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CARIAN: ON THE LUWIAN-GREEK INTERFACE

Abstract. – In the present paper an attempt will be made to elucidate the contents of a selection of Carian inscriptions. To this aim, the values of the individual signs will be scrutinized against the backdrop of their origin in on the one hand the Phoenician alphabet and on the other hand the Cretan Linear and Cypriot Syllabic scripts. In so far possible, the results thus achieved will next be tested by evidence from structural analysis. Finally, it will be demonstrated on the basis of a selection of texts that the Carian language can be classified as a Luwian dialect heavily influenced by Greek. In the course of the latter demonstration it will also become clear that there can be distinguished at least three different categories among the texts selected, namely: (1) dedicatory, (2) public, and (3) funereal ones.

1. Introduction

We owe it to the merit of Ignacio Adiego that there is a state-of-the-art publication on Carian, in which all the Carian inscriptions available to the author at the time this edition appeared (2007) are assembled and presented with a drawing. In this book, the Carian inscriptions are transliterated according to the “Ray-Schürr-Adiego System”, which is proclaimed to be “commonly accepted” and to offer a “definitive decipherment” of the Carian language. However, commonly accepted or not, there are some serious drawbacks to this decipherment. In the first place, the only evidence that pops up consists of onomastics. This category of evidence is from a linguistic point of view rather weak. The criterium for a decipherment is that it reveals a sentence, with a subject, object, and verb all marked as such by distinctive features. From this point of view, only the attempt at elucidation of a Carian inscription (C.xx 1) according to the “Ray-Schürr-Adiego System” by Craig Melchert in 1993 should come into consideration.¹ However, and this is our second point, the system of transliteration happens to be basically flawed. As one of the critics, Roberto Gusmani, pointed out the letters of the alphabet are considered to express values entirely different from the common ones and as such supposed to be subject of

¹ Melchert, *Some remarks*; Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 201; 281-282.

“metakarakterismós”.² Thus *gamma* is supposed to render the value of *delta*, *delta* that of *lambda*, *lambda* that of *beta*, etc. This is not how the alphabet works: even in the most extreme case of tampering with it known up to date, that of the Southwest Iberian script, the 14 signs of the alphabet represent their conventional value and *are enumerated in their conventional order* in the abecedarium discovered on a stone slab from Espanca.³ The alphabet, namely, is not only a script, but also a mnemonic device. Accordingly, although it is true that in isolated cases an alphabetic sign may be used for the expression of secondary value, in the main it should apply that each alphabetic sign represents its traditional value.

2. The Signary

To a decipherment, therefore, it is of key importance to trace the origin of a sign in order to determine its value. Now, in the Carian script there can be distinguished two categories of signs as far as their origin is concerned, namely: (1) those originating from the Phoenician alphabet, and (2) others originating from the Cretan Linear (= CL) or related Cypriote Syllabic (= CS) script.

To the first category may, at least in my opinion, be assigned 21 individual signs (see Fig. 1). It is of relevance to note that some of these signs may occur in 90 or 180 degrees turned position, like *alpha*, *epsilon*, *lambda*, and *samek*.⁴ Moreover, rounded signs may occur in angular writing variant, as in case *omicron* and *qoppa*, and angular ones in rounded writing variant, as in case of *gamma* and *delta*. Like in the Phrygian, Lydian, and Greek alphabets, an old variant of *wau* is used for the expression of *upsilon*. The Carian alphabet further shares with its Lydian and Greek counterparts the development of Phoenician *tsade* into *san*, which latter should be distinguished from the late form of *mu*. Of the odd writing variants, the hour-glass form of *samek* is paralleled for the alphabet of Knidos⁵ and the 180 degrees turned and roundish variant of *pi* corresponds to its equivalent in the Southwest Iberian Espanca alphabet.⁶ A typical feature of the Carian alphabet, rightly analyzed as such by John Ray, is the open-worked variant of *rho*, which in the past has been wrongly taken for the *wau*.⁷ Yet another typical feature of the Carian alphabet, rightly analyzed by Ray, is the use of the circle with a vertical or horizontal crossbar inside for the expression of the value *s*.⁸ I have placed this sign in my Fig. 1 in the

² Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 201.

³ Cf. de Hoz, *The Phoenician Origin*, 674; 681-682.

⁴ Cf. Woudhuizen, *Etruscan Origins*, 108, Fig. 12.

⁵ Jeffery, *The Local Scripts*, Table of Letters; cf. Woudhuizen, *Lydian*, 101, Fig. 3.

⁶ See note 3.

⁷ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 193 (fig.); 194 (table).

⁸ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 195 and our note 7.

position of Greek *psi* because to all probability it originates from the bigraph of *phi* and *sigma* for the expression of this typically Greek value – the Carians, while dropping the *sigma*, using the residual *phi* for their primary sibilant. If this analysis applies, *phi* is definitely used for a secondary value. The latter verdict, finally, also applies to *qoppa* and *khi*, which are used for the expression of the secondary values *i* and *ē*, respectively. The use of *khi* for *ē* Carian shares with Lydian.⁹ It is of relevance to note that *these two signs can be used for the expression of both their original and secondary values in one and the same inscription*, as in case of, for example, E.Sa 1 from Saqqara in Egypt (see discussion below).

The use of signs originating from the Cretan Linear or Cypriot Syllabic script Carian shares with the other Anatolian alphabets, like Lydian, Lycian, and Sidetic.¹⁰ To this particular category of auxiliary signs can be assigned seven individual graphs (see Fig. 2).

