Ethnic Groups and Language Contact in Lycia (I): the 'Maritime Interface'

Rostislav Oreshko

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Leiden University / Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University; fauhs@rambler.ru

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The paper offers an overview of the ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic contact in Lycia in the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age (ca. 1400–330 BC) resulting from the sea-borne connections of the region. Following a brief sketch of the Lycian geography and definition of its 'ethnocultural interfaces' (§1), the discussion concentrates in turn on the southern coasts of Caria and Rhodos, also touching upon the question of the ethnic names of the Lycians, *Lukkā*/Λύκιοι and *Trm̃mile*/i (§2), Pamphylia (§3), Rough Cilicia (§4), the Levant (§5) and the Aegean (§6). The section on the Aegean offers a revision of the evidence on Greek-Lycian contacts and suggests a new explanatory scenario accounting for the paradoxical situation where an insignificant number of lexical borrowings contrasts with evidence for a deep structural influence of Greek on Lycian.

Keywords: Greek-Anatolian contact; language contact; ethnolinguistics; sociolinguistics; Aegean migrations; Anatolian languages; Lycian language; Luwian language; Greek language.

Seen from the perspective of language contact, Lycia has received a fair amount of scholarly attention in recent years, at least in comparison to other regions of ancient Anatolia[1]. As is often the case, this is due first and foremost to the nature of the available evidence. Not only is the Lycian corpus, comprising at present more than 200 inscriptions, some of which are quite long and elaborate[2], more substantial than those available for other 'alphabetic languages' of the early 1st millennium BC Anatolia, such as Carian, Lydian or Phrygian, but the level of understanding of Lycian texts is in general also higher, allowing to focus even on minor details. The fact that Lycian is a close relative of Luwian — the 'Asian Tiger' of Anatolian studies of the last two decades — plays no small part in it. Moreover, the Lycian corpus includes a number of bilingual and trilingual texts, which present one of the most convenient starting points for approaching the problem of language contact, and numerous Greek inscriptions, in part belonging to the same genre as Lycian texts (funerary inscriptions), also present an excellent opportunity for a comparative analysis of Greek and Lycian texts, a subject still quite far from being exhausted[3]. Given the epigraphical situation, it is quite natural that scholars hith-

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[1] Cf. Le Roy 1989, Brixhe 1999, Rutherford 2002, Schürr 2007, Molina Valero 2009, Melchert 2014, Dardano 2015. To this one may add the recent PhD thesis by Florian Réveilhac (2018) which pays a lot of attention to the effects of language contact in the domain of onomastics.

[2] For a recent overview of the Lycian corpus and recent additions to it see Christiansen 2020. Besides that, there is a number of coin legends, important both for Lycian onomastics and especially the reconstruction of the political history of the region.

[3] One can identify 20 inscriptions combining Greek and Lycian text only, some of which are bilinguals (more or less exact renderings of the same text), some quasi-bilinguals (approximate correspondences) and some contain only names additionally rendered in Greek; besides that there are two Lycian-Aramaic bilinguals (for details see Rutherford 2002: 200–201; to the table on p. 200 one should add TL 115 and TL 139, both from Limyra). Trilingual texts include Xanthos Trilingual (Greek-Lycian-'Lycian B') and Letoon Trilingual (Greek-Lycian-Aramaic). A major corpus of Greek inscriptions from Lycia is presented in the second volume of *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (TAM II), published in three parts between 1920 and 1944, now supplemented by numerous separate publications of inscriptions found more recently.

erto concentrated almost entirely on the *Lycian-Greek* contact. However, the resulting picture is neither complete nor a balanced one, nor, one could say, even fair to the people who inhabited the region. It is quite obvious that the binary model ('Greeks' vs. 'Orient' or the like), rooted in the traditional Hellenocentric perspective, very inadequately describes the real cultural and ethnic complexity of practically every corner of the ancient Mediterranean, but in the case of Lycia it proves to be especially misleading. The evidence of Greek literary texts, supported by numerous archaeological, epigraphic and onomastic indications, implies that this part of Anatolia was one of the most culturally complex and dynamic regions of the ancient Mediterranean, and that the name Παμφυλία — '(the land) of mingled tribes' — would be as appropriate for the whole region from Side in the East to Kaunos in the West and from Aperlae in the South to Kibyra in the North, as it is for the alluvial coastal plain to the East of Lycia. There can be little doubt that before the extensive Hellenization of the region started after the Macedonian conquest in 334/333 BC, linguistic contact in Lycia was both multidirectional and multidimensional. The aim of the present contribution, conceived in two parts, is to give an overview of the ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic situation in and around Lycia as can be glimpsed from historical evidence, as well as to present, whenever possible, linguistic exponents of this ethnocultural contact. The present first part will focus on the 'Maritime Interface' (for definition see below).

§1. Geography of Lycia, Lycian ethnolinguistic area and 'Ethnocultural Interfaces'

It is appropriate to start with the physical geography of Lycia, which is quite specific and largely predefines the framework for the unique ethnolinguistic situation there[4]. Strabo (14.3.1) wrote that Lycia is the county lying between the Daidala Mountains, which marks the eastern limit of the Rhodian Peraia (i.e. the southern coastal regions of Caria), in the West and Pamphylia in the East. Neither Strabo nor any other Greek author offers any clear definition for the northern borders of Lycia, and this is probably not quite accidental, since Lycia is first and foremost a country immediately connected to the sea. In any case, Lycia, as a linguistic and cultural phenomenon, is *not* simply the Teke Peninsula — the land protrusion between the Bay of Telmessos and the Pamphylian Sea (the Gulf of Antalya) — as many modern maps tend to represent it.

The eastern part of the Teke peninsula is formed by a steep mountain range stretching roughly from south to north and subdivided into three main parts: Sarıçınar Dağı in the North, Tahtalı Dağı, the highest point of the range (2366 m) probably called in Antiquity Ὄλυμπος or Φοινικοῦς (Str. 14.3.8)[5], in the middle, and Görece Dağı in the South. The mountain range virtually cuts off the narrow eastern coastal strip from the rest of the peninsula: even today there are only two roads leading from here to the West, the main one (Kemer-Kumluca), which was probably used already in Antiquity, in the southern part, and much smaller one (Kemer-Ovacık) traversing the range in its middle part. The eastern coast of the peninsula probably never was a part of Lycia in either linguistic or cultural sense, since one finds here neither Lycian inscriptions nor tombs typical of Lycia, and the fact that the Rhodians were able to establish here a colony at an early date (Phaselis, founded from Lindos in

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[4] For a more detailed overview, including a discussion of the routes, see Keen 1998: 13–21 and Şahin-Adak 2007: 95–115.

[5] For an alternative identification of Olympos with Musa Daǧi, a small south-western spur of the range in the region of the cities Olympos and Korykos, see Adak 2004.
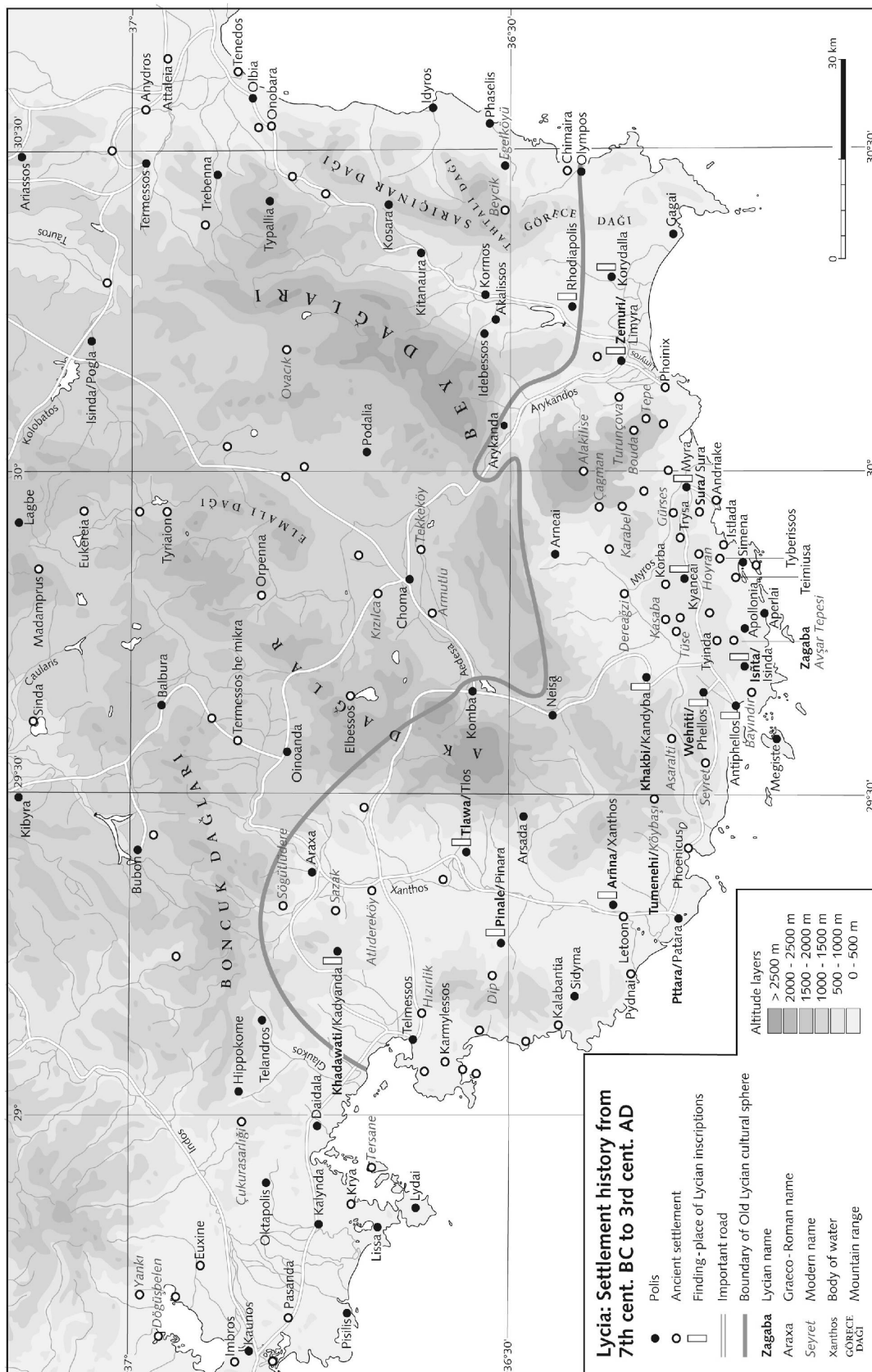
Fig. 1. Map of Lycia after Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO), B V 15.2: Lykien und Pamphylien, von Kai Buschmann und Katja Sommer, 1992. Copyright Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden

691/90 BC) also indicates that the situation in the region was different from that in Lycia[6]. Geographically and probably also culturally this easternmost part of the peninsula belonged rather with Pamphylia, to which it was in fact sometimes ascribed[7].

The central part of the Teke Peninsula is almost entirely occupied by mountains. The two main ranges are Bey Dağları (with the highest point 3086 m) stretching from the SW to the NE in the central-eastern part and Ak Dağları (with the highest point 3024 m) in the western part, which goes from the coast first to the North and then curves in the NE direction. The two lesser ones are Susuz Dağı, which virtually continues Bey Dağları down to the coast, and Alaca Dağı, a relatively compact massif between Bey Dağları and the coast. The ancient name Μασίκυτος probably referred generally to the mountains rising from the southern coast, i.e. collectively to Susuz Dağı, Alaca Dağı and Bey Dağları[8]. The mountains leave only two small patches of flat land near the coast: a somewhat larger plain between Görece Dağı and Alaca Dağı, where Rhodiapolis, Gagai and Limyra were situated, and a smaller plain of Myra to the south-west of Alaca Dağı. Other settlements, which are surprisingly numerous (no less than three dozens), were situated either directly on the coast (Andriake, Simena, Aperlai, Antiphellos/Habessos etc.) or on the slopes and in the small valleys usually no more than 15 km from the coast. Only a few settlements (as Arykanda, Kandyba, Arneai, Nisa and Komba) are situated further inland. This quite compact group of settlements close to the southern coast builds one of two principal zones of Lycian ethnocultural area, as suggested by the joint evidence of Lycian inscriptions and tomb architecture. It is noteworthy that it was isolated to a degree from the second zone, the Xanthos valley (cf. below), since the southern sections of Ak Dağları and Susuz Dağı, which rise directly from the coast, made communication by land rather difficult.

