The attempt to attribute a l -value to \mathfrak{S} in A \mathfrak{S} O is not totally new: it was considered by John D. Ray in a page note of a paper (Ray 1998:127, n. 1): Ray speculatively proposed with a transcription *álo* (with \mathfrak{S} as a cursive variant of \mathfrak{I} λ) in order to obtain a form closer to *aloskarnos*, but he did not explore this possibility and its consequences any further.

inative *myse*, *qzali*, and in the name in genitive *qzališ*. Obviously, these two latter forms are the same name.

A transcription *mylé* for *myse* does not greatly change the situation: for *myse*, we have an interesting parallel in the Carian name in Greek sources Μουζεας (Zgusta 1964 § 980-2, Blümel 1992[2012]:15; cf. Adiego 2005:91), and for *mylé*, we can now adduce the name Μυλης documented in Pisidia (LGPN Vc:306) and Cilicia (LGPN Vb:306).

More interesting are the results for the other name, *qzali*-. In Adiego (2005:91), a connection to the Carian name of Greek sources Κοστωλλις was cautiously suggested, but the vocalism does not fit well (we would expect **qzoli*) and it is also unlikely that *z* would appear here adapted by means of Greek στ and in *myse* by means of Greek ζ if the equivalence *myse* = Μουζεας is accepted. The connection, though not impossible, is speculative.

Now, with a transcription $\text{Ϟ} = \acute{l}$, we obtain a much more satisfactory outcome: *qłali*, *qłališ*. This is the name *qlali*-, well attested both in Carian and in Greek (E.Me 37, G 2), Κολαλις, Κυλαλις (Blümel 1992[2012]:12). Note that in Mylasa the letter $\langle \lambda \rangle$ does not appear and in its place, $\langle \iota \rangle$ is used (for instance *idusol* vs. *dwśol-ś* in Egypt; on this question, see below § 9.1).

§ 4. Kildara

We now turn our attention to the inscription of Kildara (C.Ki 1), a text consisting of four lines in *scriptio continua* where the only recognizable elements at present are two references to the city (line 1: *kił*[-]; line 3: *kiłara*), a sequence *trqđ* undoubtedly related to the name of the Luwian Tempest-God *Tarhunt*- and a sequence *qrđs* which reappears in Kaunos (C.Ka 2) and may have an institutional meaning.

Here we have three examples of the letter Ϟ. The two first examples (in the first and in the second lines) are uninterpretable for me, regardless of whether we give Ϟ a value *z* or a value \acute{l} (line 1:]zολbaķa[/ łολbaķa[; line 2 *qrđs tazomđ*[- / *qrđs tałomđ*[-]).

Much more interesting is the third example, in the third line. It appears immediately after the second appearance of the name Kildara:

kiłarađ[-]ybzsdmTnmkđa[-]aTuq[

Read with Ϟ = \acute{l} , the sequence thus becomes:

kiλaraδ[-]ybl̥sdmTnmkδa[-]aTuq[..

The most striking aspect of this new transcription is that a sequence [-]ybl̥s emerges here that powerfully recalls *qy̥bl̥siś* (E.Me 21), Κυβλισσ/ος/(Zgusta 1984 § 1396, Blümel 1998[2012]:172; cf. here supra § 1). Kyblissos was a Carian site near Kildara, as suggested by its proximity in the Athenian Tribute List:

... *h[υ]βλισ̥ς, Ὀ[ρ]ανι̥ται, Κι[λ]λαρ̥[ς] ...* (IG I³ 262)

Cf. also Blümel *ibid.*: ‘Vermutlich zwischen Bargylia und Kildara’.

As for *qy̥bl̥siś*, as Janda (1994:176) already suggested, it is very likely to be an ethnicon from the place name *qy̥bl̥s-*. Therefore *qy̥bl̥s* / [-]ybl̥s- (to be completed [q]ybl̥s-) is quite a good correspondence, reinforced by the proximity of this place name to Kildara.

§ 5. *Hyllarima*

These two preceding pieces of evidence may seem attractive but not compelling. But the third piece is, in my opinion, not only definitive, but is accompanied by an astonishing sequence of knock-on effects.

This evidence is found in the Carian-Greek inscription from Hyllarima, C.Hy 1. As is well known, this stele is broken into two parts, which were found approximately 70 years apart; the first part was published in Laumonier (1934: 345-376), and the second, and the join between the two pieces, in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu (2005).

The bilingual inscription of Hyllarima is a complex text, written over many years. The Carian part occupies the upper part of the stele. It appears divided into two columns: (a) consists of seven lines, of which lines 3-7 are onomastic formulae; (b) consists of two lines in Carian, followed by the two first Greek texts of the stele: a heading “priests of all the gods”, then an onomastic formula, then a new heading “priest (singular) of all the gods”, then a second onomastic formula. After these texts in columns (a) and (b), other Greek inscriptions follow, from a later date. The chart below aims to show this complexity of the stele (the Carian and the oldest Greek parts are shaded; for the chronology, see Debord in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu (2005:626-627):

A KINGDOM FOR A CARIAN LETTER

LEFT LATERAL FACE	FRONTAL FACE		RIGHT LATERAL FACE
	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	
Purchase of priesthood by Hermias son of Aristocles (197 BC)	Carian heading	Carian heading	Leasing of lands to three different persons (197 BC or later)
	Carian list of priests	Greek list of priests of all the gods	
		Greek priest of all the gods	
Leasing of lands to Le(?)on son of Dionysios (197 BC or later)	Greek list of priests of Apollo (dated at 263/262 BC)	Purchase of priesthood by Leon son of Theodoros (197 BC)	

Here is the beginning of the stele with these Carian and oldest Greek texts (Fig. 4):

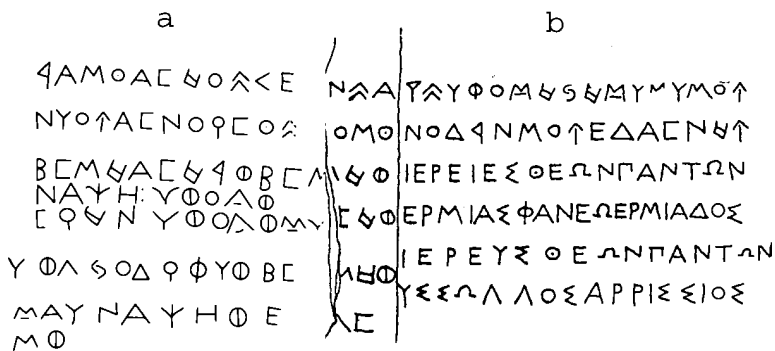


Fig. 4

Both in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioglu and in Adiego (2007), the Carian text was read by columns: first column a, then column b, given the existence of a vertical line:

(a) šasqarioð dymða
 muot armotrqðosq
 βrsi arišš βrsiś
 mane : uśolś
 rtim uśolś pur'is

 uśbzol tñuś βrsiś

pau manés ybr-
sś

(b) kδúsoπizipususot
molš msot ylarmit

The onomastic formulae were clear, and the most part of the names were easy to identify, but the two initial lines in both columns were very obscure. The only fully identifiable elements were the stems contained in the sequence *armotrqδosq* and in *ylarmit*. As for *armotrqδosq*, I proposed to recognize in it the names of the Anatolian Moon-god *Arma-* and the Luwian Storm-god *Tarhunt-*, but it remained unclear to me whether we were dealing with the proper theonyms or with a theophoric personal name. As for *ylarmit*, as John D. Ray already proposed in the beginnings of the decipherment (Ray 1988:152), it was a form clearly related to the place name where the stele was found, Hyllarima. A more speculative interpretation was given for *molš msot ylarmit*, which might be a formula meaning “priests of the gods of Hyllarima” (Hajnal 1995:14-15, Adiego 2002:17, Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu 2005:618). This proposal was based on the formal proximity of *mso-τ* to the Luwic stem for ‘god’: Luwian *masan(i)-*, Milyan *masa-*, Lycian *māhān(i)-*, Sidetic *masara*.

The rest of these initial lines was impenetrable. In Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu (2005), I merely stated that *kδús^o* at the beginning of (b) recalled the stem *kδow-/kδou-* for which a meaning ‘king’ had been suggested (in etymological connection to Luwian *hantawat(i)-*, Lycian *xñtawat(i)-* (Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu 2005:617-618; cf. also Schürr 1998:146 for this connection).

Let us assume for now that, despite the existence of a vertical mark for separating two columns, the two first lines should be read from one edge to the other. Let us also assign the value <Í> for the letter Ϝ instead of <z>:

šasqarioddyndakδúsoπilipususot
muotarmotrqδosqmolšmsotylarmit

From this new value a new sequence emerges that makes surprisingly good sense:

(δα) *kδúso pilipus*

pīlipus is easily recognizable as the adaptation of the Greek name Philip (Φίλιππος). Since *-s* can mark a genitive or possessive in Carian (cf. Adiego 2007:314-317), and since *kdušo* contains the Carian stem for ‘king, ruler’ (cf. above), *kdušo pīlipus* (or *da kdušo pīlipus*, see the discussion below in § 8.1) makes sense as a formula meaning “under the reign of Philip”), comparable to the Lycian formula *ēnē: xñtawata* (variant: *ēti xñtawata*) plus personal name in genitive (preceding or following the formula) ‘under the rulership of X:’ *ēnē xñtawata xer[i]xehe* (TL 43), *ēnē xñtawata wataprddatehe* (TL 61), *ēnē xñtawwa[ta] mizrp-patah* (N 315), *[ē]ti: xñtawata [p]eriklehe* (N 314 a), *ēnē periklehe: xñtawata* (TL 67; also TL 83, 103, 132), *ē[nē]: arppaxuhe: xñt[aw]ata* (N 310).

Moreover, the segmentation of this nominal phrase (*da*) *kdušo pīlipus* has an impressive chain-reaction effect on the immediately following Carian text. Once segmented (*da*) *kdušo pīlipus*, another phrase emerges, easily segmentable thanks to the similar endings: *usot muot*. *usot* is, in all probability, the Carian word for ‘year’, matching etymologically both Luwian *uss(i)-* ‘year’ and Lycian *uhe/i-* ‘year’. As for the word immediately after *usot* ‘year’, *muot*, it can hardly be anything other than a numeral, and the identification with the Luwian word for the number ‘four’, *maw(a/i)-* follows almost automatically:

(*da*) *kdušo pīlipus, usot muot* ‘under the reign of Philip, in the year four(th)’

The chain-reaction culminates with a reinterpretation of *armotrqdos*². The etymological connection to *Arma-* and *Tarhunt-* was correct, but here we are not dealing either with god names or with a theophoric personal name: after the name of the king and the reference to the year, the sequence *armo trqdos* is the mention of the *month*, as we would expect: as is well known, Luwian *arma-* was not only the word for ‘moon’ (and ‘Moon-god’) but also the word for ‘month’. Cf. also Lycian *rñma-* in *rñma-zata* a compound meaning ‘monthly tribute’ (TL 131, 4), in parallel to *uha-zata* ‘yearly tribute’ (whose meaning was established thanks to the trilingual of the Letoon of Xanthos).

2. In the first version of this analysis of the dating formula (the version presented at the workshop held in Barcelona: see the powerpoint in academia.edu), I took *armo trqdos q* as a syntactic unit, where *q* was interpreted as a sort of relative/article, similar to Carian *kī* (therefore, literally “in the month which (is) of Tarhunt”). Now I prefer to segment *armo trqdos* and to link *q* to the following sequence: see below § 11.

Therefore *armo trq̄dos* can be interpreted as “in the month of Tarhunt”, in a syntactic structure that is absolutely parallel to *k̄dušo p̄l̄ipus*: locative (in *-o* of an *a*-stem) plus genitive/possessive in *-s*.

The complete formula of dating is thus:

<i>(ḍa) k̄dušo p̄l̄ipus</i>	‘under the reign of Philip (III)
<i>usot muot</i>	‘in the year four(th)’
<i>armo trq̄dos</i>	‘in the month of Tarhunt.’

§ 6. *The king P̄l̄ipu-*

Who is this *P̄l̄ipu-/Philip* whose reign is used to date the inscription? The logical solution is to think of a Macedonian king, and in that case, it must be Philip III (Philip Arrhidaeus): the Greek inscription added after these first texts, dated 263/262 (the reign of Antioch and his son), marks a *terminus ante quem*. The *terminus post quem* is, of course, Alexander’s conquest of Caria (334 BC). The only possible Philip, then, is the half-brother and successor of Alexander, Philip III, who reigned between 323 and 317 BC.

Particularly striking is the fact that we also have seven Greek inscriptions from Caria dated in the reign of Philip III, many of which also mention the name of Asander, who became satrap of Caria after the death of Alexander. On Asander and the political context of this small but very relevant corpus of Greek inscriptions I refer readers to Kizil *et alii* (2015:393-403). What is of interest to us now is the fact that four of these seven inscriptions show complete dating formulae (king, year and month) which can be directly compared with the Carian formula in C.Hy 1:³

Amyzon 1 (McCabe = Robert-Robert, Amyzon no. 2)	
ἔτευσ τετάρτου	‘in the fourth year
Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος,	Philip being king
Ἀσάνδρου ἐξαθραπεύοντος,	Asander being satrap
μηνὸς Μαρσηλλίου...	in the month Marsellios...’
<i>(the names of other local magistrates follow)</i>	

3. The three remaining inscriptions are: Lagina 2 McCabe (= Şahin. IStr 501) and Pidasia (Kizil et al. 2015), where only the reference to the year appears; and Mylasa 116 McCabe (= Blümel IMyll 21 + II p. 7) in whose fragmentary beginning the king Philip and a satrap (the name, presumably also Asander, is missing) are mentioned.

Lagina 3 (McCabe = Şahin. IStr 503)

ἕκτου ἔτους	‘in the sixth year,
Φιλίππου βασιλεύ[ν]τος,	Philip being king,
μηνὸς Δίου,	in the month Dios,
Ἀσάνδρου σατραπεύοντος,	Asander being satrap,
ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Υἰσώλλου Ἀρρισσιος	under the archonts Ussollos (son) of Arrissis
καὶ Ὀβροκα Μαλοσώου (...)	and Obrokas (son) of Malosoos (...)

Stratonikeia 2 (McCabe)

[ἕκτ]ου ἔτους	‘in the [six(?)]th year,
βασιλεύ[οντος Φιλίππου,]	[Philip being] king,
[Ἀσ]άνδρου σατραπεύ[οντος]	[As]ander be[ing] satrap,
[c.2. μηνὸς Γο]ρπιαίου (...)	[in the mont Go]rpiaios (...)

Pladasa (Varinlioğlu et alii 1990)

[Φ]ιλίππου βασ[ιλεύοντο]ς,	‘[Ph]ilip [being] king,
ἕκτωι ἔτει	in the sixth year,
ἐπὶ Πισ[.]νω Σαναμω Κυδώρου,	under Pis[.]no, (son) of Sanamos, (son) of Kudoros,
μηνὸς Κοροβαλλισσιος	in the month Koroballisis (...)

It is clear that these inscriptions can be taken as a sort of “indirect bilinguals” vis-à-vis the Carian dating formula of Hyllarima, although the syntax is not the same (in Greek the absolute genitive is extensively used). The particularity of the Carian formula is the absence of any reference either to the satrap of Caria Asander, mentioned in at least five of these seven Greek inscriptions of Philip III from Caria (in Mylasa the name has been restored by editors), or to any local magistrate. If the lack of any reference to Asander in the Greek inscription from Pladasa has been the subject of various explanatory hypotheses (see Varinlioğlu et alii 1990:73-76), the absence of his name here was probably due to the strictly local character of the cult. A similar reason can be envisaged for the lack of reference to local magistrates. In fact, the first name in the priests’ list, *βρσι*, son of *αριῖς*, grandson of *βρσι*, could also serve as an eponymic reference.

§ 7. *The month of Tarhunt*

I wonder whether *armo trq̄dos*, ‘the month of Tarhunt’, is the Carian translation of the name of the Macedonian month Δῖος, literally, ‘(month) belonging to Zeus’, the first month of the Macedonian calendar (October). This hypothesis is based on the identification of the most important god of the Anatolian pantheon, the Storm-god (Luwian *Tarhunt-*, Lycian *Trqqas*, Milyan *Trqqiz*, Carian *Trq̄d-*) with Zeus. In the case of Caria, we have the relevant example of Iasos, where a phiale with a dedication to *trq̄d-* was found in the temple of Zeus Stratios (C.Ia 1)⁴. If this hypothesis is right, we can offer a very precise date for the Carian inscriptions October 320 BC.

My doubts about this identification are due to the fact that in two Greek inscriptions dated in the reign of Philip III and mentioned above (Amyzon 1, Pladasa), instead of the typical Macedonian names of the months, two clearly indigenous names (i.e., of Carian origin) are used: μηνὸς Μαρσηλίου (‘in the month Marsellios, Amyzon 1) and μηνὸς Κοροβαλλισσιος (‘in the month Koroballissis, Pladasa). Certainly, these names may be Carian translations or adaptations of two other Macedonian month names⁵, but we cannot dismiss the possibility that Carians had an indigenous system of month names. The month Κολλυριῶν attested in Iasos in the fifth century BC (Iasos 23*5, McCabe = SEG 36.982C) may point to a long tradition of this kind if it has a Carian origin⁶.

In any event, if the month of Tarhunt was indeed the month Δῖος, we can date this text with absolute precision to October 320 BC. If not, the date is the year 320/319. The inscription is therefore from the same year as Amyzon 1.

4. For the identification of the Zeus Stratios of Iasos with the god *trq̄de* mentioned in C.Ia.3, see now Loiacono (2019).

5. We can speculate that Κοροβαλλισσιος was a Carian adaptation of the Macedonian month name Γορπιᾶος via a kind of popular etymology or the like. Κοροβαλλισσιος could correspond to a Carian **q(u)rbalis(i)-* or similar, where a stem *q(u)rb-* comparable to Macedonian Γορπ-, was followed by two suffixes, **-ali-* and **-si-*, much like a Γορπ+ι+αῖος. For *q(u)rb-*, cf. the personal name *qurboś* (in genitive) E.Ab 10, and also the sequence *°qyrb°* in C.Eu 2. The fact that the sequence *°qyrb°* appears immediately after *armon*, now interpretable as an accusative singular of *armo-* ‘month’, is intriguing, but does not lead to any clear interpretation of the whole text of C.Eu 2, an impenetrable inscription. Incidentally, a sequence *armon* admits other interpretations: it could mean ‘moon’ or ‘moon-God’ (in accusative), not necessarily ‘month’, and it could also be compared with *armon* in E.Me 8, where it means ‘interpreter, dragoman’.

6. I am grateful to Roberta Fabiani for drawing my attention to this form and its implications.

§ 8. *Linguistic analysis*

The overall meaning of the formula seems clear, but the phonological, morphological and syntactic details of the words involved require an explanation. Some doubts and problems remain, but they do not invalidate the (in my opinion unquestionable) correctness of the interpretation of the formula, which must mean “under the reign of Philip, in the fourth year, in the month of Tarhunt”.

§ 8. 1. (m)ḍa kḍuśo or kḍuśo?

A first problem is whether the meaning “in the reign, under the rulership” was expressed only by means of the word *kḍuśo* ‘kingdom, rulership, reign’ or was governed by a preceding preposition *ḍa* /nda/. I confess that I cannot find any clear arguments in favour of either solution. The presence of a preposition in a formula of this type is very likely (cf. the Lycian examples *ēne xñtawata*, *ēti xñtawata*), and a Carian preposition *ḍa* /nda/ with a meaning “in” has a very good etymological explanation as a relation of the Anatolian family of adverbs *anda*, *andan* (from PIE **endo*, **endo-m*)⁷. In Adiego (1995:21-23, cf. also Adiego 2007:287) I suggested that E.Sa 1 *ḍen tumn* could mean “for (the god) Atum” and that it might also contain a preposition of the same origin (in this latter case under a form *ḍen* and governing the accusative to express the beneficiary). But it is not impossible that *kḍuśo*, a presumable locative (cf. infra § 8.2) expressed this meaning “in the reign” by itself. In that case, *mḍa* would probably be related to the preceding, still impenetrable sequence *šasqarioḍdy*^o.

§ 8. 2. kḍuśo

One of the happiest consequences of the decipherment of the dating formula is the definitive confirmation of the identification of *kḍow-/kḍou-/kḍu-* as the Carian word for ‘king’, etymologically related to Lycian *xñtawat(i)-* ‘king’, Luwian *hantawatt(i)-* (cf. particularly Adiego 1994: 240, Adiego 1995: 18-21, Schürr 1998: 145-147, Adiego 2007:294). Here we are dealing with an abstract noun formed by means of a suffix *-śo*. This suffix comes very probably from *-śá*, with a change *á* > *o*. The stressed character of this *o* seems to be ensured by the form of the preceding syllable: *kḍu-* must come from **kḍou-/kḍow-* attested in the genitive *kḍou-ś* (in

7. Cf. now Yakubovich’s interpretation (Yakubovich, this volume) of Lydian *dāv* < **endon* with a locative value and used in Lydian dating formulae with a meaning ‘in’, ‘under’.

E.Bu 1) or in the probable nominative plural *esa-k²δowš* (E.AS 7). It seems that in Carian there was a tendency to weaken pretonic syllables, together with a tendency to lengthen tonic syllables (and, in the case of *ā*, to round in *ō*). Thus **kndāwā-* > /kṇdōw-/ , but **kndawa+śā* > /kṇdušō-/ . A comparable phenomenon can be detected in *kbid-* vs. *kbdýnš* (probably **/kbīde/* > */kbíd/* vs. **/kbidéwnnints/* > */kbdýnš/*, where */š/* may represent the outcome of a monophthongation **éw* > **éy* [eɥ] > */š/*, and perhaps also in the personal name *Υσσελδωμος/Υσσαλδωμος* vs. *uśól*, *Υσσωλλος*, *Υσσωλδος*: **/uśálla-/* > */uśól/*, but **/uśálláma-/* > **/uśəlóm-/*.

As for the suffix *-śo*, it is not easy to establish the etymology precisely, as the origin of the different Carian sibilants *s ś š* is controversial. A first impression leads to a direct comparison with Milyan *xñtawaza* (TL 44d, 67), possibly an abstract noun meaning ‘rule’, which appears accompanied by three possessive adjectives: *seb=ēnesi=ke* *tedesi=ke*: *xugasi: xñtawaza* ‘and the rule of the mother and of the father and of the grandfather’. Might this *kduśo-* / *xñtawaza-* come from **handawatiā-*, an abstract noun derived from the adjective *handawatiā-* ‘belonging to the *handawati-* (‘king’)? This latter adjective is attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian *hantawatti(ya)-* ‘of king’, although always with logograms and often with contraction *-ttiya-* > *-tti-*: but note SULTANHAN §41 REX-*ti-ia-ri+i* | LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-ti-i* = */handawatiyari tabariyadi/* ‘by royal command’.

The ending *-o* of *kduśo*, and also of *armo*, should be analysed as a locative of an *a*-stem, matching Lycian *-a* in *ēne xñtawata* ‘under the rulership’, *xupa* ‘in the tomb’.

§ 8. 3. *pīlipus*

pīlipus is also an interesting form. Firstly, the adaptation from Greek shows two relevant traits: the aspirated stop /p^h/ is adapted by means of *p*, which confirms (if this were necessary) that Carian had no aspirated stops. Secondly, the form also shows that the thematic Greek names were adapted in Carian as *u*-stems (in contrast to Lycian, where *a-* or *e*-stems were used). This was already observable in my proposal to analysing *pidaru* in C.St 1 as the Greek name Πίνδαρος adapted in Carian (Adiego 1994:39-40), an analysis now reinforced by this new discovery. The use of *u*-stems for adapting Greek thematic names recalls the case of Hittite (via a Luwic dialect?) *Alakšanduš* for Ἀλέξανδρος.

Also important is the fact that *pīlipus*, and also *trqδos*, confirms the existence of a genitive-possessive in *-s* in Carian (apart from the well-known *-ś*). This was a very controversial point, since the analysis of some forms as genitives or possessives I proposed has been contested; the alternative put forward is that they may be datives (this was the view of scholars such as Schürr, Melchert, or Vittmann). On

this complex question I refer back to Adiego (2007:314-317). I think that this new evidence reinforces the conclusions traced there, in so far as they support the existence of true Carian genitives in *-s*. This example, where *pīlipus* depends on a common noun in locative *kδuśo* ‘reign’, or the example of *trqδos*, where a parallel construction is present (it depends on a locative *armo* ‘month’) may reinforce the idea that we are dealing with genitives from **-so*, cf. the Lycian examples *ēnē xñtawata xer[i]xehe* (TL 43), *ēnē xñtawata wataprddatehe*. This **-so* would explain the appearance of *s*, vs. *-ś* in the genitives of the onomastic formula, where the genitive seems to come from **-si-s*. Cf. the examples of Milyan *tedesi...xñtawaza* (*xñtawaza* is here probably a nominative singular) vs. *trm̃mile kupr[l]lese*, very probably “for the Termilians of Kuperlis” (cf. Neumann 2007:178, s. v. *kupr[l]ese*), where an analysis as a pure genitive in *-se* < **-so* is likely.⁸

§ 8. 4. usot muot

uso- ‘year’ corresponds to Cuneiform Luwian *uśš(i)-* Hieroglyphic Luwian *uss(i)-* and Lycian *uhe/i-* ‘year’, well attested in all these Luwic dialects. All these forms are specifically Luwic as they imply a *-s-* suffix, absent in the Hittite cognate *uett-/uitt-* ‘year’ < PIE **uēt-* (Rieken 1999.25-28).

As for *muot*, it represents a Carian inflected form of the numeral ‘four’, matching Cuneiform Luwian *maw(a/i)-* ‘four’ (cf. also 4-*wa/i-zi*, acc. pl. /*mawinzi*/ in Hieroglyphic Luwian). The vocalism *muo-* can be interpreted as the result of **mawā-* in perfect parallelism to *kδuśo-* from **kñdawaśā-* (unstressed *°awa°* > *°u°*).

The exact inflectional value of *-τ* in this nominal phrase remains obscure to me. The value of Carian *↑* has been established as *τ* (a sort of /tʃ/ sound) on the basis of a Carian bilingual from Egypt (E.Me 7), but this value cannot be automatically assumed for the letter when used in other alphabetic variants. But even assuming that this value is correct in Hyllarima, it is unclear from which ending this *-τ* comes.

The problem is compounded by the presence of the same ending *-τ* in the formula *molš mso-τ ylarmi-τ*, for which a value of genitive plural (cf. supra § 5) or, more recently, of dative plural (Melchert 2010:185) has been proposed. In previous articles, I thought that the interpretation as genitive plural of *mso-τ ylarmi-τ* was the simplest from the point of view of the context, even though it was more difficult to

8. However, it could also be an adjective possessive in dative plural, as suggested by Ševoroškin (apud Neumann 2007).

explain from a formal point of view. Now, I think that an alternative analysis as dative, as Melchert suggests, is also acceptable. It is not even necessary to assume (as Melchert does) that this is a complete votive text for us to analyse *msot ylarmit* as dative: there are other possible interpretations that can support the presence here of a phrase in dative case: (1) a formula ‘priests for the gods’ meaning ‘priests of the gods’, although it may sound slightly odd, could exist in Carian; (2) the reference to the priests could form a unit with the initial part of the inscription *šas-qarioδdym(δα)* entailing a meaning such as “these persons were appointed to priests for the gods of Hyllarima” or something similar; (3) *msot ylarmit*, of its own, could be an isolated dedication ‘to the gods of Hyllarima’ which closes the heading of the inscription. Note the use of the dedication to Good Fortune in the list of priests of Apollo later included in column (a) on the same stele, or compare the lists of priests from Kamiros (Rhodes) which finished with the dative θεοῖς ‘to the gods’.

In *usot muot*, an intuitive approach invites an interpretation as a nominal phrase in an oblique case and in singular, where the numeral is an ordinal or a cardinal used as ordinal⁹: it is also possible that, in some forms, ordinal and cardinal were identical in Carian. Let us suppose that the cardinal number ‘four’ was **mau(i)-* in Luwian, and that the ordinal was formed by deriving a thematic adjective **mau-(a/i)-*: the forms for some cases will be indistinguishable: instrumental-ablative *mau-adi*, dative plural *mau-anz*, and also the possessive constructions *mau-ass(a/i)-*, and so on.

§ 8. 5. armo

The use of *arma-* ‘moon’ with the meaning of ‘month’ is also attested in Hittite and in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian. In Hieroglyphic Luwian, the clearest example is SULTANHAN §3 |a-wa/i-sa |á-pi-i |CRUS-nú-wa/i-mi-i-na |BOS(ANIMAL)-ri+i-i 9 OVIS a+ra/i-ma-sa-ri+i-i (/a=wa=(a)s api tanuwamin wawari nuwa hawari armasari/) “he (is) to be set up afterwards with an ox and nine monthling sheep”, where /armasari/ < **armassadi* is an instrumental of the possessive adjective **armassa/i-* ‘of a month, monthling’. In Lycian, *arma-* appears as the first element of a compound *r̄m̄mazata* (cf. supra § 5). *armo* is here inflected as locative singular, and the ending is therefore comparable to -o in *kdušo* (and to Lycian *xñtawata*, *xupa*, cf. supra § 8. 2).

9. Note that in some languages ordinals do not exist, as the function is carried out by cardinals. In many others the use of the cardinal instead of the existing ordinal is possible in some cases (“lesson five” vs. “fifth lesson”).

§ 8. 6 $trq\delta os$

If the lexical analysis of this form is clear (we are dealing with a form of the Carian name of the Storm-god, as repeatedly mentioned throughout this article), the morphological analysis is ambiguous: it may be a proper genitive in *-s*, or a possessive adjective. The question may not seem particularly relevant from a functional point of view, but it is formally important, as the establishment of the exact form of the stem depends on it: assuming that, as in *kdušo* and *armo*, *-o* in $trq\delta o^o$ can come from **-ā*, is this a genitive in *-s* (< **-so*) constructed on a stem **trqδā-*, or is the vowel *-ā-* part of a suffix **-ās-* (< **-āss-*) added to a *-nt*-stem $trq\delta-$ / (< **tarhunt-*)? Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient evidence to give a clear response to this question. A form like *trqude* in C.Ia 3 shows an unclear ending *-e*, and ${}^o trq\delta i^o$ in C.Ki 1, which immediately recalls the Lycian dative *trqqñti* and consequently a *nt*-stem, appears in a structurally impenetrable sequence in scriptio continua. A secondary $trq\delta\bar{a}$ -stem (> *-o*) for *Tarhunt-* matches a similar, but not identical, process in Hieroglyphic Luwian, where a stem *Tarhunza-* developed and coexisted with the original stem in *-nt Tarhunt-* (Starke 1990:139-140). On the other hand if the name of month $trq\delta os$ is a translation from Greek $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, the use of an adjective $trq\delta os$ < **Tarhunt-āss-* would sound convincing, although we would have to assume that $trq\delta os$ is morphosyntactically a locative singular in agreement with *armo*, and conjecture the loss of a locative ending.

§ 9. *The letter \mathfrak{S} in the alphabetic variants*

Throughout this paper, I have assigned the letter \mathfrak{S} a conventional transcription < \acute{l} >, which has had dramatic consequences for the interpretation of C.Hy 1 and other Carian inscriptions. But it is necessary to explain the role of this letter, which has a liquid lateral value inside the different alphabetic variants, in the place it appears, and particularly its relationship with the Carian $\Delta = l$ and $\mathfrak{I} = \lambda$ letters and sounds.

§ 9. 1. *The alphabet of Mylasa*

The simplest case is Mylasa. This alphabet has \mathfrak{S} and Δ , but lacks \mathfrak{I} . Considering the identification of C.My 1 *qlali-* as corresponding to *qlali* in other alphabetic variants (particularly Saqqâra, but also in the inscription from Greece G.2), it seems clear that in this alphabet \mathfrak{S} is used as *l* (= Δ in Saqqâra) and Δ is used as λ (= \mathfrak{I} in Saqqâra):

Mylasa	Saqqâra	values
Ⲛ	Ⲛ	λ
Ϝ (variant used: Ⲙ)	Δ	l

This interpretation is consistent with spellings like *iduso*Δś, which matches *dwśol-ś* in Saqqâra (cf. also Ἰδυσσωλλος in Greek sources), or *βano*Δ if the identification with Ἰβανωλλίς is right (Blümel-Kızıllı 2004:134, Adiego 2005: 85-86).

§ 9.2. The alphabet of Hyllarima

We can hypothesize that the same phenomenon occurs in the alphabet of Hyllarima. It is true that the presence of a form such as Δ to spell the name *usol* led me to think of a special letter for λ other than Δ, but I am now convinced that Δ was simply a variant of Δ in a different hand (and on a different date?) to write the names of lines 4 and 5 of column a (I recall that Schürr had suggested to me *per litteras* when the inscription was published that Δ could be a variant of Δ):

Hyllarima	Saqqâra	values
Δ, Δ	Ⲛ	λ
Ϝ	Δ	l

An interesting consequence of the assumption that Δ / Δ systematically represents λ in C.Hy 1 is that the ethnic name ΥΔΑϸΝϞϧ *ylarmit* ‘Hyllarimaeon’ becomes *ylarmit*, with λ, which is consistent with the systematic Greek spelling of the name of the city using λλ: Ὑλλαρῖμα (Blümel 1998 [2012]:184).

§ 9.3. The alphabet of Kildara

In Kildara, the situation is different, because we find Ⲛ λ together with Ϝ. But it is striking that no examples of Δ appear anywhere in the text. Although the absence of Δ could be a matter of chance, the inscription is long enough to suggest that the lack of examples of Δ is not accidental, particularly in view of the three instances of Ϝ in the text.

Since Ⲛ is clearly used for λ in *kilara* (= Κίλλαρα) and since Ϝ was probably used to spell the place name *qybls*- Kyblissos, we assume that in Kildara, Ⲛ is λ and Ϝ is simply l.

§ 9.4. The alphabet of Stratonikeia

The most problematic case is Stratonikeia C.St 2, where the three letters Ϝ Δ Ⲛ coexist. The fact that Ⲛ represents λ is beyond doubt, thanks to *usol*Ⲛś = *usol-*

/Υσσωλλος; the fact that Δ is *l* is confirmed by the sole example of the letter in the inscription, in the sequence *uΔiade*, where I proposed to recognize the Greek name (very popular in Caria) Οὐλιάδης (Adiego 1994:39-40; Adiego 2007:428). As for Ϝ, it appears only in *ymeϜus*[. Given the context in which it appears, it is probably a personal name. With a value close to /l/, a sequence *ymelu* could be a Carian adaptation of the Greek name Εὔμηλος (Schürr, pers. comm.), but we cannot be sure of the sound value of Ϝ in this inscription. I imagine three possibilities: (1) Ϝ represents in C.St 1 a *l*-sound, but different from *l* and λ; (2) it represents a different sound, the letter having been re-used in that alphabetic variant; (3) Δ and Ϝ are originally graphic variants of the same letter, the local alphabets choose one or another in epigraphic use, but in Stratonikeia both existed. We can recall the situation in Lycian N 320 (the Xanthos trilingual), where two variants of *ã* appear used in the same inscription (see Adiego 2012:94). But of course we cannot totally rule out the possibility that, in this and perhaps in other alphabetic variants, the three letters represented three different sounds.

§ 9.5 *Euromos*

Only the case of *Euromos* C.Eu 2 remains. This inscription has Δ but not Ι. It is not a long inscription and the absence of Ι may be accidental, but the inscription has a clear affinity to *Mylasa* and *Hyllarima*: In C.Eu 2 we find the letter Η: in the first stages of the decipherment it was interpreted as λ, according to the variant Η = λ in the alphabet of *Kaunos*. However, after the publication of *Mylasa* and the new fragment of *Hyllarima*, where Η represented *e* (vs. □ in other alphabets) it became clear that this was also the value of Η in *Euromos*. This parallelism, together with the use of Ϝ and Δ and the absence of Ι, suggest that the distribution of lateral liquids was also similar to that found in *Hyllarima* and *Mylasa*. Certainly, this is a provisional conclusion, which may be confirmed or disproved if new material appears.

§ 9.6 *Summary of the use of Ϝ*

We can summarize the situation of the alphabetic variants of Caria regarding the sounds *l* and λ in the following table:

Place	l	λ	Í(?)	Notes
Euromos	Ϝ	Δ		No evidence for I
Hyllarima	Ϝ	Δ, Δ		No evidence for I
Mylasa	Ϝ	Δ		No evidence for I
Kildara	Ϝ	I		No evidence for Δ
Stratonikeia	Δ	I	Ϝ	
Sinuri	Δ	I		No evidence for Ϝ
Kaunos	Δ	H		No evidence for Ϝ

Therefore, from now on I will transcribe these letters according to the table above (so for instance in C.Hy 1 *pilipus*, *ylarmit*, C. St 2 *ymélus*[, etc). See the appendix below for the new transcriptions.

§ 10. *The letter Ϝ in Egypt*

The new decipherment of the letter Ϝ rules out its equivalence to Ϟ, whose value as /st/ or similar (transcribed <z>) seems beyond doubt thanks to the clear identification of some Carian names of Egyptian origin in Schürr (1996). In Egypt, the graphic representation of the sounds l and λ is identical to that seen in Sinuri or in Kaunos (in this latter case, with H as a simple rotated variant of I): Δ for l, I for λ. As for the letter Ϟ, it must now be seen as a specific trait of the Carian alphabet of Egypt, only present outside Egypt in Kaunos and in some inscriptions of unknown origin (particularly C.xx.2, where it appears in the sequence *izpemδane*).

But from the new scenario traced in the present paper, a new reconsideration emerges: the value of the letter Ϟ (and variants; see Fig. 5) attested in Egypt.






Inscription	Formal variants of Ϟ	
	Shape	Direction of writing
E.Me 34		←
E.Me 34		←
E.Me 41		→
E.Me 41		→
E.Bu 2		←

Fig. 5

I transcribed this letter as <ř> on the basis of the form *arGis̄* (E.Bu 2), which I compared to the Carian name from Greek sources Ἀρρισ(σ)ις.¹⁰ The discovery of the new fragment of Hyllarima showed that, at least in the alphabet of this Carian site, the name Ἀρρισις was simply written *ariš*. Another onomastic identification where the letter G was involved was the form *qdarGous̄* (E.Me 41). Read as *qdarrouś*, I compared it to Cuneiform Luwian *hudarla-* ‘servant’, Hieroglyphic Luwian */hudarli/- (SERVUS-*la/i-*, SERVUS-*lá/i-*, cf, also the personal name SERVUS-*lá/i-a-sa* = /Hударlas/). Of course, if G = Ś and therefore = /l/ or a similar lateral sound, the two mentioned forms become, respectively, /arliš/ and /qdarlouś/, so that the first form is simply the name Ἀρλισις and the second one is even closer to Luwian *hudarla-*, as no assimilation process *rl* > *rř* is required.

Another clear argument in favour of G = Ś and therefore = /l/ or sim. is E.Th 5 (*dýbr* | †*řkatarś* in Adiego 2007) This is a curious case: in Ševoroškin (1965:315, inscription 51 Š), the drawing clearly shows a sign Δ as the second letter of the second word, but years later, when Ševoroškin found and copied new graffiti from Thebes, he made a re-reading of E.Th 5 with G, undoubtedly inspired by the forms from Memphis then published by Masson (1978) E Me 34 | †*řkata[r]ś* and E.Me 41 †*řkatarś* (transcribed thus in Adiego 2007), where the letter used was G¹¹. Now, if we assume that G is a variant of Ś = *l*, it is no longer necessary to force the reading of E.Th 5: we have here *řkatarś*, as E.Me 34 and E.Me 41 become *řkata[r]ś*, *řkatarś* respectively.

Therefore, I am convinced that G is a variant of Ś used in Egypt and with a value identical or similar to /l/. Henceforth, I will transcribe G by means of *ř*, given that in the alphabet of Saqqâra, as in the case of C.St 2, we also have Δ = *l* and I = λ.

Incidentally, the use of the letter G in the two inscriptions from Saqqâra is particularly intriguing: it is used not only for the same word in both texts (*řkatarś*) but in the first name of E.Me 32 *meGś* (= *meřś*) and in the second name of E.Me 41, the mentioned *qdarlouś*. Although the inscriptions are very short, it is also worth noting that the letter Δ *l* is not used either in E.Me 32 or in E.Me 41.

10. In my dissertation, I gave preference to a value /l/ and transcribed the letter as <ř> (Adiego 1990a: 447, 598), but in later work (since Adiego 1993: 198-199) I have adopted an analysis as a kind of *r* alternating with *l* and a transcription <ř>.

11. See my comments in Adiego (2007:97), where I also mention that Schürr was not particularly convinced of this re-reading. Ševoroškin’s new copy of the word in question circulated privately but to my knowledge was never published. Ševoroškin mentioned the new reading *en passant* in Ševoroškin (1984:199).

We may speculate whether this relatively high use of **G** in only two inscriptions vs. the total absence in the rest of Saqqâra corpus may be connected with the fact that both inscriptions share the name *tîkatarś* as the third element of a three-fold onomastic formula:

E.Me 34

meĺś | somneś | tîkatar[r]ś

E.Me 41

[? orś | wpe | qdarĺous | tîkatarś

It would be tempting to interpret this third element as an ethnic name, as in other inscriptions from Saqqâra, and to relate this possible common origin of the Carian individuals mentioned in both steles to a local use of the letter **G** for the sound /l/. Unfortunately, this attractive hypothesis is seriously challenged by the case of E.Th 5, where *tîkatrś* appears in genitive following a personal name in nominative *dýbr*, so the simplest interpretation is that here *tîkatrś* is the father's name. If *tîkatar-/tîkatr-* were indeed an ethnic name occasionally used as a personal name this would permit us to resolve the problem, but this is an ad hoc assumption. Moreover, I cannot suggest any known Carian place name that is formally connected to *tîkatar-/tîkatr-*. Alternatively, if *tîkatar-* in E.Me 34 and E.Me 41 is a personal name (if so, it would be a papponym) we might speculate that we are dealing with the same person, and that the use of the letter **G** instead of **Δ** was linked to a sort of family spelling tradition or practice.

Turning to E.Bu 2, in this inscription, besides **G**, **Δ** is also used (but not **Ι λ**, although once again this may be a matter of chance, because the inscription is short). Unfortunately, the examples of **Δ** cannot be interpreted, so we cannot know whether here it was used for **λ**, or whether we have a parallel situation to Stratonikeia, where the three forms coexisted. In E.Bu 1, unfortunately, the letter in question is missing, so we cannot know whether *ar[G]iś* or *ar[Δ]iś* was written there, but the close affinities between E.Bu 1 and 2 suggest a similar alphabetic use.

For these Egypto-Carian examples of the letter **G**, I prefer to use <ǀ>, because in the alphabet of Saqqâra it coexists with **Δ** and **Ι λ** – as in Stratonikeia C.St 2 – and in the case of the alphabet of Buhen the documentation is too scarce to allow us to establish the exact use of these letters.

§ 11. $q\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$ ‘priests’

As pointed out above (§ 5), the identification of the dating formula implies a different ordering of the reading of the two first Carian lines of C.Hy 1, and this leads to an important new discovery: it is now clear that the inscription must be read from left to right, first the first line, then the second one. And this means that *armotr ρ δ osq* is now immediately followed by *mol \check{s} msoty λ armit*. This has an important impact on the possible Carian word for ‘priests’. As mentioned above (§ 5), the sequence †*mol \check{s}* (now read *mol \check{s}*) was interpreted as the word having this meaning in Carian and recognized also in the inscription of Mylasa C.My1 where it appears in the first line, heading a list of onomastic formulae.

But the new ordering of reading in C.Hy 1 reveals an interesting detail: *both in Hyllarima and in Mylasa mol \check{s} is preceded by the letter q*:¹²

C.Hy 1 ...armotr ρ δ osq $\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$ msoty λ armit

C.My 1 idrayridsem δ bq $\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$ tyk[

So it is possible to offer an alternative segmentation:

C.Hy 1 ...armo tr ρ δ os **q $\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$** msot y λ armit

C.My 1 idrayridsem δ b **q $\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$** tyk[

Therefore, we must consider the possibility that the Carian word for ‘priests’ was not *mol \check{s}* , but *q $\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$* .

Let us explore the consequences of assuming *q $\mu\omicron\lambda\check{s}$* instead of *mol \check{s}* . The clearest one is that we can compare it with the well-known Luwic family of words related to the meaning ‘sacred’, which includes some derivative forms with the meaning of ‘priest’:

12. Diether Schürr (pers. comm.) expresses doubts about the reading *q* in C.My 1: he had tried to read \acute{s} (Ⓞ) instead of *q* (Ⓞ) from some photos of the inscription. However, at least from the photograph published in the editio princeps (Kızıllı-Blümel 2004) and from other colour photographs I have seen, the letter is not Ⓞ. It can be read as Ⓞ or as Ⓞ, as the central point is not clearly identifiable (as noted by the first editors, this is a typical reading problem with these two letters, also frequent in Hellenistic and Imperial Greek inscriptions).

Lycian (Melchert 2004, ss. vv.):

kumalihe- ‘sacrificial/sacred’

kumaza-(1) ‘priest’

kumaza (2) ‘perform a sacrifice’

kumehe/i- ‘sacred, sacral’; ‘sacrifice, sacrificial sheep’

kumez(e)i- ‘to sacrifice, worship’

kumezi(je)- ‘sacred’; ‘sacred precinct’

Hieroglyphic Luwian (Yakubovich, ACLT):

kummani- ‘to purify’

kummastr(i)- ‘purification’

kummaya- ‘pure’

kummaya- ‘pure sacrifice’

kummayala- ‘temple official’

kummazza- ‘purest’

Cuneiform Luwian (Yakubovich ACLT):

kumma- ‘pure, sacred’

kummaya- ‘pure’

kummayall(i)- ‘(a type of priest)’

Therefore, Carian *qmoλ-* ‘priest’ may represent an original form **kummáll(i)-* or even **kummayall(i)-* (identical to the Cuneiform Luwian word meaning a type of priest) with the loss of the intervocalic yod.

§ 12. *The meaning of the initial sentence*

If the central section of the Carian heading of C.Hy 1 is now fully interpretable, and if the reference to the priests, to the gods and to the Hyllarimaeans in the final part of it also seems quite clear, the very beginning of the inscription remains obscure. A first problem is that we do not know where the possible sentence ends: we have three possible segmentations (*šasqariođđý / šasqariođđým*, or *šasqariođđýmđa*) given that, as we saw above, *đa* may be a preposition governing *kđušo*, but this is far from certain. As for *m*, if *đa* is a preposition, it may be a particle introducing *đa kđušo pilipus*, etc., but it might also go with the preceding sentence. The scriptio continua confuses the interpretation still further.

If the heading contains a verb, it must be in this initial part, as neither the dating formula nor the following sequence that concludes the heading

(*qmolšmsotylarmit*) contain anything that might be interpreted as a verbal form. In my opinion, *δ* in *šasqariod^o* may be interpreted as an original third person plural preterital ending **-nd* (cf. Luwian *-nta*, Lycian *-ñte*, *-ñte*). This possible verb in plural would express the initiation of the cult to the gods of Hyllarima, the designation of the priests, the establishment of the stele or a similar action. Depending on the interpretation, the priests of/for the gods of Hyllarima mentioned in the final part of the heading (*qmolš msot ylarmit*) would be the subject or the direct object of this (possible) verb *ariod*. If *qmolš* is in accusative plural (as *kbdynš* in C.Ka 5), *ariod* could be interpreted as a third person plural with impersonal value (for instance ‘they nominated/established (as) priests...’ = ‘one nominated (as) priests’, ‘they have been nominated (as) priests’. Of course, this is only a very hypothetical and speculative idea about the possible meaning and structure of this initial part of the inscription, and we must leave the question absolutely open.

§ 13. *The structure of the inscription*

The fact that the Carian heading must be read from left to right across the vertical line that separates the rest of the texts inscribed in the frontal face of the stele into two columns (an incontestable consequence of the decipherment of the text) obliges us to return to the question of the relative chronology of the Carian and oldest Greek sections, i.e., the order in which the first lines of both columns, dated between 320/319 BC and 263/262 (the year referred to in the list of priests of Apollo that follows in column (a)), were added.

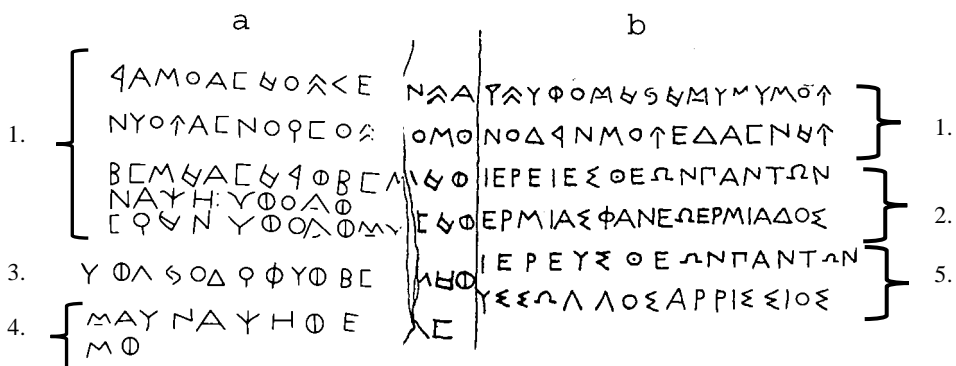


Fig. 6

In the *editio princeps* of the whole stele, Pierre Debord tried to establish a relative chronology, focusing on the palaeographical differences (Debord in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu 2005:626-627). Debord proposed a relative chronological order as the following (see Fig. 6):

1. The first five Carian lines (the heading and the three first onomastic formulae), which appear to be written in the same hand.

2. The two first Greek lines (ΙΕΡΕΙΕΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ / ΕΡΜΙΑΣ ΦΑΝΕΩ ΕΡΜΙΑΔΟΣ).

3. The sixth Carian line.

4. The seventh Carian (and beginning of the eighth) line.

5. The other two Greek lines (ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ / ΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΣ ΑΠΡΙΣΣΙΟΣ).

Debord also noted (1) the great palaeographical affinity between 1 and 2, i.e. the earliest Carian and the earliest Greek parts; (2) the affinity also of 4 (the seventh/eighth Carian lines) and 5, which in his opinion could also be written in the same hand; and (3) that the first Greek part -2- could be dated in the 4th century BC, while the second one -5- belonged to the 3rd century BC, and for this reason this latter could be chronologically very close to the list of priests of Apollo of 263/262 BC.

In general terms, Debord's analysis can be accepted as it is based on a reasonable, well-founded evaluation of the different parts of the inscription. However, the new proposed interpretation of the heading of the inscription obliges us to introduce a modification: once established that in this inscription Δ and Α do not represent different letters but variants of the sign used for λ (vs. Ϝ for λ), lines 4 and 5 of the Carian part, where the variant Α is used, can hardly have been written in the same hand as the second line, where the other variant, Δ, appears. *Contra* Debord, therefore, we must place lines 1-2 and line 4 at different chronological levels. This causes a problem with line 3, the first onomastic formula in Carian, as unfortunately there is no sign for λ that would allow us to decide; it might belong either to the same chronological level as lines 1-2, or to the chronological level of lines 4-5, or might even constitute an intermediate level between the two.

However, despite the convincing arguments formulated by Debord (with the exception of the problem mentioned immediately above about the internal differences in his section 1), this relative chronology leaves unresolved the most enigmatic aspect of the initial sections of the stela: why does the Greek heading in reference to the priests of all the gods appear twice, and why in the first case is the heading in plural but only one name is listed? In what follows, I intend to offer a

hypothesis that can explain these problems, and at the same time is consistent with Debord's chronology, with the modification mentioned above.

The central point of my hypothesis extends an idea I formulated in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioglu (2005:614): that the Greek name Hermias could be the translation of the indigenous name Imbrasis (*βrsi* in Carian spelling) and that, consequently, in some cases, Hermias and Imbrasis-*βrsi*- may allude to the same person. This idea was based on the Carian name for Hermes, which, according to the *Scholia vetera in Theogoniam* (v. 338) and to Eustathius' *Commentarii ad Iliadem* (XIV, 281), would be Ἴμβρασος. Imbrasis-*βrsi*- makes sense as a form derived from Imbrasos (**βrs-*) by means of an *-i-* (< **-iyō-*) suffix, in parallel to Hermias from Hermes.

I suggested this very speculative idea in my analysis of the reference to the *daimones* of Arissis son of Imbrasis and Hermias son of Arissis (καὶ δαιμόνων Ἀρίσσιος τοῦ Ἴμβρασι, Ἑρμίου τοῦ Ἀρίσσιος) in the purchase of priesthood by Leon son of Theodoros, the text occupying the lower part of column B and dated 197 BC. I proposed that in these two onomastic formulae, Imbrasis and Hermias was the same person, according to the following succession of names:

<i>Brsi</i>	Imbrasis
↓	↓
<i>ariš</i>	Arisis
↓	↓
<i>βrsi</i>	Hermias

Consequently, the purchase of priesthood would allude to the same priest mentioned in the first onomastic formula in Carian, *βrsi arišš* (*βrsiš*) = Hermias son of Arissis (the son of Imbrasis), and to his father, *ariš βrsiš* = Arissis son of Imbrasis.

Now, this idea can be extended to the first onomastic formula in Greek: *βrsi arišš βrsiš* and Ἑρμιᾶς Φανέω Ἑρμιᾶδος would also be the same person, and the Greek formula would be the 'translation' of the Carian names into Greek: note that in this Greek onomastic formula, Hermias is the name of the priest and of his grandfather, just as *βrsi* is in the Carian part.

The correspondence *ariš*/Ar(r)isis to Φάνης is more difficult to explain as the etymology of the Carian name is unknown. Only as pure speculation, if the name *ariš* had anything to do with Luwian *ariya-*, Lycian *eri-*, 'to rise; to raise', a point of connection could be imagined to Φάνης, φαίνω 'to cause to appear' (mid voice);

to appear' if we think of the sun, the moon, or the stars and the corresponding semantic proximity between 'to come to the light, to appear' and 'to rise'.

If *brsi arišš brsiš* and Ἑρμιᾶς Φανέω Ἑρμιᾶδος are the same person, we can then assume that the inscription was originally conceived as a bilingual stela. This first stage comprised the incision of the heading in Carian, followed by the first priest name in Carian (*brsi arišš brsiš*) and also of the Greek heading 'priests of all the gods' followed by the name of the first priest name 'translated' into Greek (Fig. 7).

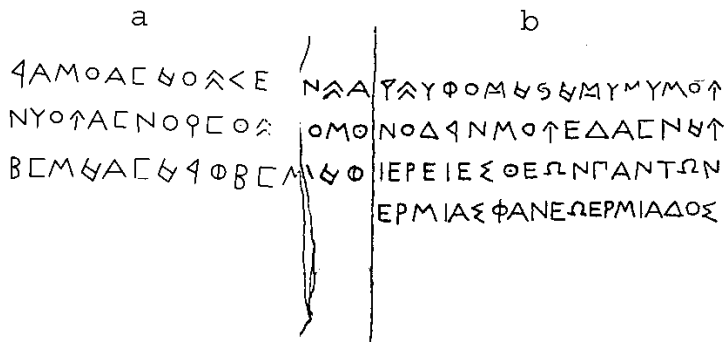


Fig. 7

In the second stage, another hand added the Carian names 2 and 3. It seems probable (as insinuated in the *editio princeps*) that the name 2 was included *after* the engraving of the name 3. Note that in principle, the distance between names 1 and 3 is similar to the distance between lines 1-2, and 2-3, and that it is perfectly aligned with the fourth line of column b (as the preceding lines in both columns). Note also that the onomastic formula of name 2 does not include the papponym, unlike the rest of the names in Carian. Certainly, it is also possible that person 2 was the brother of person 3 (they share the patronym), but this does not challenge the hypothesis of a later addition (Fig. 8).

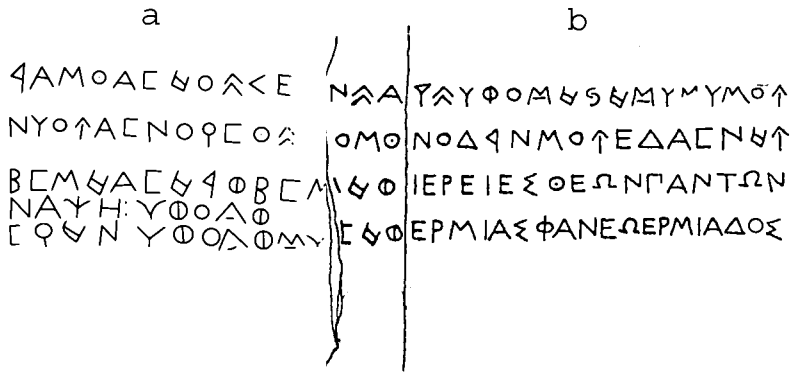


Fig. 8

An important detail is that it seems that the original aim of writing the names of the priests in a parallel way in Greek was abandoned. This initial aim seems clear, given the use of plural *ιερείες* ‘priests’. Perhaps the need to iterate the names in Greek was an idea initially bound to a certain external control (reflected in the use of a dating formula of the reign of Philip III. The decision to add the Carian names 2 and 3 (with a possible mistake, which suggests a certain lack of care, in contrast with the meticulous initial design) was probably an internal affair and the use of the Greek column was considered redundant.

The third stage comprised the addition of the Carian name 4 in a different hand. Once again, the “Greek column” was not used. Note that this name was not aligned with the preceding lines. Perhaps the space was calculated previously, and it was considered advisable to start slightly before in order to adjust the onomastic formula to the space of one line (Fig. 9).

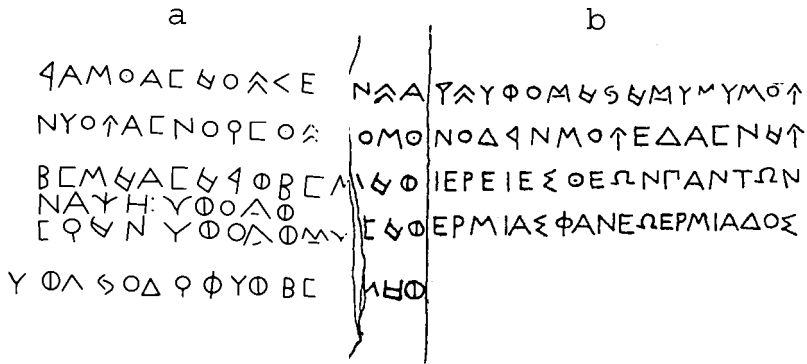


Fig. 9

In the fourth stage, a different hand added the Carian name 5 (Fig. 10). It was written in a strange form, using two lines when it was theoretically possible to write it in a single one, as it consists only of 12 letters and the preceding lines contained 14-15 letters. Might this indicate a certain awareness that it was the last name written in Carian?

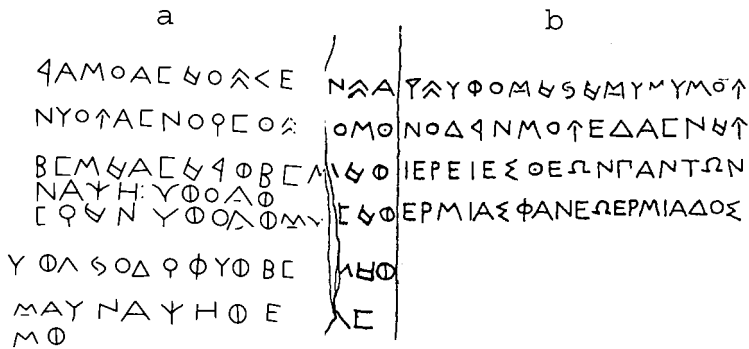


Fig. 10

In the fifth stage, very close to the year of the later priest list of Apollo (according to Debord’s palaeographical analysis), a new name was added to the “Greek column” in Greek. But it was preceded by a new heading: ‘priest (singular!) of all the gods’. As mentioned above, this was always a key point in the interpretation. Now I think that the hypothesis envisaged here offers plausible answers to the central issues: why a new Greek heading, why the first Greek heading is in plural but includes only one person, and why the new heading is in singular (Fig. 11).

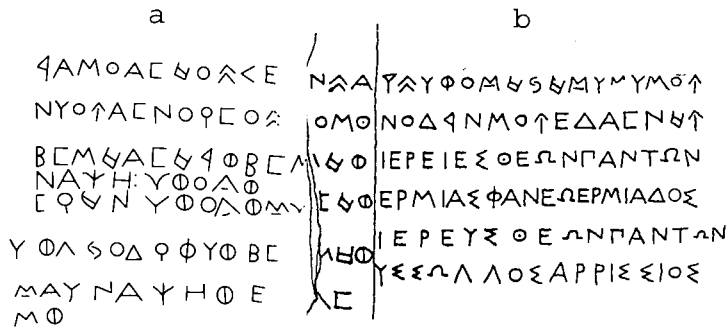


Fig. 11

The first heading was followed only by one name because, as I suggested above, the original intention to reproduce the Carian names in Greek was abandoned. And this also explains the need for a new heading: it was necessary to make it clear that the new priest name was not the immediate successor of Hermias/*brsi-*, i. e., the Greek ‘translation’ of the second priest, *mane úsolś*, but a later priest who succeeded the last priest written in Carian in column a. Here the central point is the change of language: Carian is no longer used, and the list must continue in Greek. A very important detail is that the last priest, written exclusively in Greek, bears Carian names: Ussollos, son of Arrisis.

But why in singular? The only explanation would be that the heading and the name were added when the person responsible for engraving the stone was aware that Ussollos son of Arrisis was the last priest in this cult. This is consistent with the idea, suggested by Debord, that these two lines were engraved not long before the list of priests of Apollo (263/262 BC).

If this hypothesis is correct, we have the following sequence of priests:

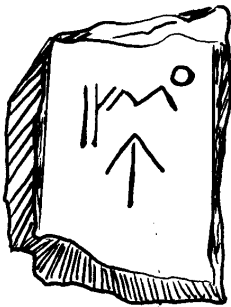
- qmolś msot glarmit / ιερεῖες θεῶν πάντων
- 1-*brsi ariśś brsiś* = Ἑρμιᾶς Φανέω Ἑρμιᾶδος
- 2- *mane úsolś*
- 3-*rtim úsolś puriś*
- 4-*úśbloł tñús brsiś*
- 5-*pau manés ybrśś*
- ιερεὺς θεῶν πάντων
- 6-Υσσωλλος Αρρισσιος

This proposal is consistent with Debord's palaeographical analysis, the sole debatable point being the fact that names 2 and 3 were not engraved at the same time as name 1.

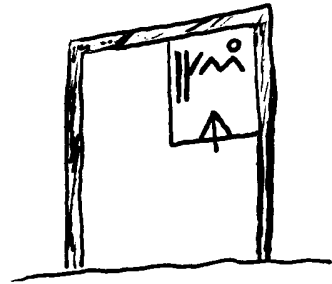
From the point of view of the disappearance of Carian as a written language, C.Hy 1, interpreted in this way, is an exceptional document: it shows us that Carian was in use in 320/319 BC in a local community, and was preferred to Greek, but that around fifty years later it was abandoned, even though individuals such as the last priest of all the gods, Ussollos son of Arrissis, continue to bear Carian names. A few years later, the priests of Apollo present almost exclusively Greek names; the only exception is the name *Tovvouç*, the name of a priest and the name of the father of a priest, possibly related by family ties (see Debord in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioglu 2005: 627).

§ 14. *Other years*

Another unexpected consequence of the decipherment of the dating formula in C.Hy 1 is the re-consideration of the two identical Carian inscriptions found in Keramos and edited by Varinlioglu (Varinlioglu 1986), C. Ke 1 and C.Ke 2 (Fig. 12).



C.Ke 1 | *usot*



C.Ke 2 | *usot*

Fig. 12

In Adiego (2007:23, 150) I expressed some doubts about the true Carian character of these two stelae, as the first sign, l, apparently an *iota*, was alien to the Carian alphabet. Now, after establishing *usot* as the Carian word for 'year', the first sign makes sense as a numeral sign 'one'. The use of a vertical stroke to represent the unit one is a banal procedure, and it is also attested in Carian in the two inscriptions from Karabournaki (Greece) published in Adiego-Tiverios-

Manakidou-Tsiafakis (2012). Both inscriptions of Keramos must refer, then, to “one year” or “first year”. But what was the function of these steles? The difficulty of the question is seriously compounded both by the exact morphosyntactic value of the ending $-\tau$ and by the lack of typologically similar inscriptions (at least to my knowledge). According to Varinlioğlu, both limestone steles were found in the same funerary monument, but no other details are given; so it is very difficult to imagine to which subject or object these two instances of “one year” or “first year” may refer. Might they also be dating formulae, though strongly elliptical (without any reference to rulers) because this could be deduced from the context? Are they an indication of age? In any case, if the analysis of λ as representing the cardinal number ‘1’ and *usot* as another example of the Carian word for ‘year’, we can conclude that *usot* is *singular*, a finding that may be relevant to the analysis of *usot muot* in Hyllarima. However, given the uncertainties regarding the interpretation of C.Ke 1 and C.Ke 2, perhaps it is more prudent to avoid automatic conclusions and *obscurum per obscurius* explanations.

It is tempting to look for other possible examples of the Carian word for year. Unfortunately, no other clear instance can be found, apart from those of Hyllarima and Keramos. I can only offer a minimal speculation regarding the final part of the Kaunos bilingual (C.Ka 5). The inscription seems to end with the sequence *aitusi*, preceded by a *mnos* where the Carian word for ‘son’ seems easily identifiable. For *aitusi*, a segmentation *aitu si* was proposed, as *aitu* makes good sense as a third person plural imperative (cf. Lycian third person plural preterite *aitē*; in Lycian the plural imperative was probably **aitu*, although this has not yet been attested (Adiego 2007:349). However, I wonder whether we cannot think of a segmentation *ait usi*, where *usi* would match Lycian *uhi*, dative-locative singular. *ait* could be then the third person plural *present* or *preterite* of *ai-* ‘to make’ ‘they made/(will) make in a year’. Unfortunately, the text immediately preceding *aitusi* is totally obscure, and I do not know of any parallel references to “making something in a year” as a final formula in similar Greek texts.

§ 15. alo, alos(δ) \hat{k} arnos(δ), *Halicarnassus*

Finally, as in a *Ringkomposition*, we return to our point of departure: the coin legend A Θ O. In my opinion, the evidence is clear enough to show that this legend must be interpreted as *alo*. The connection between this *alo* and the sequence *alos \hat{k} arnos* on a stele from Saqqara and *alos δ \hat{k} arnos δ* in an inscription on a bowl of unknown origin is hard to deny, just as it is hard to deny the connection between

the coin legends in *kbo*, which Konuk identified as the Carian name of Keramos, and *kbos* in another stele from Saqqara:

<i>alo</i>	<i>alos k̂arnos</i>
<i>kbo</i>	<i>kbos</i>

So *alos k̂arnos* alludes to a place name, and my old proposal to see the place name Halicarnassus here is now confirmed by the new reading *alo*, which permits an equivalence between *alo* (a legend on coins that Troxell situated in Halicarnassus) and *alos k̂arnos*. A different issue, still unclear to me, is the precise analysis of *alos k̂arnos* and *alosδ k̂arnosδ*. I leave this question for future research.

Perhaps the link of *alo* to *alos k̂arnos* could be reinforced (if necessary!) by the very attractive suggestion made by Massimo Nafisi (personal communication) to connect the use of a ram head on the obverse of most of the coins bearing the legend *al, alo* to the Hesychian glossa κάρνος· βόσκημα, πρόβατον. Although the meanings given in Hesychius are rather generic (βόσκημα ‘fatted beast’, ‘cattle’; πρόβατον ‘cattle’) they have been placed alongside κέρας ‘horn’, κάρᾱ ‘tame goat’, cf. also κράνος ‘helmet’ (Chantraine 1999, ss. vv.) and generally interpreted as ‘ram’. In any event, note that in this semantic interpretation of κάρνος, a link to Apollo Karneios, a deity that modern scholarship has connected with the ram and is represented with ram’s horns, also seems to have played an important role. Very recently Nicola Nenci has challenged this traditional vision of Apollo Karneios’ iconography, arguing convincingly that there is no evidence for the representation of Apollo Karneios as a ram-god (Nenci 2018). From Nenci’s paper the impression emerges that not only was Apollo Karneios not necessarily a deity related to rams, but that the attribution of a meaning ‘ram’ to κάρνος derives from this very hypothetical construction resulting from joining together some speculative etymological connections and very fragile iconographical interpretations. This is a point that needs to be clarified. For this reason, Nafisi’s connection, though undoubtedly striking and intriguing (was there an iconographical-linguistic play between Carian *k̂arnos* and the representation of a ram, if κάρνος really meant ‘ram’?) cannot be used freely as evidence for the moment.

§ 16. *Conclusions*

In this paper I have explored the consequences of changing the value of a single Carian letter: the letter \mathfrak{S} , for which a value *z* had been assumed, is here redeciphered as *l*. The results are certainly striking: the new decipherment not only

offers good results in the inscriptions C.My 1 and C.Ki, but it reveals a complete dating formula in the bilingual of Hyllarima, where the fourth year of the king Philip Arrhidaios is mentioned. This has many consequences, both linguistic and historical, which I have tried to analyse here, albeit in a preliminary way. Other consequences of this decipherment can also be envisaged: the interpretation of the enigmatic inscriptions C.Ke 1 and C.Ke 2 or the real value of the letter \mathfrak{G} used in Egypt, which in all likelihood is a simple variant of $\mathfrak{S} = l$. Apart from all these results, the new decipherment opens up new pathways of analysis of the Carian alphabet, given that an interesting local variation in the use of signs for the sounds $\langle l \rangle$ and $\langle \lambda \rangle$ is now observable. From the coexistence of \mathfrak{S} and Δ in the inscription of Stratonikeia C.St 2 and from the occasional use of \mathfrak{G} in the alphabet of Saqqara we can speculate that different levels of the cursive use of the Carian alphabet existed. Perhaps \mathfrak{S} (and \mathfrak{G}) are very cursive forms of a letter lambda with value $/l/$, to which a “capital” form Δ corresponded.

