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Milyan dialectal divergence and its traces in onomastics

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Abstract: Taking as a starting point the discussion of the emendation of *xina* ‘grandmother’ in Schürr’s latest edition of the Milyan version of the Xanthos Pillar (Schürr 2018), this article deals with two different equations Mil. <i> : Lyc. <a/ã/ñ> and Lyc. <a/ã/ñ> : Lyc. <u>, argued to share the same phonetic trigger i.e. the presence of an alveolar nasal, and explores the phonetic correlation through establishing new cognates between the two languages, or by adding new evidence to old open questions such as the phonetic value of <u> or the likely interchangeability of <a>, <ã> and <ñ>. The Greek adaptation of the onomastic material will allow the phonetic nature of the nasal <ñ> in the cluster /xñt-/ (Lyc. *xñtawati*- ‘ruler’, cf. Luw. *handawat(i)*-): Gr. Κενδ-, Κινδ-, Κονδ- to be addressed, and ultimately compare the phonetic developments of Lycian and Milyan with its possible traces in the Greek sources of classical Lycia.

Keywords: Lycian, Milyan, phonetics, Xanthos pillar, onomastics.

The recent edition of TL 44d, the Milyan version of the Xanthos Pillar, conducted by Schürr (2018), contains an emendation of Mil. *xina*- ‘grandmother’, which is seemingly sustained on the formal resemblance with its Lycian counterpart *xñna*-. The apparent unlikeliness of an /i/ vowel in the Milyan lexeme (cf. /a/ vocalism of the Anatolian cognates) is probably the main reason for the emendation in Schürr’s edition. Nevertheless, the lack of counterarguments that creates a clear path for the correction is to be understood in terms of our still-notable lack of understanding on Milyan.

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As Gusmani (1993: 29) remarks, the designation ‘Milyan’ is a scholar convention based on the classical literary sources. The northern region of classical Lycia was, according to Herodotus (1.173), inhabited by the Milyans, who would have preceded the Lycians in the mythical tradition. Hence, the language conventionally named ‘Milyan’ that is attested in the Lycian texts does not presumably bear any connection to the Milyans or the Milyas region that appear in Herodotus’ accounts, which are equally external designations.¹ In the present article, the terminological tradition is maintained, in front of Lycian B, for the sake of readability.

Milyan is a fairly unintelligible Luwian language found in the same chronological and epigraphical contexts of Lycian, that is from the 6th to 4th century BC, and in stone epigraphs from the classical region of Lycia. This language, dialectologically closer to Lycian (hence its alternative denomination as ‘Lycian B’), is only preserved in two inscriptions: TL 55, a sarcophagus in Antiphellos, and TL 44c 32–65 and 44d 1–71, two of the sides of the Xanthos Pillar, which also contains a Lycian text and a short Greek passage.

Despite such paucity of sources, the identification of Lycian cognates (Lyc. *mahana*-/Mil. *masana*- ‘god’, Lyc. *Trqqas*/Mil. *Trqqiz* ‘Storm-god’, or Lyc. *kbi*-/Mil. *tbi*- ‘two’), and the retention of archaic features (e.g. *s > Mil. s, Lyc. h; *dw- > Mil. *tb*-, Lyc. *kb*-), were highlighted early (Meriggi 1936: 259), and probably prompted the consideration of the use of Milyan in Lycian context as a ‘sacral’ language (Gusmani 1993). However, the reality of its use, either as a sociolect or an intrusive language,² is an elusive question. On the contrary, the dialectal proximity can be well accounted for (on their isoglosses see Rieken 2017: 301), which justifies the denomination as Lycian B, although one might also find claims for a closer dialectal bond with Hieroglyphic Luwian (Zinko 2017: 245), and some notable correlations between Milyan and Carian (e.g. the conjunction *sebe* Adiego 2007: 201, or the acc. pl. inflection ending -z, *ibid.* 261).

Within this framework, it is pertinent to investigate if the vocalic distinction between Lycian *xñna*- and Milyan *xina*- is a genuine dialectal feature. In the first part of this article, new and old established Lycian-Milyan cognates that appear to share the phonetic context seen in *xina* : *xñna*, i.e. the presence of an alveolar

¹ The so-called ‘Milyas’ archaeologically corresponds with the Elmalı-Bayındır region, which is composed of several *tumuli* from the 7th c. BC, although not apparently attributable to any particular epigraphical or linguistic culture of southern Anatolia. Yet, Şare (2010) pointed out the cultural hybridisation character of this area, which, bordering with Phrygia, shows remains of a singular artistic style connected to Ephesus.

² On its use by the Harpagos dynasty, a foreign clan from Caria, see Melchert 2003: 14 with references.

nasal, will be analysed using combinatory and etymological evidence (Mil. <i> : Lyc. <a/ã>, <ñ>, section 1). This raises a second question that will be addressed in a separate part, concerning the variability among the alveolar nasal <ñ>, the oral nasal <ã> and the vowel <a> in Lycian, a still-open debate that will be linked to the change $\tilde{a} > u$ (Lyc. <a>, <ã>, <ñ> : Lyc. <u>, section 2). Both the Lycian-Milyan <ã/ñ> : <i> divergence and the Lycian synchronic variability of <a/ã/ñ> will be confronted with the phonetic transcription of personal names in the Greek sources of the Lycian territory in the third part of the article (section 3).

1 Mil. <i> ~ Lyc. <ñ>, <ã/a>

The explanations accounting for non-etymological Milyan /i/ in the scanty words where a Lycian cognate can be identified range from that of an anaptyctic vowel to the alternation of a nominal ablauting pattern. However, from a roughly descriptive viewpoint, in the examples compiled below we are dealing with the same phonetic environment, i.e. the presence of a nasal, either in the root (e.g. *xina*) or in the derivational suffix (e.g. nom. sg. *Trq̄q̄iz* – dat. sg. *Trq̄q̄ñti*), which leads to establishing as a starting hypothesis the conditioning role of the nasal above the timbre of the previous vowel. The Lycian counterpart of Mil. <i> is also observed to be <a> and <ã>, two graphemes that occasionally alternate with <ñ>. Whether this is a graphic or a phonetic variability is a still debated question, which however does not seem to be trivial in the problems that will be addressed later in the article (see section 2).

