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The Opening Formula of Lycian Funerary Inscriptions: *mēti* vs. *mēne**

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In his *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language*, Melchert¹ cites the acc.sg.c. form of the enclitic personal pronoun of 3sg. as *=ē* and *=ēne*,² as if having two allomorphs. Both forms occur, for instance, in the well-known formula with which a third of the Lycian inscriptions begin:

=ē:³

TL 3 *ebēññē : χυπᾶ : m=ē=ti prñnawatē : te|winezēi*
‘The tomb belonging to this (monument),⁴
Tewinezēi built it.’

*In this article, Lycian inscriptions are transliterated according to the standard transliteration. Line breaks are indicated by |. In syntactic analyses neither line breaks nor word dividers (:) are indicated. TL stands for texts published by Ernst Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae, lingua lycia conscripti*, Tituli Asiae Minoris 1, (Vienna, 1901), and N for texts published by Günter Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* (Wien, 1979).

¹ Craig Melchert, *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language* (Ann Arbor, 2004), 19–20.

² With *=ene* as a graphic variant, according to the principle that before *-n-* the graphemes <e> and <ē> vary freely; see Alwin Kloekhorst, “Studies in Lycian and Carian Phonology and Morphology,” *Kadmos* 47 (2008), 121.

³ For the fact that instead of *mēti* we also find *meti*, which must be regarded as a denasalized variant of *mēti*, see Andrew Garrett, “Topics in Lycian Syntax,” *Historische Sprachforschung* 105 (1992): 202–203.

⁴ For the translation of *ebēññē* as ‘belonging to this (monument)’ or ‘appertaining,’ see Kloekhorst, “Studies in Lycian,” 132–37.

TL 11 *ebēññē prñnawā : m=ē=ti prñnawatē : ddapssñma*
‘The building belonging to this (monument),
Ddapssñma built it.’

=ēne:

TL 37 *ebēññē : χυ|πᾶ : m=ēne pr|ñnawatē : me|de*
‘The tomb belonging to this (monument), Mede
built it.’

TL 53 *ebēññē : prñnawu : m=ēne | prñnawatē hanadaza*
‘The building belonging to this (monument), Ha-
nadaza built it.’

These formulae are characterized by left-dislocation of the objects *ebēññē χυπᾶ* and *ebēññē prñnawā*, followed by the sentence-initial particle *me* to which the resumptive clitic pronouns are attached.

There are some problems regarding this interpretation. Apart from the fact that it is a priori quite awkward to assume that the acc.sg.c. of the enclitic pronoun has two different forms (*=ē* and *=ēne*) having the same function and meaning without any distribution (be it semantic, phonological, or chronological), in this case the variation between the two alleged allomorphs is not as free as usually stated. When the element *=ti*—which is commonly regarded as a reflexive

particle—is used in the formula as well, we only find = \bar{e} and never = $\bar{e}ne$. When the element = ti is not used, we only find = $\bar{e}ne$ and never = \bar{e} .

Thus, the formula only shows these two forms:

ebēñnē χυῖᾱ mēti prñnawatē PN
ebēñnē χυῖᾱ mēne prñnawatē PN

but never these two forms:

** *ebēñnē χυῖᾱ mē prñnawatē* PN
 ** *ebēñnē χυῖᾱ mēneti prñnawatē* PN

This distribution requires an explanation,⁵ and in the following I will therefore look more closely into the use of the particle chains *mēti* and *mēne*.

mēti

The particle chain *mēti* is usually morphologically analyzed as consisting of the conjunction *me* followed by the acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun = \bar{e} and a reflexive particle = ti ‘for himself’ (vel sim.). First, it should be noted that the citation of acc.sg.c. = \bar{e} is not fully correct. In TL 126, *prddewāti : prñnawa[te]*, which Melchert⁶ analyzes as the sentence-initial chain *prddewa* (nom.sg.c.) + = \bar{e} (acc.sg.c.) + = ti (reflexive) and which, according to this analysis, should be translated ‘Prddewa built it for himself,’ we see that the acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun is not = \bar{e} , but rather, it consists only of the nasalization. It may therefore be better to analyze *mēti*, which phonologically stands for /meⁿti/,⁷ on a morphological level as |me=n=ti|.⁸

⁵ Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1961), 18–19, states that the variant = $\bar{e}ne$ represents an original **en* plus a prop-vowel *-e*, “since without it the final *n* would be discarded after a vowel” (followed by Melchert, *Dictionary of the Lycian Language*, 200). This would then explain why the prop-vowel is not found in *mēti*, since here the element = \bar{e} is not found in final position. Apart from the fact that a final *-n* would not be discarded after a word-final *-e* (which would just yield nasalization, \bar{e}), we do find cases of the variant = \bar{e} in final position; for example, in TL 52 *ebēñ[n]ē : χυῖᾱ : mēn(e)=adē : krehēnube : sē pijetē wazijeje | se(j)=ēni* ‘The appertaining tomb, Krehēnube made it, and gave it to Wazije and (his) mother,’ the = \bar{e} in *s=ē* is word-final but is nevertheless not followed by a prop-vowel.

⁶ Melchert, *Dictionary of the Lycian Language*, 19.

⁷ Cf. Kloekhorst, “Studies in Lycian” for a treatment of the phonology of Lycian.