§ 17. *Appendix: New readings of some inscriptions*

The new value of \mathfrak{S} (\mathfrak{G} in Egypt) and the reconsideration of the use of Δ where it appears means that we can reformulate the transcriptions of some Carian inscriptions. According to what I have established above in § 9 and § 10, I propose to transcribe henceforth \mathfrak{S} simply as $\langle l \rangle$, with the exception of Stratonikeia. In Euromos, Mylasa and Hyllarima, Δ is now transcribed as $\langle \lambda \rangle$.

In Stratonikeia, given the contrast between Δ , \mathfrak{I} and \mathfrak{S} , and the certain values $\Delta = l$ and $\mathfrak{I} = \lambda$, I leave \mathfrak{S} untranscribed, as it may have been re-used for a different sound value.

In Egypt, the letter \mathfrak{G} is transcribed as $\langle l \rangle$ for the reasons given in § 10.
(In italics, the words whose readings have changed.)

EGYPT

Memphis

E.Me 34

mełś | *sommeś* | *tłkatar[r]ś*

E.Me 41

orś | *wpe* | *qdarłous* | *tłkatarś*

Thebes
 E.Th 5
 dýbr | *tlkattrś*

Buhen
 E.Bu 1
 [-]msal | *ar-*
 [í?]iś | *psmaś-*
 kś | *urmś* | *an-*
 kβuś | *trēl*
 kδouś

E.Bu 2
 euml?bna-
 sal | *aríiś*
 pdtomś
 uromś | *an-*
 kβuś

CARIA

Euromos (C.Eu 2)
 omob kí : *temali*
 śδun : *śośniabkol*
 armon *qyrbmuδolo*
 manon

Hyllarima (C.Hy 1)
 śasqarioδdymδα kδuśo *pilipus usot*
 muot armo trqδos *qmolś msot ylarmit*
 βrsi ariśś βrsiś
 mane : *uśołś*
 rtim *uśołś pur?iś*
uśbloł tñuś βrsiś
 pau manés ybr-
 sś

Mylasa (C.My 1)

idrayridsemδb qmολś tyk̄[
 tsial tusolś : moi m[-]sao[
 βanol paruosś : p?au paryriks̄
 qlali obrbiś : tsial obrbiś
 βanol yrqsoś : paryriḱ psoirś
 [-]bδo pnuśos̄ : myle trdyś
 šarkbiom qlaliś : śumo kbdmuś
 skdu βrotolś : pau k̄tois̄
 [-]qo idyriks̄ : ksbo iduśolś
 [-]obiokliś : k̄toi yrqsoś

Kildara (C.Ki 1)

[.....(.)]lolbaka[.(.)] kiλ[
 [...]uδa[...] trqdimr qrdś talomδ[
 kilaraδ [q?]ybls dmTnmkδa[-]aTuq[
 iasoum

Stratonikeia (C.St 2)

uśolś uodrou u[
 mutes ymeḡus[
 k̄diyēs uodryia[
 uliade piδaru[
 mañšqaraTśrλ-?-[
 δaršqemorms[
 Tdašqedormñs[

Coins (Konuk in Adiego (2007)

M12-18 *al*
 M19 a (obv.) *al* (rev.)
 M20-M21 *alo*

§ 18. References

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Evidence for the Name *Trbbānimi* on Lycian Coinage*

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§ 1. In the Lycian script <ē> is spelled with a great number of variant forms, even though among scholars there is no common agreement on their exact number: while according to Kalinka (1901) they are ten, Bryce (1986) gives a list of nine forms:

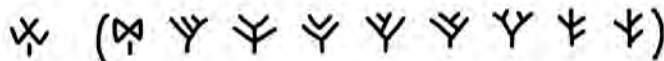


Fig. 1. Variants of <ē> according to Kalinka (1901).

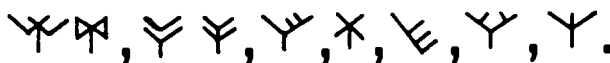


Fig. 2. Variants of <ē> according to Bryce (1986:57).

Rix (2016: 92), instead, regards all them as variants of three main forms: Ψ , Υ and Υ . Ψ is considered to be the earliest form, and it was never replaced by the

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other two. Furthermore, Ψ was earlier than Υ , which was first attested in the epigraphy of the post-Alexandrine period.¹

In regard to the letter Υ , Rix suggests it may be found on a group of third staters from the Podalia hoard minted by Trbbēnīmi,² a Lycian ruler (perhaps Perikle's predecessor) who issued coins at Limyra during the first decades of the fourth century BC. If on these coins the name Trbbēnīmi is in fact written with Υ (<ē>), then the use of this sign can be traced back to the beginning of the fourth century BC.

As a matter of fact, these coin legends show a sign more similar to Ψ - an alternative form of <ā> - than to Υ :



Fig. 3. Photographs of coins issued by Trbbēnīmi (Olçay/Mørkholm 1971, Plate 5).

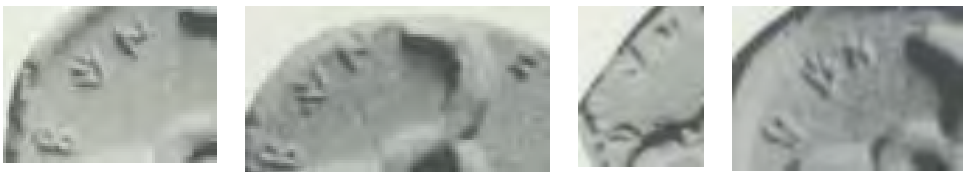


Fig. 4. Details.

1. See Rix (2016: 93). Υ occurs, for instance, in the inscription TL 29 from Tlios (post-Alexandrine period), in TL 88, TL 91 and N308 from Myra (inscriptions datable to the end of the fourth century BC), and in TL 99 and TL 102 from Limyra (datable to the second half of the fourth century BC or later).

2. See Olçay/Mørkholm (1971: 8-9, nos 157-253 = M141a-j) with Plate 5.

The diplomatic transcription given by Olçay and Mørkholm is *TPBBVNEME*; despite this, they transliterate the sequence as *trbbēnīmi*, thus seeming to regard Ψ as a variant of $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$.³

For this reason, Eichner (1983) does not discard the possibility that on the coins in question the ruler's name was *Trbbānīmi*, with $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ instead of $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$.⁴ So far, he has been the only one to speculate about the existence of an alternative spelling *trbbānīmi*.

It follows that there are two possibilities:

1. the sign sketched as Ψ by the two scholars was intended to represent the $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$ variant Υ (which was perhaps miswritten?). If this were the case, we could assume with Rix (2016: 94 n. 186) that the use of Υ was initially limited to coinage and only afterwards it was extended to inscriptions. Alternatively, this letter may have been used in earlier inscriptions which unfortunately were not preserved.⁵
2. the coin legends with the variant Ψ must be read as *trbbānīmi*. From a paleographical viewpoint, this would not pose any problems, since the sign Ψ for $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ is attested in inscriptions by the time of *Trbbēnīmi*. Nevertheless, it is hard to justify the occurrence of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ instead of $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$: in Rix's opinion, on one hand it might be due to a confusion between the letters, whose ductus is fairly similar. On the other hand, it is also likely that, being the two sounds so alike, they were sometimes interchanged.⁶

This matter is complicated by the fact that the sequence *trbbēnīmi* is generally written by using the main form Ψ , both in inscriptions and on coinage. In fact, the four epigraphic attestations of the dynast's name show Ψ .⁷ Similarly, in the coin legends the sequence *trbbēnīmi* usually occurs with Ψ .

3. As a result, a possible form *trbbānīmi* is not mentioned neither in Neumann's *Glossar des Lykischen* (Neumann 2007) nor in Melchert's *DLL* (Melchert 2004).

4. "Für die Varianten beim \tilde{e} -Zeichen ist z. B. bemerkenswert, daß die Normalform Ψ im Namen des *Trbbēnīmi* (falls nicht überhaupt mit \tilde{a}° zu lesen) mit einer Sonderform Υ wechselt" (Eichner 1983: 50 n. 10).

5. See Rix (2016: 94 n. 186).

6. See Rix (2016: 94).

7. These are TL 44 a44, b11 (Xanthos stele), TL 128 (epitaph of Krusti, from Limyra, where the name appears in the genitive case as *trbbēnemeh*) and TL 135 (epitaph of {X}uwata from Limyra, where the name occurs in the genitive case as well, *trbbēnimeh*).

§ 2. Hence, the aim of this study was to verify first if on the coins of Trbbēnīmi alternative forms of ✠ were employed; secondly, to find possible attestations of the ruler's name spelled with the variant form of <ã> that could support the alternative view suggested by Eichner.

I have focused my research on different corpora from the one previously mentioned. First, I have collected a corpus of coins issued by Trbbēnīmi where the issuer's name was fully or at least partially written, and the ductus of <ē> was clearly discernable. It follows that I have not taken into account those coins where the sign was illegible. Most of the coins, of different weight and typology, come from private collections and have been retrieved from online auction sites.⁸ A minor number comes from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and from the British Museum collections, respectively. One coin is preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge.

The corpus I collected is made of seventy-five coins, according to this distribution:

- a. ten coins from the British Museum. Among them, six refer to the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* von Aulock (SNG von Aulock), and two are published in Babelon's *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines II* (Babelon 1910). Concordances are shown in Table 1.

BM Catalogue number	Concordances
GC19p34.150	Babelon 2, 476
GC19p35.151	Babelon 2, 477
SNG 4214	SNG von Aulock 4214
SNG 4215	SNG von Aulock 4215
SNG 4216	SNG von Aulock 4216
SNG 4217	SNG von Aulock 4217
SNG 4218	SNG von Aulock 4218
SNG 4221	SNG von Aulock 4221

Table 1. Concordances between the coins from the British Museum collection and Babelon (1910) and the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* von Aulock.

8. This choice is motivated by the fact that auction websites, as well as the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the British Museum online catalogues, provide each coin with high-quality images. Therefore, the letters are quite easy to make out.

- b. six coins preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Five were published by Babelon (1910), and one is included in Babelon's *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Babelon 1893). Below the concordances are given:

BnF Catalogue number	Concordances
Babelon 528	Babelon 1893 n. 528
Waddington 2960	Babelon 2, 472
Waddington 2961	Babelon 2, 473
Waddington 2962	Babelon 2, 474
Waddington 2963	Babelon 2, 475
Waddington 2964	Babelon 2, 469

Table 2. Concordances between the coins from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Babelon (1893, 1910).

- c. one coin from the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge collection.
- d. fifty-eight coins from private collections. They were auctioned between 1999 and 2018.

Secondly, I have examined all the numismatic material collected. From the analysis performed, I got the following results:

1. on none of the coins of the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge an alternative form to spell <ē> other than Ψ is attested. All them show the sign Ψ .
2. among the coins of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, on five (corresponding to Babelon 1893 n. 528, Babelon 2, 469, Babelon 2, 472, Babelon 2, 473 and Babelon 2, 474) the letter Ψ occurs. On Babelon 2, 475, instead, the sign is Ψ (an alternative form for <ā>), although Babelon sketches it as the main form of <ē> (TPBB Ψ /NEME):



Fig. 5. Babelon 2, 475 (<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41795219v>).

3. within the fourth group, forty-nine coins show the letter Ψ , but nine offer interesting information: on five coins the sign ∇ occurs, while four show the sign Ψ ; both are variants to spell <ã>.

In Figures 6-7 specimens of each subgroup are shown:



Fig. 6. Auctiones GmbH, eAuction 50, Lot 75, 11.09.2016
(www.auctiones.ch/browse.html?auction=51&lot=11505).



Fig. 7. Numismatik Naumann, Auction 59, Lot 155, 05.11.2017
(www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=4514546).

It follows that neither 𐌶 nor 𐌷 , the two variants of $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$, occur on the examined coins minted by Trbbēnīmi, where the mostly used sign is 𐌸 . On the contrary, on ten coins (out of seventy-five!) the ruler's name was written by using two alternative forms of $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$, 𐌹 and 𐌺 .

§ 3. In relation to the variants of $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$, Rix again groups them into three main forms: 𐌹 (considered to be the original form, with the variation 𐌺), 𐌻 and 𐌺 . According to the scholar, who carried out a survey of the most remarkable letter forms in the Lycian epigraphic corpus, the relationship between the second and the third variant is not easy to understand, as well as their distribution. They are believed to represent the independent development of the main form (𐌹), with a number of intermediate forms:

$\text{𐌹} > \text{𐌻} \quad > \text{𐌺}$
 $\text{𐌺} > \text{𐌻} \quad > \text{𐌺}$

✚, regarded as the antecedent of ✛, appears on the epitaph of Merehi at Xanthos (TL 43), dated to c. 410 BC. Moreover, in the inscription TL 26 from Tlos, dated to the first half of the fourth century, the development resulting in the third variant ✛ from intermediate forms ✚ and ✛ is documented. Similarly, in the undated inscription TL 37 at Xanthos a couple of variants resembling those of TL 26 occur.⁹ As Rix (2016:85) points out, both ✚ and ✛ are attested rather early, even though in the dated inscriptions the latter appears once the former has been completely developed. They also occur together in two inscriptions: the former is N325, inscribed on a fragment of the Erbbina's statue base at Letoon, datable to c. 390 BC. This represents the earliest evidence of their co-occurrence. The latter is N320, the Letoon trilingual stele of the time of Pixodarus (337 BC),¹⁰ where the two variants are used to write the same words,¹¹ thus showing that, at least in this text, they were used with no distinction. In the last decades of the fourth century - after a period of concurrent use, the sign ✚ was superseded by ✛, which became the most frequent sign to write <ā>.

As far as the geographical distribution is concerned, among the inscriptions where the two letters are attested the number of those showing ✛ is extremely higher. Rix suggests that it may be due to the fact that ✚ continued to be used in cursive writing, while ✛ was preferred in the epigraphic documents, but, for the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to point out that the occurrence of both signs on the coins of Trbbēnimi, minted in the first decades of the fourth century, is consistent with their attestation within the inscriptions of the same period.

§ 4. With regard to the numismatic material, <ā> is generally written by means of the main form ✚. However, apparently another record of ✚ is found on Babelon 2, 239 = M 120,¹² a diobol of uncertain attribution showing a sequence *urā*. Both Babelon and Hill sketch the sign as the second variant of the <ā>, ✚. Actually, the photograph of the coin, which is preserved in the British Museum, shows a further variant form, that is ✛:

9. See Rix (2016:85) with figs. 23 and 25.

10. On the debate about the dating of this epigraphic document see for instance Bryce (1986: 48-49).

11. See in Adiego (2012:94) the example of the word *mahāna*, 'god'.

12. See also Hill 1897:28 n. 124.



Fig. 8. British Museum, 1860,0511.3 (c. 420 BC)
 (britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1276920&partId=1&searchText=Lycian+coins+&view=list&page=2).

↵, which is a variation of the main form ↴, is also attested on the coins of Thibānuwa,¹³ dating from the second quarter of the fifth century. It follows that, except for the coins analysed in this study, so far no other attestations of ↵ or ↴ have been found on coinage. However, Babelon 2, 239 = M 120 is of most interest, in that it records another alternative form of <ã>.

13. See Kolb/Tietz (2001:368).

§ 5. It may be argued that the variants \mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{V} represent $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$ instead of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ on the coins in question.

Nevertheless, in a significant number of epigraphic records the accusative singular ending $-\tilde{a}$ of the a -stems is spelled with either \mathfrak{V} or \mathfrak{V} , as shown in Table 3:

Acc. sg.	Stem	Inscription no.	Variant(s) used to spell $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ within the inscription
arā	<i>ara-</i> ‘rite’	N320	\mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{V}
arawā	<i>arawa-</i> ‘freedom’	N320	\mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{V}
atrā	<i>atla-</i> , <i>atra-</i> ‘person, self’	N324	\mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{V}
kumazā	<i>kumaza-</i> ‘priest’	TL 26	\mathfrak{V} + intermediate forms: \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{V}
ladā	<i>lada-</i> ‘wife’	TL 101	\mathfrak{V}
prñnawā	<i>prñnawa-</i> ‘mausoleum, (grave-)house’	TL 19, TL 92, TL 11	\mathfrak{V} (TL 19, TL 92) \mathfrak{V} (TL 11)
wawā	<i>wawa-</i> , <i>uwa-</i> ‘cow, bovine’	TL 26	\mathfrak{V} + intermediate forms: \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{V}
xupā	<i>xupa-</i> ‘tomb’	TL 7, TL 8, TL 12, TL 37, TL 48b, TL 58, TL 59, TL 80, TL 87, TL 93, TL 99, TL 101, TL 102, TL 108, TL 109, TL 119, TL 122, TL 136, TL 137, N314	\mathfrak{V} (TL 58, TL 59, TL 93, TL 101, TL 122, N314) \mathfrak{V} (TL 7, TL 8, TL 12, TL 37, TL 48b, TL 80, TL 87, TL 99, TL 102, TL 108, TL 109, TL 119, TL 122, TL 136, TL 137)
zā	<i>za-</i> ‘allotment, portion’	N320	\mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{V}
Personal names			
Erbbinā	<i>Erbbina-</i>	N324	\mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{V}
Zahāmā	<i>Zahāma-</i> , <i>Zahama-</i>	TL 101	\mathfrak{V}

Table 3. Signs employed in the attestations of the acc. sg. of the Lycian a -stems.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that within the same inscription N320 the word *mahāna* (dative-locative plural of *maha(na)*- ‘god’) is written with Ψ in line 24 and with \mathfrak{V} in line 37.¹⁴

In my view, these data provide decisive evidence to state with a high degree of confidence that in all the cases examined the signs \mathfrak{V} and Ψ were intended to spell <ā>. As a result, I believe that on the coins in question the reading *trbbānīmi* is hardly questionable.

So far, the occurrence of variant forms of <ā> on the coins of *Trbbēnīmi* has been neglected by scholars: by Babelon on 2, 475, by Olçay and Mørkholm on the coin group 157-253 from the Podalia hoard. The results of the analysis performed on the corpus I have collected should be regarded as the evidence for the existence of a variant *trbbānīmi*. It is not my purpose to discuss this form from a linguistic viewpoint: I will confine myself to suggesting that we might be dealing with the original form of the personal name, which changed to *trbbēnīmi* under the effect of the Umlaut rule.¹⁵

§ 6. Finally, I would like to add further considerations about the two variants of <ā> under study: while in epigraphy they can be clearly distinguished - as in N320 -, on the coins I have analysed they appear so similar as to the ductus that in many cases it is fairly hard to differentiate one variant from the other. In my view, this may be due mainly to the fact that on these coins the letters are written in a cursive style: for example, in the coin legend shown in Figure 6 letters are narrow, as well as in the one below (Figure 9), where the left stroke of *m* is prolonged and slightly curved, as well as the vertical stroke of *r*:

14. See Adiego (2012: 94).

15. See Melchert 1994: 296.



Fig. 9. F.R. Künker, eLive Auction 40, Lot 7273, 18.05.2016
(www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=3095774).

I think that a further suggestion can be put forward: it is not unlikely that \sphericalangle and Ψ originated as two manifestations of the same variant form. This idea may be supported by the fact that in the epigraphic documents the two forms appeared at a similar date and that they were regarded as interchangeable to such an extent that they were used not only within the same text, but also, as in N320, to spell the very same word. If this were true, then the coins would represent an extremely important record of the origin of these two subvariants.

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Editions of Lycian Inscriptions not Included in Melchert's Corpus from 2001

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The purpose of the present article is to provide editions of all inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions that are neither included in Neumann 1979 nor the online corpus published by Melchert in 2001.¹ As far as possible or appropriate, the texts will be presented in transliteration, translation, and commentaries. This applies both to the inscriptions that have already been published by other scholars and to those that I have been entrusted with for publication.

§ 1. *The current state of publication*

After the edition of the so far known Lycian stone inscriptions by Ernst Kalinka in 1901 (numbers TL 1 – TL 150) Günter Neumann published in 1979 a preliminary edition of the inscriptions which had come to light since then. For some reason, he decided not to continue with the numbering of Kalinka, but to start with the number N 300.

1. I would like to thank Patrick Baker, Craig Melchert, Diether Schürr and Recai Tekoğlu for helpful information and comments. Furthermore, my thanks go to Heiner Eichner, Martin Seyer and the other members of the TL project who made it possible for me to work on the Lycian original texts and use the photographs and paper squeezes taken on the various campaigns of the project.

After Neumann's publication several other inscriptions have been found. In addition, some fragments came to light which are related to, or could be joined with previously published texts. A couple of these texts have been published in various places. Transliterations of most of them are provided in the online corpus of Melchert published in 2001, which, however, is not a critical edition, but a preliminary collection of texts in transliteration.

A new critical edition was set as the goal of the Viennese Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions Project (TL project) which was founded by the classical archaeologist Jürgen Borchhardt and has been carried out since 1999 in cooperation with Heiner Eichner, who was in charge of the linguistic-philological analysis of the texts. From 2007–2010 the project was led by Martin Seyer, with me and Heiner Eichner being responsible for the linguistic-philological treatment of the inscriptions.

As the publication of the corpus has been delayed for various reasons, it seems reasonable to present a preliminary collection of texts not yet included in Melchert's corpus from 2001. To facilitate research, the previously assigned text numbers will be retained and continued. The following texts will be included:

Text no.	Location	Publication and further information
I. Inscriptions already edited		
1. N 44g	Xanthos	New fragment to TL 44 complementing TL 44a.32–40 and TL 44b.31–43. Edition: Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 132–146.
2. N 46 a and b	Xanthos	Two small stone fragments complementing TL 46. Drawings of the two fragments by George Scharf had already been published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1). An indirect join of N 46a based on Scharf's drawing has then been made by Emmanuel Laroche (1974: 140 with fig. 4). Both fragments have been rediscovered by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault on July 25, 2005 in the north necropolis of Xanthos. A first edition with improved readings and a new reconstruction of TL 46 will be provided in the present article.
3. TL 54a	Phellos	One-line inscription on a house tomb in Phellos (tomb 96). Edition: Diether Schürr (preprint). The inscription is related to TL 54 located above a niche next to the house tomb which has already been edited by Kalinka (1901: 53). For a new improved edition of this inscription

EDITIONS OF LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS NOT INCLUDED IN MELCHERT'S CORPUS

		which is now referred to as TL 54b see Schürr (preprint). In the present article, both inscriptions will be discussed and presented in tracings.
4. TL 72	Kyaneai	Extended text of the bilingual Lycian-Greek sarcophagus inscription TL 72 partially published by Kalinka (1901: 63). Edition: Neumann – Zimmermann 2003: 187–192. For a new interpretation see Schürr 2013: 257–260 and the discussion in the present article.
5. N 319	Letôon, near Xanthos	Bilingual Lycian-Aramaic (or originally trilingual Lycian-Aramaic-Greek) text on a stone fragment. Edition of the Aramaic version: Dupont-Sommer 1979: 172–174; first edition of the preserved Lycian text Christiansen in the present volume.
6. N 324 and N 325 fragments a–m	Letôon, near Xanthos	Twelve fragments complementing N 324. Edition: Bousquet 1992: 186–187 and pl. 77–178.
7. N 331	Avşar Tepesi	Graffito on a sherd of clay. Edition: Neumann 2000: 183–184, pl. 3,2.
8. N 332	Korba	Three-line tomb inscription. Edition: Neumann 2000: 84–85, pl. 25,1.
9. N 333	Tlos	Eleven-line offering inscription on an altar. Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 104–106 with fig. 1–3; with improved readings Christiansen in the present article.
10. N 334	Tlos	Thirteen-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 106–107 with fig. 4–6; with improved readings Christiansen in the present article.
11. N 335	Asartaş / Olympos	Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. First edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 107–108 with fig. 7–8.
12. N 336	Pinara	Six-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Kogler in Kogler – Seyer 2007: 109–121.
13. N 337	Limyra	Fourteen-line commemorative inscription on a stone block. Edition: Christiansen 2012: 141–153.
14. N 338	Limyra	Three-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.

15. N 339	Limyra	One-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
16. N 340a and b	Limyra	Remains of an inscription engraved on two stone fragments belonging to the same monument (presumably a stela). Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
17. N 341	Xanthos	Partly erased five-line Lycian inscription and a later Greek epitaph on two fragments of a rock-cut tomb (Inv. no. 2002-13). Edition of the Lycian inscription: Christiansen in the present article. See also Christiansen 2020a: 203–205 with fig. 69–71. For the Greek text see Baker – Thériault 2003: 433.
18. N 342a and b	Tlos	Two inscriptions on a rock-cut tomb with N 342a consisting of two and N 342b consisting of four lines. Edition: Korkut – Tekoğlu 2019: 169–188.
19. N 343	Tlos	Bilingual Lycian-Greek text on a stone fragment with two incomplete Lycian and two incomplete Greek lines preserved. Edition: Christiansen 2020b: 262–272.
20. N 344	Xanthos	Two-line Lycian inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Christiansen in the present article. See also Christiansen 2020a: 204–205 with fig. 72–74.
21. N 345		Currently unassigned (see the remarks in section II, paragraph 21).
22. N 346	Limyra	Fragmentary inscription on a sherd of clay. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
23. N 347	Xanthos	Fragmentary one-line inscription on a stone block consisting of two fully and one partly preserved letter. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
24. N 351	Beykonak	Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu in Seyer – Tekoğlu 2009: 217–226 with fig. 6. Tracing: Christiansen in the present article.
25. N 352	Tlos	Fragment of a tomb inscription. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 1.
26. N 353	Tlos	Fragment of a tomb inscription. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 2.

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27. N 354	Tlos	Fragment of an inscription of unclear contents. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 (without transliteration) and pl. 3.
28. N 355	Zindan	Fragment of an inscription of unclear contents. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 4.
29. N 356a and b	Tlos	Two inscriptions on a marble block which are mostly parallel to each other and TL 28. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 63–68 and pl. 5–7; for a new reading and interpretation see Christiansen in the present article.
30. N 357	Tlos	Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 65 with pl. 8.
II. Still unpublished inscriptions		
31. N 348	Aloanda, near Pinara	Twelve-line inscription of religious content on a fragmentarily preserved rectangular limestone block discovered by Fatih Onur and Eda Şahin. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal <i>Gephyra</i>).
32. N 349	Araxa	Inscription on a rock-cut tomb (re)discovered by Max Gander in March 2013. As noted by Diether Schürr (personal communication) it is likely the same tomb that had already been discovered by Charles Fellows (Fellows 1841: 123) without giving any details or a transliteration of the text. A photo of the tomb has been published by Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017, 208 Fig. 5. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal <i>Gephyra</i>).
33. N 350	Patara	Inscription on a sarcophagus. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu in preparation.
34. Numbers not yet assigned	Patara	Several inscriptions found by Erkan Dündar. Edition by Recai Tekoğlu in preparation.
N 358ff. not yet assigned		

§ 2. *The texts*

I. Inscriptions already edited

I.1. N 44g

In addition to the eight fragments of the Xanthos pillar found in 1950, the three fragments found in 1952, and one further fragment discovered in 1956, a new fragment came to light in 2013. It was found in the rectangular room east of the Western Agora's north-eastern corner room. The object is a 0.42 m high corner piece inscribed with Lycian text on both outer faces. The fragment complements TL 44a at the beginning of lines 32–37 and TL 44b at the end of lines 36–43. Furthermore, a direct join could be made with the fragment Ξ 207 (N 44f) which complements the ends of TL 44b lines 32–36. The new fragment is now registered as N 44g. For a detailed edition of the text see Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 132–146. In the following the restored passages of TL 44 will be given in transliteration:

left:

1' .

2' : *eh*3' *ze*4' *xu*5' *je*6' *me*

right:

1' [.]i.

2' *trq*3' *dāi*4' *ñte*5' *ija*6' *māṇ/ṃ*7' *ija*8' *jě.a*

TL 44a 32–40:

32 *azijedi: ēñne xistte: wawadra: [...]* .

33 *mē: zbetē: me uwadraxi: ese: przē[...]: eh*

34 *etehi: axā: ara: nelede: arñna: me=ti p[rz]ze*

35 *axā: trñmile: izredi: pededi: ñterez[i?] xu-*

36 *base: tupa: esbedi: hēmenedi: trñmil[i]je-*

37 *di: se medezedi: padrātahedi: hqqdaim-*

38 *[d]i: se mṛbbēnedi: tupelijā: trñmilis[ñ?]*

39 *[. qa]kadunimi: puwegehñ: tupelijā: se[.]*

40 *[...] qakadunimi: puwegehñ se irijēmm*

TL 44b 31–36 restored by Ξ 207 and the newly discovered fragment:

31 *[.....]taddi: plñmaddi: se qehñnedi: pd-*

32 *[.]i[...].edi: sersseizijedi: se ukehezi[j²]*

33 *edi: [.]ēpartaisedi: truwepeijadi: ter[.?]*

34 *elā[i²]: se=urublijedi: pri: trqqas: hexis*

35 *ñta[.]mmezezi:² erbbi: sttāti: teli qehñ-*

36 *[n]iñmejese³ terñ: punerebe: se=be pibere*

37 *trqqas=ppe: asati: xñtawatā: tuwi: se=be*

38 *dāinē: arawazija: ñtewē: n=emu: se xθθā*

39 *ñte=be dewē emu: kumezeiti=ti: me=(e)rawaz-*

40 *ija ade: tuminehi: mlatraza: tixzzidi*

41 *māñ/ñahñmāta: qarazutazi: tezi: aruwāt-*

42 *ija tukedri: se=j=eti: puwēi: se=j=urubli-*

43 *jē: ade: xurzide: se tukedri: atrā: tehlu[se]*

I. 2. N 46a and b (Xanthos)

Description: two small stone fragments belonging to the inscription on the lion sarcophagus TL 46. The fragments were found by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault on July 25, 2005 in the north necropolis of Xanthos, on the slope of the acropolis. They were lying on the ground very close to a set of three tombs of which some were engraved with Greek inscriptions. However, an affiliation to these tombs could not be established. Since the fragments could not be assigned to

2. According to Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 139 the second <ez> is to be regarded as a dittography and thus to be obliterated.

3. Schürr 2015: 139 suggests to insert *tebeti* after *ese*.

any other known monument either they were regarded as Lycian *novae* without any affiliation to an already known inscription.

During the preparation of the present article it turned out that both fragments were already depicted by George Scharf, Charles Fellows' draughtsman, in his sketchbook from 1844 among a group of uninscribed fragments decorated with reliefs, all belonging to the lion sarcophagus with TL 46.⁴ The corresponding pages with the sketches made on March 9, 1844, were reproduced by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. I) in an essay on the lion sarcophagus of Xanthos. Fellows and Scharf most probably found the fragments in the immediate vicinity of the lion sarcophagus engraved with TL 46, so that the affiliation of the fragments was not in question. The reason why the agreement of the fragments found by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault with the fragments drawn by Scharf in 1844 was first not recognized was due to the fact that Scharf drew the characters in line 1 of N 46a not as <kr> but as <kk> and that he depicted N 46b upside down (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Drawing by George Scharf of the two fragments belonging to TL 46 (at the top N 46b, at the bottom N 46a depicted upside down). In: Demargne 1962: pl. 1.

Furthermore, the identity was obscured because the fragments were found by Baker and Thériault at a distance of about 75 m from the sarcophagus (fig. 2). However, due to the border between lines 1 and 2, the matching arrangement of the letters and the otherwise identical text there can be no doubt that N 46b matches the fragment drawn by Scharf with the remains of three lines.

4. I am indebted to Diether Schürr for drawing my attention to the agreement.



Fig. 2: The location of the lion sarcophagus (marked ●) and the findspot of the two fragments (marked ■). Photo: Mathieu Rocheleau taken on July 28, 2005 in the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”.

The affiliation of N 46a to TL 46 and the agreement with the second fragment drawn by Scharf was at first more difficult to recognize. The main reason for this was that Scharf drew the fragment upside down (fig. 1). Moreover, the fragment does not show an edge between line 1 and 2 as is the case with N 46b and the part of TL 46 published by Kalinka (1901: 50). However, a closer examination revealed that N46a adjoins the remains of the first line drawn by Kalinka directly at the top. Line 1 of N46a is thus the remainder of the first line of the whole inscription. Accordingly, TL 46 is not a four-line inscription as previously assumed, but a five-line inscription.

N 46a

Description: N 46a is a small fragment with the remains of two lines of Lycian text preserved. Line 1' shows <ñ> followed by an oblique stroke which is likely to be interpreted as the left part of <n>. If one assumes a standard inscription beginning with a building formula, the letters might have been part of the verb *prñnawatē*. In this case, approx. 16–19 letters and one or two word dividers would have to be restored before <ñn>, which in terms of space is possible too. If we assume that the first line started at the height of the left edge of the deepened field, there would even be space for up to 29 signs. If one further supposes that line 1, like the following lines, reached to the edge of the sarcophagus chest, there is enough space for the remaining five letters of the verb.

Of line 2' only one letter that is broken off at the bottom has survived. Preserved are an upper horizontal and a vertical stroke. If the fragment immediately joins the upper break edge of TL 46 published by Kalinka (1901: 50), the lower horizontal line at the upper edge of TL 46 forms the lower part of the letter, which is then to be identified as <z>. Unfortunately, the join cannot be checked on the monument itself because the part to which the fragment adjoins is no longer preserved.

Dimensions of the stone fragment: height: 18.5 x 17.5 x max. 10 cm; letter height: 4.0 – 4.8 cm; distance between the letters in line 1: 0.7 cm; line spacing: 2.8 – 4.3 cm.

Documentation: Drawing by George Scharf from 1844, first published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1 with the fragment depicted upside down). Photo of the original stone fragment: July 28, 2005 by Mathieu Rocheleau (fig. 3); paper squeeze made by Patrick Baker photographed by Mathieu Rocheleau on January 26, 2006, both within the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”. Autopsy: July 31, 2009.



Fig. 3: Photo of N 46a (Mathieu Rocheleau, July 28, 2005 in the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”).

Transliteration:

1' [---]ññ[---]

2' [---]z[---]

N 46b

N 46b is a small fragment consisting of the remains of three lines. As mentioned above, it was found together with N 46a by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault on July 25, 2005 in the north necropolis of Xanthos. A drawing by George Scharf was first published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1). Laroche (1974: 140 with fig. 4) then made a proposal regarding the placement of the fragment in relation to the already known text of TL 46 engraved on the lion sarcophagus. Since Laroche only knew the fragment through Scharf's drawing, he depicted the characters of line 1 as <kk> instead of <kr>. The same applies to all subsequent publications such as Melchert (2001) and Christiansen (2020a: 201–202).

Documentation: Drawing by George Scharf from 1844 published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1). Photo by Mathieu Rocheleau from July 28, 2005) (fig. 4); paper squeeze made by Patrick Baker, photographed by Mathieu Rocheleau on January 26, 2006, both within the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”. Autopsy: July 31, 2009.

Dimensions: object: height: ca. 28 cm; width ca. 24 cm; thickness ca. 14.5 cm; inscribed surface: ca. 21.0 x 21.5 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 4.3 – 5.0 cm; distance between lines 2 and 3: 3.0 – 4.0 cm; letter height: ca. 3.0 – 5.2 cm; distance between the letters within the lines: 2.0 – 2.6 cm.



Fig. 4: Photo of N 46b (Mathieu Rocheleau, July 28, 2005 in the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”)

Transliteration:

1' [---]kr[---]

2' [---]eim[---]

3' [---]mi[---]

Commentary: Line 1': As already mentioned, line 1' of N 46b likely equals line 2 of the whole inscription. The two letters which are still preserved of N 46b line 1' are <k> and <r> (and not, as formerly believed due to Scharf's drawing <k> and <k>). In the case of a standard tomb with a building formula, they were likely part of the patronymic. Personal names beginning with <kr> are quite common in Lycian. Attested are *Krbbe*[s³]e (N 312.4), *Krehēnube* (TL 52.1), *Krupsse* (TL 25.2), *Krustti* (TL 128.1), and *Krzzubi* (TL 83.5).⁵ In the gap between <kr> and <maz> or <laz> approx. 3 or 4 letters are missing, which then might have been part of the patronymic as well. Principally possible, but because of the preceding letter sequence less likely, is a title such as *kumaza* "priest". The space between the left edge of the deepened field and the first preserved letters of N 46b allows for about 16 letters. Accordingly, there could have been a title or another designation between the tomb owner's name and the patronymic. But it is also conceivable that the verb *prñnawatē* extended to the beginning of line 2.

Line 2': Line 2' of N 46b is separated from line 1' by a border which is also visible in Scharf's drawing and the one published by Kalinka (1901: 50). The space between the left edge of the deepened field and the first preserved letters of N 46b line 2' allows for about 14 letters maximum. The letter sequence <eim> is presumably part of the dative pl. (or, less likely, the dative sg.) of the word *tideime/i* "child".

The position of N 46b cannot exactly be determined. If the restoration [*tid*]eim[*i se xa*]hba is correct, the fragment is probably to be placed approximately as indicated in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 5).⁶ Hence, line 3 of TL 46 is probably to be restored as follows: [*hrppi ladi se tid*]eim[*i se xa*]hba ehb[*i*] or ehb[*ije*] as has already been suggested by Melchert (2001). In the first case, *xahba* would be a dat. sg., in the second case a dat. pl.

Line 3': From line 3' of N 46b two partly broken letters are still preserved. Basically, the first letter could be interpreted as <d>, <m> or <l> and the second as <i> or <w>. In the present context, however, they are likely to be interpreted as the first two letters of the word *miñti* (see already Laroche 1974: 140). Thus, due to the following word *aladaha*[*i*] and the space available in front of the two letters of N 46b, it is likely that the line is to be restored by a typical *ada* formula [*se=ije ñta tadē tesī*] mī[ñ]ti: *aladaha*[*i*] followed by the word *ada* and a number sign which

5. **Krñna* in the coin legend M 228 is to be read *Arñna* and thus not to be regarded as a personal name. See Schürr 2012: 21.

6. If the restoration is correct, the distance between the restored <ñ> and the preceding and following letter of the word *miñti* is quite large, but within the spectrum of the other letter spacings.

are to be found in line 5 of TL 46. The whole inscription on the lion sarcophagus might then be reconstructed as indicated in fig. 5.

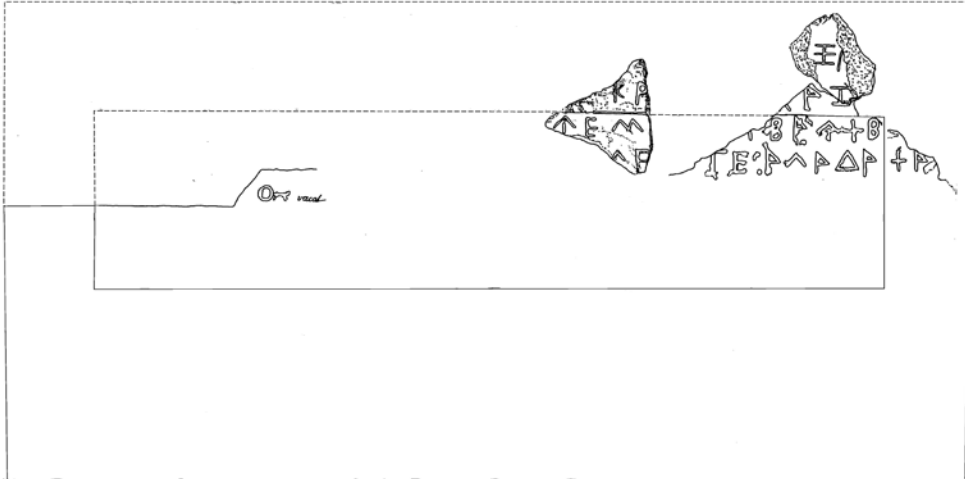


Fig. 5: Reconstruction of TL 46 based on the drawing in Kalinka (1901: 50) and the fragments N 46a and b (Birgit Christiansen, October 7, 2019).

The whole inscription might then be transliterated in the following way (with the text of N 46a and b in bold):

- 1 [ebēññē prñnawã⁷ m=e=ti⁸ pr]**ññ**[awatē]
- 2 [PN^(tomb owner) (title?)] **kr**[...]/māz[--- (up to 4 letters)^(Patronymic)]⁹

- 3 [hrppi ladi se tid]**eim**[e se xa]ħba: ehbi[je? or vacat?]
- 4 [se=ije ñta tadē tesi] **ññ**[ñ]ti: aladaha[!i]
- 5 [ada/adajē] O¹⁰

7. Or *t/tezi* “sarcophagus”.

8. Or *me=ne*.

9. It is of course also conceivable that the letter sequence <kr> was not at the beginning of the patronymic, but rather in the middle. In this case, the name of the tomb owner would have been shorter.

10. Or O – (= 10 ½) if the traces behind the number sign in the drawing in Kalinka 1901: 50 are to be interpreted as a chiseled horizontal stroke. However, since Kalinka does not transliterate them, they are more likely due to damage of the stone. Cf. also Christiansen 2020a: 201 note 158 (the statement that an autopsy was performed in 2009 is, however, misleading as the number sign no

⁽¹⁻²⁾[This tomb has built ..., son of] *Kr[...]/maz*[- - - (ca. 1-6 letters)] ⁽³⁾[for wife and chil]dre[n and the gran]dchild/[gran]dchildren ⁽⁴⁾[And they established under oath] with the *Mi[ndis]* for the allocation(?) ⁽⁵⁾[(an amount of)] 10(?) [*ada*].

I. 3. A new inscription belonging to TL 54 (Phellos)

Kalinka's edition lists under TL 54 an inscription from Phellos, which is located above a niche in the rock face right next to a rock-cut house tomb (tomb 96). While the latter was already documented in 1812, it was only in 1971 that Jürgen Borchhardt discovered that the house tomb itself bears an inscription on the upper crossbeam.¹¹

Since Borchhardt regarded the inscription as illegible, he and his team did not document it. Diether Schürr, however, presented a first edition of the text.¹² Furthermore, he made significant progress in the reading of the niche inscription. Based on photos which he kindly made available to me, I made tracings of both inscriptions (fig. 7 and 8). In a few points my interpretation differs from his, but for the most part my examination has confirmed it. The following transliterations are based on my drawings. Deviations from Schürr's reading are noted in the commentary. As suggested by Schürr, the inscription on the upper crossbeam is listed under the siglum TL 54a whereas the inscription above the niche is listed under the siglum TL 54b.

TL 54a

Description and measurements: One-line inscription on the upper crossbeam of the rock-cut house tomb 96 of Phellos. The text starts very close to the left edge and ends after 1.74 m. On the right side, 66 cm is left free. The distance to the upper border is 2.5 – 3 cm. Since the crossbar is badly damaged, the inscription is very difficult to read. Most characters are, however, clearly identifiable. The average letter height is 3 cm.¹³

longer exists today). However, the reading was checked against the paper squeeze made by Heberdey in 1895 which today is kept in the "Arbeitsgruppe Epigraphik" of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna.

11. See Schürr (preprint) for further information.

12. Schürr (preprint).

13. For a more detailed description see Schürr (preprint).



Fig. 6: Tracing of TL 54 based on a photograph made by Diether Schürr (Birgit Christiansen, September 27, 2019).

Morphem-analytic transliteration:

$\tilde{e}.a=j=ad\tilde{e}$: $xudalij\tilde{e}$: $\dot{a}b\dot{u}r\dot{u}w\tilde{e}t\dot{e}h\dot{\delta}$: $zzim[a]z\dot{a}$: $mur\tilde{a}z\dot{a}[h\dot{\delta}:] tideimi$

Translation:

The $\tilde{e}.a$ made Xudalijē, the *zzimaza* of Aburuwēte, son of Murāza.

Commentary: Due to damage of the stone, the reading of the two letters following $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$ at the beginning of the line remains unsure. Schürr (preprint) suggests the reading $\tilde{e}[\cdot]ma$. However, I cannot identify the $\langle m \rangle$ with certainty, the traces could also be due to damage of the stone. Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that only one letter is to be restored between the initial $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$ and $\langle ajad\tilde{e}\rangle$. The word divider following the personal name *Xudalijē*, which in Schürr's transliteration is put in brackets, is still identifiable on the photo. The first four letters of the name *Aburuwēte* are partly broken and not clearly recognizable. However, the reading as $\langle abur \rangle$ can be verified on the basis of TL 54b. The same is true for the other letters marked by a dot or put in brackets. The $\langle r \rangle$ in the patronymic *Murāza* looks rather like $\langle p \rangle$, but since it is partly broken the shape cannot be fully determined. The word *zzimaza* is also known from TL 120 as the title of the tomb owner's wife. In the present inscription, however, it is the tomb builder who is referred to by this title.

Dating criteria: The inscription does not contain any significant dating criteria. Remarkable is the relatively rare variant of $\langle x \rangle$, which is already attested in TL 76 dating from the reign of Harpagos.¹⁴

14. See Christiansen (in press).

TL 54b



Fig. 7: Tracing of TL 54b based on a photograph made by Diether Schürr (Birgit Christiansen, September 27, 2019).

Transliteration:

- 1 *tukedri: ebehẽ: mę xudalijẽ: abur[u-]*
- 2 *wẽteħ∅: zzimaza: murãzah∅: tid[eimi]*
- 3 *ñ..[.]i¹⁵ eb[ẽ]hm¹⁶ mę uwa: xudalijeh∅: epd[...]¹⁷*
- 4 *wuqqmeñn[e]h[∅?] tideimi*

Tentative translation:

(1–2)The statues of these (are/represent) Xudalijẽ, the *zzimaza* of Abur[u]wẽte, so[n] of Murãza, the ... of these. And Uwa(?), ... of Xudalije, son of Wuqqmeñne(??)

Commentary: Due to the uncertain reading and the ambiguity of some forms, the interpretation of the inscription remains uncertain. In the following, the key issues will be discussed and possible interpretations will be given.

Line 1: The form *tukedri* in line 1 might either be interpreted as an acc. sg. (Melchert 2004: 73) or a nom. pl. (Schürr preprint) depending on whether the word at the beginning of line 3 is to be interpreted as a 3rd pers. sg. of the verb *ñta-* “he places inside” (Melchert 2001 and 2004: 45) and thus a transitive verb or another form (Schürr preprint).

Schürr (preprint) argues that *tukedri* must be a nom. pl. due to the following gen. pl. *ebehẽ*. Consequently, two persons represented by the statues should be listed in the following. This reasoning is plausible, although other options cannot be ruled out. Alternatively, the gen. pl. *ebehẽ* might refer to the building complex or the surroundings to which the statues belong as it is likely to be the case in N

15. The reading of the word is unsure. For more detailed information see the commentary.

16. Likely to be amended to <ẽ>.

17. The reading of the letters following <e> is very unsure. See the commentary below.

338 which will be discussed further below. Also in some other inscriptions, the gen. pl. of *ebe-* “this” might be explained in this way. An example can be found in N 314, where no group of people is mentioned to which *ebehē* in the curse formula *m=ene tubidi eti ebehē xaxakba* could refer. If *eti* is to be translated as “father” (see, e.g., Melchert 2004: 19, Christiansen 2020a: 230) the phrase might rather mean “the father of these surroundings” than “their father”.¹⁸

Also in TL 149.3–4 the relation of *ebehē* in the following phrase remains unsure: *me=i=ne ñtawātā pibijeti: tere ebehē* “and they do not regularly give access(?) to the district of these (i.e. “their district” or “the district belonging to the surroundings/the building complex”);¹⁹ In TL 148, however, the gen. pl. *ebāhā* undoubtedly denotes the two tomb owners (or tomb occupants): *zru[.]ēh se[mut]ah xupa ebāhā* “the one of Zru[.]e (and) of Se[mut]a – the tomb of those (i.e. their tomb)”.²⁰ It should be noted that the personal names in TL 148 are mentioned in the genitive case, whereas this is not the case in the present inscription. Consequently, it cannot be excluded that *ebehē* in the present inscription refers to the building complex to which the statues belong rather than to the individuals represented by them.

Line 3: As already mentioned, the reading of the letters at the beginning of line 3 remains obscure. Instead of *ñtadi* and thus a 3rd pers. sg. of the transitive verb *ñta-* as has been suggested by Melchert (2001) it might rather be a noun describing the aforementioned person. A similar situation exists with *ñteri* in TL 142 which is apparently used as a title.

The last letter preceding the conjunction *me* appears to be an erroneously written *<m>*, which is to be amended to *<ē>*. According to Schürr (preprint), the personal name following *mē uwa* is spelled *xudalijā[?]h*. The photos, however, show rather *<e>* instead of *<ā>*.

The reading of the letters following *<e>* at the end of the line is very unsure. Instead of *<epd>* the sequence might also be interpreted as *<epl>* or, as has been suggested by Kalinka (1901: 53) *<erd>*.

Line 4: The reading of the first four letters at the beginning of line 4 remains unsure as well. As pointed out by Schürr (preprint) it is likely to be a personal name in the genitive. The reading *Wuqqmeñneh* proposed here is only tentative.

18. See, e.g., Christiansen 2020a: 230.

19. For a treatment of the inscription see Christiansen 2020a: 224–227.

20. Or rather *zru[.]ēh se [mut]ah ...* “the one of Zru[.]e and of [Mut]a”. For the putative personal name Semuta see Melchert 2004: 103.

Dating criteria: The inscription does not show any significant dating criteria. All letter variants are already attested in inscriptions from the first half of the 4th century.

I. 4. TL 72 (Kyaneai)

Through renewed investigations of the sarcophagus with the Lycian-Greek bilingual text TL 72 in 1990 and 1994, further parts of both the Lycian and the Greek inscription came to light. Since Melchert's corpus from 2001 refers only to the edition of Neumann and Zimmermann (2003: 187–192 with tables 28–31) without providing a transliteration of the extended text, the inscription will be presented here in its entirety. In addition, a new interpretation by Schürr (2013: 257–260) for the end of the Lycian version will be included.

TL 72a (beginning of the inscription on the north side of the sarcophagus)
*ebēññē: tezi: m=ēne: ñte: tuwetē: xudali[j]ē: murāzah[◇] tideimi: hrppidem[– – –]*²¹

TL 72b (continuation of the text on the east and west side of the sarcophagus):
 [– – –]maza: se=ije [...].adi tike: mētē: m=ēne mahāi: tubeiti: nelez.[– – –]

Translation:

This sepulchral monument (or: sarcophagus)²² has erected Xudalijē, child of Murāza, ... of Hrppidem[...(?)].²³ And whoever does harm to it, the gods of the Agora will destroy him.

The Greek text runs as follows:

21. For *hrppidem*[...] see the commentary.

22. According to Neumann (2007: 355), the equation of *tezi* in TL 72 with Greek *μνημα* demonstrates that its meaning is not “sarcophagus, coffin” (or similar), as Melchert (2004: 64) assumes, but “Denkmal, Andenken, wobei man sich Jemandes erinnert”. His objection against Melchert's interpretation is, however, not convincing since *μνημα* does not only mean “monument, memorial”, but also “a building or mound in memory of the dead, tomb or coffin” (cf. Liddell – Scott 1996: 962). In the Greek inscriptions from Lycia, it is used as a general term for burial monuments, referring to sarcophagi, rock-cut tombs, and tomb pillars (see, e.g., Schweyer 2002: 21). The general meaning of *tezi/tezi* seems to be “container for accommodating a dead person or their remains”. This might be sarcophagi as in TL 72 and TL 78, but also coffins or urns.

23. For the translation of *hrppidem*[...] see the commentary.

τόδε : τ[ὸ μνη]μα Κυδαλιη[ς] : ἔ[στ]ησ[ε ἐ]αυτῶι : Μορωζα υἱὸς καὶ ὅστις τι
αὐτὸν ἀδικήσαι: οἱ θεοὶ ἀπολέσειαν : οἱ ἀγοραῖοι

Translation:

This [to]mb/[sepul]chral monument has [ere]cted for himself Kudalijē, son of Muraza. And whoever damages it – the gods of the Agora may destroy him!

Commentary:

Neumann in Neumann – Zimmermann 2003: 189–190 assumes that TL 72a ends with a beneficiary clause introduced by *hrppi* “for” followed by a word of which only the first three letters <dem> are preserved.²⁴ He considers that *hrppi dem*[could be an equivalent to Greek ἐαυτῶι, but notes at the same time that a word stem *dem-* is not otherwise attested. Furthermore, it should be noted that Greek ἐαυτῶι otherwise equals Lycian (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*).²⁵

Melchert (2001), on the other hand, suggested analysing the sequence as *hrppi=de=m*[e. A new interpretation was then proposed by Schürr (2013: 257–260). In his opinion, *hrppi* is not to be interpreted as the preposition “for”, but as the first component of a personal name. To support his hypothesis, he refers to several personal names rendered in Greek with *hrppide-* as first component such as Ἐρπιδενης (or, rather Ἐρπιδενης). Although other options cannot be completely ruled out, Schürr’s interpretation is indeed compelling. The partly broken name might then have been followed by a term of relationship such as *tuhes* “nephew” or a title.

I. 5. N 319 (Letôon)

Description: N 319 is a bilingual (or even a trilingual) text on a fragment of a stone block found in the Letôon, near Xanthos. One side shows the remains of five lines of the Aramaic version, on the other side the beginnings of four lines of the Lycian version are preserved. The stone block is kept in the Letôon depot under the inventory number L. 5743.²⁶ An edition of the Aramaic version has been published by Dupont-Sommer (1979: 172–174). The Lycian version is only mentioned by Dupont-Sommer (1979: 172) and Neumann (1979: 43), but a transliteration has

24. For the same segmentation see already Kalinka 1901: 63.

25. Cf. TL 23 and TL 117.

26. This number is also given in Neumann 1979: 43. Dupont-Sommer (1979: 172) lists the text erroneously as L. 2743.

not yet been published. In Melchert's corpus of 2001 the text is omitted. Although only a few letters are preserved, a transliteration will be given below.



Fig. 8: Photo of the Aramean version of N 319 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 9: Photo of the Lycian version of N 319 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 10: Tracing of the Lycian text of N 319 (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

1' *h!*[---]

2' *ij*[---]

3' *eb*[---]

4' *d*[---]

Commentary: The first letter of line 1' is probably an <h> or, less likely, a <t> followed by a partly preserved <l>. Except for , which is partly broken at the bottom, all letters of lines 2'–4' are fully preserved. Due to the small amount of preserved letters, correlations between the Lycian and Aramaic versions cannot be established.

I. 6. Fragments a–m complementing N 324 and N 325 (Letôon, near Xanthos)

During the Xanthos campaigns, twelve small fragments belonging to the statue base inscribed with N 324 and N 325 have been discovered. Their exact positioning on the base remains unclear so far. Edition: Bousquet 1992: 186–187 and pl. 77–178.

Fragment a (part of 6121)

1' [---]u: *a*²⁷[---]

2' [---]hbi: *dde*[---]

3' [---]ti: *mene*[---]

27. The letter is partly broken but can be identified clearly as <a>.

4' [---]zadāke[---]
 5' [---]he: xñta[wata? ---]
 6' [---]etē: pi[---]
 7' [---]i: hā[---]

Fragment b (part of 6299)

1' [---]i: me[---]
 2' [---]upije: [---]
 3' [---]: meid[---]
 4' [---]iē[---]

Fragment c (part of 6072; left edge)

1' ma[---]
 2' xñ[ta ---]
 3' s[---]

Fragment d (part of 6121)

1' [---]dde: [---]
 bottom vacat

Fragment e (part of 6121)

1' [---]eđ[---]
 2' [---]idehə[---]
 bottom vacat

Fragment f (part of 6121)

1' [---]h[---]
 2' [---]eñt[---]
 3' [---]tisñ[---]

Fragment g (part of 6072)

1' [---]eř[---]
 2' [---]ube[te? ---]
 3' [---]hh[---]

Fragment h (part of 6121)

1' [---]eñ[---]
 2' [---]ta: [---]

Fragment j (part of 6121)

1' [---]: [---]

2' [---]be[---]

Fragment k (part of 6121)

1' [---].[---]

2' [---]dde[---]

3' [---]ijeh[---]

4' [---]: seb[---]

Fragment l (part of 6121)

1' [---].e[---]

Fragment m (part of 6121; right edge)

1' [---]ę vacat

2' [---]i vacat

I. 7. N 331 (Avşar Tepesi)

Description: Graffito on a sherd of clay which probably once belonged to an Attic vessel (presumably a crater). Findspot: “Dynastic tomb”. Dimensions: height: 6.3 cm; width: 6.3 cm, depth: 0.7 cm. The remains of three lines of the text are still preserved. Originally, however, the inscription likely consisted of at least one further line. Edition: Neumann 2000: 183–184, pl. 3,2.

Transliteration:

1' [---]he.tēi[---]

2' [---]ēnñe[---]

3' [---]tise.[---]

I. 8. N 332 (Korba)

Description: Tomb inscription on a chamosorion. Edition: Neumann 2000: 84–85, pl. 25,1.

Transliteration:

1 [e]bēññē: t̄.zi: m=ene ñte tuwet[e]

2 ęwe..xaj hrppi=je=me=i ttadi tike: mej=

3 eti: tubidi: ebuθis: se mahāi: lātāi se heledi

Translation:

⁽¹⁾This sarcophagus has set up ^(2a)Ewe... (If someone) places someone in addition/on top ^(2b-3)then the father(?) Ebuθis will strike him – and the gods of the dead(?) and (of) *heledi*.²⁸

I. 9. N 333 (Tlos)

Description: Inscription on a small altar found by Havva İřkan İřık during a survey in 1999. Edition: Tekoęlu 2002–2003: 104–106 with fig. 1–3.



Fig. 11 Photo of N 333 obverse (Havva İřkan İřık, August 1999).

28. For the translation of *eti* as “father” and alternative suggestions see Christiansen 2020a: 230 with note 264.

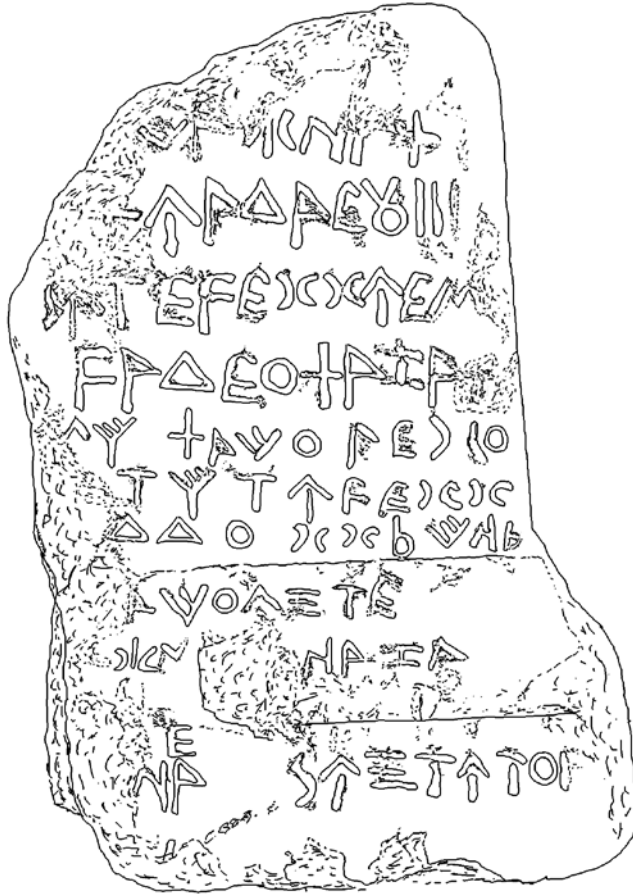


Fig. 12a: Tracing of N 333 obverse (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

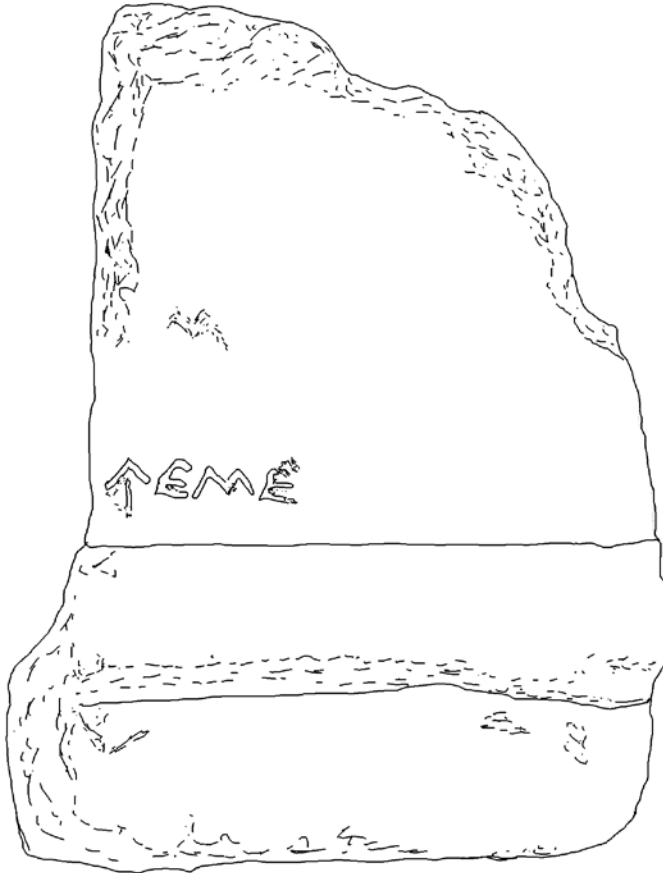


Fig. 12b: Tracing of N 333 reverse (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

1 [..]x̄aqaḡaḡ

2 [..]ḡe adai ö ||²⁹

3 [s]eʹ tiwiθθeim-

4 [i u]wadi uhaḡa[t]

29. Or, as per Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) |||? See the commentary for further information.

- 5 [a]mēhaxupīθ[?]u⁻³⁰
 6a [..-]tē tewiθθ-
 6b -eimi³¹
 7 [..]ddu θθbānb[?]
 8 [...]axulñti
 9 q.[?][...]naza
 10 [---].i[---]
 11 [---]na se ñte tuw[e---]

Translation:

(1-2) To [...]xaqna's [..].³² ð 2(?) ada.³³ (3-5a) [An]d[?] to Tiwiθθeimi with a cow yearly ...^(5b-11a) And [...] .. Tewiθθeimi [...].. θθbānb[?] ...[...] ... [...]...^(11b) and [they?] plac[e] inside [...].

Commentary: Line 2: Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) restores [tu]he at the beginning of the line. Although this reading is plausible, other possibilities cannot be ruled out. According to Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107), the two vertical strokes at the end of the line are followed by a further one. However, since the surface of the stone is severely damaged, it is in my view not possible to determine with certainty whether the traces are the remains of a chiseled vertical stroke or due to damage of the stone. Interestingly, the preceding sign which is reproduced in the transliteration as ð (for the correct form see the photo and tracing of the inscription) is also attested on coins from Tlos (see, e.g., Müseler 2019: 42). As the preceding word *adai* suggests it is very likely to be interpreted as a number sign in the present inscription. Whether the same applies to the coins remains unclear.³⁴

Line 5: Instead of <θu> Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) suggests the reading *se* followed by <u> although the traces look rather like <θu>. The word boundaries and the analysis remain unclear.

Line 7: According to Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107), the sequence <du> is preceded by an <a> rather than a <d>. Consequently, he restores at the beginning of the line [se l[?]]adu. The first preserved letter is, however, rather a <d> than an <a>.

30. For the reading see the commentary.

31. The letter sequence is written on the reverse of the monument.

32. Maybe as per Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 106) [neph]ew.

33. Or, ð 3 *ada*.

34. Cf. Müseler 2019: 42 who speaks of a “linear sign”.

At the end of the line Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) reads <i> instead of (*θθbāni*), but in my view matches the traces better.

Line 9: Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 104) suggests the reading]xqx[...]. However, only <q> is clearly visible on the photo. Before it, there are no remains of a letter recognizable to me. The traces behind <q> could also be interpreted as <n> which, however, is unlikely behind <q>.

I. 10. N 334 (Tlos)

Description: Inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu, 2002–2003: 106–107 with fig. 4–6; with improved readings and a discussion Christiansen 2020a: 192–193 with fig. 45–47.

Transliteration:

- 1 *ipresida*
- 2 *ajēta..dē*
- 3 *h armana-*
- 4 *zah; tidei-*
- 5 *mi: ikuweh*
- 6 *tedi: se prñ-*
- 7 [n]e^zijeh<i>: hrpp-
- 8 [i] ladi ehbi se
- 9 *tideime*
- 10 *šej=aitē aw-*
- 11 *qhāi ala-*
- 12 *dahali ada*
- 13 ||

Translation:

^(1–7a)Ipresida, child of Ajēta..dē (and?) of Armanaza, father and household member of Ikuwe, ^(7b–9)for his wife and the children. ^(10–13)And the undertakers(?)³⁵ made the allocation(?): (an amount) of 2 ada (have been established for it).

35. For *awahāi* see Christiansen 2020a: 286–187 with further literature.



Fig. 13: N 334 (photograph: Ludwig Fliesser, August 2007).

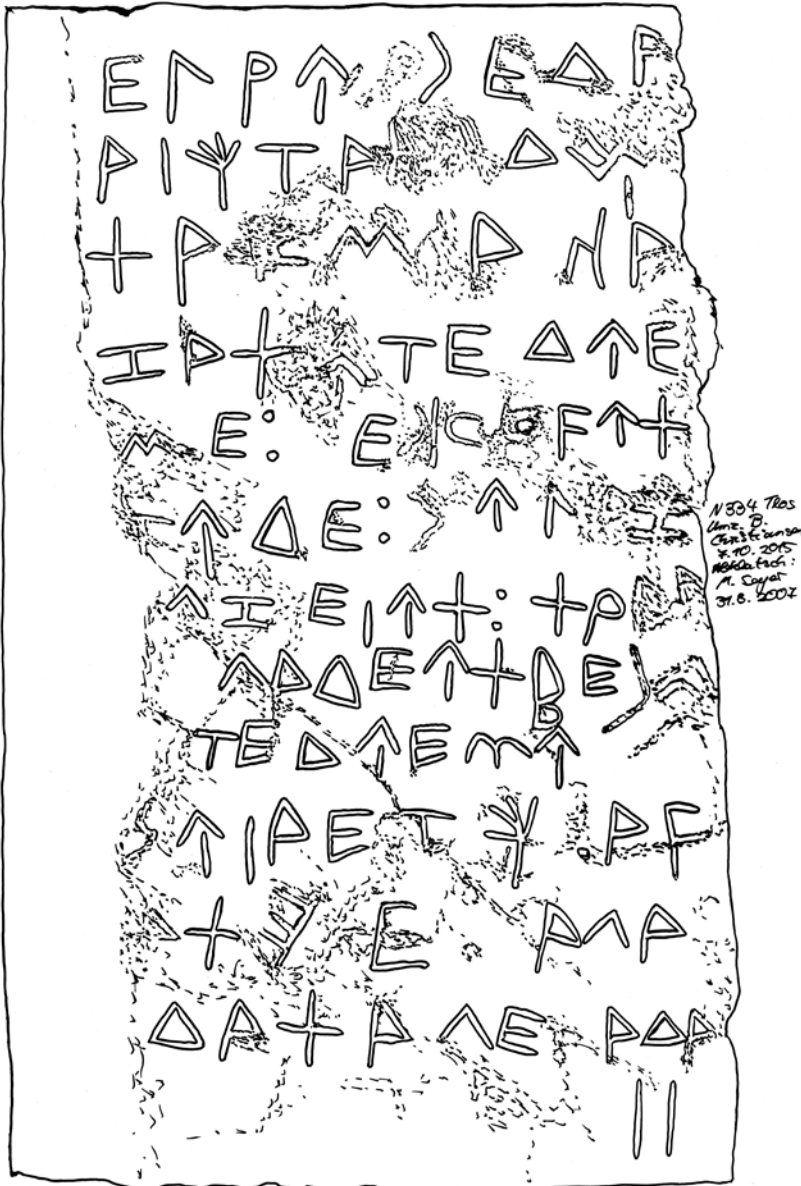


Fig. 14: Tracing of N 334 (Birgit Christiansen, October 2015) based on a paper squeeze (Martin Seyer, August 2007).

I. 11. N 335 (Asartaş/Olympos)

Description: Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. First Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 107–108 with fig. 7–8.

1 [ebēñnē]: xupā: m=e=ti: prñnawatē: p'ē'r'epñni (vacat?)
 2 – – – hanah tideimi

Translation:

⁽¹⁾[This] tomb has built Perepñni(?), ⁽²⁾son of [...]hana(?).

Commentary:

The beginning and end of both lines are heavily weathered. At the beginning of line 1 the demonstrative pronoun *ebēñne* is likely to be restored, which is apparently followed by *xupā* (see also Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 108). As for the name of the tomb builder, only the reading of the letter sequence <epñ> and the final <i> are quite safe while the remaining letters cannot be clearly determined (cf. also Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 108 who suggests the reading [.]e[.]epñn.i[.]). Aside from Perepñni, other readings such as Petepñni, Erepñni or Etepñni seem possible, too. The form apparently consists of the element *epñ* “afterwards”. Similar to *epñnēne/i* “younger brother” the name possibly refers to the birth order (cf. also *epñte* “thereafter”, and *perepñ* “furthermore” or sim.). In line 2, the word *tideimi* is clearly visible (contra Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 108 who transliterates *tideime* although his drawing in fig. 8 shows *tideimi*). The preserved traces of the preceding letters suggest a reading <hanah> or <tanah>. Consequently, line 2 probably did not contain a dedication formula, as assumed by Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 108), but only a patronymic followed by the nom. sg. of *tideime/i*.



Fig. 15: Photo of N 335 (photograph: Regina Hügli, August 2005).



Fig. 16: Tracing of N 335 (Birgit Christiansen, August 2019) based on the photograph by Regina Hügli, August 2005.