In the case of consonants, the original syllabic value is reduced by the dropping of the vowel according to the acrophonic principle. The only exception is formed by syllabic *re*, which is used for a secondary value, *ñ*. By and large, the closest parallels for the Carian signs in question can be traced in the Eteo-Cyprian variant of the Cypriot syllabary.¹¹ Only in the case of Carian *j* the origin has to be traced directly to Cretan Linear *je*, no descendant of it being attested for any of the variants of the Cypriot syllabary.¹²

The fact that the Carian alphabet, or the Anatolian ones more in general, are characterized by complementary signs from another, non-Phoenician script, is not exceptional, but paralleled for a.o. the Coptic alphabet in Egypt with its 7 supplementary signs from Demotic.

Phoen.	Carian	val.	2nd
⋈	Α ∇ Δ ρ	a	
∧	Γ C	c	
Δ	Δ d d	d	
⋈	E Π Ψ	e	
I	I	z	
⋈	H	η	
⊕	⊕	ϑ	
⋈		i	
⋈	⋈ / Γ	l	
⋈	M M	m	
⋈	N N	n	
⋈	⋈ X	s	
○	○ □	o	
⋈	⋈ Π C	ρ	
⋈	M	ś	
⊕	⊕ ⊕ ∇ ∇	ϑ	i
⋈	⋈ C	z	
+ X	+ X	t	
	Υ ∇	u	
	∇ ∇	χ	ē
	⊕ ⊕	s	

Fig. 1. Carian signs originating from the Phoenician alphabet

⁹ Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 29; cf. Woudhuizen, *Lydian*, 102, Fig. 4.

¹⁰ Woudhuizen, *The Transmission*, 180, Fig. 5 (Lydian); Woudhuizen, *Origins of the Sidetic Script*, 126, Fig. 13; note furthermore that the Lycian double-axe sign for *ē* originates from the Cretan Linear double-axe sign (LA 52) for *a*.

¹¹ Masson, *Les inscriptions cypriotes*, 63, Fig. 4.

¹² Ventris & Chadwick, *Documents*, 23, Fig. 4.

CL	CS	val.	Carian	val.
	∩H	e	⊕	é
⋈		je	⋈	j
	⋈X	wa	∩C	v
	∩M	mi	∩∩	m ₁
	∩i	nu	∩	n ₁
	∩Σ	po	∩Ω	b
	∩^	ze	∩^	ñ

Fig. 2. Carian signs originating from the Cretan Linear and Cypriot Syllabic scripts

3. Structural features

The Carian inscriptions most liable to a structural analysis are all of funerary nature and mostly come from Egypt, particularly from Memphis. These inscriptions largely consist of personal names, but sometimes bear testimony of some additional repetitive elements.

The identification of the Carian *phi*-sign as its foremost sibilant by Ray enables us to deduce from its frequent occurrence in final position of a combination that it serves to indicate the ending of the genitive singular in *-s*.¹³ This ending is formally related to the Luwian hieroglyphic genitive singular in *-sa* and the Lycian one in *-h* (< **-s*), and ultimately originates from Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) **-(o)s*.¹⁴

Another recurrent feature is the enclitic conjunction *-té* “and”, which appears as much as 55 times in the funereal texts from Egypt. It originates from PIE **-k^we* and shows the labiovelar development **k^w* > *t* also traceable in Lycian (relative pronoun *ti-* < **k^wi-*) and, more to the point in this connection, in Greek (conjunction *τε* < **-k^we*).

Yet another recurrent element in the funeral inscriptions consists of a combination of four letters identified by Piero Meriggi as the Carian word for “son”.¹⁵ In our transliteration this reads (with the secondary value *ē* for the *khi*-sign) *nēos* or, in variant writing with the Greek *san* as attested for an inscriptions from Kaunos (C.Ka 5, l. 17), *nē-os*. This occurs 11 times in sum and can not be dissociated from Greek *νέος* “young” < PIE **néwos* “new”¹⁶ (the Luwian hieroglyphic word for “son” reads *na(wa)-*).¹⁷

Next, there is a repetitive element which occurs as much as 15 times in various writing variants as *um₁a*, *um₁e*, *um₁o*, and *em₁o* as well as in abbreviation as *uo*. This clearly confronts us with the Carian reflex of the Luwian hieroglyphic pronoun of the 1st person singular, *amu* “I, me”, also of PIE antecedents (**h₁me* “me”).¹⁸ It transforms the inscriptions in question in so-called “redende Inschriften” which are such a characteristic feature of the archaic period, not only in Greek

¹³ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 268.

¹⁴ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 136 and 313; 432; 404.

¹⁵ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 187.

¹⁶ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 300; 303.

¹⁷ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 346 and 348.

¹⁸ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 320; 404.

(μ'εποιεσε "he made me", μ'ανεθεκε "he dedicated me") but also in Lydian¹⁹ and, up to the Classical period, in Sidetic.²⁰

Finally, one of the names in the Carian funeral inscriptions in Memphis happens to be exceptionally popular as it occurs as much as 15 times in sum, mostly in form of *necoēs*, but once also as *neqoēs*. Apparently, therefore, Carian inhabitants of Memphis named themselves after one of their benefactors, the Egyptian pharaoh Nekho II (610-595 BC).²¹

4. Selected inscriptions

4.1. Dedicatory

C.xx 2 bronze dinos of uncertain origin²²

ispéim χοῖddomñ "His libation-vessel,
tarχοmñs-v mιονñαχο Tarkhomnos has made (it)."