⁸ In n. 21 we will come across a form *upazijēne*, which will be analyzed as *upazi* + acc.sg.c. |*en*| + = \bar{e} , showing a form |*en*|. I regard this as a later variant of original |*n*|, probably on the analogy of the enclitic nom.sg.c. |*e*| and nom.-acc.sg.n. |*ede*|.

The element = ti is usually interpreted as a reflexive particle, compared etymologically with Luw. = di (refl.) and Hitt. = z (refl.).⁹ Yet, I have doubts whether this interpretation can be correct. From examples like: TL 86 *ebēñnē : prñnawā : mēti prñnawatē : erimñnaha : | semuteh : tideimi : hrppi : atli : ebbi : se(j)=ēni* : *ebbi* ‘The building belonging to this (monument), Erimñnaha, son of Semute, built it for himself and his mother,’ it is clear that the element = ti cannot have the lexical meaning ‘for himself,’ because this is already expressed by *hrppi : atli : ebbi*. One could argue that = ti then must have a reflexive meaning, more or less grammaticalized in order to signal the self-beneficial action of the construction of the grave building. Yet, for example, in TL 87 *ebēñnē : χυῖᾱ : meti | pr[ñ]nawatē : apññātama | hrppi : ladi : [h]bi : se tide|imi* ‘The tomb belonging to this (monument), Apññātama built it for his wife and children,’ the building of the tomb was not self-beneficial (it was built for Apññātama’s wife and children, but not for himself), but still we find the element = ti . On the contrary, in TL 37 *ebēñnē : χυῖᾱ : mēne pr|ñnawatē : me|de : epññēni | ebbi : hmprā|ma : se(j)=atli* ‘The tomb belonging to this (monument), Mede built it for his younger brother Hmmpṛāma and for himself,’ where the building clearly was self-beneficial, we do not find = ti . One could perhaps argue that although = ti historically was a reflexive, it lost its semantic value and has become fully grammaticalized. If this were the case, I would expect to find = ti with every example of the verbs that use it. As we have seen, this is not what we find: the verb *prñnawa-* can be used with or without = ti with no detectable difference in meaning.

I therefore see no semantic or grammatical reasons to interpret the element = ti as a reflexive. This view was also advocated by Borchhardt et al., who state that

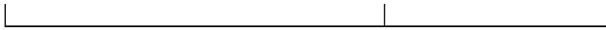
⁹ This goes back to Emmanuel Laroche, “Comparaison du louvite et du lycien,” *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 53 (1957–58), 171–72; cf. Melchert, *Dictionary of the Lycian Language*, 65 and Günter Neumann, *Glossar des Lykischen: Überarbeitet und zum Druck gebracht von Johann Tischler*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 21 (Wiesbaden, 2007), 356–57. Note that the single spelling of *-t-* in CLuw. = ti and the rhotacism of HLuw. = ti / = ri shows that the Luwian reflexive in fact was /*di*/, namely, it contains a lenis /*d*/, with which it differs from Lycian = ti , which contains a fortis /*t*/. The hypothesis that in this case Lycian would correspond to Hittite—which has the reflexive = z that goes back to **ti* containing a fortis /*t*/ as well—rather than to Luwian is already a priori less attractive.

TL 48 *ebēñnē xupā me=n=ti prñnawatē padrāma*



Figure 1

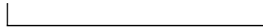
TL 102 *tī ñte hri alahadi tike tibe ñte tī hrppi tadi tike m=e ttleiti puwa aitāta aṃmāma*



‘Whoever arranges inside (this tomb) someone on top or whoever places inside (this tomb) someone on top, they will pay eight(?) goats(?) as a fine.’

Figure 2

TL 56 *se=ije tī edi tike mētē m=ene qasttu ēni qlahi ebijehi*



‘Whoever does any harm to this (tomb), him the Mother of the local precinct will destroy.’

Figure 3

they find it better to interpret =*ti* here as the nom.sg.c. of the relative pronoun *tī-* < **kʷi-* ‘who.’¹⁰ A sentence like TL 48 *ebēñnē : xupā : mēti : prñ|nawatē : padrāma* should then be translated as: ‘The tomb belonging to this (monument), (the one) who built it (is) Padrāma.’ According to Borchhardt et al., the reason for using this construction is “Hervorhebung des Subjekts, das den Graberbauer bezeichnet, durch die Einbettung in eine Relativsatzkonstruktion.”

This interpretation seems fully convincing to me. It is interesting to see that if we apply this idea to a syntactical analysis of these sentences, we arrive at the structure shown in figure 1. It seems that *mēti prñnawatē* must be regarded as the core sentence, and not only has the object of the sentence been left-dislocated and is referred to by an enclitic pronoun, but also, the subject of the sentence has been dislocated out of the sentence, namely to the right of it,

¹⁰ Jürgen Borchhardt et al., “Archäologisch-sprachwissenschaftliches Corpus der Denkmäler mit lykischer Schrift,” *Anzeiger der philologisch-historischen Klasse* 134.2 (1997–99), 62–63. They even go so far as to state that all cases where =*ti* has been interpreted as a reflexive should instead be regarded as containing the relative pronoun *tī-*, “wonach das anatolische Reflexivum im Lykischen völlig unbelegt bleibt: es könnte sogar überhaupt ausgestorben sein.”

and is referred to by a relative pronoun. Literally, the sentence can now be translated:

‘The appertaining tomb, well, it, (the one) who built it,¹¹ (is) Padrāma.’