I. 12. N 336 (Pinara)

Description: six-line inscription on a one-storey rock-cut tomb situated in the southeast of the so-called mountain necropolis. Lines 1–3 are engraved on the upper crossbeam of the main structure, lines 4 and 5 on the outer frame of the door opening. Line 6, which is hardly recognizable, is engraved on the inner door frame. Edition: Kogler – Seyer 2007: 109–121.

Transliteration:

1 *ebēñni: x[upa m=e]ne prñnatã:*

2 *eseuwesa sp ---: hrppi:*

3 --- : *hri tãtu ti-*

4 *ke kbi: --- easa: tike: mah-*

5 *ãna:*

6 *ar[---]*

Translation:

^(1–3a)This t[omb has built?! Eseuwesa(?) ... for ... ^(3b–4a)And they should not place anyone else on top (or: in addition). ^(4b–6) ... anyone/anything for the gods ...

I. 13. N 337 (Limyra)

Description: Fourteen-line inscription on a stone block. The right edge of the inscribed side is preserved with max. 1–3 characters broken away in some lines. The left edge is broken off, the original line length remains therefore unclear. Particularly the content of lines 7 and 8 suggests, however, that on the left side only little text has broken away. The upper edge of the inscribed side is worked, so that probably the first partially preserved line is the beginning of the text. The lower edge is broken away, but on contextual grounds it is probable that line 14 is very close to the original end of the text (cf. Fig. 4). Edition: Christiansen 2012: 141–153.

Dimensions: stone block: max. 45.6 x 33.8 x 34.4 cm. Letter height: ca. 1.1–2.5 cm; line spacing: average 1.3 cm.

1 [--- t]eteri [x]ux[r]ñm[e/i]

2 [---]zi: ñtep : erēpl[.]

- 3 [---]ane: me ñtejewē³⁶
 4 [---]plm̃⁷]madi xuxrñmezi
 5 [---]: ēti weti: km̃mā[ta]
 6 [---]: pride: xuxrñme[zi?]
 7 [---]: xugahi: se: xñna[hi]
 8 [hi---te]θθi: se=j=ēnehi: me=i=n[i/e]
 9 [---]: teteri xuxrñmezi
 10 [---]ti: ñneti: plm̃madi (vacat)
 11 [---]da ñte=ije sm̃māti (vacat)
 12 [---]re: qehñniñmē³⁷ (vacat)
 13 [---]ma=j=adi: tike (vacat)
 14 [---]... zedī

Tentative translation:

⁽¹⁾[... the ci]ty [X]ux[r]ñm[e]³⁸ ⁽²⁾[...] among(?) the power[ful(?)] ⁽³⁻⁴⁾[...] and [...] of the sites(?) [with the descen]dants(?) the inhabitats of the city Xuxrñme ⁽⁵⁾[...] how ma[ny(?)] ... there are] ⁽⁶⁾[...] in front(?) of the [inhabitants of] the city Xuxrñme ⁽⁷⁾[...] of the grandfather and grandmo[ther] ⁽⁸⁾[...] of the [fa]ther and mother and ⁽⁹⁾[...] the inhabitants of the city Xuxrñme ⁽¹⁰⁾[...] who x-ses with the descendants(?) ⁽¹¹⁾[...] therein/in which they oblige(?) ⁽¹²⁾[...] the acquired areas/territory(?) ⁽¹³⁾[...] whoever does ⁽¹⁴⁾[...] delivers regularly [...].

36. The analysis of the letter sequence is unclear. For an analysis as a gen. pl. of a noun such as “places” see Christiansen 2012: 145 with note 21 and further literature. For an alternative analysis as ñte=je=wē see Melchert 2004: 19 and 45 with further literature.

37. With the new fragment N 44g a further attestation is now to be found in TL 44b.25. See Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 140.

38. Or: “[the inhabitants/citizens of the ci]ty [X]ux[r]ñm[e]”.

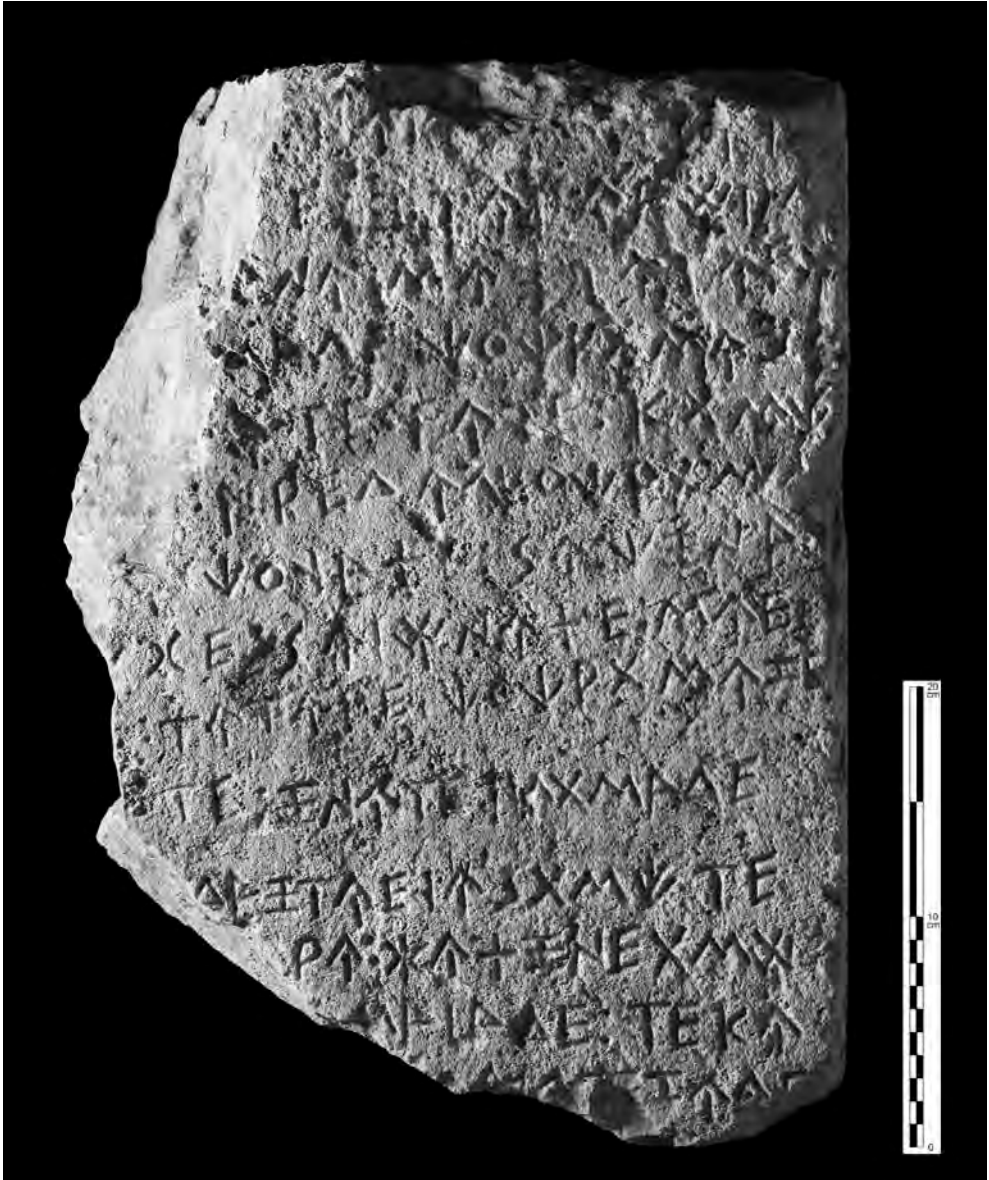


Fig. 17: Photo of N 337 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).

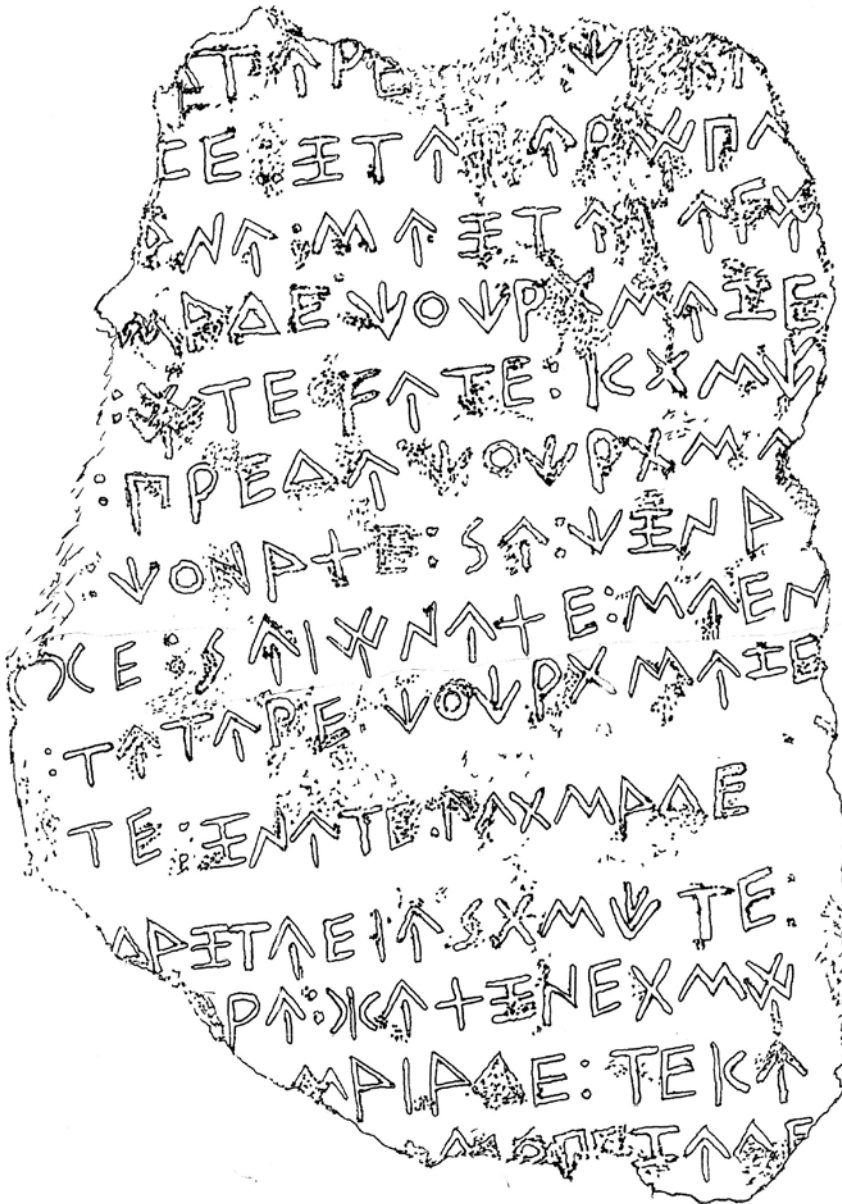


Fig. 18: Tracing of N 337 (Birgit Christiansen, December 12, 2009).

1. 14. N 338 (Limyra)

Description: Three-line inscription engraved on a one-storey rock-cut tomb with one door, situated in necropolis II in Limyra (tomb II/100). It was found during the campaign of the TL project in 1999 by Peter Ruggendorfer and Martina Pesditschek. The inscription is engraved on the upper cross-beam below the imitation of wooden structure. The text is heavily weathered and only partly readable. Some characters can be identified with relative certainty, others remain uncertain or are completely unreadable.

Dimensions: Inscribed surface: ca. 42.0 x 8.0 cm; letter height: 1.2 – 2.7 cm; distance between the letters within a line: ca. -0.3 (overlapping letters) – 1.0 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 0.1 – 0.7 cm; distance between lines 2 and 3: 0.6 – 1.2 cm.



Fig. 19: Photo of N 338 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 20: Tracing of N 338 (Birgit Christiansen, August 2019).

Transliteration:

- 1 *ebēñ[ne]: xupu m=e=ti prñawatē: zzidubi:*
 2 *e[....]eī[...]. ṭideimi: hrppi ladi ehbi*
 3 *[-----]..e..e: e.ã.*

Translation:

- ⁽¹⁾Thi[s] tomb built Zzidubi(?), ⁽²⁾son of ..., for his wife ⁽³⁾[...] ...

Commentary: Although the beginning of line 2 and the entire line 3 are almost illegible, some observations can be made about the text. The preserved parts show that it is a standard tomb inscription. It very likely begins with the demonstrative pronoun *ebēñne*, of which, however, only the first two letters are identifiable with relative certainty. It is succeeded by the designation of the tomb in the accusative singular ending in *-u*. Following the conjunction *me*, the denasalized enclitic accusative pronoun *-e*, and the reflexive particles *-ti*, we find the 3rd person singular preterite of the verb *prñawa-* and the name of the grave owner. The letters, and among them especially the third one, are not clearly identifiable, but a reading

Zzidubi seems quite likely. At the beginning of line 2 a patronymic might be restored which is succeeded by *tideimi*. It is followed by the usual beneficiary clause *hrppi ladi ehbi* “for his wife”. Since line 3 is almost illegible, it remains unclear whether other persons were named as beneficiaries or whether the text was continued in another manner.

Dating criteria: As far as the poor state of preservation allows an assessment, the text does not contain any letter variants suggesting a dating into the second half of the 4th century. The inscription shows the younger variant of <*p*> consisting of a vertical and oblique stroke, and maybe also the younger variant of <*x*> with the vertical line in the center shifted to the left. Yet, since these variants in Eastern Lycia are already attested in inscriptions from the reign of Perikle and in Western Lycia even appear in one of Erbbina’s inscriptions (N 325), they cannot be regarded as evidence of a late date of origin.³⁹

More informative might be the accusative ending in *-u* which becomes more frequent over time. However, since it is already attested in inscriptions from the first half of the 4th century, it is also no proof of late dating either.⁴⁰

I 15. N 339 (Limyra)

One-line inscription engraved on a one-storey rock-cut tomb with one door, situated in necropolis V in Limyra (tomb V/67). It was found during the campaign of the TL project in 1999 by Zeynep Kuban. The text is incised in the upper beam under the roof which shows the typical imitation of wooden structure. The inscription is heavily weathered and only partly legible. Some characters can be identified with some certainty, others remain unclear. The reading is also impeded by the fact that the inscription shows no standard formula. This, however, makes it also interesting and challenging. Furthermore, it is a good example to illustrate the difficulties of epigraphic work. As is the case with other inscriptions, the remains of the letters on the front of the paper squeeze sometimes seem to suggest a different reading than those on the reverse of the photo.

Dimensions: Inscribed surface: ca. 118.0 x 9.0 cm; letter height: ca. 4.0 – 7.0 cm; distance between the letters within the line: 1.0 – 4.0 cm.

39. For Limyra see, e.g., TL 103 and TL 133 (Perikle, ca. 380–360/50) which show both the younger variant of <*p*> and <*x*>. The younger variant of <*p*> is also attested in TL 135, whose author calls himself “collacteus of Trbbēnimi (ca. 430-380). For Western Lycia see N 325 (Erbbina, first decade of 4th century). For a detailed discussion see Christiansen (in press).

40. For a detailed discussion see Christiansen (forthcoming).



Fig. 21: Photo of N 339 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 22: Tracing of N 339 (Birgit Christiansen, March 2017).

Commentary: The inscription begins apparently with a form of *ebe*- “this”. Although especially the fourth letter is hardly visible, the traces are most likely to be interpreted as a gen. pl. *ebehē* or *ebēhē* followed by word divider. Both forms are also attested in other inscriptions with *ebehē* occurring more frequently: TL 54b.1.3¹ (see above); TL 149.5 and N 314b.5 (*ebehē*); TL 44a.18 (*ebēhē*).

The following letters are strongly weathered. This is especially true for the first two letters, whereas the following three letters are better preserved. The third one is relatively clearly identifiable as *<n̄>*, the following signs are probably to be identified as *<n>* and *<a>*. Since this sequence of letters is otherwise known in the noun *prñnawa*- “building, house” which in several inscriptions is attested in the

accusative as a designation of the burial monument (cf., e.g., TL 4.1, 9.1, 11.1, 14.1 and in Limyra TL 149.1), one might think of a similar form here. In fact, the remains of the first two letters are compatible with the reading <pr> and <r>.

The letters following the sequence <ṛna> are, however, not to be identified as <wa>, but as <me>. Accordingly, the form attested here would not be *prṛnawa*, but the otherwise unattested basic form *prṛna*- “house, building” in the nom. sg. followed by the conjunction *me*.⁴¹ Among the letters following the sequence *me*, some are to be identified with greater certainty than others. The preserved remains suggest the reading *zzajieleiah* as the name of the tomb owner in the genitive case. Accordingly, the reading of the whole inscription would be as follows:

Tentative transliteration:

ebeḥē: prṛṇa me zzajieleiah

Tentative translation:

The building(?) of (or: among) these/those (monuments) is that of Zzajieleia(?).

Thus, the inscription would be of a similar type as the one attested in TL 100 which reads: *ebe xupa me tibeija* “This tomb is the one of Tibeija”.

Alternative reading:

Instead of the otherwise unattested tomb designation *prṛna* in the nominative singular, a reading *mṛna* would also be conceivable. The following sequence *me* might then be part of the name of the tomb owner followed by a patronymic *zzajieleiah* (or sim.). The reading might then be:

ebeḥē: mṛṇame zzajieleiah

(The owner/builder) of these (tombs) is Mṛname(?), (child) of Zzajieleia(?).

Archaeological and architectural context: The tomb bearing N 339 (V/67) is located together with two other tombs (V/65 and V/66) on the same rock face.⁴² Neither of these two tombs bears an inscription. This fact might explain why N 339

41. For an alternative reading see further below.

42. For the archaeological situation see Kuban 2012: 346–348.

starts with the demonstrative pronoun in the genitive plural. Perhaps the tomb owner wanted to make clear that the tombs belonged together and at the same time emphasize that tomb V/67 is the one which belongs to him.

If the second word of the inscription is to be read as a personal name *Mñname* the inscription would not only refer to tomb V/67, but also to the neighboring tombs V/65 and V/66 as belonging to Mñname, child of Zzajieleia.

Dating criteria: The preserved text contains neither significant palaeographic nor linguistic dating criteria.

I. 16. N 340a and N 340b (Limyra)

Description: Two small stone fragments that have been found in August 2004 in the Byzantine western city of Limyra as stray finds. Both fragments are now kept in the Limyra depot. Since both fragments are identical in material, surface structure, and writing, they belong in all likelihood to the same object. If in N 340a.3 the word *sttala-* is to be restored, the object might be classified as a stela. The present edition is based on an autopsy in July 2009 and photographs taken in the same year.

N 340a

Dimensions: Object: width: 14 cm, height: 10.5 cm, depth: 13 cm. Since a part of the reverse is preserved, the depth equals that of the original object. Inscription: Letter height: 1.8 – 2.2 cm; distance between the letters within a line: 0.5 – 0.7 cm; line spacing: 1.1 – 1.4 cm.



Fig. 23: Photo of N 340a (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 24: Tracing of N 340a (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

1' [---]k/q.[---]
 2' [---]ibeñn[---]
 3' [---]qstta[---]⁴³

Morphem-analytic transliteration:

1' [---]k/q.[---]
 2' [---t]ibe=ñn[e---]
 3' [---]q stt.[---]⁴⁴

Translation:

1' [...] ... [...]
 2' [... o]r the[m ...]
 3' [...] ... [...]

Commentary: The fragment shows the remains of three lines. Line 1 is almost completely broken away. At the break edge are the remains of one letter visible which might be interpreted as <q> or <k>. Behind it are traces of a letter that could be an <ã>, <ẽ> or <x>. Of line 2' three letters are completely preserved. The last letter is broken at the right side, but can with certainty be identified as <n>. The first letter on the left which is partly broken is likely an <i>. Line 3' shows at the beginning a partly broken <a> followed by the letter sequence <stt>.⁴⁵ This is succeeded by a partially broken letter, which is likely to be interpreted as an <a>. If so, the word might be restored as *sttala* “stela” or a form of *stta*- “stand, remain”.

N 340b

Dimensions: Object: width: 10.5 cm, height: 6.5 cm, depth: 9.8 cm. Inscription: letter height: 1.8 – 2.2 cm; distance between the letters within a line: 0.5 – 0.8 cm; line spacing: 1.0 – 1.4 cm.

43. The right side of the letter <a>, i.e. a part of a horizontal and an oblique stroke, is clearly visible on the stone, whereas it is only poorly visible on the photo taken by Ludwig Fliesser in July 2009 (fig. 21).

44. The segmentation remains unclear.

45. The right side of the letter <a>, i.e. a part of a horizontal and an oblique stroke, is clearly visible on the stone. In contrast, only traces of the letter can be seen on the present photo.



Fig. 25: Photo of N 340b (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).

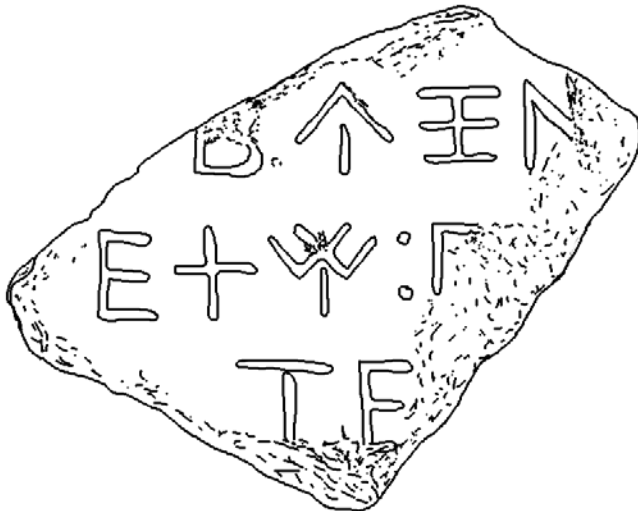


Fig. 26: Tracings of N 340b (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

1' [---]bēñ[---]

2' [.]ihē:p[---]

3' [.]ti[---]

Morphemanalytical transliteration:

1' [--- ti]bē=ñn[e ---]

2' [---]ihē: p[---]

3' [---]ti[---]

Translation:

1' [... o]r th[em ...]

2' [...] ... [...]

3' [...] ... [...]

Commentary: The fragment shows the rest of three lines. The first letter on the left of line 1' is partly broken away, but is most likely to be identified as . The following two letters <e> and <ñ> are fully preserved. The next letter is partly broken, but likely to be identified as <n>. In line 2' the sequence <ihē> and a word divider are recognizable. The next letter is broken on the right side and cannot be identified with certainty. The vertical stroke and the remainders of an upper horizontal and one or two further horizontal strokes suggest the reading <i>, <p> or <w>. The following letter is almost completely broken away at its surface.

Line 3' shows only two letters that are broken at the bottom. Their reading remains unsure. The first is either a <t> or <ç>, depending on whether the traces at the bottom are the remains of a horizontal stroke or not. The following letter is likely to be interpreted as <e>. The rest of the text cannot be reconstructed. Likewise, the original extent of the text as well as the placement of the fragments can neither be determined through the form of the fragments nor the preserved text.

Dating criteria: The fragment contains neither significant paleographic nor linguistic dating criteria. The letter variants are all found in inscriptions dating back to the dynastic period.

I. 17. N 341 (Xanthos)

Description: N 341 is inscribed on a rock-cut tomb that has been accidentally destroyed in the course of construction works on the street of Xanthos (Inv. n° 2002-13). Aside from the Lycian inscription, the tomb bears also a Greek epitaph dating in the Roman Imperial period. It is engraved on the roof above the imitation

of wooden structure. For a brief description of the text see Baker – Thériault 2003: 433. The Lycian inscription consists of five lines. The first four lines (part 1) are incised upon the upper beam below the imitation of the wooden construction, the fifth line (part 2) is engraved on the upper part of the door frame. Edition: Aside from the edition in the present article the text has also been discussed in Christiansen 2020a: 203–205 with fig. 69–71. For the Greek text see Baker – Thériault 2003: 433.

Dimensions: Part 1: inscribed surface: ca. 56.0 x 14.0 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 0.3 – 1.7 cm; distance between lines 2 and 3: 0.7 – 1.7 cm; distance between lines 3 and 4: 0.7 – 2.2 cm; letter height: ca. 1.4 – 2.8 cm; distance between the letters within the lines: -0.2 (overlapping letters) – 1.0 cm; distance between letter and word divider: 1.1 – 1.9 cm.

Part 2: Inscribed surface: 28.0 x 5.0 cm; letter height: ca. 2.4 – 3.3 cm; distance between the letters within the line: 0.5 – 1.7 cm.



Fig. 27: Photo of N 341 (Ludwig Fliesser, September 2007).

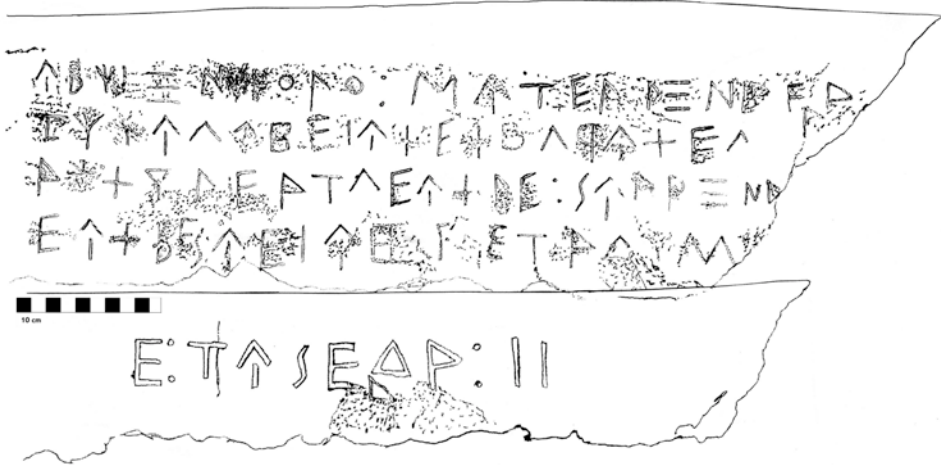


Fig. 28: Tracing of N 341 based on the original stone inscription (Birgit Christiansen, July 2009).

Transliteration:

1. *ebēññē xupu: m=e=ti prñnawa-*
2. *tē .elewijeḫi xudrehil-*
3. *aḫ hrpī atli ehbi: se prñna[z]*
4. *i ehbi se=ije ..i tadē m[iñt-]*
5. *i tesi ada: ||*

Translation:

⁽¹⁾This tomb has built ⁽²⁾.?elewijeḫi(?) [(the child)] ⁽²⁻³⁾of Xudrehila(?) ⁽³⁾for himself and for ⁽³⁻⁴⁾his house[hold]^(?)/hou[s]e^(?). ⁽⁴⁾And he has established ⁽⁴⁻⁵⁾for the *m[ind]is*^(?) ⁽⁵⁾under oath/by (means of) a sworn agreement 2 *ada*.

Commentary: While the end of the *ada* formula in line 5 of the Lycian text can be read very clearly, the partially erased signs of the preceding four lines can only with great difficulty be deciphered. However, on closer inspection, most parts of the text can be recognized. Thus, it can be said with certainty that the inscription starts with a building formula with a beneficiary phrase. The tomb builder's name, which is likely to be read *.elewijeḫi*, is followed by a patronym, which might be read *Xudrehila*– a personal name which is otherwise attested in the nominative in TL 73 (Korba) and TL 132.1 (Limyra).

An extraordinary feature of the inscription is that the beneficiary phrase mentions the tomb owner himself and presumably his household (*prñna[z]i*) instead of *prñnezi* as in other inscriptions) or his house (*prñna[w]i* in a metonymic sense). The beneficiary phrase was likely followed by a verbal type of *ada* formula with the 3rd pers. sg. pret. of the verb *ta-* (possibly preceded by *ñta* or *ñte*), the noun *tesi* in the dat.-loc. sg. and *ada* + number sign. The 3rd pers. of the verb *ta-* is followed by an *<m>*. The end of the line is not preserved. Since at the beginning of line 5 an *<i>* is preserved, *tadē* was probably followed by *miñti*. If so, N 341 would be the only known inscription in which the word *tesi* is not followed but preceded by *miñti*.

I. 18. N 342 a and b (Tlos)

Description: two inscriptions on a rock-cut tomb. The first inscription is located on the upper crossbeam and consists of two lines. The first line of the second inscription is placed on the beam right below, the second consists of four lines and starts on the main beam left to the door and continues on the upper door frame and the doorstone. According to the text, both inscriptions were made by the same tomb owner. Edition: Korkut – Tekoğlu 2019: 169–188.

Transliteration:

N 342a

- 1 *Qñturahi=ti: prñnawate: Terssipuleh*
2. *sedi: se pibiti: awaha: aladahali ada <*

Translation:

^(1-2a)Qñturahi, the son-in-law(?) of Terssipule has built it. ^(2b)And they give the undertakers(?) for the allocation(?) 5(?) ada.

Transliteration:

N 342b

- 1 *Qñturahi=ti prñnawate se Terssipulih*
- 2 *sedi se tuhes se=ije=ñte*
- 3 *tātē tesi miñti: alada-*
- 4 *hali ada <*

Translation:

(1-2a) Qñturahi, both the son-in-law(?) and nephew of Terssipuli has built it.⁴⁶

(2b-4) And they have established for the Mindis under oath (by means of a sworn contract) for the allocation(?) 5(?) ada.”

I. 19. N 343 (Tlos)

Description: stone fragment with a Lycian-Greek bilingual text. Edition: Christiansen 2020b: 262–272 with a detailed commentary on the readings and the relationship between the two versions.



Fig. 29: Photo of N 343 (Martin Zimmermann, August 2010).

46. A particular feature of this inscription is the phrase *se ... se* “both” which is otherwise not attested.

Transliteration:

Lycian version (N 343a)

1 [---] ... [---]

2 [Pt²e²]una Paḥ [---]

Tentative translation:

(¹) [...] ... [²] [Pte]una^(?), son of Pa [...].⁴⁷

Greek version (N 343b)

1 vacat Τλώέωον [---]

2 [--- Π]τευνας⁴⁸ [---]

Tentative translation:

(¹⁻²)For the citizens of Tlos [... P]teunas [...].

Hypothetical reconstruction based on both versions:

(¹)For the citizens of Tlos (²)Pteunas, son of Pa [has erected/donated this statue].

I. 20. N 344 (Xanthos)

Two-line Lycian inscription on a half-buried one-storey rock-cut tomb found in the East of the Northern necropolis of Xanthos. The text is engraved on the upper cross-beam below the imitation of wooden structure. In addition to the Lycian inscription the tomb bears also a later Greek inscription which will be published by Patrick Baker. The design of the chamber is unknown. Autopsy: September 2009 in the framework of the TL project. Edition: Before the edition in the present article the text has already been presented in Christiansen 2020a: 204–205 with fig. 72–74.

Dimensions: inscribed surface: ca. 98.0 x 11.0 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 1.6 – 3.0 cm; letter height: ca. 2.3 – 4.0 cm; distance between the letters within the line: -0.3 (overlapping letters) – 1.7 cm.

47. It is unclear whether the <h> following <pa> marks the genitive of a personal name *Pa* or whether it is part of the personal name whose ending is lost.

48. Or Π]τευνας or *sim*.



Fig. 30: Photo of N 344 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 31: Tracing of N 344 based on the original stone inscription (Birgit Christiansen, July 2009).

Transliteration:

1. *ebēññē; xupu: m=ē=ti prñnawatē[:]*⁴⁹ *pddēxñta*
2. *hrppi ladi; ehbi; se tideime: tesi; ada || –*

49. According to the photographs taken in July 2009 *prñnawatē* is followed by slight traces which probably are to be interpreted as remains of a word divider.

Translation:

⁽¹⁾This tomb has built Pddēχñta ⁽²⁾for his wife and the children. Under oath/by (means of) a sworn contract 2 ½ *ada*.

Dating criteria: The inscription shows the younger variant of <x> with the vertical line in the center shifted to the left. Yet, since this variant in Eastern Lycia is already attested in inscriptions from the reign of Perikle and in Western Lycia already appears in one of Erbbina's inscriptions (N 325), it cannot be regarded as evidence of a late date of origin.⁵⁰ A further dating criterion which might indicate a later date of origin is the accusative ending *-u* instead of *-ā*. However, since it already appears in inscriptions dating back to the first half of the 4th century, it cannot be regarded as sufficient proof of a late dating either.⁵¹

I. 21. N 345 (currently unassigned)

The number was provisionally assigned to a one-line inscription on a stone block which was found in 2006 by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault during a sondage in the area of the inscribed pillar of Xanthos. The inscription consists of 3 characters which were initially mistaken for the Lycian letters <e>, <u> and . Now that the photos of the object have been rediscovered, the object could be identified by Peter Weiß (Emeritus Professor of Ancient History at the University of Kiel) as a weight (presumably an urban market weight). According to Weiß (personal communication), the first sign is to be interpreted as the sign for Li(tra), the Roman pound (written with the Greek letter lambda and an inscribed iota), followed by the Greek number sign OB for 72. Hence, the inscription is to be read as "72 litres", i.e. approx. 23576.40 g. My thanks go also to Diether Schürr, for establishing the contact with Peter Weiß. A publication of the inscription is now planned by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault in their corpus of Greek inscriptions from Lycia. The number N 345 is therefore currently unassigned.

50. See footnote 39.

51. For a detailed discussion see Christiansen (forthcoming).

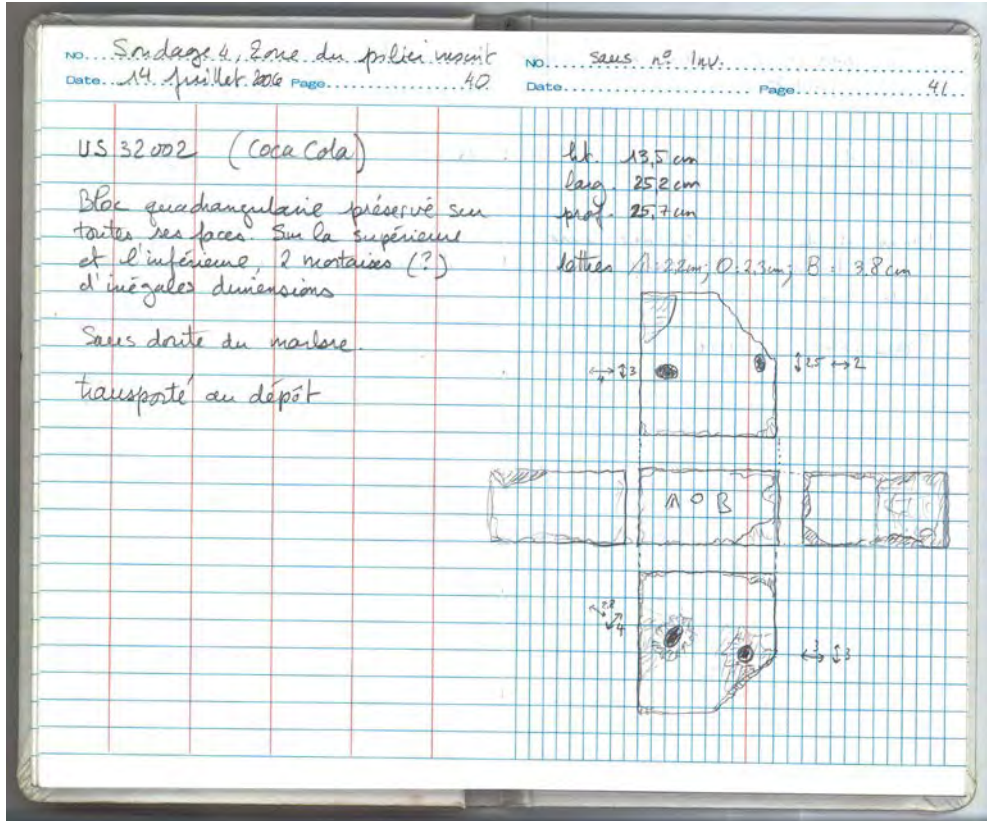


Fig. 32: Sketchbook entry of Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault from July 14, 2006.

I. 22. N 346 (Limyra)

The inscription consists of one fully preserved and two or three partly preserved letters engraved on a sherd of clay. Both the fact that the sherd was found in Limyra and the writing suggest that the text is to be interpreted as a Lycian inscription. However, due to the poor state of preservation, there is no complete certainty about this.



Fig. 33: Photo of N 346 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).

Transliteration:

1 [---]x^θ⁵²[---]

Commentary: The first fully preserved letter is to be classified as <x>. It is followed by one or two letters which are almost completely broken away. If it is only one letter, it might be interpreted as <θ> or <m>. For linguistic reasons, the latter is, however, unlikely. More probable is the sequence <xθ> which is attested in the words *xθθase* (TL 131.4) and *xθθā* (TL 44b.38'–39'.58) and the corresponding genitive adjective *xθθāna* (N 318.7, N 326.2) whose meaning remains obscure. Alternatively, the preserved chisel traces could be the remains of two letters, which might be interpreted as <l> and <ā>. The sequence <xl> is attested in the word *xla*–“take control, dominate” and the personal name *Xlasitiḷi*⁵³ (N 310.2). Furthermore,

52. Or rather: *xl*?

53. For the reading see now Schürr (preprint). However, since only traces of the letter are left, the reading *Xlasitiḷi* suggested by Neumann (1979: 26) cannot be completely ruled out.

it is part of the word *sixla-* “shekel”, *asaxlaza-* “governor” and the administrative title *haxlaza-*. In an inscription on a vessel, an administrative title or a personal name would fit quite well. However, the sequence of letters could also be a kind of monogram as it is attested, for example, in TL 99.3.

Dating criteria: The preserved text contains neither significant paleographic nor linguistic dating criteria. The variant of <x> is already attested in TL 76 dating back to the reign of Harpagos (second half of the 5th century).

I. 23. N 347 (Xanthos)

Description: Fragmentarily preserved stone inscription consisting of the remains of one line. It is registered under the inventory number 142 and is kept in the Letôon depot. During the TL campaign in July 2009, I was able to make an autopsy and a rough sketch of the fragment (fig. 32). Unfortunately, neither a photo nor a paper squeeze is available to me. Furthermore, I have no information about the exact location and circumstances of the find. According to the files of the TL project, the fragment was found by Laroche.

The fragment consists of two fully preserved letters <d> and <a> which are preceded by one broken letter which is likely to be interpreted as an <a>.

Inv. Nr. 142

30.7.2009

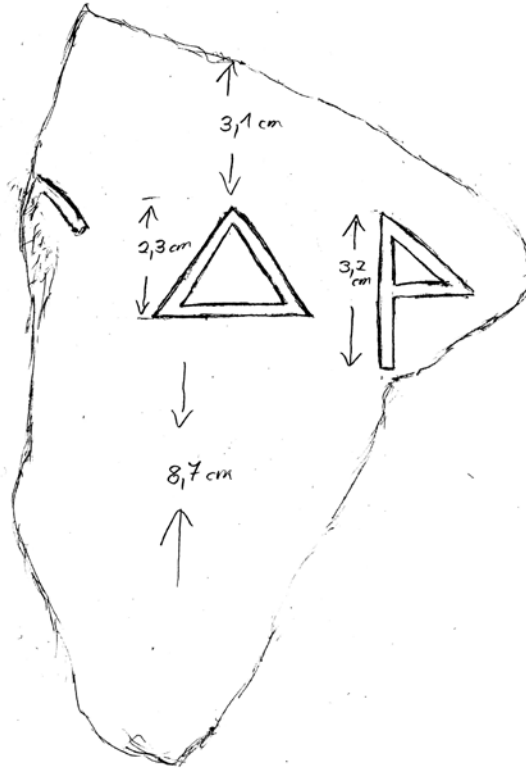


Fig. 34: Sketch of the object by Birgit Christiansen from July 31, 2009.

Dimensions of the object: Height 17 cm; width 11.8 cm (depth not recorded).
Letter height: 2.3–3.2 cm.

Transliteration:

ada [---]

I. 24. N 351 (Beykonak)

Description: Two-line inscription on a one-storey bipartite rock-cut tomb with imitation of wooden construction. The name of the tomb builder and the patronymic are the same as in TL 127 located in necropolis III in Limyra whereas the beneficiary clause is different.⁵⁴ A particular feature of N 351 is that the patronymic is mentioned in line 1 and thus before the two builders. For syntactic reasons, it is to be assumed that the patronymic was accidentally omitted and later added.⁵⁵

Dimensions: line length: line 1: 53.0 cm, line 2: 121.0 cm; letter height: 1.8 – 3.0 cm; distance between the letters within a line: -0.2 (overlapping letters) – 4.0 cm; line spacing: 0.8 – 2.7 cm.

Edition: Tekoğlu in Seyer – Tekoğlu 2009: 217–226 with fig. 6. Since the publication contains only a photo of a paper squeeze, on which the inscription is very difficult to recognize, the present article presents a tracing.



Fig. 35: Photo of N 351 (Regina Hügli, August 2009).



Fig. 36: Tracing of N 351 (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

1 *apñuxah: tideimi*

2 *štamaha=ti: prñnawate: hrppi ladi: se tideime: se x{b}ahba*

54. In TL 127 the patronymic is spelled *epñuxa* and thus slightly different from N 351. The beneficiary clause in TL 127 is only partly preserved. The beneficiary mentioned first remains unclear. In second place the nephews (*tuhe*) are listed, in third the *muneite* (relatives) and in fourth place the grandchildren.

55. This is indicated by the position of the reflexive particle *-ti* which can only go on the first word of a clause. Furthermore, in case of a fronted patronymic, it should be followed by the conjunction *me*. Alternatively, a purely graphical highlighting of the patronymic might be considered. An indication of this might be seen in the approximately central orientation of line 1 in relation to line 2.

Translation:

(2)Stamaha, (1)the child of Apñxuxa, (2)has built it for the wife and children and the grandchildren.

I. 25. N 352 (Tlos)

Description: fragment of a funerary inscription with only four letters preserved. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 1.

Transliteration:

1' [----]eñte[----]

I. 26. N 353 (Tlos)

Description: fragment of a tomb inscription of which only some letters of two lines are preserved. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 2.

Transliteration:

1' [---]ş[---]⁵⁶

2' [---]ereh dđ[---]⁵⁷

3' [---]hi[---]

I. 27. N 354 (Tlos)

Description: fragment of an inscription of unclear contents. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 (without transliteration) and pl. 3.

1' [---].h[---]

2' [---]te⁵⁸ [---]

I. 28. N 355 (Zindan, near Tlos)

Description: fragment of an inscription of unclear contents with three letters preserved. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 4.⁵⁹

56. According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64) only the remains of two lines of the inscription are preserved. However, the photo shows the remains of another letter above the alleged first line, which is presumably to be interpreted as an <ş>.

57. According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64) the letter is to be interpreted as an <e>. In my view, however, the reading <d> seems more likely.

58. Or </>?

Transliteration:

1' [---]ele[---]

I. 29. N 356a and b (Tlos)

Description: two inscriptions on a marble block found in the ruins near the great bath. Both inscriptions consist of five lines which are partly parallel to each other and TL 28. Some missing passages can thus be reconstructed from the other two texts. However, there are also several deviations and cruces. In the following, some problems will be discussed. More detailed treatment is not possible, as this, *inter alia*, would require an autopsy of the inscriptions. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 63–68 and pl. 5–7. The following transliteration is solely based on Tekoğlu's reading and the photographs provided in his edition (pl. 5–7).

Dimensions: According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64), the marble block measures 110 x 80 x 52 cm. The right side of inscription a and the left side of inscription b are broken away. The distance to the broken edges is not given in the publication. The same is true for the height of letters and line spacing. To make it easier to compare the three inscriptions, they are all presented in their wording in the following table.

TL 28	N 356a	N 356b
1 <i>ñte=ne putinezi tuw</i> [---]	1 [.....] <i>putin[e]zi tuwete</i>	1 <i>ñ</i> [---]
2 <i>prijabuhāmah kbatru n</i> [---]	2 [<i>prija</i>] <i>buhāmah kbatru ehbi</i>	2 <i>prij</i> [---]
3 <i>mlttaimi mrbbanada</i> [---]	3 [.....] <i>tiweh tezñ⁶⁰ puwejeññ</i>	3 <i>hrppi</i> [---]
4 <i>ladu uwitahñ xahb</i> [u]	4 [<i>lad</i>] <i>u uwitahñ xahbu</i>	4 <i>ladu u</i> [---]
5 <i>apuwazahi p[r]ñnezijehi</i>	5 [<i>apuwa</i>] <i>zahi prñnezijehi</i>	5 <i>apuwaza</i> [---]

Commentary: A remarkable feature of the two new inscriptions is that they do not contain any word dividers as it is also the case with TL 28. Neither are the word boundaries clearly marked by spaces. Instead, the (presumably) first letter of a word is sometimes placed very close to the last letter of the preceding word, while the distance to the following letter is bigger (cf., e.g., *tezñ* (or *tezi*) *puwejeññ*

59. In a paper presented in February 2017 in Munich on the conference “Current Research on Lycian. International Workshop of the Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages” organised by Zsolt Simon, Tekoğlu presented another fragment found in Zindan which contains the letters *wat*. If the two fragments belong together the one listed above should be classified as N 355a and the other one as N 355b. If not, the still unpublished fragment should be given a separate number.

60. Or rather *tezñ* as per Tekoğlu 2017: 64.

in N 356a. 3 and [*apuwa*]zahi *prñnezijehi* in N 356a.4). Concerning paleography, the inscriptions show the younger variants of <*p*>, consisting of a vertical and an oblique stroke, and <*x*> with the central stroke shifted either to the left or to the right. However, since both forms already appear in inscriptions from Erbbina's reign, they cannot be taken as evidence for a young date of origin.⁶¹ The same is true for the accusative ending *-u* instead of *-ã*.⁶²

In terms of linguistics and content, the inscription presents some problems. Due to the sentence structure with *ñte=ne* shifted to the beginning of the sentence the last vowel of the verb should be nasalized.⁶³ Thus, the verb at the end of line 1 of TL 28 has so far been completed to *tuwetẽ*. N 356a.1, however, shows *tuwete*. Accordingly, it remains unclear how the text started. If the text began with *ñte=ne* and thus with a proleptic accusative pronoun, *tuwete* would probably be a misspelling with an accidental omission of the nasal vowel.⁶⁴ Noticeable are the differences between the three inscriptions in lines 2 and 3. Thus the accusative *kbatru* in TL 28.2 is followed by <*n*> (if the reading is correct), while N 356a has *ehbi*. The interpretation of line 3 is difficult in all three inscriptions. In N 356a it is complicated by the fact that the letters following <*tez*> are hard to decipher. According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64), the sequence is followed by an <*i*>. Based on this, he suggests the reading *tezi puwejehñ* as the second and third word of the line. Although the photo published by Tekoğlu does not allow a reliable identification, the letter following <*tez*> could in my opinion also be an <*ñ*>. The supposed carved vertical stroke might be a crack in the stone that begins above the letter and runs through the line (fig. 35a and b). In addition, also the position of the word within a number of terms of relationship speaks against the reading *tezi* "(sepulchral) monument, sarcophagus".⁶⁵ If *tezñ* is to be read instead, the word is likely an accusative of a previously unknown kinship term or title on which a certain name in the genitive

61. See Christiansen (in press).

62. See Christiansen (forthcoming).

63. See Garrett 1991: 15–26.

64. On the nasalization of the Lycian preterites see, e.g., Garrett 1991: 15–26; Garrett 1992: 200–212; Goldstein 2014: 120–124; Adiego 2015: 1–30. A similar construction as in N 356a is attested in N 320.9–11: *s=ẽ=ñn=aitẽ: kumazu: mahãna: ebette: eseimiju: qñturahahñ: tideimi*, lit. "And him^(ẽ) to them^(ñn) they made priest, to these gods, E., son of Q." A parallel construction as in TL 28 and N 356a and b is probably also present in the statue inscription TL 51: ⁽¹⁾*ñt(e)=ene qarñnaxa tuwe[tẽ]* ⁽²⁾*qñtbeh tideimi ehbi* ⁽³⁾*wezzeimi tehluse* "Therein [has] installed Qarñnaxa, son of Qñtbe, his son Wezzeimi for *tehluse*." Alternatively, the pronoun *-ene* might refer to the monument and not to the child since *tideimi ehbi* can be interpreted both as an accusative or a dative sg.

65. For the meaning of the term see section 4 note 22.

[...] *tiweh* depends. In this as well as in Tekoğlu's interpretation, the daughter would not be mentioned by name. Although this may seem strange to us, it is not without parallels. It should be noted, for example, that in TL 103 the person to be buried in the tomb – in case the interpretation of the text is correct – is referred to only as *ddedi* of Zzajaa and sister of Lusñtra and Xñtabura. This corresponds to the custom of usually not naming the beneficiaries in epitaphs. Alternatively, an incorrect spelling might be considered. Thus, according to Schürr (personal communication), the letter sequence <weh> could form a single word with <tezñ>, which would then have to be corrected in *weh*<ñ>*tezñ* “from Phellos”. This might then have been preceded by the daughter's name, of which only the last two letters <ti> would have remained. Nevertheless, it would be peculiar that the builder of the monument gives the origin of his daughter, while he calls himself only by name and with patronymic.

The interpretation of TL 28.3 is difficult as well. Tekoğlu (2017: 64) interprets *mlttaimi* as the name of the daughter for whom the monument was erected and *mrbbanada* as the name of her husband. Especially the latter is, however, doubtful (see, e.g., Melchert 2004: 41). In any case, both words serve likely as characterization of the daughter. Moreover, since the right side of the text is broken off, we do not know whether the word is fully preserved or not. It is also not to be excluded that it was followed by another word, which then might have been the name of her husband. Since N 356b is only very fragmentarily preserved, the interpretation of this inscription remains obscure as well. One of the questions is whether *hrppi* is a preposition or the beginning of a personal name (for such names see Schürr 2015: 257–260 and the commentary on *hrppidem*[...] in TL 72 further above). The text of the following lines appears to be in all three inscriptions the same. In the following tentative translations of TL 28 and N 356a will be given:⁶⁶

66. Tekoğlu (2017: 65) offers a different interpretation and translation of TL 28. He interprets, e.g., *putinezi* in line 1 not as a personal name, but as an otherwise unattested architectural term. Furthermore, he interprets the verb *tuwete* as a 3rd pers. pl. pret. “they placed” and both words in line 3 as personal names. Accordingly, he translates: “They placed Prijabuhāma's daughter, Mlttaimi, wife of Mrbbanada, grandchild of Uwita (and) member of Apuwaza's household inside *putinezi*. His reasoning, however, is, in my view, not convincing. He justifies his assumption that *putinezi* is not a personal name in the nominative, but a tomb designation, by arguing that in the case of a personal name it would remain open who this person is and how he is related to the other persons mentioned. This is, however, not the case since the woman for whom the monument is intended is called his daughter (*kbatru* (*ehbi*)).



Fig. 37a: Photo of the paper squeeze of N 354. In: Tekoğlu 2007: pl. 6
(in contrast to the publication not mirror-inverted).



Fig. 37b: Photo of the paper squeeze of N 354. In: Tekoğlu 2007: pl. 6 (in contrast to the publication not mirror-inverted) with tracing of the alleged reading *tezñ*.

TL 28	N 356a
(¹⁻²)Putinezi, (son) of Prijabuhāma, [has] inst[alled] inside it the daughter n[...] ⁶⁷ , <i>mlttaimi</i> [of/for the] <i>mrbbanada</i> (?), (^{3-4a})wife of [...] (^{4b-5})grandchild of Uwita, (⁵)household member of Apuwaza.	(¹⁻²)Putinezi, (son) of Prijabuhāma, has installed [...] his daughter, (^{3-4a}) <i>tez(e)</i> (?) of [...] <i>tiwe</i> , [wi]fe of Puweje(?), (^{4b-5})grandchild of Uwita, (⁵)household member of [Apuwa]za.

I. 30. N 357 (Tlos)

Description: two-line inscription on the upper crossbeam of a bipartite one-storey rock-cut tomb with imitation of wooden architecture. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 65 with pl. 8. Since it was not possible for me to make an autopsy and neither a squeeze nor a photo is available to me, the following transliteration is based solely on the transliteration of Tekoğlu and the published photo (pl. 8), on which

67. Presumably *kbatru* “daughter” was followed by a personal name beginning with <n>.

the inscription is unfortunately only partly recognizable. Measurements of the inscription according to Tekoğlu (2017: 65): 120 x 14 cm.

Transliteration:

1 *sixeriwale: ddew[ele]deh: tideimi: atli*
2 *se=(e)sedē[ñ]newi: xñnahi: aladahali: ada*

Translation:

⁽¹⁾Sixeriwale, son of Ddew[ele]de⁶⁸, (built it) for himself ⁽²⁾and the grandmother's descendants. For the allocation(?) (an) *ada* (amount has been established).⁶⁹

II. Still unpublished Lycian inscriptions

II. 31. N 348 (Aloanda)

N 348 is an inscription on a stela which will be edited by Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal *Gephyra*). For the site and its name see Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017: 210.

II. 32. N 349 (Araxa)

N 349 is a heavily weathered inscription on a bipartite one-storey rock-cut tomb discovered by Max Gander in March 13, 2013. As noted by Diether Schürr (personal communication), it is likely to be the same tomb that had already been discovered by Charles Fellows who mentions it in his account of discoveries in Lycia (Fellows 1841: 123) without giving any details or a transliteration of the text. A photo of the tomb has been published by Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017, 208 Fig. 5. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal *Gephyra*). According to Tekoğlu (personal conversation), the inscription consists of six lines and includes a building formula, a beneficiary clause, an *ada* formula, a burial provision, and a curse formula.

68. The name Ddeneweale is known from the coin inscriptions M 232a–d. However, in the present inscription the reconstruction remains uncertain.

69. Presumably, the word *ada* was followed by a number sign as is the case in other inscriptions.

II. 33. N 350 (Patara)

N 350 is an inscription on a sarcophagus found in Patara which will be edited by Recai Tekoğlu. According to Tekoğlu (personal communication) the text consists of a building formula, a verbal type of the *ada* formula similar to the one attested in TL 42b, but with the infinitive *aladahhāna* instead of *aladahali*. As the only tomb inscription of the Xanthos region, the inscription consists further of a curse formula that threatens a potential tomb violator with the destruction by the “gods of the *mindis*”. Thus, besides TL 6 of Levissi, it is the only tomb inscription from Western Lycia with a sanction formula with divine agents. In this aspect, it resembles several inscriptions from Central and Eastern Lycia like TL 57.⁷⁰

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70. See also Christiansen 2020a: 206.

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Hitt.(-Luw.) *šarkant(i)*- “petitioner, plaintiff, (the one) who seeks restitution” and Possible Related Forms, Hitt. *šarni(n)k-mi* “to make restitution”, also “to make good (claims)”, PIE **serk-* “to make good”*

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§ 1. The substantive *šarkant(i)*-, which occurs only in the instructions for the Royal Bodyguards (MH/MS: IBoT I 36) refers to participants in a process in the court, the status of whom remains uncertain. The term has been interpreted, among others, as “defendant” or “suspect”, as “witness”, as “petitioner” or as “one who seeks redress, plaintiff”, and its etymology remains controversial. The same applies to three other terms with *šark-*, referred to aggressive, vengeful gods, which may (or not) belong to the same lexeme as *šarkant(i)*-, namely $\text{𐎧}/\text{𐎧}$ *šargašamma/i* (NH⁺) “vengeful (?), seeking redress (?)” or “angry, furious”) (𐎧) *sarqatt-* (NH) “retribution(?), redress”(?)”, *šarkiyali-* (from OH[?]/MS) “vengeful (?), seeking redress (?)” or “furious, awesome”): like *šarkant(i)*-, they are formed from a lexeme **šark(a)*- “to exact restitution, seek redress” (and/or “(be) vengeful”),

* It is a pleasant duty to express my gratitude to José Virgilio García Trabazo (Santiago de Compostela), to H. Craig Melchert (North Carolina) and to Norbert Oettinger (Erlangen) for their indications and criticism. Hittite translations are basically taken from the *CHD*, Vedic and Old Avestan translations from Jamison and Brereton (2014) and Humbach (1991) respectively. For every Hittite term reference is made to the lemmata in the standard dictionaries (*CHD*, Puhvel *HED*, Tischler *HEG*).

which may be the same as that of *šarni(n)k*^{mi} “to make restitution”. This is certainly possible, but can only be elucidated form by form primarily in the light of the Hittite texts. In any case, these forms, regardless whether they belong or not to one and the same lexeme, may be kept apart from homophonous *šark*- “to be high, surpass, rise up”, actually a different lexeme, at least in *Anatolico ipso*, cf. *šarku*- “eminent, powerful” (with *šarkiške*^{mi} “to be powerful”, *šarkuešš*^{mi} “to become high, eminent”, *šargaūātar* “eminence, high standing”,¹ also *šargan(n)ija*^{mi}, *šarkaliija*^{mi} “to rise up as a rebel”).²

The aim of the present contribution is to show that at least Luwoid *šarkant(i)*- “petitioner, plaintiff, litigant”, i.e. “he who seeks reparation” (as probably \blacktriangleleft / \blacktriangleright *šargašamma/i* “vengeful, seeking redress”, Hitt. *šarkiuāli*-, \blacktriangleleft) *sarqatt*- “redress”(??) matches the semantics of **šark*- “to make good (a claim)” and Hitt. *šarni(n)k*- “to make restitution” (i.e. **šark*- “to make good”) in the scarcely attested reading “to exact/obtain redress/restitution for oneself” (*scil.* the patient of the misdeed, §4) as against the frequent “to compensate a misdeed to/for another”, which is inherited (Hitt. *ešhar / kattaūātar šarni(n)k*-, also *nakkuš šarni(n)k*- cf. Old Latin *noxiam sarcīre*). Both readings are expressed in Latin by synonyms (§5). In other languages the antithesis between “to make good a misdeed for another” and for oneself is expressed in terms of voice opposition, namely active “pay” (: “make reparation”) vs. med. “make to pay” (: exact reparation) in Greek (τίρειν vs. τίρεσθαι) and in Avestan (*cikaiia*^{ti} vs. *kaiiāia*^{ta}), also Ved. med. *cāya*^{te} “to punish”) or by different lexemes (§6). Hitt.(Luw.) *šarkant(i)*- and Lat. *sarcīre* (both transitive, and non infixes) suggest that PIE **serk*- is also transitive “to make good” and that *šarni(n)k*-, synonymous with the simplex, is not agentive (§7).

§ 2. The four forms with *šark*- which may be related to *šarni(n)k*- “to make restitution” (*“make good”) can be divided into two groups according to their referents. On the one hand, *šarkant(i)*- refers to individuals attending the justice’s court: an interpretation as “(the one) who seeks or exacts restitution” makes a connection with *šarnink*- fully conceivable, in terms which are to be specified (§). On the other hand, Luv. (\blacktriangleleft) *šargašamma/i*-, (\blacktriangleleft) *sarqatt*-, *šarkiuāli*- have an outraged god in full anger as their referent: a sense “vengeful” (and “punition” for (\blacktriangleleft) *sarqatt*-) may point to *šarnink*- (§3).

1. Kronasser 1966: 498; Eichner 1979: 61 (*šark*- “sich erheben”); Tischler, *HEG* s.v.

2. Neu 1968: 154-5) Tischler *HEG* s.v. *sarkaliya*- “sich überheben, rebellisch erheben(?)” (with discussion); *aliter* *CHD* Š- s.v. *šargan(n)iya*-, *šarganae*- *šarkaliya*- “to tear apart (?), destroy (?)”.

The term *šarkant(i)-* (MH/MS), repeatedly occurring in the instructions for the royal Bodyguard (IBoT 1.36: Guterbock & van den Hout 1991), designates persons involved in a process who have been led to the king's justice court by the guards, the positioning of whom at the entrance is referred to. The context does not allow to decide among the interpretations proposed for *šarkant(i)-* ("defendant" or "suspect", "plaintiff, witness, envoy", "petitioner, litigant"),³ but it is not far-fetched to assume that, from the formal point of view, its most plausible connection is with *šarni(n)k-* "to make restitution", as proposed by H. Craig Melchert:⁴ *šarkant(i)-* may be understood as a former *-(a)nt-*participle (actually a Luwian form, s. below) lexicalized as "petitioner, plaintiff, demandant" (i.e. "the one who exacts restitution / seeks redress", better than "who gives reparation"). Let us remember two significant instances of *šarkant(i)-* (translation as in *CHD* s.v.):

IBoT 1.36 iii 16-22 *araḫz=ija=z kuis* ^{LÚ}MEŠEDI *ḫarzi māḫḫan=ma šarkantin tamain uuatezzi* § *nu ANA GAL MEŠEDI kuiēš 2 BĒLŪTI EGIR-an aranta n=at šarkanti andurza tapuša iḫanta araḫza=ma=z kuis* ^{LÚ}MEŠEDI *ḫarzi n=ašta māḫḫan šarkantin ANA*^{LÚ.MEŠ} *MEŠEDŪTIM ḫandānzi apaš=a=kan šarkanti ...*

"when the guard who holds the outside brings in another petitioner, the two lords who stand behind the chief (of the) guard(s) go on inside beside the petitioner. But the guard who holds the outside passes behind the petitioner (at the moment when) they bring the petitioner in line with the guards ... "

iii 31-4 *m[ā]n šarkantīš=ma arta ANA* ^{LÚ}MEŠEDI=*ma našma ANA DUMU. É.GAL [DĪ]NU n=aš=kan šarkantīn peran arḫa UL paizzi*

"if a petitioner is standing there, but the case is against a guard or palace servant, he does not pass in front of the petitioner".

The inflection of *šarkant(i)-* as an *-i-*stem (nom.sg. *-iš*, acc.-*in*, loc.-*i* ; nom.pl. *-eš*) with an anomalous acc.pl. in *-iuš* and *-uš* (s.below) reflects the Hittite adaptation of a Luwian *-(a)nt-*participle (as other Luwoids in the same text), a

3. "defendant" or "suspect" (Guterbock & van den Hout 1991: 48), "Kläger, Zeuge?, Gesandte?" (Jakob-Rost 1966: 209), "petitioner, person seeking redress" (Melchert 1996:135; *CHD* s.v. also "litigant"), "arraignee (vel sim.)" (Puhvel *HED* 10: 174). For further references s. *CHD* Š-s.v. and Tischler *HEG* S/1, s.v.

4. Melchert 1996: 135 "I find it likely that they are from the same root as *šarni(n)k-* "make restitution"; *aliter* Puhvel *HED* 10: 178 s.v. *sark-* ("unrelated to *šarnin(n)k-*").

category which had turned unproductive in Luwian and lives on only as lexicalized substantives, e.g. *ul-ant(i)*- “dead” (*“(having) died”).⁵ Its *-i*-inflection is due to a misunderstanding and faulty reinterpretation of forms with *i*-motion, as is evident in the spellings (*šar-kán-ti-uš* iii 53, *šar-kán-du-uš* iii 1) for Luw. acc.pl.[c.] **šarkantinza*.⁶ As a former *-(a)nt*-participle of **šark-*, *šarkant(i)*- may well be interpreted as “(the one) who makes good” (for himself or for others), cf. Hitt. ptc. *šarninkant-* (3x c., 1x neut., cf. *šar-ni-i*]*n-kán-za-an=wa=za* *ēš* “sei ein Schadensersatzpflichtiger!” KBo 6.2 ii 54 as per E. Neu *apud* Haase 1982:33-4), or *mān=ma=aš parā šarninkanza* “if it (*scil.* the festival) is, however, fully arranged” KUB 16.66 obv. 16.30 (oracle question, NH). The former ptc. *šarkant(i)*-⁷ (like Hitt. *ištamaššant-* “hearing”, *uuant-* “seeing”) is lexicalized, as ^{LÜ}*pittejiant-* “fugitive” (*“(the one who runs, flies”): *pittai*-^{hbi}), ^{LÜ}*huuant-* “id.” (*huuaj*-^{hbi}).

§ 3. The three forms referred to an angry, vengeful deity may be related to the same verb as *šarkant(i)*-.

(↖) *šargašamma/i-* (NH†:3x, of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, is most probably a participle in *-(a)mmi*-⁸ of a denominative to a *-s*-stem Luw. **šargaš*-⁹ (*-*sko/e-*),¹⁰ for which the current interpretations as “seeking redress” and as “aroused, furious”.¹¹ The term occurs in opposition to “turn in favour”, see:

5. Norbert Oettinger (p.c.). Cf. also CLuw. *titant(i)*- *“(breast, teat” (borrowed as Hitt. *titanta-* “suckling”?, CLuw. *titan-*, Hitt. *tēta(n)*-, cf. **titaḫi-/tiḫi-* “to suckle”), *ḫarnant(i)*- *“(yeast, barm” (borrowed as Hitt. *ḫarnanta-*, cf. *ḫarna(e)*- “ferment, effervesce”, ptc. *ḫarnān*). Other *-(a)nt*-participles underlie secondary derivatives in *-(a)ntar* (Starke 1990: 229f., 287f., also 375-80).

6. Probably an error (Rieken 1994: 50) in the framework of the tendency to *-i*-inflection of the consonantal stems in Neo-Hittite (Rieken 1994 *passim*).

7. An interpretation of *šarkant(i)*- as *“(having a demand” as a “possessive” *-nt*-formation to a putative **šarka-* “demand, reclamation”? (of the type *perunant-* “rocky”: *peruna-* “rock”) lacks the support of the alleged substantive **šarka-*.

8. The Luwian participles in *-m(m)a/i-* (*-*mn-o-*, cf. Lyc. *-me/i-*) are indeed indifferent to voice, e.g. CLuw. *titaim(m)a/i-* “suckling” (beside Lyc. *tideime/i-* “son” a denominative to *tide-* “breast”, not a participle to **tidi-*, which could only be **tidime/i-*: Craig Melchert, p.c.)

9. Cf. CHD S- s.v. *-(ammi)*-formation to **šargaš-*, with reference to other views, among others Laroche 1958:195 (**šargaša-*: *-*sko/e-*).

10. Laroche 1958:195. *Aliter* CHD Š- s.v. *-(ammi)*-formation to a *-s*-stem **šargaš-*, with reference to other views).

11. “Vengeful”? “Seeking redress”(?) (CHD), “verärger, verstimmt, ungnädig” (Tischler HEG), “aroused” (Puhvel HED).

KUB 5.24 iv 8-10,+16.31 iv 6-8 (oracle question, Tudh. IV?)

mā[n]=mu=za=kan DINGIR-LUM *kuit* ◀ *šargašammi* IN[IM?-ni?]=*mu=kan*
DINGIR-LUM *kinun andan assuli n[eja]ttati*

“If you O deity are somehow vengeful (?) toward me and you will now turn in favor to me [in the matter(?)...]” (also KUB 5.24 ii 42-5: *StBoT* 38: 258f.).

(◀) *šarqatt-* (NH: 2x nom.sg. *šar-qa-za* KUB 52.34, oracle question), surely a noun in *-att-* (of the type *anijatt-* “performance”, *kardimmiat-* “anger”)¹² which refers surely to something unfavorable on the part of the gods. The fragmentary character of the text where the form occurs does not allow for an interpretation as “retribution(?), redress”(?) (*CHD*) better than “arousal, anger” (Puhvel): KUB 52.34 obv.5 DINGIR.ME-EŠ (or .MEŠ!) *šarqaza* NU.ŠE-*du* “(if it is) the retribution(?) of the gods (or: ... due to the retribution ...) let the oracle be unfavorable” (= obv.9 ◀ *šar-qa-za*).

Obscure *šarkiuāli-*¹³ (from OH-/MS)¹⁴ occurs as epithet of the *nakkiu-* demons,¹⁵ which are very specifically vengeful spirits of the dead (cf. the expression acc.pl. *šarkiuālies nakkiyes*)¹⁶ and is also referred to the Stormgod of Zippalanda. The context makes clear that the epithet fits to evil deities and may imply a determination to avenge characteristic of infernal powers (like the *Furiae*) as well as an awesome attitude, as the current translations show.¹⁷

12. On this formation cf. Rieken 1999:101-18; on CLuw. *-jett-* (in Hittite names) cf. Starke 1990: 453f.

13. Hitt. *šarkiuāli-* (:**sarkija-*?) belong to the same formation as *karpīūāla-* “furious” (*karpīja-*), *annaūali-*, *annaūli-* “(of) equal rank, peer”.

14. Melchert, *CLL* 190 (“(?) “*šark[i-* 108.14 Hittitized *šarkiwali-*”).

15. More likely *nakkiūa-*, probably an extended stem with the “social” *-*uo-* as per Rieken-Sasseville 2014 (Craig Melchert and Norbert Oetinger, p.c.). Hitt. *nakku(ūa)-* “the dead as “those who have disappeared, gone lost” or refers rather to “the murdered”, “a source of evil, specifically harmful speech”.(Melchert 2014:225) is traced back to a hypostasized genitive of a neuter noun **nakku-* (< **nōku-*, **nēku-*) via *nakkuūaš* “the one of loss/disappearance/death” (*ibid.* 223f.).

16. “Bezeichnung hinwegzuschaffender Übel des Opfermandanten” (Tischler).

17. On the one hand, “vengeful (?), seeking retribution(?)” (*CHD* “derived from the verb **šark(a)-* connection with *šarnink-* and the *šark-*forms”), on the other “beleidigt, gekränkt” (Eichner 1979:61, related to Lat. *incrēpō*, *-āre*), “aufgebracht”, “gereizt, zürnend” (Oetinger 1979:251 n. 26 with reference to cf. *karpīūala-* “aufgebracht”, cf. *kar(a)p^{-mi}*, *karpīja^{-mi}* “to be angry”).

