

Lycian Forms of the Enclitic Pronoun of the 3rd Person: An Overview of the Relevant Data*

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Likçe, Üçüncü Şahıs Eklemeli Zamirler, Luvice Lehçelerinden Karşılaştırmalı Bilgiler

I. Introduction

The stimulus for this study came from my reading of René Lebrun's contribution to the FS Gusmani of 2006, in which he discussed the enclitic pronouns *-uwe* and *-ije* and established that the first renders the dative (D) plural (pl.) of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person and the second the dative singular (sg.).

A handy overview of forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person is presented by Philo Houwink ten Cate in his dissertation of 1961, who, alongside the D sg. *-ije*, also catalogued the accusative (A) sg. forms of the communal gender (m/f), *-n(e)* and *-ē*, as well as that of the locative (Loc.) sg., *-i* (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 65-66). Another useful work of reference, Piero Meriggi's *Schizzo grammaticale dell'Anatolico* of 1980 (: 318, § 137), mixes-up introductory particles with forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, but if we make the proper adjustments, he adds the to the repertory the A(m/f) pl. form, *-iz*.

* My thanks are due to the anonymous referee for kindly drawing my attention to Lebrun 2003 and 2009 and suggesting some improvements of the manuscript.

Another source for evidence on forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, and this time verifiable owing to translations of the text in both Greek and Aramaic, is the trilingual text as found at the sanctuary of Leto in Xanthos, of which the Lycian version is expertly published by Emmanuel Laroche in 1979. In this text one can find, alongside variant writings of forms we are already familiar with like the A(m/f) sg. *-ñn* (§ 6) and D sg. *-i* or *-ij* (§§ 8, 12, 13, 15 and 19), at that time still unidentified ones, of which the identification is suggested as a possibility only, like the A(m/f) pl. *-ñne* in § 2, the neuter (n) or inanimate, the declension of which does not distinguish between nominative (N) and accusative, hence N-A(n) sg. *-ē* in § 22, and the N-A(n) pl. *-de* in § 16. As I will try to show below, these additions to the repertory can be augmented by two more thus far undetected forms.

Finally, it deserves our attention in this connection that a *Fundgrube* is formed by the recent dictionaries of the Lycian language, one by Harold Craig Melchert of 2004 and the other by Günter Neumann, published posthumously in 2007. The identifications in these works, however, should be handled with care because neither of them presents a detailed translation of the contexts in which the forms in question occur.

In order to emend this latter omission, the identification of all forms presented here are contextually assured by painstaking translations of the Lycian texts selected for this purpose. That is to say: except in the case of *-iz* from TL 44d, 70, the context of which unfortunately remains enigmatic and the identification of which (already in Meriggi 1980: 318, § 137, as we have just noted) therefore solely rests on comparative data.

As far as the system of transliteration used by me is concerned, the basis of which was already laid by Schmidt in 1868, I follow Laroche in representing *kappa* by *k* (instead of *c*), and *khi* by *χ* (instead of *k*), but I stick to the rendering of *yod* by *j* (instead of *y*). For an overview of the Lycian alphabet, see Woudhuizen 2006: 179, Fig. 4, which is based on Hajnal 1995: 7-8; cf. also Bryce 1986: 56-57; Melchert 2004: ix.

It has often been assumed in the relevant literature that the vowels transliterated as *ā* and *ē* are nasalized vowels and represent /an/ and /en/, see, for instance, most recently Kloekhorst 2011: 14. However, this view is entirely unfounded, as the correspondence of the genitive (G) pl. in *-āi*, represented both in the nominal (*θurttāi* in TL 39, § 1) and pronominal declension (*tijāi* in TL 39, § 2) to that in Luwian hieroglyphic in *-aī* (Woudhuizen 2011: 313), Lydian in *-ai₁* (Woudhuizen 2005: 143; 146), where this ending is only represented in the nominal declension, and Etruscan in *-ai* (Woudhuizen 2008: 394), where

it alongside the nominal declension also features in the declension of the pronoun (-iei), may illustrate.

In order to facilitate the reader, the forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are highlighted by representing them in bold type, and so it is the case with their translation as well.

The commentary to the texts is for brevity's sake kept to a minimum, so only in those cases in which a translation remains unclear after consultation of the relevant literature explanatory remarks are added.

II. Selected Texts in Transliteration and Translation

TL 1: Telmessos

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|----|---|---|
| 1. | ¹ <i>ebēñnē khupā me -ne</i>
<i>prñna<wa>tē</i> ² <i>Xudali Zuhrijah</i>
³ <i>tideimi[[h]]</i> ⁴ <i>Xezzimeh</i>
⁵ <i>prñnezijehi</i> | “This tomb, Khudali-, son of Zuhrija-, member of the household of Khezzima-, has built it .” |
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TL 4: Telmessos

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|----|--|--|
| 1. | ¹ <i>ebēñn:prñnawā:me -ti</i>
² <i>prñnawatē:Teleχuzi:hrpi</i> ³ <i>ladi:</i>
<i>ehb:se tideimi</i> | “This tomb, Telekhuzi- has built himself for his wife and child.” |
| 2. | <i>se -d -i</i> ^{4a} <i>ñta [t]adē tesi:miñti:</i> | “And one has placed them for him inside in accordance with the regulation (of) the league.” |
| 3. | <i>alad</i> ^{4b} <i>ehali:</i> ⁵ <i>adē III</i> | “For the desecrator (of the tomb): (a fine) of 3 adas.” |