The region to the North was, however, not sheer rough terrain: between Ak Dağları and Bey Dağları lies the fertile highland plateau of Elmalı, which is connected to the southern coastal regions by two roads passing respectively to the West and to the East of Susuz Dağı. The Elmalı Plateau corresponds to the ancient region of Μιλυάς. There is only one Lycian inscription found in this region (at Kızılca), and both its name, connected with ethnic name Μιλύαι, and the general character of material culture suggest that Μιλυάς was a region distinct from Lycia both linguistically and culturally.

To the west of Ak Dağları lies the fertile valley of the Xanthos River (now Eşen). It is rather long (about 50 km) and narrow, being confined on the West by yet another mountain range, Baba Dağ (with the highest point 1969 m), which goes roughly parallel to the southern portion of Ak Dağları. The ancient name of Ak Dağları was probably Κράγος and that of Baba Dağ Ἀντίκραγος[9]. As mentioned, the Xanthos Valley was the second principal zone of the Ly-

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[6] For Phaselis cf. Hansen-Nielsen 2004: 1140–41 and for further discussion of the Greek colonisation of the region cf. Adak 2007 and 2013.

[7] Phaselis is defined as πόλις Παμφυλίας by Aristodemos (FGrHist 104, Fr. 1, 13.2) and Stephen of Byzantium (s.v. Φάσηλις). Contra Hansen-Nielsen 2004: 1140–41, *Suda* (121 Φάσηλις) says nothing to the point, and the Lindos Temple Chronicle C, XXIV (= FGrHist 532 Fr. 3) does not actually locate it 'in Solyma', since 'ἀπὸ Σολύμων' of the passage refers obviously to the *battle* with the *Solymi* in which the helmets and sickle-swords mentioned in the passage were taken.

[8] Thus with Şahin-Adak 2007: 97–100 and contra *Barrington Atlas* (map 65), which identifies Masikytos with Alaca Dağı alone.

[9] The identification by Ruge (1921) of Κράγος with Avdancık/Sandak Dağ, a rather inconspicuous (the highest point 1009 m) continuation of the Baba Dağ range in the southern direction, still followed in *Barrington Atlas* (map 65; cf. also Hailer in DNP: s.v. Cragus) is clearly obsolete, see the discussion by Şahin-Adak 2007: 97–100 (cf. Hild-Hellenkemper 2008: s.v. Kragos). Indeed, there can be little doubt that Κράγος was considered first of

cian ethnocultural area, which included four of the most powerful Lycian cities: Tlos, Pinara, Xanthos and Patara. The valley was confined in the North by the mountain range of Boncuk Dağları, which, together with Ak Dağları, geographically separated Lycia from Kibyratis/ Kabalis situated in the highland region further north. However, the Xanthos valley had in its upper part an easy access to the region of the Telmessos Bay (Fethiye), the westernmost part of Lycia. Besides Telmessos, the principal city of the region, Lycian inscriptions were found in Karmysessos to the South of it and Kadyanda to the North-East. The region to the East of Telmessos likely was a transitional zone between Lycian and Carian ethnolinguistic areas, since neither Daidala Mountains nor the River Indus (Dalaman Çayı), sometimes mentioned as a frontier between Lycia and Caria, constituted a considerable geographical barrier.

The geographical realities of Lycia sketched out above allow one to identify four principal 'ethnocultural interfaces': the lines of contact along which linguistic and cultural interaction between the Lycians and other peoples took place:

I. *Maritime Interface*: obviously the most important interface for the entire Lycia from the plain of Limyra in the East to the Xanthos Valley and the Bay of Telmessos in the West. The geographical sphere of the 'Maritime Interface' of Lycia could embrace in theory the entire Mediterranean basin (and beyond), but the extant evidence allows one to practically confine it to the eastern part, from the Aegean in the West to the Levant in the East and Egypt and Libya in the South.

II. *North-Eastern Interface*: the 'mountain interface' of the southern ethnocultural zone. It includes first and foremost interconnections with Milyas, but also more dispersed ties which should have existed between the southern coastal settlements of Lycia and its northern and eastern mountainous hinterland.

III. *Western Interface*: the interconnection between the region of Telmessos and its western (and north-western) neighbours inhabiting eastern Caria.

IV. *Northern Interface*: the interconnection between the northern part of the Xanthos Valley and the regions to the North and North-West of it, Kabalis and Kibyratis.

To these four geographical interaction zones may be added a further source of linguistic/ cultural influences in Lycia, which lies rather in sociolinguistic dimension: the foreign presence correlating with military/political control over Lycia at some periods of its history. The main factor was doubtless the Achaemenid control of Lycia in the 6th–4th centuries BC.

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all as the mountain range culminating in the Mount Ak Dağı (3024 m) which dominates the eastern part of the Xanthos Valley. The prominence of the mount is reflected, inter alia, in the legendary tradition which makes Kragos a son of Τρεμίλης, the eponym of the Lycians/Τρεμίλαι, and the second husband of Μιλύη, the eponym of the Milyans, who lived on the eastern side of Ak Dağı (cf. St. Byz., s.v.v. Μιλύαι, Κράγος (citing Alexander Polyhistor = FGrH 273 F5) and TAM II 174 (= FGrHist 770 F5)). In contrast, a more likely identification for Ἀντίκραγος still appears to be Baba Dağ, as in Ruge 1921, and not Boncuk Dağları, as suggested by Şahin-Adak 2007: 97–99. This is implied first of all by the semantics of ἀντί 'over against, opposite' which presupposes a clear spacial/visual *contrast* between Kragos and Antikragos (cf. Tauros vs. Anti-Tauros or Lebanon vs. Anti-Lebanon). This makes a very good sense with Ak Dağları vs. Baba Dağ which face each other across the Xanthos valley, but is by far not obvious with Ak Dağları and Boncuk Dağları. This identification also agrees well with Strabo's description (14.3.4–5) which in essence presents the Lycian *shoreline* and associates Antikragos with Telmessos and Karmylessos. It is further quite possible that one could use 'Kragos' as a shorthand for 'Antikragos' (cf. Mela's (1.82) *mons Gracius* and the association of Pinara and Sidyma with Kragos). It seems dubious that Kragos ever included Boncuk Dağları, and Ptolemy's (Geogr. 5.3) extension of the area of Kragos onto three cities located at Boncuk Dağları (Kydna, Symbra and Oktapolis, for their possible locations see Hild-Hellenkemper 2008: s.v.v.) reflects probably an imprecise use of the term for 'western Lycia'.

§2. Southern coasts of Caria and Rhodos

2.1. The first point worth noting is that contact between the two main ethnocultural zones of Lycia, the South and the Xanthos Valley, went apparently first of all by sea: it is arguably much easier to set sail from almost any Lycian city of the southern coast to Patara and then move up the valley than to take the precipitous route along the southern slopes of Susuz Dağları, especially if one brings along some goods. Given the fact that the sea route from the plain of Limyra to Patara is practically as long as the one from Patara to Kaunos or to Rhodos (and actually less dangerous), it is clear that the maritime communication between western Lycia and the southern coasts of Caria and the neighboring islands should have played a major role. Moreover, seen from a geographical point of view, the spatial arrangement of the shorelines around the *Lycian Sea* practically inevitably suggests an idea that Lycia, southern Caria and Rhodos might have built a sort of maritime *koine*, at least cultural, but possibly also ethnolinguistic. This perspective raises several important questions: when and why the ethnolinguistic distinction between the Lycians and the (southern) Carians has arisen; is it possible that the 'proto-Lycian' ethnolinguistic sphere was originally wider, and whether Rhodos, before the Greek colonization, might belong to it as well? It is clearly impossible to discuss all these questions here in full, but several considerations bearing on the problem are in order.

It is generally agreed that the geographical name *Lukkā* found in Hittite cuneiform texts and in several Hieroglyphic-Luwian inscriptions (*lu-ka*(REGIO)) is associated with the region of Lycia[10]. However, the precise geographical or ethnolinguistic content of the term is quite unclear. There is little doubt that *Pinale*, *Awarna* and *Tlawa*, which appear as a more or less coherent group of toponyms in YALBURT (blocks 12–14), the EMİRGAZİ block and several cuneiform texts ('Milawata Letter' and KUB 23.83), correspond to Lycian names *Pinale* (= Pinara), *Arñna* (Aram. *'wrn* = Xanthos) and *Tlawa* (= Tlos) respectively[11]. It is, however, by far not obvious that these cities made a *part* of *Lukkā* rather than being simply its neighbors. Several other toponyms, such as *K(u)walabašša* (cf. Telmessos and Kolbassa) or *Ḫinduwa* (cf. Kandyba and Kindye), may be generally associated with south-western Anatolia, but their relation to *Lukkā* is even less clear.

2.2. However it is, there are several pieces of evidence found both in Hittite and in Greek texts which seem to imply that the original ethnolinguistic area of the *Lukkā* people was not confined to Classical Lycia. The first clue comes from the spelling of the name in the Annals of Ḫattušiliš III (KUB 21.6+): the *plural* 'lands of *Lukkā*' (KUR.KUR^MEŠ ^URU*Lukkā*). As Lycia is a rather compact geographical area, it would be strange to apply to it the term 'lands', which is otherwise used for extensive and rather loosely defined geographical entities (cf. KUR.KUR^MEŠ ^URU*Arzawa* and KUR.KUR^MEŠ ^URU*Kaška*)[12]. The fragmentary character of the text leaves it not quite clear which, if any, of other toponyms mentioned in the Annals of Ḫattušiliš III belonged to the lands of *Lukkā*. However, it is not impossible that the lands listed after KUR.KUR^MEŠ ^URU-

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[10] For an overview of relevant evidence see Gander 2010. It is noteworthy that there was in all probability also another, northern *Lukka* (spelled with a short final *a*) which can be localized in the eastern Troad, in the region of *Zeleia* (see Oreshko 2019: 156–159, cf. Simon 2006: 321–22). It is not clear if there is any direct etymological connection between these two names.

[11] To these one usually adds an identification of (MONS)*pa-tara/i* mentioned in YALBURT block 4, §1a with Lycian Patara. However, (MONS)*pa-tara/i* is a *mountain*, and the immediate context of attestation does not necessarily support this, suggesting rather that the name refers to the site of YALBURT itself. The issue will be addressed in detail elsewhere.

[12] For attestations see del Monte-Tischler 1978: s.v.v.

Lukkā in KUB 21.6a rev. 4' (although after a paragraph divider) were counted among the *Lukkā* lands. These toponyms can generally be localized along the coasts of southern Anatolia, especially in Rough Cilicia and possibly Pamphylia, but *not* in Lycia[13].

The second piece of evidence is found in the so-called 'Tawagalawa Letter'. The initial preserved lines of the text report that, when the city *Attarimma* had been destroyed (by an unknown enemy), it was the *Lukkā* people who notified both the Hittite King (probably Ḫattušiliš III), the sender of the letter, and Tawagalawa, apparently a Mycenaean Greek ruler, about this event[14]. The context clearly suggests that the *Lukkā* people had some interest in Attarimma, but leaves the question open whether they really *inhabited Attarimma* or these were, for instance, some trade or military dealings. And yet, the most straightforward assumption would be that the *Lukkā* people lived if not in *Attarimma* itself, then in the region immediately adjoining it. Now, the joint evidence of the 'Tawagalawa Letter' and the Annals of Muršili II allows one to identify *Attarimma* with Λώρυμα located on the southernmost tip of the Carian Chersonesos, and the two cities mentioned in conjunction with *Attarimma*, *Ḫu(wa)ršanašša* and *Šuruda*, with Χερσόνησος (Χερρόνησος) and Σύρνα respectively, which are located somewhat further north in the same micro-region (see Oreshko 2019: 171–175). The identification of this geographical cluster is further supported by the possibility to identify *Puranda*, mentioned in the Annals of Muršili II as a refuge place of the people from these three cities, with Πύρινδος, which appears to be the old Carian settlement on the westernmost tip of Knidian Peninsula, where the polis of Knidos has been moved in the mid-4th century BC (see Oreshko 2020).

There are two further pieces of evidence confirming the presence of the early Lycians in the region of Carian Chersonesos and Rhodos. First, quite a number of Greek inscriptions from the city of Rhodos and at least one from Kamiros attest an ethnic Τλωεύς or Τλῶιος/Τλῶια[15]. The ethnic, as it seems, is based on Τλῶς, but, given the geographical context, it clearly cannot refer to the Lycian city. Hiller von Gärtringen (1902) suggested that this Τλῶς should be sought in the Rhodian Peraia, assuming that Τλωεύς/Τλῶιος may be an ethnic referring to the inhabitants of *Phoinix* located to the NE of Loryma[16]. The idea is quite arbitrary, and now virtually refuted by the fact that there is still no attestation of the ethnic in the inscriptions from Rhodian Peraia itself (cf. Blümel 1991). Judging from the available evidence, Τλῶς should be a κτοίνα ('tribe') located in the northern part of the island, quite probably between Rhodos and Kamiros. This curious toponymic correspondence between Rhodos and the Xanthos Valley suggests, at the least, that both regions once belonged to the same ethnolinguistic area; more specifically, it may be interpreted as a clue for the existence of an old colony established on the island from the Lycian Tlos.