It is interesting to note that this structure differs from normal preposed relative clauses¹² like the one found in TL 102 (fig. 2), where the resumptive clause is introduced by the conjunction *me* to which the nom.pl.c. form¹³ of the enclitic pronoun =*e*- is attached. Similarly in TL 56 (fig. 3), where we find *me* to which the acc.sg.c. form of the enclitic pronoun is attached. As will be explained in detail below, the particle chain *mene* in fact consists of the conjunction *me*

¹¹ The translation ‘it’ is used to render the verb’s nasalization, *prñnawatē*, for which Andrew Garrett (“The Lycian Nasalized Preterite,” *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 52 [1991], 15–26) showed that it historically must be identical with the acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun |=n|.

¹² Cf. especially Roberto Gusmani, “Zur Frage des lykischen Relativpronomen,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 67 (1962) and Andrew Garrett, “Relative Clause Syntax in Lycian and Hittite,” *Die Sprache* 36 (1994) for relative clauses in Lycian.

¹³ Cf. the treatment of TL 6 below for the existence of nom.pl.c. =*e*.

TL 48 *ebēñmē xupā* me=n=ti *prñnawatē* *padrāma*



‘The appertaining tomb, well, it, (the one) who built it, (is) Padrāma.’

Figure 4

TL 80 *ebeñmē xupā* me=n=e *prñnawatē* *xakbija*



Figure 5

+ resumptive enclitic acc.sg.c. =n + proleptic enclitic nom.sg.c. =e.

The difference between the two constructions is that in the latter two examples, (in the constructions where the resumptive clause contains the conjunction *me*), the relative clause is indeterminate, which means the relative pronoun can be translated as ‘who(ever),’ whereas in the former example (the construction where the resumptive clause does not contain any conjunction), the relative clause is determinate, which means the relative pronoun can be translated as ‘(the one) who.’

Because of the absence of a sentence conjunction in the construction *mēti prñnawatē padrāma* ‘(the one) who built it is Padrāma,’ we are effectively dealing with an embedded relative clause, and the relative clause *mēti prñnawatē* can be interpreted as functioning as the subject of the (nominal) sentence *X . . . padrāma* ‘X is Padrāma.’¹⁴ Constructions of this pattern, ‘The one who X is Y,’ are also called pseudo-clefts, which constitute a variant of clefts (‘It is X who Y’), which we will see below as well.¹⁵

mēne

The particle chain *mēne* is usually interpreted as consisting of the conjunction *me* followed by the acc.

¹⁴ Compare Philomena Probert, “Clause Boundaries in Old Hittite Relative Sentences,” *Transactions of the Philological Society* 104 (2006), 17–83, who pointed out the existence of embedded relative clauses in Old Hittite, which indicates that such a syntactic construction could go back to Proto-Anatolian.

¹⁵ For both cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions, see Peter C. Collins, *Cleft and Pseudo-Cleft Constructions in English* (London, 1991).

sg.c. enclitic pronoun =ēne, the longer variant of =ē. As mentioned above, it is unlikely that one grammatical form has two formal variants, and I therefore propose a new analysis. The word *mēne* should be phonologically interpreted as /mene/. In view of the fact that *mēti* is morphologically analyzed as |me=n=ti|, I would then morphologically analyze *mēne* as |me=n=e|, containing the enclitic pronoun |=n| and an element |=e|. Since the chains |me=n=ti| and |me=n=e| occur in similar formulae, the elements |=ti| and |=e| must be grammatically and functionally equivalent.

As we have seen, sentences containing *mēti* must in my view be analyzed as shown in figure 4. If we apply this analysis to sentences that use *mēne*, we arrive at the scheme shown in figure 5. It seems to me that in these sentences we are also dealing with two dislocations, namely left-dislocation of the object, which is referred to by the resumptive pronoun |=n|, and right-dislocation of the subject, in this case *Xakbija*, which is proleptically referred to by the element |=e|. In my view, the element |=e| must be identified as the nom.sg.c. form of the enclitic personal pronoun =e-. This nom.sg.c. form, =e, is also attested in TL 100 *ebe xupa m=e tibeija* ‘This grave, it is Tibeian.’¹⁶ It is true that the personal pronoun =e- usually has a resumptive function, referring back to someone or something already mentioned (as |=n| refers back to *ebeñmē xupā*), but a proleptic use of it is known as well.¹⁷ Therefore, a literal translation of TL 80 would be:

¹⁶ See Andrew Garrett, “Topics in Lycian Syntax,” 204.

¹⁷ See Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Luwian Population Groups*, 66. An example is TL 84 *ebēñmē : prñnawā : meti : prñnawatē* :

‘The appertaining tomb, well, it, he built it, (namely) Xakbija.’