Comments

The text runs in left-to-right direction of writing, in *scriptio continua*.

ispéim: A(m/f) sg. in *-m* of *ispéi-*, the possessive pronoun of the 3rd person, corresponding to Lycian *ehbi-* "his".²³ The A sg. ending in *-m*, an archaic Indo-European feature, is paralleled for the exceptional case of Lycian *term̃*) in TL 84, § 8.²⁴ Note that this form of the pronoun refers to the deity to whom the dinos is dedicated.

χοῖddomñ: A(m/f) sg. in *-ñ*, corresponding to the regular ending for this case in IE Anatolian as represented by Luwian hieroglyphic *-na*, Lycian *-ñ*, and Lydian *-n*,²⁵ of the noun *χοῖddom-* which indicates the dedicated object and of which the first element *χοῖ-* is related to Greek *χοή* "libation offering". To this comes that the second element *ddom-* presumably confronts us with a reflex of PIE **déh₃r/n-* "gift".²⁶ At any rate, the dinos undoubtedly served as a libation-vessel.

tarχοmñs: N(m/f) sg. in *-s*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa*, Lycian *-s*, and Lydian *-s* or *-ś* for the same function,²⁷ of the MN

¹⁹ Woudhuizen, *Two Notes on Lydian*, 207-209 (Lyd. no. 30: *Titis-in ēmi₁ ti-Sardii fabil* "Titis has dedicated me at Sardis").

²⁰ Woudhuizen, *Origins of the Sidetic Script*, 121 (Sid. no. 1: *mi Athena* "I (am) for Athena").

²¹ Herodotos, *Histories* II, 158-159; IV, 42. Cf. Egyptian hieroglyphic *Nk3w*, Greek *Νεκῶς*, Biblical *Νεχάω*.

²² See esp. Gusmani, *Zwei neue Gefässinschriften*, Tafels II-IV; Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 161.

²³ Melchert, *A Dictionary*, 12-13.

²⁴ Melchert, *A Dictionary*, 63; Woudhuizen, *Lycian Forms*, 422 and 424.

²⁵ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 431.

²⁶ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 273-274.

²⁷ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 431.

tarχomñ-, of origin an ethnic corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *Tarḫu(nt)-umina-* “Tarkhunt town”, the exact writing of the Hittite province *Tarḫuntassa*. The divine name *Tarḫu(nt)-* denotes the Luwian storm-god, whose name can be traced back to PIE **terh₂-* “to overcome, be victorious”.²⁸ Note that the rendering of the PIE laryngeal **h₂* by a guttural is typical for the IE Anatolian languages and agrees with the information from the glosses according to which the Carian reflex of PIE **h₂ówi-* “sheep” is *κοῖov*.²⁹

-v-: sentence introductory particle, related to Luwian hieroglyphic *wa-* or *-wa* and Lycian *-we* for the same function.³⁰

m₁onñaxo: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-xο* of the verb *m₁onñax-*, the root of which is related to that of Hittite *maniyah-* “to handle”.³¹ Note that from a comparative point of view the ending *-xο* is related to Greek *-κε*, the 3rd person sg. of the *kappa*-aorist of perfect. It has been suggested by Gusmani that the *kappa* in this Greek ending originates from PIE laryngeal **h₂*.³² If rightly so, the *kappa*-aorist and perfect can be attributed to IE Anatolian influence on Greek, as only in IE Anatolian PIE **h₂* is represented by a guttural.

C.xx 1 bronze phiale of uncertain origin³³

*arθuθ/θildons/qlq/mēē/orqē/
ēqro/m₁ṣn₁a*

“Arthuth, (the son) of Thildons
has dedicated the kylix as a
thank-offering to the great God.”

Comments

The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing. The individual elements are distinguished as such by a punctuation mark in the form of a vertical bar, transliterated as */*.

arθuθ: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *arθuθ-*, no doubt a reflex of Luwian hieroglyphic *Arawata-* “Arnuwandas”.³⁴ Note that the endingless N(m/f) sg. is paralleled for Lycian.³⁵

θildons: G sg. in *-s* of the patronymic *θildon-*, for which parallels to the best of my knowledge are lacking.

²⁸ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 402.

²⁹ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 8; 10; for the PIE root, see Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 112.

³⁰ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 146 and 369; 430.

³¹ Friedrich, *Kurzgefaßtes Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.

³² Gusmani, *Isoglossi*, 511 (compares the 1st person sg. Greek *-κα* to Luwian *-ḫa*, which originates from PIE **-h₂e*, see Beekes, *Vergelijkende Taalwetenschap*, 283).

³³ See esp. Gusmani, *Zwei neue Gefäßinschriften*, Tafels I-II; Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 160.

³⁴ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 323.