Whatever is the case, this evidence finds curious support in a further Hittite text (possibly a letter), KBo 18.86, which mentions *T(a)lawa*, *Ḫuwaršanašši* and *Annaššara*. The broken context

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[13] The list includes: *Walma, Watta-, Naḫita, Šalluša, Šanḫata, Šuri*[*mma*], *Walwara, Ḫawali, Inaššara* (KUB 21.6a rev. 5'-9'), see Gurney 1997: 130–135 and Forlanini 2013: 25–27. From this list only *Naḫita* finds a straightforward correspondence in Νάγιδος, located in the central part of the coast of Rough Cilicia. This Cilician connection suggests that *Walma* may refer to *Holmoi* located in the central-eastern part of the same region. Other cities can be tentatively localized in Pamphylia (*Ḫawali*) and Rough Cilicia on the basis of other indications of Hittite texts, found notably in the Bronze Tablet. *K(u)walabašša* mentioned in the next line (10') is very likely *Tel(e)messos* (Lyc. *Telebehi*) and not *Kolbasa*.

[14] For the full text of the letter see Hoffner 2009: 296–313.

[15] See, e.g., IG XII, 1, Nrs. 4 II 47 and III 38; 184; 309–316; 1449, 1453 (Rhodos) and 697, 4 and 5 (Kamiros).

[16] Meritt et al. 1939–1953: 512 further suggested that *Gelos* attested by Mela (I, 84) as a port in Rhodian Peraia (not far from Thyssanusa) may correspond to Τλῶς (which is tentatively followed also by Fraser 1954: 58–59). From a linguistic point of view, this is rather incredible.

leaves relative distances between the places and the course of events unclear, but the text in any case implies some connection between *Ḫuwaršanašši*-Chersonesos and *Tlawa* (which, in theory, might refer not to the Lycian, but to the *Rhodian* Tlos). As for *Annaššara*, which is attested elsewhere also as *Innaššara* (e.g. in KUB 21.6a, cf. fn. 13), it is reminiscent of Νίσυρος, the name of the island located to the SW of the tip of the Knidian Peninsula[17]. Seen in this perspective, it is probably no accident that in a later text, the Lycian Xanthos Trilingual, one finds references to locations situated in exactly the same region: lines 44a: 52–53 mention a military encounter with the Greeks from Ialysos (*Ijãnã Ijalusas*)[18] near the Carian Chersonesos (*Krzz[ã]nase*). Besides Mycale (*Mukale*), *Sãma* (Samos) and the Mount Thorax (*Turaxssi*), mentioned in the following lines, these are the only non-Lycian locations found in Lycian texts.

2.3. In this context it is appropriate to touch upon the question of ethnic names of the Lycians. No term which could be linguistically connected with Hitt. *Lukkā* and Greek Λύκιοι is found in the Lycian texts. Instead, one finds the term *Trm̃mile/i*, which is also attested in Near Eastern sources (Akk. *Tarmilaya*, Elamite *Turmila-* with numerous spelling variants) and was known also in the Greek scholarly tradition as Τερμίλαι (e.g., Hdt. 1.173)[19]. The former ethnic name is attested also in Egyptian sources dating to the 13th century BC as *rw-k3* or *rw-k-w* and in an Amarna letter (EA 38) as *Lukki* (cf. below). The origin of either ethnic name remains unclear, since none of the explanations proposed so far seems quite convincing (see Eichner 2016 with further refs.). A direct connection of *Trm̃mile/i* with *Attarimma* now proves to be rather unlikely in view of the probable location of the city far from Lycia (cf. above); at best, the two names *might* go back to the same root. A connection with *tarma/i-* 'nail, peg' (CLuw. and Hitt.), with an assumption of a semantic shift to 'mountain summit', does not seem credible either: the idea to call mountains 'nails/pegs' may appear plausible only to an armchair mountaineer, and in any case the Lycians are actually *not* 'mountain dwellers'[20]. As for *Lukkā*/Λύκιοι, Eichner (2016) recently argued that it is an *exonym* and defended its connection with the word for 'wolf' (PIE *ulkʷ-o-). This does not seem quite plausible either: no Greek source gives any hints on wolfish associations of the Lycians, and Hittite word for 'wolf' is actually *ulip(pa)na-*, usually hidden behind the Sumerogram UR.BAR.RA, apparently corresponding to Luw. *walipna/i-/ulipna/i-* (cf. Tischler 2010: s.v.); a borrowing of the ethnic term from Greek to Anatolian is clearly unlikely. In Lycia itself, there is absolutely no evidence which might lend support to the association of the Lycians with wolves, which one would expect, if there were one (e.g., such as a representation on coins). In fact, a connection with PIE root *leuk-* 'white' is a far more obvious possibility. Color terms, especially 'black' and 'white', are often indeed figure in names for different ethnic or ethnocultural groups, cf., e.g., Sumerian self-designation *saĝ-gíg-ga* 'Black Heads', Italic *Lucani* (Λευκανοί), north-Anatolian Λευκοσύροι 'White Syrians', White

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[17] Cf. Oreshko 2020: 557–558, fn. 24.

[18] For the reading *Ijalusas* (contra *Ijaeusas*) see Oreshko forthcoming §1 with fn. 5 and §9. I interpret the form as a derivative from the toponym *Ijalusa* (= Ἰαλυσός) with the ethnic suffix -*s*, which is seen also in *Arñna-s* (N320: 31–32), *Zemuri-s* (N312: 5), *Kerθθi-s* (TL 82), *Ijãni-s-ñ* (TL 44b: 27, acc.), cf. Eichner 2016: 63.

[19] See Bryce 1986: 21–22 and Tavernier 2015 respectively.

[20] It is, however, not impossible that the name is connected with the root *tarma/i-* in some other way. For instance, the name might be based on the verb *tarmāi-* 'nail down, fix' and refer to 'fixed', i.e. 'settled' population. Or the root might have some more technical meaning in Lycian, for instance, 'to fix > moor a ship' or 'to found a settlement'. Alternatively, one may ponder a connection with Lycian *tri-* 'three', seeing in *trm̃mi-* something like 'threefold' or 'tripled', which might refer to some old confederation of three tribes or cities (e.g., three main cities of the Xanthos Valley: Tlos, Xanthos and Pinara). It is noteworthy that many Lycian coins demonstrate a three-partite symbol of the *triskeles* type, which may or may not have a connection with the ethnic name of the Lycians. Needless to say, this all remains entirely speculative without more tangible evidence.

Croatians, *Kara-kalpaks* 'Black-hats', the Algonquin *Siksikáwa* (Blackfoot Nation) etc.[21] Whatever the etymology, there is actually nothing which could confirm the idea that the name *Lukkā*/Λύκιοι is an *exonym*: the term does *not* have a transparent etymology in either Greek or Hittite or any other language of the eastern Mediterranean. The question, then, is what could be the distinction between the *endonyms Lukkā*/Λύκιοι and *Trm̃mile/i*. One possible answer is to connect it with the changes in the borders and the structure of the Lycian ethnocultural area between Bronze and Iron Age. The name *Lukkā*/Λύκιοι, which is clearly older, refers probably first of all to the *maritime* population of the western section of the south-Anatolian coast (which might extend even up to Cilicia, cf. below) which was the first region to come into contact with Greeks, Egypt, Levant and Cilicia (whence the term most probably came into Hittite). In other words, the term is probably not an ethnic *strictu sensu* but rather an *ethnocultural* term connected first of all with the maritime way of life (sea trade and piracy) and then with an only loosely defined geographical region. The term *Trm̃mile/i*, so far not attested in the Bronze Age, probably originates in the realities of the 1st millennium BC and is connected with the formation of the Lycian ethnolinguistic area centered on Lycia as we know it (for which cf. below, 6.7). Thus, the region to the west of Lycia can be defined as the region most immediately connected with Lycia, not merely its neighbor, but, in a way, a '*Lycia Major*'.

§3. Pamphylia

The considerations put forward above may well apply to the region to the East of Lycia, equally open for maritime connections. There are, however, some nuances in the geographical organization of the region which preclude it from being regarded simply as a mirror image of the situation in the Lycian Sea. The Gulf of Antalya (Pamphylian Sea) is quite literally a *sinus*: a rather deep recess in the South-Anatolian shoreline. Unlike Rhodos or southern Caria, which lie directly on the bustling sea route from Lycia (and Levant) to the Aegean, Pamphylia, situated at the back of the Gulf of Antalya, appears to be almost a backwater. While it seems very probable that the people *from* Pamphylia could have visited Lycia simply because it lies on the way to the Aegean, the region probably played a much less prominent role in the Lycian agenda. The differences in the trajectories of ethnolinguistic development of the two regions are remarkable: in contrast with Lycia, which retained its Anatolian linguistic identity until at least ca. 330 BC, the Pamphylian Plain has been colonized by the Greeks and, probably, other peoples from the Aegean, already quite early (the end of the 1st millennium BC), retaining only pockets of older Anatolian population (Sidetic); only its northern mountain hinterland remained largely Anatolian (Pisidians). Neither Hittite nor Greek texts seem to present evidence implying some special ties between *Lukkā*/Lycia and Pamphylia. There is, however, a curious piece of evidence found in a Lycian text which shows that there existed some sort of exchange between the two regions.

It is found in the funerary monument of *Pajawa* once located at Xanthos (now in the British Museum), which is provided with a set of short inscriptions on its four sides (TL 40a-d)[22]. From the text 40d one can conclude that *Pajawa* was at the military service of the Persian satrap Αὐτοφραδάτης (*Wat*[*aprd*]*ata: xssadrapa: pa*[*rz*]*a*) in the first half of the 4th century BC, who has apparently granted *Pajawa* the monument (or means to construct it) in recognition of his service. What makes the story of *Pajawa* even more interesting, is the fact that he was in all

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[21] Cf. Simon 2006: 315 and Oreshko 2019: 159.

[22] For a discussion of the monument see Schürr 2012: 29–32 with further refs.

probability not a Lycian. This is suggested by his name, which is not found elsewhere in Lycia and structurally does not look as such. The same name is, however, attested twice (on the same stele) in Aspendos as Παιάϝας and Παιάναϲ, and can be probably interpreted as a specifically Pamphylian name related to *Παιᾱϝων, seen as Παιήων in Homeric Greek, Παιών in Attic-Ionic and Παιάν in West-Greek and Πάων in Aeolic[23]. Two further features in the Lycian text support the identification of *Pajawa* as a Pamphylian. First, the second clause of TL 40d makes a mention of 'Lycian troops': *pddẽ: telẽzi: epatte: Trm̃milise*: 'He took *before/with* the Lycian troops…'. A slightly strange — given that the monument is erected in Xanthos — emphasis on the ethnic 'Lycian' makes good sense in view of the probable non-Lycian origin of *Pajawa*. Second, the term *manaxine* (40a: 1 and 40b: 1) is not attested elsewhere in the Lycian corpus, and it is not excluded that it is a foreign word in a way connected with the origin of *Pajawa*, although it is difficult to be quite sure[24]. This piece of evidence, singular so far, shows that there existed some channels of communication between Lycia and Pamphylia, which might have left some traces on the level of language as well.

§4. Rough Cilicia

In contrast with Pamphylia, Rough Cilicia is situated directly on the way from Lycia to the Levant, although somewhat further than Caria and Rhodos. In geographical terms, the coast of Rough Cilicia is quite similar to that of southern Lycia: a narrow coastal strip with mountains steeply rising in the background. The population of the two regions, both in its maritime way of life and in ethnic terms was probably also quite similar, as is demonstrated, *inter alia*, by numerous parallels in onomastics (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961)[25]. No inscriptions in epichoric language (or languages) of Rough Cilicia are known, but it is clear that it was not identical to Lycian, being probably closer to the Luwian dialect of Plain Cilicia.