TL 6: Karmylessos (bilingual)

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|----|--|--|
| 1. | ¹ <i>ebēñnē ñtatā me -ne prñnawātē</i>
<i>Pulenjda Mullijeseh se Dapara</i>
<i>Pulenjdah Purih²meteh</i>
<i>pr[ñ]nezijehi hrppi lada epttehe se</i>
<i>tideime</i> | “This chamber, Pulenjda-, son of Mullijesi-, and Dapara-, son of Pulenjda-, members of the household of Purihimeti-, have built it for their wives and children.” |
| 2. | <i>se -ije ti -(e)se -(e)ri ta³di tike</i>
<i>ñtat[a] ebehi</i> | “And whoever places anyone (else) with them in the chamber of this (tomb),” |

3. *me -ije [tu]be[it]i punamaθθi* “(in that case) the community will punish **him**.”
4. *aladahali:ada <* “for the desecrator (a fine of) 5 adas.”

For the analysis of *tiseri* as *ti-* (*e*)*se* *-(e)ri*, which receives further confirmation from TL 131, § 2 *ti:eseri*, see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 81, who assumes that the forms *ese* “with” and *eri* < Luwian hieroglyphic *arḫa* “de-, away, (emphatic)” function as adverbs. In any case, it is clear that *eri* is used in its function as an emphatic.

In the light of the relevant parallels, one would have expected in § 3 the A(m/f) sg. form *-ne* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person instead of the D *-ije*, see TL 57, 75, and 88 below. Accordingly, I think that we are dealing here with a writing error.

TL 39: Xanthos

1. ¹*ebēñnē:prñnawu:me -ti prñnawatē* “This building, Mēmruwi-,
²*Mēmruwi:Xñtenubeh tideimi* son of Khñtenubi-, has built
³*hrppi esedeñnewi:χñahi* ⁴*ehbiehi:* himself for the relatives of
se θurttāi:lada his grandmother and the
wives of the brotherhoods.”
2. *se -ñne:sñmati* ⁵*tijāi:kbijehis:* “It is **them** not permitted (to
place) (members) of others
(i.e. brotherhoods), of (the
ones) whichever (there may
be).”
3. *me -ñne:ni-esu* ⁶*esedeñnewi:* “And it shall not be
epttehi:ñtepi tane (permitted to) **them** to place
inside their relatives.”
4. ⁷*se -ije:ñta tātē:tesi miñti:* “And one has placed
(them) inside **for him** in
accordance with the
regulation (of) the league.”
5. ⁸*aladahali:ada III* “For the desecrator (a fine
of) 3 adas.

The form *θurttāi* in § 1 is rightly analyzed by Houwink ten Cate 1961: 91 as a G pl. in *-āi* (for this same ending in the realm of the pronoun, see discussion of *tijāi* below), whereas the meaning of the root *θurt-* as “brotherhood” receives confirmation owing to its relationship to Etruscan *θur-* “brotherhood” (see Woudhuizen 2008: 291).

Note that the verbal root *sṃma-* as present in § 2 can be used for the expression of an active meaning, “to oblige, compel, force”, as, for example, in the Xanthos trilingual, § 13, as well as a passive one, “to be permitted, obliged”, attested, like in the present case, for the Xanthos trilingual, § 22, and TL 84, § 13.

Note further that *tijāi* and *kbijehis* in the same phrase confront us with the G pl. in *-āi* of the relative pronoun *ti-* “who, what” (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 69) and the A(m/f) pl. in *-is* (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 54) of an adjectival derivative in *-eh(i)-* of the pronoun *kbi-* “(an)other, someone else”, respectively.

TL 49: Xanthos

1. *ebehi:isbazi:mi -ije sijēni:Padrṃma:* “On this couch **for him** lies
kumaza: Padrṃma-, the priest.”
2. *me -ije nepe mati tike:kbi hrppi* “And he does not permit to
ttāne place anyone else **above**
him.”

TL 52: Sidek-Jaila

1. ¹*ebṃnē:χupā:mē -n -ade:* “This tomb, Krehēnube- has
Krehēnube: made **it,**”
2. *sē pijētē:Wazijeje ²se -j ēni:* “and he has given (it) to
Wazije- and to the mother
for him.”
3. *se pi[j]etē:miṃti ṃta wātā* “And the league has
(officially) granted (a
location) inside the
mountain.”

Note that in my opinion *wātā* renders the endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *wātā-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *waⁿti-* “mountain”. Whatever the merits of this suggestion (Lycian tombs are frequently carved out of the mountain), it is in any case unlikely to take this form as an ablative (Abl.) sg. of a root corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wana-* “stele”, as the Abl. sg. is in *-di* or *-de* (cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 396).

TL 56: Antiphellos (bilingual)

1. ¹*ebṃnē prṃnāwu:me -ti* “This building, Ikta-, son of
²*prṃnawatē Iktah:Hlah:tideimi:* Hla-, has built it himself for
hrppi ladi:ehbi ³se tideime:ehbije: his wife and his children.”
2. *se -ije edi tice:mētē:* “And whoever brings (any)
damage **to it,**”

3. ⁴*me -ne qasttu:ēni:qlahi:ehbijehi:* let the Mother of this
se wedri:wehñtezi precinct and the town of
 Phellos execute **him!**”

The verbal form *qasttu* in § 3, which renders the 3rd person sg. of the imperative in *-ttu* (cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *-tu* for the same function), corresponds to ἐπιτρίψει in the Greek version of the text. Now, considering the fact that Greek ἐπιτρίβω expresses the meaning “to afflict, destroy, murder” (see *LSJ*, s.v.), it may reasonably be argued that the verbal root *qas-* means “to execute (*vel simile*)” rather than “to judge”, as commonly assumed, cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. *qā(n)-*.