I am aware that the use of an enclitic pronoun to express the subject of a transitive verb is systematically absent in the other Anatolian languages¹⁸, but this does not necessarily mean that this should be the case in Lycian as well. The syntactic rules regarding sentence-initial particles and enclitic pronouns are language specific, and each language may show its own innovations vis-à-vis the inherited Proto-Anatolian syntactic system.¹⁹

Function

The question now arises: Why do these two constructions exist? I think the answer lies in different ways of emphasizing. The neutral variant of the formula ‘X built Y’ can be found in TL 40a = TL 40b:

mizretije : murāzah : tubes : mluhidaza : surezi | brppi atli : ebbi : se ladi : se tideime : ebbye : s=ed=adē : atli : hrzzē [i]spazijē ‘The appertaining building, he who built it is Mizretije, the nephew of Murāza, the mluhidaza of Sura, for himself, for his wife, and for his children. And for himself he made it, the upper bench.’ The nom.-acc.sg.n. pronoun =ed (e) proleptically refers to *hrzzē [i]spazijē* ‘the upper bench.’ Proleptic use of enclitic pronouns is also attested in CLuwian (cf. Emmanuel Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* [Paris, 1959], 145), for example, KUB 35.54 iii (26) [a=](a)ta ha-la-a-al a-aš-du za-a [p]ár-na-an-za ‘May it be pure, this house,’ where nom.-acc.sg.n. =ata proleptically refers to *zā parmanza*. This phenomenon occurs also in Hittite, albeit originally only in texts translated from other languages: KUB 17.10 i (28) *Ú-UL=wa-r-a-an ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un* ^d*Te-li-pi-nu-un* (29) *na-ak-ki-in* DINGIR^{LAM} ‘I did not find him, Telipinu, the noble god,’ where acc.sg.c. =an proleptically refers to ^d*Telipinun nakkin* DINGIR^{LAM}; KBo 39.8 iv (15–16) *tu-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ru-wa-r-a-at | hu-u-ma-an-da u[d-d]a-a-ar hu-ur-da-a-uš-š=a* ‘May they be broken, all the words and curses!’ where nom.-acc.pl.n. =at proleptically refers to *hūmanda uddār hūrdāuš=a* (both examples from Andrej V. Sideltsev, “Proleptic Pronouns in Middle Hittite,” to appear in the Proceedings of the 53rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale [Moscow-St. Petersburg]).

¹⁸ The so-called Watkins-Garrett Law. See Andrew Garrett, “Hittite Enclitic Subjects and Transitive Verbs,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 42 (1990), 227–42.

¹⁹ As we saw in footnote 17, the proleptic use of enclitic pronouns is not original in Hittite, but arose due to the influence of other languages (Sideltsev, “Proleptic Pronouns”), and we therefore may assume that it was not original in Proto-Anatolian either. Nevertheless, Luwian and Lycian both demonstrate this proleptic use, and this must therefore be regarded as a Luwic innovation vis-à-vis Proto-Anatolian (whether this innovation was triggered by foreign language influence as well is not important in this case).

pajawa : manaxine : prñnawate : prñnawā : ebēñnē

‘Pajawa, the *manaxine*, built the appertaining building.’

Note that the word order is SVO in this sentence, which is the normal word order in Lycian.²⁰

If the builder wants to stress his own name, he can use a construction with the relative pronoun *ti*:

TL 99 *purihimeti=ti : prñnawate : masasab : tideimi | χupā :: ebēñnē*

‘(It is) Purihimeti, the son of Masasa, who built the appertaining tomb.’²¹

²⁰ Contra Garrett, “Relative Clause Syntax,” 31–32, who claims that VSO is the basic word order in Lycian. Both his examples of VS(O) contain the proleptic enclitic pronominal nom.sg.c. form =e and are therefore in fact SV(O):

TL 75 *mēne* (me=n=e) | *tubidi : q[l]a[(j)]=eb[i s]e malija : se t[asa] : miñtaba*

‘It will strike him, the local precinct (authority) and Malija and the oaths of the miñti.’

TL 143 *s=e pij[ete] : mlā.ñnazi : ebēñnē : ñtatu : pttlezeje : | se ladi e[h]bi mañmahaje : kbatri : ebbi : se tideime : ebbye*

‘He gave, Mlāñnazi, the appertaining chamber to Pttleze and his wife Mañmaha and to his daughter and his sons.’

²¹ A similar construction can be found in:

TL 29 *ikuwe=ti : prñnawate : ipresidab : tideimi : [...]pe[h] | tubes : ñtatu : atli : se ladi : ebbi : tubesi*

‘(It is) Ikuwe, the son of Ipresida, nephew of [...]pe, who built the burial chamber, for himself, his wife and his nephew.’

Based on the following two examples (albeit that the second is rather broken), we must conclude that if the object is not overtly expressed, an enclitic acc.sg.c. is attached to the first word:

TL 95 *[...]eburehijē=ti : prñ[n]awate [...]i[...]l. tide]imi [.....]ad-deh tubes | hrpp(i)=ēni : ebbi : se tube ebbye*

‘(It is) [...]eburehije, son of [...] and nephew of [...] adde, who built it for his mother and his nephews.’

TL 126 *prddewā=ti : prñnawa[te] : zānaza : serñmaij[...]*

‘(It is) Prddewa, the zānaza, [son of] Serñmaij[...], who built it [...].’

In these inscriptions, the nasalization of [...]eburehijē=ti and prddewā=ti must represent the acc.sg.c. |n|. The same analysis may then be applied for the following inscriptions, although in these the nasalization is not expressed—on the one hand because high vowels do not show nasalization, and on the other, because nasalization can be lost before -t-:

TL 62 *unuwēmi=ti prñnawate | purihimrbbeseh tideimi | hrppi : ladi se tideime*

‘(It is) Unuwēmi, the son of Purihimrbbese, who built it for (his) wife and children.’