1.1 Mil. *xina-* ~ Lyc. *xñna-*

The Milyan hapax *xinasi* ‘of the grandmother’ in TL 44d 66 is the genitive adjective³ dative singular form of an unattested lexeme **xina-* ‘grandmother’ (DLL 135), included in the passage *mirēñne: xinasi=ke: sesi: m̄q̄ri kebura seb=ē/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:* (TL 66–67). While the first part of the sentence containing *xinasi* remains obscure, the second, presenting an enumeration of family

³ Also labelled ‘relational adjective’ or ‘possessive adjective’, Lyc. *-ahe/i/-ehe/i* and Mil. *-ase/i/-ese/i* endings correspond to adjectives derived from substantives. The fact that this adjective formation substituted the genuine genitive case in the nominal inflection accounts for the traditional denomination as ‘genitive adjective’. In this article it is abbreviated as gen. adj. following Melchert (DLL).

terms also inflected in genitival adjectives, might be translated as “the rulership of the mother, (and) of the father, and of the grandfather”. We cannot be sure, though, whether genitival *xinasi* is modifying a different noun or, more likely, it is a dislocated element belonging to the same syntagm as the other kinship terms (thus “the rulership of the grandmother², (and) of the mother, (and) of the father, and of the grandfather”).⁴

In his edition, Schürr (2018: 87) explains the form *xinasi* as a scribal error and restores *x<ñ>nasi*, hence matching the Lycian lexeme.⁵ Admittedly, the Anatolian cognates (Hitt. *hanna-*) and the reconstruction based on the Indo-European comparison with initial **h₂e-* (EHD 285) makes the /i/ vocalism in *xinasi* difficult to account for. Such an oddity has probably induced descriptive explanations like that of the development of an anaptyctic vowel (Melchert, DLL 135). However, in view of other examples where a nasal context is in close contact to an /i/ vowel, it can be maintained that the attestation in TL 44d 66 is the genuine Milyan form for ‘grandmother’, /xina-/.

1.2 Mil./Lyc. *xi-* ~ Lyc. *axa-*

The lexemes Mil./Lyc. *xi-* and Lyc. *axa-* and their set of derivatives are generally connected because of their common semantic domain, which revolves around the religious sphere:

- Lycian: *axa-* ‘animal sacrifice’ (TL 44a 35 and 35 DLL 7, but verbal form by Schürr 2009: 158), *axāt(i)-* ‘priest of animal sacrifice’ (TL 30 2, 92 2, 128 1, also *axuti* TL 23 4, 29 3) and *axātaza-* ‘id.’ (TL 149 3, DLL 7).
- Milyan: *xi-* ‘sacrifice’ (TL 55 5) and *xi-* ‘to sacrifice’ (TL 55 6, DLL 135).

There are two further formations in Lycian, *uwadraxi-* ‘bovine sacrifice (?)’ (44a 33, DLL 77) and Lyc. *xi-* ‘to make an animal sacrifice (?)’ (TL 84 4, iterative *xis-* in 44a 29 and 32, DLL 83), that might be related to Milyan, either as derived from a Milyan base or directly borrowed from it by Lycian. The first one is composed of the collective noun *wawadra-* ‘heard’ (DLL 78) and a noun *xi-* ‘sacrifice’, accord-

⁴ Note that this enumeration recalls similar formulaic constructions in Lycian (NN 337 7–8 :*xugahi se: xīna[hi] - te[]θ'θi se j=ēnehi*: “of the grandfather and of the grandmother, of the father and of the mother”, ed. Christiansen 2012). On the enumeration of kinship terms as a stylistic device in Anatolia, see Martínez Rodríguez 2019.

⁵ It would have been preferable to edit the form as *x<ñ'>nasi* (vel sim.), marking that the emendation represents a substitution of the existing letter. Otherwise the reader might presuppose that the correction consists of an addition, that is, that the form in the text is ***xinasi* rather than *xinasi*.

ing to Melchert (*op. cit.*). The second is a denominative verb from Mil. *xi-* ‘sacrifice’ (*DLL* 83).

Although they are generally quoted together for their close meaning, their connection fails to be either phonetically or morphologically explained, while etymological interpretations only exist for Lycian. A derivation of *axa-* from $*h_1eg-$ was proposed by Melchert (*DLL* 7), whose sense is assumed with Latin (Lat. *agō* ‘priest who sacrifices animals’ and *agōnia* ‘animal sacrifice’). Nevertheless, the Latin examples respond to the root $*h_2eg-$ (*LIV*² 255), which undoubtedly would have led to initial $**xa-$ in Lycian.⁶ Alternatively, Hajnal (1995: 232²⁹⁵) proposes an origin from PIE $*iēh_2-$ ‘to go’ (*LIV*²: 309), where the derivatives *axāt(i)-/axut(i)-* ‘priest’ are to be explained as the participle form ($*iāhant(i)-$). This etymology counts with the advantage of a parallel formation in Hittite *ūiant-* ‘sheep’, but faces the question of whether its outcome would not have presented in Lycian the initial glide /ija-/ as the Hittite form does.

The problems of the correlation between Lycian *axa-* and Milyan *xi-* are thus threefold: 1) the diverse vocalic timbre Lyc. /a/ ~ Mil. /i/; 2) the origin of the velar /k/ <x>; and 3) the absence of initial vowel in Mil. /xi-/ in comparison with Lyc. /a-/.