TL 57: Antiphellos

1. ³*ebēñne:χupu:me -ti prñnawatē:* “This tomb, Ida- Makhzza-,
Ida Maxzza Uherijeh tideimi: son of Uherije-, has built (it)
hrppi:ladi ehbi:se ⁴tideime: himself for his wife and
 children.”
2. *se -i pijētē ⁵pijatu miñti:ētri:χupu:* “And the league has given
siχli:aladehχχāne: **to him** as a grant to place a
 burial (in) the lower (part
 of) the tomb for a shekel.”
3. *se hrzzi ⁶tupñme:siχla:* “And moreover in the upper
 (part of the tomb) for double
 (the amount of) shekel.”
4. *hrzzi prñnawi me -i:ñtepi tāti ⁷I[dā:* “In the upper (part of) the
M]aχzzā:se la[dā ehb building one will place
 inside **here** Ida- Makhzza-
 and his wife.”
5. *s[e [-ije] n[e hrppi tā]ti tike ⁸kbi:* “And one will place not
hrppije anyone else **above them.**”
6. *me -i:tadi:tike:me -ne:tubeiti:* “(If) one places someone
māhāi ⁹huwedri:se itlehi:trñmili: (else) **with them**, the
 confederate gods and the
 members of the board (of)
 the (confederate) Lycians
 will punish **him,**”
7. *ebi -d -alahaditi:ebēi:ñte* “and one will rearrange
them, (the burials) inside
 here.”

The form *huwedri* in § 6, which renders the N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, bears testimony of a compound consisting of the preposition *su*, corresponding to Greek σύν “(together) with” (cf. Etruscan *śin*, see Woudhuizen 2008: 350-351), and the noun *wedri*- “town”, and therefore literally renders the meaning “con(federate) towns”. In my translation, I analyze it as the N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of an adjective expressing the meaning “confederate”. Alternatively, it is possible to side with Lebrun (2003: 1-3) in his analysis of *huwedri* as an endingless N(m/f) sg. of a noun from the *i*-stems, which he translates as *concilium*—which tallies very well with our analysis of the first element *hu-* as the corresponding form of Greek σύν. His assumption that the element *wedri*- stands for a wider notion than “town” he bolsters with the fact that, as observed by Laroche 1979: 107, the combination *māhāi wedr[ēñ]ni* from TL 101, line 4 confronts us with the Lycian equivalent of Greek θεοὶ; ἐπιχώριοι. But the form *māhāi* in this combination clearly renders N(m/f) pl. in *-i* here, whereas Lebrun has to assume that in the expression *māhāi huwedri*, in his interpretation “concilium of the gods”, the same form is used for the G pl. in *-āi*—which, it must be admitted, is a possibility in accordance with the rules of Lycian grammar. Furthermore, it could be pointed out as a disadvantage of my analysis that if *huwedri* were indeed an adjective, one might have expected against the backdrop of *wedrēñni* an adjectival formation in *-ēñni*-. Nevertheless, I personally believe that *māhāi* renders N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, and therefore stick to the given translation, under the condition that both options given are equally valid.

The same remark also applies to the translation of *itlehi trīm̄mili [huwedri]* (for the emendation, see TL 88, § 8 below), of which I analyze all three elements as rendering the N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, whereas Lebrun rather prefers to translate it as “Lycian confederation of the *itle-*”, which is, from a grammatical point of view, equally possible.

I take *ebi* at the start of § 7 as a lenited variant of adverb *-epi* in TL 84, § 12, and assume that both originate from Luwian hieroglyphic *apa(n)* “re-, anew; after(wards), behind, subsequently”, which also occurs in variant form *api* (see Woudhuizen 2011: section II.2.3, s.v.).

TL 75: Tiberios

1. ¹*ebēñnē:χupā:mē -ne [pr]ñnawatē:* “This tomb, Tett[*m̄*]pe-, son of Hñtihāma-, has built **it**.”
*Tett[*m̄*]pe ²Hñtihāmah:tid[ei]mi*
2. *se -ne ñte:tāti tdi ³i[s]bazi:* “And on which couch one will place **him** inside,”

3. *me -ije:ni hr[ppi] tātu tike ṛmē
ladā t-ije* “one shall not place anyone
(else) **above him** except the
wife who (is) **for him**.”
4. ⁴*h[rpp]i:la[di] hrppi [me-]i:tadi:
tike:kbi:* “(If one places) someone
(else) on (his) wife or
above him on which(ever
couch),”
5. *mē -ne* ⁵*tubidi:q[l]a[j]e -b[i s]e
Malija se t[...]:miñtaha* “may, on behalf of the
precinct here, Malija and
(...?) of the league punish
him!”

On *tije* in § 3 = *ti -ije*, see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 70.

For the emendation of [*me*] -*i* in § 4, cf. the similar position of the combination of the introductory particle *me-* with the D sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person -*i* in TL 84, § 4.