Note that this is a cleft construction, that is, it contains the pattern ‘It is X who Y.’ Therewith it differs from normal postposed relative sentences, where the relative pronoun *ti* follows the verb.²²

Since the inscriptions are inscribed onto the grave monuments to which the *χυπα*-s, *prñnawa*-s, etc. belong, it is logical that these are usually emphasized. This is done by dislocating these words, the objects of the sentences, to the left, using a construction with

TL 98 *pizzi=ti : prñnawate : ddepñneweb : tideimi : hrppi | ladi : ebbi : se tideime*

‘(It is) Pizzi, son of Ddepñnewe, who built it for his wife and children.’

TL 116 [...]*ziχle=ti prñnawate piχñmah | tideimi χelijānaχssab prñnezij[ebi]*

‘(It is) [...]ziχle, son of Piχñma, household member of Xelijānaχssa, who built it.’

TL 127 *st[.]maha=t[i prñ]nawate : epñχuχα tideimi hrppi | anī[.....]e se tube se muneite se [χ]abbe*

‘(It is) St[.]maha, son of Epñχuχα, who built it for (his) anī[.....], and nephews, and *muneite*, and grandchildren’

TL 131 [...]*a=ti | pr]ñnawate : hrppi ladi : ebbi*

‘(It is) [...]a who built it for his wife.’

All these inscriptions then represent the structure S +|=n| +|=ti| V, which is the variant without overtly expressed object of the cleft construction S + |=ti| V O. If this is correct, then the following two inscriptions may represent a similar variant of the non-cleft construction:

TL 31 *upazijēne : prñnawate | hrppi : prñnezi : ebbi*

‘Upazi built it for his household.’

TL 133 *χñtlapāne : prñnawate : perikleb : mahinaza : epñtibazab | tideimi*

‘Xñtlapa, the *mahinaza* of Perikle, son of Epñtibaza, built it.’

These sentences, where the object is not overtly expressed, seem to show the structure S+ |=n| + |=e| V (with *upazijēne* = *upazi* + |=en| + |=e|, cf. footnote 8) as opposed to the construction S V O (TL 40a/b *pajawa : manaxine : prñnawate : prñnawā : ebēñnē* ‘Pajawa, the *manaxine*, built the appertaining building’) where the object is overtly expressed. Apparently, the use of the enclitic acc. sg.c. |=n| required the use of nom.sg.c. |=e| as well. Since at least TL 133 can be dated as a relatively late inscription (it mentions the dynast Perikle, who ruled Lycia from ca. 380–362 B.C.), we might be dealing here with a later development comparable to the one seen in TL 7 and TL 8, below (cf. footnote 28).

²² Cf. Gusmani, “Zur Frage,” 159–76, and Garrett, “Relative Clause Syntax,” 29–69 for relative clauses such as:

TL 150 *ebeli : m=e sijēni : χssēñzija : | χñtlapab : tideimi : mutleb : | prñnezijehi : prñnawate=ti : | ñtatā : atli : ebbi*

‘Here, he lies, Xssēñzija, the son of Xñtlapa, the household-member of Mutle, who built the burial chamber for himself.’

the conjunction *me*. This apparently inherently causes right-dislocation of the subject as well as nasalization of the verb²³:

TL 80 *ebēñnē χυπα me=n=e prñnawatē χakbija*

lit. ‘The appertaining tomb, well, it, he built it, (namely) Xakbija.’

‘The appertaining tomb was built by Xakbija.’

If the builder now wants to stress his own name, this can again be done by using the relative pronoun *ti*-, creating a pseudo-cleft:

TL 48 *ebēñnē χυπα me=n=ti prñnawatē padrāma*

lit. ‘The appertaining tomb, well, it, (the one) who built it, (is) Padrāma.’

‘The appertaining tomb, it is Padrāma who built it.’

Conclusion

As we have seen, the particle chains *mēne* and *mēti* as found in the well-known formulae *ebēñnē χυπα mēne prñnawatē* PN and *ebēñnē χυπα mēti prñnawatē* PN cannot be regarded as functionally identical, the former consisting of *me* and the “long” acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun =*ēne* and the latter consisting of *me* and the “short” acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun =*ē*, to which the optional reflexive particle =*ti* is attached. Instead, *mēne* must be morphologically analyzed as |=me=n=e|, where the acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun |=n| resumptively refers to the left-dislocated object (*ebēñnē χυπα*) and the nom.sg.c. enclitic pronoun |=e| proleptically refers to the right-dislocated subject (PN). The chain *mēti* must be morphologically analyzed as |=me=n=ti|, where the acc.sg.c. enclitic pronoun |=n| resumptively refers to the left-dislocated object (*ebēñnē χυπα*) and the nom.sg.c. relative pronoun |=ti| refers to the right-dislocated subject (PN). The sentences with *mēne* must be regarded as semantically neutral (apart from the fact that the object has been topicalized), whereas the sentences with *mēti* must be regarded as sentences in which, apart from the topicalization of the object (namely the grave monument that has been built), the subject (namely the builder of the grave monument) is emphasized as well by embedding it into a relative sentence.

²³ On which see Garrett, “Lycian Nasalized Preterite,” 15–26.