Noteworthy for the first point, the Lycian derivatives *axāt(i)-/axut(i)-* and *axātaza-* ‘priest’ are commonly regarded as *-nt-*-suffixed derivations ($*-nt-$ > /-ñt-/ , /-āt-/ , cf. *ahñta-* ‘possession’, *hāta-* ‘deceased’, *lāta-* ‘dead’, *pddāt-* ‘place’). Considering the equation Lyc. <ñ/a> : Mil. <i> (Lyc. *xñna*, *Trqqas* : Mil. *xina*, *Trqqiz*), the question of whether a reminiscent nasal played a role in the /i/ vocalism of Milyan *xi-* might be raised. A compromise solution allowing both Lycian derivatives and Milyan to be accounted for is to take the nasal as part of the root and the derivation as consisting of a dental suffix /-t-/ ($*-et-$ > /at/, cf. *ahata-* ‘peace’, *xñtawata-* ‘rule’, *pijata-* ‘gift’, *zata-* ‘tribute’), thus derived from an *n*-stem /*(a)xan-/ rather than an *-nt*-stem /***(a)xa-nt-/. Interestingly, the retention of an original nasal in the root can be observed in *xahba-* ‘grandson’ (< $*h_2ems-$), attested also as *xāhb* (TL 44a 31, *DLL* 80).

Although tentatively, Hitt. *hann-i* ‘draw (liquids)’ ($*h_2ón-/*h_2n-$, *EHD* 281) might be a good candidate for a cognate: it precisely fits the outcome of the Lyc./Mil. velar [k] <x> and presents the nasal that, according to our hypothesis, explains Mil. /i/. The meaning in Hittite is however restricted to liquids (HW²

⁶ The neutralisation of the tectal result in original $*h_2$ is only expected before timbre $*o$: $*h_2o-$ > *e*, being $*h_2or-$ > *ara-*, *arawa-*, and *arawazije-*, the only assured examples, and only if it is accepted that an *umlaut* operated, thus explaining *erawazije-* as the original formation (Kloekhorst 2006: 101–102).

H/12: 133), which implies that, if accepted as a cognate, their semantic connection can only be established through the ritualistic aspect of the contexts where this verb is consistently used.

A final point to address is how the initial /a-/ in *axa-* and its derivatives (*axāt(i)-/axut(i)-* and *axātaza-* ‘priest’) can be explained considering its absence in Milyan (*xi-*). Such mobile aspects can respond to the nature of a prepositional element, as happens, for instance, with *ñtewe-* ‘facing, opposite’ (DLL 46) and *tewe-* ‘eye’ (DLL 64). Nevertheless, a prepositional *ñ-* (< **en-*, also in *ñtipa-* ‘sarcophagus’, DLL 45) in the nominal formation of *axa-* might only be supported in view of the realization of *ñ* as *ã* (cf. *Lusñtra-* in 104a, 2–3, but *Lusãtra-* in TL 90 2, although also *Lusañtra-* TL 103 2) and the interchangeability between *ã* and *a* (loc. sg. *pddãti*, but *pddati* in TL 29 6 and 7), a question addressed in the second section.

According to this distribution, I am inclined to consider *uwadraxi-* and *xi-* in Lycian inscriptions as originally derived, or directly borrowed, from Milyan.

1.3 Lyc. *mahinaza-*: Lyc. *maha(na)-*

Lycian *mahana-* ‘god’ (DLL 36) is particularly affected by the change of nasalised *ã* into *u* (Jenniges – Swiggers 2000), common of the acc. sg. ending inflection of the *a*-stems (cf. acc. sg. *ladã* and *ladu*), and of some internal positions (cf. nom. sg. *axãti* and *axuti*). The nasalisation of the second syllable vowel in *maha(na)-*, likely induced by the contact with the following /n/, affects the genitival adjective in nom.-acc. pl. *mahãnaha* (besides genitival adjective in nom. sg. *mahanahi* and dat. sg. *mahanahi*), and dat.-loc. pl. *mahãna*.⁷

In turn, the Lycian hapax *mahinaza* (TL 133 1) is safely identified as a title for its *-aza* suffixation, widely used for building profession and title designations (cf. *maraza-* ‘judge’ derived from *mere-* ‘laws’). The difficult question is if the root behind the title, *mahin*^o, is related to *mahan*^o ‘god’. Starke (1990: 363) speaks in favour of this option in spite of the difficulties of determining the change **e* > *i*.

From the evidence, although sparse, of the correlation between Milyan and Lycian that is examined in this short study, it can be tentatively stated that Lycian *mahinaza-* is either influenced by the Milyan /i/ vocalism in contact with a nasal,

⁷ Nasalisation in nom. pl. *mahãi* might be caused by the nasal of the root as well as by the nom. pl. **insi* inflection. Such nasalisation has been assimilated by the first syllable in nom. pl. *mãhãi*, ultimately triggering *muhãi* (although analyzed as metathesis in AHP 317). See attestations in DLL 36.

or an early borrowing from Milyan adapted into Lycian (**s* > *h*; cf. Mil. *masa*- ‘god’, *DLL* 120).

1.4 Mil. *Trqqiz* ~ Lyc. *Trqqas*

The theonym *Trqqñt*- ‘Storm-god’ is the most straightforward case displaying the equation Mil. <i>: Lyc. <a/ã>, <ñ>. Its nature as an *nt*-stem, as Pedersen (1954) observed for Lycian, is assured in view of the oblique case (dat. *Trqqñti*) and its Anatolian cognates (Tab. 1). Interestingly, the dental stop of the stem in contact with the nominative mark has produced different results in the Milyan and Lycian endings (**nt-s* > Mil. *-iz*, Lyc. *-as*), being the ‘syllabic’ nasal /ñ/ in the dative singular case their common thread (Mil./Lyc. dat. sg. *Trqqñti*). The interpretation of the timbre difference in the vowel cannot be disassociated from the reconstruction of the Anatolian root, which faces the difficulties of the partial logographical writing of the attestations in C.Luwian and Hittite (see *HEG* 1991: 157).

