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MILYAN PASSAGES WITH *neu* AND *ni(-ke)*¹

This paper deals with sentences which include particles *ne-u* and *ni(-ke)*. Such sentences are analysed on a broad textual background. What follows is a brief introduction to subsequent discussions of our material.

Mil. particle *neu* may contain *-u*, comparable with Hitt. *-wi* in *nawi* ‘not yet’ (: Luw. *nawa* ‘not’). Mil. *neu* appears in texts between *(e)ki* or */ekemi/* ‘in/for distress/deficiency’ (< IE **eg-* ‘lack, be in need’) and a verb.

We have the following three phrases (ex. 1 = 44d.13—6; ex. 2 = 44d.27—9; ex. 3 = 44c.58—9):

- 1) */ekemi/ ... neu ... pzziti* ‘... determines’ (= Lyc. *pzziti*);
- 2) *(e)metu neu prijelijedi (e)ki-be meredi* ‘may collect ... by former laws’;
- 3) *(e)ki-be ... neu ... qidridi* ‘... dashes’ (or sim.).

Particle *neu* may show both a concessive and an emphatic meaning; this allows us to propose the following interpretation patterns (note that the meaning ‘still’, which is supported by appropriate contexts, is rather close to ‘yet’ semantically’):

- 1) ‘in distress, X still doesn’t determine allotments (*ekānē*) for ...’;²
- 2) ‘in distress, X still may not collect taxes (*trppali*) by former laws’;
- 3) ‘in distress, X still may not dash with assault (*laxadi*) toward ...’

According to D. Schürr (personal communication; further referred to as DS) Mil. prohibitive *ni* (mostly with *-ke* ‘and’) is used only with imperatives,—either present in a given text or implied; in the latter case, we deal with an underlying phrase **ni esu*. The subsequent sentence may contain *ēke* ‘when, while’ (not ‘like’).

¹ In this paper, the same literature was used as that listed in my long paper in GsKoro-
 lëv (2002); I would like to add to this list the new edition of Tischler’s Glossar: J. Tis-
 chler. *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*. Innsbruck, 2001.

² Or: ‘even in distress, X doesn’t ...’ (etc.).

Contrary to DS, *ni-ke qezm̃mi* in 44d.6 seems to mean ‘and (there shall be) no distribution’ [+ ‘of awards, while ...’], not ‘und nicht (sei er) erschlagen’; *qezm̃mi* both here and in 44d.38 is a noun, not a participle.

Accordingly, 44d.38 *ni-ke m̃qrimiz* (+ d. sg. coll. *ñtuwitēni*) may mean ‘and (there shall be) no allotting (to ...)’; cf. feudal lord Pixre’s statement in 55.6 [after a request to underlings to honor tribute for god Prijāma(-Trqqiz?) for protection (*pasñte*), and to god Lbbeweli for raids ... (*erbbi* +)]: *kapsaqē: pinau: ut(e) m̃qrimi* ‘I am giving / I’ll give spoils (< **kapsa-*) for allotting by promise’; see both *m̃qre-*, *m̃qrimi-* and *ute* in the Wordlist at the end of this paper.

Note also nouns *qzze* ‘for payments’ (?) and *epe-qzzi* / *ppe-[qz]zi* ‘surcharge’ (?) which seem to relate to the above *qezm̃mi*.

44d.33 *ni-ke dezi* seems to mean ‘and (there shall be) no enlargement’ [of the trophy-display]; *dezi* is not an imp. 2nd p. sg. though it may relate to the Lyc. verb *ddeze-* (DS); this verb may mean ‘put (*ze-*) in addition (*dde-*)’ [= ‘bury (illegally) in addition (to 2 people legally buried)’], as in Lyc. inscr. 107].

A sentence which follows a *ni-ke* phrase **contains either a verbum finitum or a gerund** (*uwēti*, *xxāti*). Word combination *ēke ... uweti* ‘while he announces’ in 44d.6 semantically matches gerund *uwēti* ‘when announcing’ in 44c.43 (cf. Lyd. *uwe-*; cf. also Lyc. name of Mil. origin *masa-uwēti* ‘gods’ herald’? and Lyc. title *axāti*)³.