The two regions might have been even closer in the 2nd millennium BC. As mentioned above, the evidence of the Annals of Ḫattušiliš III may be interpreted in the sense that the western part of Rough Cilicia was also covered by the umbrella term 'the *Lukkā* lands'. There are two further pieces of evidence which would be not incompatible with such a broader definition of 'the *Lukkā* lands'. In the famous Amarna letter EA 38, sent by a king of *Alašiya* (Cyprus) to an Egyptian pharaoh (possibly Akhenaten) around 1350–40 BC, the former reports that 'The men of *Lukki*, year by year, seize villages in my own country' (cf. Moran 1992: 111). The context seems to imply that the king of *Alašiya* responds to an accusation by the Egyptian pharaoh that the men of *Alašiya* allied with the '*Lukki* people' to undertake similar raids on the Egyptian territories (either Egypt itself or the southern Levant). This is immediately reminiscent of the fact that the *Lukku* (*rw-k-w*) figure together with the 'Sea Peoples' as allies of the

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[23] Cf. Brixhe 1976: 235 and Schürr 2012: 32. It is not excluded that the same name is attested in Pamphylian alphabet as *Pojaw*, as suggested by Pérez Orozco (2003: esp. 105 and 108), although the reading of the last letter as /w/ is quite uncertain and the *o* in the first syllable is unexpected. There are also reasons to identify a very close name (*Pajafus*) in Lydia, which will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

[24] For an overview of interpretations proposed so far see Neumann 2007: s.v. The idea to interpret *manaxine* as a rendering of Greek μονογένης does not seem especially illuminating, and a connection with Luwic root *mana-* 'see' suggested by Schürr (2012: 32) is not impossible, but hardly leads any further. Most probably, *manaxine* somehow indicates the origin of *Pajawa*, and, since it is not a usual patronymic (at least from a Lycian point of view), one may see in it rather an ethnic or a sort of toponymic adjective.

[25] There are also some toponymic correspondences: for instance, in the western part of Rough Cilicia, to the east of Selinous, there was another Mount Kragos (for the Lycian Kragos see above).

Libyans whom Merneptah fought in the region of the Nile Delta in his 5th regnal year (ca. 1207 BC); besides that, *Lukka* (*rw-k3*) were known to the Egyptians as 'allies' (or rather mercenary troops) of the Hittites in the Battle of Kadesh in the 5th year of Ramesses II (ca. 1274 BC)[26]. Now, a rather similar piece of evidence about piratic activities of Lukka around *Alašiya* cropped out in a letter form Ortaköy (*Šapinuwa*) Or. 90/1511. In it, a Hittite official Tattamaru reports that 'Ships of *Alašiya* were attacked in the sea (*arūni anda*) by the people of the cities ᵁᴿᵁ*Ītrūra*(?) and ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫaḫḫada* of the land *Lukkā*' (obv. 11'-15')[27]. Of course, it is quite possible that both EA 38 and the letter from Ortaköy refer to the sea raids involving specifically the people from Lycia. However, the geographical context, the regular character of the raids and the later fame of Rough Cilicia as a land of pirates *par excellence* — explicitly contrasted by Strabo (14.3.2) with the civilized character of Lycia, 'inhabited by reasonable people' (ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων συνοικούμενος σωφρόνων) — make one wonder if the raids did not originate in a closer section of the south-Anatolian coast directly opposite Cyprus. A probable alliance between the Cypriots and the *Lukki* people, alleged by the Egyptian king, would well agree with it. In this context one may also note that the following lines of the Ortaköy letter (rev. 19ff.) mention an agreement (*takšul*) between a ruler of *Alašiya* (LÚ ᴷᵁᴿ*Alāšiya*) and the city of *Ura(ši)*, which is quite probably identical with *Urā* located in the eastern part of Rough Cilicia (possibly = Ὕρια/Seleukia)[28]. The context may imply that the raids of the people of the two cities of *Lukkā* infringed the terms of this agreement, which would support their location in Rough Cilicia. If the perception that 'the *Lukkā* lands' embraced the entire south-Anatolian coastal zones from south-western Caria to the western part of Rough Cilicia (i.e. the part beyond the western limits of Kizzuwadna) is correct, then there are good chances that this region represented in the Late Bronze Age also a relatively unitary *ethnolinguistic* zone.

§5. The Levant

5.1. Regardless of whether western Rough Cilicia was a part of the '*Lukkā* lands' or not, there can be little doubt that both the *Lukkā* people were in a regular communication with the more eastern parts of Mediterranean and that at least some bigger ports of Lycia, such as Telmessos or Patara, were frequented by the ships from the East. In addition to the texts mentioned above, which testify for less sophisticated methods of interaction, there is also evidence reflecting more peaceful aspects of the ethnocultural contact in the region, such as trade. These are first of all three letters from Ugarit[29]. A passage from a letter of the last known king of Ugarit

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[26] For refs. see Adams-Cohen 2013: 646–47.

[27] The letter has been presented by A. Süel in a talk at the 9th Congress of Hittitology in Çorum (2014), cf. Eichner 2016: 61, fn. 10. The name of the second city is spelled *Ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-da* (thus with a non-geminate dental, contra Eichner) and the first name was given as ᵁᴿᵁ*I-it*(?)*-ru-u-ra*(?). The name *Ḫaḫḫada* is reminiscent of Γάγαι in eastern Lycia, but their identity cannot be proven.

[28] Cf. Forlanini 2013: 25 with further refs. The form *Uraši* may be tentatively interpreted as Luwian genitival adjective based on *Ura* standing in agreement with the preceding LÚᴹᴱˢ.

[29] For the texts see Lackenbacher 2002: 193–194 (RS 20.238) and Malbran-Labat-Lackenbacher 2005 or Beckman-Bryce-Cline 2009: 253–262 (RS 94.2523 and RS 94.2530); for an important discussion of the latter see Singer 2006. In contrast, the evidence of the so-called Abishemu Obelisk, found in Byblos and dating to ca. 1800 BC, which is sometimes adduced to the problem of early presence of the Lycians in the Levant (e.g., Bryce 1974: 395–396), is problematic and most probably irrelevant. Albright (1959) read the name of the seal-bearer mentioned in the inscription as *Kwkwn š3 Rwqq* and saw in *Rwqq* (= *Rwkk*) personal name based on the ethnic 'Lycian'. This interpretation of *Rwḳḳ* is in itself problematic, since the normal Egyptian spelling for Lycia/Lycians is different:

Ammurapi (ca. 1215–1180 BC) addressed to a king of *Alašiya* (RS 20.238: 22–24) mentions that all ships of Ugarit are in the land of Lukka, which makes the city vulnerable to the sea-born attacks of some enemy (possibly 'Sea Peoples'). A light on the puzzling absence of the Ugaritic fleet is shed by two closely connected letters, sent to the same Ammurapi by Šuppiluliuma II (RS 94.2523) and a Hittite official Penti-Šarruma (RS 94.2530) respectively. Both make a reference to the fact that the *Ḫiyaw(ī)* people — apparently the Mycenaean Greeks — who stay in the land of *Lukkā* are waiting from Ugarit for a consignment which is termed PAD^MEŠ and should be dispatched there with a certain *Šatalli* (a Hittite, judging by name). The term PAD^MEŠ probably refers to 'ingots', whether copper or tin, and the consignment expected from Ugarit is thus immediately reminiscent of the cargo of the Uluburun and Gelidoniya ships sunken not far from the Lycian shores. In all probability, the absence of the Ugaritic ships referred to in RS 20.238 is due to a similar trade expedition to Lycia. The evidence, however terse it is, excellently highlights the complexity of ethnocultural contact in Lycia: not only does it imply a regular communication between Ugaritic and Mycenaean merchants with the Lycians, but also shows that at least sporadically also the central-Anatolian Hittites participated in it.

5.2. It is quite possible that Lycia continued to participate in the trade between the Levant and the Aegean also in the Early Iron Age, although due to the changes in the ethnic and political map of the region its role might have changed more or less significantly. There is no *direct* textual evidence for the connection of Lycia with the East in the 1st millennium BC. There are, however, some indirect clues. These are first of all quite numerous toponyms attested in Lycia which call into mind the Phoenicians: Φοινίκη (Thuc. 2.69.2) probably corresponding to modern Finike and a river Φοῖνιξ nearby (Const.Porph. De Them. 1.14), *Phoenicus* (Liv. 37.16.6) possibly located in the region of modern Kalkan, and the Mount Φοινικοῦς, another name for the Lycian Olympus (Str. 14.3.8)[30]. Their connection with the Phoenicians is everything but certain: judging from the absence of Greek colonies in the region and the density of the local Lycian settlements, it seems hardly possible that the Phoenicians could establish here a full-fledged independent colony. On the other hand, these names might be connected simply with φοῖνιξ 'date-palm', which are indeed found in the region, or 'purple/crimson', if they are not corruptions of some local names.

And yet, the existence of a 'Phoenician quarter' in a Lycian port does not seem improbable, and there is a curious piece of evidence which might support this possibility. A short Greek epigraph following the Lycian inscription TL 115 originating from Limyra located several kilometers to the NE of Φοινίκη — which was probably its port — attests a person named Φοίνικος Τυριω. The Greek inscription is apparently somewhat later that the Lycian text, and represents probably the name of a later 'tenant' of the tomb (the practice of 'leasing' of burial grounds being normal for Lycia). The form Τυριω is strange, but given that the first name is apparently a gen.sg. of Φοῖνιξ, attested elsewhere as a PN, there is hardly any other option than to see in it a corrupt form of gen. *Τυριου. It can be interpreted either as patronymic or, which is likelier, simply as an ethnic agreed with Φοίνικος, i.e. '(the tomb) of *Phoinix* ('Phoenician'), the Tyrian'. In any case the Phoenician ancestry of the person buried in the tomb is very

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rw-k3, rw-k-w (cf. above) or *rw-k-3/i* (the Onomastikon of Amenemope). In fact, even the reading of the name may be false: Bietak (2019: 178) reads the name as *Rwtt*, and this seems not impossible, since at least the left of the two small signs has a clear curving right side incompatible with *k* (although the signs seem to be too high for *t*). As for *Kwkwn*, it is quite probably neither Phoenician nor Egyptian, and may be connected with *Kukunni* and/or Κύκνος, as assumed by Albright. However, it can hardly be Lycian: the phonetically similar, but apparently unrelated Lycian *feminine* name *Xuxune* (TL 139: 2) would be rendered in Egyptian with *ḫ*-signs.

[30] For details cf. Keen 1998: 225–227.

likely, and then there are good reasons to see in him a Phoenician 'naturalized' in Lycia — which also explains the problems he had with Greek inflection. An attestation of a Phoenician just in the city whose port was called 'Φοινίκη' can hardly be quite accidental, and one can tentatively conclude that there indeed existed a small Phoenician community at least in the region of Limyra[31].

5.3. There can be little doubt that the contact with the Near East reflected in the letters from Ugarit has left some traces in the Lycian language. First of all, one can expect a number of oriental borrowings connected with trade be present in Lycian, such as terms for goods of Eastern origin, terminology for measures, vessels, possibly also some sea-ship terminology. In the extant Lycian corpus there is only one word which can be identified as a borrowing from the Levant, namely *sixli-*. The word is attested in two texts: in the Letoon Trilingual (TL 320: 22), where the form *sixlas* corresponds to δύο δραχμάς of the Greek version (l. 20; no corresponding part in the Aramaic version), and in TL 57 as *sixli* (l. 5) and *sixla* (l. 6). The contexts make it clear that *sixli-* refers to a coin, probably the most common Lycian coin type ('stater' weighting 8,3–8,6 g, see Frei 1977: 70–71), which, however, in no way excludes that it was used also as a weight measure. The word obviously comes from a Semitic source, just as Greek σίγλος/σίκλος does, reflecting a measure name based on the root *šql* 'weight'. There are no special reasons to think that it has been brought to Lycia by the Persians, also because Persian *siglos* seems to correspond in weight to Lycian *ada* (5,5–5,6 g, cf. Frei 1977: 69–70). Both vocalization and historical considerations allow Hebrew (*šeqel*) to be excluded, and a direct borrowing form Akkadian (*šeqlu*) does not seem probable either. There remain Ugaritic *ṯql* and Punic (and consequently also Phoenician) *šql*, whose vocalizations are unclear. In view of the evidence adduced above, the first option seems to be preferable, and it is quite possible that the borrowing goes as far back as Late Bronze Age[32].