KUB 17.15 iii 4-5 (conj. NS) = STBoT 30: 233
n=ašta a]nda šarkīualiaš [nakkiu]aš kištanunu[n]
 “I extinguished the vengeful (?) nakkiu-demons”

KUB 20.96 iv 9-11 (fest. of Zippalanda, OH/NS)
mān=ua=za ^{dU}URU Zīpalanda kuitki šarkīuališ šiunaš hanza=tit šarā x[...
 “If you, O Stormgod of Zippalanda, are somehow vengeful(?), (and) your forehead, O god, is [...] up(wards) ...” (“wenn du ... aus irgendeinem Grund erzürnt(?) bist (und) deine göttliche Stirn nach oben g[erunzelt(?) ist]” Tischler).

In conclusion: the three forms dealt with above may well be related to *šarni(n)k^{-mi}* ‘to make restitution’¹⁸ and, like the Luwoid *šarkant(i)-* ‘petitioner, (the one) who seeks redress’ turns out to be candidates for a connection with *šarnink-* (and *šarninkzil-* ‘compensation’), which must be first precised in the light of the Hittite facts.

§ 4. Let us briefly recall the essentials of Hitt. *šarni(n)k^{-mi}* “to make restitution” (and *šarni(n)kiške-*, verbal noun *šarninkuuar*) and *šarnikzil-* “compensation”. The word family expresses two antithetic variants of one and the same state of affairs, namely [“he” – makes good – misdeed], depending on the subject, which may be (a) the misdoer who makes good (*šarni(n)k-*) his *own* misdeed], i.e. “makes restitution” to another) or (b) the offended who makes good a misdeed of which he was the patient, i.e. he exacts his *own* claim:

In (a) misdoer – makes good – *own* misdeed, the latter is expressed by *ēšhar* “blood” (of the victim: a crime, also *ēšhnaš šarnikzil*) or as *kattaūātar* “(legal) grounds for a quarrel, (just) complaint”¹⁹ (and once as *nakkuš-* “damage, fault”: KBo 6.2 iv 53-5 *nakkuš n=at šarnikza* “... damage ... he shall repair it”). These expressions have a counterpart with *šanḫ-* “to seek”, i.e. the one who has suffered a misdeed or grievance exacts / seeks reparation ([make good – misdeed]: *ešhar*

18. A connection with **suerg^h-* “to be worried, sick” (OHG *sorga* “Sorge”, OE *sorh* “sorrow, anxiety”, Lith. *sergù, siřgti* “to be sick”) (“to worry, be sick” Watkins, *AHD*, s.v.), “krank sein, sich sorgen” (Kümmel *LIV*² s.v.) is dubious both semantically and formally (how does one get rid of the **u* in Luwian?).

19. Melchert 1979: 268ff. (“not “revenge”, but the object of revenge”, “object of worry/concern”, “not “retribution”, but that for which retribution is demanded”, also “grounds for a fight”). Hitt. *kattaūātar*, which relies on **kattu-/kattaū-* “hostile, evil”, and neut. “inmity” (PIE **kót-u-*) has an *aequabile* in Gk. *κότος* (PIE **kót-u-*), as their collocations show (García Ramón 2020).

EGIR-*an* (: *appan*) *šanḫ-* “to seek (the victim’s) blood(shed)”: to avenge the crime),²⁰ *kattaṽātār – šanḫ-* “to seek the object of vengeance”²¹ (cf. Akkadian *gimilan [a]na turri* “exact retribution, take revenge”) beside agent noun *kattaṽannalli-* “plaintiff, vengeful” (CLuw. *kattaṽatnalli-* “id.”). Two minimal pairs (*ēšḫar šarni(n)k-* vs. *ēšḫar EGIR-an šanḫ*,²² *kattaṽātār šarni(n)k-* vs. *katta-ṽātār šanḫ-* speak for themselves:

KUB 14.14 rev. 9 DINGIR.MEŠ BĒLŪ^{MEŠ}=YA ŠA ^m*Dudḫaliija* *kuit ēšḫar EGIR-an šanḫa[tteni] nu=kán* ^m*Dudḫaliijan* *kuēš kuennir nu ēšḫar apūš šarninkir* (ritual against the pest, NH/NS)

“O gods, my lords! Why are you still seeking (: avenging) the blood of Tudḫaliya? (EGIR-*an* [*appan*] *šanḫa[tteni]*)? , those who killed Tudḫaliya had expiated his blood(sin)”.

ABOT 44 i 36-8 *kurim[ma]š dam[me]šḫandaš antuḫšaš kattaṽātār zik=[pat]* ⁴*UTU-uš šarninkiškiš* (MH/NS)

“You, the Sun-god, make good the complaint of the bereaved and oppressed man” (Melchert 1979: 269).

KUB 13.7 i 17-8 *nu=za apāš kattaṽatar šanḫzi nu apūn UKŪ=an ANA LUGAL innarā kunanna pāi*

“He seeks the grounds for retaliation and delivers that person to the king explicitly to be killed”.

In (b) [offended – makes good – misdeed], i.e. makes good his own claim and makes restitution for himself, seeking or reaching a reparation. This reading of *šarni(n)k-* is scarcely attested and has probably not been paid the attention it deserves: *ēšḫar šarni(n)k-* turn out to be equivalent to *ēšḫar šanḫ-*, see:

20. With EGIR-*an* (: *appan*), also *uttar šanḫ-* “to seek a matter (*scil.* of death” (with *anda* , dative and *-kan*).

21. Cf. Melchert 1979:269 (also “... seek the grounds for quarrel, i.e. for retaliation”).

22. The expression is fairly frequent, e.g. *ēšḫar ... šanḫa* (KBo 3.23 i 9), *ēšḫar... šanḫiškatteni* (KBo 22.1 rev.24-5), ¹*P]išenijaš išḫar šanḫir* “(the gods) avenged the blood of Pisenis” (KBo 3.67 ii 11-2), *et al.*

KUB 16.77 iii 5-8 (oracle question, NH) [*mān Š*]A ^m*Pijaššili* U ^m*Ḫaittili* [*ēšḫar*] *šarninkuūanzi šanḫeškiši* [*nu* KIN(?) N]U.SIG₅-*du* N]U.SIG₅ § [*nu* DINGIR-LU]M *ešḫar=pat šarninkuūanzi šanḫeškiši*

“If you, (O deity), keep seeking (*šanḫeškiši*) to get compensation (infinitive *šarninkuūanzi*) for [the murder] (*ēšḫar*) of Piyassili and Haitili, let [the KIN(?) oracle] be unfavorable. Unfavorable. § [(If), O go]d, you keep seeking to get compensation for the murder only” Vs. (same genre of text).

The twofold reading of *šarni(n)k-* “make good” (a) his own misdeed to another, (b) another’s misdeed is recognizable in the abstract *šarnikzil-* “restitution, compensation” (a) that one makes/gives for another, (b) that the offended one seeks/takes for himself:²³

(a) KUB 13.9 ii 3 *mān ēšḫanašš=a kuiški šarnikzil piḫan ḫarzi*

“And if somebody has given compensation for murder...” (protocol., MH/NS).

(b) KUB 22.70 rev.7 *nu mān DINGIR-LIM apadda šer šarnikzel UL kuitki šanḫta*

“And if you, O god, have sought no compensation on that account”. Cf. also KBo 2.6 i 43-6 ^dUTU-ŠI=*ja=z parkunuzzi šarnikzela* (var. [*šarni*]kzel^{H.A}) SA É-TI ME-*anzi* “his Majesty will purify himself and they will take (ME-*anzi*) the compensation for (his) house” (oracle question, NH).

Both readings (a) and (b) cooccur in the case of *šarninkuūar* “compensation”, with “gerundival” gen. *šarninkuūaš*:

KBo 2.2 iii 33-36 *kuiš IKRIBU šarninkuūaš* (coll.) *n=an šarninkanzi UL=ma kuis šarninkuūaš* (? , coll.) *nu=šši zankila[tar SUM-anzi*

“What vow is subject to compensation, they will pay compensation for it. And what vow is not subject to compensation, [they shall pay: SUM-] a penalty (*zankilatar*) to her” (oracle question, NH).

23. The concept itself is also bidirectional in the formula *šarnikzil* NU.GÁL “there shall be no compensation” in legal texts (once without negation in KBo 6.26 i 22-7 *Laws*).

In conclusion, the collocation [make good (*šarni(n)k-*) – misdeed] has a twofold semantics, the frequent (a) [misdoer – makes good – *his own* misdeed (*ēšhar, kattaṽātar, nakkuš-*)] and the scarcely attested (b) [patient – makes good – another’s misdeed], i.e. he seeks/exacts a reparation *for himself*, lexicalized as “reclames, demands”. This obviously matches the semantics of [*šanḫ-* – misdeed (*ēšhar, kattaṽātar*)], the counterpart of the reading (a).

Accordingly we may assume that *šarkant(i)-* “demander, litigant” (of persons in the court) reflects the reading (b) of Hitt. *šarni(n)k-* “exact reparation”, and that its semantics becomes similar to that of Hitt. *kattaṽannalli-* (: CLuv. *kattaṽatnalli-*) “plaintiff, vengeful”, a derivative of *kattaṽātar* “(grounds for) a quarrel” (s. above), or of *ḫanni/e(t)taṽana-* “legal adversary”, *ḫannešḫaš išḫa-* (*bēl dīnī*) “id.”, *ḫanneššar ḫanna-*^{bhi} “to contend against” (CHD s.v.). This could also apply to *šargašamma/i-* and *šarkiṽali-*, whereas *šarqatt-* would semantically match *šarnikzel* “restitution, redress”: the vengeful deities to whom the terms are referred may be easily understood as exacting restitution. That **šark-* “to make good” (root form) and *šarni(n)k-* “id.” (surely an internal Hittite remodeling of infixed **sṛ-né-k-/ *sṛ-n-k-*) are synonymous must still be clarified (§7).

§ 5. The Hittite collocations have precise semantic comparanda (expressed mostly by means of synonyms §7) in other languages, and especially in Latin, where even the lexemes expressing (a), namely *noxiam sarcire* “to make amends for a damage”) are the same as those attested in Hittite: *sarciō,-īre* (**sṛk-jo/e-*)²⁴ “to make good” (*sarcire est integrum facere* Fest.)²⁵, also *re-sarciō,-īre*. matches Hitt. *šark-, šarni(n)k-* (**sṛ-n-ék/-k’-*), *noxia, noxa* “damage” matches Hitt. *nakkuš-* “id.”²⁶ (Gel.11.18.9 *uoluerunt ... noxiamque ab his factam sarciri* ‘decided (that ...) and that the damage done by them should be made good’; Dig. 47.9.9.1 *aut noxiam sarcire iubetur*). The match, which joins other exclusive coincidences between Anatolian and Latin (e.g. Hitt. *ḫark-*^{mi} “to uphold”: Lat. *arcēre* “id.”,²⁷ Hitt.

24. On the *-a*-vocalism cf. Watkins 1970a: 332; Eichner 1982: 19, n.16-17.

25. Also “to mend, repair, restore” (among others, “roofs”: *sarcta tecta* Fest., and the formula *sartum (et) tectum* “closed and covered”).

26. Melchert 2014, cf. also Catsanicos 1986: 167; Rieken 1999: 204.

27. PIE **h₂erk-* (cf. Hitt. *pē-ḫark-* : Old Latin *porcēre* “to keep off” as per Watkins 1970b:70f.), cf. also the phraseological match [UPHOLD – HEAVEN AND EARTH] (Hitt. *nepiš tekann=a ḫarši* “you hold heaven and earth” : Old Latin *terram mare caelum arcere* (Catsanicos 1986), actually a merism for “cosmos” (Enn. Ann. 542-3 *qui fulmine claro / omnia per sonitus arcet, terram mare caelum*, which is expressed in other languages by means of synonymous Ved. (*vi-dhar*⁽ⁱ⁾ / *dhṛ-* : Av. *dar*, Gk. (*ἀμφι-ἔχειν* (García Ramón fthc.).

kappuyai^{-hhi} “to count” : Lat. *computāre* “id.”, or *šakk-* / *šekk-*^{-hhi} ‘to know’ 3sg. *šakki* (← *‘has cut’ : made the difference’ : Lat. *scīre* ‘to know’ (**skH-jo/e-*) beside Lat. *secāre* ‘to cut’, Umb. **pru-sekatu** ‘must cut’), reflects indeed an inherited legal content, as rightly noted by Calvert Watkins.²⁸ The collocation was first replaced by *damnum soluito*,²⁹ cf. Fest. p. 322 ed. Müller: *noxiam sarcito, damnum soluito : sarcito in XII. Seruius Sulpicius ait significare damnum soluito, praestato*, and was expressed by means of other terms, among others *luere*, *piāre* and *iniuriam, infamiam* (equivalent to Hitt. *ešhar, kattaṽattar*) respectively. Some instances: Liv. *ab urbe* 9.23.14 *damna uestra, milites, omnium circa qui defecerunt populorum praeda sarcientur* “your losses, men, shall be made good with the spoils of all the revolted peoples round about!”³⁰ 38.37 *uenerunt ad ueniam petendam luendamque pecunia noxam* “they came to ask pardon and to wash away with money the guilt”, Verg. *Aen.* 2.139-40 *quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent / effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt* “Of them perchance they will demand due punishment for our flight, and will expiate my crimes by their death, unhappy ones”.

Contrarily, the reading (b) [offended – makes good – misdeed], i.e. “exacts, gets restitution”, “punishes” (cf. Hitt *ešhar / kattaṽatar – šanḥ-*) is expressed by *exigere, uindicāre* and *necem, facinus, piāculum* and others,³¹ e.g. Liv. *ab urbe* 29.18.18 *dea ... a uiolatoribus grauiā piacula exegit* “the goddess exacted heavy restitution from the profaners” Ov. *F.* 6.468 *quique necem Crassi uindicet ultor erit* “there will be an avenger who shall exact punishment for the slaughter of Crassus”, Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.194 *improbum facinus ... fortasse adhuc in nullo etiam uindicatum* “a shameful action ... perhaps not yet punished in any instance”.

§ 6. In other languages the opposition between (a) [misdoer – makes good – his misdeed) and (b) [offended – makes good – misdeed] is expressed by means of other verbs either (1) in terms of voice opposition, as is the case in Greek and in Avestan, with [pay] (**k^heǰ-*), namely act. “make reparation” (τίνειν, Av. *cikaiia-*^{-ti})

28. Watkins (1970a: 330-1: the procedure has been preceded by one more primitive, namely the delivery (*deditio* “noxal surrender”) of the misdoer (cf. *Leges* §95 *tezzi ... šarnikmi nu šarnikzi takku mimmai=ma nu ĪR-an=pat šuizzi* “(if his master) says : “I shall make restitution for him”, he makes restitution; but if he refuses he surrenders the slave”.

29. “*noxia* equivalent to, and gradually replaced by *damnum*” (Watkins 1970a:329).

30. Also Cic. *Phil.* 9.4.8 *nulla dubitatio relinquetur quin honore mortui quam uiuo iniuriam fecimus sarciamus*, Caes. *Bell. civ.* 3.74.2 *tantumque studium infamiae sarcientidae*.

31. Also *dolum malum* (Cic. *Off.* 3.15.61), *maleficium* (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.2), *offensas* (Ov. *Tr.* 3.8.40).

vs. med. “make to pay” (: “exact/obtain reparation”, “revenge, punish”: *τίνεσθαι*, Av. *kaiiiaia-^{ta}*); (b) [offended – makes good – misdeed] is also expressed (2) by means of middle *tantum* forms (Ved. *cáy-a-^{te}* [no Ved. †*cáy-a-^{ti}*], or (3) by other lexemes meaning “to seek, exact” regardless of its voice. Let us recall some examples without an attempt at exhaustivity:

(1) Greek: with *φόνον* “murder”, *λώβην* “outrage” (Hom.+), *et sim.* (corresponding to Hitt. *ešhar*, *kattaūātar*, Lat. *noxiam*, *damnum*): (a) *Il.* 21.133-4 ... *εἰς ὃ κε πάντες / τ(ε)ῖσατε Πατρόκλοιο φόνον* “... till you all pay for the slaying of Patroklos” (b) *Il.* 15.116 : *τ(ε)ῖσασθαι φόνον υἱός* “to avenge the slaying of my son”; (a) *Il.* 11.142 *νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τ(ε)ῖσατε λώβην* “now you will pay for your father’s foul outrage” as against (b) *Od.* 20.169-70 *αἶ γὰρ δὴ... θεοὶ τεισαίαιτο λώβην, / ἦν οἷδ’ ὑβρίζοντες ... μηχανόωνται* “might the gods take vengeance on the outrage which they, in their insolence, plot”.³²

Avestan: (a) *cikaiia-^{ti}* “to pay, repara” (Vd. 13.101j *cikaiiat sūnahe raēšō / baodō.vartahe ciθaiia* “il expiera le tort (*raēšah-*) fait au chien par la peine du baodō.varšta-” (Kellens 1984: 56), also Vd. 7.38,15.22 *et al.* as against (b) *kaiiiaia-^{ta}* “to make pay, punish” Yt.10.122g : *vīsaiti upāzananam pairi ākaiiiaianta* “qu’ils s’imposent d’expier par une vingtaine de pénitences” (Kellens 1984: 56).³³

(2) Only medial forms:³⁴ Ved. *cáy-a-^{te}* “to punish, avenge”, e.g. RV 9.47.2c *ῖṇā ca dhṛṣṇús cayate* “and the bold one exacts recompense for debts”,³⁵ cf. *ῖṇa-cít-* (RV 2.23.17cd *sá ῖṇacid ῖṇayā bráhmaṇas pátir druhó hantā* “this Brahmanaspati is the avenger, the redeemer of debts, the smasher of deceit”).

(3) Specific lexemes e.g. Gk. *αἰτέο/ε-* “to demand satisfaction for ...” (Hdt. 8.114 *Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου*), *φόνον πράσσειν, πράξασθαι* “to

32. Also *Il.* 19.208 ... *ἐπὶν τεισαίμεθα λώβην*, Hes. *Th.* 165-166 *πατρός κε κακὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην / ὑμετέρου*, and *Il.* 24.326 *λώβην τεινόμενος θυμαλγέα*.

33. Those who are *ašauuan-* (followers of harmony : *aša-*) made themselves to pay for their misdeeds). For a discussion of further data cf. Covini 2016: 230-240.

34. In some languages PAY is attested only in active voice, to express the reading (a), cf. Lycian *tl(e)i-* “to pay (a fine)” (denominative of **tille-* “payment”, beside reduplicated *tti-* “pay”: **k^{ti}-k^{ti}-*), e.g. TL 102.2ff. *me tleiti puwa : aitāta : aṃmāma : qebelija : ḗni : qlahi : ebij[e]hi pñtreñni* “(falls jemand drinnen irgendeinen (Toten) darauflegt), werden acht *qebelija* Ziegen[?] als Bußgabe für die Mutter des hiesigen Heiligtums von *Pñtre*[?] bezahlt” (Serangeli 2018:188f.) or Gk. *βλάβος* (°) *τίνειν* “to pay for the damage” (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 879a *τὸ βλάβος ἀπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω*, 878c ... *ἐκτίνειν...* *τὴν βλάβην*).

35. Also RV 1.190.5d *bḥhaspate cáyasa ít píyārum* “you just punish the reviler, Bḥhaspati”, 7.52.2d *má tát karma vasavo yác cáyadhve* “Let us not do that which you avenge, o Vasus”. For further instances Covini 2017: 225-40.

exact punishment or vengeance” (A. fr. 266.5 τοῦ θανόντος ἡ Δίκη πράσσει κότον “the Justice seeks the grievance for the dead”, A. *Eu.* 623-4 ... τὸν πατρός φόνον / πράξαντα ...” ... in avenging the murder of his father”, Ved. *yā-* “to exact” in compounds (*ῥῆα-yā-* “the one who demands punishment”, “avenger”, *ῥῆα-yāvan-* “id.”, e.g. RV I 87.4c *ási satyá ῥῆayāwānyedyah* “you are a real, irreproachable requiter of debts”), also *yātár-* “avenger” : Av. *caētar-* : Ζητήρ· Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρω (Hsch.).

§ 7. A last remark on the formations *šark-* and *šarni(n)k-* (and Lat. *sarciō,-īre*) and on the “Verbalcharakter” and semantics of **šark-* (PIE **serk-*) is in order. In Hittite “synchrony” *šarni(n)k-*, obviously a *-nin-*verb relying on the remodeling of a *-n-*infix stem, could be interpreted as a factitive “to make good” of a stative lexeme **šark-* “be good” (cf. *šarku-* “prominent” and its family)³⁶ as is the case with the pairs *ḫark-^{mi}* “to perish” :: *ḫarnink-^{mi}* “to destroy”, *ištark-^{mi}* “to be / get sick” :: *ištarnink-^{mi}* “to make sick”, **neik-* “to raise” :: *ninink-^{mi}* “to set in motion”. However, the fact that the root-form *šark-* in Hitt.-Luw. *šark-ant(i)-* “he who makes good” and, beyond any doubt, non infixed Lat. *sarciō,-īre* “id.” are fully synonymous with infixed *šarni(n)k-* “to make good” speaks strongly against this possibility. This leads to the conclusion that PIE **serk-* was originally transitive “to make good, whole”³⁷ (and telic, cf. root-aor. **sérk-t*)³⁸, and that *šarni(n)k-* is not a factitive formation proper,³⁹ but simply the reflex of a *-n-*infix stem,⁴⁰ that is not more factitive than the lexeme itself, as is the case with *ḫñe/i(n)k-^{mi}* “to sting, injure” beside *ḫuek-^{mi}* “to cut off, smash” (OP *āvajam* “put out (eyes)”).⁴¹ To PIE **serk-* “to make good, whole” (Hitt. *šark-*, Lat. *sarciō,-īre*) belong most probably some terms which may reflect **“made good”, “ordered”, among others Toch.B*

36. Most recently Kloekhorst 2008 s.v., with reference to Toch. BA *šārk-* “to surpass” (actually a transitive verb!) and to Dutch *vergoeden* “compensate” (: **“to make someone good”*): no mention of *šarkant(i)-*. Whether *šarni(n)k-* may be felt as the causative of *šarku-* in Hittite synchrony (i.e. regardless of the etymology of both terms) must remain open.

37. Watkins, *AHD* s.v. “instand setzen, wieder gutmachen” (Zehnder, in *LIV*²).

38. Oettinger 1979:143, Meiser 2003:121.

39. A causative “to make someone to make good, repair”, which would fit into the pattern of (a) is in fact exceptional (§4): the bulk of the evidence for *šarni(n)k-* precisely reflects type (a).

40. Whether this is a present stem or a mark of semantic transitivity, or even a mereley formal creation on the model of that of other verbs of the structure *CVRk- → CVR-nin-k-* is irrelevant at this point.

41. Cf. the fine discussion by Strunk (1979). The semantics of *ḫñe/i(n)k-* points to a lexicalization of an earlier aspectual present stem (García Ramón 2002: 129-131).

serke, A *sark* “cycle, circle (of birth and death”, also “set of teeth”, cf. Hom. ἔρκος ὀδόντων), probably also Toch. BA *särk-* “to take care of”,⁴² Gk. ὄρκος “oath” (Hom.+; in Hesiod as a divinity who punishes the perjurer). No connection must be assumed with the family of *šarku-* “high, eminent, powerful” “surpassing” (:Toch.), *šarkiške-mi* “to be powerful” *et al.*, which are related with Toch.BA *šärk-* “be better, surpass” (transitive; pres. IXb /*särkäsk’ä/e-*),⁴³ and may ultimately be traced back to an enlarged variant of **ser-* “up, on (top)” (Hitt. *šer*, CL. *sarri*, Lyc. *hri*, also Ion.-Hom. ἐπί°; Hitt. *šarā* “upwards”; Gk. ῥίον “promontorium”).

§ 8. To sum up : Hitt.(-Luw.) *šarkant(i)-* “petitioner, plaintiff” (of individuals in the court), i.e. “(the one offended) who seeks restitution (for a misdeed)”, a lexicalized *-(a)nt-*participle of **šark-* “to make good” (IE **serk-*), reflects a reading which is attested also, even scarcely, for Hitt. *šarni(n)k-mi* “to make good (claims)” and *šarnikzil-* “reparation”. The very frequent reading Hitt. of *šarni(n)k-mi* “make restitution” (the misdoer for his own misdeed; cf. Lat. *noxiam sarcire*) is the other side of the twofold collocation [make good – misdeed]. Both variants are attested under different forms in other Indo-European languages. The interpretation proposed for *šarkant(i)-* may apply also to *šargašam(m)a/i-* “vengeful, seeking redress”, *šarkiḡali-* “id.” and *šarqatt-* “redress”, all three referred to angry, vengeful deities.

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42. Malzahn 2010: 927, 939f. (*šärk-* “übertreffen, surpass” vs. Toch. BA *särk^(a)-* “+/- sich kümmern um; ziehen (?)”, “+/- take care of, pull (?)”: **šurg^h-* from **šurg^h-* “krank sein, sich sorgen” as per G.-J. Pinault, p. c.); Seržant 2014: 232-3 with n. 396 (following Peyrot 2010: 439) assumes that an original meaning “imstande/gut (besser) sein” finds support in the causative paradigm.

43. Malzahn 2010: 927f. (“übertreffen, surpass”, with references to other proposals).

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On the Lexicalization of Some Preverbs in Hieroglyphic Luwian

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The main purpose of the present contribution¹ is to show possible traces of ‘lexicalizations’ of preverbs in Hieroglyphic Luwian (HLuw) that could remain hitherto overlooked in the descriptions of the language. The term ‘lexicalization’ referred to in our study is intended to cover the same phenomenon already described for the preverb transcribed in HLuw as *ARHA*, with a ‘terminative’ value developed out of the primary or basic meaning (“out”).² As generally recognized, there is a large amount of parallel constructions, both among Anatolian and outside this language family, which display the same or very similar phenomena of lexicalization. After a general overview of the Anatolian system of preverbs (§ 1) and an approximation to the prototypic example of HLuw *ARHA* / Hittite (Hitt) *arḫa* (§ 2) we undertake a tentative account of possible HLuw examples of ‘lexicalized’ pre-

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2. We employ the term *lexicalization* instead of *grammaticalization* because the second one implies either the insertion into an already preexistent inflectional category (e.g. aspect), into a derivational one (e.g. Aktionsart), or the creation of a new category. On the contrary, if a new lexem is created (e.g. *peran huḫai-* ‘to help’ vs *huḫai-* ‘to run’) the result is a *lexicalization*. However, when the ‘terminative’ nuance is present, it can be somehow considered a ‘frontier case’.

verbs, namely *anta* and *appan* (§ 3), to finish with some final remarks on the collected material (§ 4).

§ 1. *Anatolian preverbs / adverbs*

«One of the defining features of both Hittite and Luvian is their system of so-called “local adverbs”, which define basic spatial relations and occur syntactically as free-standing adverbs, preverbs, and adpositions (in Hittite exclusively postpositions, but in Luvian as both prepositions and postpositions)». ³ The following table shows the correspondence of preverbs / adverbs — not etymological in the bracketed { } forms — between Hittite and both attested Luvian ‘dialects’:

	Hittite	Empire / Iron Age Luvian	Kizzuwatna Luvian
‘in(to)’	<i>anda</i>	<i>a-ta/tá /anta/</i>	<i>ānta/ānda</i>
‘in’	<i>andan</i>	<i>á-ta-na /antan/</i>	<i>andan(?)</i>
‘back’	<i>āppa</i>	<i>á-pi-(i) /apì/</i>	<i>āppa</i>
‘behind’	<i>āppan</i>	<i>á-pa-na /apan/, POST-na/-ni</i>	<i>āppan</i>
‘away’	<i>arḫa</i>	<i>ARHA /ahḫa/? /irḫa/i-/?</i>	-----
‘down’	<i>katta</i>	<i>INFRA-ta /tsanta/</i>	<i>zanta</i>
{ ‘below’	<i>kattan</i>	<i>INFRA-(na)-na /annan/</i>	<i>ānnan}</i>
{ ‘with’	<i>katta(n)</i>	<i>CUM-ni/ní */anni/</i>	-----}
‘forth’	<i>p(a)rā</i>	<i>pa+ra/i-(i) /pri/</i>	<i>p(a)rī</i>
‘in front’	<i>pēran</i>	<i>pa+ra/i-na /parran/</i>	<i>parran</i>
‘up’	<i>š(a)rā</i>	<i>SUPER + RA/I (ending unclear)</i>	<i>šarra(?)</i>
‘above’	<i>šēr</i>	<i>SUPER + RA/I /sarri/</i>	<i>šarri</i>

§ 2. *HLuw. ARHA with lexicalized (grammaticalized as ‘terminative’?) value*

«Both Hittite and Empire Luvian show a further development from a preverb with a physical sense “away” to a “terminative” value: e.g. Hittite *warnu-* “burn” (tr.) and *arḫa warnu-* “burn up/completely” beside Iron Age Luvian *ARHA* (“FLAMMAE”) *ki-nu-* “burn up/completely”; *ēd-/ad-* “eat” and *arḫa ēd-/ad-* “eat up” beside Iron Age Luvian *ad-* “eat” and *ARHA ad-* “eat up, devour”»: ⁴

3. Melchert (2013: 302), including the table.

4. Melchert (2013: 307).

apēz=kan uddanaz arḥa akkiškanzi ‘people **die** because of that behavior’
KBo 5.3 iii 38-39 (NH)

A completely parallel use of the preverb *ARHA* ‘forth’, which also denotes intensity and adds the nuance of ‘completeness’ to the verbal process, is attested in HLuw. Besides *|ARHA |i-wa/i* ‘I shall go away’ (KULULU 1, § 15) and *ARHA |CAPERE-ia*⁵ ‘he shall take away’ (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 29), we find also *|ARHA |á-za-tu* ‘may it **eat up**’ (KULULU 1 § 12),⁶ where the preverb no longer provides the primary adverbial circumstance to be translated as ‘away’, but rather the lexicalized instance which is rendered in English with the help of the parallel use of the adverb ‘up’.⁷

§ 3. Searching for more HLuw lexicalized preverbs

Hitt. *arḥa* was probably not the only preverb which developed a lexicalized value. If we were able to find such value in more preverbs beyond *arḥa*, we would indeed have an important indication that would lead us to suspect that more preverbs in Luw. have developed the same feature. Yet the most important example in Hitt. beyond *arḥa* could be *anda*, as well with a ‘terminative’ nuance with a basic

5. On the reading *CAPERE-ia* /*laja*/ see Yakubovich 2008: 21-23.

6. Examples taken from Payne (2010²: 29); this use is strikingly parallel to the ‘terminative’ nuance of the adverb / preverb in English, for example *eat up*, *burn out*; or the German *aussterben*. There is an employ of Greek *ἄπό* understandable as a kind of continuation of the ancient *Aktionsart* referred to as ‘fientive’ (involving a change of state), what could therefore be classified as ‘grammaticalization’. For example *ἄποθνήσκω* ‘to die’, *ἄποθηρίωσις* ‘transformation into a beast’, *ἄποσκοτίζω* ‘to make shadowy’, and many others. In Latin, *in-* as preverb brings about a ‘transformative’ / ‘factitive’ meaning: *in-flammo* ‘to set aflame’, *im-mūto* ‘to change’. Another typologically comparable lexicalization (perhaps also ‘grammaticalization’) is to be found in Lat. *prō-*; cf. Hamp (1997). Perhaps not unrelated to these ‘grammaticalization’ processes is the fact that «intransitive verbs [in Sanskrit] typically become transitive after certain spatial (directional and locational) preverbs, such as *ānu* “along, after”, *āti* “over”, *abhi* “towards, over, against”, *ūpa* “to, near” and some others, which add an accusative object to the syntactic arguments of the verb and thus function as transitivizing, or applicative, markers, as in [...] RV 7.1.14a *séd agnir agnīm ūty astuv anyān* “Let this fire be bigger than (lit. **be over**) other fires”» (Kulikov 2017: 382; see also Kulikov 2012). In certain Iranian languages, like Ossetic, any imperfective verb may be converted into a perfective one by the use of one of several preverbs (see Korn 2017: 617).

7. On the origin of the Anatolian adverb, cf. Melchert (2013: 306): “away” is not like the other local adverbs inherited from Proto-Anatolian, but results from a grammaticalization of the allative case form of the noun meaning “boundary”.

sense ‘up to’ or ‘completely’. The following is a list of possible instances of Hitt. verbs with meaning lexicalized by means of *anda*:

anda ar-/er- ‘to reach into, go into, occur’;⁸ *anda arija-* ‘to establish through an oracle’;⁹ *anda au(š)-* ‘to watch (to somebody); give attention’;¹⁰ *anda ḥamenk-* ‘to tie, harness’;¹¹ [*anda ḥatt(a)-* ‘to tear’];¹² *anda ḥatkešnu-* ‘to press’;¹³ *anda ištamaš-* ‘to listen (to somebody)’;¹⁴ *anda kiš-* ‘adhere to, associate to, be involved in’;¹⁵ *anda peda-* ‘to present, to bring in; say, declare’;¹⁶ *anda šai-* ‘to seal, pre seal’;¹⁷ *anda šanḫ-* ‘to avenge, punish (an offence or provocation)’;¹⁸ *anda šarnink-* ‘to re-establish, restore’;¹⁹ *anda da-*

8. Cf. HW² A 213, with the indication ‘[B]ed[eutung] schwach’; *anda aranda* KBo 4.4 iv 22 ‘geschlossen’. Without preverb: “ankommen (von Lebewesen und Dingen) mit perfektiven Aspekt gegenüber allgemeinerem *uua-* ‘kommen’” (HW² A 208).

9. HW² A 293. A similar meaning is attested also with other preverbs: *arḫa arija-*, *katta arija-*, and *peran arija-*. Without preverb: “orakeln (durch Orakel) ermitteln”.

10. Cf. HW² A 614: ‘jem[and]en ansehen’. Further specially ‘mit gütigen Augen ansehen’, for example in: *nu=muškan* DINGIR-*I*A (12) DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ULU^{LU} SI[G₅-it IGI^{HL.A}-it **a**nda a-ú (KUB 31.127 +) ABOT 44.4 iv 11s. ‘Siehe mich, o mein Gott, (12) den Sterblichen, [mit] gü[tigen Augen a]n’.

11. HW² H 119: j[ung]heth[itisches] *anda ḫ*. ‘(etwas) anbinden’ unterscheidet sich semantisch kaum vom Simplex *ḫ*. ‘(etwas) binden’.

12. Cf. HHw 52: *anda hatt-* ‘aufschlitzen’; but see now HW² H 485: ‘Ein Ansatz von *anda ḥatta(i)-* als “aufschlitzen, aufschneiden” ist [...] nicht gerechtfertigt.’

13. Cf. HW² H 512f.: ‘(Städte, Länder, Feinde) einschließen, umzingeln (?), bedrängen’; HED 3, 267: ‘beleaguer’; for example *mān=waškan* DUTU-ŠI KUR LÚKUR *kuitki anda hatkesnumi* ‘when I the king beleaguer some enemy country’; Francia (2002: 178f.): ‘mettere alle strette’.

14. Cf. HW² I 242 f.: (mit Satzpartikel) ‘bei j[e]m[a]nd[e]m et[was] hören.’ Without preverb: ‘to understand, to listen’.

15. Without preverb: ‘to occur, to arrive’. See below the discussion on texts [2a] [2b].

16. Cf. CHD P 351: ‘to bring in (testimony, a solemn declaration).’ Without preverb: ‘to transport, to report’.

17. Cf. CHD Š 16b: ‘(They come out, close [the door of] the temple)’ *n=at anda ši-ia-an-zi* ‘and seal it’ KBo 2.4 i 22. Without preverb: ‘to press, to print’.

18. Cf. CHD Š 167, for example: (If somebody provokes the soul of the god) *n=atškan* DINGIR-LIM *apēdani[pat 1-e]dani anda š[a-an-aḫ-z]i UL=atškan ANA DAM=ŠU [DUMU=ŠU N]JUMUN=ŠU MÁŠ=ŠU ÌR.MEŠ=ŠU GÉME.MEŠ=ŠU [G]UD.ḪI.A=ŠU UDU.MEŠ=ŠU *ḫalkitt=a a[nda ša-a]n-aḫ-zi* ‘does the god avenge it [on]ly on him? Does he not avenge it on his wife, [his children], his descendants, his family, his male (and) female slaves, his [ca]ttle, his sheep, (and) [his] crops (and destroy him totally?)’ KUB 13.4 i 35-37. Without preverb: ‘to aspire to, to seek’.*

la- ‘to abandon’;²⁰ *anda ušk-* ‘to watch’;²¹ *anda yašš-* ‘to cover’; *anda uatarnahh-* ‘to prescribe’; *anda uart-* ‘to intertwine’; *anda uerija-* ‘to count’.

In the following section possible instances of the lexicalized use of the HLuw counterpart of hit. *anda* are collected.

§ 3.1. HLuw *a-ta/tá (anta)* ‘in(to)’

[1a] KARATEPE 1 Hu²²

§ LXV 351-354 *ni-pa-wa/i-sá* (COR) *á-la/i/u-na-za-ia* “CASTRUM«”»-*ní-si za-tí* ||

§ LXVI 355-359 *wa/i-ta a-ta AEDIFICARE+MI-i* “PORTA”-*la-na za-ia*

§ LXVII 360-362 (LITUUS) *á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-sa kwa/i-ia i-zi-lá/i*

‘or (if) he is *covetous* towards this fortress,

and blocks up (?) these gates, (Phoen.: *w-ys^c h-š^cr z* “and tear out this gate”) which Azatiwatas made’

(cf. also § LXXI and § LXXIIb)

Without lexicalization of *anta*:

[1b] § XXIII 119-124 |*kwa/i-pa-wá/i-ta* |LOCUS-*la/i-ta-za-* |*á-pa-ta-za*

| (“CASTRUM”) *ha+ra/i-ní-sà* | **a-ta** | **AEDIFICARE+MI-ha**

‘Thus I built fortresses in those places’

A possible explanation for the different expressions in Luw. and Phoenician (Phoen.) in the example [1a] could be the lexicalized use of preverb *a-ta (anta)* ‘in(to)’ + *tama-* ‘to build’ as a development of a former expression with the sense ‘put (stones) into (the gate)’, somehow equivalent to ‘destroy’ the entrance of the gate; the Phoen. rendering represents an equivalent of the basic idea of ‘destroy’ or ‘block up’ the gate(s). The contrast is apparent in [1b] with the ‘normal’ use of *anta* as local adverb.

19. Cf. CHD Š 284f., for example: (In a household one person has died because of the plague) [(*n=at punušmi*) *n*] *at=kan anda šar-ni-ik-mi* ‘I will investigate it and make restitution for it’ KUB 31.58 rev. 10 w[ith] dupl[icate] KUB 31.51 rev. 6. Without preverb: ‘to make up for, to pay’.

20. Without preverb: ‘to leave’.

21. Cf. above *anda au-/u-*; see HW² A 615, for example: ŠA EN.SISKUR=ma DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*uš uk anda uš-kán-du...* ‘Des Opfermandanten Götter aber sollen mich ansehen, ...’ VBoT 120+ iii 34.

22. All HLuw text are cited according to the *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* (<http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>); the translations are based in Hawkins (2000), with improvements or corrections taken from the same *Annotated Corpus*.

[2a] TÜNP 1

§ 6 |*wa/i-*' 1 “ARGENTUM”-*sa* 1 (“SCALPRUM”) *ma-na-sa* |1
 (“SCALPRUM”) *ma-na-sa-ha-na* (“*419”) *wa/i-sa-ha-sa*
 § 7 |PRAE₂-*sa-pa-wa/i-ta kwa/i-sa na a-ta i-zi-ia+ra/i*
 ‘[(He) who shall attack (this),]
 one mina of silver and one *manashana* is the fee.
 But (the person?) who is not involved (?), ...’

Without preverb:

[2b] KARATEPE 1 Hu.

§ LIII 303-308 *kwa/i-pa-wa/i za* (“CASTRUM”) *há+ra/i-ní-sà-||za i-zi-ia-ru*
 (DEUS)BONUS-*sa* (DEUS)VITIS-*sá-há*
 ‘And so let this fortress become (one) of the Grain God and the Wine God’

The expression *anta izziyari* (literally ‘made *in(to)*’ → ‘involved’) could be understood as a result of the lexicalized employment of HLuw *anta*. As already pointed out by Hawkins,²³ ‘the sense should be parallel to that of Hitt. *anda kiš-* “be involved in”.’ The verb without preverb quoted in [2b] allows one to see that the contrast between both constructions consists not in the mere ‘addition’ of a local adverb.

[3] SULTANHAN

§ 26 |*wa/i-tu-u* |BOS(ANIMAL)-*sa* 9 100-*ha ma-tu-sà*
 § 27 |POST+*ra/i-ta-pa-wa/i a-ta* |*sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ia*
 § 28 *wa/i-tu-u-ta* |*ti-na-ta-za* |POST+*ra/i-ta*
 ‘and to him (there shall be) an ox and nine 100 (measures of) wine.
 But in future it will increase (??),
 and to him (there shall be) a *tithe* in future’

A literal translation of § 27 *a-ta* |*sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ia* (*anta sarrawiya*) would be ‘send over *in(to)*’ (imperative). Hawkins’ tentative rendering ‘it will increase (??)’ doesn’t reflect the imperative as such, but does reflect correctly the verbal content. The combination with *anta* could seem synchronically somewhat redundant, because *sarra-wiya* seems already to be the result of a former univertation with the preverb *sarra* ‘over’. However, one cannot exclude totally the interpretation of

23. Hawkins (2000: 156), with previous bibliography.

anta as postposition to POST+*ra/i-ta-pa-wa/i* ('in the future'), but it would be against the normal use of *apparanta*, as in § 28.

[4] KARKAMIŠ A14a

§ 6 *wa/i-ma-za-*' DEUS-*ni-zi* "COR"-*tara/i-na* NEG₂ POST-*ni* ||

(5.) **a-tá** |(BONUS)*wa/i-li-ia-ta* § 7 *wa/i-tà-*' *mu-*' POST-*ni* **a-tá** |(BONUS)[

...

'and for them the gods didn't rise personally in favor, but they ro[se] (personally) in favor for me'²⁴

We find here twice a combination of preverbs POST-*ni* *a-tá* (*appan anta*) + *waliya-*, a well-known idiom in the sense 'to favour' or 'to exalt', for which see the commentary on texts **12** and **12a** at the following section (§ 3.2).

[5] KARKAMIŠ A2+3

§ 13 |POST+*RA/I-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i* |*kwa/i-sa* |*za-a-ia* DEUS.DOMUS(-)*ha-tà*
a-tá |(*261)*ta-pa-i*

'In future (he) who shall destroy [*into*] these temples'

This is a rare example of rendering the idea 'destroy' with a preverb other than *ARHA*. In fact, such content is almost always expressed with the combination *ARHA* + *marnu(wa)-* (12x) or *ARHA* + *marnussa-* (1x). This circumstance could be seen as an argument in favour of a parallel lexicalized use of the preverb *anta* + verb *taba-*. There are also six examples of use of *zappa-* without the preverb, but its somewhat different semantics ('slaughter, destroy'), perhaps already "terminative", could explain the lack of preverbatation.

[6] ALEPPO 2

§ 10 *a-wa/i* *pa-sa-*' |*á-lá/i-ma-za* (DEUS)TONITRUS CUM-*ni* |PONERE-
wa/i-⟨ha⟩

§ 11 |"COR"-*tara/i-pa-wa/i-na* NEG₂-' |*kwa/i-i-ha* **a-tá** |CRUS+*RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha*

'I established his name name next to Tarhunt,

but I did not set him up (← 'remove *into*') (as) any figure'²⁵

24. For the translation of *atrin appan(i) anta waliya* as 'rise personally in favor', see Melchert 2011: 84.

25. On the possible meaning of /*anni*/ as 'next to', 'along with', see Boroday & Yakubovich 2018: 11.

The translation takes account of the analysis available in the *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts*, with CRUS+RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha interpreted as ar(a)nu(wa)- ‘to remove’. However, Hawkins’ rendering as ‘but I did not set him up (as) any figure’ is probably correct.²⁶ This would imply that we are dealing here with another example of lexicalized use of *anta*.

[7] KARKAMIŠ A11a

§ 8 wa/i-mu-tá-’ á-ma |tá-ti-ia AVUS-ha-ti-ia |REGIO-ní-ia (*33(1))mi-tà-sa₅+ra/i-i-na kwa/i-a-ti a-tá i-zi-ia-tá

[My lord Tarhunt, Karhuhas and Kubaba loved me because of my justice,] ‘wherefore they perfected/developed for me my father’s (and) great-grandfather’s country as a reward’²⁷

This passage could represent another instance of lexicalization of *anta* + *iz-zi(ya)-*, to compare with the same combination commented above in text **2a**: *anta izziyari* (literally ‘made *in(to)*’ → ‘involved’), but with active diathesis. As active the sense of the preverbation could be ‘to convert’ or ‘to turn into’.

§ 3. 2. HLuw *appan*, POST-na/-ni ‘behind, after’

Another possible candidate ‘lexicalized’ preverb is HLuw *appan*, and the same applies to its Hitt. counterpart *appan*. We find also lexicalized instances of this Hitt. preverb, for example *appan ep(p)-* ‘to prosecute’,²⁸ *appan eš-* ‘to remain, be left’,²⁹ *appan šanḫ-* ‘to look after, take care of’,³⁰ *appan tarḫa-* ‘to forgive’,³¹ and *appan uua-* ‘to come for help’.³² The following is a provisory list of attesta-

26. Cf. his own commentary to the passage (Hawkins 2000: 238): ‘while this clause is not difficult to analyse and “translate”, a proper understanding of it remains elusive.’

27. As Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.) points to me, now is possible to interpretate /midassar(i)-/ as ‘reward’; see the second occurrency of this noun in CEKKE §12 and his likely derivation from PIE *meǵ- ‘to exchange’.

28. Without preverb: ‘to take, to grasp’.

29. Without preverb: ‘to be’.

30. Cf. CHD Š 168, for example: nu tuk maḫḫan=ma ^dUTU-ŠI IŠTU AWAT ABI[εK]A EGIR-an ša-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-tta ANA AŠAR ABIεKA titta[nu]nun ‘As I, My Majesty, took care of you in accordance with the recommendation of your father, I seated you in the place of your father’ KBo 5.9 i 19-20. Without preverb: ‘to aspire to, to seek’; see above, § 3.

31. Without preverb: ‘to let, to abandon’.

32. Without preverb: ‘to come’.

tions of HLuw *appan* — taking account also of the combination of the two preverbs *appan* + *anta* — with possible lexicalized value.

[8] KARKAMIŠ A11b+c

6. § 33 “LIGNUM”-*sa-pa*||-*wa/i-mu-tá-*’ |*kwa/i-a-za za-a-ti-ia-za*
|(DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-na-za* **POST-ni** |*PES-wa/i-tà*
‘Because wood “came after” me for these balconies, ...’

This is an instance of the well-known idiom *appan awita* past.act.3p.sg. ‘to come after’ = ‘become available to’, ‘come to the hand of’. See the commentary in Hawkins (2000: 98): cf. KARKAMIŠ A11a § 15: ‘these orthostats “came after” me’; İSKENDERUN § 2(A): *appan=ba=wa=mu=as=ta kwa/i-za* (“PES”) *á-wa/i-tà* “and while it/they (= a millstone?) became available to me”.

[9] KARKAMIŠ A23

5. § 10 *wa/i-ta-*’ (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-na* |*kar-ka*||-*mi-si-za-na*(URBS) MAG-
NUS.DOMINA-*sa+ra/i-na* |**POST-ni** |*SOLIUM-nu-wa/i-ha*
‘I re-established Kubaba, Queen of Karkamiš’

The expression *appan isnuwaha* (literally ‘behind I settled’) is clearly to be rendered as ‘I re-established’.

The following are instances of combined preverbs HLuw. *appan anta* ~ *anta appan*, to be compared with Hitt. *appanda* ‘afterwards; behind’, and the combinations *appa anda tarna-* ‘to left into again’, *appa anda uda-* ‘to bring into again’, and *appa anda uwa-* ‘to come into again’:

[10a] IZGIN 2 (D)

5. § 4 *wa/i-tá-*’ *pi-[na]-*’ ||[...] *286-*wa/i-ni-zi*(URBS) FINES+HA-*zi*

6. **POST-ni** || **a-tá** *i-zi-i-tà*

7. § 5 *zi-pa-wa/i-ta hi[?]-li-ki*||-*zi*(URBS) FINES+HA-*zi* **POST-ni a-tá** *i-zi-i-tà* ||
‘On that side he added the frontiers of the city *286-wan(ni),
and on this side he added the frontiers of the city Hilikii(ya)’
(*appan anta izzida* ‘made after in(to)’ → ‘added’)

Without preverb:

[10b] KARATEPE 1 Hu.

§ III 12-17 wa/i-mu-u (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa á-*429-wa/i-||ia(URBS)
MATER-na-tí-na tá-ti-ha **i-zi-i-tà** ‘Tarhunt made me father and mother to Ah-
hiyawa / Que’

[11] TELL AHMAR 6

8. § 30 |NEG₂-a-pa-wa/i¹ha-mi-ia-ta-sa-na |NEPOS-sa-ta-ni-i |kwa/i-i-sa
|MALUS-wa/i-za-’ |**a-tá POST-ni** |(COR.ANIMAL)za+ra/i-ti-ti-i
‘Or who(ever) desires evil to Hamiyatta, to my progeny, ...’
(*anta appan zartiti* ‘in(to) after ← desires’)

[12] (= [4]) KARKAMIŠ A14a

§ 6 wa/i-ma-za-’ DEUS-ni-zi “COR”-tara/i-na NEG₂ **POST-ni** ||

5. **a-tá** |(BONUS)wa/i-li-ia-ta

§ 7 wa/i-tà-’ mu-’ **POST-ni a-tá** |(BONUS)[...

‘and for them the gods didn’t rise personally in favor, but they ro[se] (person-
ally) in favor for me’

(cf. also IZGIN 1 § 18; KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 3-5; TELL AHMAR § 10)

Without preverb:

[12a] KARKAMIŠ A23

§ 11 wa/i-ti-’ pa-sa-’ tá-ti-ia DOMUS-ni |**BONUS-ia-ta** ‘She (Kubaba) was
good to/for/in her paternal house’

The combination of *appan anta* + *waliyanta*, lit. ‘after into they favoured’ is perhaps more easily understandable — as with the two previous examples, **10** and **11** — when we assume a ‘lexicalized’ value of both preverbs. Of course, is not easy to reconstruct how such a construction came into being. However, the ‘intensive’ and ‘directive’ nuances are not difficult to find.

§ 4. *Final remarks*

The above adduced examples are, in our opinion, conclusive enough to postulate the existence of ‘lexicalized’ employs of the HLuw preverbs³³ *anta* (§ 3.1) and *appan* (§ 3.2).³⁴ Nevertheless, it could be possible to find at the same time an ‘intensive’ or ‘terminative’ nuance (at least, for example, in **3**, **4**, **7**, **9** and **10a**). It could be, therefore, a parallel instance to the already described use of *ARHA* (§ 2) as a rather likely example of ‘grammaticalization’ with ‘terminative’ value.

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33. For general overviews of the Indo-European (IE) adverbs / preverbs / prepositions, see Pinault (1995), Blažek (2005) and Dunkel (2014).

34. The etymology of the HLuw. adverbs / preverbs *anda* (**en dó*) and *appan* (**óp-ām*) is well known: cf. Dunkel (2014: 67, 227).

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The Etymology of Hieroglyphic Luwian *izi(ya)-^{di}* ‘to do, to make’: an Athematic *i*-Present in Anatolian

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In recent years, the Hieroglyphic Luwian verb *izi(ya)-^{di}* ‘to do, to make’ has been the subject of two etymological treatments. First, Rieken (2007) argued that, on the basis of the semantics of the inner-HLuwian derivatives *iziyatara-* ‘performance, ritual’ and *izisata-* ‘to honor’, the root of *izi(ya)-^{di}* may be derived from the PIE root **H₂iaǵ-* that usually is translated as ‘to honor’ (reflected in Skt. *yaj-* ‘to offer, to honor’ and Gr. ἄζομαι ‘to honor’).¹ According to Rieken (2007: 273), the original meaning of **H₂iaǵ-* was not ‘to honor’, however, but rather ‘to do, to make’. She proposes that the original semantics of this verb was in ritual language restricted to ‘to make (a ritual for someone)’, and, later on, with deviating argument structure, to ‘to ritually honor (someone)’. Hieroglyphic Luwian would then have preserved both the original meaning ‘to do, to make’ and the derived meaning ‘to (ritually) honor’ (in *izisata-*), whereas in Greek and Indo-Iranian only the semantics of the ritual context was preserved. When it comes to the formal aspects of

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1. Rieken follows LIV²: 224 in reconstructing this verbal root as **H₂iaǵ-*, but, personally, I would rather follow Lubotsky (1981: 135) in reconstructing it as **ieh₂ǵ-* (cf. Beekes 1988: 24-5). For the remainder of this article, the exact reconstruction of this root is irrelevant, however, since both **H₂iaǵ-iV^o* and **ieh₂ǵ-iV^o* are expected to yield the same result in Luwian.

this etymology, Rieken proposes that HLuw. *izi(ya)-^{di}* reflects the verbal stem **Hīg-je/o-* (cf. the *-je/o-* formation as attested in Gr. ἄζομαι),² in which the cluster **gi* has undergone a development to Luw. *z*.³ In order to account for the fact that *izi(ya)-^{di}* takes lenited endings (cf. 3sg.pres.act. *i-zi-i-ti* / *i-zi-i-ri+i*, *i-zi-ia-ti-i* / *i-zi-ia+ra/i-i* = /itsi(a)di/, 3sg.pret.act. *i-zi-i-tà*, *i-zi-ia-tà* = /itsi(a)da/), Rieken assumes that the original verbal formation **Hīg-je/ó-* (with the expected suffixal accentuation, cf. LIV²: 19) underwent a secondary accent retraction to **Hīg-je/o-*, after which in forms like 3sg.pres. **Hīg-je-ti* and 3sg.pret. **Hīg-je-to* Eichner's second lenition rule took place, yielding the attested forms /itsi(a)di/ and /itsi(a)da/, with lenited endings. In a lecture held in Barcelona in October 2014,⁴ Ilya Yakubovich formulates some criticism on Rieken's analysis of HLuw. *izi(ya)-^{di}*, and presents a different account. Although he accepts Rieken's root etymological connection with PIE **Hīag-*, he remarks that her semantic proposal that this root originally only meant 'to do, to make', is difficult: "[o]ne has to assume that *izzi(ya)-* has alone retained the original meaning of the root, while its internal Luwian and external Indo-European cognates have independently developed the secondary meaning 'to worship'". Moreover, he points out a formal problem: "the majority of the Luwian verbs in *-i(ya)-* normally do not lenite the endings, whereas *izzi(ya)-* does". Yakubovich himself therefore argues that *izi(ya)-^{di}* is in fact a univerbation of an adverb **izzi* 'reverently' (derived from the PIE root **Hīag-*) and the verb *a-^{di}* 'to do, to make', which would mean that *izi(ya)-^{di}* originally meant 'to do honorably'. He hesitatingly suggests that since the base verb *a-^{di}* 'to do, to make' is never attested in royal inscriptions of the Iron Age, it may have been a lower register form, which would imply that *izi(ya)-^{di}* was its higher register variant, supporting the semantic analysis 'to do honorably'.

In the present paper I will reevaluate Rieken's and Yakubovich's etymological analyses of HLuw. *izi(ya)-^{di}*. I will not deal with the semantic sides of their proposals and (at least for now) take the root etymology with PIE **Hīag-* (or rather:

2. Within the framework that the PIE root had the shape **Hīag-*, Gr. ἄζομαι should reflect a full-grade formation **Hīag-je/o-* (thus LIV²: 224, Rieken 2007: 273), and thus be a different formation than HLuw. *izi(ya)-^{di}* < **Hīg-je/o-*, which is reconstructed by Rieken as having zero-grade in the root. However, within the framework that the root had the shape **ieh₂g-* (see footnote 1), Gr. ἄζομαι can be interpreted as a zero-grade formation **ieh₂g-je/o-*, and would thus be identical in structure (**CC-je/o-*) to Rieken's reconstruction **Hīg-je/o-*.

3. See Rieken 2007: 270-2 for a discussion of parallels for this development.

4. Yakubovich (p.c.) notified me that he is planning on publishing his account of HLuw. *izi(ya)-^{di}* shortly.

**ieh₂ǵ-*, cf. footnote 1) as a given,⁵ but instead I will focus on the reconstruction of the verb's suffix. I will argue that, from a formal point of view, both Rieken's and Yakubovich's analyses of *izi(ya)*^{-di} cannot be maintained, and I will therefore offer an alternative.

§ 1. *A first criticism: accent retraction in a -ie/o-formation?*

A crucial step in Rieken's formal analysis of *izi(ya)*^{-di} is the assumption of an accent retraction from earlier **Hīg-ǵé/ó-* to pre-Luwian **Hīg-ǵe/o-*, which is necessary to explain the occurrence of the lenited 3sg. endings /-di/ and /-da/. According to Rieken, this retraction has taken place by analogy to "wurzelbetonten Primärverben des Typs *anni-*" (2007: 273), which to her mind was a deradical verb with the suffix *-ǵe/o-* (2007: 264): CLuw. *ānnī*^{-di} 'to carry out' < **HénH-ie/o-*. However, this analysis of CLuw. *ānnī*^{-di} is uncertain,⁶ and, as Yakubovich (2014) rightly remarks, certainly not a general type: all Luwian verbs that securely can be reconstructed with the suffix **-ǵe/o-* show unlenited endings, meaning that their suffix was accented (3sg.pres. **-ǵé-ti* > Luw. *-itti*, with unlenited ending). Moreover, all verbal stems that end in *-ǵ* and have lenited endings are generally thought not to reflect formations in **-ǵe/o-*, cf. table 1, in which all securely attested Luwian verbal stem classes ending in *-ǵ* have been gathered, one of which is non-leniting (type 1), and three of which are leniting (types 2-4):

5. I do share Yakubovich's criticism of Rieken's scenario, however: if the root **Hīǵ-* (**ieh₂ǵ-*) originally would have only meant 'to do, to make', the semantic development to 'to honor' (both in HLuw. *izisata-* and the Greek and Sanskrit forms) would have to have taken place independently. Moreover, the assumed semantic development of 'to do, to make' > 'to honor' goes against the general principle that semantic change tends to go from concrete meanings to abstract meanings. To my mind, if the etymological connection with **Hīǵ-* (**ieh₂ǵ-*) is indeed correct, we should rather assume a basic meaning 'to perform, to construct, to execute', which already in PIE was used as a more elevated way to denote 'to do, to make', especially in expressions with words like 'ritual' or 'honorary services' as object. In HLuwian, the meaning 'to perform, to construct' of the main verb was then bleached to 'to do, to make' (although, if Yakubovich's suggestion that *izi(ya)*^{-di} is the high register variant of *a*^{-di} 'to do, to make' is correct, it may still have had the more elevated meaning 'to perform, to construct'), but some derivatives still contained the specialistic meaning 'to perform (rituals / honorary services)'. In a prestige of Greek and Sanskrit (i.e. post-Anatolian Core-PIE?), the verbal root was then specialized to only mean 'to perform rituals / honorary services'.

6. For her interpretation of *ānnī*^{-di} as a deradical *-ǵe/o-*formation with accented root, Rieken (2007: 264) refers to the overview of Luwian verbal stem formations as given by Melchert (2003: 199f.). However, Melchert does not mention *ānnī*^{-di} in this overview at all, and the only example of a deradical *-ǵe/o-*formation he does mention, *wall(iya)*- 'to lift, to exalt', is in fact a non-leniting verb, cf. CLuw. 3sg.pret. *uallitta*, with fortis *-tt-*. The verb *ānnī*^{-di} therefore cannot be assigned to this type.

	CLuw.	HLuw.	origin
1. $-i^{-di} / -i-$	3sg.pres. <i>aritti</i> 'to raise' 3pl.pret. <i>arinta</i>	3sg.pret. AUDIRE- <i>tita</i> 'to hear' --	* $\check{i}\acute{e}/\acute{o}-$
2. $-i^{-di} / -i-$	3sg.pres. <i>awiti</i> 'to come' 3pl.pret. <i>awinta</i>	3sg.pres. PES- <i>wiri</i> 'id.' 3pl.pres. PES- <i>winti</i>	* <i>Hóu-h₁ei-ti</i> / * <i>Hóu-h₁i-enti</i>
3. $-\check{i}^{-di} / -i(a)^{-7}$	3sg.pret. <i>īta</i> 'to go' 3pl.imp. <i>iyandu</i>	3sg.pret. <i>ira</i> 'id.' --	* <i>h₁ēi-ti</i> / * <i>h₁i-énti</i>
4. $-\check{i}^{-di} / -ai-$	3sg.pres. <i>dupīti</i> 'to strike' 3pl.pres. <i>dupainti</i>	3sg.pres. <i>tupiri</i> 'id.' 3pl.pres. <i>tupainti</i>	* $\check{e}je/o-$

Table 1. Luvian verbal stem classes ending in $-\check{i}$.

In the case of CLuw. $\check{a}nn\check{i}^{-di}$, only the 3sg. form (*a-*)*an-ni(-i)-ti* is attested, but no corresponding plural form. This makes it impossible to decide which of the three types of leniting \check{i} -verbs it would belong to. In fact, if the reconstruction of $\check{a}nn\check{i}^{-di}$ as **HénH-je/o-* is correct, it would form a separate, fifth type of leniting \check{i} -verb, of which it would be the only clear example. I am therefore hesitant in following the analysis of $\check{a}nn\check{i}^{-di}$ as reflecting **HénH-je/o-*, and certainly do not think that it can be viewed as the representative of a type that may have influenced the change of the accentuation of a stem **Híg-je/ó-* to **Híg-je/o-*. All in all, we have to conclude (with Yakubovich 2014) that in Luvian no good examples exist of original **-ie/o-*-verbs that show lenition of their endings, and that therefore the reconstruction of leniting *izi(ya)^{di}* as a * $\check{i}e/o-$ -formation is unattractive.

§ 2. A second criticism: syncope of *iziya-* > *izi-*?

The verb *izi(ya)^{di}* shows two variants of its stem, namely *izi-* and *iziya-*, as is clear from e.g. the 1sg.pret.act. form, which is attested both as *i-zi-i-ha* as well as *i-zi-ia-ha*, the 3sg.pres.act. form, which is both *i-zi-i-ti* and *i-zi-ia-ti*, etc. It is usually assumed that the stem *izi-* is the syncopated variant of *iziya-*.⁸ Although

7. Since it is not *a priori* clear whether the *a* in forms like 3pl.imp. *iyandu* should synchronically be viewed as belonging to the stem or to the ending, I have put the *a* between brackets. Historically, it clearly is a part of the ending.

8. E.g. Mittelberger 1964: 75-6; Melchert 1994: 276; Melchert 2003: 183; Payne 2010: 16. Note that neither Rieken nor Yakubovich is explicit as to whether they follow this point of view; they both simply do not mention the alternation. It is interesting, though, that Rieken states that the 3sg.pres.form. **Híg-ie-ti*, through a stage */*itsyidi/*, would regularly yield HLuw. /*itsidi/*, spelled *i-zi-i-ti* (2007: 273). This seems to imply that she views this form, with the stem *izi-*, as original, which would mean that its byform *i-zi-ia-ti*, with the stem *iziya-*, must have been a secondary creation (as will be argued in the present paper as well). This point of view would then contradict the syncope

this view is the *communis opinio*, already Melchert (1994: 276) warns that “[t]he conditioning for the syncope [of *iziya-* to *izi-*] is far from clear”. In the following paragraphs, I will go a step further and argue that such a syncope never took place at all. There are two reasons for this.

First, when we look at the plural forms of *izi(ya)*^{-di}, we see that they always show the stem *iziya-*: 3pl.pres. *i-zi-ia-ti* /itsiantil/, 3pl.pret. *i-zi-ia-ta/tá* /itsianta/, 3pl.imp.act. *i-zi-ia-tú* /itsiantu/. For none of these a syncope variant is attested: we never find 3pl. forms of the shapes ***i-zi-(i-)ti*, ***i-zi-(i-)ta/tá* or ***i-zi-(i-)tu*. This is a first fact that should worry us: why would the supposed syncope of *iziya-* > *izi-* never have taken place in plural forms?

Second, if we look at the singular forms of *izi(ya)*^{-di}, we see an interesting phenomenon. It is indeed true that in singular forms we find both the stem *iziya-* and the stem *izi-*, cf. the following forms.

1sg.pres.	<i>i-zi-ia-wa/i</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-wa/i-i</i>
3sg.pres.	<i>i-zi-ia-ti</i> , <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i-i</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-ti</i> , <i>i-zi-i-ri+i</i>
1sg.pret.	<i>i-zi-ia-ha</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-ha</i>
3sg.pret.	<i>i-zi-ia-tá</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-tá</i>
3sg.imp.	<i>i-zi-ia-tu</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-tu</i>

However, if we make a diachronic overview of all occurrences of *izi(ya)*^{-di}, based on the dates of the inscriptions in which they occur, we see that there is an interesting chronological distribution: cf. table 2, in which plural forms are preceded by a square (□), singular forms showing the stem *izi-* are preceded by a dot (●),⁹ and singular form showing the stem *iziya-* are preceded by an arrow (→) and, for the sake of clarity, have been marked in grey (including gerunds). Broken or unclear forms are not marked.

12th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i(a)-zi/a-ha</i> (KARAHÖYÜK (12th c. BCE) §17)
●	uninfl. <i>i(a)-zi/a</i> (KARAHÖYÜK (12th c. BCE) §15)
●	uninfl. <i>i(a)-zi/a</i> (KARAHÖYÜK (12th c. BCE) §9)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ṛhaṛ</i> (KÖTÜKALE (late 12th c. BCE) §3)
□	3sg./pl.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ti</i> (KÖTÜKALE (late 12th c. BCE) §6)

theory. Unfortunately, she does not make this explicit, however, nor does she provide a scenario according to which forms like 3sg.pres. *iziyadi* would have arisen.

9. This includes the 3sg. middle forms pres. *iziyari*, pret. *iziyasi* and imp. *iziyaru*, because here *-a-* is part of the ending: *izi-* + *-ari*, *-asi*, *-aru*.

11th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ha</i> (İSPEKÇUR (early 11th c. BCE) B §4)
●	3sg.pret.act.? <i>i-zi-ta</i> (ALEPPO 6 (11th c. BCE) §3) ¹⁰
	inf. <i>i-zi-u-na</i> (ALEPPO 6 (11th c. BCE) §4)

10th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (IZGIN 1 (11-10th c. BCE?) §4)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (IZGIN 1 (11-10th c. BCE?) §5)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (IZGIN 1 (11-10th c. BCE?) §11)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (IZGIN 2 (11-10th c. BCE) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (IZGIN 2 (11-10th c. BCE) §5)
●	3sg.impt.act. <i>i-zi-i-tu</i> (IZGIN 2 (11-10th c. BCE) §9)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŠ A1a (10th c. BCE) §25)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-z[i]-i-[t]à</i> (ADIYAMAN 2 (10th c. BCE?) §1)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §17)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §21)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §15)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §16)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §17)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tá</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §15)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §16)
	broken <i>i-z[i-...]</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §21)
●	1sg.pret.act.(?) <i>i-zi-i-ha(-)si</i> (ALEPPO 2 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §8)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 (10th - early 9th c. BCE) §24)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŠ A11a (10th - early 9th c. BCE) §19)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tá</i> (KARKAMIŠ A11a (10th - early 9th c. BCE) §8)
●	1sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-wa/i-i</i> (TELL AHMAR 1 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §24)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL AHMAR 1 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §15)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL AHMAR 1 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §16)

10. A 3sg.pret.act. form *i-zi-ta* is read thus by Hawkins (2011: 44) for ALEPPO 6 §3. However, *izi(ya)-di* is a leniting verb, so the ending of its 3sg.pret.act. form should be spelled with *tà*, not with *ta*, as is pointed out by Yakubovich (2016: 8121) as well. According to Yakubovich, the form *i-zi-ta* may therefore be interpreted as a middle form ‘became’ (2016: 81), but this does not fit the fact that all other attested 3sg.mid. forms of this verb (pres. *iziyari*, pret. *iziyasi*, imp. *iziaru*) contain an ending starting in *-a-*, not *-ta-*. I myself would hesitatingly suggest that we may read §3 as containing a form of the verb *iz̄sat(a)-i* ‘to honor’, which would require that the signs *i-sa* after COR should in fact be read after *i-zi*. We could then envisage that §3 mirrors the preceding line §2, which contains a form of *iz̄sat(a)-* as well. It must be admitted, however, that this suggestion is not a perfect solution either: many details of §3 remain unclear.