The passage with *ni-k(e) m̃qrimiz ... ni-ke dezi ...* (44d.29—34) seems to be **a part of a text about introduction of a new law** (? *tasa- mēmresi-** ‘codex of Mā/ēmre.’; M. may be Lyc. ruler Xerēi himself) **which prohibits certain actions to be performed ‘according to the former law(s)’** (*prijelijedi ... meredi*, as in the ex. 2 above).

In all passages with *ni*, a given (verbal or verbless) sentence appears first; **subsequent sentence clarifies why the preceding action has been prohibited** (at least at a given time).

I. PRELIMINARY NOTES ON MILYAN PHONETICS AND GRAMMAR

As suggested three decades ago by J. E. Rasmussen, both Lyc. and Mil. *q* denotes a labiovelar (*u* never appears after *q*); this consonant may originate either from **h^w* / **hw* or from **g^{wh}* (DS): cf. Lyc. *trqqas* = Mil. *trqqiz* : Hitt. *Tarhunts*; Mil. *zrqqi-* < **sarh-ū-i-* ‘plunder, rob’ (+ *zi-(e)reime-di* ‘from supply-stores’?) : Hitt. *sarhuntala-* ‘robber’; Mil. *m̃qr-e-* ‘allotment’ < IE **meH-ur-* (?); Mil. *qtti-* ‘transfer’ : Hitt. *huittiya-* ‘pull, drag’; Mil. *qi-dr-i-* ‘dash’ [toward supply-stores] (or *qid-r-i-* ?) : HtL *hwiya-* ‘run’ and/or HierL *huidar* ‘wild beast’, etc.; *qirze-* ‘(a promised) share’ : Lyc. *xurza-*, *xurz-id-* ‘vow’(?) : Hitt. *hu(wa)rt-*.

³ But *xxa-* may originate from *xra-* (DS); *xra-* seems to mean ‘preserve’ or something similar.

Both IE **k* and **g* seem to be reflected as *k* in Lyc. and Mil.—Mil.-Lyc. *g* originates from a lenited **h* (Mil. *pigasa*); cf. *g* in borrowings of the type Lyc. *g. pl. agarāi* ‘(to the Zeus) of agoras / precincts’.

IE **k̥*, **g̥* may have changed to *s* both in Lyc. and Mil. (cf. *sm̃mēte* in the Wordlist below).—It seems, IE **d̥i* turned *z* in Mil. (*ziwi*, *zuta*, *zija-*).

Mil. sound combination *m̃pr* may originate from **mr*; cf. also *er-ēpli* (< **eml-*); *lēpri* ‘schedule’ (if to Hitt. *lammar*); etc.

Milyan changed **ē* to *i* (cf. *pirli* ‘grant’, if to **bhēr-*) but preserved **é* in open syllables (*eduli*, *eda-*, *mede-*).

Use of archaic allatives in *-a* is known both in Mil. and Lyc. (*trqq̃nta / m̃parāna* / *xuzr̃nta xerigasa tukadrāla* etc.; cf. Lyc. *xxxaza ... ñtuweriha*, *q̃ñnākba... tabahaza* [+ *xrssēni* ‘in (Trqqas’s) radiance’ < **Harġ-?*]; *tabahaza* may mean ‘fierce ones’; cf. HierL *tapasa*; note Mil. synonym. all. *xuzr̃nta* vs. HierL *huisar* ‘wild beast’; cf. Mil. *qidr-i-* ‘dash’ : HierL *huitar*; add Lyc. *xudr-*).

In many cases, Mil. keeps old *a*-stems without changing them to *i*-stems (n. *pigasa... urasla*, gods; n. *mutala* ‘strongman’, *zajala* ‘tax-payer’ ?).

Mil. very frequently uses nouns in singular as collectives (cf. HierL). On very many occasions, Mil. uses nouns as attributes (partitive apposition; cf. Lyc. acc. *x̃ntawatā tuwī* + [*ekā*] *nē* ‘state monument [= document, regulations] + allotment(s)’).—Note Mil. gerund: *uwēti*, *xxāti*.

It is especially important to underline that Mil. forms in *-Vz* (with non-nasal *a*, *e*, *i*) represent d.-l. pl., and not acc. pl. (acc. pl. forms show *-Ṽz* = *-āz*, *-ēz*, *-iz*).