Due to a rather modest volume of the Lycian corpus and its genre specifics, many other potential Oriental borrowings are simply not yet attested (or identified). However, it would hardly be far-fetched to assume that the majority if not all words identifiable in Greek as early borrowings from an Oriental source were present in Lycian as well. Given the trade contacts, it is quite possible that other terms for measures were also present in Lycian, such as, for instance, **m(V)na*, cf. Greek μνᾶ < poss. from Ugar. *mn* (cf. Akk. *manū* etc.), as well as some technical terms from this domain, cf. Greek ἀρραβών 'caution-money' connected with Ugar. 'rbn 'guarantor, surety', Phoen. ʿrb 'to guarantee' etc.[33] One can also hardly doubt that the Lycians knew a term corresponding to Greek χιτών/κιθών (Myc. *ki-to*) 'linen, linen tunic', which

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[31] Worth mentioning in this context is also a Lycian pottery graffito from Xanthos (N313a) which reads *Pinike*. The context makes it likely that it is a personal name. Its ethnic identity is, however, not quite certain. The name may well be an aphaeretic form of Greek Ἐπινίκιος, as suggested by Neumann (cf. Neumann 2007: s.v.). The latter name is indeed once attested in Xanthos, which is its only attestation in Lycia, contrasting with rather numerous attestations in Caria (22 tags registered in LGPN V.B.: s.v.). In view of its popularity in Caria, *Pinike* may even be a *Caro-Greek* name in Xanthos. On the other hand, an interpretation of the name as reflecting Greek Φοῖνιξ as suggested by Metzger (see ref. in Neumann 2007: s.v.) is unlikely, due to the phonetic discrepancies. Nevertheless, since the Lycian form of the ethnic name for the Phoenicians is unknown, there are still chances, albeit rather slim, that *Pinike* is a Lycian 'Phoenician'.

[32] There is no place here to go into discussion of the exact values of Lycian sibilants (*s* and *z*), which *might* affect the question, but probably rather not, since there is quite wide variation in renderings of Iranian and Greek names in Lycian, and both *š* and *ṯ* of the Semitic source could probably be reflected as *s* in Lycian.

[33] For these and further examples and a general discussion of the words of Near-Eastern origin in Greek see, first of all, a sober treatment in Masson 1967; cf. a more recent discussion by Rosół 2013 which claims many more oriental borrowings in Greek.

is connected with Ugar. *ktn*, Phoen. *ktn* 'linen, linen tunic', Akk. *kitû*, *kitinnu* 'linen', and other comparable terms for specific types of fine cloths (as βύσσος or σινδών); or a word for 'sesame' corresponding to Greek σήσαμον (Myc. *sa-sa-ma*), Phoen., Ugar. *ššmn*, Akk. *šamaššammu* and Hitt. *šapšama*, as well as other comparable terms (as κύμινον); or terms for oriental aromatic substances as 'myrrh', cf. Greek μύρρα which goes back though Phoen. or Ugar. *mr* and to Arab. *murr* (cf. also βάλσαμον and λίβανος).

On the other hand, one should note that the Ugaritic evidence pointed out above suggests that Lycia might also have been a likely place for language contact between Greek and the Levantine languages, on par with the Levantine coast itself or Cyprus.

5.4. To the case of *sixli-* discussed above a further word can be added, which represents a more interesting example of an Oriental influence in Lycia, presenting, moreover, a clear clue that the Lycians were rather 'reasonable people' already in Late Bronze Age. In a recent discussion of the Xanthos trilingual (Oreshko forthcoming) I presented arguments for interpretation of a part of the text on side A (TL 44a: 41–55) containing a recurrent term *hãtahe* and apparently describing the victories won by the author as a *summary* of a longer text which has been incised on a different monument similar. This monument is referred by the term *prulija* in l. 41, which is probably the Lycian word for 'pillar monument'. It is furthermore probable that the text part immediately preceding the *hãtahe*-passage (ll. 31–40) describes other parts of the same monument, beginning with 'bovine protomes' (*wawadra*, l. 32) on the cornice and proceeding to the reliefs with different scenes (as archery/hunting) in the upper part of the column, closely corresponds to the decoration of the pillar monument containing TL 44 as testified by the archaeological finds.. Now, the two lines immediately preceding the *hãtahe*-passage (ll. 38–40) have a peculiar structure containing two practically identical clauses:

> ³⁸*tupelijã: Trm̃milis*[. (.)] ³⁹[. . *qa*]*Kadunimi: puwejehñ:*
> *tupelijã: sḷ/m̃*[(.)] ⁴⁰[. . .]: *qaKadunimi: puwejehñ:*

An interpretation of the lines as referring to a certain '*QaKadunimi* son of *Puweje*'[34] makes little sense, since it does not explain the unusual structure of the passage. Instead, one may note that the word *tupelija* is strikingly reminiscent of the HLuw. **tupaliya-* (SCRIBA-*li-ia-*) 'writing, script' and that the structure of the Lycian passage finds a curious parallel in KARKAMIŠ A15b, §19, a passage describing the writing skills of Yariri:

> …]URBS-*si-ia-ti* |SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti*
> *Sù+ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti*(URBS) |SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i*
> *A-sú+ra/i*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na-ti*(URBS) |SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i*
> *Ta-i-ma-ni-ti-ha*(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ti*

'…in the script of the city [= Hieroglyphic Luwian], in the script of Tyre [= Phoenician alphabet], in the script of Assyria [= cuneiform], in the script of **Taima-*'. The interpretation of *tupelija* as 'writing' is further supported by the possibility to recognize in *puwejehñ* a derivative of the Lycian root *puwe-* 'write'. The distinction between *tupelija* and **puweja-* possibly consists in that the latter refers to *script*, while the former to the physical *writings/text* incised in stone. Consequently, the passage should refer to writing the text in two scripts/languages[35].

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[34] Cf. Melchert 2004: s.v.v. *Kadunimi* and *Puwẽje* and Schürr 2009: 161–163. Neumann (2006: s.v.v. Kadunimi and puweje-) also takes Kadunimi for a personal name, but suggests no definitive interpretation for *puweje-*.

[35] The interpretation of the passage has quite important consequences for identification of the second non-Greek language of the Xanthos Trilingual, which will be addressed in detail in the second part of the present contribution.

In addition to *tupelija*, one can identify in the Lycian corpus two further words which are likely connected to it. The first is *tupelezije* (poss. dat.sg.) found twice in the Xanthos Trilingual (44b: 63–64) and possibly in TL 35: 5 in an erroneous spelling *tupazalije* (standing for **tupalazije*). The word is apparently a derivative with the agentive suffix *-z-*, found also in *maraza-* 'commander' or *prñnezi(je)-* 'household member', and can be interpreted as 'scribe'. This interpretation agrees well with the context of TL 44b: 63–64, which follows a passage mentioning Persian kings Darius (*Ñtarijeus*) and Xerxes (*Ertaxssiraza*), as one can readily identify in the combination *tupelezije: xñtawatije:* a Lycian counterpart of γραμματιστής βασιλήιος 'royal scribe', mentioned, for instance, by Herodotus in the context of the Persian court at Sardis (Hdt. 3.128). The second word is *tupa* found several lines before *tupelija* (TL 44a: 36), where it is followed by a clause *esbedi: hm̃menedi: Trm̃mil[i]je[37]di: se Medezedi* which can be interpreted as 'with shooting/hunting on the horse-back in the Lycian and Median (Persian) style'. Given that the passage likely describes a scene depicted on the pillar monument, *tupa* can be interpreted as 'image', 'relief' or the like.

Identification of this word set has quite important implications for the question of linguistic and cultural contact between Lycia and the East. The HLuw. **tupaliya-* (SCRIBA-*li-ia-*) is based on **tup(p)ala-* 'scribe' standing behind the common HLuw. title SCRIBA-*la-* 'scribe' and attested in full phonetic form in the cuneiform title *tup(p)alanura-* 'chief scribe' (< **tup(p)ala(n)* + *ura-* 'big, great')[36]. The word **tup(p)ala-* is based in its turn on Luw. **tup(p)a/i-* corresponding to Hitt. *tuppi-* '(clay) tablet', both of which finally go back, through Akkadian and Hurrian intermediary, to Sum. *dub* 'clay tablet'[37]. Both **tup(p)a-* and **tup(p)ala-* represent thus important Bronze Age terms associated with the Ancient Near Eastern cultural sphere and scribal tradition, and their presence in Lycian demonstrates that both the art of writing and the media for it — quite probably wooden rather than clay tablets[38] — were well known to the *Lukkā* people. It is noteworthy that this linguistic evidence confirms, once again, the extraordinary ability of the Homeric text to encapsulate historical reality in small details which may seem insignificant or accidental on the first glance. The only mention of writing in the Iliad (Hom. Il. 6.168) — the 'baleful signs incised in a folded tablet' (σήματα λυγρὰ γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ) given to Bellerophont by Proitos — is notoriously associated, albeit indirectly, with Lycia, and it is quite possible that this fact reflects memories of the early Lycian literacy testified by Mycenaean merchants coming there to trade metal and other Oriental goods. Also, the discovery of the wooden diptych tablet in the cargo of the Uluburun ship sunken close to the Lycian coast (about 10 km from Kaş/Antiphellos) is probably not as accidental as it may seem, even if the final destination of the ship and the kind of script used to write on the tablet remain quite uncertain[39]. It is not impossible that the script the tablet was most frequently exposed to was not the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet or Linear B — which might seem to be the most straightforward assumptions — but a script which could be understood in Lycia and which there are good reasons to identify as Hieroglyphic Luwian[40]. The exact source of the borrowing of the

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[36] The reading of the HLuw. title is quite certain given the semantics of the word and the usage of the sign SCRIBA with a phonetic value <TÙ>, cf. Hawkins 2000: 33. For a discussion of *tuppalanura-* see Tischler 1991–1994: s.v. and Yakubovich 2017: 41–43.

[37] For Hittite evidence see Tischler 1991–1994: s.v. *tuppi-*.

[38] The writing on wood in Anatolia (and elsewhere) cf. Waal 2011 with further refs.

[39] The usual assumption is that the ship sailed to the Aegean, cf., e.g., Bachhuber 2006, Cline-Yasur-Landau 2007 or Goren 2013 with further refs. This is indeed quite possible, but by far not certain. In fact, the evidence of the letters from Ugarit adduced above may well suggest that the ship was sailing to — or at least intended to visit — Lycia.

[40] The evidence of Hieroglyphic Luwian in southern Anatolia is extremely scarce, which is due probably first of all to the fact that is was written on perishable media, such as wood, and that the practice of sealing was less

scribal terms into Lycian is not entirely clear. In any case, there are no special reasons to connect it with the Hittite military involvement in the region, attested first of all by the YALBURT inscription (cf. above), which has probably never lead to the establishment of a Hittite administration in Lycia, as demonstrated, inter alia, by the fact that in the reign of Tudḫaliya 'III/IV' (ca. 1227–1209 BC) the region was considered as lying outside the Empire[41]. A most likely place for such a borrowing appears to be Plain Cilicia (*Kizzuwadna*), although a port city of the northern Levant, such as Ugarit where Luwian and Hittite scribes were certainly present, cannot be excluded either.

§6. The Aegean

6.1. Geographically, the Aegean lies even closer to Lycia than the Levant, and, if *Attarima-Λώρυμα* was indeed one the regions covered by the term '*Lukkā* lands' (cf. above), the early Lycian ethnolinguistic area practically overlapped in part with the Aegean cultural sphere. There are no special reasons to doubt that Lycians visited the Aegean at least sporadically; the description of the venture of the author of the Xanthos trilingual (TL 44a: 53–55) into the region of Samos and Mykale is merely one example of such a visit. The material culture of the Classical Lycia demonstrates quite a few instances of Greek influence, and there can be no doubt that the Greek regularly visited Lycia and possibly even settled there from at least 800 BC (cf. below). However, Greek presence in Lycia dates to an even earlier time, and it seems that it went beyond simple contacts.