TL 84: Sura

1. ¹*ebēñnē:prñnawā:me -ti:
prñnawatē:Mizretije:Murāzah:
tuhes:mluhidaza:Surezi* ²*hrppi atli:
ehbi:se ladi:se tideime:ehbije* “This tomb, Mizratije-,
nephew of Murāza-, the
sacrificer of thank-offerings
at Sura, has built (it) for
himself and his wife and
children.”
2. *se dadē:atli:hrzzē ispaidjē:* “And he has given the upper
couch to himself.”
3. *me -te:ñta tāti* ³*ebñnē:hātā:se ladā:* “And one will place inside
this unit also his wife.”
4. *hrpp -ije me -i:tadi:tike:tike:* “(If) one will place **for him**
anyone else **above them**,”
5. *me -ne qla:qasstt -ebi:Surezi:* “the precinct at Sura will
slay **him** there!”
6. *se dadē* ⁴*hrmāmā:ijase:atlahi:* “And he has given an altar
for his own hero image.”
7. *me pēti hāχχati:mluhidaza:* “And the sacrificer of thank-
offerings will spend time (to
it) (and) sanctify (it).”
8. *dde -i -<e>pñte:χitē -pi:term
mluhidazāi* “Owing to the gifts the
sacrificers of thank-offerings
have subsequently

9. ⁵*me -d -i:ñte χultti:hrñmā:*
<e>*pñtabahi:ñte nē:χruwi:*
inaugurated with an
animal sacrifice the territory
for him.
“And one will cultivate **it for**
him inside (the territory),
the altar at (its) back side,
(but) not (the one) along
the road.”
10. *me -de tew[e] kumezeiti:uhata:*
tuweri
“And one will worship **it**
yearly by means of (holy)
things being erected
opposite (it).”
11. *se*⁶*Mizratijehe:kumehi:adaijē:II:*
“And for the holy things of
Mizratije-: 2 adas.”
12. *urazijē [...] adi:ē:se -j -epi hadi ti:*
“One will make **him** (...) **below**
among the overseers and
who(ever) will be **below**
him (in rank).”
13. [*s*]e *me -i ne:kumazati:⁷me -ne*
pddē:qla:sñmati:ebi:Surezi
“If one does not worship
for him, the local precinct
will be obliged to **him** (to
do so) here at Sura.”

In general outline, the structure of this text is determined by the two instances of the verbal form *dadē* “he has given” in §§ 2 and 6 (note that the verbal ending *-dē* for the 3rd person sg. of the past tense is a lenited variant of *-ta*, *-te* or *-tē*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ta* for the same function), to which the D pl. in *-e* of the related noun *dd-* “gift” § 8 refers back. The interpretation of the verbal root *da-* as expressing the meaning “to give” can be further underlined by pointing to Lydian *dā-* or *dē-* of the same meaning, see Gusmani 1964, s.v. *dā-* and *dēt-*. Accordingly, it should not be mixed-up with Luwian hieroglyphic *ta₄-* “to place” as attested for Tilsevet, § 1 (see Woudhuizen 2011, section II.2.3, s.v.).

The sequence *hrñmā:ijase:atlahi:* in § 6 is interpretable owing to the fact that the roots of all three forms are paralleled for Luwian hieroglyphic, namely *arma-* “altar”, *áya-* “hero; heroic image”, and *(á)tar(a)-* or *<ta>la-* “person, image” (see Woudhuizen 2011: section II.2.3, s.v.).

The verbal forms *pēti* and *hāχχati* in § 7, which are both singled out as such by the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti* (cf. Luwian hieroglyphic

-*ti* for the same function), may well be characterized by roots corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pai-* or *paī-* “to spend time” (Woudhuizen 2011: section II.2.3, s.v) and Etruscan *sac-* “to sanctify” (Woudhuizen 2008: 460). In any case, this is how I arrived at the given interpretation.

<*e*>*pñte*: emendation on the basis of Lycian *epñte* “afterwards”, which according to Melchert 2004, s.v., corresponds to Hittite *appanda* of the same meaning.

terñ: A(m/f) sg. in *-ñ* of the noun *tere-* “territory, district”. Note that this is a more archaic variant of the A(m/f) sg., corresponding, from an Indo-European point of view, to Latin *-m*, than the one in *-ñ* as attested for the same root, *terñ*, which, for its correspondence to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na*, Lydian *-n* and Etruscan *-n*, is actually the expected reflex of PIE **-m* in the Luwian language group—the latter siding in this matter rather with Greek, which is also characterized by the A(m/f) sg. in *-n*, than with Latin.

χultti: 3rd person sg. of the present/future tense in *-ti* of the verbal root *χult-*, which is related to Etruscan *χulθ-* “cult”, see Woudhuizen 2008: 464.

χruwi: D-Loc. in *-i* of the nominal root *χruw-*, which is compared by Neumann 2007, s.v. to Luwian hieroglyphic *harwan-* “road” — a possibility which receives further emphasis from the fact that in a derivative like *harwata₄tisa-* “envoy” this word occurs without root-final *n* (cf. Woudhuizen 2011: section II.2.3, s.v.). It is true, as duly observed by Lebrun (2009: 262), that the verbal form *χruwata*, which appears to bear testimony of a verbal root *χruwa-*, related to that of nominal *χruw-*, corresponds in the bilingual text N312 from Xanthos to Greek ἀνέθηκεν “he has dedicated”, and that in line with this observation the meaning “dedication” for the nominal root lies at hand. But, if this were so, I would have expected the noun to appear here in the D pl. in *-a* or *-e* rather than the D sg. in *-i*, as is the case here. Presumably, therefore, the two roots, notwithstanding their formal resemblance, should be kept separate.

tuweri: rhotacized variant of the Abl. pl. *-di*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *+r(i)* and Etruscan *-r(i)* for the same function, see Woudhuizen 2008, 394-396, of a nominal derivative of the verb *tuwe-* “to place (upright), erect”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa-* of the same meaning.

urazijē: D pl. in *-ē* of the indication of a functionary marked as such by the morpheme *-z-* (cf. *kumaza-*, *mluhidaza-*, etc.) based on the root *ura-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura-* “great”.