³⁵ Melchert, *A Dictionary*, x; Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups*, 53-54, esp. 55.

qlq: endingless A(m/f or n) sg. of a vase-name corresponding to Greek κύλιξ “beaker, cup (f)” and no doubt bearing reference to the phiale on which the text is written. Note that the endingless A(m/f or n) sg. is paralleled for Lycian.³⁶

mēē: abbreviation of Luwian hieroglyphic *maluwa*- “thank-offering” in its typical Cyprian variant writing *me-e-lu-we* as attested for a Linear C inscription on a weight from Enkomi, dated to c. 1600 BC.³⁷

orqē: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-qē* of the verb *or-* no doubt expressing the meaning “to dedicate”. The verbal root may well be a reflex of PIE **h₃er-* “set in motion (vertically)”.³⁸ At any rate, such a view is in keeping with the fact that the object was literally raised in the act of offering. Note furthermore that the ending in *-qē* confronts us with a graphic variant of *-χο* as attested for the previous inscription, which closer resembles the ending of the 3rd person sg. of the *kappa*-aorist or perfect in Greek, *-κε*.

ēqro: endingless D sg. (or do we rather have to assume here a *iota subscriptum*?) of the adjective *ēqro-* “great”, which is no doubt related to Greek ἄκρος “high, top, promontory” as the place where the god is situated. If so, it follows that *ēqro-* can be traced back to PIE **akri-* or **akro-* “high, top” and that Carian, just like Luwian, belongs to the *centum*-group among the Indo-European languages.³⁹

m₁sn₁a: D sg. in *-a*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-a* and Lycian *-a* for the same function,⁴⁰ of the noun *m₁sn₁(a)-* “god”, the root of which is characterized by syncope but nevertheless obviously corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *masana-* and Lycian *mahana-* of the same meaning.⁴¹

C.Ia 3 cratera from Iasos

arod/daxxo[/]nzēo/

“Herodes has dedicated to the Nyseian (god).”

mé-eqdos/daxxn-qrθuñō/ t-znuñ<o>

Egidos (has) take(n) care of me and prepare(d me) as a dedication.”

³⁶ Melchert, *A Dictionary*, x; cf. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups*, 53-54, esp. 55.

³⁷ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 141; Woudhuizen, *The Language of the Sea Peoples*, 147-148.

³⁸ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 391.

³⁹ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 399; 407-409.

⁴⁰ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 432.

⁴¹ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 427.

Comments

The inscription runs in left-to-right direction of writing, and the individual elements are distinguished as such by a punctuation mark in the form of a vertical bar, transliterated as /. The final letter *n* of *daxxn* is omitted by Adiego in his drawing of the text and mistaken by him in his transliteration for a punctuation mark.⁴² However, this sign is clearly present in the drawing by Gusmani.⁴³

arod: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *arod-*, corresponding to Greek Ἡρωδης.

daxxo: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-xo* of the verb *dax-* recalling Phrygian *da-* or *dax-* “to place, put; to dedicate”⁴⁴ and therefore in like manner originating from PIE **d^héh₁-* “to put”.⁴⁵

nzēo: endingless D sg. (or do we rather have to assume here a *iota subscriptum*?) of the adjective *nzēo-* corresponding to Greek Νυσαῖος “Nyseian”, no doubt referring to the god Dionysos here. In any case, the place-name Νῦσα is recorded for Caria by Stephanos Byzantinos, *Ethnica*, s.v. *Nusai*.

mé: A of the personal pronoun of the 1st person singular. Note that this form is not Luwian, but Greek (με). Like *um₁a*, etc. “I, me” in the Egyptian funerary inscriptions (see section 3 above and section 4.3 below), the use of this pronoun turns the present text into a member of the class of “redende Inschriften”.

eqdos: N(m/f) sg. in *-s* of the MN *eqdo-*, likely to be considered a reflex of Greek Ἀτειδης.

daxxn: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the noun *daxx-* “dedication”. Note that the meaning of this noun is assured owing to the fact that it is based on the same root as the verb *dax-* “to dedicate” (see above).

qrθuño: infinitive in *-uño* of the verb *qrθ-* “to mind, take care”. The ending of the infinitive corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-una* for the same function,⁴⁶ whereas the verbal root in question is paralleled in Luwian hieroglyphic by *harta-* “to have a heart, mind”.⁴⁷ Now, the latter root confronts us with a reflex of PIE **kērd-* “heart”,⁴⁸ from which it follows that, as we have already noted in connection with *ēqro-* “great” (see discussion of C.xx 1 above) Carian, like Luwian, belongs to the *centum*-group among the Indo-European languages.

⁴² Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 147-148; 286.

⁴³ Gusmani, *Karische Beiträge*, 146 (same form as 10th sign [count exclusive punctuation mark]).

⁴⁴ Waanders & Woudhuizen, *Phrygian & Greek*, 184.

⁴⁵ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 295.

⁴⁶ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 315.

⁴⁷ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 332.

⁴⁸ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 185 and 187; cf. Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 400.

t-: abbreviated form of the conjunction *té* “and”, which in enclitic variant we have already come across in section 3 above.

znuñ<o>: infinitive in *-uñ<o>* of the verb *zn-*, the meaning of which can be retrieved from oblivion by its correspondence to Hittite *zinna-* “to finish, complete”.⁴⁹

E.xx 7 on the base of a bronze lion, dated c. 500 BC⁵⁰

ēqrom:m₁rjén₁am ordaχunñaxo: “Ukhkhamuwas, (the son) of
uqmé erns Arn(th), has erected the great
Young Warrior.”