Excursus 1. *mēne* (and *sēne*) in other contexts

The element *=e* that we now have identified in the sequence *mēne* does not only proleptically refer to singular subjects, but in TL 6 also to a plural subject (note the use of 3pl. *prñnawātē*); see fig. 6. Moreover, we find the sequence *mēne*, as well as *sēne*, also in contexts other than the opening formula of the

funerary inscriptions. In most of these, an analysis as *me* or *se* + acc.sg.c. *=n* + nom.sg.c. or nom.pl.c. *=e* works perfectly as well, for instance in the cursing formulae shown in figure 7. We see that in all these inscriptions the deities or institutions that will perform

TL 6 *ebēññē ñtatā* *me=n=e prñnawātē* *pulenjda mullijeseh se dapara pulenjdah*

‘The appertaining burial chamber, they built it, Pulenjda, son of Mullijese, and Dapara, son of Pulenjda.’

Figure 6

TL 56 *seije ti edi tike mētē* *me=n=e qasttu* *ēni qlahi ebijehi se wedri wehñtezi*

‘Whoever does any damage to it, him she will destroy, the Mother of the local precinct and the *wedri* of Phellos.’

TL 57 *hrpp(i)=ije me=i tadi tike* *me=n=e tubeiti* *māhāi huwedri se itlehi trñmili*

‘If (someone) places someone on top, him they will strike, all the gods and the Lycian league.’

TL 75 *hrpp(i)=i[je me]=i tadi tike kbi* *me=n=e tubidi* *q[l]a[(j)]eb[i s]e malija se t[asa] miñtaha*

‘If (someone) places someone else on top, him he will strike, the local precinct (authority) and Malija and the Oaths of the miñti.’

TL 83 ... *me=n=e tubidi* *trqqas se itlehi trñmili huwedri*

‘..., him he will strike, the Weathergod and all the Lycian league.’

Figure 7—(continued on next page.)

TL 139 *ti hrppi tāti tike me=n=e tubidi h[p]pñter[us] mähāi se marazija miñtaha*

‘Whoever place someone on top, him he will strike, the *hppñterus* of the gods and the court of the *miñti*.’

TL 150 *hrpp(i)=ije me=i tā[t]i me=n=e qastti malija wedrēñni se itlehi trmmili huwedri*

‘If (some people) place (someone) on top, him(!) he will strike, Malija of Rhodiapolis and all the Lycian league.’

N314b *χupa ebehi t(i)=i(j)=adi tike zummē tihe me=n=e tubidi eti ebehē*

‘The tomb belonging to this, whoever does any harm to it, him he will strike, the Father of these.’

Figure 7—(continued from previous page.)

the destroying or striking are right-dislocated and proleptically referred to by the enclitic pronoun =e.

There is a group of inscriptions, however, where in the cursing formula the enclitic nom.sg.c./nom.pl.c. =e seems to be superfluous because the subject does not seem to be right-dislocated. Consider for instance:

TL 95 . . . *mēne itlehi qañt[i] trmmili b[u]we[dri]*

‘. . . , him, all the Lycian league will destroy.’

The word *itlehi* ‘league’ precedes the verb *qañt[i]* ‘will destroy,’ and therewith does not seem to be right-dislocated, which would make the presence of the enclitic pronoun =e in *mēne* superfluous and therewith could be used as an argument against my interpretation of *mēne* as |me=n=e|. Yet, it is remarkable that *itlehi* is only the first member of the word group *itlehi trmmili huwedri* ‘all the Lycian league’ that constitutes the subject of the verb, and that the other two words, *trmmili huwedri*, follow the verb. In fact, this is the case in all inscriptions where we at first seem not to be dealing with right-dislocation:

TL 84 . . . *mene qla [q]a[s]tt(i)=ebi surezi*

‘. . . , him, the local precinct (authority) of Sura will destroy.’

TL 84 . . . *mene pddē qla smmati ebi surezi*

‘. . . , him, the local precinct (authority) of Sura will put to place.’

TL 88 . . . *mene itlehi tubeiti trmmili huwedri se trqqas se mābāi huwedri*

‘. . . , him, all the Lycian league and the Weathergod and all the gods will strike.’

TL 89 . . . *mēne i[t]lehi qāti trmmili*

‘. . . , him, the Lycian league will destroy.’

TL 90 . . . *me[n]e itlehi qañti trmmili*

‘. . . , him, the Lycian league will destroy.’

TL 95 . . . *mēne itlehi qañt[i] trmmili b[u]we[dri]*

‘. . . , him, all the Lycian league will destroy.’

TL 101 . . . *mene mā[h]āi tubeiti wed[rēñ]ni*

‘. . . , him, the gods of Rhodiapolis will strike.’

TL 134 . . . *sene perepñ itlehi qānti trmmili*

‘. . . , him, furthermore, the Lycean league will destroy.’

TL 135 . . . *sene teseti tubeiti trmmili s[e ma]r[az]i[ja] miñt[ab]a*

‘. . . , him, the Lycian oath-gods and the court of the *Miñti* will strike.’

TL 149 ... *sēne tesēti qānti trm̄milijēti*
 ‘. . . , him, the Lycian oath-gods will destroy?’

N306 . . . *sene itlebi qānti trm̄mili huwedri*
 ‘. . . , him, all the Lycian league will destroy.’

N309d . . . *sene itlebi qānti [ti] trm̄mili huw[edri]*
 ‘. . . , him, all the Lycian league will destroy.’

N317 [... *me*]ne *māhāi tubeiti sum[...]*āi
 ‘. . . , him, the *sum[...]*a gods will strike.’