●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (TELL AHMAR 4 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) l.2)
●	3sg.imp.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (TELL AHMAR 6 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §31)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (KARKAMIŠ A16a (10th or 9th c. BCE) §3)

9th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (MARAŞ 4 (mid-9th c. BCE) §14)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (HAMA 4 (mid-9th c. BCE) §5)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 1 (830 BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 2 (830 BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 3 (830 BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 7 (830 BCE) §3)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (HAMA 6 (830 BCE) §3)

8th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ANCOZ 7 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §7)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (ANCOZ 7 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §8)
□	3pl.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ti</i> (ANCOZ 7 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §3)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŠ A6 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §13)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (JISR EL HADID (9th or 8th c. BCE) 4 §2)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (BOROWSKI 1 (9th or 8th c. BCE) §2)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŠ A15b (800 BCE) §11)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (KARKAMIŠ A15b (800 BCE) §2)
●	3sg.pres.mid. <i>i-zi-i-ia+ra/i</i> (MARAŞ 14 (ca. 800 BCE) §5)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (MEHARDE (900-700 BCE) §2)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (NIGDE (early 8th c. BCE))
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (BOYBEYPINARI 2 (800-770 BCE) §13)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (ŞIRZI (early or mid-8th c. BCE) §1)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (BABYLON 2 (8th c. BCE?) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (BABYLON 2 (8th c. BCE?) §1)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ha</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §3)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-z[i]-ia-h[a]</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §4)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i²-zi²-ia²-x</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §11)
●	3sg.pret.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-si</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §6)
●	3sg.pret.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-si</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §7)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ri+i</i> (KULULU 5 (8th c. BCE) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL TAYINAT 2 (8th c. BCE) l.1 fr.2a §iv)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL TAYINAT 2 (8th c. BCE) l.1 fr.3 §i)
●	broken <i>i-z[i]-i-[x]</i> (TELL TAYINAT 2 (8th c. BCE) l.1, fr.2a §i)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ALEPPO 3 (8th c. BCE?) §4)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>ṛi-zi-ia¹-ha</i> (MARAŞ 3 (8th c. BCE?) §1b)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ha</i> (MARAŞ 3 (8th c. BCE?) §3)

●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti-i</i> (TEKİRDERBENT 1 (8th c. BCE?) 1.2)
→	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i-i</i> (TEKİRDERBENT 1 (8th c. BCE?) 1.4)
□	3pl.imp.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tú</i> (CEKKE (mid-8th c. BCE) §28)
→	ger. <i>i-zi-ia-mi-na</i> (CEKKE (mid-8th c. BCE) §10)
→	ger. <i>i-zi-ia-mi-na</i> (KARKAMIŞ A4a (mid-8th c. BCE) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà-</i> ' (KARKAMIŞ A26f (mid-8th c. BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §13)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §7)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §5)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-ṛzi-i-tà</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §1)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-a-ha</i> (KULULU 1 (mid-8th c. BCE) §4)
→	3sg.impt.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tu</i> (KULULU 1 (mid-8th c. BCE) §11)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (KULULU 2 (mid-8th c. BCE) §2)
●	3sg.pres.mid. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i</i> (TÜNP 1 (mid-8th c. BCE) §7)
→	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi/a-ia-tà</i> (TOPADA (ca 730 BCE) §29)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (MALPINAR (770-750 BCE) §1)
	broken <i>i-zi[-...]</i> (MALPINAR (770-750 BCE) §14)
→	2sg.impt.act. <i>i-zi-ia-</i> ' (ASSUR letter <i>b</i> (late 8th c. BCE) §4)
→	1sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia-wa/i</i> (ASSUR letter <i>e</i> (late 8th c. BCE) §9)
→	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ti</i> (EREĞLI 2 (late 8th c. BCE) §1)
→	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i</i> (EREĞLI 2 (late 8th c. BCE) §2)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (KARABURUN (late 8th c. BCE) §5)
●	1sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-wa/i</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LXIX)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §VIII)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §X)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §XV)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §VIII)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §IX)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §X)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §XV)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-tà</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §XVIII)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §III)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>[i-zi]-i-[tà]</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §XVIII)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ta₅</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LXVII)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-rú</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §L)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-rú</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §LV)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §L)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LIII)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-rú</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LV)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KIRŞEHİR (late 8th c. BCE) §23)
→	ger. <i>i-zi-ia-mi-na-</i> ' (SULTANHAN (late 8th c. BCE) §41)

→	3sg.pret.act. [i-zi]-ia-[tâ] (VELIISA (late 8th c. BCE) §2)
→	3sg.pres.act. [i-zi]-ia-ti-i (BULGARMADEN (738-710 BCE) §10)
●	3sg.pret.act. [...]-i ² -tâ (NIGDE 2 (late 8th c. BCE - early 7th c. BCE) l.2)
undated:	
●	1sg.pret.act. i-zi-i-ha (KARKAMIŠ fr. A19b (undat.))

Table 2. A diachronic overview of all attestations of *izi(ya)^{-di}*. Plural forms are marked with □; singular forms showing the stem *izi-* with ●; singular forms showing the stem *iziya-* (including gerunds) with → and in grey; indeterminate forms are unmarked.

Although 3pl. forms are in all time periods¹¹ attested with a single stem, *iziya-*, there is a clear chronological distribution when it comes to the stems used in singular forms. The stem *izi-* is attested in singular forms in all time periods, from the 12th to the end of the 8th century BCE, whereas the stem *iziya-* is attested in singular forms only in the 8th century BCE (although during this period the stem *izi-* is still clearly the most often attested one). These data therefore show that in singular forms *izi-* is in fact the original stem, and that the singular stem *iziya-* must be a very late innovation. This distribution clearly contradicts the idea that *izi-* is the syncopated outcome of *iziya-*: if this were the case, we would expect that in singular forms the stem *iziya-* would be attested in older texts, and *izi-* in younger texts, whereas the opposite is true.

All in all, we should reject the theory that the variation between the stems *izi-* and *iziya-* is due to the former being the syncopated outcome of the latter: in 3pl. forms no syncope of the stem *iziya-* is detected, and in singular forms the two stems show the exact opposite diachronic distribution: the stem *izi-* is the original singular stem, whereas *iziya-* is a very late innovation.

This recognition is incompatible with Yakubovich's formal analysis of *izi(ya)^{-di}*. As was mentioned above, he proposed to interpret this verb as the univerbation of an adverb **izzi* 'reverently' and the verbal stem *a^{-di}* 'to do, to make' (Yakubovich 2014). It has now become clear, however, that in the original singular forms of this verb, 1sg.pres. *i-zi-i-wa/i-i*, 3sg.pres. *i-zi-i-ti*, 1sg.pret. *i-zi-i-ha*, 3sg.pret. *i-zi-i-tâ*, 3sg.imp. *i-zi-i-tu*, which all show the stem *izi-* (which is the *only* singular stem that is attested in all texts from the 12th-9th century BCE), no element *-a-* is present that could be equated with the stem of the verb *a^{-di}* 'to do, to make'. It thus becomes impossible that these forms reflect earlier **izzi + a^{-di}*.

11. No 3pl. forms are attested in texts from the 12th and 11th century BCE, but this does not change the overall picture.

Having thus refuted both Rieken's and Yakubovich's formal analyses of HLuw. *izi(ya)^{di}*, it is time to offer a new morphological interpretation of this verb.

§ 3. *A new explanation for izi- vs. iziya-*

Given the diachronic distribution between the singular stems *izi-* and *iziya-* as discovered in the preceding section, it is clear that the singular stem *iziya-* is of a secondary origin, and I want to propose that it was created in analogy to the 3pl. forms, where *iziya-* was the only stem in use. In other words, the original pairs 3sg.pres. *i-zi-i-ti* /itsidi/ vs. 3pl.pres. *i-zi-ia-ti* /itsianti/, 3sg.pret. *i-zi-i-tà* /itsida/ vs. 3pl.pret. *i-zi-ia-ta/tá* /itsianta/, and 3sg.imp. *i-zi-i-tu* /itsidu/ vs. 3pl.imp. *i-zi-ia-tú* /itsiantu/ were in the course of the 8th century BCE by some speakers of HLuwian changed to 3sg. *i-zi-ia-tV* /itsiadV/ vs. 3pl. *i-zi-ia-tV* /itsiantV/ by taking over the 3pl. stem /itsia-/ into the singular. From here this stem spread to the entire paradigm (1sg.pres.act. *iziyawi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iziyaha*, ger. *iziyamina*).

Moreover, we should take into account that in the 3pl. forms of the structure /itsiantV/, the *a* may in fact belong to the verbal endings (which in consonant stems are 3pl.pres. /-anti/, 3pl.pret. /-anta/, 3pl.imp. /-antu/), so that these forms could actually be parsed as /itsi-anti/, /itsi-anta/, and /itsi-antu/, respectively, i.e. as containing a stem *izi-*. In fact, I find it an attractive possibility that a reanalysis of original 3pl. /itsi-antV/ as /itsia-ntV/ was the impetus for the spread of the newly analyzed stem /itsia-/ into the rest of the paradigm.

If we combine these insights, we can set up the original paradigm of *izi(ya)^{di}* as follows (as attested for the 12th-9th century BCE):

	pres.	pret.	impt.
1sg.	<i>i-zi-i[-wa/i-i]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[-ha]</i>	
2sg.	--	--	--
3sg.	<i>i-zi-i[-ti]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[-tà]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[-tu]</i>
1pl.	--	--	--
2pl.	--	--	--
3pl.	<i>i-zi-i[aⁿti]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[aⁿtá]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[aⁿtú]</i>

Table 3. The original paradigm of *izi^{di}* 'to do, to make'.

In the 8th century BCE, some speakers of HLuwian adapted this paradigm to become as follows:

	pres.	pret.	impt.
1sg.	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-wa/i-i]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-ha]	
2sg.	--	--	--
3sg.	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-ti]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-tá]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-tu]
1pl.	--	--	
2pl.	--	--	--
3pl.	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- ⁿ ti]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- ⁿ tá]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- ⁿ tú]

Table 4. The innovated paradigm of *iziya*^{-di}, as created in the mid-8th c. BCE.

Under this analysis, this verb originally only knew the stem *izi*-. The stem *iziya*- is not introduced until the 8th century BCE, when it was secondarily created on the basis of a reanalysis of the original 3pl. forms /itsi-antV/ as /itsia-ntV/, after which the new stem /itsia-/ spread to other forms of the paradigm.

In the map below (Fig. 1), all 8th century BCE inscriptions that contain a singular form of the verb ‘to do’ are indicated, with circles representing attestations of the original stem *i-zi-i-C*^o, and with stars, triangles and squares indicating the innovated stem *i-zi-ia-C*^o. Of these latter signs, the stars represent attestations dating to the mid-8th c. BCE, and the triangles represent attestations dating to the late 8th c. BCE, whereas the squares represent texts that are dated to the 8th c. BCE, without a specific refinement as to whether they are from the early, mid- or late 8th c. BCE. Although the material is on the scanty side, it seems that the innovated paradigm originated in the mid-8th c. BCE in Karkamiš and its surrounding region, and from there spread north-westwards: in the late 8th c. BCE the innovation has reached all the way to the area north of the Taurus as well. Nevertheless, the innovation was not shared by all speakers: throughout the 8th c. BCE, also in its latter half, we find the original paradigm being used in the entire HLUwian speaking area.

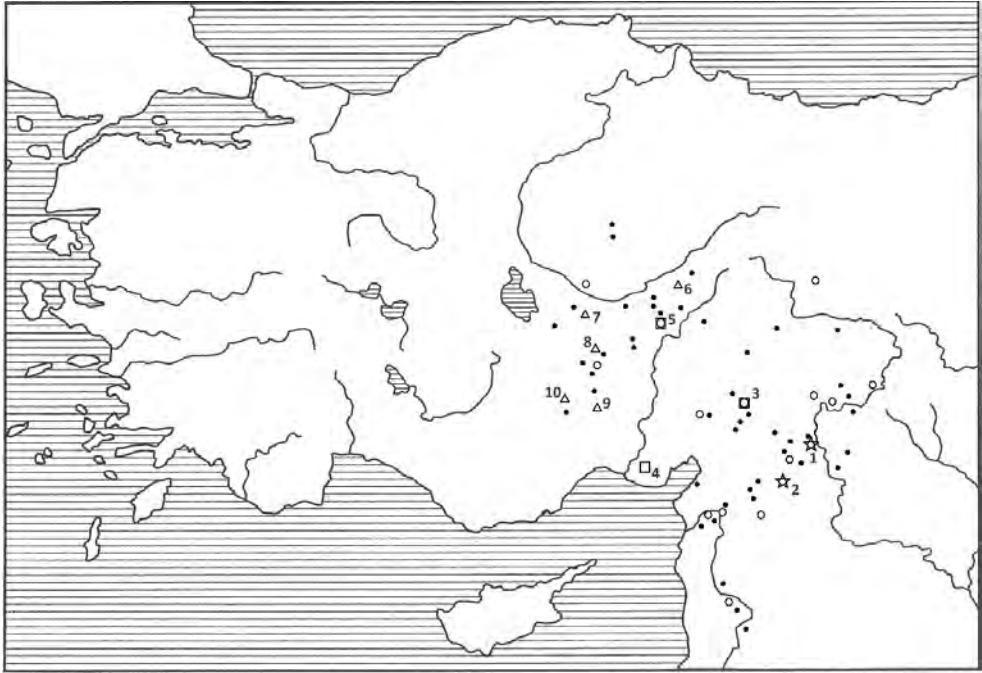


Figure 1. Map of the attestations of *izi(ya)-* in the 8th c. BCE. Dots indicate Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the Iron Age; small circles indicate 8th c. BCE inscriptions containing the singular stem *izi-*; stars indicate inscriptions containing the singular stem *iziya-* from the mid-8th c. BCE; triangles indicate inscriptions containing the singular stem *iziya-* from the late 8th c. BCE; squares indicate inscriptions containing the singular stem *iziya-* from the 8th c. BCE, without a specific refinement as to whether they are from the early, mid- or late 8th c. BCE.

1 = KARKAMIŞ; 2 = CEKKE; 3 = MARAŞ; 4 = ÇİNEKÖY; 5 = TEKİRDERBENT; 6 = SULTANHAN; 7 = TOPADA; 8 = VELİİSA; 9 = BULGARMADEN; 10 = EREĞLİ.

§ 4. *Interpreting the plene spelling in i-zi-i-C°*

Another interesting phenomenon is the fact that *izi-di* shows many forms with plene spelling, *i-zi-i-C°*. In fact, of the in total 72 forms of this verb that show the strong stem *iziC°*, 62 attestations (= 86%) show plene spelling, *i-zi-i-C°*, and only 10 (= 14%) do not, *i-zi-C°*. Moreover, of these 10 attestations spelled *i-zi-C°*, seven are found in the texts from the 12th and 11th century BCE. Since in this period plene spelling is hardly used at all (Vertegaal 2017: 248-9), these attestations are

irrelevant. If we therefore leave them out of the equation, the numbers would be 62 plene spelled forms of in total 65 attestations = 95%.

Although for a long time the function of plene spelling in Hieroglyphic Luwian has been unclear, and plene spelling therefore is usually ignored in linguistic analyses of this language, I do believe that in this case the plene spelling of the *i* in *i-zi-i-C^o* is relevant. This is borne out from the following statistics. In all Hieroglyphic Luwian texts published up till now,¹² we find 774 occurrences of the sign *zi*. In 125 cases, the sign *zi* is followed by the sign *i*, resulting in the plene spelled sequence *zi-i*. These 125 cases form 16% of the total number of occurrences of *zi*. If plene spelling were a random graphical feature, we would thus expect that also in the verb *izi^{-di}* we would find plene spelling in ca. 16% of its attestations. However, as we have seen, in the case of the strong stem of *izi^{-di}*, we find plene spelling, *i-zi-i-C^o*, in no less than 86% (or, if we ignore the texts from the 12th and 11th c. BCE, 96%) of the cases. This usage therefore is significant when compared to the HLuwian corpus as a whole.

This is supported by the fact that when we take into account where the 125 cases of the plene spelling *zi-i* are attested, they occur in only seven lexemes / morphemes:

62x	<i>i-zi-i-C^o</i> ‘to do, to make’
41x	<i>-Ca-zi-i / -Ci-zi-i</i> (nom.pl.c. ending)
10x	<i>i-zi-i-sa-t^o</i> ‘to honor’
7x	<i>zi-i-na</i> (abl.-instr. ‘this’)
1x	(“OCCIDENS”) <i>á-pa-zi-i-ti</i> ‘?’
1x	<i>i-zi-i-ia-tara/i-</i> ‘performance, ritual’
1x	(PES ₂) <i>tara/i-zi-i-ha</i> ‘I routed(?)’
2x	broken forms

Moreover, of these seven cases, three are etymologically related to each other: *izi^{-di}*, *izisat(a)-* and *iziyatara-*. To my mind, it therefore is very attractive to assume that plene spelling in these forms is linguistically relevant.

12. I.e., all texts edited in CHLI, to which are added all Empire Period texts and the Iron Age texts published after CHLI: ADANA 1, ALEPPO 4-7, ANCOZ 11-12, ANKARA 2, ARSUZ 1-2, BABYLON 3, BEYKÖY, ÇALAPVERDİ 3, ÇİNEKÖY, DÜLÜK BABA TEPEŞİ, EMİRGAZİ, EREĞLİ, FRAKTIN, GEMERЕК, GÖSTESİN, GÜRÇAY, HATİP, İMAMKULU, İSTANBUL 2, JISR EL HADID 4, KÂHTA 1, KARABEL, KARAKUYU, KINIK, KİRŞEHİR, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, KUŞÇU BOYASI, MALATYA X, MALKAYA, PANCARLI, POTOROO, ŞARAGA, SPEARHEAD, SÜDBURG, TALL ŞTİB, TELL AHMAR 5-6, TELL TAYINAT fragments, YALBURT, YASSIHÖYÜK, YUNUS.

This is supported by a similar investigation for the sign *za*. In all Hieroglyphic Luwian texts published thus far, this sign occurs 1347 times. In 75 cases (= 5.5%), it is followed by the sign *a*, yielding the plene spelled sequence *za-a*.¹³ These plene spelled forms are found in two lexemes only:

74x	<i>za-a-C</i> ° ‘this’
1x	[(INFANS)] <i>ní-za-a-sa</i> ‘child’

The preponderance of plene spelling in *za-a-C*° ‘this’ can hardly be coincidental, and should to my mind be connected to the plene spellings that we find in its cognates CLuw. *za-a-* and Hitt. *ka-a-* ‘this’, which are generally regarded as containing a long vowel: /tsā-/ and /kā-/, respectively. It is therefore attractive to assume that the HLuw. plene spelling in *za-a-* ‘this’ indicates vowel length as well, and that this lexeme should be analyzed as /tsā-/.

Since the abl.-instr. form *zi-i-na*, which is one of the lexemes to show plene spelling of its *i*, belongs to the paradigm of *zā-* ‘this’,¹⁴ it stands to reason to assume that its plene spelling marks the presence of a long vowel as well: /tsīn/. As a consequence, we may assume that the plene spelling in *i-zi-i-C*°, too, marks vowel length: /itsī-/.

After I first formulated this idea during the lecture that formed the basis for this article (held in Barcelona in March 2016), research by Xander Vertegeal has completely confirmed this analysis. He has been able to show that in HLuw. inscriptions plene spelling with the vowel signs *a*, *i* and *u* is very often used as a graphic means to fill out lines that otherwise would show gaps in their arrangement of signs (Vertegeal 2017), but that in cases where plene spellings do not have a space-filling usage, they mark the presence of long vowels or disyllabic sequences (Vertegeal 2018). This latter situation is applicable to the attestations of *izi-di*, and we can therefore interpret the attested forms of its original paradigm in the following phonological way:

13. Cases of *-za-*’ have not been included into this count. See now Vertegeal 2017 and 2018 for a treatment of this type of spelling.

14. Goedegebuure 2007.

	pres.	pret.	impt.
1sg.	/itsīui/	/itsīha/	
2sg.	--	--	--
3sg.	/itsīdi/	/itsīda/	/itsīdu/
1pl.	--	--	
2pl.	--	--	--
3pl.	/itsianti/	/itsianta/	/itsiantu/

 Table 5. Phonological analysis of the verb *izī^{-di} / izi-*.

Since plene spelling is confined to the singular forms *i-zi-i-C^o*, and does not occur in the plural forms *i-zi-ia-t^o*, we are in fact dealing with a paradigmatic alternation between a strong stem *izī-* and a weak stem *izi-*. From now on, we should therefore refer to this verb as *izī^{-di} / izi-*.

§ 5. *Place of accentuation*

As we have seen above, a distinctive feature of *izī^{-di} / izi-* is the fact that it is a leniting verb, i.e. that the initial consonants of its 3sg. verbal endings have been lenited: 3sg.pres. /itsīdi/ < **-ti*, 3sg.pret. /itsīda/ < **-to* and 3sg.imp. /itsīdu/ < **-tu*.¹⁵ From a historical linguistic point of view, this lenition can only have been caused either by Eichner's first lenition rule, which describes that Proto-Anatolian intervocalic consonants are lenited when standing after a long accented vowel (**ṼCCV* > **ṼCV*), or by Eichner's second lenition rule, which states that Proto-Anatolian intervocalic consonants are lenited when standing between two unaccented (post-tonic) vowels (**Ṽ...VCCV* > **Ṽ...VCV*).

As we saw above, Rieken (2007: 273) proposed that the verb's leniting character is the result of Eichner's second lenition rule, which implies that the first syllable of the stem was accented: **Hīg-ie-ti* > /itsi(a)di/. However, now that we have hypothesized that the vowel directly preceding the lenited consonants was a long one, /itsīdi/, it becomes a distinct possibility that the lenition was caused by Eichner's first lenition rule, and that /itsīdi/ reflects a preform */itsīti/, which was accented on the suffix syllable. In fact, this analysis is attractive for other reasons as well. According to Melchert (1994: 76), already in Proto-Anatolian all original unaccented long vowels underwent a shortening. This implies that, in the attested Anatolian languages, all synchronic long vowels should in principle reflect

15. This undoubtedly was the case in 1sg.pret. /itsīha/, as well, but, unfortunately, the hieroglyphic script does not make a distinction between fortis and lenis *h*.

accented vowels.¹⁶ In the case of *izī^{di}* / *izi-*, this would mean that its strong stem was /itsí-/ , with an accented long /ī/.

§ 6. Determining the verbal class of *izī^{di}* / *izi-*

When we compare our new phonological analysis of this verb, /itsídi, itsiánti/, to the four Luwian verbal stem classes that end in *-ĩ-* (see table 1, above), we see that the inflection of *izī^{di}* / *izi-* matches that of type 3, *-ĩ^{di}* / *-i(a)-*. Thus far, this type is only attested in the Luwian verb ‘to go’ (with diagnostic forms CLuw. 3sg.pret. *īta*, 3pl.imp. *iyandu*, HLuw. 3sg.pres. *iri*), which is generally reconstructed as **h₁éi-ti* / **h₁i-énti*. If we apply this reconstructing to the suffix syllable of *izī^{di}* / *izi-*, we arrive at the conclusion that it should reflect a PIE formation of the shape **ih₂ǵ-éi-ti* / **ih₂ǵ-i-énti*.¹⁷

§ 7. The Indo-European background of **ih₂ǵ-éi-ti* / **ih₂ǵ-i-énti*

The underlying structure of *izī^{di}* / *izi-* < **ih₂ǵ-éi-ti* / **ih₂ǵ-i-énti* is **CC-éi-ti* / **CC-i-énti*, with which it is morphologically identical to the PIE verbal formation **CC-éi-ti* / **CC-i-énti* that has left several traces in other IE languages, and which has been called the ‘athematic *i*-present’.¹⁸ Its clearest representative is the Skt. verb *kṣéti* / *kṣiyánti* ‘to live’, which reflects **tǵ-éi-ti* / *tǵ-i-énti*, an athematic *i*-present of the verbal root **teǵ-* ‘to create, produce’,¹⁹ but remnants of this type of inflection have been identified in Baltic²⁰ and Italic,²¹ as well. In Kloekhorst 2006, I have argued that the Hittite verbal stem class of the type *dāi* / *tijanzi* ‘to put’ < **d^hh₁-ói-ei* / **d^hh₁-i-énti* represents the *hi*-conjugated version of this athematic *i*-present. If my analysis of HLuw. *izī^{di}* / *izi-* as reflecting **ih₂ǵ-éi-ti* / **ih₂ǵ-i-énti*

16. Unless they are the result of a contraction of an original disyllabic sequence, which is, for instance, the case in Hitt. *hūmant-* / *χōmánt-* < **/χaiumánt-* < **h₂eiu-uént-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 535-6.

17. Since with this new interpretation of *izī^{di}* / *izi-* we have left Rieken’s and Yakubovich’s analyses behind us, I will in the remainder of the paper refer to the PIE verbal root for ‘to honor’ as **ieh₂ǵ-* (instead of the reconstruction **Hiǵ-* that was used by Rieken and Yakubovich, cf. also footnote 1), and thus reconstruct this verb as **ih₂ǵ-éi-ti* / **ih₂ǵ-i-énti*. It should be stressed, however, that the exact shape of the verbal root is irrelevant for the argumentation, and that I do not in fact insist on a reconstruction that includes this specific verbal root.

18. Cf. Schrijver 2003 for this term.

19. Kortlandt 1989: 109; LIV²: 644.

20. OPruss. 3sg. *turrei* / 3pl. *turri* < **-ei-* / *-i-*, cf. Kortlandt 1987.

21. Lat. *capere*-type < **-ei-/i-*, cf. Schrijver 2003.

is correct, it would represent the first clear case of the *mi*-conjugated variant of the athematic *i*-present in Anatolian.

§ 8. Conclusion

We may conclude the following points. The HLuwian verb that usually is cited as *izi(ya)^{-di}* ‘to do, to make’ originally was inflected as *izī^{-di}* / *izi-*: the stem *iziya-* as found in singular forms like 3sg.pres. *iziyadi* is in fact the result of a late (8th century BCE) analogical spread of the stem *iziya-* on the basis of the 3pl. forms of the shape *iziyantV*. The near consistent plene spelling in the strong stem *i-zi-i-C^o* implies that the vowel of the suffix of this stem was long and accented: 3sg.pres. *i-zi-i-ti* = /itsídi/. The verb’s inflection, 3sg.pres. /itsídi/, 3pl.pres. /itsiánti/, is therefore identical to that of the verb ‘to go’ (CLuw. *ī^{-di}* / *i-*), which points to a reconstruction **ih₂ǵ-éi-ti* / **ih₂ǵ-i-énti*. Its basic structure, **CC-éi-ti* / **CC-i-énti* is thus identical to the PIE athematic *i*-present that can be found in e.g. Skt. *kṣéti* / *kṣiyánti* ‘to live’ < **tk-éi-ti* / *tk-i-énti*, and shows that this inflectional type has been inherited into Anatolian as well.

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Anatolian Kinship Word-Pairs and their Mesopotamian Connection¹

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Due to its wide productivity, the Hittite phrase construction *ḫašša- ḫanzašša-* ‘descendant and progeny’ is often referenced in Hittitological literary studies. In almost all the Hittite instances, *ḫašša-* appears together with *ḫanzašša-*, displaying a fossilized expression, which is, moreover, directly comparable to the Luwian phrase *ḫamš(i)- ḫamšukkala-* ‘grandson (and) progeny’. From a descriptive point of view, this construction consists of two consecutive terms which hold a semantic relation, and appear in a hierarchical opposition based on generational difference. It is perhaps this fixed position between the two lexemes that led some scholars in the early days of the study of Hittite to consider it in relation to an Indo-European composition mechanism of the so-called *dvandva*-type (Sturtevant 1933: 165, also referring to *ḫuḫḫa- ḫanna-* ‘grandfather (and) grandmother’). This label has occasionally been perpetuated in Hittite lexical works (see for instance *HED* 3/H (1991):356, or *HW* III:H/12 (1994):141, again regarding *ḫuḫḫa- ḫanna-* ‘grand-

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father (and) grandmother’, but was refuted in previous *HW* I:A (1984)² for *atta-anna-* ‘father (and) mother’; see most recently Brosch 2010: 265, 272-273). The frequent presence of this kind of formulaic structure commonly found in the Luwian material was further confirmed by Hawkins (1995: 41, 74), who categorized the phrases H.Luw. *tadinzi huhanzi* ‘fathers (and) grandfathers’, FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a-* ‘women (and) children’, and AVUS.*506-*na* ‘grandfather(s) (and) grandmother(s), ancestors’ as the “typical Hittite-Luwian doublet” (later on, also referenced as a “recognizable asyndetic Hittite manner” (2000: 149) with regard to *tad(i)-* INFANS-*zi/a-* ‘father (and) son’).²

The ambiguity noted in past studies regarding the nature of these pairs formed by words from the family lexical domain calls for a revision of the material, specifically by addressing two questions: what is the chronological and geographical extension of these word-pairs within the Anatolian milieu, and what is their background, if there is one.

To try to answer these questions, I carry out a cross-linguistic comparison divided into four sections. The first part introduces selected attestations of the Luwo-Hittite context, including instances of Hieroglyphic Luwian, because of its continuity through the second to the first millennium. The second assesses the examples of the languages exclusively attested in the 1st-millennium Anatolian milieu, while the third and fourth sections study the connection with, respectively, outer-Anatolian Mesopotamian material and Hurrian instances that are known to have been in close contact with the Hittite sphere through the region of Kizzuwatna.

§ 1. *The ‘Luwo-Hittite doublets’*

As has been stated, the Luwo-Hittite word-pair most often alluded to in the academic literature is the one that refers to offspring by the phrase *ḥašša-ḥanzašša-*, lit. ‘descendant (and) progeny’ (Text 1), which commonly appears preceded by the preposition *katta* (Text 2), displaying a fossilized structure. On rare occasions, however, Hitt. *ḥašša-* ‘descendant, grandson’ is found alone in

2. Although other word-pairs exist in the Luwo-Hittite tradition: cf. “heaven (and) earth” H.Luw. CAELUM.TERRA (ADIYAMAN 1 4§8, Hawkins 2000:345) with Hitt. *nepiš tekan* (KUB 6.45 iii 12, Mouton:2016:643), ‘father (and) mother’ (or *vice versa*) is, however, the only one that has prevailed in the Anatolian languages of the first millennium (see section 2). See also Simon (2011: 227-243) on the *topoi* ‘übertreffen der Vorfahren’ in Luwian.

Hittite texts (see Text 3, where the filiation of the goddess Zintuhi is mentioned through *ḫašša-*, in a prayer from Puduhepa to the Sun-goddess of Arinna).

- 1) Hitt. *la-ba-ar-na-aš É-ir-še-et tu-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-aš ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš ḫa-an-za-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš* “Des Labarna Palast (ist ein Gegenstand) der Freude für seine Enkel (und) seine Urenkel.”
(OH, KUB 36, 110 Rs. 13-16; ed. Neu 1980: 228, transl. HW III:H/16 2004:398)
- 2) Hitt. *ḫal-k[i-y]a-aš [ŠA] GEŠTIN^[H]LA-y[a GUD? UDU?] mi-i-ya-tar kat-ta ḫa-aš[-ša-]aš ḫa-an-za-aš-ša-aš pa-iš* “...sie (die Sonnengöttin von Arinna) gab des Getreides und [der] Weinstöcke, [der Rinder? und Schafe?] Gedeihen bis hinab zu Enkeln (und) Urenkeln.”
(NH, KUB 57, 63 ii 1-3; ed. Archi 1988: 18, transl. HW III/16 2004:398)
- 3) Hitt. ^D*Zi-in-tu-ḫi-i-iš GAŠAN-YA ŠA* ^DIM ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na-ya a-aš-ši-ya-an-za *ḫa-aš-ša-aš* “O Zintuhi, my lady, beloved granddaughter of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.”
(NH, KUB 21, 27 iii 43-44; ed. García-Trabazo 2002: 370, transl. Singer 2002:104)

In contrast, its Luwian equivalent, *ḫamš(i)-* ‘grandson’, does appear alone in sentences where lineage is expressed (Text 4, *Larama*’s filiation in his deeds), and it maintains the collocation with C/H.Luw. *ḫamšukkala-* ‘great-grandson’ (Text 5 and 6), the Luwian semantic counterpart of Hitt. *ḫanzašša*, thus providing the same meaning seen in the structure *ḫašša- ḫanzašša-*. On several occasions, the pair ‘grandson great-grandson’ is preceded by the words for son and daughter, creating a chain where the offspring are enumerated in a hierarchical descending order (Text 7, 8, 9 and 10).

- 4) H.Luw. EGO-*mi-i-* ¹*la+ra/i+a-ma-sa á-sa-tu-[wa/i]+ra/i-ma-za-si* INFANS.NEPOS [*mu*]-*wa/i-ta-li-si* [INF]ANS-[*mu*]-*wa/i-za-sa* “I (am) Laramas, Astuwaramanza’s grandson, Muwatalis’s son.”
(11th - 10th BC, MARAŞ 8, 1.1; ed. and transl. Hawkins 2000:253)
- 5) C.Luw. EN SISKUR.SISKUR *i-it-wa-ni-ti-ya-an-za [ḫ]a-am-ša-a-ti ḫa-am-šu-uk-kal-la-a-ti [a-ar-ra-ya-ti uš-ša-a-ti ap-pa-r]a-an-ta-ti a-a-ra-ti ḫa-at-tu-u-la-a-ḫi-ta-ti* “The lord of the ritual *itwanidiyanza*’ for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren, for long years, future times and health.”
(MH, Bo 9 143 Rs. iii 12’-14’; ed. Starke 1985: 122)

- 6) H.Luw. *á-mi-sa-wa/i* (NEPOS)*ha-ma-si-sá* NEPOS-*ka-la-sá á-mi* *91-*ta-ti* CRUS EXERCITUS.*la /i/u-ti pi-ha-mi-sá* ARHA “PES”-*wa/i-tà* “My grandson (and) great-grandson to me will come glorified by the chariot? (and) the army.”
(9th BC, KÖRKÜN 3.6; *ed. and transl.* Hawkins 2000:173)
- 7) Hitt. *na-aš-ta* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš ŠA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL TI-*tar ha-at-tu-la-tar* MU^{HL.A} GÍD<.DA> DUMU-*l[a-tar]* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ha-aš-šu-uš ha-an-za-aš-[š]u-uš ú-e-wa-ak-tén* “Von den Göttern fordert des Königs (und) der Königin Leben, Gesundheit (und) lan<ge> Jahre, Kindersegen, (nämlich) Söhne (und) Töchter, Enkel (und) Urenkel.”
(NH (MH), KUB 15.38 Rs iii 3’-4’, duplicate of KUB 15, 34 Rs. iii 39’-40’; *ed.* García-Trabazo – Groddek 2005:196, *transl.* HW III/16 2004: 400)
- 8) Hitt. *nu* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ha-aš-še-eš ha-an-za-aš-še-eš ma-ak-ke-eš-[ša]an-du* “Que les fils, les filles, les petits-enfants (et) les descendants (du roi) soient nombreux!”
(NH (OH), KUB 29 1 iv 2; *ed. and transl.* Mouton 2016: 114)
- 9) C.Luw. *ma-al-ha-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš* [EN-*aš*] DUMU^{MEŠ}-*ti* DUMU¹.SAL^{MEŠ}-*ti ha-am-ša-ti ha-am[-šu-uk-kal-la-a-ti* “The lord of the ritual for the sons, daughters, grandsons, and great-great-grandsons.”
(NH, KBo 29.6 Vs. 28; *ed.* Starke 1985: 129)
- 10) H.Luw. *za-ia-pa-wa/i-ta* DOMUS-*na-’* REL-*sa á-mi-i* INFANS-*ni-i* INFANS.NEPOS-*si* INFANS.NEPOS-REL-*la [ARHA] [CAPERE-i]a-’* “But (he) who shall take away these houses from my son, grandson (and) great-grandson.”
(8th BC, KARKAMIŠ A4, 2.12; *ed. and transl.* Hawkins 2000:152)

Apart from this fixed collocation for expressing ‘offspring’, a wide range of word-pairs with kinship motives are also witnessed in Hittite and Luwian, quoted by Hawkins as “typical Hittite-Luwian doublet(s)” (1995: 41, 74) or as written in the “recognizable asyndetic Hittite manner” (2000: 149). Among the most important ones are the pair ‘mother-father’ (Texts 11, 13, 15, and 17), and ‘father-mother’ (Texts 12, 14, and 16):

- 11) Hitt. [^{URU} N]*e-e-ša-aš* LUGAL-*un IŠ-BAT Û* DUMU^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*Ne-e-š[a-aš] [i-d]a-’a-lu’ na-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ták-ki-iš-ta []x an-nu-uš at-tu-uš i-e-et* “Den König von Neša ergriff er, von den Einwohnern Nešas aber fügte er keinem Böses zu, [sondern] machte [sie] zu Müttern (und) Vätern.”

- (OH, KBo 3, 22 Vs. 7-9; *ed. and transl.* Neu 1974:10-11)³
- 12) Hitt. *nu-za KUR-e-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik* “And you (Sun-goddess of Arinna) are father (and) mother of every land.” (NH (MH), KUB 24, 3 i 47; *ed.* Lebrun 1980:158, *transl.* Singer 2002:51)
- 13) C.Luw. [*ḫi-i-ru-ta-aš-ši-i*]š *a-aš-ši-wa-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši[-iš*]x *ḫu-it-wa-’li-’iš pu-ú-wa-t[’i-*]x-*iš AMA-i-iš ta-ti-i-i*[š “(of) the poverty curse of the living X², of the mother (and) father (?).” (NH, KUB 35.46 Rs. iv¹ 4’-6’; *ed.* Starke 1985:159)
- 14) H.Luw. *kwa/i-p[a]-wa/i-mu-u su+ra/i-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) *REX-ti-sa su+ra/i-wa/i-za-ha* (URBS) *DOMUS-na-za ta-ni-ma-za tá-[ti-sa MATER-ni-sa-ha] i-zi-ia-si* “Furthermore, the Assyrian king and all the Assyrian house became (*were made*) father and mother to me.” (8th BC, ÇINEKÖY 5; *ed. and transl.* Yakubovich 2015:40-41)
- 15) H.Luw. *wa/i-mu-u* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa á-TANA-wa/i-ia*(URBS) *MATER-na-tí-na tá-ti-ha i-zi-i-tà // ARHA-ha-wa/i la+ra/i+a-nú-ha á-TANA-wa/i-na*(URBS) “And *Tarhunzas* made me mother and father to Adanawa, and I caused Adanawa to prosper.” (late 8th BC, KARATEPE 1, 3.12-17; *ed. and transl.* Hawkins 2000:49)
- 16) Pal. [*nu-ku*] *pa-aš-ḫu-ul-la-ša-aš ti-[ya-]az ta-ba-ar-ni LUGAL-i pa-a-pa-az-ku-ar ti-i [a-an-na-]az-ku-ar ti-i* “Now, *Faskhullassas* Tiyaz, to *tabarna* the king you are indeed father (and) mother.” (MH (OH²), KUB 35.165 Vs 21-22; *ed. and transl.* Yakubovich 2006: 108, 121)
- 17) Pal. *a-ar-ra-’kat^a lu-u-ki-it ḫi-na-pí-eš-ḫu-ur an-na-aš pa-a-pa-aš pa-ar-ku-i-ti* “The *arakat²* they offered, the *hinabishur²* the mother (and) father purify (?).” (NH, KUB 35 163 Vs.¹ 21’-22’; *ed.* Carruba 1970:27)

Besides this word-pair for referring to ‘parents’, in the collocation ‘grandfather (and) grandmother’ (Text 18), and *vice versa* (Text 19), one may find a common designation of the second ascending generation (perhaps denoting ‘ancestors’ in a broad sense). Despite their wide presence in Hittite, the Luwian attestations have only a single example (Text 20).⁴ In contrast, the Luwian

3. Contrarily to the Old Hittite version, in the New Hittite text the order of the word-pair has been inverted: *at-i*[*u-uš an-ni-uš i-ya-nu-un* (KBo 22 5, Vs. 8; Neu 1974:7).

4. In the case of the single Luwian instance, AVUS.*506-*na* [= *’huha hana*], the phonetic value of the sign *506 has been proposed as *HANA*, in view of a possible identification of the sign *506 with the city of *Tarahna* (SÜDBURG 7), *tara/i*.*506-*na*(URBS) (Hawkins 1995: 41).

expression ‘father-grandfather’, also existing in Hittite (Text 21), was apparently much more productive for referring to the ancestors (Text 22 and 23) than the collocation ‘grandfather-grandmother’.

- 18) Hitt. [EGIR-]an-da-ma ḫu-uh-ḫi-iš ḫa-an-ni-iš e-ku-ʿzi “Then he drinks grandfathers (and) grandmothers.”
(late NH, KUB 30, 24+ ii 23; *ed.* and *transl.* Kassian *et al.* 2002: 289)
- 19) Hitt. tar-pa-al-li-iš-ma ḫa-an-na-aš ḫu-uh-ḫa-aš pa-ra-a (11) ti-ya-an-du “Sollen sie die Substitute der Großmütter (und) Großväter (für Vorfahren) wegstellen.”
(NH, KUB 7 10 i 9-11; *ed.* Taracha 2000: 70; *transl.* HW III:H/12 1994:142)
- 20) H.Luw. pu-wa/i-ti AVUS.*506-na NEG-wa/i-tá REL-ti-ha *507 “Formerly the ancestors (“grandfather(s)-grandmother(s) (?)”) to no one...”
(13th BC, SÜDBURG 5.13; *ed.* and *transl.* Hawkins 1995:22)
- 21) Hitt. A-NA ʿÉ^{MEŠ} GIDIM^{HI.A} ku-e-[...] ad-da-aš ḫu-uh-ḫa-aš ku-ʿe-[...] “To the houses of the ancestors which [...], to the fathers (and) grandfathers which [...].”
(late NH, ABoT 1.56 iii 7-8; *ed.* and *transl.* Miller 2003:310-311)
- 22) H.Luw. zi/a-tá-zi/a-pa-wa/i REGIO-ni-zi/a MAGNUS.REX-zi/a HATTI (REGIO) a-mi-zi/a TÁ.AVUS-zi/a NEG-a REL-i(a)-sa-ha hwi/a-i/a-tá “And to these countries the Great Kings of Hatti, my fathers (and) grandfathers, no one had run.”
(13th BC, YALBURT 4.2; *ed.* and *transl.* Hawkins 1995:68-69)
- 23) H.Luw. a-wa/i za-a-sa URBS+MI-ni-i-sa mi-sá-ʿ tá-dà-li-sa AVUS-ha-dà-li-sa ¹*447-nu-wa/i-ia-si sa-tá-ʿ “This city of my father (and) grandfather was Ninuwis(?)’s.”
(10th-9th BC, KARKAMIŠ A11 b+c, 1.2; *ed.* and *transl.* Hawkins 2000:103)

Less attested, but also recognizable as following the same stylistic pattern as the mentioned word-pairs, are the fixed phrases ‘mother-son’ (Text 24 and 25) and ‘brother-sister’ (Text 27, 28 and 29). As seen in the enumeration for denoting ‘offspring’ (Text 7, 8 and 9), the ascending generations can also be expressed through the sequence of family members ‘father (and) mother, grandfather (and) grandmother’ (Text 26). Exceptionally, the Hittite version of the Hurrian composition *The Song of Ullikummi* (Text 30) shows a combination of the pair *anna-atta-* ‘mother (and) father’ with the pair *atta-ḫuḫḫa-* ‘father (and)

grandfather’, synthetically arranged in a group of three, ‘mother (and) father (and) grandfather’ (see footnote 5, and also section 2 for Lycian comparison).

- 24) C.Luw. *BE-LU EN-aš* I^{NA4}ZI.KIN *an-ni-iš ti-ta-i-me-iš* IV DINGIR^{MEŠ} *anna-la-an* “(Gott) *BELU EN-aš*, 1 Kultmal, Mutter (und) saugendes (Kind): 4 Götter(statuen), älterer/früherer (Zustand).” (NH, KBo 2.1 I 33; *ed.* and *transl.* Tischler 1994:344)
- 25) H.Luw. [...] *REL-la-tara/i-n[a(REGIO)] FEMINA.INFANS-zi/a [INFRA]* (*85)REL-[*zi/a-tá*] “... in [the land of] Kuwalatarna the women (and) children knelt² down [to me²].” (13th BC, YALBURT 6.1; *ed.* and *transl.* Hawkins 1995:68-69)
- 26) Hitt. *ka-ru-ú-ma šu-me-en-za-an hu-uh-ḫa ḫa-an-ni-iš at-ti-e-eš an-ni-iš ir-ḫa-aš-ša KASKAL-aš-ša ud-da-ni na-aḫ-ḫa-te-eš e-šir* “Früher waren eure Großväter (und) Großmutter, Väter (und) Mütter in der Angelegenheit der Grenzen und der Wege vorsichtig.” (NH, KUB 17, 29 ii 6-8; *transl.* HW III/2:H/19 2010: 636)
- 27) Hitt. [*ták-ku-an*] *A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠU ŠEŠ-ŠU NIN-ŠU* ^{LÚ}*ga-i-na-aš-ši-iš* ^{LÚ}*a-ra-as-ši-iš ku-[uš]-du-wa-a-iz-zi zi-ga-an le-e tar-na-at-ti* “[Si] son père, sa mère, son frère, sa soeur, son parent par alliance (ou) son ami médit de [lui], toi, ne l’abandonne pas!” (MH, KBo 7, 28 Rv. 19-21; *ed.* and *transl.* Mouton 2016:532)
- 28) C.Luw. *ḫi-i-ru-ú-un pu-ú-wa-la-a pa-ri-ya-na-al-la-an AMA-ya-an ta-a-ti-ya-an ŠEŠ-ya-an NIN-ya-an İR-ya-an GEMÉ-ya-an* ^{LÚ}*lu-u-la-ḫi-ya-an* ^{LÚ}*ḫa-pi-ri-ya-an* “The curse of the past (and) future, of the mother (and) father, of the brother (and) sister, of the male-slave (and) female-slave.” (MH², KUB 35, 45 Vs.ii 1-2; *ed.* Starke 1985:151)
- 29) H.Luw. *á-mi-ha-wa/i FRATER.LA-i-na* (FEMINA.MANUS.FEMINA)*na-na-tara/i-ha PUGNUS-ri-i-ta* “And he raised my brother and sister.” (8th BC, JISR EL HADID 4 2; *ed.* and *transl.* Dinçol *et al.* (2014): 63).

- 30) Hitt. EGIR-*pa* *hé-eš-te-en an-na-al-la at-ta-al-la hu-u-ḫa-da-al-la* [É].^{NA4}KIŠIB^{HLA} *nu ka-ru-ú-i-li-ya-aš ad-da-aš* ^{NA4}KIŠIB *ú-da-an-du* (52) [*na-a*]^{t(2)} *a-pí-iz EGIR-*pa* ši-ya-an-du* “Öffnet sie wieder, die mütterlich (-alt)en, väterlichen großväterlichen Siegelhäuser. Sie sollen der früheren Väter Siegel bringen.” (NH, KUB 33 106 iii 50-52; ed. García Trabazo 2002:242, transl. HW I:A 1984:74, 562).⁵

The structure *ḫašša-ḫanzašša-* (and its Luwic counterpart), together with *atta-anna-*, forms the group of word-pairs that present the broadest chronological distribution in the Luwo-Hittite milieu, both witnessed in their Hittite attestations as early as the old Hittite period. Hitt. *ḫašša-ḫanzašša-* is first attested with certainty in a benediction for the *Labarna*-king (Text 1), but note that the composition containing a ritual for the construction of a temple (Text 8) is probably an Empire copy from an Old Hittite period text, due to its linguistic archaisms and its Hattic elements (Klinger 1996:140, García-Trabazo 2002:479). The word-pair *ḫašša-ḫanzašša-* also appears throughout the Middle Hittite period (Text 7, an *evocatio* for the return of the gods of the cedar, and Text 5, a Cuneiform Luwian ritual, thus *ḫašša-/ḫamš(i)-ḫanzašša-/ḫamšukkala-*), as well as in the New Empire times (Text 2, a Prayer for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and Text 9, a Cuneiform Luwian ritual), extending into the Iron Age, in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Text 6, a dedication to the Storm-god of *Halab*, and Text 10, the protective curse of an economic transaction involving the governor *Kamanis*).

With regard to *atta-anna-* (and *vice versa*), this word-pair is attested in the oldest known Hittite composition, the *Anitta Proclamation* (Text 11, see footnote 3), and also in a Palaic invocation to the Sun-god (Text 16), which according to Steitler (2017:222) should be dated back to the Old Hittite period. Similarly, a prayer of Muršili against the plague (Text 12), written in NS is based on a Middle Hittite tradition, as specified by García-Trabazo (2002: 291). Finally, from the New Empire period are two attestations in Cuneiform Luwian rituals (Texts 13 and 28), as well as the Hittite version of the Hurrian composition *The Song of Ullikummi* (Text 30). The second attestation that contains the Palaic doublet *atta-anna-* is

5. In contrast, in *HW III/2:H/19* (2010):639, the translation offered (“Öffnet sie wieder, die alten, väterlichen, großväterlichen [M]agazine!”) does not consider *annalla-* as an adjective from *anna-* ‘mother’, but from the homophonic word *anna-* ‘old’. In my opinion, the high frequency of the collocation ‘mother-father’, as well as its presence in Lycian (see below Text 32), allows us to tentatively consider *annalla-* as an adjective from *anna-* ‘mother’.

found in a fragment that is hard to contextualize (Text 17), although Steitler (2017:404) also assumes an early genesis for this composition.

The second most abundant group is composed of the word-pairs containing members of the second ascending generation. Unlike the first group, they are mainly attested in the NH period. The examples *huhḫa- ḥanna-* (and *vice versa*) appear in Hittite ritual compositions (Text 18, a funerary ritual for a dead king or queen; Text 19, a ritual for the Sun-goddess of the Earth; and 26, a ritual fragment, together with *atta- anna-*) and are likely to refer to the ancestors in a broad sense. However, this meaning cannot be applied with certainty to the attestation of a fragmentary line in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Text 20) of the composition containing the deeds of Šuppiliuma II, whose full sense remains elusive. Although it is difficult to establish a distinction along literary genre lines between the use of the different word-pairs, a slight divergence is perceived in the variant, *atta- huhḫa-* ‘father (and) grandfather’ (Luw. *tad(i)- huha-*), which seems to be reserved for annals and deeds (Text 22 and 23); in this context, instead of referring to the protagonist’s ancestors in a broad sense, its presence appears to indicate his direct filiation. However, this meaning cannot be assumed in the attestation contained in Šuppiliuma II’s instructions and oath imposition for the men of Hattuša (Text 21). Notably, the variant *atta- huhḫa-* ‘father (and) grandfather’ does not appear until the late NH period, and seems to have gained broader productivity especially in Hieroglyphic Luwian, where, in contrast, the form *huha- *hana-* is hardly attested at all (Text 20). Less attested, an amalgam of word pairs composed of family members other than the ones already presented also appears in a time span ranging from the Middle Hittite period to the Hieroglyphic Luwian Iron age inscriptions. The doublet ‘mother (and) son’ is found in a cult inventory for the Storm-god, dating from the New Empire period (Text 24), as does an example present in the deeds of Tudhaliya IV (Text 25) which is probably an allegorical reference to the citizens of the mentioned land. Finally, the pair ‘brother (and) sister’ appears in a Cuneiform Luwian ritual from the middle Hittite period, contained in a long enumeration of coupled family members (Text 28) as well as in a commemorative statue in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Text 29).

As can be observed with regard to their structure, from a stylistic point of view these word pairs appear in asyndetic parallelism, with an opposition based on age and/or sex. When the parallelism is founded on the natural sex of the subjects, their order appears to be indifferent in the cases of ‘father (and) mother’ (or *vice versa*) and ‘grandfather (and) grandmother’ (or *vice versa*). In contrast, the pairs ‘brother (and) sister’ and ‘son (and) daughter’ always appear in a male-female disposition. When based on age, the order is naturally hierarchical in the pairs that

refer to younger generations, displayed in descending order ('son, grandson, great-grandson and further offspring'; see Text 7, 8, 9, and 27). With regard to the first and second ascending generations, the direction is irrelevant: that is, it may be ascending (father-grandfather, Text 21, 22, 23, and 30) or descending (grandparents-parents, Text 26).

§ 2. *First-millennium Anatolia*

As has been stated, the presence of word-pairs with kinship motives has been considered, both geographically and chronologically, in relation to the Luwo-Hittite milieu (see the Introduction section for literary references). Nevertheless, the languages attested in first-millennium Anatolia also provide some examples of this rhetorical device, although the attestations are scarce due to the fragmentary nature of these small corpus languages.

- 31) Lyd. *ak cēnu ēna=k taada=k šiwetriš šantoλ* "and I designate for the mothers and fathers...(?)."
(5th-4th c. BC, *ed. LW* 10 20)⁶
- 32) Milyan *ē-nesi ke tedesi ke: xugasi: xñtawaza*: "the rulership of the mother, the father and the grandfather."
(late 5th c. BC, *TL* 44d 66-67, *ed. Schürr* 2018:60)
- 33) Lyc.A. *:se ñtuweriha :ade: se - xθθāna: xugaha: se xñnaha*: "and to the memorial(?) of the grandfathers and the grandmothers."
(late 5th c. BC, *TL* 44b 58)
- 34) Lyc.A. *:xugahi: se: xñna[hi] - te]θ'θi sej=ēnehi*: "of the grandfather and of the grandmother, of the father and of the mother."
(*ca.* 360 BC, *N* 337.7-8; *ed. Christiansen* 2012:143-144)

With regard to the attestations found in the Luwo-Hittite context, two of the most common word-pairs that have been seen in the first part can be identified in the first-millennium examples as well, that is, the doublet 'father (and) mother' (or *vice versa*) and 'grandfather (and) grandmother'. Although the context in the (perhaps) Lydian epitaph (Payne-Wintjes 2016:80), is highly unclear, the word-pair 'mother and father', inflected as dative plural, recalls the Luwo-Hittite examples

6. In accordance with Schürr (1997), I represent the early <s> as <š>, early <š> as <s>, and <v> as <w>.

seen in Texts 11, 13, 15, 17. Nevertheless, a more appropriate account is provided by the Lycian and Milyan attestations, whose contexts are administrative: TL 44 (Text 32 and 33), known as the Xanthos Pillar, and *N* 337 (Text 34), possibly a treaty between Limyra and an unknown city **Xuxr̄me/i*-(?) (see Christiansen 2012). While the word-pair ‘grandfather-grandmother’ in TL 44b 58 (Text 33) can be related to the Luwo-Hittite instances (Text 18, 19 and 20), one can also find a parallel in the enumeration of coupled terms in *N* 337 (Text 34, ‘grandfather (and) grandmother, father (and) mother’), in a Hittite ritual fragment (Text 26). Notably, the sequence in Milyan 44d 66-67 (Text 32) ‘mother, father, and grandfather’ offers a direct parallel to Hittite (Text 30, see footnote 5).

Certainly, these similarities might be attributed to a mere structural coincidence. Nevertheless, the uniformity of this rhetorical device across the Anatolian languages suggests that it may be a product of the cultural continuum between the two millennia, a view reinforced by the regularity of the onomastic material from the second to the first millennium BC.⁷

§ 3. *Outer Anatolian comparison*

The second issue to be addressed, that is, the possible background of the Anatolian word-pairs, requires us first to reassess the explanation provided by Indo-European linguistics. Over time, as has been shown, the early denomination as a *dvandva* compound has prevailed intermittently, without being fully accepted or rejected (see the Introduction section). The main feature for considering them as a compound form of the *dvandva*-type seems to have been, on the one hand, the lack of a copulative particle between the two lexemes of the same grammatical category and, on the other, the absence of inflection in the first lexeme of the pair.⁸ With regard to the first aspect, it is worth mentioning that asyndetic coordination between individual nouns appears to be a common phenomenon in Hittite (e.g.

7. Compare, for instance, the second-millennium personal names Capp. ^f*Muanani* (NH 835), Capp. ^{m/f}*Punamuwati* (NH 1050), Hitt. *Muwatalli* (NH 837, 123; NH 28), Hitt. *Tarḫumuwa* (HKM 57 Ro 15) with the first-millennium attested anthroponomy: H.Luw. *Pana-muwati* (BOYBEYPINARI 1.1), Lyc. *Mutli-* (TL 150.2), *Punamuwe* (TL 35,12), Lyd. Μωαττης (cf. Hitt. *Muwatti*), Car. *Muteś* (in genitive, CSt 2; Adiego 2007:386). From the geographical perspective, the cultural continuum of the Neo-Hittite states can be observed in the oldest archaeological Lycian findings: reliefs of a lion and a bull from the 7th c. BC found at Xanthos (Des Courtils 2012:154) which, perhaps through Phrygian mediation, recall the Syro-Anatolian art style.

8. Compare with the following Indo-European examples: Ved. *mitrvaruṇā* ‘Mitra and Varuṇa’ (dual); Gr. *nukht(h)émeron* ‘day and night’.

ezzan GIŠ-ru ‘straw (and) wood’ or *GUD UDU* ‘cattle (and) sheep’, cf. Hoffner-Melchert 2008:402). In contrast, in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions the parallel phrase is either built asyndetically (Texts 20, 22, 23, 25),⁹ or through copulative conjunction (Text 29), as in the languages of the first millennium (Texts 31 - 34). In relation to the second feature, that is, the noninflected first word, it can only be clearly identified in a single instance, nom.pl *ḫuḫḫa ḫanniš*, in KUB 17 29 ii 7 (Text 26), regarded in *HW III:H/12* (1994:141) as the beginning of a process of Indo-European nominal composition. Note, however, that this sole example is located in a passage whose other components (n.pl. *attiesḫ anniš*) are not regularly inflected. At least *anna-* probably owes its *-i*-inflection to the linguistic inference from Luwian, where *ann(i)-* ‘mother’ presents *i*-mutation. One possibility, according to Yakubovich (2010: 343-344), is that Hitt. *ḫanna-*, whose Luwian counterpart (*506-*na* = **hana-*) is inflected without *i*-mutation, has undergone a reinterpretation due to an analogical influence from Hitt. n.pl. *anniš*, leading to nom.pl. *ḫanniš*. On the whole, the morphological particularities in the declension of this fragment makes this example poorly paradigmatic for inferring a derivational *dvandva*-compound pattern.

Lacking the Indo-European explanation of supportive elements, a reconsideration of the nature of these word-pairs from the perspective of the neighbouring Mesopotamian culture can offer further insights. In particular, the word-pair ‘father-mother’ is extensively present in several Semitic languages of the Ancient Near East. To name some examples, we see this word-pair in Biblical Hebrew texts (Texts 35, 36), where it is extremely prolific, but also in two Phoenician inscriptions, the bilingual counterparts of two Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions (Texts 37, 38), as well as in the Aramaic sapiential composition of the *Ahiqar Proverbs* (Text 39).

- 35) Heb. *'mur 'il ha=ko *hinim bane 'HRN w='amarta 'il-e*=him l=naps lo(') yittamma(') b='ann-a(y)=w ki 'im l=s(')er=o ha=qarub 'il-a(y)=w l='imm=o w=l='abi=w w=l=bin=o w=l=bitt=o w=l='ahi=w* (Lev. 21.1b-2) “Speak to the priests, the sons of Aaron, and say to them: ‘A priest must not make himself ceremonially unclean for any of his people who die, except for a close relative, such as his mother or father, his son or daughter, his brother’.”

9. Although the logographical representation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian prevents us from inferring any copulative particle at least in Texts 20, 22 and 25, note that the copulative particle is absent in the syllabic representation of the word-pair in example 23.

- (Lev. 21:2; *BH* 2 1991:558, *The Holy Bible NIV* (1978):189)
- 36) Heb. *hinni(h) nasi'e YSR'L 'iš l=ziro*'o hayu b-a=k l=ma'n špuk dam 'ab wa='im[m] hiqallu b-a=k l=[h]a=ge*r 'aśu b=[h]a='ušq b=tok-i=k yatom w='almana honu b-a=k* “See how each of the princes of Israel who are in you uses his power to shed blood. In you they have treated father and mother with contempt; in you they have oppressed the alien and mistreated the fatherless and the widow.”
- (Ez. 22 6-7a; ed. *BH* 9 1993:184, transl. *The Holy Bible NIV* (1978):1353)
- 37) Phoen. *wmlk ['sr] [w]kl bt 'sr kn ly l'b [wl] 'm* “And the king [of Assyria and] all the house of Assyria became father [and] mother to me.”
- (ÇINEKÖY 7-8; ed. Tekoğlu-Lemaire-Ipek-Kazim Tosun 1997:994, transl. Yakubovich 2015:41)
- 38) Phoen. *p 'ln b'l ldnyym l'b wl'm yhw 'nk 'yt dnyym* “Baal made me as father and as mother to the DNNYM. I caused the DNNYM to live.”
- (KARATEPE Phu/A I:3; ed. and transl. Hawkins 2000: 49)
- 39) Aram. *zyl l' ytrwm bšm 'bwhy wbšm 'mh 'l ydnḥ š[mš 'lwhy]* “Whosoever takes no pride in his father's and mother's name, may Šama[š] not shine [on him].”
- (*Ahiqar* 49:138; ed. and transl. Lindenberger 1983:135)

Interestingly enough, the ÇINEKÖY and KARATEPE inscriptions are Luwo-Phoenician bilinguals (Texts 37 and 38, respectively with 14 and 15), which share the phraseology ‘to make (someone) fathers (and) mothers’ with the *Anitta Proclamation* (Text 11).¹⁰ Although the identification of a benefactor god with the ‘father and mother’ is common in Mesopotamian literary compositions (cf. Hittite adaptation of a Hymn to Šamaš in KUB 31.127 1, 21, see Singer 2002:31) and can be seen in a Palaic invocation to the Sun-god as well (Text 16), a slight difference can be perceived between the quoted examples that use this expression.

In the *Anitta Proclamation* composition (Text 11), Pithana, the king of Kušara, captures the king of Neša and, literally, ‘makes’ the citizens of Neša his fathers and mothers: this means, according to Hoffner (2003:182), that Pithana treated them with mercy. Hence, the predicate role of the sentence is carried out by those who were defeated. This seems to be the case of the ÇINEKÖY inscription as well (Text 37), in which its owner, the ruler Warika, tells of his superiority over

10. According to Yakubovich (2015), Phoenician would be the primary source in these bilinguals, although a full consensus on the direction of the translation has not been reached.

different territories of Cilicia and relates that he ‘made’ the king and the house of Assyria fathers and mothers to him: that is to say, that they, again in a predicative syntactic role, were defeated but afterwards were treated mercifully.

In contrast, in the KARATEPE inscription (Text 38), the syntactic role of the predicate is reversed. The protagonist, Azatiwadas, clearly appears as the benefactor of the city of Adana, but its citizens are not made ‘fathers (and) mothers’ to him, as would be expected; rather, Azatiwadas himself is made the father and mother ‘to’ Adana.

According to Payne (2012:42), ÇINEKÖY probably predated KARATEPE and served as a model. This may be one of the reasons for the possible misunderstanding of the phraseology. Another explanation is that the commissioners of the KARATEPE inscription voluntarily wanted to refer to Azatiwadas as the ‘father and mother’ of the land, because the expression ‘to be mother and father of someone’, known from the Mesopotamian tradition and from the Palaic invocation (Text 16), was also familiar to them. The KARATEPE inscription (Text 15) appears to have changed the syntactic disposition ‘to be mother and father’ in order to provide the semantic connotation seen in the *Anitta Proclamation* (Text 11) and in the ÇINEKÖY inscription (Text 14), where the defeated citizens are equated to fathers and mothers (see Table 1).

	Subject	Object	Predicative C.	Beneficiary	Meaning
Text 10 (Hitt.)	<i>Pithana</i> (ruler)	citizens of Neša (defeated)	‘fathers (and) mothers’	-	The ruler is protective of the citizens.
Text 14¹¹ and 37 (Luw-Ph.)	<i>Warika</i> (ruler)	House of Assyria (defeated)	‘fathers (and) mothers’	-	The ruler is protective of the citizens.
Text 15 and 38 (Luw-Ph.)	<i>Tarhunzas / Baal</i> (god)	<i>Azatiwadas</i> (ruler)	‘mother (and) father’	<i>Adanawa</i> land	The ruler is protective of the citizens.
Text 16 (Pal.)	<i>Tiyaz</i> (god)	-	‘father (and) mother’	<i>Tabarna</i> -king	The god is protective of the king.

Table 1.

11. Note that for this example the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are to be interpreted *lato sensu*, since this sentence is in middle voice, and therefore the syntactic role of *Warika* and of the House and King of Assyria are, correspondingly, ‘agent’ and ‘patient’.

In his work on word-pairs, Avishur (1984) treated all these Semitic examples as a genuine Semitic trait. He also showed Ugaritic instances with the ‘father-mother’ pair, although, because they appear separated in different but parallel verses, they have not been included in this article.¹² Even so, there are several instances of Mesopotamian literature pieces that show these exact word-pairs with kinship themes. Another interesting example is found in two passages of the *Šurpu* series of Akkadian incantations, which were compiled in the Neo-Assyrian period:¹³

- 40) (3) *ma-mit* AD u AMA LÚ *ša-ha-t[i]* ú (4) *ma-mit* AD AD *ma-mit* AMA AMA ú (5) *ma-mit* ŠEŠ u NIN [...] (9) *ma-mit dar-ka-ti u te-ni-qi* “The oath of father and mother he is under, the oath of his father’s father, the oath of his mother’s mother, the oath of brother or sister, [...] the oath of offspring or sucklings”.
(Tablet III 3-5, 9; *ed.* and *transl.* Reiner 1970:19)
- 41) (58) *ar-rat* AD u AMA ŠEŠ.GAL-ú NIN.GAL-tu “curse of father and mother, elder brother and elder sister”
(Tablet IV, 58; *ed.* and *transl.* Reiner 1970:26)

Therefore, the Anatolian word-pairs with kinship motives appear to be quite representative of the Syro-Mesopotamian literary culture. Furthermore, similarities with certain pieces of Sumerian literature, such as the tale *The Home of the Fish* (Text 42), can be established. Interestingly, while the Akkadian example shows a parallelism based on sex opposition (consistently male-female ordered), the Sumerian example has a parallelism based exclusively on age polarization.

- 42) (14) *zu-a-zu he₂-em-du* (15) *kal-la-zu he₂-em-du* (16) *ad-da pap-bil₂-ga-zu he₂-em-du* (17) *dumu šeš-gal-zu dumu šeš-ban₃-da-zu he₂-em-du* (18) *di₄-di₄-la₂-zu gal-gal-zu he₂-em-du* (19) *dam-zu dumu-zu he₂-em-du* (20) *gu₅-li-zu dub₃-us₂-sa-zu he₂-em-du* (21) *murum₅ ušbar-zu he₂-em-du* (22) *ildum₂ bar nam-ga-kur₉-ra-zu-uš he₂-em-du* (23) *dumu gu₇-li- nam-mu-ni-ib-da₁₃-da₁₃-a* (24) *da-a-zu nam-me-eš nam-mu-ni-in-da₁₃-da₁₃* “Let your

12. Ugar. *bnši 'nh wyp[h]n / yhd hrgb ab nšrm... / bnši 'nh [w]yphn / yhd šml um nšrm...* “Lifting his eyes he sees. Beholds *Hrgb* the vulture’s father [...] Lifting his eyes he sees. Beholds *šml* the vulture’s mother” (CTA 19 - *Aqht*, III:120-145, extracted from Avishur 1984:605).

13. See the recent contribution by Mouton – Yakubovich 2019 for a comparison of this text with Luwian incantations containing the merism ‘internal (or) external’.

acquaintances come! Let your dear ones come! Let your father and grandfather come! Let the sons of your elder brother and the sons of your younger brother come! Let your little ones come, and your big ones too! Let your wife and your children come! Let your friends and companions come! Let your brother-in-law and your father-in-law come! Let the crowd by the side of your front door come! Don't leave your friends' children outside! Don't leave your neighbours outside, whoever they may be!" (Ed. and transl. Civil 2017 [1961] 248-249; *The Home of the Fish*. Segment A, ETCSL t.5.9.1)

The phenomenon of textual transmission is widely known, as is the notable influence of Mesopotamian literature in Hittite culture (Güterbock 1964:107-115, Laroche 1964:3-29, van den Hout 2002:857-878, Klinger 2005:103-127). Nonetheless, although stylistic devices such as word-pairing and repetition are common Mesopotamian literary features (Foster 2005: 17), this trait is not clearly specified in relation to kinship word-pairs in compendia of Hittite literature (e.g., Haas 2006:288), even though there are several instances of pieces in Mesopotamian literature that show these exact word-pairs with kinship motives.

§ 4. *The Hurrian material*

Because of its close contact with the North-Syrian area and also due to its annexation to Hatti under the reign of Tudhaliya I, it is agreed that the Kizzuwatnean region was an area of significant Hurrian influence, and one that played an important role in transmitting Mesopotamian literature into Hattuša. Though perhaps demonstrable for some specific literary compositions, a direct transmission of the rhetorical formula exposed in this article is difficult to prove. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning an instance of a Hurrian composition that displays word-pairs with family motives, as do the preceding examples.¹⁴

The "Great *itkalzi* ritual" consists of 22 tablets found in Šapinuwa and Hattuša, which contain a ritual for the purification of the mouth. The ritual was originally addressed to King Tuthaliya II and Queen Taduhepa, who ruled during the first half of the fourteenth c. BC, but also had some versions destined to be used

14. Also in the *itkalzi* ritual, Wilhelm (2010) identified the Hurrian formula "before God (and Men)", attested in Hebrew and Phoenician as well, as belonging to the Canaanite literary tradition (Hurr. $\bar{e}n(i)=n(a)=\bar{a}\check{z}=a$ *taržuwan(i)=n(a)=a\check{z}=a* $\bar{a}b(i)=i=da$ (KBo 21.24+ iv 2'-7', ChS I/1, n.9; Wilhelm, 2010:375)).

as a pattern in ritual. In one of these versions, a particularly detailed one, we find the following passage with kinship word-pairs:

- 43) (1) [ta-a-t]a ḥa-du-ul-ta-aš-ši ʾpuʾ-ut-ki ša-a-ʾlaʾ (2) ʾni-e-raʾ-ra at-ta-i-ta / ni-e-ra at-ta-a-i (3) pu-ut-ki-i-ta ša-a-la-ta ta-a-ta ḥa-du-ul-[ta-aš-ši].
 “Son (and) daughter, the one who X²-VERB with love with (his/her) mother (and) to (his/her) father! Mother (and) father, the one who X²-VERB with love to (his/her) son (and) to (his/her) daughter!”
 (KBo 20, 129 (+), Rs. iii 1-10; *ed.* Haas 1984:61)¹⁵

Although Šapinuwa and Hattuša are a long way from the Hurrian kingdom of Mittani, it is commonly agreed that the *itkalzi* ritual belongs to the Hurrian cultural milieu. This is suggested by the reference in the ritual to place names that are situated in the Mittanian geography, according to De Martino - Süel (2017:53).¹⁶

Also belonging to Kizzuwatna, the region likely to receive Hurrian influence because of its geographical situation, we find a group of rituals attributed to a woman called Mastigga of Kizzuwatna, whose *Ritual for a Domestic Quarrel* presents the following beginning with word-pairs containing kinship motives:

- 44) [(UM-MA ^fMa-aš-ti-ig-ga MUNUS ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-n)]a ma-a-na-aš-ta [(A-BU DUMU-RU-ia na-aš-ma ^{LÚ}MU-TÙ DAM-ZU-ia)] na-aš-ma ŠEŠ N[(IN)-ia [(ḥal-lu)-u (wa-an-zi) na-aš (ki-iš-ša-an)] a-ni-ia-mi [(n)u ki-i da-a]ḥ-ḥi “Thus Mastigga, woman of Kizzuwatna: When a father and a son, or a man and his wife, or a brother and a sister quarrel, then I treat them thus. I take the following:”
 (KBo 39 8, i 1-4; *ed.* and *transl.* Miller 2004:61-62).¹⁷

15. Transliteration by de Martino – Süel (2017:22): tad(i)=a had=ol=d=a=ssi fut=ki sala (2) nera=ra attai=da nera attai (3) fut=k(i)=i=da sala=da tad(i)=a had=ol=d=a=ssi. The meaning of the verbal root *had-* is unknown, although de Martino – Süel (*op.cit.*) adopt for it a meaning “to go”. However, it can be interpreted morphologically either as a third person plural of a transitive verb, or as a third person singular of an intransitive verb. I thank Dr. Sebastian Fischer (Berlin) for generously discussing the interpretation of this passage with me.