TL 88: Myra

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|----|--|---|
| 1. | ¹ <i>ebēñnē prñnawā me -ne</i>
<i>prñnawatē Ddaqasa Stuleh:</i>
² <i>tideimi hrpi ladi ehbi se tideime</i> | “This building, Ddaqasa-, son of Stule-, has built it for his wife and his children.” |
| 2. | <i>se ēke lati Ddaqasa</i> | “And when Ddaqasa- dies,” |
| 3. | ³ <i>me -ne ñtepi tati ñtipa tezi</i> | one will place him in the inner (side of) the (burial) place,” |
| 4. | <i>se ladā ehbi</i> | “and his wife also (when she dies).” |
| 5. | <i>kbi tike me -i nipe ñtepi tātu</i> | “One may not place anyone else inside for him ,” |
| 6. | ⁴ <i>tibei nipe hlñmi tuwetu</i> | “nor may one erect an altar.” |
| 7. | <i>hlñmi me -i tuweti tike tibe⁵ ñtepi tadi tike</i> | “(If) someone erects an altar for him , or if someone places (anybody else) inside,” |
| 8. | <i>me -ne itlehi tubeiti trñmili huwedri</i> ⁶ <i>se:Trqqas se mähāi huwedri</i> | “the members of the board (of) the confederate Lycians will punish him , and Tarkhunt and the confederate gods!” |

lati: the verbal root *la-*, which occurs here in the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti*, corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *la-* “to take (away)” (cf. especially its use in Kululu 4, § 9), and hence likely expresses the passive meaning “to be taken (away)” as a euphemism for “to die”. Note that Melchert 2004, s.v. *la*⁻¹ suggests an earlier form **wla-*, in this manner linking the verbal root in question with Luwian hieroglyphic *wala-*, which, in combination with the preverb *arḫa* as attested for Tell Ahmar 6, § 8, means “to die” (see Woudhuizen 2011: section II.2.3, s.v.).

tezi: D-Loc. sg. in *-i* of a nominal derivative in *-z-* of the verbal root *te-* “to place”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta₄-* (Tilsevet § 1, see Woudhuizen 2011: 216) and Etruscan *te-* (inscription on a bronze weight from Caere, § 3, discussed in Woudhuizen 2010-1b: 215-218). We may be dealing here with a reference of a *klinē* or sarcophagus.

Note that *hlñmi-* in §§ 6 and 7 is nothing but a graphic variant of *hrñmma-* “altar” (TL 84, §§ 6 and 9), characterized by *r/l*-interchange and *i*-motion as far as the root-final vowel is concerned.

TL 91: Myra

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|---|---|
| 1. ¹ <i>ebēññē prñnawā me -ne</i>
<i>prñnawatē Xlppasi Xssēñzijah</i>
<i>tid[eimi]</i> | “This building, Khlppas-,
son of Khssenzija-, has
built it .” |
| 2. <i>me -i ñtepi tāti</i> ² <i>Xlppasi se ladu</i>
<i>e[h]bi</i> | “One will place inside for
him Khlppasi- and his
wife.” |
| 3. <i>se -ije ni hrppi tātu tike atlahi</i>
<i>ti[be kbijehi]</i> | “And let one not place
anybody else above them of
his own or of someone
else’s (family).” |
| 4. <i>me -ij</i> ³ <i>-adi tike ti[h]e zu[m̃]mā</i>
<i>mewe -j -esu httēmi</i> | “(If) someone brings any
damage to it , let there be
retribution for him! ” |

TL 109: Limyra

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ¹ <i>ebēññē:χupā:me -ti prñnawatē</i>
² <i>Uwēmi:se lada:ehbi:</i> | “This tomb, Uwēmi- has
built (it) himself (also) for
his wife.” |
| 2. <i>se -i ñtewē</i> ³ <i>tāti:Muwētē:hrpp -ije</i> | “And one will place opposite
to him Muwētē (as well
as other relatives) above
him .” |
| 3. <i>me -i tadi</i> ⁴ <i>tike:kbi:tibe</i> | “And (if) one places
someone else for him ,” |
| 4. <i>me -i martti tike</i> | “someone will lawfully
arrange (so) for him ,” |
| 5. ⁵ <i>hrppi -be -ije:tātu:</i> | “and one should place
(only) above him ,” |
| 6. <i>epñte:trppeme</i> | “and, in case of a third
(burial), behind (him).” |
| 7. ⁶ <i>me tise ti[s]e:prñnawati:</i> | “And (if) anybody will build
(something for himself),” |
| 8. <i>me ttlidi qlaje -b:Pñtreñni</i> | “he shall pay (for it) to the
sanctuary as well as the
(precinct) of Pandaros” |

Note in connection with *trppeme* “in the case of a third (burial)” the counting is from the burial of the wife of the owner of the grave, Muwētē, onwards. The formation of the numeral is the same as that in case of *tupñme* “double” in TL 57, § 3.