Greek literary tradition connected the very *origin* of the Lycians with the Aegean. There were two strands in this tradition[42]. The first one, reflected in the Iliad (6.152–205), associates Greek settlement in Lycia with Bellerophon, son of Glaukos and grandson of Sisyphos, whose homeland was Ephyra/Corinth. Sarpedon and Glaukos, the Lycian leaders in the Trojan war, were his descendants. The other strand of the tradition, known to later authors (Hdt. 1.173,

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spread than in Central Anatolia. There is, however, one curious piece of evidence: a seal coming from a Late Mycenaean tomb at Ialysos on Rhodos (cf. Boardman 1966: 47–48 with fig. 2). I was able to examine the seal in the British Museum in July 2013, for which I am greatly indebted to Alexandra Villing and Andrew Shapland. Unlike some seals found in the Aegean (as the Perati seal), which appear to be simply coarse emulations of Luwian writing without any actual meaning, the epigraph of the seal makes an impression of being a genuine Luwian example. However, reading of the epigraph is not obvious. One can immediately identify only two signs on Side B: the title URCEUS and the last sign of the name, which is <ni>. The sign above <ni> is probably <wa/i>, despite the odd oblique position of its central element. The reading of the central sign is particularly difficult, since the shape does not exactly correspond to any attested sign. The two theoretical possibilities would be to see in it either a schematic representation of an *animal head* or a *hand*, although no attested HLuw. 'hand'-signs have a triangular element in the upper part. Given the reading of the last two signs, one may tentatively propose to identify the sign as a very schematic form of CANIS.ZU(WA), which stands for *zu(wa)na/i-* (for the combination cf. Oreshko 2013: 413–416). Lastly, the upper sign *might* be simplified form of BOS = <u>. Accordingly, the name can be read (*u-*)CANIS.ZU(WA)-wa/i-ni. While *Uzuwani* remains a possibility, a reading *Zuwan(n)i* is more sensible, since such a name is indeed well attested (cf. Laroche 1966: s.v.v. *Zuwanna, Zuwanni, Zu(w)ania: Συέννεσις*, attested in later sources (cf. recently Simon 2019), is clearly its extension). On the Side A, in the central field there seems to be only one sign, which does not correspond to any HLuw. sign, but is quite reminiscent of a representation of a *ship*. This makes good sense in the geographical context of the find, and there are good chances that we are dealing with a seal which once belonged to a *Lukkā* man.

[41] Cf. the evidence of §10 the 'Tudḫaliya Instructions for Lords, Princes and Courtiers' (CTH 255.1) which mentions the 'frontier posts' (*auri-*) between Hatti and *Lukkā*, see Miller 2013: 286–287.

[42] For details see Bryce 1986: 11–41, cf. also Keen 1998: 22–26.

Str. 12.8.5, Paus. 7.3.7, Apollod. Bibl. 3.1.1–2), saw in Sarpedon a brother of Minos and, accordingly, connected the origin of the Lycians with Crete. Since Lycian is an Anatolian language, one cannot take this tradition quite literally: it is clear that a significant or even major part of the Lycian population in the 1st millennium BC, as well as its culture in general had local roots. However, it would be equally unwise to simply dismiss this Greek tradition as pure fantasy, as sometimes alleged[43]. In fact, accounts of settlement of Lycia from the Aegean agree rather well with the phenomenon of sea-born migrations from the Aegean to the East at the end of the 2nd millennium BC which can be glimpsed both from the epigraphic and historical record. These migrations resulted in Aegean settlement in Rhodos, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Plain Cilicia (Cilician *Aḫḫiyawa*), the Amuq Plain (*Palastina/i*) and even southern Levant (the Philistines)[44] . In this context, it seems very likely that Lycia indeed received *some* Aegean ethnic element in this period, even if this has not resulted — in contrast with Rhodos, Pamphylia or Cyprus — in the establishment of Greek as the main idiom. Rather, the opposite process was the case: the Aegean settlers eventually switched to Lycian, becoming a part of the Lycian *ethnos* as we know it, a scenario which has parallels in Cilicia and the Amuq Plain[45]. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it appears very likely, almost inevitable, that this process left some traces in the Lycian language.

6.2. There is no need to argue for the importance of the Greek factor already in pre-Hellenistic Lycia: the Greek influence clearly manifests itself in Lycian art and architecture, as well as in the existence of Greek-Lycian bilinguals and the presence of Greek names in Lycian inscriptions[46]. However, we have next to no historical evidence bearing on the *sociolinguistic* framework within which the Lycian-Greek interaction took place, and reconstructing the details of this process is definitely not a trivial task. As a matter of fact, after the conquest by the Persian general Harpagos around 546/45 BC, Lycia stayed for almost two centuries under more or less strong Iranian/Achaemenid influence, even if it still enjoyed a great deal of political autonomy[47]. After the campaigns of Kimon in south-western Anatolia around 470 BC, Lycian cities joined the Delian League, but by the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (431 BC) most of them (except Tel(e)messos) defected from the Athenians, subsequently siding with the Persians and the Peloponnesian League, as is reflected *inter alia* in the Xanthos Trilingual composed around 400 BC. After ca. 360 BC Lycia came under the control of the rulers of the Carian Hekatomnid dynasty, who remained under Persian authority only nominally, leading a conscious politics of Hellenization, an important aspect of which was the usage of Greek as the official written language.

While contact with the Greeks and acquaintance with Greek culture is beyond doubt in pre-Hellenistic Lycia, it is far from obvious what effect this contact could have had on the Lycian language. Neither the participation of the Lycian cities in the Delian League, nor their dealings with the Peloponnesians should necessarily have led to any perceptible Hellenization of Lycians in a linguistic sense, although this interaction certainly increased the awareness of Greek in Lycia[48]. The influence of the Hellenizing policy of the Hekatomnid dynasty, testified

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[43] See, for instance, Keen 1998: 26 with further refs.

[44] For the Aegean element Cilicia and the Levant cf. in general Singer 2013 and Oreshko 2018a with further refs.

[45] Cf. Oreshko 2018a and, for Plain Cilicia, Yakubovich 2015.

[46] Cf., for instance, Keen 1998: 66–69 with further refs.

[47] For the political history Lycia see in general Keen 1998, esp. 61–70 on the Iranian and Greek cultural influence in Lycia.

[48] Thus contra Rurtherford 2002: 201–202 and Colvin 2004: 51–53. Rurtherford assumes usage of Greek as an 'imperial language' in Lycia already during the Lycian alliance with the Delian League and counts with an increasing presence of bilingual speakers during the Dynastic and the Carian period. Such a scenario is quite

by several extensive monuments in Lycia written in Greek, including the Letoon Trilingual, might have been somewhat stronger, and in any case in the 4th century BC Greek was already on the way of becoming a *lingua franca* of the Eastern Mediterranean. However, the attitude of the Lycians to the Greek of the Carian administration should not necessarily be entirely positive, and again it is not clear how deep its influence on the Lycian communities in general might have been. On the other hand, we have very little evidence about the time and circumstances of Greek settlement in Lycia in the 5th and 4th century BC, and whether the Greeks formed in Lycia a strong linguistic community before the Macedonian conquest in 334/333 BC. The evidence of bilingual inscriptions is ambiguous, since it testifies only to the *existence* of a linguistic community, but ultimately says nothing about its size and language attitudes. Ironically, the presence of bilinguals may indicate that bilingualism was just not that widespread in the community. Greek names in Lycian inscriptions, which constitute less than 10% of attested names, do not constitute evidence for a *massive* presence of the Greeks in Lycia[49]. In fact, judging from the general historical context, one would rather think that settlement of the Greeks in Lycia before ca. 350 BC was most probably a matter of private business, connected first of all with trade activities and professional domains, such as architecture, sculpture and possibly pottery production.

6.3. In support of this two pieces of epigraphic evidence may be adduced here. The first is TL 25, a text associated with statue bases intended as a dedication to Apollo in Tlos[50]. The text combines a Lycian and a Greek part, which closely, although not quite exactly, correspond to each other[51]. The dedication is made by a Lycian from Tlos, *Xssbezẽ* (= Πόρπαξ in the Greek part), on behalf of himself and his family (wife, daughter and a niece). However, the statues were created by a Greek, which is indicated in the Greek epigraph found separately on the next block: Θεόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος ἐπόησε. It is very likely that Theodoros had been specially invited by *Xssbezẽ* to work on the statues in Tlos, and this was probably a more or less established practice, judging from the Greek artistic influences in other Lycian tombs. It is not clear whether Theodoros stayed in Lycia or returned to Athens, but it appears quite probable that at least some Greek artists decided to stay and work in Lycia, attracted by the local demand.

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dubious especially for the 5th century, and virtually refuted by the evidence of the Xanthos Trilingual which has 138 lines in Lycian, 103 lines in 'Lycian B' and only a short (12 line long) Greek poetic part written probably by an invited versifier (cf. below). These Greek verses give also quite a clear idea of the level of mastery and perception of Greek in Lycia at this time, since it contains over 12 lines at least 8 mistakes (letter omissions).

[49] Cf. Colvin 2004: 51–52. In fact, the actual percentage may be closer to 5%, since a part of Greek names are attested in the Xanthos Trilingual, which has nothing to do with settlement of the Greeks in Lycia. It is not clear what exactly stands behind Colvin's (2004: 51) statement 'In the fourth century approximately 66 per cent of the recorded names are still Lycian'. Most importantly, it is not clear what part of these inscriptions dates after 333 BC. Moreover, the percentage of Greek names should not exactly reflect the percentage of Greek speakers, since some Lycians might have adopted Greek names out of considerations of prestige.

[50] Judging from the letter forms of the Greek text, the monument belongs to the 4th century BC, possibly ca. 380–350.

[51] The Greek text lacks words referring to the object of dedication, which is *ebeis tikedris* 'these statues' (acc.pl.) in Lycian, and a verb, which is *tuwetẽ* 'set up' (pret.3.pl.) in Lycian. The Lycian text, as we have it, lacks the name of a deity to which the statues are dedicated, which is Ἀπόλλωνι (dat.sg.) in Greek. The addressee of a dedication is, however, a very important, even crucial element of a dedicatory text, and there is every reason to think that precisely this element is lost in the gap at the end of line 1 of the Lycian text. Kalinka (TAM 1: 24) tentatively reads the damaged letter at the edge of the gap as M. However, one would rather suggest that the letter is N, and the name is *Natri*, the Lycian counterpart of Apollo. Accordingly, the first clause of the text can be restored as *ebeis: tukedris: Ṇ[atri=ti] tuwetẽ:* lit. 'These (are) the statues which to Apollo dedicated …' (cf. already Oreshko forthc., §3, fn. 61).

The next, even more curious piece of evidence is preserved in a monument (a statue base) of Arbinas, a Lycian dynast who ruled in the early 4th century BC (see Bousquet in Metzger et al. 1992: 155–165). The stone contains two rather long Greek poems, one of which is preserved almost completely, and its two last lines give information about the composer of the poem(s). The author is Σύμμαχος Εὐμήδεος Πελλᾱνεύς, a 'blameless seer' (μάντις ἀ[μύμων]), thus a Greek from the Achaean Πελλήνη (Dor. Πελλᾱνᾱ; less likely from the Spartan Πελλᾱνᾱ, which was probably too small at this time to produce a seer). As suggested by Bousquet (in Metzger et al. 1992: 162), the presence of the Pellenian poet in Lycia may be connected with the fact that his native city was a part of the Peloponnesian League, and thus the ships from Pellene might have been involved in the Peloponnesian activities in the region of Lycia at the end of the 5th century BC. While one can only guess about the details of the peculiar poetic career of Symmachos, his poems offer very interesting insight into the sociolinguistics of Greek in Lycia. On the one hand, the very presence of the poems clearly testifies in favor of an interest of the Lycian elite in the Greek literary culture, and a certain prestige associated with it. It also shows that in the early 4th century BC there were people in Lycia who were able to read and appreciate Greek. This is precisely what one might assume by looking at the Lycian artistic monuments of this period, such as the Nereid Monument (ca. 390 BC), or the somewhat later funerary monument of *Pajawa* (ca. 370–360 BC). On the other hand, the poetic skill of the 'blameless seer' is arguably one of a rather technical character, hardly much higher than that of an average educated Greek well-read in Homer, and the fact that it was necessary to bring him to Lycia from the far-away Pellene — which is due probably more to circumstances rather than to actual premeditation — seems to indicate that the Greek community in Lycia was still not very strong and the formation of the Greek culture in Lycia was only at the initial phase. Keeping in mind these sociolinguistic considerations, we may now revisit the evidence adduced so far in the discussion of Greek-Lycian language contact[52].

6.4. *Lexical Borrowings.* There are two substantives attested in Lycian corpus which can be readily recognized as Greek words. The first is *trijere*, which is attested in the Xanthos Trilingual (TL 44b: 22 and 23) in the context of what appears to be a sea battle. The word apparently corresponds to the common Greek τριήρης 'trireme' (< τρίς 'thrice' + ἐρέτης 'rower'), which is originally an adjective used with ναῦς 'ship'. One should note that the context of the attestation is quite specific: the passage seems to refer to 'Chian trireme(s)' (*trijerẽ Kijezẽ*), thus *Greek* ships. It is not clear whether Lycian ships could also be called that way; in other words, *trijere-* may be a *foreign* word in Lycian, i.e. a not fully embedded term connected to a specific cultural phenomenon (just like *trireme* in modern English). The second word is *sttala*, well attested in the corpus (six attestations, cf. Neumann 2007: s.v.), which reflects Greek στάλα 'stele', being borrowed either from Doric or from another dialect preserving $\bar{a}$. What is curious is that Lycian also has the root on which *sttala* is based, *stta-*, which seems to have the basic meaning 'stand'. The connection between *sttala* and *stta-* was clearly felt by the Lycians themselves, since both appear as a *figura etymologica* in 44c: 5 and 7. The case is ambiguous and interesting. On the one hand, there are no words in Lycian beginning with the cluster *st(t)-* which can be doubtlessly defined as inherited,[53] and the immediate association of *sttala* and *stta-* suggests that both originate from the same source, i.e. *stta-* is a borrowing of the Greek ἵστημι/ἱστάω

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[52] For the data see primarily Rutherford 2002 and Melchert 2014, which should be consulted for further refs.