In exx. 1 (= 44c.34—6) and 3 (= 44c.54—5), underlined acc. pl. forms in *-s* are of Lyc. origin (*-Vs* < **-Ṽz*): cf. use of Luw. forms in Hitt. texts.

Accordingly, both in exx. 1 and 3, forms in *-iz* are those of d.-l. pl. (*-Vz*). It would be impossible to properly understand these passages in the written form if both acc. pl. and d.-l. pl. forms ended in *-iz*.

D.-l. sg. *erēpli* in ex. 2 (= 44c.63—5) is functionally identical to d.-l. pl. *erēpliz* in ex. 1; ex. 1 & 2 are similar both structurally and semantically. (Note abbreviations in translation: f. = for; fr. = from; w. = with.)

1) *trqqiz ... mede zppli: xixbati: qetbeleimis: s(e) iketesi: uwedris erēpliz*
 subj. d.-l. d.-l. verb acc. pl. conj. n. or d. acc. pl. d. pl.

2) *wixsaba() laba t̃mme xbade ... tunew̃ni + erēpli ... qetbeleima: trqqiz: t̃bisu*
 acc. coll. d.-l. verb subj. d. sg. acc. coll. subj. adv.

3) (a) ... *h̃ntawā* (= attr. to *q.*) ... *sebedi: qirzē: ziwi* (b) *dewis: asa: muwati: zrētēniz*

“(a) [in cities...] (he) selects? a special? share for the Sungod, (b) (he) enforces (steles-with-)obligations (or: ‘the same’ in pl.) for making/fulfilment for the protectors”. Note a Lyc. parallel: acc. *dewē* governed by *a-* ‘make, build’ + all. *se ... zxxaza se ñtuweriha* ‘both for the warriors and the commanders’.⁴

⁴ For *zrētēniz* cf. *xbidew̃ni... zrētēni* ‘Kaunian Protector’ (= Natri); for *sebe-*, *qirze-*, *ziwi*, *asa*, *muwa-* see Wordlist below.

Exx. 4 (= 55.6) and 5 (= 44d.45—7) are similarly structured, both showing words *tuwēmedi* ‘with offerings’ and *muwaxa* ‘I enforced’ (var. *muwaxā* indicates that *ppe-[qz]zi* in ex. 5 is acc. sg. comm. in *-V̄* = direct obj. of *muwa-*), as well as d. pl. objects in *-Vz*. Since *ppe-[qz]zi* (= *epe-qzzi* ‘sur-charge’ or sim.) is acc. obj. (functionally similar to *mlu* in ex. 4), *lijenuwez* is not acc. but d.-l. pl. obj.; as expected, it ends in *-Vz*, as also its attributes *xbadasiz... (e)rbbine(siz)*. Accordingly, *tutasiz* in ex. 4 is d. pl. obj. as well (acc. obj. is *mlu neriu*; cf. *ppe-[qz]zi ... pruxssi*, ex. 5):

4) *mlu neriu: muwaxa: tuwēmedi: xaba: tutasiz: n(e) eki-k(e) epñ*

“I enforced watergods’ pledge with offerings for accommodations (: Hitt. *hap-?*) for the *tutasiz* (= gods) and not for deficiency later” [after Pixre’s death?].

5) *xbadasiz: tuwēmedi: lijenuwez: muwaxā: ppe-[qz]zi: (e)ki-be: pruxssi (e)rbbine(siz)*

“I enforced tributary sur-charge with offerings for Erbbina’s nymphads in/of the (Xanthos-)Valley, for need / in deficiency”.⁵

Exx. 6 (= 44c.40—1) and 7 (= 44c.52—3) show acc. sg. forms in *-ē*, which excludes interpretation of forms in *-az* (ex. 6) and *-iz* (ex. 7) as acc.:

6) *ñqrē muri ... [pasbb]az: sebe sbirtē pzziti ... xñtabasi*

“*muri*(-Natri?) determines share(s) for troops and assets of/for commanders (from raids)”.

7) *... qirzē ... trñmiliz: tbiplē: trpplē: tuburiz: pduradi ...*

“(Protector-Natri brought thrice 12 times spoils from raids, and he?) ... presents a double share to Lycians, a triple—to Tuburans ...”