16. A further element that accounts for a possible Hurrian tradition of this composition is, according to Miller (2004:508), the use of the second person singular pronoun, which occurs once in this composition; it is identified as a typical Mesopotamian trait.

17. Practically the same formula occurs as well in a *taknaz da-* ritual for a domestic quarrel, also attributed to the same author (KBo 39 9, 1ʾ-6ʾ; Miller 2004:146).

Nevertheless, although Kizzuwatna may have played a predominant role in conveying literary material from the Mesopotamian cultural continuum, the presence of word-pairs with kinship motives in the Anatolian languages should be attributed to a multiplicity of factors, not just to the contact with a Hurrianized Kizzuwatna. However, its presence in this area might be considered as another element to take into account when establishing the network of literary and cultural connections between Anatolia and the Mesopotamian Near East.

§ 5. *Final remarks*

To conclude, in this article I have questioned two previous assumptions about the nature of the word-pairs with kinship motives that are commonly found in the Luwo-Hittite milieu.

In the first place, by taking into account the attestations presented by Anatolian languages other than Hittite and Luwian, I suggest that the word-pairs with kinship motives, previously labelled “typical Hittite-Luwian doublets”, in fact reflect a continuity through space and time, from the languages of the second millennium (Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic) to those of the first (Lycian and Lydian).

Secondly, through a comparison with the broader Anatolian context, I provide evidence that they may respond to a Mesopotamian background rather than to an Indo-European derivational mechanism, as previously stated in some lexical studies; and also that their interpretation as compounds of the *dvandva* type does not correspond with the morphological features presented in the Anatolian examples.

Finally, I present two instances of ritual compositions linked to the Hurrian literary tradition and to the region of Kizzuwatna, an area of Hurrian influence, which present this stylistic device. This highlights a further element of cultural contact between Anatolia and the Mesopotamian milieu.

In parallel, the compilation and analysis of the data have allowed a discussion of the idioms ‘to *make* someone father and mother’ and ‘to *be* father and mother to someone’, occurring in Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic, and a comparison with the adaptations they undergo in the Luwo-Phoenician inscriptions of KARATEPE and ÇINEKÖY.

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Two Unnoticed Phrygian Seals from the Borowski Collection and a Comment on Old Phrygian Dd-103

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As in other cultures of the Ancient Near East, seals are often found in Phrygian sites. The most important collection was found in Gordion, the royal seat of the Phrygians and the most widely studied city in Iron Age Anatolia.¹ There are, however, very few seals containing a Phrygian text and most bear only a personal name. Until now, we know of only five seals with an inscription written in Phrygian. Two of them are Neo-Assyrian in style: P-108 (from the ancient Hattusa) and HP-116 (from Nemrut Dağ). The remaining three date from the Achaemenid period (also called Late Phrygian, ca. 550-330 BC): G-347 (from Gordion, see Körte and Körte 1904, 170-171), Dd-101 (unknown provenance)² and Dd-103 (unknown provenance, Buffalo Museum of Science inv. no. C 15046). The interpretation of these short texts is not easy: readings for G-347, P-108 and HP-116 are still lacking, Dd-101 has a problematic letter³ and the interpretation of Dd-103 is not clear.

Among the great Borowski collection of artifacts from Anatolia published by Poetto and Salvatori (1981), there are two seals that stand out because of their al-

1. On the seals found in this site from Early Bronze Age (predating the Phrygian) to the Roman period, see Dusinberre 2005.

2. It is now preserved in Jonathan Rosen's private collection in New York. Formerly, it belonged to the Borowski collection.

3. The current reading of the text is: *pser²keyoy atas* or *pseu²keyoy atas*. See the discussion in Obrador-Cursach 2018, 666.

phabetical inscriptions.⁴ According to Poetto, who edited them (Poetto and Salvatori 1981, 43-45), they may be from the Anatolian linguistic sphere and may have a Lydian filiation. I suggest, however, that they may have been written in the Phrygian script, for the reasons I will present below in my analysis of these two inscriptions. Although we know nothing of their archaeological context, there are good parallels for considering that they date back to the Achaemenid period (ca. 550-330 BC).⁵ Finally, I examine the problematic text of the Phrygian seal Dd-103 dated to the same period as the others, and which contains more than a personal name.

§ 1. *Seal Dd-104*

A blue chalcedony conoid seal with an oval base and a hole on the top covered by gold in the shape of a ring (Figure 1 and 2). The seal measures 24 mm. in height, and the base 12 x 18 mm. The seal proper is cut on the oval base and contains two rearing, winged, goat-shaped animals. Separated by a line, the inscription is read under the foot of the animals, except an ⟨s⟩ found between the hind legs of the animal on the right. It was preserved in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem (inv. num. BLMJ 08259) but has long since been returned to the Jonathan Rosen's private collection (New York).

Poetto & Salvatori 1981, 43, no. 39 (p. 108, Tav. XXXIX); Boardman 1998, 10 no. 10.2 (p. 3, Fig. 2); Bernheimer 2007, 52 no. GP-3 a-b (with photos).

Midas

4. This publication also includes another artifact with an alphabetical inscription (Poetto and Salvatori 1981, 42-43 no. 38), considered as Lydian (LW 105). It is an "amulet" according to Boardman (1998, 10).

5. With the addition of these two texts and a new inscription on a Phrygian idol representing the Mother-Goddess to be published soon by Rahsan Tamsu Polat, the number of Old Phrygian inscriptions increases by three. In total, 517 Phrygian inscriptions are known, of which 398 belong to the Old Phrygian subcorpus.



Fig. 1. Chalcedony seal Dd-104 and impression. Photograph courtesy of Jonathan Rosen.



Figure 2. Drawing of the impression of the seal Dd-104 by Boardman (1998, 3 Fig. 2).

Poetto read it as *Milas* (in current transcription, it would be *Milas*) and equated it to the Pisidian and Phrygian *Μειλας* (*KPN* 307 § 887-1; *LGPN* V.C 275). The reading was accepted by Gusmani (1980, 74). Boardman (1998, 10) did not rule out a Greek reading, which is improbable in the light of the shape of the letters.

The main problem with this seal is the ⟨l⟩, since this letter never appears as symmetrical as it does here in Lydian. There are some examples of a similar lambda in Greek inscriptions from the Ionic Dodecapolis but not after 550 BC (Jeffery 1961, 325). So, it is easy to consider reading it as a Phrygian ⟨d⟩ without the third stroke. There are many occurrences of an open ⟨d⟩ in Old Phrygian inscriptions: M-01d (also with the name *Midas*), G-02, G-136, P-04c, etc. In addition, the three-stroked letter ⟨s⟩ is also found in relation with Kolophon, Teos and Smyrna (Jeffery 1961, 329) but, again, in earlier times. In contrast, the very same shape is also found in the Phrygian seal Dd-101, also dated to the the Achaemenid period.

Morphologically, the separate ⟨s⟩ indicates that the name must be a nominative, as it is common in seals. The personal name *Midas* is the most famous of the Phrygian royal names, although it was also borne by common people and even by Phrygian slaves in Greece.⁶ In the Old Phrygian corpus, it appears several times on different artifacts: M-01a, M-01d I, G-137, HP-102 and likely in T-02b.

§ 2. Seal Dd-105

Cylinder seal of grey chalcedony representing a winged sun disc of Achaemenid type in the top, an animal-legged table with a calf's head, a cup and a possible loaf and, around it, two men, one enthroned and bearing a crown and three sticks and the other standing and offering a small cup to the first man. The inscription appears between the backs of both men. It measures 19 mm. in height and 11 mm. in diameter. Its current location is unknown.

Poetto & Salvatori 1981, 44-45, no. 40 (p. 109, Tav. XL); Boardman 1998, 10 no. 10.4 (p. 4, Fig. 3).

Pakpuvas

6. See, e.g., Strabo 7.3.12: ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἐκομίζετο, ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις ὁμωνύμουσ ἐκάλουσ τοὺς οἰκέτασ, ὡσ Λυδὸν καὶ Σύρον, ἢ τοῖς ἐπιπολάζουσιν ἐκεῖ ὀνόμασι προσηγόρευον, ὡσ Μάνην ἢ Μίδασ τὸν Φρύγα, Τίβιον δὲ τὸν Παφλαγὸνα ‘for them [= the Athenians] tended either to call their slaves by the same names as those of the peoples from which they were brought, such as ‘Lydos’ or ‘Syros’, or addressed them by names that were common in their countries, such as ‘Manes’ or ‘Midas’ for the Phrygian, and ‘Tibios’ for the Paphlagonian’. On the relation between the names of the slaves in Greece and their ethnicity, see Lewis 2018.



Figure 3. Drawing of the impression of the seal Dd-105 by Boardman (1998, 4 Fig. 3).

Poetto's reading *Pakpuwaś* (in current transcription, it would be *Pakpuwas*) was correct in terms of the identification of the letters. A Lydian reading, however, can be ruled out because presence of ⟨p⟩ in the shape of the Phrygian or Greek *pi* and not in 8 is incompatible with a Lydian script. It is true that the last letter recalls a Lydian ⟨s⟩ but note that the more common Lydian shape of ⟨s⟩ is also found in Phrygian texts such as B-05. Indeed, both alphabet share some special shapes, such as 8 for ⟨b⟩ in Phrygian⁷ and for ⟨p⟩ in Lydian. This said, although a Greek reading is not impossible, again the Phrygian script is the best option for this seal because of the use of ⟨v⟩ (confined to the numeral system in Ionia, see Jeffery 1961, 326-327) and the shape of the letters.

The text, *Pakpuvas*, may be an *a*-stem masculine personal name with a nominative in *-s*, very common in Phrygian. However, it may also be an adaptation of a name of unclear origin also attested in Greek as Πακτύης, as Poetto suggested. Herodotus 1.153-160 documents a Lydian with this name who collected revenue from the Greek cities. The divergence between the spelling of this artifact and the Greek tradition is considered a "simple mis-spelling" by Boardman (1998, 3). I am not sure about this, since we do not know the etymology of this name and its original language (although it looks like Anatolian).⁸ Therefore, we do not know whether Greek Πακτύης or the Phrygian *Pakpuvas* is a variant developed after a

7. It is not the most common shape in Phrygian, but it is found in three inscriptions: W-08, P-101 and P-106.

8. Compare the ending of the Phrygian version with Hieroglyphic Luwian *Puwa-* (KIRŞEHİR fragment), Lycian *.tipuwa-* (TL 147) and, in Greek inscriptions, Πουα(ς) (KPN 439 § 1296; LGPN V.C 366, from the Kibyrtis).

folk-etymology (for example), or whether the divergence between the Greek *kappa* and the Phrygian *pi* represents a third original sound perceived in a different way by the two languages.

§ 3. *Some remarks on Old Phrygian Dd-103*

Dd-103 is an unusual Old Phrygian text said to contain two abbreviations of unknown words. It is read on a pale blue agate cylindrical seal which clearly dates to the Late Phrygian period (i.d., Achaemenid times, 550 – 330 BC). It belonged to Ernst E. Herzfeld (1879–1948), who acquired it in Iran, but its provenance is unknown (see Lerner 2018, 373-374).⁹ The Brummer Gallery in New York sold it to the Buffalo Museum of Science in 1944, where it is now preserved (inv. no. C15046). Recently, Lerner (2018) wrote a paper on its unusual iconography, a man controlling two lines. It measures 1,6 cm in height and 1 cm in diameter.

Friedrich 1965, 154-156; Haas 1966, 176–177 no. c; Neroznak 1978, 86 no. A 22; Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 22; Masson 1987; Orel 1997, 361-362 no. Dd-103; Brixhe 2004, 126-127 no. Dd-103; Lerner 2018; Obrador-Cursach 2020, no. Dd-103.

The current reading of the text of this seal is as follows:

mane
on : en

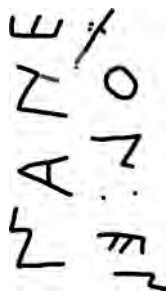


Figure 4. Drawing of the text from the impression of the seal Dd-103 by Brixhe (2004, 127).

9. It is possible that the object came from Anatolia and was simply sold in Iran. Nevertheless, a clay tablet written in Phrygian (HP-114) was found in the Fortification Archive of Persepolis, among many tablets written in Elamite and Aramaic.

According to Orel (1997, 362), after *Mane*, a personal name in nominative singular without the ending *-s*, there are two abbreviations of two unknown words. This interpretation was accepted by Brixhe (2004, 127). *Manes* is indeed a well-attested name from Phrygia and Lydia, and it is found in Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, Greek and Aramaic: Old Phrygian *manes* (B-07; accusative *manin* B-07, genitive *manitos* B-07), New Phrygian *μανεις* 43.1 (69), Lydian *manes* (LW 043), Carian *mane* (Adiego 2007, 381), Greek *Μανης* and *Μανις/Μανεις* (*KPN* 290-291 § 858-4; *LGPN* V.C 260-262; in literary sources as *Μάνης*) and Aramaic *mny* (in the bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription from Sardis, LW 001). It is also true that there are asigmatic variants of the nominative of some Phrygian masculine names: see, e.g., *baba* (M-01b and G-121) for *ḫaḫaṣ* (G-06) and *voine* (G-228) for *voines* (G-129 and G-286). However, the problem with *mane* in Dd-103 is the presence of a strange stroke between its final *-e* and the following *o*. Masson (1987, 111) considered that it was simple filling possibly in the shape of a fish. Brixhe (2004, 127), who accepted the non-alphabetic value of this stroke, suggested that it might be a lizard. Looking carefully at the supposed appendixes to the plain stroke, they appear accidental because their depths and thickness.

At this point, I suggest reading this sign as a plain letter (i) and, following the boustrophedon reading (Figure 5), I propose considering *maneion* a single word. This interpretation avoids the presence of a strange element and the existence of an unparallel abbreviation (*on*). The resulting word is easily analysable as an adjective derived from the personal name *Manes* through the suffix *-(e)yo-*, found in several Phrygian derivative words and names, just as *voineios* (G-145) derives from *voines* (G-129 and G-286). Old Phrygian *maneion*, then, may be a possessive adjective in nominative-accusative neuter singular (if not in accusative masculine) with the meaning ‘of Manes’. The reading I suggest is as follows:

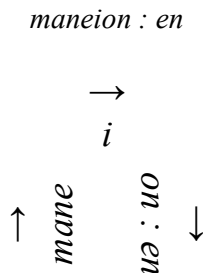


Fig. 5. Boustrophedon reading suggested for the seal Dd-103.

The presence of an adjective derived from a personal name in a seal from Anatolian origin is not surprising, if we consider the famous Lydian inscription *manelim* ‘I am of Manes’ read in three seals (LW 55, 56 and 073). The formula is analysed as *manelzim*, where *manel* is the possessive adjective and *zim* a clitic element referring to the first singular person. Gusmani (1971) suggested that this element was a clitic form of the copulative verb ‘(I) am’ (PIE **h₁esmi*), although Eichner (1981, 209) preferred to analyse *zim* as a reflexive pronoun of the first person (see, currently, *eDiAna*), considering the formula as a nominal sentence without a verb. But rather than to discuss this point of Lydian here, my intention is to show that the Phrygian seal may contain a similar text with a parallel meaning.

After the possessive adjective *maneion*, *en* is clearly read. As has been said, it has been considered as a second abbreviation, but this may be not true. My proposal here is to consider Old Phrygian *en* as 1sg. present of the copulative verb: ‘(I) am’. Morphologically, it may be assumed that instead of the expected primary ending **-mi*, the Phrygian took the secondary **-m*. Note that it remains unclear when the Phrygian verb takes the primary or the secondary set of endings in the present: see the use of the secondary endings in *αδδακετ* (*passim*) and *αββερετ* (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.)¹⁰ in the common New Phrygian formula. With the secondary ending, the verb has a regular evolution in Phrygian: **h₁esmi* >> *esm* > (*emm* >) *em* > *en*. For the shift **-sm-* > **(m)m-* see New Phrygian *σεμουν* < **ke-smō-n*, the singular dative of the demonstrative pronoun.¹¹ According to this analysis, Phrygian *maneion en* may mean ‘(I) am of Manes’.¹² The formula is very similar to the one found in Lydian (independently of the analysis of *zim*) in a similar artifact (a seal) dated to the same period (Achaemenid). Although the name, *manes*, is the same as in Lydian *manelzim*, they may refer to different people, since *manes* is an extremely common name shared by both linguistic communities.

10. New Phrygian *αββερετ* (66.1 = 103) can be explained as an iotacist spelling of the middle form *αββερετοι* (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91, 19.2 = 129). The copula with a secondary ending may also be found in the possible 3sg. person *est*, read in P-02: *s=est bugnos vasos kanutiivanos* ‘this is Bugnos (the son) of Vasus (the grandson) of Kanuti’. However, one might consider the same sequence as a demonstrative pronoun with the clitic *st* (*ses-t*) and consider the text as a noun phrase.

11. Note also that a similar shift is found in Lesbian (and Thessalian), so this could be a nice areal feature of Phrygian and this Greek dialect together with the shift **-ons*, **-ans* > *-ois*, *-ais* (on it see Brixhe 1990, 65–67 and 2004, 41–42).

12. An alternative interpretation for Old Phrygian *en* could be to consider it as an indefinite pronoun derived from the PIE **sem* (in neuter singular, cf. Greek *ἓν* ‘one’); however, a formula ‘something of X’ remains unparalleled in seals and is less attractive.

§ 4. *Acknowledgements*

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On Several Old and New Etymologies and the Alleged Diphthongization of $*\bar{e} > iya$ in Hittite and Luwian

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In 1995, Poetto suggested a new meaning, i.e. ‘flesh’, for CLuw. *mi(ya)ša-* by contextual analysis and, based on this interpretation, proposed its etymological connection with Proto-Indo-European (PIE) $*m\bar{e}(m)s-o-$ ‘meat’. Undoubtedly, Poetto’s claims regarding the semantics of the word are conclusive. However, the etymology is built on a putative sound change $\bar{e} > iya$ and not validated by the examples adduced in its support. In this article, the evidence will be scrutinized and alternative solutions will be offered.

§ 1. *Previous scholarship*

The Cuneiform Luwian lexeme *mi(ya)ša-* occurs mainly in Luwian incantations of the magic rituals of the Kuwatalla tradition, but is also attested once in a mythological passage. It is a neuter noun attested exclusively in the nom./acc.sg. with the secondary ending *-za* (allomorph of *-ša*).

nom./acc. sg. n.	<i>mi-ya-ša-an-za</i>	KUB 35.48 ii 16’	CTH 760, NS
	<i>mi-i-ša-an-za</i>	KUB 35.45 ii 22	CTH 761, NS
	<i>m[i-i-ša-an-za]</i>	KB _o 29.37, 5’	CTH 770, NS
	<i>mi-i-š[a-an-za]</i>	KUB 60.59 iv 2’	CTH 768, NS
	<i>mi-ša-an-za</i>	KUB 35.11 ii 9’	CTH 761, NS
	<i>mi-ša-an-za</i>	KUB 35.12 iii 2	CTH 762, NS

Arguing cogently against the earlier equation of *mi(ya)ša-* with Hitt. *mišriwa-tar* ‘brightness, shining’, Poetto (1995) showed that the Cuneiform Luwian sequence ALAM-*ša/tārušša mī(ia)šanza hašša* ‘figure, *mi(ya)ša-*, and bones’ of the *šalli aniur* ritual cited in (1) finds a much better match in the sequence ALAM-*ŠU haštai mīlūli* from the Tunnawi ritual cited in (2):

- (1) KUB 35.48 ii 14’–18’ (*šalli aniur*, CTH 761; cf. Starke 1985: 155)

14’ ... *ku-i-ša-an ša-<aḥ->ḥa-ni-eš-ša-<at->ta*
 15’ [(*ku-i-ša-a*)]*n i-ip-pa-tar-ri-eš-ša-<at->ta* SISKUR.ḪI.A-*ši-in EN-an*
 16’ [(*ta-a-ru-u*)]*š-ša mi-ia-ša-an-za* ^{UZU}GİR.PAD.DU *ḥal-<ḥal->za-ni-in*
 17’ [(*ú-wa-ra-an*)]*-na-ḥi-ša i-ú-na-ḥi-ša ku-wa-an-na-ni-in*
 18’ [(*ma-aš-ša*)]*-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an*

KUB 35.45 ii 21–24 (*šalli aniur*, CTH 761; cf. Starke 1985: 152f.)

21 ... *ku-i-ša-an ša-aḥ-ḥa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta ku-i-ša-an*
 22 *ip-pa-tar-ri-<iš->ša-at-at-ta* EN SÍSKUR-*aš-ši-in* ALAM-*ša mi-i-ša-an-za*
 23 *ḥa-aš-ša ḥal-ḥal-za-ni-in ú-wa-ra-an-na-ḥi-ša i-ú-na-ḥi-ša*
 23 *la-al-pi-in ku-wa-an-na-ni-in ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an*

‘who distrains him, who enslaves him, the lord of the ritual (with regard to his) figure, *mi(ya)ša-* (and) bones, *ḥ.*, ability to speak (cf. Sasseville, PhD Diss., Section 10.2.1), ability to go, (eyelash), eyebrow, divine path.’

- (2) KUB 7.53 + 12.58 ii 9–12 (Tunnawi ritual, CTH 409; cf. Goetze 1938: 10f.; CHD L–N: 253)

9 *ku-i-e-eš-ša-an* ALAM-*ŠU ḥa-aš-ta-i mi-i-lu¹-li* (text: *mi-i-e-li*) *ke-e-ez*
 10 *pa-ap-ra-an-na-az ti-ia-ni-eš-ker e-la-ni-eš-ker ki-nu-na*
 11 *pa-ap-ra-an-na-aš al-wa-zé-na-aš* ALAM-*ŠU ḥa-aš-ta-i mi-i-lu-ú-li*
 12 *ka-a-ša* EGIR-*pa ti-ia-ni-eš-ke-mi e-la-ni-eš-ke-mi*

‘Whatever persons were binding and *e.-ing* his figure, bones and *mīlūli* with this impurity, now I am binding and *e.-ing* in return his figure, bones and *mīlūli* of the sorcerer of the impurity.’

Obviously, CLuw. ALAM-*ša/tārušša* matches Hitt. ALAM-*ŠU* ‘body’, CLuw. *hašša* matches Hitt. *haštai* ‘bones’ and, as a consequence, *mi(ya)šanza* is the equivalent of Hitt. *mīlūli*. Admittedly, the order of the three items is not the same, but Poetto adduces a parallel for the reverse order of items in body part lists: Luw. *lalpi- kuwannani-* ‘eyelash (and) eyebrow’ (KUB 35.45 ii 25) vs Hitt. *innera-laplipa-* ‘eyebrow (and) eyelash’ (KUB 9.34 iii 40’, iii 46’, HT 55, 6’f., KUB 24.12 ii 21, 32, iii 6’).

Hitt. *mīlūli* is understood not as “a specifically located body part, but a component of the human body more generalized” and tentatively rendered as “skin (?), flesh (?), soft tissue (?)” in CHD L-N: 253f. (with reference to the translation “Weichteile” in Götze 1938: 11, 77). In the same vein, Puhvel (HED M: 125) points out that ALAM ‘figure’ is a hyperonym of the hyponyms *haštai* and *mīlūli*, juxtaposed to form a merism. Thus, *haštai* denotes the hard bony part of the body and *mīlūli* everything else.

The same can be assumed for CLuw. *mi(ya)šanza*, but Poetto (1995: 34–36) concluded that its position between ‘figure’ and ‘bones’ strongly points to a more specific meaning “carne”. This seemed to be confirmed by an apparently evident correspondence with the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European word **mē(m)s-o-* ‘meat, flesh’. For the change **ē > iya* in PIE **mē(m)s-o- > CLuw. mi(ya)ša-*, which is a pre-requisite to this etymology, Poetto adduces a single parallel from Hittite: PIE **(h₁)ol-én + nominative -s* ‘cervid, stag’ *> aliyaš, aliyanaš* ‘roebuck’ (cf. already Neu 1987: 177).

In 2003, Norbert Oettinger posited a more general sound law, assuming that not only PIE **ē* developed into **iya*, but also the inherited short *i*-diphthongs **ei, oi, ai* first merged with long **ē* and finally ended up as *iya* in both Hittite and Luwian. He based this on very few examples from Hittite and Luwian:

CLuw. *mi(ya)ša-* ‘meat’,
 Hitt. *wantiyašta* ‘it became hot’,
 Hitt. *išhiyani-* ‘body hair’,
 Hitt. *wiyan-* ‘wine’, CLuw. *wini(ya)-* ‘of wine’, Hluw. *wi(ya)n(i)-* ‘vine’,
 Hitt. *aliyaš, aliyanaš* ‘roebuck’.

Typologically, diphthongizations of long vowels are common place and, therefore, would not be at all problematic. In contrast, the development does not take place in the instance of secondary *ē < *eh₁* and *é*, as already indicated by Oettinger 2003, 142 fn. 3, 144.

The idea seems to have gained a certain amount of support, and is considered possible in the dictionary *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon* (NIL: 486–488). However, attractive alternatives can be provided by new etymologies and morphological explanations. Moreover, the fact that the putative Luwian diphthongization rule is based on two Luwian examples only casts serious doubts on its validity. If the sound change can be shown to go back to the Proto-Anatolian period, as Oettinger seems to assume when he refers to Hittite examples, counter-examples of stable Hitt. \bar{e} from inherited $*\bar{e}$, $*ei$, $*oi$, $*ai$ have to be fit into the picture. If, however, we are dealing with a late change in the historic period, the examples adduced from Hittite are of little help. Therefore, before returning to Luwian *mi(ya)ša-* ‘meat’, a treatment of the other examples is in order.

§ 2. *Hitt. wantiyašta 3pl. prt. ‘it shone, it became hot’*

Oettinger claims that a 3sg. preterit form *wantiyašta* ‘it shone, it became hot’ (attested once in VSNF 12.106 ii 18) arose by diphthongization from the original form *wantešta* (KUB 48.80 i 9’), which belongs to the paradigm of the *hi*-Verb *wantai-/wante-/wanti(ya)-*.¹ This implies a development of the suffix $*-oi(h_1)-s > -ai-š$ and further, with addition of secondary *-ta*, to *-e-šta* (parallel to the development in the resegmented prototype 3sg. pret. $*noih_1-s$ ‘he turned’ $> nai-š + ta > ne-šta$ with root diphthong; cf. Sasseville, PhD Diss., Section 12.5, with references). Later, the diphthongization $*\bar{e} > iya$ was applied to the suffix (*wantešta > wantiyašta*). Oettinger explains *wantešta* as a historical spelling in order to square it with the assumed pre-historic date of his sound change. However, this does not solve the problem, since *-e-šta* itself arose only in historic, post-Old Hittite times from earlier *-ai-š* (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1970: 22f.; GrHL: 184 § 11.16), as mentioned above. Accepting *wantiyašta* as an example of $*\bar{e} > iya$ puts the change as late as the MH period, probably even later. In addition, this seems to be the only example of this sound change within dozens of verb forms ending in *-ešta* and *-išta* in the 3sg. preterit.

There is yet another serious obstacle to this scenario, since the only attestation of the form is far from assured (VSNF 12.106 ii 18, NH/NS).

1. Oettinger (2003) regards inchoative *wantēš(š)-* ‘to become hot’ in *wantešzi* as secondary (differently EDHIL: 954f.), but *wantēm(m)a-* and *wantewantema-* (beside *wantima-* and *wantiwantima-*) may point to a primary stative verb in $-\bar{e}- < *-eh_1-$. In this case, the form *wantešta* with $-ešta < *-eh_1-s-t$ cannot be the preform of *wantiyašta*, because $-\bar{e}- < *-eh_1-$ does not undergo diphthongization according to Oettinger (see above Section 1).



Otten, in his Mainz filecards, suggests \dot{U} -UL in front of putative *wantiyasta*, which would indeed at least indicate that the form is a verb, but Groddek (2002:151) is more cautious and reads x x *wa-an-ti-ja-aš-ta*. In fact, putative UL does not fit the traces because the initial Winkelhaken is too far away from the horizontals as can be seen in comparison with another UL sign later in the same line. Thus, the reading of the two signs before *wantiyasta* is open to discussion, as indicated by Groddek. Alternatively, we could envisage a noun in *-want-* in the dative/locative (...*wanti*), enlarged by a glide *-y-* and the local particle *-ašta*. Accordingly, there is probably no verbal form *wantiyašta* bearing witness to a sound change $*\bar{e} > iya$. It is a ghost word.

§ 3. *Hitt. išhiyaniuš acc. pl. c. 'body hairs'*

Oettinger's (2003: 142; differently 1983: 301) second example is *iš-ḪI-e-ni-uš* '(body)hair' (MH/NS) > *iš-ḫi-ia-ni-uš* (MH/NS). He reads the ambiguous ḪI sign as *ḫe* and interprets the word as /išḫenius/. Oettinger's equation with Latvian (*pa-*)*sainis* 'cord, string' < PIE $*sh_2ai-n-i-$ seems impeccable, at first sight, but according to Melchert (1994: 148) the *i*-diphthong in $*sh_2ai-n-i-$ should have been kept before the alveolar continuant (/l, n, r, s/), as can be seen in Hitt. *gaina-* 'in-law relative' < $*\hat{k}oi-no-$. In defense of Oettinger's etymology, it could be argued that the preservation of the diphthong $*oi$ in *gaina-* is due to its different vowel quality, while $*ai$ was regularly monophthongized to \bar{e} . Oettinger then proceeds to postulating the diphthongization of *išḫeni-* > *išḫiyani-*, which is attested only once, also in a New Script copy of the same Middle Hittite instruction. In addition, he claims that the form *išḫeni-* is restored.

However, there are two objections to this scenario. First, besides *iš-ḪI-e-ni-uš* and *iš-ḫi-ia-ni-uš*, also *iš-ḫi- \bar{i} -ni-uš* is attested in the same text (KUB 13.4 i 15', courtesy Miller, e-mail from July 15, 2019; cf. also Miller 2013: 389 fn. 488). Thus, the variation is comparable to that of the oblique stem of Hitt. *memiyan-* (from MH/MS, also OH/NS), *memin-* (only NH/NS), and *memien-* (1× OH/NS, 1×

NS) ‘word, deed, matter’ (for attestations see CHD L–N: 268f.). Considering that the strong stem figures consistently as *memiya-* and that the earliest manuscripts (MS) show *memiyan-*, the diphthong is certainly old, while the forms with *-i-* and *-ie-* are secondary.² Secondly, any phonological process may very well have been supported by a morphological one, an analogical remodeling after the frequent stem *išhiya-* ‘bind’, which does not only occur in the plural of the *hi-*verb *išhai-/iše-/iṣhiya-* and in the re-shuffled verb *išhiya-*, but also in another derivative, that is: *išhial-* ‘bond, band, belt’ (OH/NS).

§ 4. *Hitt. wiyān(a)-* ‘wine’, *CLuw. wini(ya)-* ‘of wine’, and *Hluw. wi(ya)n(i)-* ‘vine’

The third example is *Hitt. wiyān-* or thematic *wiyāna-* ‘wine’, *CLuw. wini(ya)-* ‘of wine’, and *Hluw. wi(ya)n(i)-* ‘vine’ (for a recent treatment of these words, see Schür 2019). Oettinger derives these words from **woih₁-no-* via monophthongization to **wēno-*, and the diphthongization rule to *wiyān-*. Although Oettinger does not say it explicitly, the laryngeal must have been lost already in Proto-Indo-European by Saussure’s Law *-oRH.CV- > -oR.CV-* (Nussbaum 1997). Accordingly, **woih₁-no-* develops into **woi-no-* and, as a consequence, **oi* comes to stand immediately before *n*. Then, however, the derivation is in conflict with that of *Hitt. gaina-* ‘in-law relative’, the reflex of PIE **koi-no-* mentioned earlier (see Section 3). No monophthongization to long ***ē* and subsequent diphthongization to ***iya* occurs here, and this counter-example implies that one of the two etymologies must be wrong.

It is *Hitt. wiyān(a)-* ‘wine’ and cognates for which we have an attractive alternative. Beekes (1987) derived athematic *wiyān-* from an ablauting *n*-stem **wéh₁-ōn-/*wih₁-én-/*wih₁-n-ós*. Kloekhorst’s modified derivation starts from **wih₁-on-/*wih₁-n-*. Translated into the Hoffmann/Schindler system of accent and ablaut types (see, e.g., Widmer 2004: 49–54), an originally amphikinetic paradigm **wéh₁-ōn-/*wéh₁-on-/*wih₁-n-és* would have developed into **wih₁-ōn-/*wih₁-on-/*wih₁-n-* through paradigmatic leveling as reconstructed by Kloekhorst. If, then, this pre-form or its thematized derivative is assumed for *Hitt. wiyān(a)-* ‘wine’, economy demands that we do the same for the derivatives *CLuw. wini(ya)-* ‘of wine’ and *Hluw. wi(ya)n(i)-* ‘vine’. As a result, the etymology of *CLuw. mi(ya)ša-*

2. Oettinger (1983: 300) himself explains *memieni* as the outcome of a Hittite umlaut rule by which *iya* becomes *ie* before *i* in the following syllable, i.e. *memiyani > memieni*. Here and in other words, the allomorphy is largely abandoned by means of paradigmatic leveling at a later stage. Moreover, the reverse change *ie > iya* occurs due to hypercorrection (Oettinger 1984: 52).

‘meat’ < PIE **mē(m)s-o-* ‘meat’ is the only reason to posit the diphthongization rule PIE **ē, (ai,) ei, oi > *ē > iya* in Luwian, in the first place. The rule is entirely *ad hoc*, and any counter-example such as Hitt. *gaina-* ‘in-law relative’ < **kōi-no-* renders it methodologically unacceptable within the framework of linguistic reconstruction.

§ 5. Hitt. *aliya(n)-* ‘roebuck’

Oettinger’s final example comes from Hittite. It is the *n*-stem *aliyaš*, gen. *aliyanaš* ‘roebuck’, which was identified by Erich Neu (1987: 177). It was also him who proposed the etymological connection with the root **(h₁)el-* ‘reddish, brown’ and its Balto-Slavic reflexes, i.e. OCS *jelenь* ‘deer’ < **(h₁)el-h₁en-i-*, Lith. *ėlnis* ‘deer’ < **(h₁)el-h₁n-io-*, OCS *alъnii* ‘of the does’, Latv. *ālnis* ‘elk’ < **(h₁)ol-h₁n-iH-* (Derksen 2008: 140, 368f.). More specifically, Oettinger (2003: 141f.) derives Hittite *aliyaš* via **alyā* + secondary nominative *-s* from **ol-ē*, which in turn is supposed to go back to PIE **(h₁)ol-h₁ēn*. Oettinger thus arbitrarily conflates the reconstructed derivational bases of two Balto-Slavic words in order to achieve the preform of the Hittite lexeme. No explanation for the *o*-grade root (instead of expected zero grade) in the hysterokinetic paradigm is given, and it is obvious that the secondary denominal derivatives as attested have undergone a good deal of reshuffling with regard to their roots and primary suffixes. Therefore, the argument of a full word equation cannot be upheld, and as a consequence, there is no positive reason to think that *-iya(n)-* in *aliya(n)-* is the reflex of the PIE suffix **-ē(n)-*. Moreover, numerous cases exist of final and non-final long **ē* in Hittite going back to inherited **ē* and **i*-diphthongs that never show diphthongization, such as *wēk-* ‘to ask for’ < **uēk-*, ŠÀ-*er* ‘heart’ < **kēr*, *utnē* < **ud-n-ēi* ‘land’, *kē* ‘these’ < **kōi*, Old Hitt. *-šše* ‘him’ < **-s(w)oi*, etc. (AHP: 142f., 148–150; Kimball 1999: 214f.; EDHIL: 99f.; for *-šše*, cf. also Yakubovich 2010: 169, 189 and Brosch 2011[2012]).

Oettinger (1983: 145) adduces Hitt. *kutruwaš*, *kutruenaš* ‘witness’ as a second example for **-ēn > *-yā* (+ secondary nominative *-s*): “**KuT-r-wē(n)* ‘rationale Darlegung habend’ > ... vorheth. **kutruyā* > *kutruā* > heth. *kutru(w)a-s* ‘Zeuge’.” In order to arrive at the same derivation for final *-aš* in *kutru(w)aš* and *-iyaš* in *aliyaš* he has to assume loss of **-y-* in intervocalic position. While this is possible, *kutru(w)aš* cannot be regarded as positive evidence for the earlier existence of **-y-*. In contrast, the case of the suffix nom. sg. c. *-umaš*, acc. sg. c. *-umenan* clearly shows that *-y-* is not necessarily involved in the development of the type and, more specifically, the nominative in *-aš*. Therefore, nothing speaks against a regular

phonological change $*-\acute{e}n+s > *-\acute{a}s$ in final position parallel to $*-\acute{e}n+s > -aš$ (as in the genitive of the verbal noun $*-\acute{u}én+s > -waš$; cf. Melchert 1994: 180).

Instead, an inner-Anatolian cognate of Hitt. *aliyaš*, *aliyanan* is available. Rieken and Yakubovich (2016) were able to show that the root **al-* ‘distant, foreign, wild, hostile’ is attested in several derivatives in Luwian, including *al(l)allā* ‘towards the enemy land’, *alašša/i-* ‘wild’, *alaššamma/i-* ‘wilderness’, *ala/i-* ‘distant’ and finally *aliya-* ‘wild animal’ in an Iṣtanuwa-Luwian incipit of a song. Of these, *aliya-* ‘wild animal’ continues **aly-eh₂-* based on **al-yo-* and derived with the individualizing (non-mutating) suffix *-a-* < **-eh₂-*. Hitt. *aliya(n)-* is a different, but functionally equivalent formation that goes back **alyo-(h₁)on-* with individualizing suffix **-(h₁)on-*. A secondary semantic specialization of ‘wild creature, wild animal’ could have easily led to the meaning ‘roebeek’ (cf. Engl. *deer* vs. NHG *Tier* ‘animal’).³

§ 6. *A new etymology for CLuw. mi(ya)ša-*

In the preceding sections, it was argued that Oettinger’s diphthongization rule PIE **ē*, (*ai*), *ei*, *oi* > **ē* > Hitt./Luw. *iya* is not tenable, because its few examples are based on doubtful attestations, have preferable morphological explanations, or are supported by vague etymological connections with better inner-Anatolian alternatives. Accordingly, Luw. *mi(ya)ša-* ‘flesh’ cannot go back to PIE **mē(m)s-o-* as suggested by Poetto and Oettinger. Furthermore, there is a more convincing etymology.

While it is clear, now, that the long form *miyaša-* did not develop from *miša-*, the short form can easily be derived from *miyaša-* by the well-known syncope of *-iya-* > *-ī-* (Mittelberger 1964: 74–76; Plöchl 2003: 20; Rieken 2017). Based on the attested nom./acc. sg. n. *miyašanza*, the analysis of its word structure is immediately obvious: *mi-* is the root, and *-aš-* is the primary suffix. The thematization with *-a-* is a recent secondary development, parallel to the reshaping of other neuter *s*-stems (and neuter consonant stems, in general) as thematic neuters (Melchert 2004: 473): HLuw. *harnis-* → *harnisa-* ‘fortress’ with nom./acc. sg. *harnisanza*, HLuw. *tanis-* → *tanisa-* ‘stele’ with nom./acc. sg. *tanisanza*, and accordingly **mi(ya)š-* →

3. Yakubovich (pers. comm.) prefers to keep the earlier connection with the root **(h₁)el-/*(h₁)ol-* ‘reddish, brown’ and its Balto-Slavic reflexes, but accepts the derivational chain proposed here, and arrives at a preform **(h₁)ol-yo-(h₁)on-*. Admittedly, the semantics is more straightforward, but then inner-Anatolian cognates are missing.

mi(ya)ša-. Finally, *-n-* in *mi(ya)ša-n-za* is the ending of the neuter nom./acc. sg., while *-za* is the allomorph of secondary ending *-ša*.

As pointed out in Section 1, *mi(ya)ša-* is the semantic equivalent to Hitt. *mīlūli-* ‘skin, flesh, soft tissue’ (with its variant *mālūli*; see CHD L-N: 253f.).⁴ Together with *hašša* ‘bone(s)’, the hard part of the body, it forms a merism to denote the entirety of the body. Therefore, it is not implausible to assume that the root *mi-* as analyzed in the preceding paragraph means something like ‘soft’. In fact, the root *mī-* ‘soft’ is well-known from Hittite. It is attested in the *u*-adjective *miu-*, *miyaw-* ‘soft, smooth, mild, pleasant’, its causative *minu-* ‘to soften; to placate’, *miummar* ‘kindness, softness’, *miešš-* ‘to become soft’, and perhaps also in the term for a kind of bread: ^{NINDA}*miumiu-* (see HEG L-N: 214, 221–223; EDHIL: 583f.; HED M: 170–174; with references). The Hittite root was connected to PIE **meih₁-* ‘mild, soft’ by Knobloch, as early as 1959. Its reflexes in other non-Anatolian languages are Skt. *máyas-* ‘pleasant food, joy, lust’, Lith. (Žem.) *mýlas* ‘nice, sweet’, Lith. *meilūs* ‘nice, sweet, tender’ and Lat. *mīlš* ‘nice, sweet, dear’, OCS *milb* ‘miserable’, Lat. *mītis* ‘mild, soft’, OIr. *mín* ‘soft, smooth’ and *móith* ‘fat, fruitful’ etc. (IEW: 711f., s.v. 7. *mēi-* : *mōi-* : *mī-*).

Two of these cognates are of special interest here. First, OIr. *moith* ‘fat, fruitful’ shows a semantic change to ‘fat’, a soft part of the body, which is a good typological parallel for the semantic change assumed for CLuw. *miyašanza*.

Secondly, Skt. *máyas-* goes back to a PIE *s*-stem **meih₁-e/os-*. In Luwian, the same form, **meih₁-(e/o)s-*, would develop into */miyas-/* by regular sound change: PIE **ei* is monophthongized to long *ī*, the laryngeal **h₁* is lost without trace, and both **es* and **os* become *as*, as attested in *miyas-a-*. Even if we started from a stem with zero grade suffix, **meih₁-s-*, the anaptyctic vowel between **h₁* and **s* would give rise to the same result */as-/*, as seen in CLuw. *a-a-aš-* ‘mouth’ < **h₁eh₁-s-* (Melchert 2010). Such exact word equation (root **meih₁* + *s*-suffix, following the

4. The shape of *mīlūli-*, spelled *mi-i-lu-ú-li*, is not without phonological complications due its two plene spellings, its variant *ma-a-lu-ú-li*, and its apparent interchangeability with *mili-*, *m(i)eli-* (a body part). Whether *mi(e)li-* belongs to the same lexeme remains unclear; cf. CHD L-N: 249f., 253f.; HED M: 124–126; HEG L-N: 185f., 210f. Therefore, the etymology of *mīlūli-* will not be pursued here. Although it is tempting to assume that CLuw. *mi(ya)ša-* and its functional equivalent in Hittite are derived from the same root and the Balto-Slavic reflexes attest to a derivative of the root made with the suffix *-lo-*: **meih₁-lo-* or, with zero grade, **mih₁-lo-* (Dercksen 2008: 317; Hock 2019: 726–728), which could also be the base of Hitt. *mīlūli-*, this has no direct impact on the etymology of CLuw. *mi(ya)ša-*.

proterokinetic accent and ablaut pattern) is an especially cogent argument for the correctness of a comparison.

If, then, the new etymology of CLuw. *mi(ya)ša-* is accepted, there is no good example for the sound change PIE * \bar{e} , (*ai*.) *ei*, *oi* > * \bar{e} > *iya* left, neither for Hittite nor for Luwian.

§ 7. Summary

The results obtained in the preceding discussion are summarized in the following list:

- the form *wantiyašta* turned out to be a ghost-word;
- the variants of *išhieni-* and *išhiani-* found a morphological explanation, while *išhīni-* is the outcome of a syncope;
- the derivation of *wiyani(ya)-* by Beekes and Kloekhorst was revived;
- a new etymology for Hittite *aliyaš*, *aliyanaš* ‘roebuck’ from **alyo-(h₁)on-* ‘wild animal’ was suggested, supported by Inner-Anatolian cognates in the large word-family of Iṣtanuwa-Luwian *aliya-* ‘wild animal’ etc.;
- it was possible to propose a new etymology for *mi(ya)šanza* with cognates in Hittite and a full word equation with Sankrit *máyas-*.

As a consequence, the alleged rule PIE * \bar{e} , (*ai*.) *ei*, *oi* > * \bar{e} > Hitt./Luw. *iya*, with all the philological and chronological problems it entails, can be given up easily.

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Die Infinitivformen des Lykischen aus synchroner und diachroner Perspektive¹

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§ 1. Für die lykischen Infinitive lassen sich synchron drei Ausgänge $-\tilde{V}/V(i)ne$ (uranat. $*-\tilde{o}$), $-\tilde{V}/V(i)na$ (uranat. $*-\tilde{a}$) und auch $-\tilde{V}/V(i)ni$ (uranat. $*-i$ bzw. $*-e_i$, s. u.) auf der Basis eines Gesamtmaterials von 13 Belegen erkennen. Bei diesen können drei Infinitivformen unterschieden werden, deren Erklärung weder in den Umlautregeln noch in einer geographischen bzw. chronologischen Verteilung (s. § 2) zu geben ist, sondern im indogermanischen Sprachvergleich. Die drei Formen können mehrere idg. Kasus eines Heteroklitikon auf $*-r/-n-$ (äußerlich und funktionell ähnlich wie $*-tr_0/-t(e)\eta_0-$ bzw. $*-ur_0/-u(e)\eta_0-$) widerspiegeln, die die Reste einer ursprünglichen Kasusfunktion (Quasi-Infinitiv: Form = Funktion) erhalten

1. Eine erste Fassung der vorliegenden Studie wurde 2014 innerhalb meiner Doktorarbeit ‚Sprachkontakt im alten Anatolien: Das Lykische aus synchroner und diachroner Perspektive‘ geschrieben (und in der revidierten Fassung grundsätzlich erhalten, Serangeli 2018b: 75–93). Diese zweite Fassung bezieht neben der neuen Interpretation einiger Infinitivformen die Anpassung nach dem neuen Forschungsstand ein. Die Abkürzung TL und N wird für die Inschriften in Kalinka 1901 bzw. Neumann 1979 verwendet. Für kritische Diskussion und Anmerkungen bedanke ich mich herzlich bei Birgit Christiansen (Wien), Heiner Eichner (Wien), H. Craig Melchert (UCLA) und José Luis García Ramón (CHS Washington/Harvard), mit dem ich die erste Fassung dieses Aufsatzes im Detail diskutiert habe. Für die Verbesserung der deutschen Fassung bin ich Felix Thies (Köln) und Thomas Olander (København) dankbar. Für den Inhalt des Beitrages bin natürlich nur ich verantwortlich.

haben oder schon komplett (echter Infinitiv: Form \neq Funktion) grammatikalisiert wurden.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird zuerst versucht zu zeigen, dass das Lykische zur Gruppe der Sprachen mit ‚echten Infinitiven‘ (§ 3–6) gehört. Auf der Basis der an dieser Stelle wiedergegebenen Daten wird desweiteren eine mögliche Rekonstruktion der Formen vorgeschlagen, die sich dem anatolischen Szenario gut anpasst (§ 7–8). Letztendlich werden einige Schlussfolgerungen gezogen (§ 9).²

§ 2. Ausgeschlossen bleiben muss, das Nebeneinander der drei Formen als Resultat (a) des lykischen Umlauts, (b) einer geographischen oder (c) einer chronologischen Verteilung zu interpretieren.

2. Außer Betracht müssen drei Gruppen von Formen bleiben, mit denen man nicht viel anfangen kann: (a) Das Verb, mit dem der Infinitiv entweder als Aktant oder als Zirkumstant verbunden ist, bzw. die Infinitivform ist syntaktisch unklar. Siehe *madrane* (zu *madra*-?) Antiphellos TL 55.1-2 (der Übersetzungsvorschlag von Schürr 1997: 137 bleibt m.E. nicht überzeugend); *erijeina* ‚erheben‘ (zu *eri(je)*-) Tlos TL 29.4,6 (Lesung nach Tekoğlu 2006), welches höchstwahrscheinlich von *smma*- ‚verpflichten‘ abhängig ist und zu den Kompletivsätzen gehört. (b) Die ganze Passage ist zu lückenhaft, siehe *kumezeini* (*kumezei*- ‚opfern‘) Isinda TL 65.11–12. (c) Die Bestimmung einiger *hapax*-Formen als Infinitivformen bleibt nicht überzeugend. Siehe *ēñne* TL 44a. 32 (vermutlich die Basisform für das *hapax*-Adjektiv *ēñnei* 44b.16 (aus **ennei(je)*-?), wie auch für Melchert 2004³: 21), *zrppudeine* 44b. 46, Lyk. B *ewēne* 44d. 20, *ilēne* 44d. 37, *erizāna* 44b. 4, *zēna* 44d. 59 (zu *ze*-?). Die Interpretation von *xz(z)una* TL 35.14, 18 als die einzige lykische Infinitivform auf *-u*- ist von der attraktiven Verbindung mit den luwischen Infinitiven auf *-una* beeinflusst. Zu derselben Gruppe gehört vermutlich die Passage TL 149.13–15 *me=ti mazaiti terē: ekē[...][...] tike: hrppi=ttāne: kbi pddē=te*, wobei der Infinitiv *ttāne* (+*hrppi*) ‚hinauflegen‘ nicht von *mazaiti* sondern von einem Verb in *lacuna* abhängig sein könnte. Im Falle, dass die neuliche Ergänzung von TL 112.3 *ēkepi: mñnuhe: lasan . . t .* (Kalinka 1901: 78–79) als *lasa^fne¹ti* (Christiansen 2020: 242–243 mit einer neuen Zeichnung des Abklatsches) bestimmt wird, wäre der früher vorgeschlagene Lesungsvorschlag der Form *lasan* als *lasane* bzw. als mögliche Infinitivform entkräftet, vgl. *lasan[e ñ]t[e] me=i* (Melchert 2001, s.v.; für die Folge *ñte mei* siehe N 306.3 *hri ñte mei: alahadi*) und *lasan[e] t[ade]* (Hajnal 1995: 110 Anm. 100). Einerseits ist eine finite Verbform an dieser Stelle erwartet, da das Nebeneinander des Infinitivs und der Konjunktion *ēkepi* dadurch vermieden wird (obwohl dieses m.E. nicht unerklärbar wäre, vgl. griech. *πρίν* ‚bevor‘ mit Infinitiv mit und ohne Subjektswechsel, siehe Serangeli 2018a: insb. 323): *ēkepi*^{Konj.}: *mñnuhe*^{Nom.Sg.}: *lasa^fne¹ti*^{Präs.3.Sg.}. Andererseits lässt diese Lesung aber keinen Raum für *ñte me=i*, das für eine Protasis im Lykischen erwartet ist, siehe *lasan[e ñ]t[e] me=^fi* [*alahadi*: *tike: tibe* (Melchert 2001, TL 112.3–4). Schließlich kann die Möglichkeit eines Denominativs aus einem Substantiv **lasa-* (plus Suffigierung) zu *la-* ‚sterben‘ oder *la-* ‚erlauben‘ nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Aus allen diesen Gründen wird diese Form im vorliegenden Aufsatz nicht in Betracht genommen und die Interpretation von *lasan** als Infinitivform muss daher als ungesichert bleiben.

(a) Gegen die Wirkung des Umlauts im Falle von *-e#* bzw. *-a#*, die daher als bloße Allomorphe zu verstehen wären, spricht die Tatsache, dass der Umlaut bzw. *Metaphonie* rückwirkend ist (**/e_a/ > /a_a/*, **/a_e/ > /e_e/*, **/a_i/ > /e_i/*) und daher nur der zweite Vokal, nicht der erste, für die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Situation entscheidend ist: daher sind *-e#* und *-a#* nicht durch Metaphonie bedingt.³

(b) Es lässt sich keine geographische Verteilung feststellen. Die Ausgänge *-a#* und *-e#* sind von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen (*ttāna* (+ *hrppi*) TL 58.4 Antiphellos, *ttāne* (+ *hrppi*) TL 149.14 Rhodiapolis, *kumezeine* TL 44b. 45 Xanthos, 150.9 Rhodiapolis) an demselben Ort belegt: *ñtepi tane* TL 39.6, *ñtepi xlaina* TL 44a. 49 Xanthos, *hrppi ttāna* TL 58.4, *aladehxxāne* TL 57.4 Antiphellos, *aladehāne* (oder *aladexāne* TL 112.4 Limyra, siehe die neue Lesung von Christiansen 2020: 241), *hrppi ttāne* TL 149.14, *kumezeine* TL 150.9 Rhodiapolis. Der noch umstrittene Infinitivausgang *-i#* (2×, s.u. § 8 im Detail) ist in Isinda und in Rhodiapolis belegt (*kumezeini* TL 65.11 Isinda, *zasāni* TL 150.9 Rhodiapolis).

(c) Die Chronologie lässt keine Präzisierung zu: die wenigen Inschriften, die sich nach internen bzw. paläographischen Kriterien⁴ in relativer Chronologie einordnen lassen, lassen kein Verteilungsprinzip erkennen: einerseits sind *-a#* und *-e#* in einer älteren Phase (5.-4. Jhd.) in Xanthos (TL 44a. 49, 55 *-a*, TL 44b. 45 *-e*) wie auch in der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jhd. in Antiphellos (TL 57.3 *-e*, TL 58.4 *-a*) und Tlos (TL 29.4 *-a*) belegt, andererseits kommt ab Mitte des 4. Jhd. nur der Ausgang *-e#* (Trilingue von Letoon N 320, Xanthos TL 39, Antiphellos TL 55) vor. Auch der Versuch, eine Tendenz zum Gebrauch von *-a#* in den älteren Texten eher als in den jüngeren (vgl. lyk. B *madrane!*) herauszustellen, ist m. E. wohl *ad hoc*, da es sich um zu wenige Belege handelt, die keine zeitliche Unterteilung zulassen.

3. Auch im externen Sandhi (vgl. *ñte tadē* TL 47.3 ~ *ñtatadē* TL 4.4a, *ñte tāti* TL 75.2 ~ *ñtatāti* TL 84.2) spielt der Umlaut für das Entstehen der Infinitivausgänge keine Rolle, da das lykische Szenario nicht die notwendigen Umlautbedingungen darbietet: u.a. *kumez[e]ine: uhazata* TL 44b. 44 f., *xlaina terñ* TL 44a. 50, *tabāna terñ*, *zxxāna terñ*, *tebāna terñ*, TL 44a. 52 ff., *erijeina a*[, *erijeina: xexebēñti* TL 29.4,6, *ñtepi tane s=e* TL 39.6, *madrane: wirasajaja* TL 55.1, *aladehxxāne: se* TL 57.5, *ttāna hrppi* TL 58.4, *kumezeini: teteri* TL 65.12, *ttāne kbi* TL 149.15, *zasāni xadrñna* TL 150.9, *asñne pzziti* N 320.41.

4. Abgesehen von der Datierung nach den lokalen Herrschernamen, die in den lykischen Datierungsformulas erwähnt sind, bleiben Datierungskriterien für die lykische Inschriften ein umstrittenes Thema, siehe z.B. das hakenförmige bzw. runde /p/ oder das /b/ mit zwei oder nur einem Bogen. Für eine erste systematische Arbeit über interne und paläographische Datierungskriterien der lykischen Inschriften siehe Rix 2016 und neulich Christiansen, im Erscheinen und im Druck.

§ 3. In Kompletivsätzen (d. h. mit Objektsfunktion) kommen fünf Belege vor: *kumezeine* ‚opfern‘ [1], *tabāna* ‚besiegen‘ [2], *aladehāne* ‚zuordnen‘ [3], *ttāne* (+ *hrppi*) ‚hinauflegen‘ [4], *ttāna* (+ *hrppi*) ‚hinauflegen‘ [5].

Es sei zunächst auf die Infinitivformen eingegangen, die hinsichtlich der syntaktischen Funktion weniger Interpretationsschwierigkeit mit sich bringen:

kumezeine ‚opfern‘ [1] (: *kumez(e)i-*) wird von der Periphrase *θr̄m̄mā pibijeti* ‚jdm. den Befehl geben‘ regiert, welche lyk. *θr(e)i-* ‚anordnen‘ (**d^herH-*) entspricht, vgl. in derselben Inschrift 3. Sg. Prät. *θride* TL 44b. 60.

tabāna ‚besiegen‘ [2] (: *tebe-*, mit *e/a*-Umlaut) wird von *pabra-* ‚(führen→) antreiben, den Auftrag geben‘ (: luw. *papra-* ‚führen‘)⁵ regiert.

aladehāne oder *aladexāne* ‚zuordnen‘ [3]⁶ wird von *mar-* ‚ermächtigen, befehlen‘ regiert.⁷

[1] (Xanthos)TL 44b. 44–45 [.m]ei: *θr̄m̄mā: pibijeti: xurzazē: kumez[e]ine: uhazata: wawā: trisñni*

‚Und (er?) gibt den Befehl den *xurzazē* (Bildnern?),⁸ ein dreijähriges Rind als Jahresopfergabe zu opfern‘.

5. Dergestalt interpretieren auch Starke 1990: 134 und Shevoroshkin 1978: 236. Eine Interpretation als *verbum dicendi* schlagen Schürr 1998: 152 ff. und Melchert 2004³: 47 (‚to urge‘) aus dem Kontext vor. Innerhalb des Lykischen vgl. auch *pabla-* ‚verfolgen, jagen‘ TL 89.4, vermutlich mit *l/r* Wechsel (vgl. *atli/atri-* ‚selber‘).

6. Nach der neuen Lesung *aladehāne* oder *aladexāne* (TL 112.4 statt *alade[h]x[xāne*, vgl. TL 57) von Christiansen 2020: 241–242. Eine Bedeutung ‚zuordnen‘ für das Verb *ala(de)ha-* (Christiansen 2020: insbes. 241 ‚to allocate‘) ist m.E. zutreffend, *pace* Eichner 1993: 239 *alaha-* ‚beisetzen‘ = ‚bestatten, danebenlegen‘ (**seh₁-* ‚loslassen‘), Christiansen 2011 ‚autorisieren‘ (= griech. *συνχωρησαι* wie schon Arkwright 1923: 21), Melchert 2015 *alaha-* ‚(anderswohin) transportieren‘ (**seh₂-* ‚binden‘).

7. Die Form bleibt umstritten. Die 3.Sg.Präs. *martti* setzt vermutlich eine Wurzel mit *u*-Erweiterung voraus, die sich wie folgendes rekonstruieren lässt: **mérH-u-ti* > **mérrudi* > (mit Umlaut /*e_u/* > /*a_u/*) **márrudi* > **marrdi*. Unklar bleibt die mögliche Alternanz mit /*l/*, vgl. LIV²: 446 **mleuh₂-* ‚sprechen‘, toch. B *palwam* (Schmidt 1982: 365 Anm. 21), ai. *BRAV¹*, aav. *mrao¹*, jav. *mraoiti* ‚er spricht‘. In der Nominalmorphologie vgl. auch lyk. *mere-* (1x *mara-*) ‚Gesetz‘ < **morH₂o-* (-*r₂*- > *rr-*: *mor₂o-* > *merre-*) bzw. **mórh₂o-* (zu **merh₂-* ohne Erweiterung), pal. *mārḥa-* ‚Gast‘ (vgl. Verb *marḥa-* ‚jdm. sich vorstellen, als Gast kommen‘ Yakubovich 2005: 119 Anm. 40), lyd. *mruvaa-* (Gusmani 1964: 168 f.). Dieses Verb könnte eine zweite Form in *marḥi* TL 112.5 finden, welche als Präs.3.Pl. analysiert werden könnte (Christiansen 2020: 242).

8. Formell könnte *xurzazē* entweder ein Genitiv Plural in dativischer Funktion oder ein Akkusativ Singular (Adjektiv abhängig von *θr̄m̄mā*?) vorliegen. Die Form scheint mir auf die Substantive auf *-(a)za-* (vgl. heth. *kuer-* ‚schneiden‘, lyk. *xurz(e)i-* 1x TL 44b 43) zurückzuführen (für die

<i>m]ei</i>	<i>θrñmã:</i>	<i>pibijeti:</i>	<i>xurzazê</i>	<i>kumez[e]ine:</i>
und. KONJ	Befehl.AKK.SG	geben.3.SG.PRÄS	GEN.PL	opfern.INF

<i>uhazata</i>	<i>wawã</i>	<i>trisñni</i>
Jahresopfergabe.AKK.PL	Rind.AKK.SG	dreijähriger.AKK.SG

[2] (Xanthos)TL 44a. 51–53 *se haxlaza: pabrati: xbide: hri=xñtawatahi: ese tabãna: terñ: ijãñã: ijalusas krzz[ã]nase: hãtahe*

„Als (ihm) der Gouverneur der Oberherrschaft in Kaunos den Auftrag gab, den Griechen aus der Stadt Ialysos auf der Chersones in Ehre des Kriegsgottes zu besiegen“.⁹

<i>se</i>	<i>haxlaza</i>	<i>pabrati</i>	<i>xbide</i>
und.KONJ	NOM.SG	den Auftrag geben.3.SG.PRÄS	Kaunos.LOK.SG

<i>hrixñtawatahi</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>tabãna</i>	<i>terñ</i>
oberköniglich. NOM.SG.GEN.ADJ.	PRÄV	INF	als.KONJ

<i>ijãñã</i>	<i>Ija<l>usasi</i>	<i>krzz[ã]nase:</i>	<i>hãtahe</i>
ionisch. AKK.SG	EthnikonAKK.SG.	Chersonesos. D.-LOK.	GEN.SG

[3] (Limyra) TL 112.3–4 *me=ʳi¹ [ala²]hadi: tike: tibe=me=i: martti: tdike kbi aladeʳh¹ãne*

„Wenn (jemand) irgendjemanden hinein zuordnet oder wenn (jemand) ermächtigt, jemand anderen zuzuordnen“.¹⁰

<i>me=</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>[ala²]hadi</i>
wenn KONJ	hinein LOK.ADV	zuordnen. 3SG.PRÄS

<i>tike</i>	<i>tibe</i>	<i>me=</i>
INDEF.PRON.AKK.SG	oder.KONJ	wenn.KONJ

luwo-lykischen *aza*-Formen siehe Laroche 1979: 98–100, Eichner 1983: 58, Bryce 1986: 130–138, Starke 1990: 363 f., Isebaert-Lebrun 2010).

9. Nach der neuen Interpretation und Lesung von Sasseville (im Erscheinen).

10. Nach Christiansens Übersetzung (2020: 243) „(if) one assigns (?) anyone ther[ei]n or (if) one commands anyone else to allocate/assign(?) [...]“. Es sei bemerkt, dass man lieber *ñte: me=i* anfangs der Protasis erwarten würde (s. Anm. 2).

<i>i</i>	<i>martti</i>	<i>tdike</i>
hinein. LOK.ADV	ermächtigen. 3.SG.PRÄS	INDEF.PRON. AKK.SG
<i>kbi</i>	<i>alade^fh¹äne</i>	
INDEF.PRON.AKK.SG	zuordnen.INF.	

Demgegenüber stellen die Formen *ttäne* und *ttāna* (beide aus *ta-* (+ *hrppi*) ‚hinauflegen‘ zu **d^heh₁-* ‚setzen‘) einen Sonderfall dar, da beide Ausgänge *-a* und *-e* für dasselbe Verb vermutlich in identischem Kontext und Funktion erscheinen und von demselben Verb *ma-* ‚wagen‘(?) regiert werden könnten (s.u. [4]-[5]). Die Verbalform *ttāna* (+ *hrppi*) kommt nämlich in einer sehr lückenhaften Passage [5] vor, wo das Rektionsverb nicht belegt ist. Allerdings scheint Schürrs Ergänzungsvorschlag des Hauptverbes *ma-* und des Beisetzungverbots (Schürr 2001, *contra* Melchert 2004³: 49 *pema-*) durch den Vergleich mit der Inschrift TL 49 (*mati ... ttäne* (+ *hrppi*), vgl. [4]) plausibel, da die Struktur der Inschriften sehr ähnlich ist und die *lacuna* (von ca.19 Zeichen) dadurch gut gelöst wäre (Schürr 2001).¹¹

[4] (Xanthos) TL 49 (*ebehi: isbazi: m(i)=ije=sijēni: padrñma: kumaza:*)
me=ije nepe mati tike: kbi hrppi=ttäne

‚(in dieser Kammer liegt der Priester *Padrñma*.) Nun soll man hier aber nicht *wagen* (o.ä.), irgendwen anderen *dazuzulegen*‘.

<i>me=</i>	<i>ije</i>	<i>nepe</i>	<i>mati</i>
KONJ=	herein. ADV	NEG	wagen [?] . 3.SG.PRÄS.

<i>tike:</i>	<i>kbi</i>	<i>hrppi=ttäne</i>
INDEF.PRON.AKK.SG	INDEF.PRON. AKK.SG	hinauflegen. INF

[5] (Antiphellos) TL 58.3–4 [...] *upe^rzi¹de [st]tati tdi ēti: sbelimi: sijēni teli se lada: [me=ije nepe mati tike: kbi][?] ^r*hrppi*¹=ttāna*

11. Entscheidend ist auch der Vergleich mit TL 128.2 *isbazi: amu [si]xani teli: se [l]ada* ‚in dieser Kammer wo ich und (meine) Gattin liege‘ und TL 75.2 *s=ene ñte: tāti tdi i^fs¹bazi: me=ije: ni hr[ppi] tātu: tike* ‚Und in welcher auch sie ihn hinlegen, in der Kammer nun hier sollen sie nicht irgendwen *dazulegen*‘ (Schürr 2001: 144ff.).

,[und] an welchem auch sie [hin?] den Upezi[?] außer[dem](?) legen, an dem Platz, wo Sbelimi ruht und die Gattin. [Nun soll man hier aber nicht wagen (o.ä.)], irgendwen anderen dazuzulegen‘ (nach Schürr 2001: 144–145).¹²

[me=	ije	nepe	mati
KONJ=	herein. ADV	NEG	wagen [?] . 3.SG.PRÄS.

tike:	kbi]	†hrppi ¹ =ttāna
INDEF.PRON. AKK.SG	INDEF.PRON. AKK.SG	hinauflegen. INF

Fazit: für die Infinitive in Objektsfunktion werden beide Ausgänge *-e* (*kumezeine* ‚opfern‘ [1], *aladehāne/aladexāne* ‚zuordnen‘ [3], *ttāne* (+ *hrppi*) ‚hinauflegen‘ [4], und *-a* (*tabāna* ‚besiegen‘ [2], *ttāna* (+*hrppi*) ‚hinauflegen‘ [5]) gebraucht.

§ 4. Die Infinitivformen (mit *-a#*, *-e#*, *-i#*) sind acht Mal in finaler Funktion belegt. Einerseits als Zirkumstant in Sätzen, wo die Rektion des Hauptverbs schon erfüllt ist: *zxxāna* ‚bekämpfen‘, *tebāna* ‚besiegen‘ [6], *xlaina* (+ *ñtepi*) ‚inkorporieren (oder ähnl.)‘ [7], *aladehxxāne* ‚für eine Zuordnung bereit machen‘ [8], *kumezeine* ‚opfern‘ [9], andererseits in prädikativer bzw. deontischer Funktion (§ 5) mit explizitem (*tane* (+ *ñtepi*) [11] ‚hineinlegen‘) oder implizitem *es-* ‚sein‘ (*asñne* [10] ‚durchführen‘, und vermutlich *zasāni* [12] ‚(eine Portion) zuteilen‘.

Zunächst zu den rein finalen Infinitiven:

[6] *zxxāna* ‚kämpfen‘ (: *zxxa-*, vgl. heth. *zaxḫ-*) und *tebāna* (zu *tebe-* ‚besiegen‘) als Zirkumstant zu *trbbe-* ‚treten (gegen)‘ (vgl. luw. *tarpa-* ‚(an)treten‘).¹³

[7] *xlaina* (+ *ñtepi*) ‚inkorporieren, einbeziehen‘ (: *xlai-* ‚unter Kontrolle nehmen‘) als Zirkumstant zu *tebe-* ‚besiegen‘.