[53] From a formal point of view, it is not impossible to derive the verb from PIE *$steh_2$- (see Melchert 2018a: 31–32). However, the fact is that no other Anatolian language suggests the presence of the initial *s-* in the root, cf. Luw. *ta-* 'stand' ((CRUS)*ta-*) and Hitt. *titti-* and *tittanu-*. It is not excluded that the prothetic *s-* is a later feature, introduced in some IE dialects after the split of the Anatolian branch.

(see Schürr 2014 [2016] with further refs., cf. Melchert 2016: 31). On the other hand, the verb *stta-* has a very basic meaning and its use was clearly *not* confined to combinations with *sttala* or similar objects (cf. *sttāti* in 44b: 35 in connection with *erbbi* 'battle' and *sttati=ti* in damaged context in TL 93: 2), and it seems odd that this verb might have been borrowed from Greek (cf. Neumann 2007: s.v.; for a possible solution of the paradox see below).

Other cases of possible Greek borrowings are more dubious. Neumann (cf. 2007: s.v. with further refs.) suggested that the term *ãm̃mãma-* (five attestations in the corpus) may correspond to Greek ἄμωμος 'blameless'; Melchert, following Starke (for refs. see Melchert 2003: s.v.), interpreted it as 'fine, penalty'. It is quite difficult to decide between these two options: the latter is more straightforward, but it is striking indeed that all contexts seem to associate *ãm̃mãma-* with *animals* 'paid' to certain deities[54], which matches rather well the usage of ἄμωμος as an epithet of sacrificial victims in Greek. It is not impossible that the word could be borrowed into Lycian as a specific ritual *terminus technicus*, but at present this remains only a possibility. Two further cases are even less certain[55]. The word *manaxine* found on monument of *Pajawa* (cf. above §3 with fn. 24) represents either a title or a sort of ethnic connected with the Pamphylian origin of *Pajawa*, and its connection with Greek μονογένης is quite arbitrary. The suggestion that *garãi*, attested in TL 44b: 62 (followed by *zeusi*), represents an adoption of Greek ἀγορά (Shevoroshkin 2011: 34, cf. Melchert 2014: 68) is equally problematic. The relevance of the attestation of *neleze Tarqqñt-* = Ζεύς ἀγοραῖος in the bilingual N324 is questionable, since it may be asked why one did not use *neleze* also in TL 44b, and it is difficult to either give a convincing Lycian interpretation of the morphology of the word or to explain the phonetic development of *garãi* from ἀγοραῖος[56]. But even if *garãi zeusi* is an odd phonetic rendering of Ζεύς ἀγοραῖος, it in no way suggests that **gara-* was present in Lycian as an independent word, since in this context it would merely be an *epithet* of a foreign deity. In fact, both its bizarre phonetic form and the evidence of N324 which *translates* ἀγοραῖος with *neleze* plainly runs against the assumption that ἀγορά was present as a borrowing in Lycian.

On the other hand, there are two terms which can be identified as Lycian borrowings in Greek, although their usage was clearly localized. One is μίνδις (and μενδῖτης, derived from it), which reflects Lyc. *miñti*. The term likely referred to the local community as a whole, representing a close counterpart of Greek δῆμος, and not to 'cemetery administration' as sometimes claimed (see in detail Oreshko 2019: 105–117 with further refs.). The other term is πιάτρα

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[54] 'Cow' (*wawa-/uwa-*) in TL 111:4, TL 131: 4 and TL 149: 9; *puwa* in TL 102: 3, possibly 'goat'; and *kerut*[*i*] in TL 111: 3, which appears to refer to a 'horned' animal (cf. Neumann 2007: s.v.).

[55] One should mention that Melchert (2003: s.v. *sttrat*[ ]), adopting an old suggestion by Savelsberg (see ref. in Neumann 2007: s.v.), tried to see in the fragmentary *sttrat*[in TL 44b: 18 a reflection of Greek στρατηγός. This is quite unlikely, since, in all probability, the word picks up the Greek name attested several lines above in the text (ll. 15–16) *Stt*[…]*ãni*[…]*he*). Whether the restoration *Stt*[*rat*]*ãni*[*da*]*he*) suggested by Stoltenberg (cf. refs. in Neumann 2007: s.v.) is correct or not, the name should be in any case a composite Greek name based on στρατός.

[56] Formally, *garãi* looks like comm.nom.pl. of an *n*-stem (cf. *mahãi* 'gods' or *tahñtãi* = οἰκήματα, for which cf. below), and, despite the formal discrepancies, should probably be connected with the preceding *ebeija* 'these' (nom.-acc.pl.neutr.), since independent usage of pronouns seems to be otherwise not attested in Lycian. It may be noted that the idea to interpret *zeusi* as a dat. form of Zeus strikes one as rather bizarre, despite the phonetic similarity of the words. As a matter of fact, the Lycians 'translated' the name of gods, even when they were used in Greek contexts, cf. the epigraphs on the vessel with the scene of the Judgement of Paris (N307), which features *Pedrita* (Aphrodite), *Alixssã*[*tra*] (Paris-Alexander) and *Mal*[*ija*] (Athene); or *Turaxssa*[*l*]*i*: *Natri* in TL 44c: 47–48 who is *Greek* Apollo of the Mount Torax; or translation of the personal name Ἀπολλόδοτος as *Natrbbijẽmi*. To this should be added the odd dative form in *-si*, which would presuppose the perception of nom.sg. ending as part of the stem. It seems that the level of knowledge of Greek in Lycia around 400 BC was still higher than one which could allow for such a blunder. In sum, *zeusi* is probably not Zeus at all.

which is a feminine kinship term, possibly referring to 'daughter-in-law' (see Schürr 1999). As argued by Schürr, the word may be based on the Anatolian root 'to give' (*piya-*), thus designating 'one who bears gifts = dowry'[57]. The fact that one adopted the Lycian term instead of using a Greek term, such as νυός or νύμφη, is due apparently to the specific local character of marriage regulations and the legal status of daughters-in-law.

6.5. *Lexical and semantic calques*. Several words have been suggested to represent Lycian literal translations ('calques') of Greek terms. Creation of calques is possible even in the situation of only relatively slight language contact, and the level of Greek-Lycian relationships was in any case enough for that. However, the evidence is not too impressive. Rurtherford (2002: 204–205) suggested that the term *kumehe/i-* found in the Letoon Trilingual (N320: 27) as a noun 'sacrificial animal' — as contrasted with its usual adjectival sense 'sacred' — is a calque of Greek ἱερεῖον 'sacrificial animal' used in the Greek translation of the respective clause. This seems entirely possible in the context of the text, but it is not clear whether it is a real sociolinguistic phenomenon, or simply an effect of translation of this particular text from Lycian into Greek. On the other hand, the idea is so trivial that one did not probably even need a Greek word to produce something similar in Lycian. Equally trivial is another pair tentatively adduced by Rutherford (2002: 205–206) as an example of calque: Lyc. *prñnezi(je)-* 'household member' vs. Greek οἰκεῖος. 'Household members' obviously existed in Lycia before the Greek settlement there, and one does not actually need the Greek word to explain the transparent semantic and morphological structure of the Lycian one. The third example comes again from the Letoon Trilingual and concerns Lyc. *ahñtãi* (N320: 17). This word was traditionally translated as 'possessions' and connected with the Lyc. verb *es-/ah-* 'to be', which automatically suggests a correspondence with Greek (τὰ) ὄντα or οὐσία (cf. Neumann 2007: s.v. and Rutherford 2002: 205). However, *ahñtãi* is most probably simply a phantom word. As pointed out by Schürr (2016: 125 with fn. 6) and Melchert (2018b, *ad 11abc*), there is no motivation for the presence of the enclitic particle *-te* having a locative semantics in the clause N320: 17–18, and the sequence *setahñtãi* can be interpreted simply as *se-tahñtãi*. Moreover, the Lycian word corresponds in Greek not to (τὰ) ὄντα or οὐσία, but to οἰκήματα 'dwellings', and there are thus no reasons to assume any interference between the two terms[58].

To these, one further piece of evidence may now be added. In a recent article (Oreshko 2019: 95–101, esp. 100) I suggested that the Lyc. term *alaha-* 'concede' is based on the Luwic word for 'place' (Lyc. *ala(d)-*) and means literally 'to let somebody (into) a place', thus finding

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[57] Thus contra Brixhe (1999: 89–91) who supported a connection with πάτρα ('father's sister, aunt') presented in LSJ.

[58] Schürr (2016: 125–126) suggested that the term *tahñta-* may be connected with θθε- (< *tahe) which in combination with *kumezijẽ* 'sacred, sacrificial' corresponds to Greek βωμός 'altar (with base), raised platform' in the Letoon Trilingual, and with Lycian B *tasñtuwadi*. The latter connection is unverifiable, but the connection with θθε- looks plausible. It was convincingly argued by Schürr that there is no reason to derive either θθε- or Luw. *tasa/i-*, connected with it by Eichner (1983: 60–61), from PIE *d^heh_1s- 'holy, divine'. A connection with PIE *d^hh_1-, more positively assessed by Schürr, is possible, but is neither compelling. Luwian evidence implies rather that *tasa/i-* means simply 'stone block' and may be an Anatolian areal term. The context of CEKKE §15 strongly suggests that FINES-*ha+ra/i-ia ta-sa* are 'border stones', and the interpretation of *tas(a/i)-* as 'stone block' well agrees with the context of KARKAMIŠ A6 §27–28 which features *tasa/i-* parallel to another term for 'stone (block)', SCALPRUM-*su(wa)-* (= *asu(wa)-*). It is not impossible that ("*256")*tà-sá-* found in KULULU 2, §6 represents the same word, although the context does not unequivocally support this, and the difference in spelling (<tà> vs. <ta>) may be significant. It is noteworthy that neither attestation of the word features an ideogram hinting at an action (e.g. CRUS or PONERE), which implies that synchronically the term was not regarded as a derivative of a verb. Accordingly, *tahñta-* = οἰκήματα probably just designated something built of stone blocks (rather than 'installation').

a close semantic correspondence in Greek συγχωρῆσαι 'concede, let', which is based on χῶρος. Given the striking correspondence in the underlying semantics of both terms built around the idea of 'place/space' (*ala(d)-* and χῶρος), which is not that trivial, it would be natural to assume that one of the terms influenced the other. Since the meaning 'concede, let' is normal for συγχωρῆσαι, the direction should be Greek > Lycian, even if it may seem strange that a term connected with a specifically Lycian burial culture would have been influenced by Greek. Lastly, one should mention the idea of Seyer (2006: 727) that the common specification used in Lycian funerary inscriptions (*hrppi*:) *atli*: *ehbi* 'for himself' is an attempt to render in Lycian Greek the word ἑαυτῷ. The idea is interesting, but is difficult to verify. Contra Melchert (2014: 69), in the context of meticulous stipulations of the Lycian funerary inscriptions the usage of *atli*: *ehbi* does not seem especially redundant. The question is what one would expect to find in a Luwic inscription in a region outside the contact area with the Greeks.

6.6. *Structural Influence.* Besides borrowing and calques, Rutherford (2002) and Melchert (2014) have discussed several possible instances of a finer *structural* interference between Greek and Lycian. Doubtlessly the most intriguing case is the semantics of the Lycian adverbial element *epi* 'upon' and the composite *hrppi* 'upon' (< *hri* 'above' + *epi*). The semantics of both Lycian adverbs seems to correspond to that of Greek ἐπί rather precisely, but is far from the semantics of its presumable etymological counterparts, Luwian *āppi* and Hittite *āppa*, both of which mean 'back(ward), again'. In the preserved texts, Lycian *epi* does not have the meaning 'back' at all, although the very existence of the composite *hrppi* might imply that it was still present in the simple form *epi*. It is noteworthy that the Lycian usage of *hrppi* might in its turn have influenced the mode of usage of Greek ἐπί (cf. Rutherford 2002: 206). The next feature concerns the Lycian usage of the connective *se* which quite exactly corresponds to that of Greek καί, starkly contrasting with the exclusive preference of Luwian (*-ḫa*), Hittite (*-a/-ya*) and Lydian (*-k*) for enclitic conjunctions following the second member. Furthermore, this is not the only unusual feature of the Lycian clause architecture, since Lycian syntax is different from what one can usually see in Hittite and Luwian texts in other respects as well. This is particularly noticeable in the typologically rare OVS word order as seen in the common Lycian funerary formulas (cf. Rurtherford 2002: 214), and in the generally quite flexible clause structure seen especially in the longer texts, such as the Xanthos and the Letoon Trilinguals[59].