Ex. 8 (= 55.2—3) shows acc. obj. in *-ā* (*xl[p].ā* = *xl(u)[s]ā* ‘produce?’); accordingly, forms in *-az* are those of d. pl.

8) *ēmu ... qlaxa: zppli-de... trqqñta [.naz xl(u)[s]ā (e)ki-b(e) eda[z]*

“I accumulated for ... Trqqiz, in store, produce/provision (of ...) for */āna-/* and *eda-*, in/for need”.⁶

II. BASIS FOR INTERPRETATION: SOME DATA PROVIDED BY THE MIL. TEXT 44C

Copies of Mil. inscriptions are now much more precise than a decade ago, mostly because of DS’s outstanding collation work. Some progress may be achieved in the interpretation of Mil. texts by a thoughtful comparison of Mil. passages with each other. Though Mil. inscriptions are not too long, one can

⁵ This was destined by Xerēi for those who didn’t make/pay (*n-estte*) ‘... taxes/amends’ (*urtu qelideli*) to/in the precinct (*mlati*).

⁶ For the meaning and origin of words see Wordlist below.

find, in a given strophe, many words and phrases which reappear in several other strophes: this indicates both a significant semantic similarity of passages in question and a very narrow semantic scope of subjects represented by Mil. texts.

We may consider as important key words, or key phrases, those parts of relatively transparent texts which not only appear several times but also contain some, otherwise known, forms: such as names of gods and people or forms which are identical to Lyc. (etc.) words.

Basing on the key words / phrases we may proceed with identification of (quasi-)synonyms,—forms yet unknown, but functionally similar to the known ones (see for detail section III below).

It goes without saying that attempts to interpret Mil. texts are prone to future changes, required by forthcoming new facts.

What follows now, is a short interpretation of the first part of the Mil. text in 44c: strophes cI—V. The situation seems to be as follows:

Lycians return from an expedition (to adjacent territories) with amends/spoils, and Natri presents trophies (*laKra*) to Trujeli(-Sungod?). Supplies for the god Trqqiz and for other gods are secured.

Xeriga entrusts the trophies to people and announces a ?-rite / rite supervisor ([...] *kssa* ++) for/before “Ruler of Kuprlle-kin and ‘Plainsmen’”.

The trophy-display is being enlarged by grants and spoils; god *muri* (= Lyc. commander-in-chief?) determines allotments from spoils both for the troops and the command.

It is stressed that reward distribution to fighters may not precede a rite for Arma(-Trqqiz); one is urged to add spoils (*zrbblā*) to the trophy-display (*laKri*).⁷

Strophes cI—V are presented below as exx. 1—5, accordingly.

- 1) 44c.32—4 (a) *sbirte ... zireima: sabadi: mrKKdi-pe: sebe: pasbā natri: slati: xusttedi: sebe xntabu* (b) *sebe nte laKra: trujeli zazati <lbbeweli> (?)*

“(a) For assets (= awards), for produce supplies, with ‘selections’, with *mrKK(a)*- (= shares), Natri brings from raids both the troops/servicemen and the command/authority, (b) and he delivers the trophy to Trujeli (or ‘to the Trojan [god] Lbbeweli’; the emendation is just one of many possibilities).⁸

Ex. 1 is a kind of a summary of events which are depicted in the first five strophes of the Mil. text. We may identify here three main topics:

- I. N. brings troops + command from raids for awards with *mrKK(a)*-grants.
- II. [As above] for supplies (*zireima*) with ‘selections’ (*sabadi* to *sebe*- ‘select’).
- III. [N.?] puts the trophy(-display) (*laKra*) for/before Trujeli [= Trqqiz?].

⁷ Str. cV ends here; str. cVI opens a “martial” passage.

⁸ Similar: 44d.30—4 ...*waxssadi: tuburiz ... zazati: zriqali* ‘... the Victor (= Natri-Zrigali?) delivers/brings the Tuburans from raids (for shares)’.