TL 139: Limyra

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | ¹ <i>ebēnē:χupa mē -ti pr̄na[wat]ē</i>
<i>Tilume:Zizahā²mah tideimi</i>
<i>hrppi ladi ehbi:Xuχuneje ³se</i>
<i>tideime ehbij[e]</i> | “This tomb, Tilume-, son of Zizahama-, has built (it) for his wife Kukuni- and his children.” |
| 2. | <i>se -uwe:ti hrppi tāti tike</i> | “And (the one) who will place anyone above them ,” |
| 3. | <i>mē -ne ⁴tubidi h[p]p̄nter[us]</i>
<i>māhāi:se marazija miñtaha:</i> | “the gods concerning libations will punish him , and the court of the league.” |
| 4. | ⁵ <i>Hl̄mmide -we:mlejeusi Mur̄na</i> | “And you will make a thank-offering to the infernal deity from Salamis.” |

As convincingly argued by René Lebrun (2006), the enclitic *-uwe* in § 2 is used to express the D pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person and renders the meaning “above them”. It is used in the same manner in yet another inscriptions from Limyra, like, alongside the rather enigmatic TL 106, line 2, or badly damaged TL 128, line 2, and N 317, line 3 (*se -uwā -ni hrppi tatu tike kbi* “And one shall not place someone else **above them**”), TL 118, lines 1-2:

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | ¹ <i>[ebē]ñnē:[.]tisēni:me -ti:</i>
<i>pr̄nawatē:Xuñnijēi:Masasahe:</i>
<i>tideimi:</i> | “This (type of grave), Khunije-, son of Masasa-, has built (it) himself.” |
| 2. | <i>hrzzi:ñtat[ā Xu]ñnije:s[e] ladi:</i>
² <i>[ehb]i:</i> | “The upper chamber (is) for Khunniye- and his wife”. |
| 3. | <i>se -uwe ni:hrppi:tatu:tike</i> | “And one shall not place someone (else) above them .” |

The emendation of *h[p]p̄nter[us]* in § 3 seems to be assured owing to the undamaged occurrence of this form in TL 58, line 5, where it is associated with *māhāi miñtehi* “the gods of the league”. Melchert 2004, s.v., in my opinion rightly analyzes the root *hpp̄nt-* as a reflex of Hittite *ispant-* or *sipand-* < PIE **spend-* “to libate” (cf. Etruscan *span(t)-* “to libate” and *spant-* “libation”, see Woudhuizen 2008: 363-364), so that we might well be dealing here with an A(m/f) pl. in *-us* (of the *u*-stems) of a derivative in *-r-* of the root in question, leading to its interpretation as an accusative of respect “concerning libations”. Note, however, that this interpretation, for the lack of more definitive data, remains tentative.

With respect to § 4, it deserves our attention that the interpretation of *Hlṛṛmmide* as “from Salamis” is assured by *Ajaka Hlṛṛmmide* “Ajax from Salamis” in TL 29, line 9 (the ethnic formation in *-de-* corresponds to Etruscan *-θe-* as in *Qumeθe-* “from Cumae”, see Woudhuizen 2008: 139-140). Furthermore, the second word *mljeusi* is a verbal form characterized by the 2nd person sg. of the present/future tense in *-si*, corresponding to Cuneiform Luwian *-si* (see Meriggi 1980: 336, § 187) and Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* for the same function (see Woudhuizen 2011: 302; 314), and based on the root *mljeu-* which, indeed, is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *maluwa-* “thank-offering” (Woudhuizen 2011: section II.1.3, s.v.; confirmation of this translation is provided by Sidetic *malvam₁a*, which in a bilingual inscription corresponds to Greek χαριστήρια, see Woudhuizen 1984-5: 121-122), but in form is most closely paralleled (if we realize that the original sibilant developed into *h* or *θ* in Lycian) by Etruscan *mlešie-* “to bring a thank-offering” (see Woudhuizen 2008: 364). Finally, *Murṛna* appears to be the name of a deity based on the root *mur-* “to die” (cf. Etruscan *murinašie* “on behalf of the dead” and Latin *morior* “to die”, see Woudhuizen 2008: 214), and may hence be reasonably assumed to denote the Lycian equivalent of Greek *Hades*.

TL 149: Rhodiapolis

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| ?. | ¹³ <i>se -i aḡā:ijase:hrṛmṁā:ebē:</i> | “And I have made this altar
for (his own) hero (image)
here, ” |
| ?. | <i>me pijaxā (...)</i> | “and I have given (it) (...).” |

It deserves our attention that in this passage the voiced variant *-gā* of the verbal ending of the 1st person sg. of the past tense occurs here alongside the regular voiced aspirated one in *-xā*, which corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ḡa*, cf. Meriggi 1980: 340, § 206. (For the phenomenon of lenition, cf. *-di* alongside *-ti* in the verbal form *tadi* or *tāti* [TL 57, §§ 6 and 4] and *-dē* alongside *-tē* in the verbal form *tadē* or *tātē* [TL 4, § 2 and TL39, § 3] with respect to the verbal endings of the 3rd person sg. of the present/future and past tense, respectively.

For the understanding of this passage more in general, see TL 84, § 6: *se dadē⁴hrṛmṁā:ijase:atlahi:* “And he has given an altar for his own hero image.”