Comments

The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing. The individual units are distinguished as such by punctuation in form of two dots in columnar arrangement (:). Although the second letter is identified by Olivier Masson as omicron,⁵¹ Adiego rightly takes it for *qoph*.⁵²

ēqrom: A(m/f) sg. in *-m* of the adjective *ēqro-* “great” (see discussion of C.xx 1 above).

m₁rjén₁am: A(m/f) sg. in *-m* of the noun *m₁rjén₁a-* “young warrior”. Note that the root of the noun recalls Indo-Aryan *márya-* (< PIE *méryos* “young man”)⁵³ as an indication of charioteers. No doubt, the dedicated lion represented a divine representative of such a warrior.

ordaχunñaxo: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-χo* of the verb *ordaχunñā-* which obviously renders the meaning “to dedicate” or “to set up, erect”. In the first case one might consider a compound of *or-* with *daχ-* (see discussion of C.xx 1 and C.Ia 3 above), in the second case perhaps rather one with first element *orda-* corresponding to Greek *ὀρθός* “straight, upright” (< PIE **wred^h*- “to grow, stand, take shape”).⁵⁴

uqmé: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *uqmé-*, clearly a reflex of the Arzawan personal name *Uḫḫamuwa-* (with west-Luwian *uḫḫa-* for regular *ḫuḫḫa-* “grandfather”).⁵⁵

erns: G sg. in *-s* of the MN *ern-*, which likely comes into consideration as a shorthand writing variant of Luwian *Arnuwandas*.

⁴⁹ Friedrich, *Kurzgefaßtes Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.

⁵⁰ For the dating, see Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 31.

⁵¹ Masson, *Un lion de bronze*, Pl. 2.

⁵² Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 128.

⁵³ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 204-205.

⁵⁴ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 189-190.

⁵⁵ Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 91; cf. Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 413, note 36.

C.Ha 1 bronze phiale from Halikarnassos (6th century BC)⁵⁶

mnñ-ilm/m₁(i)-mēzo/ “Manes (of) Hyllarima: me to the god.”
nñ-oriēqqē/mēē “He has dedicated it as a thank-offering.”

Comments

According to the dealer, this phiale was discovered in Caria, in the region of Bodrum. The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing, and the individual units are distinguished by a punctuation mark in the form of a vertical stroke (/).

mnñ: endingless N(m/f) sg. of MN *mnñ*-, likely to be taken for a reflex of Lydian *Manēs*.⁵⁷

ilm: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the place-name *ilm*-, corresponding to Greek Ὑλλάριμα,⁵⁸ situated in the hinterland of Halikarnassos, west of lake to the north of Kaunos.

m₁(i): A(m/f) of the personal pronoun of the 1st person singular. This form is most closely paralleled by Sidetic *m₁i* “I” as referred to in note 20 above. Like in case of Lydian *ēmi₁* “me” (referred to in note 19 above), we are actually dealing here with forms of the Luwian hieroglyphic possessive pronoun (*a*)*mi*- “my”⁵⁹ which are secondarily used for the expression of the personal pronoun. At any rate, it turns the inscription into a member of the class of “redende Inschriften”.

mēzo: endingless D sg. (or do we rather have to assume here a *iota subscriptum*?) of the noun *mēzo*- “god”. This noun confronts us with a shorthand writing variant of *m₁sn₁a*- in like manner as in Lycian *maha*- appears alongside *mahana*-.⁶⁰

nñ: A(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, corresponding to Lycian *-ñn* “him”.⁶¹

oriēqqē: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-qqē* of the verb *oriē*-. It seems likely that this verbal form is a more elaborate variant of *orqē* as encountered in C.xx 1 above.

mēē: abbreviation of Luwian hieroglyphic *maluwa*- “thank-offering” which we already came across in C.xx 1 (see discussion above).

⁵⁶ Jucker & Meier-Brügger, *Ein Bronzephiale*, 104-115; Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 144.

⁵⁷ Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 163.

⁵⁸ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 513.

⁵⁹ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 137; 141; and 320; 344.

⁶⁰ Melchert, *A Dictionary*, 36.

⁶¹ Woudhuizen, *Lycian Forms*, 430 and 432.

C.Kr 1 stele from Krya (gulf of Telmessos)⁶²

θobo<lo>nu mñéma mēsa “(This) monument for the god
oñucrs mc nēos iēorē-orédanm Apollo, Anaksagoras, the son of
 Magos, (has erected) as a sacred
 votive-stele.”

Comments

The inscription runs in left-to-right direction of writing and no use is made of punctuation.

θobo<lo>nu: in my opinion this entity expresses the name of the god to whom the stele is dedicated, and, if so, the given emendation seems to suggest itself. At any rate, *θobo<lo>nu* may be argued to function as a (it must be admitted distorted) reflex of Greek *τοπολλωνι* or *τοι Απολλωνι*.

mñéma: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *mñéma-* “stele”, which is a patent loan from Greek *τό μνήμα* “memorial, memory”.

mēsa: D sg. in *-a*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-a* and Lycian *-a* for the same function, of the noun *mēsa-* “god”. We are already familiar with this form in its writing variant *mēzo* from C.Ha 1 (see discussion above).

oñucrs: N(m/f) in *-s* of the MN *oñucr-*, which arguably comes into consideration as a shorthand of Greek *Ἀναξαγόρας*.

mc: endingless form of the MN *mc-*, corresponding to Greek *Μάγος*. In view of its association with the following *nēos* “son” (see section 3 above), this MN functions as a patronymic and should have rendered the G sg. in *-s*.

iēorē-orédanm: A(m/f) sg. in *-m* of a compound specifying the nature of the monument *mñéma-*. Now, the first element that appears to be distinguishable is *iēorē-*, which bears a striking resemblance to Greek *τό ιερείον* “sacrificial animal”, here presumably denoting the sacred nature of the object. The remainder, *orédan-*, may well be composed of the two roots, *oré-* and *dan-*, which we already came across in form of *or-* “to set up, dedicate” (C.xx 1) and *ddom-* “gift, offering”. In sum, this would lead to a sacred-set up-offering, translated here as “sacred votive-stele”.