	Milyan	Lycian	H.Luwian	C.Luwian	Hittite
nom. sg.	<i>Trqqiz</i>	<i>Trqqas</i>	<i>Tarhunts(a)</i> (TONITRUS- <i>hu-za</i>)	<i>Tarhu(wa)nts</i> (^d U- <i>an-za</i>)	* <i>Tarhunnas</i> (^d U- <i>aš</i>)
dat. sg.	<i>Trqqñti</i>	<i>Trqqñti</i>	<i>Tarhunti</i> (TONITRUS- <i>hu-ti-i</i>)	<i>Tarhunti</i> (^d ISKUR-u[<i>n-t</i>]i)	* <i>Tarhunni</i> (^d U- <i>un-ni</i>)

Tab. 1: The ‘Storm-god’ theonym in Milyan, Lycian, H.Luwian, C.Luwian, and Hittite

Traditionally, the vocalic divergence of Lycian and Milyan has been explained on etymological grounds. In his reconstruction, Pedersen (1954: 85) proposed that the ending in Mil. *Trqqiz* was the product of full grade **-ent-s*, while Lyc. *Trqqas* resulted from a zero grade **-ñt-s*. Melchert re-elaborated this proposal and went forward in linking an ablauting paradigm of the noun **tḡH-ént-/*tḡH-ñt-* (*AHP* 306, also Gusmani 1964: 43 and Oettinger 1979: 222) with the outcome of the Lycian elusive velar *q* (*AHP* 307: “Mil. *Trqqiz* is the perfectly regular result of **tḡH-ént-s*, with **-ents* > **-ēts* > *-iz* and fronting of **H* to *q* before front vowel. The regular result of the weak stem *tḡH-ñt-* would have been **trxxāt-*”), which however left the Lycian form unexplained (*ibid.*: “[...] this pattern of distribution is much clearer in Milyan than in Lycian, where the prominence of the obscure *qa-* misleads”). Most of Melchert’s objections seem to be exclusively based on the Greek rendering of the personal names derived from that of the Storm-god after Starke (1990: 140, Τροκονδος, Τροκονδας, Ταρκονδας, and his own reluctance in assum-

ing a labialised realisation of the velar <q> in Lycian and Milyan (see references and previous discussion in *HEG* 1991: 157).⁸

Nevertheless, and as Heubeck (1975: 87) glimpsed, a unique proto-Lycian form **-nts* must be behind the endings of both Mil. *Trqqiz* and Lyc. *Trqqas*. On one hand, the correlated outcome of certain nasal contexts as Mil. /i/ and Lyc. <a/ã>, <ñ> allows for an account of the different vocalic endings in Lycian and Milyan on independent grounds. This fact implies, on the other hand, that the velar *q* is no longer subordinate to the etymological reconstruction of the following vowel, and that the root can thus be taken as **térh₂u-nt-* (Lyc. *q* < **h^w* < PIE *h₂u-*, with Kloekhorst 2006: 98–100), which is far more coherent with the Luwian evidence (see Tab. 2).

	<i>*terh₂u-</i>	<i>-nt-s</i>
Lycian	<i>Trqq</i>	<i>as</i>
Milyan	<i>Trqq</i>	<i>iz</i>
H.Luwian	<i>Tarhu</i>	<i>nts(a)</i>
C.Luwian	<i>Tarhu(wa)-</i>	<i>nts</i>
Hittite	<i>*Tarhu</i>	<i>nas</i>

Tab. 2: Morphological segmentation of the theonym

If Lyc./Mil. *q* is reflecting **h₂u* (or **H^w*), which leads to the result /-hu-/ in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and their vocalic endings are the reflex of a syllabic nasal, then the initial consonantal cluster becomes unproblematic within the reconstruction, since several syncopes in Lycian take place synchronically in initial position (Adiego 2003). A change of accent might have prompted the initial syncope and medial gemination: **térh₂u-nt-s* > **térh^w-nt-s* > **térq-nts* > /**trqq-Ŵts*/ → Mil. *Trqqiz* /Lyc. *Trqqas*.

2 Lyc. <ñ>, <a>, <ã> ~ Lyc. <u>

In this section it is necessary to bring up two controversial aspects of the Lycian alveolar nasals and nasalised vowels: the change *ã* > *u* and its phonetic reali-

⁸ In Melchert's view (*AHP*, and 2008), the resulting velar from **h₂* in Lycian is conditioned by the timbre of the following vowel. Thus, *k* (palatal /c/), *x* (velar /k/), and *q* (labiovelar /kw?/) are to be taken in his view as middle, front, and back velars (respectively /k</, /k/ and /k>/), which invalidates the reconstruction of *q* as a labiovelar and forces the assumption of **térh₂-ent*.

zation as [ɔ̃] or [õ] proposed by Jenniges – Swiggers 2000; and the phonetic or graphic interchangeability of Lyc. <a>, <ñ>, <ã> (discussed in Adiego 2005).

On the first question, the phonetic change is described as a velarisation of the Lycian nasalised vowel /ã/ into /u/ (see Jenniges – Swiggers 2000: 109 on typological parallels), and is especially attested in the accusative singular inflection of *a*-stems, but also word-internally (*axãti-/axuti-* ‘priest’, nom. pl. *mãhãi / muhãi* ‘gods’, *AHP* 324). After the chronological and geographical distribution carried out by Jenniges – Swiggers (2000), it can be assured that it was a change in progress during the mid 4th c. BC, whose most transitional phase took place between the years 360–333 (Jenniges – Swiggers 2000: 117). The authors emphasise the velarised character of the final vowel <u> ([ɔ̃] or [õ], *ibid.* 109) and point to the contact with a velar (<x> [k]) or a bilabial nasal (<m> [m]) (*ibid.* 112) as the triggers of the change in the two word-internal examples of the shift.

The second problematic aspect is whether the variability among <a>, <ã>, and <ñ> in a reduced group of cases is to be interpreted in phonetic or graphic terms. As briefly mentioned, the notation of the nasalisation presents a quite irregular distribution, which in some cases seems to point to the interchangeable character of the nasal graphemes (e.g. *Lusãtra/Lusatra/Lusñtra, pddati/pddãti, qãti/qãñti/qañti/qñti*, see attestations in *DLL s.v.*). Such interchangeability of /a/, /ã/ and /ñ/ is regarded as a very minoritarian and late development by Adiego (2005: 4), while he advocates for the preponderant syllabic nature of /ñ/, a proposal that still raises questions among scholars. Note, however, that being the graphic interchangeability a late process does not exclude the development into /u/. In other words, the two views might be reconciled: if syllabic /ñ/ had a vocalic timbre /ñ^a/, it could have been graphically notated as <ã> and as <a>, and in parallel it would be susceptible to have undergone the shift into a velarised vowel *u* ([ɔ̃] or [õ]). This faces a third unsolved matter, that is, the exact value of Lyc. <u>, which is mostly rendered with letter o, but also v,⁹ in the Greek adaptations (Adiego 2020: 51 for an analysis of the question and a compilation of cases). In this sense, one interesting question in relation to the phonetic realisation of <u> originated from nasalised <ã> is whether the proposed values [ɔ̃] or [õ] can be extended to <ã> as well, which would mean that we are not dealing with a phonetic development, but with a graphic variation.