[8] *aladehxxāne* ‚für eine Zuordnung bereit machen‘ (: **alahxxa-* Faktitiv zu *alaha-*) als Zirkumstant zu *pijētē: pijatu* ‚eine Gabe geben‘ zu interpretieren.¹⁴

12. Lyk. *upezide* könnte keinen PN sondern einen Gegenstand sein, siehe die Interpretation der Passage TL 58.3–4 bei Christiansen 2020: 236: [...]*upe'zi'de [st]tati tdi ēti: sbelimi: sijēni teli se lada: [.....] 'hrppi'=tt.na* ‚[...]on which [...] *upezide*(?) is/will be [pl]aced, where Sbelimi lies and the wife. (4) [..... not] to place^(inf) [on] top/[in] addition“.

13. Das Lykische zeigt in diesem Fall wie das Luwische eine Doppelableitung: lyk. *trbbe-* und *trbb(e)i-* ‚treten (gegen)‘ (1x, TL 44c. 10), vgl. luw. *tarpa-* und *tarp(a)i-* ‚trampeln, (an)treten‘. Zahlreiche Beispiele davon bietet das Luwische, obwohl die Gründe dieser doppelten Struktur noch nicht geklärt sind, siehe z.B. k.-luw. *kuwal(a)- ~ kuwal(a)i-* ‚sich drehen‘, (Rieken 2004: 465–466).

[9] *kumezeine* ‚opfern‘ (: *kumezei-*) als Zirkumstant des prädikativen Infinitivs *zasāni* (*zasāni* (*esi*) ‚ist zuzuteilen‘) (vgl. [12]).

[6] (Xanthos) TL 44a. 53–55 *mukale: tewēt[e]: sāma=ti: trbbetē: turaxssi: zxxāna terñ: ese: humrxxā: tebāna terñ: hātahe* [...]

„Als er den Thorax am Mykale(-Gebirge), der Samos gegenüber (liegt), bestieg, *um* einen Kampf zu liefern und *um* Amorges in Ehre des Kriegsgottes zu besiegen“. ¹⁵

<i>mukale:</i>	<i>tewēt[e]:</i>	<i>sāma</i>	<i>ti</i>	
ON. D.-LOK.SG	in Sicht von. D.-LOK	ON. LOK.SG	REFL.PART	
<i>trbbetē</i>	<i>turaxssi</i>	<i>zxxāna</i>	<i>terñ</i>	<i>ese:</i>
treten gegen.3.SG.PRÄT	ON. AKK.SG	bekämpfen. INF	als.KONJ	PRÄV
<i>humrxxā:</i>	<i>tebāna</i>	<i>terñ:</i>	<i>hātahe</i>	
PN. AKK.SG	bekämpfen.INF	als.KONJ	GEN.ADJ.	

[7] (Xanthos) TL 44a. 48–50 *medbijahe: ese: xerēi: tebete: [t]er[ñ] se waxsseppdimi: ēti: zehi: hbāti: CII: u^rle¹⁷ [...] ñtepi: xlaina terñ hātahe: āka: herikle*

„Als er Xerei und Waxsseppdimi im weinfarbenen (Meer) innerhalb eines Tages in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte, als sie vermochten, über sieben Schiffe die Oberhand zu haben, genauso wie Herakles (auch tat)“. ¹⁶

<i>medbijahe</i>	<i>ese:</i>	<i>Xerēi:</i>	<i>tebete:</i>	<i>[t]er[ñ]</i>
weinfarbenerADJ.GEN	KONJ	PN.AKK. SG	3.SG.PRÄT	als.KONJ

14. Die Struktur [*geben* – SUBSTANTIV_{DAT.} – INFINITIV/QUASI-INFINITIV] ist als Finalsatz im Sinne von Gippert (1978: 249–250) zu interpretieren, vgl. u. a. heth. KBo 4.4 iv 13 (2) *n=an* ^{URU}*Hattuši ħumanti šaruwi maniyahhun* ‚und ich überließ sie ganz Hattusa zur Beute‘ (siehe auf derselben Keilschrifttafel KBo 4.4. iv 21 im entsprechenden Kontext *šaruwanzi* statt *šaruwi*, Götze 1933: 134; 136), (Quasi-Infinitiv) Plaut. *Most.* 1086–7 *seruos ... dare suos mihi ... quaestioni* ‚mir seine Sklaven zu geben ... zur Befragung‘.

15. Nach der möglichen Interpretation von *terñ* als Konjunktion von Sasseville (im Erscheinen).

16. Übersetzung nach Sasseville (im Erscheinen). Anders als D. Sasseville bleibe ich aber der Meinung, dass die Lesung des Zahlwortes eindeutig CII und nicht OII ist (Autopsie des Pfeilers im August 2013, vgl. Fellows 1842, Borchardt-Eichner 1997-1999: 88, Schürr 1998: 152 *et alii, pace* Melchert 2004³: 76). Eine Bedeutung ‚Schiff‘ bleibt für *ule* nur aus dem Kontext möglich. Der Vergleich von *ule* mit h.-luw. *wala-* (+ *awi-* ‚kommen‘) mit Vokalwechsel *wal-/ul-* (vgl. aber lyk. *la-* ‚sterben‘) bleibt verlockend (Borchardt-Eichner 1997–99: 37 Anm. 18).

<i>se</i>	<i>Waxssepddimi:</i>	<i>ēti:</i>	<i>zehi:</i>
und.KONJ	PN.AKK.SG	innerhalb. PRÄP	Tag.ADJ.GEN
<i>hbāti:</i>	CII:	<i>u^lle¹⁷</i>	<i>ñtepi</i>
3.PL.PRÄS. [?]	sieben.ZAHL	Schiff [?] .DAT.PL.	hinein. PRÄV
<i>xlaina</i>		<i>terñ</i>	<i>hātahe</i> <i>āka</i> <i>herikle</i>
unter Kontrolle nehmen. INF	als.KONJ	GEN.SG	wie. ADV GN. NOM

[8] (Antiphellos) TL 57.4–5 *se=i pi^lj¹ētē: pijatu: miñti: ētri xupu: sixli: aladehxxāne*

„Sie gaben der Mindis eine Gabe, um das untere Grab für einen Schekel für die Zuordnung bereit zu machen“.

<i>se=</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>pi^lj¹ētē:</i>	<i>pijatu:</i>	<i>miñti:¹⁷</i>
und.KONJ	darin.ADV	geben.3.PL.PRÄT	Gabe.AKK	Mindis.DAT

<i>ētri:</i>	<i>xupu:</i>	<i>sixli:</i>	<i>aladehxxāne</i>
unter.AKK	Grab.AKK	Schekel.DAT	für die Zuordnung bereit machen.INF

[9] (Rhodiapolis)TL 150.9 *Xssēñzijaje hberuse zasāni xadrñna uhazata kumezeine¹⁸*

„Dem (: zugunsten des) Xssēñzija hberuse ist (eine Portion) zuzuteilen, um alljährliche Mehlspeisespende zu opfern“.

17. Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist die Analyse von *miñti* als Dativ m.E. die beste, siehe Neumann 1970: 58-59, Melchert 2015: 157: „and he deposited in it for the mindis for its oath four adas for the transferal“, und Christiansen 2020: 208-209 „and they have given a gift/fee/charge/delivery(?) to the *miñti* (in order) to make the lower chamber ready for allocation(?) for (one) shekel“, pace Bryce 1976: 188 und Anm. 38: „the *miñti* has made with them the following agreement: for the arranging / preparing of the corpse, a fee of X Adas“.

18. Der Satz ist selbständig und nicht vom vorkommenden Verb *qas-* ‚zerstören, bestrafen‘ (3.Sg.Präs. *qastti*) abhängig (Melchert 2004³: 87, pace Hajnal 1995: 133).

<i>Xssēñzijaje</i>	<i>hberuse</i>	<i>zasāni</i>	<i>xadrñna</i> ¹⁹
PN.DAT.SG	(Epitheton?)	(eine Portion)	aus Getreide bestehende.KOLL.AKK
		zuteilen.INF	
<i>uhazata</i>		<i>kumezeine</i>	
jährliche Opferspende.KOLL.AKK		opfern.INF	

Fazit: für die Infinitive mit reiner Finalfunktion werden beide Ausgänge *-e* (*aladehxxāne* ‚um bestatten zu lassen‘ [8], *kumezeine* ‚um zu opfern‘ [9]) und *-a* (*zxxāna* ‚um zu bekämpfen‘, *tebāna* ‚besiegen‘ [6], *xlaina* (+ *ñtepi*) ‚um zu inkorporieren‘ [7]) gebraucht.

§ 5. Es sind ferner drei Infinitivformen mit prädikativer Funktion belegt:

asñne ‚machen‘ [10] (: *as-* Iterativ zu *a(i)-* ‚machen‘); *ta-* (+ *ñtepi*) ‚hineinlegen‘ [11] (: *ta-* ‚setzen‘); *zasāni* ‚eine Portion erbringen‘ [12] (: *zas-* Iterativ zu **za-* ‚(eine Portion) zuteilen‘) (vgl. [9]).²⁰

Sie zeigen folgende Merkmale: (a) das logische Subjekt kann entweder im Nominativ [10], welches daher mit dem grammatischen Subjekt übereinstimmt,²¹ bzw. im Dativ [11]²² stehen oder es kann implizit (Impersonalsatz) [12] sein; (b) das Objekt des Infinitivs kann auch in Dativ stehen (s.u. im Detail) [11].

[10] (Letoon) N 320.41 *me=hriqla asñne pzziti= ti*

19. Der Übersetzungsvorschlag ist durch die mögliche Entsprechung mit heth. *ḫattar-* ‚eine Getreidesorte‘ (KUB 11.14 i 16 f., vgl. HED 4: 74) begründet (Neumann 2007: 109), obwohl der doppelte Dental im Hethitischen nicht problemlos bleibt (siehe aber KBo 13.119 iii 21 *ḫatar*, vgl. lat. *ador* ‚Spelt‘, heth. *ḫat-ḫhi* ‚vertrocknen‘ Watkins 1973).

20. Die Analyse von *zasāni* lässt das Problem des Vokals /a/ offen, da kein anderer Infinitiv unter den Iterativa den Vokal /a/ (siehe *as-*, *qas-*) zeigt, welcher sich vermutlich sekundär entwickelt hat. Bez. der Analyse von *zasāni* als möglichem Infinitiv s. u. § 8 und Anm. 30, und Serangeli 2018a: insbes. 323.

21. Vgl. heth. KUB 23.11 iii 9 f. *INA KUR*^{URU} *Aššuwa lahḫiyawanzi ešun* ‚I was to go on campaign (I was to fight) in the land of A‘ (Melchert 1999: 77). Dieselbe Konstruktion schlägt Heiner Eichner für lyk. *ese* ‚war‘ (kein Präverb) plus Infinitiv (2005: 31 Anm. 167) vor.

22. Vgl. h.-luw. ALEPPO 3. § 3 [...] *-wa/i tá-ti-i | mi-i REL-zi* ‚FINES“-*hi-zi | za-la-na* *PO-NERE-mi-na s[á]-t[a ...]* ‚the frontiers that were to be put z. for my father (Dat.)‘ / ‚were for my father to put z.‘ (transl. Melchert 2004: 359), wobei *-min(a)* als Gerundiv mit deontischer Funktion von Transitivverben zu interpretieren ist (Melchert 2004: 359-360, *pace* Morpurgo Davies 1980).

„the supreme authority (is) to carry out, what he (*scil.* Pixodaros) commands“ (Melchert 1999: 77).

me= *hriqla*²³ *asñne* *pzziti=*
und.KONJ Oberbehörde.NOM.SG tun.INF entscheiden.3.SG.PRÄS

ti
REL.PRON.AKK.SG

[11] (Xanthos) TL 39.4–6 *me=ñne: ni(j)=esu | esedeñnewi: epttehi: ñtepi=ta^fne¹*
,und es *sei* ihnen nicht *erlaubt* [*und es *sei* ihnen nicht], ihre Nachkommenschaft (Dat.) *hineinzulegen*^c.²⁴

me= *ñne:* *ni(j)=* *esu*
und.KONJ PERS.PRON. 3.DAT.PL NEG sein.3.SG.IMPV

esedeñnewi: *epttehi:* *ñtepi=* *ta^fne¹*
Nachkommenschaft.DAT sein.ADJ.GEN.DAT hinein.PRÄV legen.INF

Der prädikative Infinitiv mit Objekt und logischem Subjekt im Dativ stellt ein Unikum im ganzen lykischen Corpus dar und lässt sich vermutlich zusammen mit dem bekannten idg. Grammatikalisierungsprozeß [PATIENS_{DAT.} – INFINITIV] (Typ ved. *vṛtrāya hántave*, Hettrich 1984) erklären, vgl. im Anatolischen u. a. KBo 3.21 ii 12–13 ^d*Anuš=ma=ttā* ^dEN.LÍL-*ašš=a šargawanni ḫanda ANA LÚ.MEŠ KÚR=ŠUNU wemiyauwanzi tuk wātarnahher* ‚Anu und Enlil haben Dich wegen Deiner Ehre (Dat.) beauftragt ihre Feinde zu finden (Dat.)‘. Da diese Struktur aber nach meinem Wissen in keiner anderen idg. Sprache bei Prädikativsätzen vorkommt, lässt sich nicht ausschließen, dass dieser Patiensdativ als Attraktionsphänomen (auch aufgrund der Spätdatierung der Inschrift: letzte Viertel des 4. Jhs.) mit Kasusattraktion des Substantivs *esedeñnewe-* an das Personalpronomen *ñne* (Z. 4–6) zu deuten ist (Serangeli 2017: 771–774).

23. Formell ist *qla* sowohl als Nominativ als auch als Dativ-Lokativ im Lykischen interpretierbar: ‚Was (er) sagt, (ist) dem *hriqla* zu tun‘, siehe van den Hout 1995: 157, Melchert 1999: 77 Anm. 5.

24. Siehe Melchert 2012: 246: ‚Let it not be (permitted) to them to put in their descendants‘.

[12] (Rhodiapolis) TL 150.9 *Xssēñzijaje hberuse zasāni xadrñna uhazata kumezeine*

‚Dem (: zugunsten des) Xssēñzija *hberuse* [ist] (eine Portion) zuzuteilen, um alljährliche Mehlspeisespende zu opfern‘.

<i>Xssēñzijaje</i>	<i>hberuse</i>	<i>zasāni</i>	
PN.DAT.SG	(Epitheton?)	(eine Portion) zuteilen.INF	
<i>xadrñna</i>		<i>uhazata</i>	<i>kumezeine</i>
aus Getreide bestehende.KOLL.AKK		jährliche Opferspende.KOLL.AKK	opfern.INF

Fazit: für die Infinitive mit prädikativer Funktion werden die Ausgänge *-e* (*asñne* ‚machen‘, *tan[e]* (+ *ñtepi*) ‚hineinlegen‘) und *-i* (*zasāni* ‚(eine Portion) zuteilen‘) gebraucht.

§ 6. Zusammenfassend lassen sich für die lykischen Infinitivformen zwei Funktionen synchron feststellen, nämlich Kompletiv (5×) und Final (8×). Beide Ausgänge *-a#* und *-e#* werden *promiscue* gebraucht, was darauf hinweist, dass das Lykische syntaktisch völlig entwickelte Infinitive (d. h. ‚echte Infinitive‘) sowohl auf *-a* als auch auf *-e* hat. Aufgrund des Mangels an Belegen kann für den Ausgang *-i#* (*zasāni* ‚zuteilen‘) der Status als ‚echter Infinitiv‘ nicht etabliert werden. Sein prädikativer Gebrauch und die formelle Entsprechung mit einem *i*-Dativ sprechen im heutigen Wissensstand für einen nicht-infinitiven Status. Fortsetzung dieser Diskussion und eine detaillierte Behandlung der diachronen Rekonstruktion der Infinitivausgänge befindet sich im folgenden Paragraphen.

DIE INFINITIVFORMEN DES LYKISCHEN

Stelle	Rektion	Beleg	Verb	Funktion
TL 44b. 44 Xanthos	<i>pibije-</i> (+ <i>θrṁmā</i>) ,den Befehl geben‘	<i>kumez[e]ine</i>	<i>kumezei-</i> ,opfern‘	Kompletiv 5×
TL 44a. 52 Xanthos	<i>pabra-</i> ,den Auftrag geben‘	<i>tabāna</i>	<i>tebe-</i> ,besiegen‘	
TL 112.3 Limyra	<i>mar-</i> ,befehlen‘	<i>alade^h‘āne/</i> <i>alade^x‘āne</i>	<i>alaha-/alahx(x)a⁻²</i> ,zuordnen (lassen)‘	
TL 58.4 Antiphellos TL 49 Xanthos	<i>lückenhaft</i> (<i>ma</i> -?)	<i>hrppi tāna, tāne</i>	<i>ta-</i> (+ <i>hrppi</i>) ,hinauflegen‘	
TL 44a. 55 Xanthos	<i>trbbe-</i> ,treten gegen‘	<i>tebāna</i>	<i>tebe-</i> ,besiegen‘	Final 5×
TL 44a. 54 Xanthos	<i>trbbe-</i> ,treten gegen‘	<i>zxxāna</i>	<i>zxxa-</i> ,kämpfen‘	
TL 44a.50 Xanthos	<i>tebe-</i> ,besiegen‘	<i>xlaina</i> (+ <i>ñtepi</i>)	<i>xla(i)-</i> ,inkorporieren‘	
TL 57.3 Antiphellos	<i>pije-</i> (+ <i>pijatu</i>)	<i>aladehxxāne</i>	<i>alahxxa-</i> ,bestatten lassen‘	
TL 150.9 Rhodiapolis	<i>zas-</i> ,(eine Portion) zuteilen‘	<i>kumezeine</i>	<i>kumez(e)i-</i> ,opfern‘	
N320.41 Letoon	(<i>es-</i>)	<i>asñne</i>	<i>as-</i> ,machen‘	Final (prädikativ) 3×
TL 39.6 Xanthos	((<i>ni es-</i>)	<i>ñtepi tan¹e¹</i>	<i>ta-</i> (+ <i>ñtepi</i>) ,hineinlegen‘	
TL 150.9 Rhodiapolis	(<i>es-</i>)	<i>zasāni</i>	<i>zas-</i> ,(eine Portion) zuteilen‘	

§ 7. Zunächst zu den Ausgängen *-a#* und *-e#*. Die Textstellen haben eindeutig gezeigt, dass die Formen auf *-a#* und *-e#* ‚echte Infinitive‘ sind; daher kann das syntaktische Kriterium nicht hinsichtlich der Rekonstruktion der Funktion in Betracht gezogen werden. Demgegenüber lässt sich die Antwort nach dem phonetischen bzw. morphologischen Kriterium suchen, aufgrund dessen nur die Kasus Direktiv (**-eh₂*) und Instrumental (**-eh₁*) in Betracht gezogen werden können. Es bestehen die folgenden Möglichkeiten:

(a) Beide Ausgänge gehen auf den idg. Direktiv zurück, wobei der Infinitiv auf *-a* den athematischen und derjenige auf *-e* den jeweiligen thematischen Kasus widerspiegelt (mit regulärem Ausfall des auslautenden Laryngals im Uranatolischen): *-a#*: uranat. **-a(h)* < Dir. **-eh₂*; *-e#*: uranat. **-o(h)* < Dir. **-o-(e)h₂*. Diese Hypothese bewegt sich im Rahmen der Bestimmung von anderen anatolischen Infinitivformen (heth. *-anna* bzw. luw. *-una*), die als Direktive allgemein akzeptiert sind.²⁵

(b) Beide Ausgänge gehen auf den idg. Instrumental zurück,²⁶ wobei der Infinitiv auf *-a* den athematischen und derjenige auf *-e* den jeweiligen thematischen Kasus widerspiegelt: *-a#*: uranat. **-æ* < Instr. **-eh₁*; *-e#*: uranat. **-ō* < Instr. **-oh₁*. Der Instrumental hätte als erstarrte Kasusform eine Ausbreitung seiner Funktion im Lykischen (bzw. Anatolischen) durchgeführt und andere Funktionen, diejenige des Direktivs und des Dativ-Lokativs, problemlos übernommen. Dieser Ansatz lässt sich durch den Vergleich mit einigen Lokaladverbien im Instrumental rechtfertigen, die durch eine Bedeutungsverschiebung ‚wodurch‘ → ‚wohin‘ als Direktive bei Fortbewegungsverben und als Lokative bei Zustandverben fungieren, vgl. hom. ὀπίσσω ‚hinten, dahinter, (nach) hinten‘ < **h₁opi-tjoh₁*, lat. *intrō* ‚herein, drinnen‘ < **(h₁)en-t(e)ro-h₁* oder (direkt zu adverbialer Basis gebildet) griech. κάτω ‚nach unten, unten‘ < **kmt-oh₁*, ἄνω, got. *ana* ‚nach oben, oben‘ < **h₂en-oh₁*, heth. *p(a)rā*, ved. *pārā* ‚vorwärts‘ < **pro-h₁* (García Ramón 1997: 136-137). Nach demselben Prinzip können auch Adverbialpaare aus vermutlich einem Instrumental mit Richtungsfunktion und einem Lokativ interpretiert werden (: heth. *anda* ‚hinein‘ / *andan* ‚innen, drinnen‘, *appa* ‚nach hinten‘ / *appan* ‚hinten‘, *katta* ‚nach unten‘ / *kattan* ‚unten‘, *šara* ‚nach oben‘ / *šer* ‚oben‘), welche Opposition als Reste im Lykischen mit Ausgang *-e* vermutlich auch einmal belegt ist: vergleiche lyk. B *epe(°)* ‚zurück, nach hinten, Rück-‘ (= heth. *āppa*) (1×) TL 55.5 < **h₁op-oh₁* [Dir] mit lyk. A *epñ* ‚hinterher, danach‘ < **h₁op-(e)n-Ø* [Lok] (vgl. auch *epi* < **h₁op(i)*),²⁷ vgl. h.-luw. *apan* (Adv. POST-*na*, POST-*ni* ‚künftig, danach‘), heth. *āppan* ‚hinten‘ (vgl. García Ramón 2012: 66).

25. Hierzu vgl. Laroche 1960: 172f., 1970: 46ff. und Melchert 1992: 46 Anm. 15, 1994: 160, 325.

26. Demgegenüber hätte eine Instrumentalpostposition (vgl. für die anatolischen Lokativa auf *-a* Rikov 1982) im Lykischen zu anderen phonetischen Ergebnisse führen können: eine Postposition zum Direktiv **-eh₂-eh₁* hätte den zweiten Laryngal in inlautender Stellung erhalten (vgl. die Faktitivbildung zu Wurzeln mit auslautendem **h₂*, e. g. **m₁rseh₂-éh₂* > **marsax-á* > B *mrsxa-*, heth. *maršahḫ-*), es sei denn, die posttonische Synkope hätte gewirkt (**-éh₂-eh₁* > **-éh₂-h₁*).

27. Der anlautende lykische Vokalismus /e-/ < */o-/ und das Fehlen von anlautendem *h-* in der entsprechenden hethitischen Form führt eher zu **h₁op-*, **h₁ep-* (griech. ὀπι(°), ἐπι(°)) als zu **apo/u* (**h₁apo/u-*, **h₂epo/u* ‚beiseite, weg‘, griech. ἀπό/ἀπύ, lat. *ab*, iir. **apa*).

Dass der Instrumental für eine Infinitivform den Ausgangspunkt auch darstellen kann, zeigt die zutreffende Parallele der italischen Sprachfamilie, wo erstarrte Instrumentalformen sich nicht nur bei Adverbien (lat. *rectē, optumē*; vgl. auch griech. lak. *πεποκα* (: att. *πόποτε*) IG V 1: 213.5 (5. Jh.), *αη* (: *αιει*) SEG 12: 368.2 (Kos, 242 v. Chr.) sondern auch in einigen Infinitivformen erhalten sind, vgl. u. *-f(e)i* [-f(j)é], o. *fír* [-f(j)é-r] (ursabell. **-fiē* < **-d^hiēh₁(+r)*), altlat. *-ier* (**-iēh₁+r*) (García Ramón 1993). D. h. der Instrumental ist in Formen außerhalb des Anatolischen belegt,²⁸ die sich nicht in einem historisch belegten Paradigma befinden.

Letztendlich kann die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass:

(c) die zwei Ausgänge *-a* und *-e* nicht auf denselben Kasus (entweder Direktiv oder Instrumental), sondern auf beide Kasus zurückzuführen sind: mit anderen Worten könnte ein Ausgang den Direktiv und der andere den Instrumental widerspiegeln, was für den Sonderfall *ttāna* / *ttāne* einen diachron unterschiedlichen Ursprung erlauben könnte (s. § 8).

Eine Entscheidung zugunsten des einen oder des anderen Kasus (Direktiv bzw. Instrumental) ist für alle drei Hypothesen sowohl phonetisch als auch funktionell unmöglich zu treffen, da für beide Lösungen dieselben phonetischen bzw. funktionellen Ergebnisse in Betracht kommen, und zwar:

(1) Phonetik: in beiden Fällen muss man mit einer thematischen und einer athematischen Form rechnen, Dir. (athemat.) **-eh₂* > lyk. *-a*, (themat.) **-oh₂* > lyk. *-e*; Instr. (athemat.) **-eh₁* > lyk. *-a*; (themat.) **-oh₁* > lyk. *-e*.

(2) Funktion: sowohl der idg. Direktiv als auch der idg. Instrumental (je nach Verballexem) können die Funktion des Direktivs und des Lokativs (erreichtes Ziel mit Kontakt) erfüllen.

Fazit: sowohl ein ursprünglicher Direktiv (Melchert) als auch ein Instrumental rechtfertigen für die lykischen Formen auf *-a* und *-e* die *direktive Funktion* eines *Richtungskasus*.²⁹

§ 8. Eine dritte Infinitivform auf *-i#*, die auf einen einzigen sicheren Beleg mit prädikativer Funktion (*zasāni*) postuliert werden kann,³⁰ kann auf einen Lokativ bzw.

28. Interessant ist das hethitische Hapax *šipantuanta* (*ši-pa-an-tu-an-ta* KUB 10.21 i 2) statt sonstigem *šippanduanzi* ‚zu libieren‘, KUB 10.21 i 1–3 *maḥḥan=ma* LUGAL-uš *šipantuanta irḥaizzi* ‚But when the king finishes making offering‘ (Hoffner-Melchert 2008: 185 Anm. 36).

29. Auch Hajnal (1995: 94, 98) rekonstruiert lyk. *-e* aus **-oH*, ohne einen spezifischen Laryngal bzw. Kasus zu anzugeben.

Dativ verweisen, welche im Anatolischen phonetisch zusammen geflossen sind: (a) Lok. *-i >> lyk. -i, (b) Dat. *ei >> uranat. *ē > urluw. *-ī > k.-luw., h.-luw., lyk. Dat.Sg. '-ī > -i. Nach heutigem Wissensstand kann dieser Beleg (*hapax*) aufgrund der Entsprechung zwischen Form (Dat.-Lok.) und Funktion (prädikativ-deontisch) grundsätzlich als Verbalnomen gedeutet werden, ohne ihm den Infinitivstatus anzuerkennen.

Der Dativ-Lokativ stellt innerhalb der Prädikativsätze für das Verbalnomen den erwarteten Kasus dar, welcher mit dem geneuerten Dativausgang -a (alter Direktiv) im Luwischen belegt ist, vgl. h.-luw. [Verbalnomen_{Dat.-Lok.} - sein] KARK A 5a § 9: TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA SOL₂.DEUS.SOL PRAE-i CRUS-wa/i+ra/i² a-sa-ti ,sollen vor der göttlichen Herrin der Erde (und) dem ... Sonnengott stehen', ASSUR e § 6 wa/i-ma-za uzu²-za ha-tu-ra+a a-sa-ta-ni (wörtl.), ihr seid zu Schreiben! / ihr habt zu schreiben' (Morpurgo Davies 1980, Melchert 2004, Payne 2014: 137). Dieser Dativ auf -a ist natürlich nicht von den bekannten anatolischen Lokativen auf -(y)a (vgl. pal. *wattana* ,im Wasser', k.-luw. ^{URU}*hattuṣaya* ,in Hattusa') bzw. Dativen in der Onomastik auf -(y)a (k.-luw. ^{URU}*hattuṣaya*, h.-luw. ^{DEUS}*ku-AVIS-pa-pa-ya*, vgl. Starke 1990: 36 f.)³¹ zu trennen, welche am Anfang als Disambiguierung bei den i-Stämme (-iy-i → -iy-ā) gebraucht wurden und sich erst später im Luwischen in anderen vokalischen Klassen ausgebreitet haben. In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu betonen, dass das -e# der lykischen Dative von PN phonetisch diesem erneuten Dat.-Lok. mit Endung -a entsprechen kann, vgl. (u. a.) *Ijamaraje* TL 149.6, *Pigesereje* N 320.40, *Mereheje* N 324.14.

In diesem Sinne lässt sich die Annahme rechtfertigen, dass die Formen des Infinitivs auf -e auch auf die geneuerte Form des Dativ-Lokativs zurückgehen könnten, während -i die alte Form des Dativ-Lokativs darstellen könnte, welche völlig isoliert noch in den Prädikativsätzen belegt ist. Diese Hypothese passt zum anatolischen Szenario, wo Dative und Lokative auf -a sowohl in der Onomastik als auch bei Abstrakta (s.o. das Verbalnomen h.-luw. *hatura*) belegt sind.

Letztendlich sei daran erinnert, dass der lykische Ausgang -a weder als Dativ von PN noch bei den Infinitiven mit prädikativer Funktion vorkommt, obwohl man für die Infinitive den Mangel an Belegen berücksichtigen muss. Diese Beobachtung zieht die Bewertung nach sich, dass der Ausgang auf -e und die auf -a

30. Die Form TL 65.12 *kumezeini* kann nicht als repräsentativ für die Funktion dieses Ausgangs gelten, da die gräko-lykische Bilingue TL 65 sehr lückenhaft ist. Die Form bleibt jedoch eine Parallele für den Ausgang an sich. Dazu sei es betont, dass *zasāni* (s.o. [12]) im Satz mit dem finalen Infinitiv *kumazeine* (s.o. [9]) vorkommt.

31. Hierzu vgl. kar. *trquḍe* C.Ia 3 /*Tarḥuntajo/ (Hajnal 1995 : 116 Anm. 127).

und *-i* in der Tat einen unterschiedlichen Ursprung haben könnten: einerseits kann der Ausgang *-i* dem in den Prädikativsätzen erwarteten (und ursprünglichen) Dat.-Lok. (vgl. ved. **-tan-i* (1×)!) entsprechen, welcher später durch den direktiven heth. luw. pal. *-a* / lyk. *-e* ersetzt wurde (was auch die inneranatolische Entwicklung der Dativendung problemlos widerspiegelt); andererseits könnte der Ausgang auf *-a* phonetisch entweder dem idg. athematischen Direktiv oder dem Instrumental entsprechen (siehe § 7). Das eventuelle Nebeneinander einer Instrumental- und einer Dativ-Lokativendung würde für die Infinitive kein Problem darstellen, da eine bekannte Parallele aus den (alt)lateinischen Infinitivformen *-ier* (Instr. **-ijeh₁+r*) und *-ī*, *-ei* dafür spricht.³²

§ 9. Unsere Ergebnisse lassen sich folgendermaßen knapp zusammenfassen:

(a) Die unterschiedlichen lykischen Ausgänge *-a#*, *-e#* sind weder durch Metaphonie bedingt noch nach chronologischen bzw. geographischen Kriterien zu erklären.

(b) Die Formen auf *-a#*, *-e#* sind als ‚echte Infinitive‘ zu interpretieren, da beide ohne erkennbare Rationale in der Objekt- und Finalfunktion gebraucht werden. Demgegenüber kann die Form auf *-i#* (1×) nach heutigem Wissensstand aufgrund der Entsprechung zwischen Form und Funktion vermutlich als erstarrter Dat.-Lok. eines Verbalnomens interpretiert werden.

(c) *-i#* kann als alter Dat.-Lok. einige Spuren in den Prädikativsätzen hinterlassen haben, welcher in einer zweiten Phase durch den erneuten Dat.-Lok. (alten Direktiv) auf *-e* (= anat. *-a*) nach dem anatolischen Modell (*a*-Lok. und Dat. in der Nominalmorphologie) ersetzt wurde.

(d) *-a#* kommt weder als Dat. bei den lyk. PN noch in Prädikativsätzen vor. Die Ausgänge *-e* und *-a* könnten daher in der Tat entweder einen unterschiedlichen Ursprung als Dir. bzw. Instr. gehabt haben, oder einer unterschiedlichen innerlykischen Spezialisierung unterzogen worden sein, nach der nur die thematische Form des Direktivs (*-e#*) als Dativ bei PN bzw. als Infinitive mit prädikativer

32. Darüber hinaus bleibt noch offen die Interpretation des Gerundivs *-min(a)* (mit deontischer Funktion von Transitivverben, vgl. Melchert 2004, *pace* Morpurgo-Davies 1980: 93 ff.) als Direktiv oder Lokativ: der Vokal *-a#* kann als Direktivendung oder als Stimmvokal eines endungslosen Lokativs **-mēn-Ø* (merkwürdigerweise mit Dehnstufe, s. Tremblay 2004: 584 ff.: luw. /i/ < **-ē-*, nicht < **-e-*; oder Nullstufe und Direktivendung */-mnā/?*) interpretiert werden (vgl. westgriech. (athem.) *στᾶμεν*, *δόμεν* (: **-men- Ø*), urgriech. (athem.) *-^hen*: myk. *e-re-e /ere^hen/* (**h₁erh₁-sen*), (them.) *e-ke-e /^hek^he^hen/*, att. *ἔχειν* (**ség^h-es-en*), siehe García Ramón 1997: 116-117).

Funktion gebraucht wird, während die jeweilige athematische (-a#) zum bloßen Infinitiv wird.

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Some Terms for Funerary Monuments of Lycia in the Classical Period 1: Sarcophagi

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§ 1. *Introduction*

The peninsula of Lycia in southwestern Asia Minor (Fig. 1) is literally known as the “land of tombs”, as it is characterized by an impressive number and a broad spectrum of its tombs and picturesque rock necropoleis to a greater extent than any other ancient cultural landscape in Anatolia. Consequently, it is no surprise that since the rediscovery of Lycia by European travellers in the 18th century¹ one major research focus until today has been on the study of its sepulchral culture. Therefore, numerous scientific publications in different disciplines such as archaeology, art history, historical building research, epigraphy, linguistics, or religious studies deal with various aspects of the Lycian funerary system. Especially during the field surveys in Central Lycia between 1989 and 2001 undertaken by Tübingen University, previously unknown tomb types, mainly from the Archaic and Classical periods, were discovered, such as, for example, Chamber-, Terrace-, and Podium tombs.² Also the importance of the tumulus in Lycia was re-evaluated. Until then

1. The rediscovery of ancient Lycia is generally ascribed to the Count M. G. F. A. de Choiseul-Gouffier, who in the course of a journey in 1776 visited Makri, the ancient Telmessos and modern Fethiye.

2. Above all Thomsen 2002, esp. 303–366; Hülden 2004; Hülden 2005; Hülden 2006a; Hülden 2006b; Hülden 2010.

this tomb type had been regarded as not common in this landscape; however, during the surveys carried out by Tübingen University numerous examples were found.³

In spite of this extension of the tomb spectrum that has enriched our knowledge of the funerary architecture enormously, the graves which are characteristic for Lycia can essentially be divided into four large categories: pillar tombs, house tombs,⁴ temple tombs,⁵ and sarcophagi with their typical, ogival lids.⁶ There are examples for these types in every size and quality, ranging from modest dimensions and poor technical craftsmanship up to monumental buildings of extremely high technical quality. House- and Temple tombs, furthermore, exist as free standing monuments as well as being cut into the rock.

§ 2. *Sarcophagi: problems of definition*

In what follows, attention will be paid primarily to the tomb type of the sarcophagus, which is a common type in Lycia with numerous examples dating from the Classical up until the Roman Imperial period. It is difficult to give even an approximate number of such objects, but O. Benndorf had already estimated it at around two thousand;⁷ the actual amount, however, might be much larger.

Benndorf designated the four main elements of a Lycian sarcophagus, which remained essentially unchanged during the entire duration of usage of this grave type in Lycia. According to this definition, these generally comprised: 1. a stepped construction, 2. a lower grave chamber (*hyposorion*), 3. a coffin chest and 4. a lid or roof.⁸ As a consequence of Benndorf's opinion, Lycian sarcophagi can be divided into two groups. The first, which he considered to be significantly younger,⁹ in

3. For a discussion of the research on tumuli in Lycia: Hülten 2011.

4. In this article the term 'House tomb' is used for those tombs which – according to the most frequent interpretation – constitute a reflection of the indigenous, contemporary residential architecture. For a different explanation that interprets the concerning façades as a display of Lycian sacral architecture: Marksteiner 1993. However, as this question does not touch on the essential topic of this article, it will not be discussed here.

5. The term 'Temple tomb' is used for tombs containing essential elements of Greek temple architecture or which entirely incorporate temple elements.

6. The most recent compilation of previous suggestions for a typology of Lycian tombs was undertaken by Z. Kuban: Kuban 2012, 32–36.

7. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 102.

8. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 101; Benndorf 1902, 401 f.

9. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 102 f.

addition to the ogival roof characteristic for Lycia, exhibits a sarcophagus chest with massive side walls without architectonic articulation. The sarcophagi of the second group, which has significantly fewer examples, imitate the wooden construction form of rock tombs (house tombs) in the design of the chest and of the lid or roof.¹⁰

O. Benndorf adhered to his terminology, even though he was aware of the fact that the sarcophagi of the second group in their character should definitely be viewed as a reproduction of houses, from which they would primarily be differentiated by their differing proportions as well as their divergent roof form.¹¹ This scholarly opinion has completely established itself in the scholarship. Accordingly, all free-standing tomb buildings with ogival roof are practically without exception described as sarcophagi, regardless of whether their chests are provided with smooth walls or whether they are designed in the form of house tombs. For example, to the second group belong the massive tomb monuments of Pajawa (Fig. 2)¹² and of Merehi,¹³ frequently provided with reliefs and Lycian inscriptions, as well as the “Pillar sarcophagus” in Xanthos,¹⁴ the tombs of Piḫre in Antiphellos (Fig. 3)¹⁵ and of Xudara in Limyra,¹⁶ or also the free-standing tomb monument, decorated with battle- and city scenes, in Telmessos,¹⁷ to mention only a few of the most well-known examples.

A certain contradiction in the definition of sarcophagi can be established at best in isolated cases. Thus, the sarcophagi in a typology of Lycian graves established by J. Borchhardt¹⁸ constitute their own group (A IV a-c), yet nevertheless

10. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 103–107. Representatives of this type were nevertheless previously designated as sarcophagi, thus for example by Ch. Fellows on the evidence of the tombs of Pajawa and of Merehi in Xanthos: Fellows 1839, 228 (Pajawa); Fellows 1841, 165 (Pajawa); Fellows 1852, 169 (Pajawa). 337 (Merehi).

11. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 103. O. Benndorf explained the difference in the proportions with the varying burial fashions in house tombs and sarcophagi.

12. Demargne 1974, 61–87. The citation of the scholarly literature here and in what follows makes no claims to completeness. Since these conceptions have met with a broad response in the scholarship, only a few fundamental publications and mentionings of the relevant tombs will be cited.

13. Demargne 1974, 88–96.

14. Demargne 1958, 47–58.

15. E.g. Mühlbauer 2007, 91.

16. Borchhardt – Neumann 1997; Borchhardt – Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 386. Only Z. Kuban has employed the term “dreigeschossige freistehende Grabanlage” instead of the term “sarcophagus”: Kuban 2012, 386 f.

17. Childs 1978, 10 f. 21; Mühlbauer 2007, 97 f.

18. Borchhardt 1975, 95–113.

also constitute the most frequently represented type of tomb in the group of double tombs (A V b-c). Borchhardt also recognised the difference between house tombs (that is, tombs with structural elements) and sarcophagi only in their size, and identified all burial containers made of stone and having a length of 2-3 m. as sarcophagi. In such a way, these would represent a scaled-down form of house tombs and temple tombs. For the sarcophagi included in his group A IV, we are dealing without exception with double tombs, so that the examples mentioned in group A IV b are practically identical with those of group A V b, and the only tomb monument assigned to group A IV a, is equally the only example of A V.¹⁹ In contrast, L. Mühlbauer defined the chest of a sarcophagus as “steinernes Abbild eines Sarges, Kastens oder einer Truhe”, which is why “...Sarkophagkästen keine aus dem Hausbau abgeleiteten konstruktiven Elemente aufweisen [würden]”.²⁰ In contradiction to her definition, she then nonetheless subsequently listed all of the examples with precisely these elements, as sarcophagi. Also the somewhat unfortunately chosen expression “Grabhaus-Sarkophag” by O. Hüllden²¹ for tombs, their chests and their lids, which due to their structural elements would correspond to house-façades or rock façades, is evidence of a certain lack of clarity in the terminology. The decisive criterion for the description of tombs with elements borrowed from house architecture as ‘sarcophagi’ is apparently formed by the ogivally formed lid,²² since corresponding monuments with flat roof, gabled roof or semicircular roof are generally not invoked as such, but are far rather designated as house tombs or tomb houses.²³

In addition to tombs with structural architectural elements, already during the Classical period sarcophagi with smooth walls – without any form of architectonic articulation – also appear. For a number of these examples, we are dealing with simple types without decoration, which stand on a simple, monolithic podium or a

19. For a critique of the typology of Borchhardt, see already Hüllden 2006a, 53 f.

20. Mühlbauer 2007, 82, where in f.n. 386 she mentions corresponding examples.

21. Hüllden 2006a, 51. Also F. Kolb employed the term “Grabhaussarkophag”, with which he indicated stepped tomb monuments “mit einem aus großen Quadern errichteten Podium, einem hausartigen Grabbau und einem Sarkophagkasten oder –deckel”: Kolb 2018, 632. In the typology of J. Borchhardt mentioned above, the “Grabhaus-Sarkophag” is listed in the group of the double tombs (A V b).

22. This, for example, is indicated as a characteristic for this tomb form by Kjeldsen – Zahle 1975, 332.

23. Thus, for example in the typology of Borchhardt, these are included in the group of tomb-houses: Borchhardt 1975, 98–102. As “Grabhaus mit Spitzbogendach” Borchhardt included the tomb house in Phellos and that of Uzeblēmi in Kadyanda: Borchhardt 1975, 101 f.

podium consisting of numerous joined blocks, and whose assignation to the Classical epoch is only possible due to their tomb inscriptions in the Lycian language. To this group can be numbered, for example, the sarcophagi of Ikuwe and of Tiwiθθeimija in Tlos,²⁴ that of K[u]prij[a] in Tyssa (Fig. 4)²⁵ as well as a sarcophagus in Korba, in the inscription of which the name of the tomb owner is only fragmentarily preserved.²⁶ Another example of a sarcophagus with simple chest on a one-stepped podium is represented by the Sarcophagus of the Dancing Girls in Xanthos, whose lid is nevertheless decorated with reliefs and hoisting bosses in the form of lions' heads, confirming a possible date in the advanced 4th century B.C.²⁷ If one takes the form of the lower structure as a criterion, the Lion Sarcophagus from Xanthos (Fig. 5) can also be incorporated into this group, in spite of its artistic relief decoration on the lid as well as on the east side of the podium, on which two antithetically arranged lions tear apart an already collapsed bull.²⁸ Equally to be mentioned in this connection is the sarcophagus with the depiction of a banqueting scene in Phellos.²⁹

In addition to these examples, there also exist more elaborately fashioned specimens, where the sarcophagus chests are elevated above a *hyposorion*, which in the majority of cases is designed in the form of a house tomb. These monuments occasionally have relief decoration, furthermore in a number of cases their lids are equally provided with lifting bosses constructed in the form of animals, and some of them also exhibit Lycian inscriptions. Amongst these tombs can be mentioned, for example, the sarcophagi of Xñtabura in Limyra (Fig. 6)³⁰ and of Ahqqadi³¹ in Xanthos, as well as the *hyposorion* sarcophagi in Sura,³² Kyaneai³³ and Bayındır Limanı.³⁴

24. Kalinka 1901, 26–28 TL 29. p. 28 TL 30.

25. Kalinka 1901, 46 TL 78; Akyel – Kolb 1995, 143; Kolb 2008, 71.

26. Neumann 2000, 184 f.

27. Demargne 1974, 97–103; Zahle 1979, 328 Cat. 19; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 285 f. Cat. S 26.

28. Demargne 1974, 46–60; Zahle 1979, 328 Cat. 15; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 285 Cat. S 25.

According to the opinion of the French excavators (Demargne 1974, 60), this sarcophagus dates to the late 5th c. B.C., making it probably the oldest sarcophagus in Xanthos.

29. Zahle 1979, 267–272. 329 Cat. 22; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 280 Cat. S 13.

30. Borchhardt 1969/70; Zahle 1979, 342 Cat. 56; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 279 Cat. S 11; Kuban 2012, 293–296; Borchhardt – Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 377–379.

31. Demargne 1974, 104–107.

32. Borchhardt 1975, 78 f.

33. Kolb 2008, 113 f.; Hüllden 2010, 417–420.

34. Zahle 1979, 281–302. 333 Cat. 29; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 276 Cat. S 6, Mühlbauer 2007, 92.

Against this background, it is questionable whether the ogival pointed lid or roof is in fact the most important criterion for the definition of a tomb as a sarcophagus, or whether the construction form of the chest actually is of greater importance for its classification, especially since – as mentioned above – corresponding monuments with flat roofs, gabled roofs or semicircular roofs in general are not characterised as sarcophagi. Before this issue can be pursued from an archaeological perspective, a glimpse at the tomb inscriptions should be made, since also the various terms for tomb buildings probably contain closer information.

§ 3. *Various terms for 'sarcophagus'?*

The approximately 165 tomb inscriptions in the indigenous Lycian language³⁵ mention different terms for these monuments, whereby *χupa* is by far the most frequent one with approximately 70 occurrences,³⁶ followed by *prñnawa* (as a noun) with approximately 30 mentions³⁷ and *ñtata*, which occurs twelve times in nine different inscriptions.³⁸ Another term for tomb buildings is *tezi* or *tezi*. This term which occurs rather seldom is generally used for sarcophagi, but sometimes it has been interpreted more generally in the sense of 'tomb building'.³⁹

The following freestanding monuments, designated as sarcophagi in the research literature, mention the term of the tomb in their Lycian inscription:

- TL 11 in Pinara (tomb owner: Ddapssm̃ma): *prñnawa* (Fig. 7)
- TL 23 in Tlos (E[lp]eti): *ñtata*⁴⁰
- TL 29 in Tlos (Ikuwe): *ñtata*

35. This number was determined during the research project "The Lycian Inscribed Monuments Project", which was thankfully financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). In recent years, however, additional tomb inscriptions have been discovered, so that a new counting has to be regarded as an essential desideratum.

36. Melchert 2004, 86, translated the term with 'tomb', Neumann 2007, 140 with '(Fels)grab'.

37. Melchert 2004, 51, translated it with 'mausoleum, (grave-)house', Neumann 2007, 283 with '(etwa) Bauwerk'.

38. Melchert 2004, 45: 'burial chamber'; Neumann 2007, 247: 'Grablege'. In the bilingual Greek inscription of a rock tomb in Karmylessos (TL 6), this is indicated as $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$.

39. Melchert 2004, 64 translated it with 'sarcophagus, coffin' (or similar), Neumann 2007, 355 with 'Monument'. Apart from these there are also other terms existing such as *isbazije*, *ñtipa*, or *arawazija*, but which will not be taken into consideration in this article.

40. This monument could not be rediscovered after its description and documentation in the 19th century where it was characterized as a sarcophagus (cf. Kalinka 1901, 23 TL 23) and has to be regarded as lost.

- TL 36 in Xanthos (Ahqqadi): *prñnawa*
- TL 40 in Xanthos (Pajawa): *prñnawa*
- TL 43 in Xanthos (Merehi): *prñnawa*
- TL 55 in Antiphellos (Piχre): *mlu* (Lycian B)
- TL 72 in Kyaneai (Xudalijē): *tezi*
- TL 78 in Tyssa (Xuprija): *tezi*
- TL 143 in Limyra (Xudara): *ñtata*
- N 331 in Korba (?): *tezi*

In the inscriptions of three sarcophagi the term is not preserved:

- TL 30 in Tlos (?)
- TL 46 in Xanthos (so-called Lion Sarcophagus)
- TL 125 in Limyra (Xñtabura)

In addition the term *tezi* occurs in TL 44a, 25 and TL 44b, 41 as well as in TL 88 (rock tomb of Ddaqasa) *ñtipa tezi* where it refers to a burial in the interior of the rock tomb.

The result is not very significant, as on monuments actually considered as sarcophagi in the scientific literature the term *prñnawa* occurs in only four cases, *ñtata* and *tezi* in three cases, and *mlu* in only one single occasion. This last term should not be taken into consideration, as the inscription TL 55 is in Lycian B.

It is nevertheless noteworthy that *χupa*, which is by far the most common term for Lycian tomb buildings, does not appear on any free-standing tomb monument; instead, it appears exclusively on house tombs that are carved into the rock. This term is indeed spread throughout practically all of Lycia – between Telmessos in the west and Limyra in the east – yet its extremely dominant position in Limyra is striking, since here, with only one exception, all of the rock-cut tombs which preserve an inscription containing their term, are described as *χupa*.⁴¹ The expression *prñnawa* in contrast is not present in Limyra at all, although it is generally common throughout Lycia.

41. Only the rock-cut tomb of [X]uwata in Necropolis II is identified as *arawazija*: Kalinka 1901, 87 TL 135; Neumann 2012, 390; Borchhardt – Neumann – Schulz 1985.

§ 4. *prñnawa*

21 of the total of 28 tombs that are referred to as *prñnawa* in their Lycian building inscriptions⁴² are likewise rock-cut tombs; all of these, with only one exception, reflect the construction methods of Lycian house architecture.⁴³ Six of the tombs are free-standing constructions, each with an upper and a lower chamber. In addition to the already mentioned monuments of Ddapssm̃ma in Pinara as well as those of Ahqqadi, of Merehi and of Pajawa in Xanthos, the monuments of Ñ̃ourigaḡã in Çindam (Fig. 8)⁴⁴ and of Piñteusi in Çağman (Fig. 9),⁴⁵ likewise provided with two chambers, are also described as *prñnawa*. In this group as well, all examples – with the exception of the sarcophagus of Ahqqadi which has a coffer without any architectonic articulation – display construction elements which are derived from house architecture. In spite of this design, the burial spaces of Ddapssm̃ma, of Merehi and of Pajawa are described in the scholarly literature as sarcophagi, which is due without doubt to the coffer-shaped design of the primary burial space as well as the narrow, towering appearance of the entire monument, in addition to the ogivally-formed roof.

Scholars consider the tombs in Çağman and Çindam differently from these others, as they diverge in their appearance from the rest. The tomb in Çağman, carved out of the *in situ* rock outcrop, is designed as a free-standing house tomb with tripartite façade and rounded roof which rises above the canonical flat roof. In a different manner than the other free-standing tombs, which are characterised as *prñnawa* in the inscription, the lower chamber here does not have the form of a podium. The site far rather has the appearance of a canonical, two-storeyed house tomb, whereby the lower burial place – at least from an architectonic viewpoint – is the most significant element of the monument. The fact that the upper chamber, however, was more important is revealed by the tomb inscription, in which Piñteusi decreed that only he and his wife should be buried there. From an architectonic

42. The term in TL 21, 4-5 (cf. on this, Eichner 2007) and TL 44a, 14, deals with another context.

43. This exception is the double tomb of Ijamara in Rhodiapolis, which has a completely smooth façade without any articulation: Kalinka 1901, 91 f. TL 149; Borchhardt 1993, 18. The form of the tomb TL 41, which is also referred to as *prñnawa*, cannot be determined with complete certainty; the inscription is carved on a block which is in the British Museum: Kalinka 1901, 36 TL 41. E. Laroche contemplated the possibility that this tomb was a sarcophagus: Laroche 1974, 141.

44. Kalinka 1901, 65 TL 77; Zahle 1979, 287 f.; Seyer 2004; Hülden 2006a, 107–109; Mühlbauer 2007, 93; Kolb 2018, 317–319.

45. Neumann 1979, 20 N 306; Bryce 1986, 87; Borchhardt 1993, 15; Mühlbauer 2007, 53 f.

standpoint, the monument is in any event not to be placed on the same level with the other free-standing, two-storeyed tombs which are described in the inscription as *prñnawa*. Revealingly, it has never been characterised in the scholarly literature as a sarcophagus.

More difficult to evaluate is the situation at the tomb of Ñθurigaχã⁴⁶ in Çindam, which not least due to its archaic design counts as an early example within Lycian sepulchral architecture and is certainly to be dated still in the 5th c. B.C.⁴⁷ The burial site has been interpreted variously in the scholarship; thus, for example, O. Benndorf compared the upper structure in the form of an ogivally pointed cover, placed on top of the flat roof of the house tomb, with a hut built of wood and leaves ('Laubhütte') frequently observed on oriental houses.⁴⁸ Most commonly, the site is viewed as a transitional stage between house tomb and sarcophagus.⁴⁹ Since a shallow basin was created by the hollowing out of the socle below the sarcophagus lid, O. Hüllden identified the upper tomb as a *chamosorion*.⁵⁰ R. Heberdey and A.-V. Schweyer, in contrast, recognised in the upper element of the tomb a complete sarcophagus,⁵¹ and also the author of the present article came to the conclusion, in his discussion about the site, that it is a double tomb with a tomb house and a completely formed sarcophagus.⁵²

In particular in connection with the term *prñnawa*, the construction method of the free-standing tombs mentioned here, with their imitation of Lycian house architecture, nevertheless indeed suggests that they should not be viewed as sarcophagi but instead as actual house tombs. The ogivally pointed roof on top of the flat roof

46. For an alteration of the traditional reading of the name of the tomb builder of this site, discovered by A. Diamantaras in 1894 (*Ñθurigaχã θai* – Ñθurigaχã son of Ta) into *Ñθuriga Xãθai* by D. Schürr: Seyer 2009, 53 with f.n. 10. On this cf. also Kolb 2018, 317 f.

47. A dating of the tomb around the middle of this century or shortly afterwards, postulated by Bryce 1986, 46, Keen 1998, 117, Seyer 2004, 225 f. and Seyer 2009, 53 f., has recently been contradicted by F. Kolb (Kolb 2018, 319). One would cautiously be critical of his late dating, since the architectonic idiosyncrasies of the façade and of the tomb chambers, that are clearly to be interpreted as stages of development, negate this.

48. Benndorf 1899, 25.

49. Even when the definitions are in part differing, the same observation in principle forms the basis of the descriptions, namely, that the sarcophagus chest at the tomb in Çindam is not worked out and the sarcophagus roof is placed directly on the roof of the house tomb: thus, e.g., Demargne 1974, 18 f. with f.n. 12; Zahle 1979, 287 f. (via analogy with a combined location in Bayındır Limanı); Borchhardt – Neumann 1997, 71; Kolb 2018, 318.

50. Hüllden 2006a, 107–109. This designation was taken over by F. Kolb (Kolb 2018, 318).

51. The description by Heberdey is repeated in Kalinka 1901, 65 TL 77; Schweyer 2002, 30.

52. Seyer 2004, 229.

with the characteristic rounded beams and upper fascia, simply represents a variant which in similar form can also be arranged as an arch or as a gable.⁵³ This assumption is supported by numerous rock tombs which correspond to exactly the same type, and of which some are also provided with a Lycian tomb inscription. Amongst these may be mentioned, for example, the tomb of Hanadaza in Seyret (TL 53),⁵⁴ of Ida Maꝥzza in Antiphellos (TL 57) (Fig. 10),⁵⁵ of Appñnatama in Myra (TL 87)⁵⁶ as well as those in Kyaneai (TL 71)⁵⁷ and Tyberissos (TL 76) (Fig. 11)⁵⁸ in whose inscriptions the name of the tomb owner is not preserved. Although even these tombs are occasionally referred to in the scholarship as sarcophagi,⁵⁹ here it is even more clearly recognised than with the free-standing examples that they represent the type of the house tomb, on the top of whose flat roof an additional roof in the form of a pointed arch has been placed. This is particularly evident at the tomb of Appñnatama in Myra (TL 87) and at the tomb in Tyberissos (TL 76), since here it is visible that the pointed arch roof demonstrates no organic connection to the house tomb situated below and having greater dimensions; instead it is conceived as an additional construction on top of the flat roof. In contrast to these two tombs, the roofs of other tomb monuments do indeed evoke the appearance of sarcophagus lids due to the fact that they display similar dimensions as the rest of the tomb. Amongst these can be counted, in addition to the tomb in Kyaneai (TL 71),⁶⁰ also the tomb in Antiphellos (TL 57),⁶¹ to a certain extent the one

53. As an additional example of a tomb site with arched roof, in addition to the tomb mentioned in Çağman, is represented by, e.g., the rock tomb in Hoiran (TL 74): Kalinka 1901, 64, TL 74; Borchhardt – Neumann – Schulz 1984; Mühlbauer 2007, 54 f. As examples of gabled roofs, which appear more frequently than arched roofs, may be mentioned here only that of the free-standing tomb in Isinda (Mühlbauer 2007, 55 f.) and Necropolis V of Limyra (Blakolmer 2005, 14–18; Mühlbauer 2007, figs. 36. 37. 41; Kuban 2012, 358 f.) as well as the examples in the sea necropolis of Myra; these roofs appear on rock tombs as well as on free-standing tombs: Borchhardt 1975, Pl. 57 B. 58 C. 60 A. 61 A–C. 67 A–C. 68 A.

54. Kalinka 1901, 53 TL 53.

55. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 106 fig. 61; Kalinka 1901, 55 f. TL 57; Borchhardt 1993, 12–14.

56. Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 103 fig. 57 Grab B; Kalinka 1901, 69 TL 87.

57. Kalinka 1901, 62 TL 71; Zahle 1979, 334 Cat. 34; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 264 F 7; Kolb 2008, 114. 165 fig. 242, Hüllden 2010, 415–417.

58. Kalinka 1901, 64 f. TL 76; Borchhardt – Şişmanoğlu 1999.

59. Thus e.g. at Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 103; Kjeldsen – Zahle 1975, 333 (here designated as sarcophagus-rock façade).

60. The ogival pointed roof of the tomb in Kyaneai was interpreted, for example, by Kolb 2008, 114 and Hüllden 2010, 416 as a sarcophagus or a sarcophagus lid.

in Seyret (TL 53), or also numerous tomb sites without inscriptions, such as for example the so-called ox-horn tomb in Pinara.⁶²

An essential difference can be observed also in the construction of the ogivally pointed roofs of house tombs and of actual sarcophagi. Thus, although the narrow sides of both types are articulated, nevertheless the gables of house tombs in normal cases manifest a differentiated construction which is arranged, similarly to the façades themselves, into a main structure and a substructure;⁶³ in contrast, those of sarcophagi are generally divided only by a central fillet into two pendentives which might be decorated with reliefs. Only the western side of the gable of the sarcophagus of Ahqqadi displays a similar arrangement as that of free-standing house tombs, a fact which can nevertheless be explained by the fact that the opening into the upper tomb chamber is situated in this location.⁶⁴ In house tombs, in contrast, this subdivision is also found even on those objects which only have a single tomb chamber.⁶⁵ There is, however, one additional detail in the gables of ogivally pointed roofs that underscores the difference between sarcophagi and house tombs: on the façades of the roofs of house tombs, a number of beams project that are probably to be interpreted as imitating actual (house) architecture, and which, tellingly, are not evident on the roofs of sarcophagi.

Furthermore, the fact that “real” sarcophagi, in contrast to the previously mentioned tombs with construction elements, actually only appear as free-standing objects and never carved into the rock can also be evaluated as clear evidence that the large free-standing examples with ogivally pointed roof and with the designation as *prînawa* are to be viewed in just the same way as house tombs, as are their pendant types carved into the rock, and not as sarcophagi. From this observation the difference in the proportions of the chests of actual sarcophagi can also be explained, which is often adduced to differentiate between the two groups, since with

61. Since this roof, furthermore, was designed as the upper tomb chamber for the tomb owner and his wife, it also architectonally received more weight.

62. For an illustration cf., e.g., Bean 1978, Pl. 34.

63. The subdivision of the building elements into a main construction and a substructure follows the principle of K. Schulz, according to which the main construction is composed of the weight-bearing elements of a building, whereas the substructure refers to the secondary elements of the building, that serve to brace it and contribute essentially to the stability of the main body: Schulz 2006.

64. Demargne 1974, 106 Pl. 58, 3.

65. As examples of this may be mentioned amongst the free-standing monuments the tombs of Ddapssm̄ma, the “pillar sarcophagus” in Xanthos as well as the tomb monument mentioned above in Telmessos; amongst the rock-cut tombs, that of Hanadaza in Seyret and the tomb in Tyberissos (TL 76).

these we are dealing fundamentally with two different tomb types. An exception, however, is represented by the sarcophagus of Ahqqadi (Fig. 12). Although its inscription (TL 36) defines it as *prñnawa*, nevertheless – in contrast to the two other tombs in Xanthos, those of Pajawa and of Merehi, and to the tomb site of Ddapsšm̄ma in Pinara – here we are dealing with an actual sarcophagus with an unarticulated chest above a podium. This circumstance is unique and appears to contradict the theory presented here. No convincing explanations can be brought to bear for this, so that we can only speculate about probable reasons. It can nevertheless not be ruled out that Ahqqadi titled his tomb site only via analogy with the two other, distinctly more splendid tombs in Xanthos.⁶⁶

Apart from the differences in the architecture, the presumption that house tombs with ogivally pointed roofs actually represent house tombs is strengthened by the terms employed in the tomb inscriptions. Although their number is indeed so scarce that they cannot be evaluated as irrefutable evidence, nevertheless it is noteworthy that of the five rock-cut tombs with inscriptions, three sites are characterised as *χupa* and one as *prñnawa*,⁶⁷ that is, with the term that normally describes house tombs. In one case (TL 75), the term is not preserved.

§ 5. ñtata

The term *ñtata* is encountered, as mentioned above, a total of twelve times in nine inscriptions. In these, it is employed for a variety of tomb forms such as, for example, free-standing and rock-cut house tombs, yet also for the uncanonical free-standing tomb site of [E⁷]rmaχut[a]w[i⁷] in Isinda (TL 63).⁶⁸ The term *ñtata* also appears as a designation for sarcophagi, as for example in TL 23 and TL 29 (Fig. 13)⁶⁹ in Tlos; in TL 143, the free-standing tomb site for Xudara in Limyra is characterised as *ñtata*.

In addition, the term can admittedly also refer to individual tomb chambers, as for example at the sarcophagus of Ahqqadi, at the rock-cut tomb of Uhetēi in

66. In this connection it nevertheless is noteworthy that the western gable of the lid of this sarcophagus is not designed as in other sarcophagi, but with its detailed articulation is instead more similar to that of house tombs

67. *χupa*: TL 57. 71. 87; *prñnawa*: TL 53.

68. Kalinka 1901, 58 TL 63.

69. In this regard, the claim by G. Neumann that in no inscriptions does *ñtata* have the meaning of ‘sarcophagus’ (Bochhardt – Neumann – Schulz 1997, 70 with f.n. 23) needs to be revised.

Limyra (TL 124) which is described as a *χυρα*,⁷⁰ as well as at the free-standing tomb monument of Xuñijëi in Limyra (TL 118) (Fig. 14).⁷¹ The tomb site of Xudara, provided with three burial chambers, represents a special case, since on the one hand the monument itself carries this identification, while on the other hand the reference in the inscription to a *ñtata* for Pttlezëi and his family also shows that a specific chamber is indicated by this expression.⁷² It is therefore apparent that this term is not reserved for a specific tomb type, but instead is to be understood more generally – in the sense of ‘burial place’; in this manner it was also translated by G. Neumann.⁷³

§ 6. tezi (tezi)

At the burial sites of Xudalije in Kyaneai (TL 72) (Fig. 15), of Xuprija in Tyssa (TL 78) (Fig. 4) and the one at Korba (N 331), which are each designated in their inscriptions as *tezi*, we are dealing with actual sarcophagi with unarticulated chests and ogivally pointed lids. There is no doubt about the construction of the tombs. Although the lids of the sarcophagi in Tyssa and Korba have fallen off the chests, their connection to the lower structure is uncontested as they lie immediately next to them. The fact that the predominantly buried chest of the sarcophagus of Xudalije⁷⁴ has no construction elements preserved but is fashioned as an unarticulated box can only be discerned on the western narrow side, on which the entrance to the interior of the tomb is also situated.⁷⁵ Since the term *tezi* appears on no other type of tomb,⁷⁶ a translation as ‘sarcophagus’, as has often been proposed,⁷⁷ ap-

70. Kalinka 1901, 84 TL 124; Seyer – Kogler 2007, 130–134, Kuban 2012, 196.

71. Kalinka 1901, 81 f. TL 118; Borchhardt – Neumann – Schulz 1985, 91–97, Mühlbauer 2007, 69–71; Kuban 2012, 146–148.

72. Cf. on this, the brief consideration of this term by G. Neumann in Borchhardt – Neumann – Schulz 1997, 69 f.

73. Neumann 2007, 247.

74. Kalinka 1901, 62 f. TL 72; Borchhardt 2002, 26–35; Kolb 2008, 112–114; Hüllden 2010, 118–14. 427–430 with extensive bibliography.

75. The tomb is also reconstructed at Borchhardt 2002, 28 Fig. 9 as a sarcophagus with a chest devoid of architectonic elements.

76. The tombs that are documented in TL 44a, 25 and TL 44b, 41 with this expression are only known from inscriptions, and for this reason they cannot be considered here.

77. In addition to Melchert 2004, 64 and Bryce 1986, 78 f. (TL 88) Houwink ten Cate 1965, 95c also translates it as “...sarcophagus of some special sort”. The translation as ‘sarcophagus’ is also followed, from an archaeological perspective, by e.g. Borchhardt 2002, 34 f. and Schweyer 2002, 20. 29 f. 34.

pears compelling. G. Neumann also originally favoured a translation of this term as ‘sarcophagus’.⁷⁸ Due to the discovery, during the course of a renewed investigation of the inscriptions of Kyaneai, of a Greek bilingual equivalent on the sarcophagus of Xudalije in which the tomb is designated as a $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$, Neumann decided not to restrict the term *tezi* to this narrow definition, but instead to interpret it more generally in the sense of ‘monument’.⁷⁹ The fact that the designation ‘sarcophagus’ cannot in every case be applicable is illustrated by the comparison of the linguistic and archaeological evidence at the rock-cut tomb of Ddaqasa in Myra (TL 88). The grave itself represents a two-part house tomb that is titled in the building inscription as *prñnawa*. In the dedication formula, however, the tomb patron decreed that he and his wife should be buried in the *ñtipa tezi*, probably in the interior of the chamber. T. R. Bryce translated this term as ‘sculptured/inscribed(?) sarcophagus’ or ‘inscribed(?) sarcophagus’.⁸⁰ J. Borchhardt spoke out against this theory, as he correctly indicated that the entrance into the grave chamber was too narrow to accommodate a stone sarcophagus through here into the interior of the tomb. For this reason, he contemplated a coffin or a bier made out of wood.⁸¹ Not only is the width of the entrance, with 0.46 m, too narrow for the insertion of a sarcophagus, but also the size of the tomb chamber, with dimensions of only 2.36 x 2.00 m, speaks against this theory. Since the main area of the chamber, furthermore, is also filled up with stone benches carved out of the rock, only a small space in the middle was available, and for this reason the positioning of a sarcophagus in the interior of the rock-cut tomb can definitively be ruled out.⁸² The evidence at the tomb of Ddaqasa in any event makes plain that a translation of *tezi* as ‘sarcophagus’ in the strictest sense is somewhat vague, which can no doubt also be explained by the circumstance that the etymology of the term is unknown.

§ 7. Conclusion

Lycian tombs which are described in modern scholarship as sarcophagi are documented in their autochthonous inscriptions with the terms *prñnawa*, *ñtata*, *tezi*

78. Neumann 1969, 390; Neumann 2000, 185.

79. G. Neumann in: Zimmermann – Neumann 2003, 189 f.; Neumann 2007, 355. Cf. on this already the notification by Borchhardt 2002, 34, with f.n. 34.

80. Bryce 1980, 170 f.; Bryce 1986, 78 f.

81. Borchhardt 2002, 35.

82. Cf. in contrast A.-V. Schweyer, who identified the *ñtipa tezi* full well as ‘sarcophagus’ and held firm to the notion of the erection of a sarcophagus in the tomb chamber: Schweyer 2002, 30.

(*tezi*) or *mlu*, although *mlu* has not been considered in this article since it is a term from Lycian B. An investigation of the applicable tombs has nonetheless shown that their appellation as sarcophagi is often difficult, since the Lycian terms cannot always be viewed as unambiguous evidence of the denotation of each tomb form in the modern sense.

Three of the free-standing monuments that are described in their inscriptions as *prñnawa* display structural elements from Lycian house architecture and are differentiated in a number of respects from “real” sarcophagi. Especially in connection with their characterisation as *prñnawa*, the architecture of the relevant tombs allows the interpretation that these were in fact conceived as house tombs, just as were the numerous rock-cut tombs of this type, and consequently they should be designated in the same manner. The ogivally pointed roofs constitute only a variant of the flat roof or are an additional crowning element that can just as easily appear in gabled or arched form. Less obvious is the situation in the case of the tombs which are referred to with the expression *ñtata*, since this term was applied to a number of tomb types as well as for individual tomb chambers. Also on one and the same monument, this term could apply to the monument itself as well as to a specific tomb chamber inside it. If nothing else, as the Greek equivalent $\mu\upsilon\eta\mu\alpha$ in the bilingual inscription from TL 6 in Karmylessos suggests, this term is probably to be understood more generally, in the sense of ‘burial site’. Yet the literal equation of *tezi* with ‘sarcophagus’ is not applicable in every case, although the three free-standing monuments in the form of actual sarcophagi (TL 72, TL 78 and N 331) are described using this term. Meanwhile, the fact that this identification is to be understood more generally has also been revealed on the one hand by the Greek equivalent $\mu\upsilon\eta\mu\alpha$ in the bilingual of TL 72, yet the archaeological evidence from the rock-cut tomb of Ddaqasa in Myra also excludes the fact that the *tezi* mentioned in the inscription TL 88 refers to a sarcophagus set up in the chamber of the tomb.