4.2. Public**G 1 stele from Athens, dated c. 525/520 BC⁶³**

1. *σῆμα τοδε: Τυρ[ρενοι]* “This memorial (on behalf of) the Tyrrhenians,
 2. *Καρος το Σκυλ[ακος]* Karos from Skylake (has erected).”

⁶² Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 158-159.

⁶³ Masson, *Notes*, 87-94; Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 164.

3. *sšam:maχ qur[* “(This) memorial, the assembly (of) the Tyrrhenians (has erected).”
 4. [A]ριστοκλες επ[οιεσε] “Aristokles has made.”

Comments

The bilingual inscription runs in left-to-right direction of writing and uses two dots in columnar (:) arrangement as punctuation mark. The Carian part of the text is confined to line 3 and, for being shorter than the Greek one, must be assumed to summarize the latter.

sšam: endingless A(n) sg. of the noun *sšam*- “memorial”. This indication of the object corresponds exactly to the one used in Greek, τὸ σῆμα “memorial, sign”.

maχ: endingless N(m/f or n) of the noun *maχ*- “assembly”. This noun is a reflex of proto-Luwian **mekki*- “numerous”, originating from PIE **meǵh_a*- “large, many”,⁶⁴ which functions as the counterpart of Hittite *panku* “assembly”.⁶⁵ As it seems, therefore, contrary to the Greek part of the text in the Carian part the subject is not expressed by the name of an individual person, Karos of Skylake, but by the organization he represents, the assembly. Now, it so happens that in Luwian the voiced velar **ǵ* is regularly lost, as exemplified in this particular case by Lycian *miñt(i)*- “council”.⁶⁶ From the case of the Carian epithet of Hermes, Ἰμβραμος “of the open field, wilderness” and related forms, originating from PIE **ǵ^heim*- “winter, snow”,⁶⁷ it might at first sight be deduced that Carian shares this phonetic development with Luwian, but also for the related Lydian language the evidence is contradictory on this point, showing instances of preservation of the voiced velar alongside those of its loss.⁶⁸ In view of *maχ*-, then, which shows preservation of the voiced velar, the Carian evidence on the topic may be as complicated as the Lydian one.

qur[: with a view to the Greek part of the text, it is clear that with this unfortunately partly preserved form, which specifies *maχ*- “assembly”, reference is made to the Tyrrhenians. In this connection, it is relevant to note that Lycian bears the testimony of a *c/t*-change, as in case of the MN *Trzzubi* of TL 111, which occurs in variant form *Crzzubi* in TL 83. In this connection it also deserves our attention that the Greek MN Θρύπιος corresponds to Lycian *Crupse*- in the bilingual Lycian inscription TL 25. In like manner, then, *qur[* may be explained as a variant writing of the expected *tur[*.

⁶⁴ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 317 and 319.

⁶⁵ Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, 109-111.

⁶⁶ Melchert, *A Dictionary*, 39.

⁶⁷ Mallory & Adams, *The Oxford Introduction*, 300 and 302.

⁶⁸ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 411.

4.3. Funereal

C.Ka 1 funerary stele from Kaunos⁶⁹

míém:mñémam:m₁musoḡs “(Concerning) my monument: (it
nads:nēos is) of Mousaios, the son of Nadys.”

Comments

The inscription runs in left-to-right direction of writing over three lines, and uses for the distinction of individual units punctuation in the form of two dots in columnar arrangement (:).

míém: A(m/f) sg. in *-m* of the possessive pronoun of the 1st person singular *míe-* “my”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic (*a*)*mi-* of the same function (see discussion of C.Ha 1 above).

mñémam: A(m/f) sg. in *-m* of the noun *mñéma-* “stele, memorial”, which, as we have seen in the discussion of C.Kr 1 above, is a patent loan from Greek τό μνημα “memorial, memory”. Note that we have here an instance of the *accusativus respectus*.

m₁musoḡs: G sg. in *-s* of the MN *m₁musoḡ-* “Mousaios”, corresponding to Greek Μουσαῖος as attested for, amongst others, an Ephesian.

nads: G sg. in *-s* of the MN *nad-* “Nadys”, attested in form of Ναδυς for Asia Minor.⁷⁰ In view of its association with the following *nēos* “son” (see section 3 above), this MN functions as a patronymic.

C.Ka 3 inscription above the entrance of a rock-cut chamber tomb, dated to before the middle of the 4th century BC⁷¹

poruθ axxél rmθ “Prytanis Akhilles Ramtha”

Comments

The inscription runs in left-to-right direction of writing over two lines in *scriptio continua*. As to the reading of the signs, the first one in line 1 is identified by Franz Steinherr as *pi*.⁷² Furthermore, we owe it to the merit of Adiego that, on the basis of the photo by Frei & Marek, the 3rd sign of line 1 and 6th sign of line 2 are identified as the

⁶⁹ Masson, *Un nouveau fragment*, 123-131; Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 151.

⁷⁰ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 461.

⁷¹ Roos, *The Rohtombs of Caunus*, 42; 93; Pl. 40.