The possibility that the syllabic nasal, notated as <ñ>, might undergo as well the shift into <u> is addressed in the examination of the ethnonym *arñnas – arus*,

⁹ As Adiego (2020: 53–54) emphasises, the decreasing use of v in the Greek adaptation of Lycian <u> in onomastics is due to the gradual phonetic shift from Attic [u] to [y], which indicates that Gr. v no longer represented the Lycian pronunciation.

while the phonetic realisation of <ñ/ã> and <u> as [ʃ] or [ð] will be examined through the Greek adaptation of a set of anthroponyms (see section 3).

2.1 Lyc. *Arñna-* and Lyc. *arus-*

The name of the Lycian city Xanthos as we know it derives from Greek Ξάνθος, to which the Lycian personal name *Xssēñzija* (TL 91 1, 150 1 and 8) and the Milyan toponym *Xzzāta-* (TL 44d 44) are their likely phonetic adaptations (Schürr 2016: 186).¹⁰ The Lycian proper designation is, however, *Arñna-* (Aram. *ʾwrn*), although the line that separates the toponym from the ethnonym is diffuse and still disputed. Melchert (*DLL* 5) identifies two lexemes for the placename (*Arñna*² and *Arñnas-*, ‘Xanthos’), and a separate homonym item for the ethnic designation (*Arñna*¹ ‘Xanthian’), as shown in Tab. 3. In all three cases, the classification as a toponym or ethnonym depends on the identification of the stem, which is obscured by the absence of attestations in *casus rectus*, as well as by the still-elusive inflection of *s*-stems to which several toponyms also belong (cf. *Ijānis-* ‘Ionia’, *Trñmis-* ‘Lycia’, *Trus-* ‘Trysa’).

Ethnonym	Toponym	
<i>Arñna</i> ¹	<i>Arñna</i> ²	<i>Arñnas-</i>
nom. pl. <i>Arñnāi</i> (N320 6–7 and 32)	dat.-loc. sg. <i>Arñna</i> (TL 29 18, 44a 34, 44b 30, 44b 49, 44b 53–54, 45A 2, N320 4–5 and 20)	nom. sg. <i>Arñnas</i> (TL 44c 13, N320 31–32)
abl. <i>Arñnadi</i> (TL 40c 10)	gen. sg. <i>Arñnahe</i> (M222, M 224a, M240b) gen. adj. nom.-acc. pl. <i>Arñnaha</i> (M 240b)	dat.-loc. sg. <i>Arñnase</i> (TL 44c 19)

Tab. 3: *Arñna(s)-* and *Arñna-* distribution of the attestations according to Melchert (*DLL* 5)

¹⁰ The Lycian rendering with the cluster <xss>, particularly employed for adapting foreign words (cf. Lyc. *Alaxssañtra* from Greek Ἀλέξανδρος), indicates that the source of the adaptation was Greek. Nevertheless, the possibility that Greek Ξάνθος (also naming the river and its valley) is a reminiscence from an old local toponym/hydronym cannot be ruled out, just as the resemblance between classical Lycia and 2nd millennium *Lukka* has been accounted for (Melchert 2003: 42).

The separation of stems in the same toponym might have been induced by the existence of two different dative-locative formations, *Arñna* and *Arñnase*. But as Schürr noted (1998: 153), this picture is significantly clarified if the alleged toponym *Arñnas-* is compared to the inflection of other *s*-stems. The paradigm of *s*-stems, only fully known from *tuhe(s)-* ‘nephew, niece’ (*DLL xi*), does not present the /s/ of the stem in some inflection cases, especially plural (nom. sg. *tuhes*, but nom. pl. *tuhēi*) and some obliques (abl. *tuhedi*).¹¹ Under this evidence (see Tab. 4), nom. sg. *Arñnas* and dat.-loc. sg. *Arñnase* are to be integrated, according to Schürr, into the paradigm of the ethnonym *Arñna*⁻¹, now safely identified as an *s*-stem (named *s*-suffix for ethnicon derivatives *per* Schürr *op. cit.*), and thus lemmatised as *Arñna(s)-*.

<i>s</i> -stem	Ethnonym	Toponym
<i>tuhe(s)-</i> (paradigm in <i>DLL 72</i>)	<i>Arñna</i> ⁻¹ (<i>DLL</i>) → <i>Arñna(s)-</i>	<i>Arñna</i> ⁻²
nom. sg. <i>tuhes</i>	nom. sg. <i>Arñnas</i> (TL 44c 13, N320 31–32)	dat.-loc. sg. <i>Arñna</i> (29 18, 44a 34, 44b 30, 44b 49, 44b 53–54, 45A 2, N320 4–5 and 20)
acc. sg. <i>tuhesñ</i>		
dat.-loc. sg. <i>tuhesi</i>	dat.-loc. sg. <i>Arñnase</i> (44c 19)	gen. sg. <i>Arñnahe</i> (M222, M 224a, M240b)
nom. pl. <i>tuhēi</i>	nom. pl. <i>Arñnāi</i> (N 320 6–7 and 32)	
dat. pl. <i>tuhe</i>		gen. adj. nom.-acc. pl. <i>Arñnaha</i> (M240b)
abl. <i>tuhedi</i>	abl. <i>Arñnadi</i> (40c 10)	

Tab. 4: *Arñna(s)-* and *Arñna-* after Schürr’s proposal (1998: 153) of comparison with *tuhe(s)-*

¹¹ Before Schürr, Heubeck (1975: 83) had previously equiparated *Arñna-* with *n*-stems by comparing the form *Arñnai* with the nom. pl. *mahāi* of *maha(na)-* ‘god’. The mention of the relation between *n-* and *s*-stems is recurrent in literature and its exact diachrony is still investigated: e.g. Eichner (1993: 240) postulates the origin of *s*-stems from an *-nts* suffixation, while Hajnal (1995: 187) regards all nouns showing an acc. sg. /sñ/ as secondary *s*-stems.