It is not at all the intention of this article to discover new proposals for the translation of designations of tombs in the Lycian inscriptions, which is also in no way possible on the basis of the consideration of the construction manner and the archaeological evidence of these monuments. The present contribution should far rather be understood as a renewed stimulus for increased interdisciplinary research, since it has been shown once again the extent to which archaeology and linguistics are dependent on each other in the study (not only) of Lycian sepulchral material, and that a separated consideration can yield no appreciable success.

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Fig. 1: Map of Lycia
(after Z. Kuban, *Die Nekropolen von Limyra. Bauhistorische Studien zu Klassischen Epoche, Forschungen in Limyra 4*, Vienna 2012).



Fig. 2: Tomb of Pajawa in the British Museum
(Photo: M. Seyer).



Fig. 3: Tomb of Pixre in Antiphellos
(Photo: R. Hügli).



Fig. 4: Sarcophagus of Kulprija in Tyssa
(Photo: R. Hügli).



Fig. 5: Lion Sarcophagus in Xanthos
(Photo: L. Fliesser).



Fig. 6: Sarcophagus of Xītabura in Limyra
(Photo: L. Fliesser).



Fig. 7: Tomb of Ddappssmma in Pinara
(Photo: R. Hügli).



Fig. 8: Tomb of N̄origaḡā in Çindam
(Photo: R. Hügli).



Fig. 9: Tomb of Piñteusi in Çağman
(Photo: G. Landskron).



Fig. 10: Tomb of Ida Mayzza in Antiphellos
(Photo: R. Hügli).



Fig. 11: Tomb in Tyberissos
(Photo: R. Hügli).



Fig. 12: Sarcophagus of Ahqqadi
(Photo: L. Fliesser).



Fig. 13: Sarcophagus of Ikuwe in Tlos
(Photo: L. Fliesser).



Fig. 14: Tomb of Xuñijjēi in Limyra
(Photo: L. Fliesser).



Fig. 15: Sarcophagus of Xudalije in Kyaneai
(Photo: L. Fliesser).

Carian *n* and *ñ*: in Search of a Distribution

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§ 1. *State of the art*

There are two graphemes in the Carian writing system that are consistently transcribed with *ny* in Greek: <n> and <ñ>. Thus, while the approximate value of <ñ> is clear (cf. *ḱtmñō* / Ἐκατομνος; *pñmnn-* / Πονμοοννος; *tñu-* / Τοννους, Adiego 2007: 249), “its exact phonetic value is difficult to determine” (Adiego 2007: 250). Adiego argued that although “in most cases” it can be identified as a syllabic nasal (*pñmnnśñ*, *ñmailomda*, *yrikñ*, *tñus*), the word *pdaḱmśuñ* provides a clear counterexample (to which one can surely add at least *ḱtmñōs* / Ἐκατομνος, the personal name *sñis*, and also *tñus* itself, since there is no evidence for a syllabic nasal in this word). In his view a functional difference is “more probable” than an articulatory difference: “none of the examples seems to support the interpretation of *ñ* as a nasal articulated as palatal, velar, or the like”.

Schürr 2010a: 203 also tried to identify its distribution and claimed: “Das karische *ñ* tritt auf jeden Fall nach Konsonanten auf, in Sinuri aber auch nach Vokal – weil ein Konsonant folgt?” In accordance with this inconclusive statement he later admitted that the change *n* > *ñ* happened “unter nicht ganz klaren Umständen” (2010a: 204) and added that it is doubtful if the rule is the same in Kaunos (cf. below). This is obviously not a solution since it cannot explain the case of Sinuri. Moreover, this alleged distribution does not exist, since there is a postvocalic case outside of Sinuri in the “postconsonantal zone” too, in Stratonikeia

(*mañšqara* Τśrλ-?- [C.St 2], to which even Telmessos and Kaunos can be added, if C.Ka 7 and M32 have <ñ>, but see §2).¹

Furthermore, *otonosn* in C.Ka 5 does not fit either. Schürr 2010a: 203 observed that C.Ka 5 has no <ñ> at all and proposed that this “könnte dafür sprechen, daß der Gebrauch von ñ in Kaunos erst später aufkam”. This must remain open, however, since dating problems prevent a conclusive judgement: six inscriptions show <n> and/or <ñ> (C.Ka 6, 8, 9 and the one published in Kunnert – Schürr – Zingg 2010 show neither), but only four of them can be dated (the dates of C.Ka 4 [without <ñ>] and C.Ka 1 [with <ñ>] are unknown, Marek 2006: 123, Adiego 2007: 153-154 and Marek 2006: 125, Adiego 2007: 159, all with refs., resp.) and they are more or less contemporary: the inscriptions without <ñ> date from before the mid of the 4th c. (C.Ka 1, Roos 1972: 42) and from the last quarter of the 4th c., perhaps early 3rd c. (C.Ka 5, Marek 2006: 119, 121 with refs.), while the inscriptions with <ñ> date from the 4th/3rd c. (C.Ka 2, Robert 1950: 21) and from 400-350 (C.Ka 7, Schmaltz 1998: 209).²

Therefore, the Carian grapheme <ñ> still resists explanation. This paper is devoted to the re-investigation of the problem based on the compilation of all available data (§2) followed by a detailed analysis of the possibilities (§3-4).

§ 2. The data

The following table displays all attested cases of <ñ> based on Adiego’s edition (2007, the texts published since then do not show this sign). As a starting point I kept his segmentation, but to assess the entire phonetic environment, I added the following / preceding signs / words if <ñ> appeared in the initial or final positions (<:> indicates word dividers):

	Form	Function	Note on the reading
1.	<i>añmsñsi</i> (C.Si 2a)	unknown	
2.	<i>ķtmños</i> (C.Si 2a, bis)	PN (gen.)	Εκατομνος and <i>ktmn</i> (E.Th 37), <i>ktmno</i> (E.Th 25)

1. One may add that there are alleged cases of initial position as well (*ñe*-?- [C.Si 2]; *ñmailo*(*m*δa) [C.Si 2a]), but their segmentation is not assured (cf. §2) and thus they cannot be used as counterarguments.

2. A. Kloekhorst (pers. comm.) suggested that the difference between <n> and <ñ> may be length. However, this cannot be the case since <ñ> indicates a singleton in *ķtmños* / Εκατομνος and *ñmn/unśñ* / Πονμοοννος, but a geminate in *tñus* / Τοννοος.

3.	<i>lrTñ</i> : (C.Si 2a)	unknown ³	probably not <i>lruñ</i> (as a possibility in Adiego 2007: 140), cf. <u> in l. 3 (Robert 1950: Pl. II/3) and definitely not <i>lrλñ</i> (<i>contra</i> Schürr 2010a: 202)
4.	<i>mañšqaraTsrł-?-[</i> (C.St 2)	unknown	
5.	⁷ (...)[...] ⁸ ñe-?-[(C.Si 2a)	unknown	
6.	<i>mīkelη</i> ⁴ <i>ñmaiλ</i> (C.Si 2a)	unknown ⁴	
7.	<i>obsm̄smñčñ ouor</i> (C.Ka 2)	unknown	
8.	<i>pdačm̄suñ ki</i> (C.Si 2a)	acc. ⁵	
9.	<i>pisñoi</i> (C.Si 2a)	verb? ⁶	
10.	<i>pñmn̄nsñ</i> : (C.Si 2a) or <i>pñmun̄sñ</i> : (Schürr 2010a: 202 n. 26 based on the photo of the cast)	acc.	Πομιοοννος and cf. <i>pn-ušoλ/wšoλ/ušoλ</i> (E.Me 19,1 / E.Th 27 / E.Th 40); <i>pn-ušo<ll>ś</i> (C.My 1,6); <i>pun-wšoλś</i> (E.Me 21,1); <i>pun-m[u³]ś</i> (E.Me 65)
11.	<i>sñaidlo</i> (C.Si 1)	unknown	
12.	<i>sñis</i> (C.Ka 1)	PN (dat.) ⁷	
13.	<i>stspñ vacat</i> (C.Si 2a)	unknown ⁸	perhaps <i>sospñ</i> with Adiego 2007: 140, but not <i>pospñ</i> <i>contra</i> Schürr 2010a: 202
14.	<i>śysñal[</i> (C.St 1)	unknown	
15.	<i>tñuś</i> (C.Hy 1a)	PN (gen.)	Τοννους
16.	<i>]tuñδñ[</i> (C.Si 2)	unknown	
17.	<i>yričñ</i> : (C.Si 1, bis)	PN (acc. ⁹)	
18.	<i>Tđšqeđormñs[</i> (C.St 2)	unknown ¹⁰	

There are two more cases that are, however, problematic and thus provide only additional arguments:

3. Acc. according to Schürr 2010a: 202.

4. *ñmaiλ* is not a verb (*contra* Adiego 2000:141-142, 2007: 303-304,390) and the segmentation is problematic, see Simon 2017b.

5. Also Schürr 2010a: 202 and Simon 2016-2017: 261.

6. Schürr 2010a: 202 connects it with Hitt. *pešn-* / *pišen-* ‘man’ without any arguments (“wohl”), but it does not help to understand the text and there is no evidence for this connection.

7. Duhoux 2007: 64-65, 70-71; Schürr 2013: 25-27; Simon 2019: 3-5.

8. Acc. according to Schürr 2010a: 202.

9. Also Schürr 2010a: 202-203. Simon 2017a connects it with the second member of the Hier. Luw. PN *A-wariku-*.

10. Acc. according to Schürr 2010a: 203 (“dürfte”).

- 1)]noś/ñ̃ (C.Ka 7): since no photograph has been published, the correct reading cannot be judged.
- 2) The coin inscription M32 (presumably from Telmessos, c. 450-440): it can allegedly be read both as *rbiś* (but this is not visible in the published photo) and as *rbiñ̃*, which would mean the PN Erbbina (Konuk *apud* Adiego 2007: 483; Konuk 2009). Although a connection with the historically attested Erbbina (c. 400-380 BC) is chronologically problematic (but note that the coin can be dated only vaguely, on stylistic grounds), another Erbbina cannot be excluded.

Finally, note that, as shown in the table above, the segmentations are in many cases hypothetical, which also must be considered in the evaluation of possibilities.

§ 3. *The possibilities*

Theoretically there are several possibilities to explain this situation: <n> and <ñ̃> could be chronological, geographical, sociolinguistic, graphic, or positional variants (in the graphemic sense as in the Arabic script or in the phonological sense, i.e. allophones) as well as different phonemes.¹¹ The possibilities of graphic variation (which does not work graphically) and graphemic positional variation can immediately be excluded (both graphemes appear in the same positions: initial, final, pre/postconsonantal/vocalic). In the following the remaining possibilities are examined more closely.

From a chronological point of view there is no doubt that <ñ̃> is secondary, since the equivalents of Carian words in Egyptian Carian inscriptions do not show this sign (cf. the table above). Needless to say, Egyptian Carian could have been the innovative one (i.e. abolishing <ñ̃>), but *pñ̃-* in *pñ̃mu/nñ̃śñ̃* undoubtedly goes back to *puna-* (Adiego 2002: 15, 2007: 337-338; Schürr 2003: 95 n. 6, 2010a: 192; Melchert 2013: 41); thus, we are dealing with a change within Caria after the establishment of the Egyptian Carian alphabet. Hence, the question is if they are free variants in Caria or if <ñ̃> represents a chronologically restricted form.

A free variation can be excluded, since both nasals frequently appear in the same inscriptions (cf. C.Ka 1 [*mnoś*]; C.Ka 2 [many examples]; C.Hy 1 [*mane*,

11. The remaining two possibilities (an ongoing sound change that leads to spelling confusion and an ongoing graphic change, when both signs can be used indiscriminately) are left aside, since they apply only if there is no observable distribution between the graphemes. However, I argue below that this is not the case.

maneś]; C.Si 1 [*binq*]; C.St 1 [[...] *latmneś*]) and even in the same word (C.Si 2a [*pñmu/nñśñ*]).

As for a chronological restriction, due to the large number of undatable inscriptions in Caria one must be very careful regarding chronological issues. The available data show that <*ñ*> is attested at least since the mid of the 4th c.¹² or even from the second half of the 5th c., if the coin evidence is accepted. But does this necessarily mean that it is a late innovation as Schürr 2010a: 202 claimed (“erst im Spätkarischen”)? Datable earlier inscriptions in Caria (setting aside problematic cases, for which see most recently Adiego 2019 with refs.) include C.xx 4-5 (8th c., Nunn – Simon forthcoming), C.Hd 1¹³ (7th c., Türkteki – Tekoğlu 2012: 102), C.xx 3 (6th c., Meier-Brügger 1994), C.Di 1 (6th c., Adiego 2007: 145 with refs.), C.Ia 3 (525-500, Pugliese Carratelli 1985: 149), and C.Ka 9 (end of 6th c.?, Schmalz *apud* Schürr 2010b: 135).¹⁴ C.Hd 1, C.Ia 3, C.xx 1, and C.xx 3 have dental nasals, but without knowing the function of <*ñ*>, we cannot judge whether the dental nasals of these inscriptions could have been at least partly written as <*ñ*> (they show no lexical overlap with the words with <*ñ*>). Hence, this can be discussed only at the end of this paper.

It is theoretically possible that the two signs are geographically distinct. However, this can be excluded, since both nasals appear on the same inscriptions and even in the same word (as per above). Nevertheless, it can be geographically restricted within Caria. It is indeed possible to identify a contiguous territory with <*ñ*> and Schürr 2010a: 203 even claimed that this innovation did not reach Western Caria. However, here we face the same problem as above: until we know its function, we cannot judge if it is missing in the other regions because its function was not needed in these inscriptions or because this sign did not exist in those areas. Again, I return to this problem at the end of the paper.

Although a sociolinguistic distinction would allow that both graphemes appear in the same region and at the same time, this is excluded by the fact that they appear on the same inscriptions and even in the same word, as shown above.

12. C.Si 2 (351/350-344/343, Adiego 2007: 141 with ref.); C.Ka 2 (4th/3rd c., see above); C.Hy 1 (320, Adiego this volume); C.St 2 (268?, Şahin 1980), the dates of C.Ka 1 (as per above), C.Si 1 (Deroy 1955: 316), and C.St 1 (Deroy 1955: 319) are unknown.

13. For the introduction of this siglum see Adiego 2019: 24 n. 5.

14. C.xx 1 (6th c.? [Gusmani 1978: 67] and not “late 6th – 5th c.”, *contra* Adiego 2019: 32 with false reference to Gusmani 1988) is perhaps from Egypt (Schürr 2010b: 134), but see now Adiego 2019: 32-33. The date of C.xx 2 is unknown (Gusmani 1978: 67, and not “late 6th – 5th c.”, *contra* Adiego 2019: 32 with false reference to Gusmani 1988).

What remains is a phonetic or phonological difference. However, we have seen above that the current suggestions do not work. Thus, in the following, I propose a new suggestion.

§ 4. Towards a phonological explanation

A quick look at the above table shows a surprisingly high number of assured cases, where <ñ> stands in the word final position: *lrTñ*, *obsmsmñĉñ*, *pðakmsuñ*, *pñmn/unśñ*, *stspñ*, *yrikñ*. A definitive proof that this is not a coincidence would be if we found the clusters (-)Tn-, (-)ĉn-, (-)un-, (-)śn-, (-)pn-, and (-)kñ- in non-final positions in the region of these inscriptions (Hyllarima, Kaunos, Sinuri, Stratonikeia). There are indeed such cases, though only a few. First, *punot*₂ in an inscription from Kaunos using <ñ> (C.Ka 25).¹⁵ The second case is *pñmn/unśñ*, if Schürr's reading, *pñmunśñ*, is correct, which is supported not only by the cast but also by the fact that this form better fits the Greek version, Πουμοονβοϋ. An argument that this is a coincidence would be if we found these clusters with <ñ> in non-final positions in the region of these inscriptions, but this is again not the case. There are only two apparent exceptions: First, *pñmn/unśñ*, but we do know that this is a compound name with *pñ* as its first member (cf. above); thus, it does not refute but rather strengthens the observation that the spelling with <ñ> is connected with its final position. The second exception is *]tuñδñ[*, but since the inscription is fragmentary, we do not understand the inscription or the correct segmenting, so we cannot rule out that it could be segmented as *]tuñ δñ[*. The fact that <ñ> is followed here by the prenasalized consonant <δ> may even point to a word-boundary between the two.

Moreover, one more case can probably be added to the list of word final <ñ>: the reason for segmenting *]sbañmsñsimða* as *]sb añmsñsi mða* was the identification of *sb* 'and' (setting aside now the issue of *mða*), which was supported by the comparison of *añ msñsi* with the phrase 'mother of the gods' in other Luwic languages (Luw. *anniš maššanaššiš* [which is, however, not attested yet] and Lycian *[ē]ni mahanahi*) by Adiego 2007: 352, 452. But 'mother' is *en* in Carian (historically with an umlaut due to the *i*-mutation) and thus this analysis cannot be upheld.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the comparison with *msn* 'god' sounds convincing and the

15. The segmentation of further possible cases (*un* [C.Ka 57, 13] and *und* [C.Ka 57]) is not assured.

16. The word *añ* could be connected with *en* only if *añ* can be explained from an oblique case, i.e. from a case that was not influenced by *i*-mutation. Since in the proposal 'mother of the gods'

correct segmentation is accordingly]*sbañ msñsi(mða)* (the same segmentation was proposed by van den Hout 1999: 33-34, 38-49, albeit on other, unprovable grounds), thereby providing one more case of word final <ñ>. *msñsi(mða)* may offer one more case if it is to be segmented as *msñ si(mða)*, which is possible but cannot be proved since we do not understand the text and a derivative of *msñ* in -*s(i)*- (a genitival adjective or an appurtenance adjective) cannot be excluded either (for further analysis, see below). At this juncture one may point to *mañšqaraTšrλ-?-[* as a counterexample due to its -*añ-* in a non-final position, but since we do not understand the text and we cannot segment the text properly, it cannot be excluded that *mañšqaraTšrλ-?-[* is to be read as *mañ šqaraTšrλ-?-[*, i.e., as one more case of word final <ñ>. Moreover, a sequence -*an-* can be found, as expected, in assured non-final position in the inscriptions of this region, see the personal name *mane* (nom.), *manes* (gen.) in C.Hy 1.

Further possible cases of word final <ñ> include both problematic cases,]*noś/ñ* and *rbiñ*. No (-)*o/iñ-* can be found in a non-final position, but an expected (-)*in-* is attested in *biñq* (C.Si 1, segmentation assured through word dividers). Many of the cases, where meaning and segmentation are unclear could also fit:

(1) *mtkely⁴ñmaiλo* as *mtkely⁴ñ maiλo*, where the context may even require an accusative (Simon 2017b, on line and word boundaries see above, note that <η> is a prenasalised consonant [Adiego 2007: 252, 2019: 34-35, 37; Kloekhorst 2008: 139], thus it can be followed by a nasal);

(2) ⁷(...)[...] ⁸*ñe-?-[* as ⁷(...)[...] ⁸*ñ e-?-[* (note that line boundaries do not coincide with word boundaries in C.Si 2);

(3) *obsmsmñ⁴ñ* as *obsmsmñ⁴ñ*;

(4)]*tuñδñ[* as]*tuñ δñ [* (cf. also above);

(5) *Tδšqedormñs[* as *Tδšqedormñ s[* (which may be supported by the previous line *daršqemorms[*: if it is to be segmented as *daršqemorm s[*, one may segment a word *orm* [nom.], *ormñ* [acc.] of unknown meaning, cf. also Schürr 2010a: 203, Kunnert – Schürr – Zingg 2010: 177).

These words obviously are not evidence for the current hypothesis, but note that they cannot be used as counterevidence either.

‘mother’ must be in the nominative, a lexicalised phrase cannot solve the problem. Another possibility would be a compound: although we know very little about Carian compounds, in analogical Hittite cases the word for ‘mother’ occupies the second position in the compound: see esp. ^{MUNUS}*šiuñzanna-* / *šiuwanzanna-* ‘a priestess < AMA.DINGIR ‘mother.god’ (Brosch 2010: 268-269), which argues against this assumption.

Thus, the following words remain: *ḱtmñōs*, *tñūs*, *pisñoi*, *sñaidlo*, *sñis*, and *sysñal*[. It is remarkable that in the last four cases <ñ> follows an *s* and thus it is tempting to explain the presence of <ñ> in this way (this could be the alternative explanation for *msñsi(mḁa)* quoted above, if it is not to be segmented as *msñ si(mḁa)* but as *msñs^o* as a derivative of *msn*). The problem is the usual one: since we do not understand these inscriptions, we cannot exclude the possibility that the correct segmentation of these words is *pisñ oi(mḁa)* (note that the word dividers of this inscription segment also bigger units than single words), *sñ aidlo* (e.g. with enclitic demonstrative pronoun ‘this’, cf. already Adiego 2000: 152, 2007: 413, for the clitic behaviour of the demonstrative pronouns in Carian see Simon forthcoming), and *sysñ al*[. *Sñis* seems to be assured, but in fact, it is the dative form of a personal name attested in E.Ab 16, E.AS 8, and C.Kr 1 as *snś* in the genitive (Duhoux 2007: 64–65, Schürr 2013: 27 [who would also add *san* in G1, but this is usually interpreted as a demonstrative pronoun, Adiego 2007: 410 with refs.], Simon 2019: 3–4), thus, its stem is *sn-*. Schürr 2013:27 suggested that *sñi-* is a derivative of it. This is possible, but there are two other possibilities. First, considering the notorious lack of Carian vowels, especially in the environment of syllabic consonants and sibilants (Adiego in press), the nominative of *sñis* could have been not only **sñi* but also **sñ*. Second, the ^oi^o may have belonged to the dative ending. In fact, this can be supported by another case: Egyptian names adapted into Carian preserved only one vowel, the final one (e.g. *Npro* / Νεφερως), unless the final vowel was [i], in which case the penultimate vowel was kept (e.g. *Pdtom* / Πετεθ/τωμις, for this rule Simon in preparation). Nevertheless, the dative form *Ntokris* (E.Me 35, Ντωκρις) shows a “superfluous” ^oi^o before the *-s* of the dative. Both cases can be satisfactorily explained if the dative ending was *-is* in these cases. Either way, both possibilities mean that the nominative form in Kaunos is **Sñ* and this new stem is reflected in *sñis*.

This is an important observation because it helps explain the remaining two cases, the two personal names *ḱtmñōs* and *tñūs*. *ḱtmñōs* is, without doubt, the genitive form of the Carian name known in Greek transmission as Εκατομνος, also known in the nominative as *ktmn* (E.Th 37).¹⁷ The latter form shows that the nominative ended in a nasal and thus the expected nominative form in Sinuri is **ḱtmñ*,

17. It is also attested in an inscription consisting solely of the word *ktmno* (E.Th 25), traditionally understood as nominative (Adiego 2007: 375). While this is possible, in which case *ktmn* of E.Th 37 is obviously a secondary form (there is no evidence for an incomplete form as cautiously suggested by Adiego 2007: 104, 410), it must be noted that, formally speaking, it could represent a dative and that these inscriptions have never been properly edited.

which would regularly lead to the attested *ktmñōs*. A similar explanation can be formulated for *tñūs* too: this is a genitive form, the nominative of which must have been either **tñ* or **tñu*; given the notorious lack of Carian vowels (as per above), **tñ* seems more probable.

The remaining question is that of the counterexamples, i.e., if there are inscriptions with <n> in the final position from this region. There are indeed, but interestingly enough, all of them originate in Kaunos: *ann* (C.Ka 3) and *otonosn* (C.Ka 5, *bis*). Since Kaunos has inscriptions both with and without <ñ> and no sociolinguistic distribution can be observed,¹⁸ one has to agree with Schürr 2010a: 203 that there must be an underlying chronological distinction, even if it cannot be proven currently (as per above), i.e., <ñ> as a new phoneme / allophone (cf. below) appeared only later in Kaunos. This coincides with the geographical position of Kaunos as an outlier in comparison with the zone with the sign <ñ>, which comprises the sites of Hyllarima, Sinuri, and Stratonikeia in inland Central Caria.

In other words, all cases can be explained either as cases with word final <ñ> or cases in which word final <ñ> analogically spread in the paradigm.¹⁹ This means that the usage of <ñ> is not graphically conditioned (i.e. it is not the word final [n]) and it is no longer solely an allophone, since <ñ> appears in contexts, in which it did not exist originally: it represents a different phoneme. To identify this phoneme, one must investigate what happens cross-linguistically in the case of the change *n* > <ñ> / _# (which was the synchronic rule before the phonemicization).

Indeed, there are cases of a final [n] changing into a similar, but different nasal. In Hungarian, it became the palatal nasal <ny> [ɲ] (although dialectal mixture eliminated many cases) and in Northern Italian dialects or in Nganasan (a Samoyedic language), it became the velar nasal [ŋ] (Kümmel 2007: 226-227, the latter is not to be confused with the Carian sign transcribed as <ŋ>, which is a prenasalised consonant, cf. above). It is slightly more probable that <ñ> represents the palatal nasal [ɲ], because, at least in theory, it would have been possible to express the velar nasal in the Greek transcriptions, but this did not happen.

Finally, in view of this proposal we can return to the two questions we left open: is this sign or, more precisely, this sound change chronologically or geographically restricted? Among the earlier datable inscriptions C.xx 1 and C.Ia 3

18. The inscriptions both with and without <ñ> include both private (C.Ka 1 [tomb], C.Ka 7 [shard] and C.Ka 3 [tomb], resp.) and official (C.Ka 2 and C.Ka 4, C.Ka 5, resp.) inscriptions.

19. An important consequence of this description is that the <ñ> of the untranslatable cases above may not only be their final phoneme, but also can represent a stem consonant followed by suffixes and/or endings.

have words with dental nasals in the final position that are written as *snn* and *orkn* in the former and *šann* in the latter. Since they are dated to the 6th c. and to 525-500 (as per above), but <ñ> is attested at least from the mid 4th c., or from the mid 5th c. if the coin evidence is accepted, one can date the sound change to the first half of the 5th c. BC.

As for the geographic distribution, setting aside the regions without attested final dental nasal (Alabanda, Didyma, Hydai, Keramos, Kildara, Kindye, Mylasa),²⁰ final <n> is well attested in many other inscriptions in Tralleis (*°mon* [C.Tr 1], *an* [C.Tr 2]), Euromos (*śdun*, *°armon*, *°manon* [C.Eu 2]) and Iasos (cf. above). Thus, one can distinguish two zones within Caria along a southwestern-northeastern diagonal, north of which this innovation did not spread (thus, the term “Western Caria” used by Schürr 2010a: 203 for this territory is not precise). Considering that Hyllarima, Sinuri, and Stratonikeia group together in inland Central Caria while Kaunos, where this change presumably appeared later, is an outlier in the south, one may assume that this sound change originated in inland Central Caria.

§ 5. *Conclusions*

The Carian grapheme <ñ> is the result of a sound change in the first half of the 5th c., when the word final *n* became <ñ>, presumably [ɲ], in inland Central Caria, from which it later spread to Kaunos, but not to Northern Caria. Although originally an allophone, due to paradigmatic levellings, it appeared later in word internal positions, thus reaching phonemic status.

§ 6. *Addendum*

After the submission of the manuscript, a photograph of C.Ka 7 was published (Çörtük, Ufuk – Gander, Max – Holler, Barbara: Das Fragment eines Kultgegenstandes mit karischer Inschrift aus Kaunos. *Kadmos* 57 [2018] 118), which shows that its correct reading is]x *noś*. Accordingly, all references to C.Ka 7 in this paper should be omitted.

20. C.Ha 1 is not from Halikarnassos, as its siglum implies, because its provenance is unknown. However, its alphabet and orthography clearly point to an Egyptian origin, see Simon forthcoming with refs. Adiego 2019: 32-33 still argues for a provenance from Halikarnassos based on his tentative identification of the term *alosδ karnosδ* from the inscription with the name Halikarnassos. This suggestion has obvious unsolved phonological and morphological problems and requires a thorough discussion elsewhere.

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The Lydian Dating Formulae

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The decipherment of the Lydian language started in earnest slightly more than a hundred years ago with the publication of the first corpus of Lydian inscriptions (Littmann 1916).¹ The intervening period has seen much progress in the interpretation of its structure. We know now that Lydian is an Anatolian language, probably more closely related to the Luwic group than to Hittite. The majority of grammatical morphemes occurring in Lydian texts have been identified with a reasonable degree of certainty, which usually enables us to perform clause segmentation and analyze the architecture of individual clauses regardless of whether we understand the content of the respective texts. At the same time, even the most familiar Lydian passages sometimes continue to present grammatical problems of both synchronic and historical nature. Below, I intend to address one of such cases. I chose the Lydian dating formulae as the topic of my contribution to this volume in the hope that they will provide a suitable background for the discussion of the newly identified dating formula in the related Carian language (Adiego 2019, § 5).

1. The content of this paper was first presented at the international conference *Beyond all Boundaries: Anatolia in the 1st Millennium BC* (Ascona, June 2018), organized by Annick Payne and Jorit Wintjes. I am obliged to the conference participants for their constructive feedback. I am particularly grateful to Craig Melchert (Carrboro, NC), Rostislav Oreshko (Leiden), Elisabeth Rieken (Marburg) and Miguel Valério (Bologna) for useful discussions. Naturally, I am alone responsible for all the possible shortcomings of this article.

A number of Lydian inscriptions, including tombstones, dedications, and official decrees, assign them to regnal years of particular Persian or Macedonian kings of the fifth/fourth century BCE. Thus, the “Rosetta Stone” of Lydian studies, the Lydian and Aramaic bilingual LW 1, contains the Aramaic phrase *b 5 lmrḥšwn šnh* 10 *’rthšš mlk’* ‘on (day) 5 of (month) Marcheshwan, year 10 of King Artaxerxes’. The Lydian version of the respective bilingual lost its upper line, therefore only the end of the dating formula *[o]raλ išl pakill* ‘in the *išl*- month of Bacchus’ is extant there.² Luckily, there are a sufficient number of monolingual Lydian inscriptions that fully preserve the initial formulae bearing distinct resemblance to the Aramaic one. They can easily be recognized through numerical expressions preceded by the forms *porlλ/forlλ* or *prwā(v)*. With the one exception of LW 23, they always occur at the beginning of the text.³

Phrases with <i>porlλ/forlλ</i>	Phrases with <i>prwā(v)</i>
LW 2.1-2 [p]oꝛlλ X III II oraλ cuwellλ artaksaššaλs [q]aλmλuλ dāv	LW 3.1 prwāv III II aλikšāntruλ dāv
LW 41.1-2 porlλ X III III arta[kšass]aλ qaλmλuλ dāv oraλ kanlalaλ	LW 23.4-5 prwās III II dāv
LW 42.1 porlλ XI ora[λ]	LW 43.1-2 prwāv II dāv oraλ kanlelaλ
LW 50 foꝛlλ XII oraλ kanlelaλ [...]tralaλ aλikšāntruλ [q]aλmλuλ dāv	
LW/N 110 porlλ X III III I artaksaersaλ qaλmλuλ dāv	

Table 1: Dating formulae in Lydian texts.

2. The Lydian transliteration conventions adopted in this paper incorporate the new values proposed in Schürr 1997: 201, fn.1 (<p>, <s>, <š>, and <w> for the earlier , <š>, <s>, and <v> respectively). At the same time, I retain the traditional <c>, as opposed to Schürr’s <δ>, and <ē>, as opposed to Schürr’s <â>. The abbreviation LW+number is used for the Lydian inscriptions published in Gusmani 1964 and its supplements under the respective numbers. The abbreviation LW/N is deployed for the more recent epigraphic discoveries, which could not be taken into consideration in the *Lydisches Wörterbuch*. For the publication places of LW/N inscriptions, see Payne 2016: 77, fn. 80.

3. In addition to the inscriptions listed in the table below and the bilingual LW 1, one should also mention the Lydian fragments LW 16 and LW 59. The fragment LW 16 contains the sequences *porlλ s[-* and *[qa]λmλuλ dāv*, which are likely to belong to the same dating formula, although *s[-* at the place where one expects a number requires explanation. A feature shared by this inscription with LW 23 is the non-initial position of the assumed dating formula within the text. LW 59 begins with the sequence *porlλ xoꝛ[*, where <x> is the sign that does not seem to occur otherwise in the Lydian inscriptions, although it bears a degree of resemblance to <d> and <w>. Gusmani (1975: 2) cautiously hypothesizes that this may be an unknown number. Such a hypothesis, however, leaves unexplained the lack of word space between *x* and the following letter. This paper takes no stance on the interpretation of LW 59.

Already in the early days of the decipherment of Lydian, scholars came to the understanding that the Lydian forms *oraλ*, *porλλ/prwāv*, and *qalmluλ* refer to the ‘month’, ‘year’ and ‘king’ respectively (Gusmani 1964: 84-86, 178-180). The element *porλλ/prwāv* is always followed by a number, while the occurrences of *qalmluλ* in the dating formulae are always preceded by the name of a king, either Artaxexes or Alexander. The element *oraλ* usually occurs between *porλλ/prwāv* and *qalmluλ*, while the immediately following segments can be interpreted as month names. An etymological argument for such a solution comes from the bilingual LW 1: the Aramaic month Marcheshwan corresponds to October-November, the end of wine harvest season in the Mediterranean area, so the name “month of Bacchus” appears to be quite logical for its Lydian equivalent. More weight, however, must be assigned to the combinatory analysis: the Aramaic formula mentions the king, his regnal year, month, and day, while the Lydian one mentions the king, his regnal year, and an additional variable. Since referring to days without months would make no sense, one has to assume that the Lydians did the converse.⁴

The lack of precise dates in Lydian inscriptions could go hand in hand with the omission of a month name (LW 3), no reference to the ruling king (LW 43), or the combination of both gaps (LW 23). The majority of the Lydian inscriptions simply lack dating formulae, with no obvious distribution across genres. It stands to reason that the Lydians had a more relaxed attitude toward time than the one implied by the Official Aramaic formulary. Such a state of affairs does not need to amaze us. The Lycian monumental inscriptions of roughly the same period show even less precision in dating: at best one finds the reference to a ruling dynast or Persian official, e.g., TL 103.3 *ēnē : periklehe : xñtawata* ‘under the rule of Perikle’, N 320.1-2 *ēke : trm̄misñ : xssaθrapazate pigesere* ‘when Pixodaros was the satrap in Lycia’. On the other hand, even when the regnal year is present, it is usually not conducive to establishing the precise date of a Lydian monument. Only indirect evidence can sometimes help us to discriminate between references to Artaxerxes I (465-424 BCE), Artaxerxes II (404-358 BC), and Artaxerxes III (358-338 BC) or Alexander III “the Great” (ruled Lydia in 333-323 BC) and Alexander IV (nominally ruled Lydia in 323-309 BC). This is, of course, not an issue if one

4. In etymological terms, Lyd. *ora-* ‘month’ is usually compared with Luwian /ar(i)-/ ‘time’ and Lycian A *nure/i-* ‘new moon’ (Neumann 2007: 245, 2010, Dočkalová and Blažek 2011: 415). The alternative proposal of Norbert Oettinger, implying a direct comparison with Hitt. and Luw. *arma-* ‘moon’ and made at conference *Beyond all Boundaries: Anatolia in the 1st Millennium BC* (Ascona, June 2018), is currently *sub judice*. The month names can be accompanied by extensions in the same case, *išlλ* in LW 1 and [...]*tralaλ* in LW 50, whose interpretation remains unclear.

assumes that the Lydian dating formulae were intended for a short time span, for example, as aide-memoire for the immediate relatives of the deceased.

Returning to the grammar of the formulae, it is a matter of universal agreement that the final $-λ$ of nominal forms is the dative-locative singular ending (Gérard 2005: 80), while $-āv$ in *prwāv* represents the ending of oblique (genitive-dative-locative) plural (Gérard 2005: 83-84).⁵ Given the content of the message, one is naturally tempted to assume that the function of both endings is the locative of time. Much, however, depends on the function of the element *dāv*, which occurs in every single fully preserved inscription. Gusmani (1964: 96-97) followed the traditional interpretation of this element as a verbal form derived from the root $*dō$ ‘to give’ and the same analysis is still retained in Gusmani and Akkan 2004. This consensus was challenged in Melchert 1997: 35-38 in favour of the synchronic interpretation of *dāv* as a postposition. If one accepts this hypothesis, as most scholars do nowadays, then the use of the dative-locative case in the formulae under discussion is syntactically determined. Another relatively recent advance in the interpretation of the phrases under discussion concerns the identification of the non-Wackernagel clitic particle $=s$ in *artaksašsal=s* and *prwā=s* (Melchert 1991: 132-133). Its addition does not appear to change much in the sense of the respective phrases, but its segmentation yields the familiar dative-locative endings.

The issues of synchronic grammar, which, in my opinion, have not yet been settled, are the meaning of the postposition *dāv* and the distribution between the forms *porll/forll* and *prwā(v)*. For Craig Melchert, who advanced his analysis on purely distributional grounds, the postposition *dāv* meant ‘from, since’. He operated with two different constructions depending on whether the word for ‘king’ is mentioned in the formula. Under his interpretation, *porll X III III arta[kšass]al qałmłul dāv* would mean ‘in the fifteenth year since King Artaxerxes’, while *prwāv II dāv* would mean ‘since two years’. While the syntactic analysis of Melchert 1997 clearly represents progress, the translation ‘from, since’, accepted in the same source, may be open to doubt. The coexistence of two different syntactic

5. There is a consensus that the Lydian oblique plural ending developed via functional extension from the Proto-Indo-Anatolian genitive plural ending (Gérard 2005: 84). The origin of the dative-locative singular ending $-λ$ remains a matter of debate. My personal preference is to compare it with the Hittite adverbial suffix $-li$, as, e.g., in *luwi-li* ‘in Luwian’, *šunili* ‘like a god’. It is important to observe in this connection that the Lydian dative-locative ending can be used with a similar function, e.g., in LW 23.7 *ak=m=av prafršiš prafrll šawtarid* ‘Let the steward manage it for me as befits a steward’ or LW 24.9-10 *puk=mλ=it pasvsak vākid niwisll qelλ-k* ‘Or if one causes it impurity through some impious act’. The recent alternative proposal in Kloekhorst 2012 is semantically more straightforward but phonetically more problematic.

patterns remains pragmatically unclear, while the formula *prwāv III II alikšāntruλ dāv* appears to represent the mixture of the two formal types. If one interprets it as ‘in five years since Alexander (the King)’, then the syntactic distribution postulated by Melchert loses connection with the morphological distribution between *porlλ/forlλ* and *prwā(v)*, which begs the question about the overall rationale for postulating two different syntactic constructions.

It is the contention of the present paper that we are dealing with the same prepositional construction in both cases, while the postposition *dāv* could reinforce the locative/temporal meaning with inanimate complements and mean ‘under, in the lifetime of’ with animate complements. Accordingly, the three phrases treated in the previous paragraph can be translated as ‘in year fifteen under King Artaxerxes’, ‘in year two’, and ‘in year three under Alexander’. While reducing the complexity of syntactic description represents an advantage in itself, I intend to argue that the proposed solution also contributes to elucidating several additional aspects of Lydian grammar.

To begin with the tritest observation, the new interpretation of *dāv* is semantically more natural: other things being equal, one expects a preposition with the locative meaning as the syntactic head of a dating formula. But this new proposal is also consistent with the etymology of this lexeme offered in Yakubovich 2005. The Lydian prefix *da-* and postposition *dāv* were compared there with Hitt. *anda* ~ Luw. /anta/, and Hitt. *andan* ~ Luw. /antan/ respectively. Both Hittite and Luwian local adverbs have a variety of functions, but usually they can be translated as ‘in(to)’. The Lycian preverb *ñte* ‘in’, a further presumable counterpart of Lydian *da-*, supplies an independent argument for the aphaeresis in this adverbial root in Anatolian languages of the first millennium BCE (cf. Neumann 2007: 246-247). Additional evidence for aphaeresis comes from the Carian preposition *den* /nden/, compared with Hitt. *andan* in Adiego 2007: 363.⁶ Now, it is also likely that we have gained the counterpart of Hitt. *anda*, attested in the phrase *δα κδουσο Πίλιπυς*

6. The conclusions offered in Yakubovich 2005 have recently been challenged in Oreshko 2019: 201-203 on the grounds that the cluster [nd-] was unlikely to yield a voiced dental stop or fricative in Lycian because of the initial devoicing (or fortition), which is common to all the Anatolian languages. Oreshko concludes that “the origin and exact meaning of the Lydian *da-* and *dāv* remain thus unclear”. I believe that the difficulties outlined in Oreshko 2019: 201–203 can easily be overcome by suggesting a relative chronology, according to which the Lydian change [nd-] > [d-] postdates both the voicing neutralization of word-initial dental stops and the adaptation **d- > l-* in loanwords from Greek. Note that Oreshko 2019 does not address the Carian adpositions, which are phonetically situated precisely halfway between the state of affairs in Hittite / Luwian and the development postulated for Lydian.

‘under the kingship of Philip’ (C.Hy 1, cf. Adiego 2019, § 8.1). Although this construction does not precisely match Lyd. *arta[kśass]al qalmluḷ dāv* ‘under King Artaxerxes’, it reveals the parallel pattern of semantic change of ‘in’ to ‘under, in the lifetime of’ in Carian and Lydian.⁷

At the same time, Craig Melchert (pers. comm.) points out to me that the direct comparison between Hitt. *andan* and Lyd. *dāv* / Car. *den* is hindered by the lack of independent evidence for the word-final accent in proto-Anatolian **endon*, while Greek ἔνδον ‘inside’ speaks rather against it. In a similar vein, Oreshko (2019: 202-203) argues that **endó* > Lyc. *ñte* contrasts with the cognate local adverb **éñdi* > Lyc. *ēti*. The solution to this problem again belongs to Craig Melchert: Lyd. *dāv* and Car. *den* can be reconstructed as **endó-en*, where **en* is the original local adverb, which evolved into the productive suffix with a locative meaning. For other instances of **-en* forming secondary local adverbs in various Anatolian languages, including Lydian, see Boroday and Yakubovich 2018.⁸

To be sure, the proposed translation of *dāv* as ‘in, under’ does not automatically solve all the problems. The main hurdle that remains in the way of analyzing all the Lydian dating formulae in a uniform fashion is the discrepancy between phrases in the two columns of Table 1, showing *porlḷ* / *forlḷ* and *prwā(v)* as the word for ‘year’. There is no scholarly consensus about the relationship between these forms. Gusmani (1964: 84-86) provisionally assigns them to two separate lemmata. The stem *porli-* is regarded as the adjectival derivative of *prwa-* in Caruba 1969: 47 and Hajnal 2004: 198-199, although the latter work emphasizes the lack of semantic difference between the two forms. The derivational analysis is also implied in Gérard 2005: 40, where *porlḷ* is directly compared with Hitt. *purulli-* ‘yearly festival’. In contrast, Melchert (1997: 36) suggests that the difference between *porlḷ* and *prwāv* is that of grammatical number. I am convinced that the last hypothesis has much to recommend itself, and in the discussion to follow I intend to provide new independent arguments in its favour.

7. Furthermore, in my opinion, the clitic or case ending *-δ* attested in the Carian phrase *alos-δ karnos-δ* (C.xx.2) in contrast with *alos karnos* (E.Me 45) is ultimately related to the same group of local adverbs. Nevertheless, the function of both phrases still remains unclear beyond the fact that they refer in some way to the town of Halicarnassus (Adiego 2019, § 15).

8. It is appropriate to report here an additional case of a fusion involving **en*, which does not concern the local adverbs and is not reported in Boroday and Yakubovich 2018. The regular dative/locative case of the Lycian pronoun *ebe-* ‘this’ is *ebehi*, but there also dedicated locative forms TL 149.5, N 314b 5 *ebehē*, TL 54 1 [e]behē, TL 54 3 eb[eh]ē, TL 148 ebāhā.

The problem obviously has both semantic and formal sides. On the one hand, one has to see whether the contextual distribution between the two forms could be motivated in terms of grammatical number. On the other hand, one has to establish whether their respective shapes are compatible with such a hypothesis. We shall begin with the first task, as it is relatively more straightforward. A mere glance at Table 1 is sufficient to realize that the form *prwã(v)* precedes the numerals two and five, whereas *porlł/forlł* is combined with numerals that are all larger than ten. This is broadly consistent with the split in the syntactic properties of numerals in the Anatolian languages of the second millennium BCE. As Bauer 2009 demonstrated for Luwian, the numerals ‘2’—‘4’ are normally combined with plural quantified nouns, while ‘5’ and higher numerals usually co-occur with singular nouns in this language. The same conclusion was reached in Rizza 2012 and Rieken 2013 with regard to Hittite.

To be sure, the distribution in Lydian is slightly different, because here ‘5’ apparently sides with lower numbers. From the typological perspective, however, such a situation is by no means unusual: thus, the numerals ‘2’—‘5’ display common syntactic properties, as opposed to the higher numbers, in the Dravidian language Kannada and the Bantu language Chinyanja / Chichewa (Corbett 1978: 363-364), while Egyptian Arabic shows different agreement patterns for numerals lower and higher than ‘10’ (Corbett 1978: 365-366). Therefore, one can hypothesize that the boundary between higher and lower numbers shifted during the evolution of Lydian, while the difference in their syntactic properties remained essentially unchanged.

Another peculiarity of the Lydian formulae is that the numerals there follow the nouns they specify, whereas in Hittite and Luwian they normally precede the quantified nouns. This arguably correlates with the difference in their respective semantic properties: in Lydian *prwãv II dãv* apparently means ‘in year two’ / ‘in the second year’, rather than ‘in two years’. As the English example above shows, a referential phrase with a cardinal number may cross-linguistically display not only syntactic but also morphological differences from a quantificational phrase. Nevertheless, since Lyd. *prwãv* would remain a plural noun under any circumstances, the most economic analysis would be to assume that the formal difference between the constructions ‘in x years’ and ‘in year x’ in Lydian consisted merely in word order. Additional evidence in favour of the same hypothesis comes from Carian: the phrase *usot muot* ‘in year four’ / ‘in the fourth year’ in C.Hy 1 can be now compared with 1 *usot* ‘in one year (?)’ in C.Ke 1 and 2 (cf. Adiego 2019, § 14).

While the meaning of the Carian case ending *-or* has not yet be fully clarified, one can see that its use with the noun ‘year’ is not affected by word order permutation.⁹

Turning to the formal side of the problem, it is commonly accepted that *porlλ* and *prwāv* contain the dative-locative singular and oblique plural endings respectively (see above). The subject of controversy is the element *-l-* in *por-l-λ*. Since the suffix *-l(i)-* is used for the formation of Lydian possessive adjectives (Gérard 2005: 86), the temptation to analyse *porlλ* as an adjectival form is quite understandable. This solution would, however, imply that the Lydian numerals between ‘2’ and ‘5’, but not those higher than ‘10’, syntactically function as possessors of the quantified nouns. Such a state of affairs would be unparalleled in the Anatolian languages and odd from the cross-linguistic perspective. Although Universal 1 formulated in Corbett 1978: 363 acknowledges that “the syntactic behaviour of simple cardinal numeral’ will always fall between that of adjectives and nouns”, according to the Universal 2 (ibid.) “if the simple cardinal numerals of a given language vary in their syntactic behaviour, the numerals showing nounier behaviour will denote higher numerals than those with less nouny behaviour”. For example, the Russian numerals ‘2’–‘4’ behave as syntactic attributes of the quantified direct objects, whereas numerals higher than ‘5’ occupy the syntactic slot of a direct object and trigger the genitive plural marking of the quantified nouns (Corbett 1978: 356-357). The putative Lydian construction with “nouny” numerals and possessive adjectives would violate Universal 2, since the numerals in question are associated with the lower end of the scale.

Fortunately for our analysis, there is a different morphological solution. The element *-l-* (with the variant *-λ-*) represents a redundant extension of several Lydian nouns and adjectives, which emerges before the regular dat.sg ending *-λ*. It usually shows up in synchronic consonantal or semi-consonantal stems, while the vocalic stems show no morphological complications in the dative-locative singular forms. In the table below, the examples that can be considered as parallels to *por-l-λ* have been shaded in light grey.

9. Alternatively, one can simply assume that word order did not directly affect the semantics of constructions “numeral+year” in Lydian and/or Carian, while their interpretation with reference to time span vs. point in time was the matter of factoring in the broader context. As a possible parallel, contrast the English sentences ‘He completed this project in two years’ and ‘In two years (from now) he will begin a new project’. Note that the one clear case of a postposed numeral in Luwian (ASSUR letter a, § 11) features a quantificational phrase but irregular morphology (Bauer 2011: 226). Perhaps, this was just an instance of an afterthought.

Dative-locative singular forms	Stems (with characteristic paradigmatic forms)
<i>wānal</i> (e.g., LW 6.2, 7.3)	<i>wāna-</i> ‘grave’, nom.sg <i>wānas</i> (passim)
<i>mruł</i> (e.g., LW 1.5, 8.8)	<i>mru-</i> ‘stele’, nom.sg <i>mrud</i> (e.g., LW 8.1, 26.1)
[<i>ka</i>]weł (LW 24.21)	<i>kawe-</i> ‘priest’, nom.sg <i>kawes</i> (e.g., LW 23.6.24.2)
<i>niwisłł</i> (LW 24.10)	<i>niwis(u)-</i> ‘unholy, impious’ (vel sim.), acc.pl.n <i>niwiswa</i> (LW 44.1.17)
<i>ipsimłł</i> (LW 54.6)	<i>ipsimv-</i> ‘Ephesian’, obl.pl. <i>ipšimvav</i> (LW 2.10), secondary nom.sg <i>ipsimšiš</i>
<i>młimłł</i> (LW 22.14)	<i>młimn-</i> ‘Mermnad’, obl.pl <i>młimnav</i> (LW 22.8)
<i>prafrlł</i> (LW 23.7)	<i>prafr-</i> ‘steward, manager’ (vel sim.), secondary nom.sg <i>prafršiš</i> (LW 23.7)
<i>qelł-k</i> ‘any’ (e.g., 1.7,9)	<i>qed-</i> ‘any’ nom.-acc.sg.n <i>qed-k</i> (LW 11.6, 24.6), cf. <i>qed-</i> ‘of what kind’, secondary nom.sg. <i>qesiš</i> (LW 22.7)
<i>qalmluł</i> (cf. table 1 above)	<i>qalm(u)-</i> ‘king’, nom/acc.sg. <i>qalmu=k</i> ‘king’ (LW 62.2), cf. loanword into Greek πάλμυς ‘king’

 Table 2: Regular forms and forms with *-l-* extension in dat.sg in Lydian.

Stem assignment in the data introduced above requires some explanations. In accordance with the usual practice of Indo-European linguistics, it is assumed that the canonical shape of the consonantal stems is the one found before vocalic endings. In the instance of Lydian, these are the endings *-a* (nom.-acc.pl.n) and *-av/-āv* (obl.pl). This would be the rationale for reconstructing the stems *ipsimv-* ‘Ephesian’ and *młimn-* ‘Mermnad’ in the first approximation. In the instance of stems ending in semi-vowels, it is usual to include their vocalic allophones in the stem representation. Therefore, acc.pl *niwiswa* would imply the stem *niwisu-* ‘impious’, while obl.pl *prwāv* is conducive to the stem assignment *pru-* ‘year’, again in the first approximation.

A complication of this picture comes from frequent syncope of short unstressed vowel in Lydian (cf. Gérard 2005: 49-50). Given that *mru-* ‘stele’ forms dat.sg *mruł*, one might expect *niwisu-* → dat.sg ***niwisuł*, as opposed to the attested form *niwisłł*. There is, however, no need to assign *niwiswa* and *niwisłł* to two separate *lemmata*, as was done in Gusmani 1964: 176-177. In the word for ‘stele’, *-u-* is obviously accented, whereas in the stem **niwisu* it was apparently not. The notation *niwis(u)-* explicitly refers to the fact that that the final vowel of this stem undergoes syncope in certain forms. The case of *porłł* vs. *prwāv* is similar but slightly more complicated, since here one has to assume a mobile accentual paradigm. In dat.sg *porłł*, we find the same syncope of the unstressed final vowel

as in *niwisl̥l*, while oblique pl. *prwāv* < **porwāv* reflects the syncope of the first vowel.¹⁰ If one wishes to integrate the root syncopes into the abstract representation of the Lydian stems, then the proper notation of the word for ‘year’ is *p(o)r(u)-*. Since the synchronic cases of Lydian syncope lead to the formation of secondary semi-consonantal stems, it is logical to assume that the stems defined as consonantal in the first approximation may likewise reflect the effects of historical syncopes.

Now we may turn to the origin of the secondary nom.sg forms. It was traditionally assumed that the adjective *ipsimšiš* ‘Ephesian’ contains the possessive suffix *-š*i-* (Gérard 2005: 87 with ref.), but since this putative suffix is confined to one case form (or select case forms), such an idea has little to recommend itself. I believe that one has to reconstruct the syncopated nominative form **ipsimVns* > **ipsims*, which underwent morphological renewal to **ipsimsiš* and then assimilation to *ipsimšiš*. The origin of the renewal is the productive nom.sg ending -*iš*, which, among other things, characterizes the Luwian possessive adjectives as a class, e.g., *srmliš* ‘of a temple’, *pakilliš* ‘of Bacchus’ (month name), *laṃētruliš* ‘of Demeter’. On the contrary, nom.sg *q̣l̥dāns* (a theonym; LW 4b.4, 23.10) is the only confirmed case known to me where the nominative ending -*s* is directly attached to a Lydian consonantal stem without further restructuring.¹¹ In typological terms, the renewal of non-productive inflectional markers may be illustrated by the English forms *child-r-en* or *you-r-s*.

The same scenario, *mutatis mutandis*, can be proposed for *kulumVns* > *kulums* > *kulumsiš* > *kulumšiš* ‘of Koloe’, *prafars* > **prafrs* > **prafrsiš* > **prafršiš* ‘steward, manager’, and **quedVs* > **queds-* > **quedsiš* > *questiš* ‘of which kind’.¹² While the nominative case forms of *niwis(u)-* ‘unholy, impious’ are not attested,

10. As shown in Eichner 1986, nasalized vowels before nasal consonants always reflect synchronic accent in Lydian. This refutes even the theoretical possibility of the stress on the syllabic *r* in *prwāv*. As a parallel to a syncope in the initial syllable before *r*, cf. *srml(i)-*, a possessive adjective derived from *sirma-* ‘temple’ (Gusmani 1964: 199).

11. Cf. also the Lydian stems that synchronically end in nasal vowels, e.g., nom.sg. *šadmē-s*, dat.sg. *šadmē-λ* ‘inscription, seal’. In this case, however, the absence of word-final consonant clusters eliminates the need for further morphological restructuring. Furthermore, the hapax legomenon *waars* (LW 11.12) must formally be assigned to the consonantal stem *war-*, but given that LW 11 is a poetic inscription, an irregular syncope of the stem vowel cannot be ruled out.

12. The assumption of the stem *qed-* ‘of what kind’ receives independent confirmation from the forms *qed-k=τ=ad* (LW 11.6) and *qed-k=mλ* (LW 24.6). Since the final -*d* normally disappears before the clitic =*k* (Gérard 2005: 77), one has to reconstruct here **qedVd=k* before cluster simplification and syncope. For the behaviour of *qi-* ‘which’, contrast **qid-k* > *qi-k* ‘anything’ (LW 24.8).

one can compare nom.sg.c **wisus* > **wiss* > *wissiš* vs. nom.-acc.sg.n **wisu* > *wiswid* ‘holy, pious’ (cf. Gusmani 1964: 226-227).¹³ Furthermore, one can possibly add here the case of nom.sg **młwēds* > **młwēs* > *młwēsiš* > *młwēšiš* ‘(a part of grave)’ vs. obl.pl *młwēndav* (cf. Gusmani 1964: 166-167), with the caveat that the poetic inscription LW 12 featuring *młwēsiš* is still understood quite imperfectly, and so the paradigmatic relation of the two forms remains somewhat hypothetical. In the instance of *młimn-* ‘Mermnad’, the attestation of the restructured nominative *młimšiš* is possible but not assured (Yakubovich 2017: 290).

Now, the same mechanism of morphological renewal is also capable of providing an explanation for the origin of *por-l-λ* and other seemingly irregular forms in *-l*. I submit that the ending *-l* was once the allomorph of dat.sg *-λ* in consonantal stems, including those that arose through early syncope. A likely vestige of this allomorph is found in dat.sg. *qłdānl*, attested in the sentence LW 23.1 *ess šyrmas qłdānl artimul=k* ‘This temple is for Qldan and Artemis’ (cf. Gusmani 1964: 218 and Melchert 1992: 44, fn. 22)¹⁴ and perhaps in dat.sg *atrokl* derived from another theonym (see below). In the majority of cases, however, the datives in *-l* were extended by the productive dat.sg ending *-λ*, yielding the forms highlighted in Table 2. This scenario can be illustrated by the historical derivations **młimnVλ* > **młiml* > *młimlλ*, **niwisul* > **niwisl* > *niwislλ*, and crucially for the main topic of the present paper, **porul* > **porl* > *porlλ*. A factor that may have supported the morphological renewal under discussion, as opposed to a mere analogical levelling of *-l* to *-λ*, was the existence of numerous datives in *-l-λ* derived from possessive adjectives, e.g., *katowalλ* (LW 10.9), *cuwellλ* (LW 2.1), *pakillλ* (LW 1.2), as well as some nominal forms displaying the same pattern, e.g., *šelλ=k* (LW 23.5) derived from *šerl(i)-* ‘alderman’ (vel sim.).

I hold the proposed reconstruction preferable to the idea of partial assimilation **-ši-λ* > **-l-λ* (Gérard 2005: 87 with ref.). Even at the cost of this phonetically implausible account, one cannot force the phantom possessive suffix **-ši-* into all the forms of the paradigm, cf. e.g., *ipsimlλ* vs. *ipšimvav* and *porlλ* vs. *prwāv*. In contrast, the scenario offered in the previous paragraphs is compatible with treating

13. A discrepancy implied by this scenario is the syncope **wisus* > **wiss*, which presumably occurred at the time when the final vowel in nom.sg.n **wisu* was still preserved intact. A possible explanation here is the precocious syncope in the phonetic environment between identical consonants (cf. Blevins 2004: 172).

14. I must insist on the clause division implied by the citation above, because the sentential particle =*t* clearly demarcates the beginning of the following clause *dacuwers=t wintad* ‘They erected (there) *winta-*’ (LW 23.1-2).

porl̥ and *prwāv* as results of independently motivated historical changes in paradigmatically related forms, which squares well with their alternating occurrence in the same basic dating formula. The form *prulliṣ̥* (LW 71.6) occurs in a fragmentary context, but if it is related to the same root, it can be analyzed as a possessive adjective formed from the stem *p(o)r(u)-*.¹⁵

The last lexeme to be discussed in connection with Table 2, namely *qaλmu-* ‘king’ is fraught with particular difficulties because of its unique character. Here we apparently observe the insertion of *-λ-* rather than *-l-* in the dative case. It deserves a separate treatment within the framework of the present paper, not only because it is ubiquitous in the dating formulae, but also because its analysis is conducive to refinement of its etymology, and perhaps can even lead to non-trivial historical conclusions.

In addition to the occurrences of *qaλmλuλ* in the dating formulae, the Lydian word for ‘king’ is attested as nom.-acc.sg *qaλmu=k* (LW 62.2) and nom.-acc.sg *qaλm=k* (LW 14.13). Both forms occur in fragmentary contexts and their precise function cannot be determined. On the formal side, however, they bear witness to the existence of the stem *qaλmu-*, the source of the early Greek loanword *πάλμυς* ‘king’, and to an optional syncope in this stem in mid-first millennium BCE. The restoration of the possessive adjective [*qa*]λ*mliṣ̥* (LW 16.2) is consistent with this analysis, while the relationship of *qaλem̥* (LW 41.6) to the lemma under discussion remains questionable. Of particular interest, however, is the poetic form *qaλmλ=ad* (LW 11.8). It is analysed as a single word *qaλmλad* in Gusmani 1964: 179, but unless one believes in the existence of a separate ablative case in Lydian, the addition of the ending *-ad* to a synchronic *u*-stem represents an obvious problem. In contrast, *qaλmλ* can be analysed as the syncopated dat.sg of *qaλm(u)=*, functioning as a host for the pronominal clitic *=ad*. While the cohesive interpretation of the poetic inscription 11 still remains a task for the future, the clause LW 11.8-9 *qaλmλ=ad qiš̥ laptānal atrokl sfarda=k artimul dāv caqrlaλ astrkoλ* can be

15. The conclusions of this paper are not based on the etymology of Lyd. *p(o)r(u)-* but are compatible with its Indo-Anatolian reconstruction as **poru-*, a derivative of the root **per* ‘to cross, bring across’, which yields, among other things, Proto-Germanic **faran* ‘to go’ (Kroonen 2013: 128). As a semantic parallel to the proposed derivation one can mention Russian *porá* ‘(favourable) time’, presumably derived from the same root (Vasmer 1953-1955, II: 407). A more precise semantic parallel that involves a different root emerges from the comparison of Lat. *annus* < **atnos* ‘year’ with Old Indic *at-* ‘to travel, wander’ (de Vaan 2008: 43-44). Lydian *p(o)r(u)-* presumably developed from Pre-Lydian **paru-* with the change **a > o* next to a labial consonant (cf. Mouton and Yakubovich 2019: 222, fn. 21).

translated along the lines ‘who *laptāna*-ed it to Atrok the King and Sardean Artemis, lady of the *cēqra*-precinct’.¹⁶

If the variants *qalmu=k* and *qalm=k* could coexist in the nominative-accusative singular, then it is fairly likely that *qalmλ* likewise coexisted with the more archaic variant **qalmuλ* in the dative singular. In turn, *qalmλuλ*, attested in the dating formulae, emerges as the contamination of these two variants. This process was, no doubt, mediated by *mλimlλ*, *prafrlλ* and other forms with historical “double datives”, the attested examples of which are listed in Table 2.¹⁷ But the syncope in *qalmλ* followed by morphological renewal in *qalmλuλ* must have occurred at a later point because of the absence of the sound change **λ > l* in post-consonantal position. The postulated relative chronology begins to make sense if one accepts the reconstruction *qalmu-* < **kuwāla(n)muwa-* ‘warlord’, literally “(having) the strength of the army” (Carruba 2006: 404).¹⁸ While *p(o)r(u)-* and *niwis(u)-* presumably reflect syncopes in regular *u*-stems, in the instance of *qalm(u)-* the input for the syncope must have been the contracted **uwa > u*.

At this point, however, the origin of the Lydian word for ‘king’ can be approached from an entirely new perspective. While Carruba’s etymology is formally impeccable, and, furthermore, helps to solve a phonological problem not foreseen by its author, its semantic dimension may be in need of improvement. Both */kwalan-/* ‘army’ and */muwa-/* ‘strength’ are well-known Luwian nouns, but none of these two roots is otherwise attested in Lydian. This, of course, may be due to a mere chance, but one should also factor in that none of the same roots contributes to the formation of the word for ‘king’ in the Luwic languages either. Luwian

16. For *atrokl* as a dative singular form similar to *qλdānl*, see Melchert 2006: 149, n. 25. This similarity, as well as the juxtaposition of Atrok and Artemis in the passage cited, suggests that Atrok is probably a divine name. The epithet ‘king’ attached to theonyms has, of course, many parallels, but the one close in time and space is the Carian deity called “Kaunian King” in the Letoon trilingual N 320 (Lycian A / Greek / Aramaic). For the meaning of *cēqra-*, see Schürr 2011: 75-78.

17. Differently Hawkins 2013: 190, where the stem variant *qalmλu-* is tentatively reconstructed as the older one, while the variant *qalmu-* is attributed to the simplification of an unusual cluster. On the contrary, for Gérard 2005: 77, the variant *qalmλu-* is secondary to *qalmu-* and reflects the spread of lateral articulation. While phonetic explanations of the relationship between these two stem variants are certainly possible in principle, I believe that the morphological process of renewal described in connection with the other Lydian “double datives” in Table 2, where no such phonetic account appears to be feasible, tips the scales in the same direction in the instance of the word for ‘king’.

18. For the disappearance of *-v-* in between consonants in Lydian cf. e.g., the postposition *wicv* (LW 11.2, 22.1) vs. preverb variants *wc-(paqēn)-* (LW 1.9 etc.) and *(fa)-wcv-(aso)-* (LW 23.19), or *isqv* (LW 80.5) vs. *isq=k=um* (LW 10.15).

/hantawatt(i)-/, Lycian A *xñtawat(i)-*, and Carian *kδou-* ‘king’ are all ultimately derived from Luwic **xanti* ‘before, in front of’. Furthermore, compounds in *-muwa* are not used anywhere for the derivation of titles, while in Luwian, at least, they are very productive as personal names. It would be truly remarkable if Lydians, which experienced contacts with Luwians and then Carians for more than a millennium,¹⁹ chose two distinctly Luwoid morphemes for a compound that has no counterparts in any of the known Luwic languages.

Therefore, the alternative to Carruba’s analysis is assuming that *qalmu-* represents the reflex of the attested Luwian personal name *Kwalana-muwa* with the same literal meaning “having the strength of the army”. European history supplies us several examples of royal titles harking back to personal names of the famous rulers of the days of yore. Thus, German *Kaiser* ‘emperor’ and Russian *царь* ‘czar’ both ultimately reflect the *cognomen* of Julius Caesar, while Polish *król* ‘king’ continues the name of Charlemagne. On the other hand, the reading of the hieroglyphic inscription AKPINAR 1, which is situated some forty kilometers to the north of İzmir, dates back to the late 13th century BCE, and accompanies a monumental relief, is EXERCITUS-*mu* REX+FILUS ‘Prince Kwalanamuwa’ (Ehringhaus 2005: 87). It is possible, although not strictly provable, that the same Kwalanamuwa had his name inscribed on the legends of the late 13th century HANYERĪ and İMAMKULLU reliefs from central Anatolia (Ehringhaus 2005: 74, 80). There is no other contemporary person, with the exception of the kings of Hattusa, whose monumental representation accompanied by hieroglyphic legends are found in three distinct locations in Asia Minor. Therefore, if we are indeed dealing with one and the same individual, Kwalanamuwa must have been an extremely influential person.²⁰

The hypothesis that the name of Prince Kwalanamuwa underlies Lyd. *qalmu-* ‘king’ would have far-reaching historical consequences. Did he act as the last vice-

19. A considerable number of scholars are convinced that the name of the Lydians goes back to the designation of the country Luwiya, from which the Hittite adverb *luwili* ‘in Luwian’ is independently derived (Högemann and Oettinger 2018: 69 with ref.). Fairly uncontroversial is the Luwian or Luwic origin of several Lydian deities (Högemann and Oettinger 2018: 74-75). For the likely Carian origin of the Mermnad dynasty, see Yakubovich 2017: 287-289.

20. According to de Martino 2010: 93, the HANYERĪ and İMAMKULLU reliefs feature “emulation of royal conventions that were initially the sole prerogative of the king”. A different analysis is found in Simon 2012, where some of the reliefs previously analyzed as depicting the Anatolian rulers are re-interpreted as images of the Protective God. Nevertheless, in the instance of the HANYERĪ and İMAMKULLU reliefs, Simon concurs with the previous consensus in seeing there representations of Kwalanamuwa.

roy of the crumbling Empire of Hattusa and then became independent ruler in the west of Asia Minor? Did his rule extend to the territory that was inhabited by the ancestors of the Lydians? Was he able to found a dynasty and how long did it last? These are all the questions to which we cannot provide answers: the history of western Anatolia in post-Hattusa period is not covered by the written sources available to us to date. Therefore, the proposed new account of *qaλmu-* represents no more than a tantalizing possibility, on a par with Carruba's derivation from the appellative 'warlord'. But whichever semantic account one chooses, the formal derivation of *qaλmu-* from a possessive compound '(having) the strength of the army' remains the only viable option available to date and supports in turn the proposed account of the subsequent development of this stem in Lydian.

It seems appropriate to conclude this paper by listing all the dating formulae from Table 1 together with their updated translations.

Text	Translation
LW 2.1-2 [p]oꝛlλ X III II oraλ cuwellλ artaksaššaλ-s [q]aλmλuλ dāv	In (Y)ear 15, month <i>cuwel(li)-</i> under King Artaxerxes
LW 3.1 prwāv III II aλikšāntruλ dāv	In Year 5 under Alexander
LW 23.4-5 prwā-s III II dāv	In Year 5
LW 41.1-2 poꝛlλ X III III arta[kśass]aλ qaλmλuλ dāv oraλ kanlalaλ	In Year 16 under King Artaxerxes, in month <i>kanlala-</i>
LW 42.1 poꝛlλ XI ora[λ ...	In Year 11, mont[h ...
LW 43.1-2 prwāv II dāv oraλ kanlelaλ	In Year 2, month <i>kanlela-</i>
LW 50 foꝛlλ XII oraλ kanlelaλ [...]ṭralaλ aλikšāntruλ [q]aλmλuλ dāv	In Year 2, [...] month <i>kanlela-</i> , under King Alexander
LW/N 110 poꝛlλ X III III I artaksaersaλ qaλmλuλ dāv	In Year 17 under King Artaxerxes

Table 3: Interpretation of the Lydian dating formulae.

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Among the thirteen contributions, fitting neatly within the Luwian and other Anatolian languages, a rich variety of subjects are covered: epigraphy, grammar, etymology, textual interpretation, and archaeological context.



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