⁷² Roos, *The Rohtombs of Caunus*, 93, note 3 (on page 109).

wau-like Carian *rho*.⁷³ However, it should be realized that the circle with horizontal bar is not the primary sibilant but a variant of *theta* normally written with a cross inside, whereas the fifth letter in line 2, changed by Adiego in the variant of *pi* also attested for the Espanca alphabet, positively consists of *lambda*.⁷⁴

poruθ: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the titular expression *poruθ*-, corresponding to Greek πρύτανις.

axxel: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *axxel*-, presumably a reflex of Greek Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς.

rmθ: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the family name *rmθ*- “Ramtha”.

E.Sa 1 reliquary for three mummified reptiles from Sais,⁷⁵ presumably dating to the 7th century BC⁷⁶

darqpéon: vénjī m<o>nñaxo: “Tarkupiamos has made (this)
qē[?]noiñōē: qunē memorial for (his) wife Qe[?]noinoa.”
Jtm ntr '3 dj 'nh snb Š3rkbym “Atum the great god may give life
 and health to Tarkupiamos!”

Comments

The Carian part of this inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing and is divided over two lines, the first apparently being broken off, though it is not clear whether or how much letters are missing. Units within the text are marked by punctuation in the form of two dots in columnar arrangement (:).

darqpéon: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *darqpéon* “Tarkupiamos”. This name is represented in Egyptian hieroglyphic by *Š3rkbym*, but it should be realized that the distinction between dentals and sibilants with respect to foreign names in Egyptian hieroglyphic is notoriously distorted. To this comes that Tarkupiamos is a personal name of a familiar Luwian type (GN + participle of the middle-passive in *-m* of the verb *piya*- “to give”).⁷⁷

vénjī: endingless A(n) sg. of the noun *vénjī*- “memorial”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wana*- “altar; stele” and Lydian *vāna*- “grave”.⁷⁸

⁷³ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 152 (modified drawing); cf. photo in Frei & Marek, *Neues zu den karischen Inschriften*, 126 (note, however, that 6th sign of line 2 is in the shadow and that the 3rd sign of line 1 may well be a normal *rho*).

⁷⁴ So already Best, *Zur Herkunft des Diskos*, 49.

⁷⁵ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 32-33. For the Carian inscriptions from Egypt in general, cf. Masson & Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques* and Masson, *Carian Inscriptions*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 31 on another inscription from Sais, E.Sa 2.

⁷⁷ Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups*, 176-177.

⁷⁸ Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 222; cf. Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 430.

m<o>nñaxo: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-xo* of the verb *m<o>nñā-* “to make”. Note that the given emendation is ascertained by the occurrence of this verbal form in C.xx 2 (see discussion above).

qē[?]/noiñoē: endingless D sg. (or do we have to assume a *iota subscriptum*?) of the FN *qē[?]/noiñoē-*, of which the final element *ñoē-* recalls the one in Graeco-Egyptian female names like Arsinoe of the Hellenistic period.

qunē: endingless D sg. (or do we have to assume a *iota subscriptum*?) of the noun *qunē-* “wife”, corresponding to Greek γυνή of the same meaning.

E.Me 16 stele from Memphis⁷⁹

éroe/péqras-té mones/nēos “(Of) Heroe, and of Pigras, the
necoēs-té son of Manes, and of Nekho.”

Comments

The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing and is divided over three lines. Units are distinguished by punctuation in the form of a vertical bar (/). The recurrent elements *-té* “and” and *nēos* have been discussed in section 3 above. What remains are 4 personal names, 3 of which show the expected G sg. in *-s*. Of the names, the first, *éroe* “Heroe”, is female in nature. The second, *péqras* “Pigras” recalls the name of a Carian advisor of the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetikhos I (664-610 BC), Πίγρης.⁸⁰ Like in case of the recurrent MN *necoē-* “Nekho” (see section 3 above), we are probably dealing here with a Carian named after this pharaoh than this historical figure himself (which would allow us to date the inscription to the 7th century BC, but the Carians are settled in Memphis only later on, in the reign of Amasis [568-526 BC]).⁸¹ The MN *mone-* “Manes”, finally, we are already familiar with in writing variant *mnñ-* from C.Ha 1 (see discussion in section 4.1 above).

E.Me 17 stele from Memphis⁸²

darēaés um₁o/ “I (am) of Dareias.”
θuθs pons-té nc-aqē “Thuthos and Bonos have made.”

⁷⁹ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 48.

⁸⁰ Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 155 and 175; cf. Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 31.

⁸¹ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 2.

⁸² Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 48-49.

Comments

The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing and is divided over four lines. Units are distinguished by a punctuation mark in the form of a vertical bar (*/*). Owing to the recurrent element *um₁o* “I”, the inscription can be classified to the group of “redende Inschriften” (see section 3 above). The monument is of *darēaēs* “Dareias”, a Persian name, which is regularly marked by the G sg. in *-s*. It is set up by *θuθs* “Thuthos” (cf. Egyptian Thoth) and *pons* “Bonos”, which both render the N(m/f) sg. in *-s*. This analysis is further underlined by the sequence *nc-aqē*, which consists of the introductory particle *nc*, corresponding to Lydian *nak* for the same function,⁸³ and the verbal form *aqē*, the 3rd person of in this case clearly the *plural* of the past tense in *-qē* of the verb *a-* “to make”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *a-* of the same meaning.⁸⁴

E.Me 18 stele from Memphis⁸⁵

<i>qadulīs quarēs car/soē</i>	“Of Kandaules (and) Khuares, (...).”
<i>ēéthaus m₁<ēē-or>qē um₁é</i>	“Eethaus has d(edicat)ed me as a thank-offering.”
<i>écnuoēs-té/ncarē-té</i>	“And of Ekhnuoēs and (of) Nkhares.”