Lastly, it has been suggested that the formation of some Lycian personal names might have been influenced by Greek names. In particular, this might be the case with Lycian names containing a participle in *-mi-* in the second part of the composite, such as *Natr-bbijẽ-mi* 'Given-by-*Natr(i)*' which corresponds to Ἀπολλόδοτος in the Letoon Trilingual. It seems that names of this structure were indeed largely restricted to Lycia with sporadic irradiation to Pisidia (cf. also Melchert 2013: 41–42), while in other Luwic areas it was enough to use a simple verbal root, either in the first or second part of the name. To this a further possible example of an onomastic influence may be now added. In the discussion of the *hãtahe*-passge of the Xanthos trilingual, I have argued that *Herikle* mentioned in TL 44a: 50 has nothing to do with the mythical Herakles, as is usually claimed, but refers to a real person, in all probability a late 5th BC

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[59] It is noteworthy that in a recent article Mouton-Yakubovich (2020) make an attempt to establish links between the unusual Lycian syntax and the proleptic construction found in Luwian. In particular, they suggest that Lycian OVS clause construction with a nasalized preterits (e.g., *prñnawatẽ*) — which probably contain an enclitic *-(e)n* (comm.acc.sg.) (for the interpretation see refs. there) — should go back to a proleptic construction which would be directly comparable with the ones observed in Luwian. I am not convinced that such a reconstruction would be the only possibility for Lycian. However, the many interesting examples adduced by Mouton-Yakubovich demonstrated that Luwian syntax was flexible enough and that the tendencies which later lead to the Lycian OVS construction *might* have been present already on the early language stage.

century governor (*sehaxlaza*) of Kaunos (Oreshko forthcoming, §9). The name *might* correspond to Ἡρακλᾶς sporadically attested in the Classical period, but there is actually no real necessity to interpret it in this way, especially given that *Herikle* was a governor installed by the *Persian* administration. The same is probably true also for another Lycian name of a comparable structure, *Perikle*, who is well known as an early 4th century BC dynast of Limyra: it is difficult to suspect pro-Athenian sentiments in a Lycian dynast, still wholly in the sphere of the Persian influence; even more difficult to see in *Perikle* an admirer of Thucydides whom the Athenian statesman Περικλῆς arguably owes a great deal of his present fame. In fact, both names can well be genuine Lycian composite names: the first parts *heri-* and *peri-* may be easily explained as Anatolian adverbial elements (cf. Lyc. *hri* 'up, on (top)' and **peri* = Luw. *pari* 'beyond, exceeding(ly)'), and the root *kle-* might well be present in Lycian as well[60]. However, interpretation of *-kle* as 'fame' (= Greek κλέος) makes a good sense: *Heri-kle* and *Peri-kle* can be interpreted as 'Upmost-Fame' and 'Exceeding-Fame' respectively. It is not quite impossible that Lycian could preserve a native reflex of PIE **k̑leu̯-* (with a loss of *u̯* in the syllable-/word-final position), but in the areal context it seems likelier that the popular Greek names in -κλῆς played a role in the introduction of the pattern of names in *-kle* in Lycia.

6.7. Summarizing the evidence, one can note the following principal points:

1) The number of Greek lexical borrowings in Lycian is in fact very low. Both *trijere* (if it was indeed embedded in Lycian) and *sttala* are cultural terms, and their adoption does not presuppose any *intensive* language contact, let alone bilingualism. If one accepts the connection of *ãm̃mãma-* with ἄμωμος, this would provide an interesting glimpse of an influence of Greek *ritual* terminology in Lycia. In view of this, the case of *stta-* 'stand' looks quite strange.

2) The number of possible calques is not much higher. The closeness of morpho-semantic structure of *kumehe/i-* = ἱερεῖον, *prñnezi(je)-* = οἰκεῖος and *alaha-* = συγχωρῆσαι is certainly notable, but ultimately it demonstrates similarity in *thinking* rather than a straightforward linguistic influence of Greek.

3) The structural similarities are more impressive and intriguing. Even if the number of arguable cases is still not too high, it would be fair to say that from a structural point of view, Lycian is closer to Greek than, for instance, Luwian or Hittite.

Seen from a sociolinguistic perspective, the picture is quite puzzling[61]. On the one hand, neither the actually attested lexical borrowings, which are the *clearest* and *most basic* indicators of the language interaction at its initial phases, nor the general sociolinguistic situation as it can be reconstructed for the 5th and the early 4th century BC Lycia hint at a significant level of Greek-Lycian bilingualism. Greeks were clearly present in Lycian cities as merchants and artisans, but the Greek community was probably still rather slim, and there is no question of a 'Greek-Lycian' ethnocultural merge at this time. On the other hand, the structural similarities between Greek and Lycian suggests a very high level of bilingualism in the whole community, when two languages begin literally to intertwine and to align their structures in the minds and on the tongues of the speakers.

The paradox can be explained if one goes beyond the chronological framework imposed by the definition 'Greek-Lycian contact' — 6th-4th centuries BC — and brings into the picture the early migration to Lycia from the Aegean reflected in the Greek legendary tradition. One

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[60] Cf. *hrkkeledi* (instr.) in N324: 11); *muni-klei-mẽ* in TL 107a:2, as contrasted with *muneite* in TL 127: 2 and *muneita* in TL 44b: 20; and Lycian B *kllei-me* (*kllei-ma* in 44c: 45, *kllei-me* in 44d: 61 and *kllei-me-di* in 44c: 49 and 60).

[61] For the typology and scale of contact-induced language changes see Thomason-Kaufman (1988: 74–95), cf. Thomason 2001: 59–98, esp. 70–71. Cf. Oreshko 2018b: 95–102 for general observations on the sociolinguistics of Greek-Anatolian language contact.

may suggest a different model of the 'Lycian-Aegean' ethnolinguistic contact than applied hitherto: one assuming two essentially different phases and associated phenomena. The first phase is connected with the migration from the Aegean, for which the associated events in other parts of Eastern Mediterranean (Rhodos, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Plain Cilicia etc.) suggest a rough dating to the 12th–11th centuries BC. This migration has probably resulted in the settlement in the Xanthos valley of a more or less substantial group of Aegean migrants, who were not necessarily exclusively Greeks, and their subsequent intermingling with the local Anatolian population with the formation of a largely bilingual community. For reasons that remain unclear, the community eventually switched completely to Lycian, but the process left a number of traces in the language, primarily on the structural and conceptual level. It is noteworthy that the time depth assumed for the phenomenon — 500–600 years before the actual epigraphic attestation — agrees rather well with the apparent *embedded-ness* of the 'Aegean features' in Lycian.

The second phase is the 'Lycian-Greek' language contact proper. In the 6th and 5th centuries the contact was probably rather slight, while the Persian influence played a more important role. In the 4th century BC, Lycians became probably much more exposed to Greek, both through the increased presence of the Greeks in Lycia and through the Hellenizing policy of the Hekatomnid dynasty. However, it is not clear whether even on this phase the Lycian-Greek contact led to a wide-spread bilingualism in Lycia. It is quite obvious that the Lycians has a very strong sense of 'national' identity, expressed *inter alia* in a highly developed written culture, and it is ba far not obvious that Greek was perceived as a 'prestige language' outside the class of Lycian elite connected first of all with the cities of the Xanthos valley. Thus, the switch from Lycian to Greek after the Macedonian conquest might have been rather abrupt, induced both by the loss of the political independence and the integration of Lycia in the wider Hellenistic world, although more epigraphical material of the 4th century BC is needed to clarify the details.

6.8. The proposed scenario has important implications both for the Lycian language and the ethnolinguistic identity of the Lycians, since it presupposes a deep Aegean layer in both. There is no place here to discuss the issue in full. However, three linguistic features may be mentioned which agree well with the proposed scenario lending it further support. The first is connected with the problem of the verb *stta-*. As already mentioned above, its status in Lycian represent a crux: on the one hand, it is clearly connected with *sttala*, which is a borrowing, and its specific phonetic form supports its foreign origin; on the other hand, the root has a basic meaning, and in the absence of evidence for a *heavy* influence of Greek on Lycian in the early period, its adoption from Greek seems strange. An attempt by Schürr (2014 [2016]) to explain the adoption of the verb as a term specifically connected with installation of stone monuments and in general with Greek written culture, does not look very convincing: as far as one can see, the verb is not used transitively, and there is absolutely nothing specific in the meaning 'stand, be placed' to justify a borrowing in the usual contact scenario. As mentioned, the Lycian verb has no *exclusive* association with standing stone monuments. Now, the paradox can be plausibly explained, if one interprets both *stta-* and *sttala* as *early* Greek borrowings in Lycian going back to the 12th-11th centuries BC, resulting from the situation of a high-level Greek-Lycian bilingualism.

The second lexical item for which the explanatory model is immediately relevant is the verb *tti-* 'pay (as a fine)' and its possible derivative *tija-* 'penalty, amends' (cf. Melchert 2003: s.v.v.). Two factors in combination suggest that it may well be an early Aegean/Greek borrowing. First, the verb seems to find a nearly exact semantic doublet in *ttl(e)i-* 'pay', which is apparently a specifically Anatolian term. Second, *tti-* closely corresponds to Greek τίνω 'pay'

which is connected with τίω 'punish, avenge', both verbs being based on PIE *$k^u ei$- 'fine, exact payment'. The verb is absent in other Anatolian languages and, besides Greek, has a secure reflex only in Indo-Iranian (cf., e.g. Beekes 2010: s.v. with further refs.). Given these factors, it would be more natural to interpret Lycian *tti*- as an Aegean borrowing, rather than an independent IE reflex. Its preservation as a doublet of Anatolia *ttl(e)i*- is possibly due to some specific legal regulations related to fines/payments connected with the Aegean settlers[62].

The third feature concerns Lycian phonetics. There are two innovative phonetic peculiarities in Lycian, which separate it from Luwian and 'Lycian B' (and possibly all other Luwic languages), but are shared with Greek. The first is the development $k^u > t$ before front vowels (*e*/*i*) (cf. Melchert 1994: 303), which resulted, for instance, in that both Greek and Lycian have identical pronominal forms τί and *ti* (nom.acc.neutr.sg.) developed from the PIE relative pronoun *$k^u i$-. The development is quite non-trivial, and is not found (at least in exactly this form) in any other IE language. The second is the change *$s > h$, shared by Lycian and Greek (as well as its close relative Phrygian). The feature is cross-linguistically more common, but its presence, from all the languages of the Anatolian branch, only in Lycian is remarkable. As peculiarities of articulation of the first language may well affect the phonetics of the second language, one can now naturally interpret these two Lycian sound changes as having been introduced by the early Aegean settlers in the region.

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[62] The issue of the meaning of 'Lycian B' *kiki*- (TL 55: 5) remains open, since the context does not make it possible to verify its meaning.

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Р. Н. Орешко. Этнические группы и языковой контакт в Ликии (I): «морская контактная зона»

В статье предлагается обзор проблемы языковых контактов в Ликии в эпоху Поздней Бронзы и Раннего Железа (ок. 1400–330 до н.э.), обусловленных морскими связями этого региона с другими частями Восточного Средиземноморья. Вопрос рассматривается как с исторической, так и с этно- и социолинвистической точек зрения. Вслед за кратким очерком географии Ликии и определения ее «этнокультурных контактных зон» (§1) в статье последовательно обсуждается вопрос связей Ликии с южным побережьем Карии и Родосом (§2; там же параллельно затрагивается вопрос об этнических названиях ликийцев *Lukkā*/Λύκιοι и *Trm̃mile/i*); Памфилией (§3); побережьем (горной) Киликии (§4); Левантом (§5) и Эгеидой (§6). В части, посвященной Эгеиде, дается критический обзор материала, касающегося греческо-ликийских языковых контактов и предлагается новая модель, которая позволяет объяснить необычную картину сочетания незначительного числа прямых лексических заимствований с элементами, свидетельствующими о глубинном структурном влиянии греческого на ликийский.

Ключевые слова: греческо-анатолийские контакты; языковые контакты; этнолингвистика; социолингвистика; эгейские миграции; анатолийские языки; ликийский язык; лувийский язык; греческий язык.