N 320: Xanthos (trilingual)

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 2. | <i>sē -ṛne -ṛ³te -pddēhadē:Trṛmṁile:
pddēnehṁm⁴is:Ijeru:se
-Natrbbijēmi:</i> | “and he had appointed them
as archonts for the Lycians,
Hierōn and Natrebijēmi-.” |
|----|--|--|

6. *sē -ñn -aitē:kumazu:mahāna:
eb¹⁰ette:Eseimiju:Qñturahahn:
tide¹¹imi* “And they have made **him**
priest with respect to these
gods, Simias, son of
Kondurasios,”
7. *se -de:Eseimijaje:χuwati -ti:* “and (they have appointed
also the ones) who follow
Simias **with respect to these**
(matters),”
8. *s¹²e -i -pijētē:arawā:ehbijē:esi -ti:* “and they have given **to him**
freedom (of taxes) with
respect to what are his
(possessions),”
9. *se¹³ -de -li -ñtātē:teteri: sej
-epewētlñ¹⁴mēi:hrñmada:ttaraha:* “and they, the town and the
neighboring inhabitants,
have added to **it for him** the
altar’s fields of the town.”
12. *se -i -p¹⁹ibiti:uhazata:ada:18: ēti:
tlla²⁰χñta:Arñna:* “And Arinna gives **to him**
yearly 18 ada as a salary.”
13. *se -sñmati:χddazas:ep²¹i -de:
arawa:hāti-kñmētis:me -i -pibi²²ti:
sixelas:* “And she obliges the slaves,
whichever number will
subsequently to **it** (= the
charter) be free, to pay **to**
him shekels.”
15. *me -ij -esi -tēni -ti:hlñmi -pijata* “And the offerings which
will be placed **for him** on
the altar,”
16. *²⁶me -de -te-wē:kumezidi:
nuredi:nure²⁷di:arā:kumehedi:* “one will sacrifice **these**
monthly ritually opposite (it)
together with a sacrificial
animal.”
18. *me -kumezidi: Seimija:
se -de: Se³⁰imijaje:χuwati -ti:* “And Simias sacrifices
and also the ones who
follow Simias **with respect**
to these (matters).”
19. *se -ij -ehbij -ai³¹tē:tasa:
mere:ebette:teteri:Arñn³²as:
sej -epewētlñmēi:Arñnāi:* “And they have sworn their
loyalty to these laws **for**
him, the town of Arinna and
the surrounding inhabitants.”
22. *χtta³⁷de -mej -ē:tikē:me -pddē:
mahāna:sñmati:ebette:* “And (if) someone has
caused damage to **it** (= the
stele), he will be obliged (to
provide for) a place for
these gods.”

III. Overview of the Relevant Data

N(m/f) sg. —

A(m/f) sg. *-ne, -ñn* “him”: TL 56, § 3; TL 57, § 6; TL 75, § 2; § 5; TL 84, § 5; § 13; TL 88, § 3; § 8; TL 139, § 3; N320, § 6. [Note: in TL 6, § 3 D sg. *-ije* “for him” occurs in the position where one otherwise is confronted with *-ne* “him”.]

A(m/f) sg. *-ē* “him”: TL 84, § 12.

N-A(n) sg. *-d(e)* “it”: TL 84, § 9; § 10; N320, § 9; § 13.

N-A(n) sg. *-n(e)* “it”: TL 1, § 1; TL 6, § 1; TL 52, § 1; TL 75, § 1; TL 88, § 1. [Note: object can also be of communal gender instead of neuter.]

N-A(n) sg. *-ē* “it”: N320, § 22.

D sg. *-i, -j, -ij, -ije* “for him, etc.”: TL 4, § 2; <TL 6, § 3>; TL 39, § 4; TL 49, § 1; § 2; TL 52, § 2; TL 56, § 2; TL 57, § 2; TL 75, § 3 (2x); § 4; TL 84, § 4; § 8; § 9; § 12; § 13; TL 88, § 5; § 7; TL 91, § 1; § 2; TL 109, § 2; § 3; § 4; § 5; N320, § 8; § 12; § 13; § 15; § 19. [Note: in some cases of *-i* it is difficult to determine whether we are dealing with the D sg. *-i* “for him, etc.” or the Loc. sg. *-i* “here”.]

D sg. *-li* “for him”: N320, § 9.

G sg. —

Abl. sg. —

Loc. sg. *-i* “here”: TL 57, § 4; TL 149, § ? (l. 13).

N(m/f) pl. —

A(m/f) pl. *-d* “them”: TL 4, § 2; TL 57, § 7.

A(m/f) pl. *-iz* “them”: [TL 44d, l. 70].

A(m/f) pl. *-ñne* “them”: TL 39, § 2; § 3; N320, § 2.

N-A(n) pl. *-de* “these”: N320, § 7; § 16; § 18. [Note: this form may also come into consideration as the Abl. pl., except in the case of N320, § 16, which refers back to the N-A(n) pl. *pijata* “offerings” in the preceding phrase.]

D pl. *-uwe/-uwā* “for them, etc.”: TL 139, § 2; TL 118, § 3; N317, § ? (l. 3); TL 106, § ? (l. 2); TL 128, § ? (l. 2)].

D pl. *-i, -ije* “for them, etc.”: TL 6, § 2; TL 57, § 5; § 6; TL 84, § 4; TL 91, § 3.

G pl. —

Abl. pl. —

Loc. pl. —

For a proper understanding of the preceding overview, it may be of interest to note the following features:

1. Incongruency in number:

(a) *-ne* “him” alongside *-ñne* “them”

(b) *-i/-ije* “for him, etc.” alongside *-i/-ije* “for them, etc.”