Whatever be the reason underlying this remarkable fronting of only the first of the group of words that constitute the subject, it seems to me it is a phenomenon that requires a separate explanation and does not have any bearing on my interpretation of *mēne* and *sēne* as [Ce=n=e].²⁴

There is also a group of inscriptions that use *mēne* where the =e does not seem to refer to an overtly expressed right-dislocated subject:

TL 88 *se ēke lati ddaqasa | mene ntepi tāti ntipa tezi se ladā ebhi*
 ‘and when he dies, Ddaqasa, him they will place inside, in the sarcophagus, and his wife.’

TL 94 *ebēnnē : pr̄nna [w]ā : meti : pr̄nawātē : hurttuw [e]ti : hrppi ladi : ebhi : me [n]e ntepi tāti hrzzi : pr̄nawi : se ladā : | ebhi : se haḡānā*

²⁴ Two more examples are the following, where, to be sure, *trqas* does not carry any modifiers and therefore seems to really not be right-dislocated, but where the full subject consists of [*trqas*]as *se malija hr̄ixuwama* and *trqas se muhāi huwedri*, respectively, and which I therefore still regard as showing the same phenomenon, namely the fronting of only the first of the group of words that constitutes the subject of the verb:

TL 80 . . . *mene [trqas]as tubidi se malija hr̄ixuwama*
 ‘. . . , him, the Weathergod and the super-intending(?) Malija will strike.’

TL 93 . . . *mēne trqas tubidi se muhāi huwedri*
 ‘. . . , him, the Weathergod and all the gods will strike.’

A similar fronting seems to be found in the following inscription, where instead of *mēne* we find *mēti* (although here it is denasalized to *meti*):

TL 110 *ep [nt]e=me=i tadi me tise tise pr̄nawati met(i)=ēni qanuweti qla[h]i eb[i]i ebhi*
 ‘Furthermore, if (someone) places (or) builds anything in there, (the one) who will cause him to be destroyed (will be) the mother of the local precinct.’

‘The appertaining building, it was Hurttuweti who built it for his wife, and him they will place inside, in the upper chamber, and his wife and Haḡāna.’

TL 102 *ebēnnē : χupā : mēti pr̄nawātē : sxxutrazi mēne : ntepi tēti : sxxutrazi : se ladu : ebhi | se tideimis : ebhis*

‘The appertaining tomb, it was Sxxutrazi who built it, and him they will place inside, Sxxutrazi and his wife and his children.’

TL 112 *me : nke : lat[i] : m̄nube : mene ntepi [i] | tāti*

‘And when he dies, M̄nuhe, him they will place inside.’

N306 *ebēn[n]ē : pr̄naw[ā] : mēti pr̄nawātē : piñteusi : tewinaza : idazzalah : tideimi : hrppi : ladi : | ebhi : se tideime : ebhije : [m]ene : ntepi tāti : hrzzi : pr̄nawi : piñteusi : se ladā : ebhi*

‘The appertaining building, it was Piñteusi, the *tewinaza*, son of Idazzala, who built it for his wife and his children, and him they will place inside, in the upper building, Piñteusi and his wife.’

N309b *ebēnnē : χupā : mēti pr̄nawātē : ddep̄nnewe : hrppi : ladi | ebhi : χatm̄maje : mene ntepi tāti : χatm̄mā : se sidi : | ebhi : kbijētezi : huzetēi*

‘The appertaining tomb, it was Ddep̄nnewe who built it for his wife Xatm̄ma, and her they will place inside, Xatm̄ma and her son-in-law(?) Huzetēi of Tyinda(?)’

N317 *ebēnnē : χupā mene : pr̄n[awātē :] zuwiqeli : se [. . .] | ebhi lada ebhi : se h[.] e mene ntepi tāt[i . . .] | ēni : ebhi*

‘The appertaining tomb, Zuwiqeli and [. . .] built it [for . . .] his wife and H[. . .], and him they will place inside, [. . . (and)] his mother.’

In all these inscriptions the verb is *ntepi ta-* ‘to place inside.’ As we see, the enclitic acc.sg.c. pronoun [=n] refers to the overtly expressed objects that are to be placed inside,²⁵ but the enclitic pronoun =e does not have an overtly expressed counterpart. In my view,

²⁵ In not all cases where we find this construction is an enclitic acc.sg.c. pronoun used, for example:

TL 101 *ebēnnē : χupā : meti : pr̄nawātē : za[h]ama : ddawāpartab | tideimi : me ntepi tāti : za[h]āmā : se : ladā : se : tideimis : ebhi[s]*

‘The appertaining tomb, it is Zahama, son of Ddawāparta, who built it, and inside they will place Zahāma and (his) wife and his children.’

this could be because we are dealing with impersonal expressions here.

Two problematic cases remain, however:

TL 7 *ebēñnē : χυρᾶ : mene prñnawatē | trijē[tezi] : sene pijet[ē] | ladi : eb[b]i se tideime*

‘The appertaining tomb, he built it, Trijētezi, and gave it to his wife and children.’

TL 8 *ebēñnē : χυρᾶ mene prñnawatē : | trijētezi : sene pijetē | nēne : ebbije : se tuhe*

‘The appertaining tomb, he built it, Trijētezi, and gave it to his brothers and nephews.’

Although in the first sentence of both inscriptions the name of the builder, Trijētezi, is right-dislocated, and therefore the use of *mene* is justified, in the second sentence the name is not right-dislocated, which makes the presence of *sene* awkward—especially if we compare the following inscription where a similar construction can be found:

TL 52 *ebēñ[n]ē : χυρᾶ : mēn(e) adē : krehēnube : sē pijetē wazijeje | se(j) ēni*

‘The appertaining tomb, he made it, Krehēnube, and gave it to Wazije and (his) mother.’