A further piece of support is provided by the Trilingual of the Letoon (N 320), which seemingly attests twice both the toponym and the ethnonym under discussion. The two attestations of the toponym appear under the form of a zero-ending locative case *Arīna* (DLL x), an inflection common in other placenames: *Pttara-* (loc. sg. *Pttara*), *Sāma-* (loc. sg. *Sāma*), *Tlawa/i-* (loc. sg. *Tlawa*, but *Tlawi* in coins), or *Utāna-* (loc. sg. *Utāna*). The Greek counterpart of these two attestations is presented: 1) under a genitive of place $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon$ ‘in Xanthos’ (N320G 4), and 2) under the expression $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ τῆς πόλεως ‘for the city’ (N320G 18), see Tab. 5.¹²

N320 4	<i>s=ē=ñne=ñte=pddē=hadē:</i> <i>Trñmile: pddēnehñmis:</i> <i>Ijeru: se=Natrbbijēmi: se(j)</i> <i>=Arīna: asaxlazu: Erttimeli</i>	N320G 4	κατέστησε ἄρχοντας Λυκίας Ἰέρωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδοτον καὶ $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon$ ἐπιμελητὴν Ἄρτε- μηλιν
N320 20	<i>se=i=pibiti: uhazata: ada:</i> <i>HOO: ēti: tllaxñta: Arīna:</i>	N320G 18	καὶ δίδονται καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τρία ἡμίμναϊα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως

Tab. 5: Toponym ‘Xanthos’ in the Lycian and Greek versions of the Letoon Trilingual (N 320)

Conversely, the correlation of the ethnonym between the two languages is less straightforward. The Greek reflection of the Lycian ethnonym ‘Xanthian’ is $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$. In N 320 31–32 *teteri: Arīnas: se(j)=epewētlñmēi: Arīnai:* “the Xanthian city and the Xanthian *epewētlñmēi*” is displayed as $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\iota$ καὶ οἱ περίοικοι “the Xanthians and the *perioikoi*”, where *perioikoi* is left without the ethnic determination (on the geographical and social implications of *perioikos* see Domingo Gyax 1991; on the etymology of *epewētlñmēi*, Adiego 1993).

The same ‘Xanthians and the *perioikoi*’ appear in Greek in dative plural (N 320G 6–7) under the typical structure of Attic administrative decrees (aorist $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ + dative + infinitive). How the Lycian counterpart operates within this syntax and sense, in case it directly corresponds, is complex to determine, especially because of the unknown verb that governs the syntagm *tube-* (‘?’ DLL 72), which is only attested in the Letoon Trilingual (see Tab. 6). A second difficulty within the syntagm, and the point of interest for the present discussion, is how the use of *arus* in Lycian relates to the Greek ethnonym $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and whether it holds a synonymous relation with Lyc. *teteri Arīnas* ‘the Xanthian city’ (N 320 31), since

¹² Also in *e*-stems: *Mukale* (loc. sg. *Mukale*), *Pinale* (dat.-loc. sg. *Pinale*), and perhaps also in *e/i*-stems (*Trzzube/i-*, dat. sg. *Trzzubi*, but gen. adj. *Trzzubahi*).

the Greek expression is maintained unchanged ('the Xanthians and *perioikoi*') in both passages.

N 320 31–32	<i>aitē: tasa: mere: ebette: teteri:</i> <i>Arñnas: se(j)=epewētlm̄mēi:</i> <i>Arñnai:</i>	N320 27	καὶ ἐποίησαντο ὄρκους Ξάνθιοι καὶ οἱ περίοι- κοι ...
N 320 6–7	<i>me=hñti=tubedē: Arus: se(j)</i> <i>=epewētlm̄mēi: Arñnai</i>	N320 5–6	ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοις καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἰδρῦσα- σθαι βωμὸν ...

Tab. 6: Ethnonym 'Xanthian' in the Lycian and Greek versions of the Letoon Trilingual (N 320)

The problem within the identification of Lyc. *arus-* revolves around two interdependent axes: its meaning and its etymology. The most established meaning, 'citizenry' (*DLL* 5), stems from Laroche (1974: 123), who explained it as **arant-* a contracted form from *arawa-* 'freedom' (followed by Heubeck 1975: 86: **ar(a)wa-nt-s* > **aru-nt-s*). The semantic connection between freedom and a social condition is well-founded in Hittite (cf. Hitt. adj. *arawa-* 'free', *arawan(n)i-* 'free (not being a slave)', *EHD* 198), and probably contributes to the overall acceptance of the mentioned sense in Lycian (Heubeck 1975: 86 'freie Bürger', Hajnal 1995: 133 'freie Gemeinde' and Neumann 2007: 24 'Bürgerschaft').

Gusmani (1975: 74), however, denied the connection with *arawa-* and considered *arus-* to be the ethnonym 'Xanthian' originated from the toponym *Arñna-*, which found comparative evidence in the *s*-formation of other ethnonyms such as *Trm̄mis* 'Lycian'. Admittedly, the early proposals advocating for an *nt*-derivation set a good parallel for the nature of /u/ in *arus* (cf. Lyc. *axāti/axuti* 'priest' < *axa-nt-*, see 1.2). In my view, the change *ã* > *u* conveniently offers the chance to explain the form without separating *arus* from the ethnonym *Arñnas*, in this case, assuming that the syllabic nasal /ñ/ had a vocalic timbre /ñ^a/, which makes it susceptible to undergoing the shift into <u> ([ɔ̃] or [õ]).