Comments

The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing, and is divided over eight lines. Units are distinguished by the punctuation in form of a vertical bar (*/*). The final section of the inscription, lines 6-8, is in a different type of lettering and clearly added later. In sum, there can be distinguished three sections, presenting the names of: (1) the original owners of the monument, (2) the dedicator of the monument, and (3) the secondarily added owners of the monument.

The middle section with the dedicatory part belongs to the class of “redende Inschriften” owing to the use of the pronoun *um₁é* “me”. The sequence *m₁qē* is marked by the ending of the 3rd person sg. of the past tense, *-qē*, but likely confronts us with an abbreviation of the noun indicating the nature of the dedication and the verb. On the basis of the parallels from the inscriptions from Caria, *m₁* likely represents *m₁ēē*, the abbreviation of *meluwe-* “thank-offering” and the verbal root likely consist of *or-* “to dedicate” (see discussion of C.xx 1 and C.Ha 1 in section 4.1 above). Note finally that *qadulīs* confronts us with a

⁸³ Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 169.

⁸⁴ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 137 and 319.

⁸⁵ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 49-50.

patent Luwian MN as it corresponds to Lydian Κανδαυλης,⁸⁶ derived from the Luwian hieroglyphic titular expression *ḫantawat-* “king”.⁸⁷

E.Me 30 false-door stele from Memphis⁸⁸

darusoz m₁zoθs-té:sușzész “Of Darusos and (of) Mesoths from Susa.”

Comments

The inscription runs in retrograde direction of writing, and is divided over two lines. Units are distinguished by a punctuation mark in the form of two dots in columnar arrangement (:). The legend consists of a possession formula, and the two MNs as well as the specification of their hometown are consistently rendered in the G sg. in *-s* or *-z*. The MNs are clearly of Persian nature,⁸⁹ and this observation is underlined by the fact that their hometown is specified by *sușzész-*, an ethnic in *-zéz-* (cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *-zā-* and Lycian *-zi-*)⁹⁰ of the TN *Šuša-* “Susa”.⁹¹ Accordingly, the inscription likely dates from the period of Persian rule over Egypt, which begins with the conquest by Kambyses in 525 BC and ends with the conquest by Alexander the Great in 332 BC.⁹²

E.Me 36 false-door stele from Memphis⁹³

em₁o/díorsts/ “I (am) of Deiorestes,
sunmqe/θarm₁més companion of Tharmes.”

Comments

The inscription starts in retrograde direction of writing, but continues from *sunmqe* onwards in left-to-right direction of writing. Units in the text are distinguished by a punctuation in the form of a vertical bar (/). The possession-formula follows the pattern of E.Me 17 (see discussion above). New is that the owner, Deiorestes, whose name may be a reflex of Avestan *Dāraiat.raθa*,⁹⁴ is specified by the entry *sunmqe*, which corresponds to Greek σύμμαχος, to be a companion of a certain Tharmes.

⁸⁶ Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 274.

⁸⁷ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 425.

⁸⁸ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 58.

⁸⁹ For the first MN, see RIA, s.v. *Dārejawōš* (= Greek Dareios), esp. the variants *Dari'uššu* and *Daruēššu*. For the second MN, compare Greek Masistēs, a reflex of Old Persian *maθišta-* “größter, oberster”, see Mayerhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, 61, 220.

⁹⁰ Woudhuizen, *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 431.

⁹¹ Valat, *Répertoire Géographique*, s.v. *Šuša(n)*, etc.

⁹² Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 120 and 141.

⁹³ Adiego, *The Carian Language*, 62.

⁹⁴ Mayerhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, 35, no. 102.

Noun		
	sg.	pl.
N (m/f)	-s/ś/š, —	
A (m/f)	-m, -n/ñ, —	
N-A (n)	—	
D	-a, — (= -i?)	
G	-s/z	

Pronoun		
	1st sg.	2nd sg.
N	<i>um₁o, em₁o</i>	
A	<i>um₁é, m₁(i), mé</i>	

Verb		
	active	middle-passive
past tense 3rd pers. sg.	<i>-xo, -(q)qē</i>	
3rd pers. pl.	<i>-qē</i>	
infinitive	<i>-uño</i>	

Table I. Grammatical overview.

Carian	Greek	Carian	Greek
<i>ēgro-</i>	ἄκρος	<i>qlq</i>	ἡ κύλιξ
<i>θoro<lo>nu</i>	τοπολωνι = τοι Απολλωνι	<i>qunē</i>	ἡ γυνή
<i>iēorē-</i>	τό ἱερεῖον	<i>sšam</i>	τό σῆμα
<i>mñema-</i>	τό μνήμα	<i>sunmqe</i>	σύμμαχος
<i>nēos</i>	νέος	<i>xoí</i>	χοή
<i>orda-</i>	ὀρθός	<i>-(q)qē, -xo</i>	-κε
<i>poruθ</i>	ὀ πρύτανις	<i>-té</i>	τε

Table II. Overview of the relationship of Carian with Greek.

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