Here we only find *sē*, which indeed contains the enclitic acc.sg.c. $|=n|$, referring to *ebēñ[n]ē χυρᾶ*, but not the nom.sg.c. $=e$, since the subject is not overtly expressed in right-dislocation. In my view, the latter inscription shows the ‘correct’ construction, whereas in the former two, either the *sene* is copied after the *mene* of the first sentence, or it is the result of a later development due to which in every sentence that bore

TL 110 *ebēñnē : χυρᾶ : mēti : prñnawatē : medemudi : | se lada : ebbi : me ntepi tāti : kñmis*

‘The appertaining tomb, it is Medemudi and his wife who built it, and inside they will place both.’

TL 57 *brzzi prñnawi : mei : ntepi tāti | id[ām]axzzā : se l[adā] ebbi*

‘In the upper building, inside it they will place Idāmaxzza and his wife.’

TL 145 [*ebēñnē : χυρᾶ : m]eti [p]rñnawatē hla : nterubila : | [brppi ladi ebbi] se tideimi mei ntepi tāti : hlā se lad[ā] | [se tideimi]*

‘The appertaining tomb, it is Hla, the *nterubila*, who built it for his wife and child, and inside it they will place Hla and (his) wife and child.’

a resumptive accusative enclitic a proleptic nominative enclitic had to be used as well.²⁶

Excursus 2. =i vs. =ije

Although this is not the place to discuss in full depth the difference between enclitic $=i$ and $=ije$, I would like to make a few remarks. Melchert²⁷ cites the following forms: $=i^1$ ‘for/to him, her’; $=i^2$ ‘therein, thereon’; and $=ije$ ‘therein, thereon; on him/her,’ stating that $=i^2$ and $=ije$ are allomorphs. Neumann²⁸ cites $=i$ as the dat.-loc.sg. and $=ije$ as the dat.-loc.pl. of the enclitic pronoun $=e$. Since the concept of allomorphy is, as we saw above as well, not fully satisfactory, Neumann’s division between a singular $=i$ and a plural $=ije$ is at first sight attractive. Nevertheless, there are places where a singular interpretation of $=ije$ seems obligatory, as he himself observed.

One of the seeming exceptions may be interpreted along the line of *mēne* vs. *mēti*, however. The sentence TL 49 *ebehi : isbazi : me’ije sijēni : padrñma*²⁹ is usually translated ‘On the bench of this (monument), thereupon lies Padrñma.’ It looks as if $=ije$ refers to *ebehi isbazi* ‘the bench of this (monument),’ which is a singular noun in the dative-locative. This would show that $=ije$ itself must be singular as well. A similar sentence is TL 106 *ebehi χυρᾶ : meiti sijēni : sbi:∅:aza* ‘in the tomb of this (monument), therein lies Sbi∅aza,’ in which $=ti$ is usually interpreted as a reflexive particle. If we now morphologically interpret *meiti* as $|me=i=ti|$, consisting of the conjunction $|me|$, the dat.-loc.sg. enclitic pronoun $|=i|$, and the nom.sg.c. relative pronoun $|=ti|$, and if we morphologically interpret *meije*, which must phonologically represent $/meie/$, as $|me=i=e|$, consisting of $|me|$, the dat.-loc.sg. enclitic

²⁶Which could then be compared to the use of $=e$ in TL 31 and TL 133 (cf. footnote 21).

²⁷Melchert, *Dictionary of the Lycian Language*, 26–28.

²⁸Neumann, *Glossar des Lykischen*, 44.

²⁹Note that the inscription reads *miije*. Since a sequence $-ii-$ is not found anywhere else within the Lycian corpus (except in N323, which also contains the irregular occurrences of an intervocalic $-ñ-$, a preconsonantal $-n-$, and a postconsonantal $-j-$, and therefore should not be taken into account) and since in similar contexts we find *meije* (e.g., N320, 25 *meije=sitēni=ti : blñmipijata* ‘and which ones among the income-gifts lie therein,’ see Kloekhorst, “Studies in Lycian and Carian,” 130), it seems justified to me to emend *miije* to *me’ije*.

TL 49 ebehi isbazi me=i=e *sijēni* padrñma
 | |

‘On the bench of this (monument), well, on it he lies, Padrñma.’

TL 106 ebehi xupa me=i=ti *sijēni* sbi◇aza
 | |

‘In the tomb of this (monument), well in it, (the one) who lies (there), (is) Sbi◇aza.’

Figure 8

pronoun |=i|, and the nom.sg.c. enclitic pronoun |=e|, we arrive at the interpretations in figure 8. Again, we see that both |=e| and |=ti| proleptically refer to the right-dislocated subject. It seems to me that TL 49, the sentence containing *meije*, must be regarded as the semantically neutral one (apart from topicalization of *ebehi isbazi*) and that TL 106, the sentence containing *meiti*, must be regarded as placing emphasis on the name of the person lying in this grave.

The question whether all instances of enclitic *=ije* should now be reinterpreted as *=i + =e*, eliminating Melchert’s interpretation of *=ije* as an allomorph of *=i* and Neumann’s interpretation of *=ije* as the plural variant of singular *=i*, can only be answered with further research on the Lycian enclitic particles.