The change of the syllabic nasal /ñ/ into /u/ might have been prompted by the inflection of the /-sñ/ accusative singular of *arusñ* (see Tab. 7), common of other *s*-stems ethnics (*ijānisñ* to *ijanis-* 'Ionian', *trm̄misñ* to *trm̄mis* 'Lycian', *trusñ* to *trus-* 'Tyrsian', Hajnal 1995: 187). Consequently, the analogous acc. sg. form of *Arñnas-* would have been ***arñnasñ*, from which a syncope could have taken place (acc. sg. **arñnas-ñ* → **arñs-ñ* → **arus-ñ* → *arus-ñ*), eventually extending the base to the nom. sg. *arus*. This tentative solution provides the paradigm of the ethnonym with an accusative singular form that is in line with the inflection of the *s*-stems (see Tab. 7).

s-stem	Ethnonym
<i>tuhe(s)-</i> (paradigm in DLL 72)	<i>Arñna</i> ¹ (DLL) → <i>Arñna(s)-</i>
nom. sg. <i>tuhes</i>	nom. sg. <i>Arñnas</i> (TL 44c 13, N320 31–32) secondary: <i>arus</i> (TL 45b 1, N 320 6)
acc. sg. <i>tuhesñ</i>	acc. sg. <i>arusñ</i> (TL 44b 6, 44c 16)
dat.-loc. sg. <i>tuhesi</i>	dat.-loc. sg. <i>Arñnase</i> (44c 19)
nom. pl. <i>tuhēi</i>	nom. pl. <i>Arññāi</i> (N 320 6–7 and 32)
dat. pl. <i>tuhe</i>	
abl. <i>tuhedi</i>	abl. <i>Arñnadi</i> (40c 10)

Tab. 7: Paradigm *Arñna(s)-/Aru(s)-* in comparison to s-stems

A final question to address is why would two nominative singular ethnic formations, *Arñnas* and *Arus*, coexist? This variation might be understood in the same context as other alternations *ā/u* (*ladā/ladu*, *axāti/axuti*). In particular, the Letoon Trilingual presents both the acc. sg. nasalised /ã/ (lin. 12 *arawā*, 27 *arā*) alternating with the acc. sg. /u/ (lin. 5 *asaxlazu*, 9 *kumazu*), which might be indicative of the ongoing aspect of this phonetic change, according to Jenniges – Swiggers (2000: 117; see p. 116 for a compilation of *ā ~ u* alternation in the same inscription).

3 The Greek phonetic adaptations

Considering the equation Mil. <i> ~ Lyc <ñ/ã/a> as a possible dialectal divergence, the question that consequently follows is whether it would have left a trace in onomastics and, particularly, in the Greek phonetic renderings.

One cluster that presents the phonetic case under study and that could endure in the onomastic material is that represented by Lyc.-Mil. *xñt*. It is identifiable under the prepositional element that constitutes derivatives related to the rulership semantic domain in some Anatolian languages (e.g. Luw. *handawat(i)*- ‘king’, Lyc. *xñtawat(i)*- ‘ruler’, **h₂ent*- ‘in front’ EHD 287), and that survives under personal names in Luwian Cuneiform sources (*Hantabi* NH 274, *Hantili* NH 275, *Hantitaššu* NH 276). In light of the continuity of Luwic names from the second to the first millennium BC, the Lycian personal names *Xñtlapa* (TL 43 1 N324 14*, DLL 109), *Xñtanube* (TL 70 2, *ibid.*), *Xñtenube* (TL 39 2, *ibid.*) and *Xñtabura* (TL 103 2, 125b) might well contain the aforementioned prepositional element that is present in the set of derivatives from *xñtawa*- ‘to rule’ (DLL 84). The reason for

the absence of this identification in literature, save from Houwink ten Cate (1961: 150), is probably the vocalism of the Greek adaptations: *Xītanube* ~ Κιντανυβας, and *Xītabura* ~ Κενδαβορα/Κινδαβυρις (Zgusta 1964: 223–234).

Admittedly, no personal names showing the onomastic element /kand°/ are identifiable in Greek sources from Lycia (*LGPN* V.B 227), but, on the contrary, a notable number of /kind°/ and /kend°/ formations exist. Interestingly, the form /kind°/ agrees with the /i/ vocalism that some Milyan lexemes present when in contact with an alveolar nasal (see section 1), which means that, being Greek /kind°/ the reflex of Lyc-Mil. *xñt-*, it might convey the Milyan pronunciation of these personal names. This fact posits the question of whether /kend°/ formations are consequently the reflex of the Lycian vocalism (/kand°/ > /kend°/). Nonetheless, the *e/i* vocalic alternation cannot be completely discarded in light of the doublet *Ikkuwemi* (TL 32i 1) ~ *Ēkuwēmi* (N313d), where the first is rendered as Greek Ενδυομις (TL 32i 1), although it phonetically more accurately represents the second. Besides /kind°/ and /kend°/, a third and last vocalism (/kond°/) takes place in the phonetic clusters that might be reflecting Lyc.-Mil. *xñt-* (see Tab. 8). Allegedly, /o/ is not contained in the vocalic repertoire of Lycian, which makes /kond°/ a poor candidate for the Greek phonetic rendering of Lyc.-Mil. *xñt-*. Nonetheless, the effect that a nasal phoneme produces in the timbre of a vowel in contact, as appreciated in the <u> that results from nasalised <ã> ([õ] or [õ̃]) *per* Jenniges – Swiggers 2000: 109, see section 2), is one possibility to contemplate in order to account for the /kond°/ occurrences. Such phonetic value agrees with the, cautiously expressed, idea by Melchert (*AHP* 291) about the existence of a rounded allomorph /o/ in Lycian represented by the nasalised vowel <ã>.