2. Incongruency in gender:

- (a) *-ne* “him” alongside *-ne* “it”
- (b) *-ē* “him” alongside *-ē* “it”

3. Shift in meaning

- (a) the 3rd person pl. of the enclitic pronoun in Lycian *-uwe/-uwā* “for them, etc.” originates from the stressed pronoun of the 2nd person pl. *uwí-* “you” (cf. also the possessive *uwísa-*, see Woudhuizen 2011: 313-314) as attested for Luwian hieroglyphic and, in variant form *huvi-*, for Etruscan (see Woudhuizen 2008: 217).

4. Strings of several enclitics attached to each other occur, in so far as our selection of texts is concerned, only in the following three instances:

- (a) TL 4, § 2: *se -d -i* “them for him” (-A-D)
- (b) TL 84, § 9: *me -d -i* “it for him (-A-D)
- (c) N320, § 9: *se -de -li* “it for him” (-A-D)

In my treatment of the Luwian hieroglyphic evidence on the topic (Woudhuizen 2011: section II.3) I have pointed out that, as already established by Emmanuel Laroche in 1959, in principle dative forms of the enclitic pronoun precede nominative or accusative ones. In actual fact, we can go one step further and observe that, in case both occur in the same string, accusative forms in their turn precede nominative ones, so the regular order is: -D-A-N. But in a few cases, this regular order is not adhered to, but reversed, so that we are confronted with strings of the type -N-D and -A-D. Presumably, we are dealing in these cases with marked sequences for emphatic purposes. The same verdict seems to apply to the relevant evidence from Lydian and Etruscan as well. Therefore, it is remarkable that in all the three instances of a string of enclitics attested for Lycian we are consistently confronted with the, from a comparative perspective, marked sequence -A-D.

IV. The Lycian Forms of the Enclitic Pronoun of the 3rd Person in Comparative Perspective

Having arrived at this point, one might wonder to know how the repertory of the Lycian (Lyc.) enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person as established in the above relates to the ones of the closest comparable dialects or languages, Luwian hieroglyphic, Lydian and Etruscan.

As far as Luwian hieroglyphic (LH) is concerned, an overview of the relevant data is presented by me in Woudhuizen 2011: 313. Similarly, in the case of Lydian (Lyd.) I have included the distinct forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person in a grammatical overview as published in Woudhuizen

2010-1a: 212. Finally, in connection with Etruscan (Etr.) one can find such an overview in Woudhuizen 2008: 394, which I have recently updated in Woudhuizen 2010-1b: 230. In all cases, the identification of the forms distinguished rests on a painstaking analysis of the context in which they appear. Note that with respect to the overview of the Etruscan forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person I have now made a distinction between the D sg. and the Loc. sg., both forms being erroneously grouped together in their previous treatment.

	Lyc.	LH sg.	Lyd.	Etr.
N(m/f)		-sa	-ś	-s(e), -ś
A(m/f)	-ne/-ñn, -ē	-na	-in	-n(e)
N-A(n)	-d(e), -n(e), -ē	-ta, +ra	-ad	
D	-i/-j/-ij/-ije, -li	-tu, -ru, -ta	-λ	-i
D-G				-l(a), -s/-ś
Abl.		-ta		
Loc.	-i			-ia

	Lyc.	LH pl.	Lyd.	Etr.
N(m/f)		-ta, -r(a)		
A(m/f)	-d, -iz, -ñne	-ta, +ra, -na	-aś, -is	-is/-iś, -n
N-A(n)	-de	-ta, -ra		
D	-uwe/-uwā, -i/-ije	-maī, -ta, +ra	-mś, -ai ₁	-e(i)
G				-iei
Abl.		-ta		

Table 1 Overview of the Lycian forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person and of those in the related dialects, Luvian hieroglyphic, Lydian and Etruscan.

On the basis of Onofrio Carruba's work on sentence introductory particles in the Anatolian languages of 1969 (see esp. pp. 43-44), I have added two forms to the repertory of the Lydian enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person established thus far, namely A(m/f) pl. -aś and D pl. -mś. These are exemplified by: (1) Lyd. no. 22, 13: *ak -mś -aś aśfāi₁ vt₁ binvi₁* "I will hold them accountable with their possessions", in which the A(m/f) pl. -aś corresponds to Hittite -as

“them”, cf. Meriggi 1980: 317, § 134; (2) cf. preceding passage and Lyd. no. 10, 10: *fak -mś -ad amu kov t₁ivard* “I will declare it in front of their god(s)”, in which the D pl. *-mś* corresponds to Cuneiform Luwian *-(m)mas* “for them”, cf. Meriggi 1980: 317, § 135. Note that in both given examples the order of the enclitics is the regular, unmarked one, namely -D-A.

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3. Şahıs Eklemeli Zamirin Likçe Formları

Bu makalede Likçe'deki 3. Şahıs'ın eklemeli zamir formlarıyla ilgili bulgular ele alınmaktadır. Çalışma ilk bölümde önce konuyla ilgili mevcut araştırmalara kısaca göz atmakta, ardından ikinci bölümde, 3. tekil şahıs eklemeli zamir formlarıyla kendisini belli eden iyi korunmuş seçme Likçe yazıtlarının transliterasyonları ve çevirileri sunulacaktır. Gerekli hallerde, örneğin ilgili literatürde bir pasajın net olmadığı durumlarda, metinlerin transliterasyonları ilave yorumlarla geliştirilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde eklemeli 3. şahıs zamirinin Likçe formlarına dair bulgular gözden geçirilecek ve son olarak sonuçlar hiyeroglif Luvice, Lidçe ve Etrüsk dili gibi bağlantılı lehçelerle karşılaştırmalar yapılacaktır.

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