/kend°/ (12) [<i>LGPN</i> V.B 231–32]	/kind°/ (6) [<i>LGPN</i> V.B 234]	/kond°/ (12) [<i>LGPN</i> V.B 241]
Κενδας (x1)	Κινδαβυρις (x4)	Κονδης (x1)
Κενδεας (x3)	Κιντανυβας (x1)	Κονδιων (x2)
Κενδεβης (x1)	Κινδυοπρας (x1)	Κονδορασις (x1)
Κενδεβορα (x1)		Κονδοσας (x8)
Κενδηβας (x1)		
Κενδηβης (x3)		
Κενδηβυας (x1)		
Κενδονις (x1)		

Tab. 8: Onomastic elements /kind°/, /kend°/ and /kond°/ attested in Lycia, according to *LGPN* V.B

One counterargument on a Lycian genuine pronunciation of *xñt-* as /kond°/ according to the onomastic material is the existence in the Letoon Trilingual of the personal name Κονδορασις (N320G 9), argued to be of Carian origin (Adiego 2020: 45 with references), and which corresponds to Lycian *Qñturahi* (N320 10).¹³ Nonetheless, a Carian source of *Qñturahi* is not necessarily incompatible with a velarised timbre of syllabic <ñ>.¹⁴ The fact that *ã* > *u* [ʃ] or [õ] is taken as a change in progress in mid-4th c. might be indicative of a previous interference of Carian over the velarised timbre of some Lyc. <ã> nasalised vowel, to which <ñ> might be either an allograph or a syllabic nasal susceptible to be velarised as well. The irruption of the Carian Hecatomnid dynasty in Lycia (circa 360 BC) would have contributed to this gradual phonetic shift, which in turn allows us to explain why /kond°/ personal names are predominant in Lycia and Caria, and particularly late, in comparison with /kind°/ and /kend°/ Greek renderings.

4 Conclusions

Any conclusion over a language, Milyan, whose textual material is limited to two inscriptions necessarily remains tentative. With respect to Lycian, its role in the discussion is dependent on two still-debated questions, that is, the phonetic values of both <u> and <ñ>, which ultimately relate to the variability appreciated among <a/ã/ñ>. Hence, the conclusions reached are provisory. For all that, the phonetic indicatives that have been analysed, which had already been independently proposed, appear to be complementary among each other:

1. The vocalic distinction that can be perceived between well-known Milyan and Lycian cognates (Mil. *xina-*, *Trqiz*, *xi-* ~ Lyc. *xñna-*, *Trqqas*, *axa-*) might be understood in dialectological terms, being the contact with an alveolar nasal the trigger of a change in the timbre of the adjacent vowel, which in Milyan

¹³ The preservation of *σ* in the Greek rendering (Κονδορασις) indicates that Lycian *h* (*Qñturahi*) can hardly be its source, since Lycian invervocalic *h* is not notated by Greek (cf. Bilingual TL 25 *Purihimeti* ~ Πυριματις). Nevertheless, the presence of Πορασιματις (*LGPN* V.B 360) also leads to the consideration of a Milyan interference in the preservation of /s/ (**s* > Mil. *s* vs. Lyc. *h*). I am indebted to Valerio Pisaniello (Verona) for this observation.

¹⁴ Adiego (2020: 48) has already noted the possibility that <q> might be secondarily arisen from the contact with a velar phoneme. Interestingly, compare the rendering of the Lycian theonym *Trqqas* (dat. sg. *Trqqñti*) with an /o/ vocalism (Τροκονδας, *LGPN* V.B 413–414) in the Greek sources from Lycia, which both accept the explanation of a Carian influence over the vocalism of Lycian, and the velarised nature of the set <a/ã/ñ>.

- appears consistently as /i/, but whose result in Lycian presents a higher degree of variability <a/ã/ñ>. More difficult to establish with the available textual material is whether the vocalic divergence corresponds to a Lycian innovation, in accordance with its general tendency, and if consequently the /i/ vocalism of these group of nasal contexts stems from Common Lycian.
2. On a synchronic level, some contexts in Lycian present a graphic alternation among <a>, <ã> and <ñ>, which cannot be separated from the shift $\tilde{a} > u$. Remarkably, the alleged value of *u* as [ɔ̃] or [õ] (Jenniges – Swiggers 2000: 109) coincides with the tentative rounded value of <ã>, attributed in view of the Greek renderings with <o> (Melchert *AHP*: 291, Adiego 2020: 51). This fluctuation in the graphic use of these letters might be indicative of a shift in progress, although it cannot be discarded that they are mere allographs of the same phoneme [ɔ̃] or [õ]. The possibility of relating \tilde{n} with the change $\tilde{a} > u$ permits us to cautiously connect the ethnonym of Xanthos, *Arñnas*, with the elusive noun *arus*, which are equally translated by the Greek counterpart of the Letoon Trilingual.
 3. The absence of /kand°/ in Greek onomastics of Lycia, in front of a significant number of /kind°/, /kend°/ and /kond°/ personal names might be reflecting the prevalence of a Milyan phonetic realisation of the cluster *xñt-* ('in front', cf. Lyc. *xñtawá-* 'to rule', Mil. *xñtabá-* 'rule') under the i/e vocalism. Parallel to this fact, interpreting /kond°/ as the Lycian phonetic pronunciation of *xñt-* would agree with the rounded value that can be attributed to *u*, to which <a/ã/ñ> relate. However, a progressive influence of Carian over Lycia culminating with the Hecatomnid irruption in the control of the satrapy might also be the reason for the prominence of a rounded value, which in turn could be behind the hesitant variation in the use of <a/ã/ñ/u>, again, possible allographs of a single rounded vowel.

Drawing conclusions on the linguistic realities of the Lycian territory and its speakers from the present proposals is complex. The /i/ vocalism of Milyan as it is reflected in the Greek onomastics, if accepted, might respond to different situations: 1) The contact of Greek speakers with Milyan, which might be due to a) Lycian speakers retaining Milyan as a sociolect or b) properly active Milyan speakers, either inhabiting Classical Lycia, or being reached inland by the Greek speakers. Alternatively, 2) it might simply imply the prevalence of Milyan names among Lycian speakers that might have ultimately passed to the Greek indirect sources. In this sense, note that the prevalence of personal names along the centuries is a well-attested trait of, precisely, onomastics of the Luwic family (Houwink ten Cate 1961). A second point on the linguistic landscape of Lycia and the phonology of its language revolves around the elusive rounded allophones, again if approved,

whose variation in the graphic notation together with the late dating of /kond^o/ personal names might be a sign of the increasing contact of Lycian speakers with Carian language culminating in the establishment of the Hecatomnid dynasty over their territory.

The picture remains unavoidably incomplete pending the discovery of further Milyan sources and investigation on the exact nature of the wide range of nasal and nasalised phonemes that Lycian contains in its phonetic repertoire.

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