Underlined italics appear in words which clearly match “topic I”: grants/spoils from raids (*l[ax]adi mrKKas*, cf *mrKKdi xusttedi*); assets from raids (*lelebedi*) allotted/presented to commanders (acc. *sbirtē xñtabasi* ‘assets of [= for] the command’), etc.—Such words appear in str. cIII—V.

Underlined words *zppli* ‘for the [special] reserve’, *erēpli(z)* ‘supply (stores)’ (or the like) belong to the “topic II”. We deal here with allocation of domestic supplies in/from granaries, etc. Only str. cII matches this topic well.

Non-italized, non-underlined words indicate “topic III”: trophies [brought from raids and destined for a display]: acc. *laKra*; *zrbbla*-spoils which may be added (verb *slāma*- ‘add, expand’: Lyc. noun *hlñmi*) to the trophy-display (d. *laKri*). Such words appear in str. cIII—V. We may note that topics I and III are semantically similar but certainly not identical.

Note that the ‘command’ (acc. *xñtabu*) and ‘troops’ (acc. *pasbā*) of the str. cI seem to emerge as *getbeleimis* ... *uwedris* ‘*q*-s and all(-the-rest)’ in the str. cII (which covers topic II).

For the terms in the str. I (*pasbā* ... *xñtabu*) cf. str. IV: noun in d. pl. [*pasbb*]az (?) and adj. in acc. *xñtabasi* (attr. to sg. coll. *sbirtē* ‘assets’). Cf. also d. pl. *krese* ‘for the warriors’ (or sim.) in the str. V.

It seems, everywhere we deal with the comparable groups of people: command/authority [the foremost/upper ones: *prije*] vs troops/servicemen [the lower ones: *ētre*].

Indeed we deal with both these groups in 44c, 44d, and (to a much lesser extent) in 55.

Words in topic II may refer to allocation of supplies from harvesting in granaries (cf. *zi(-e)reima*, all. in cI): not from military raids. They are allocated to *zppli* ‘reserve, supply store’ (mostly associated with *Trqqiz*) and *er-ēpli(z)* ‘supply/supplies’ or sim. (always associated with gods, as opposed to terms for people’s stores: 44c.59 *zi-(ē)rēple*, 55.2 *zirāpla*: see below); *eleli* ‘offering supply’ (cf. also 44c.62 *eleli: tulijeli* ‘assembly-gods’ supply’ and 55.2 *n(e) elelixa* ... *xlusā* ‘I didn’t offer the *xlusa*-supply (: Hitt. term *halkuessar*)’ [+ ‘to water-gods’ + ‘from desecrated households’ (?)]; *mede* ‘during allocation/stocking-up’ (IE **med-*); cf. 44c.61 *pere medije* ‘at allocation time’ (?) and (*epri*) *ziti* ‘to the (last) levy’.⁹

2) 44c.34—6 (a) *trqqiz* ... *mede zppli: xixbati: getbeleimis: s(e) iketesi*: [or: *iketesi* ?] *uwedris erēpliz*: (b) *seb(e) eleli: pinati: masasi: tulijewi*

“(a) T., for allocation/(p)reservation (*mede*?), relies on / sends *q*-s in/to special store(s) [for *Trqqiz*] (*zppli*), and [he relies on / sends] on all(-the-rest) (i.e., *uwedris*) in/to [gods’] stores for assets?? (b) and one delivers offering supply (*eleli*) to the divine assembly member [if one god: *Natri*]”.¹⁰

⁹ In this way, we identify “crop-related” passages both in 44c—d and 55.

¹⁰ For *iketesi* ‘assets’? (: abl. */ikedi/*) cf. 44c.56—7 *pidritēni: pirli: murēnedi: tuburiz... s(e) iketesi: /arppaxusēti: tñpewēti* which may mean “*Pidritēni* (= god *Zriqali*??) defends *Tuburans* for grants (?), and *A.’s people* (= *Lycians*)—for assets/tribute (?)”. Alternative interpre-

3) 44c.37—9 *laKra* (acc.): *trbbdi: xeriga... xbadiz kudi mrKKd[i ...]kssa: /trm̃milija/: uweti pad-mr-uwa-sa: kuplle[si...] sebe: xbadasi: esānāmla*

“Xeriga announces (*uweti*) a ?-rite ... with *mrKK(a)*-grants for/before the Ruler of the Kuprle (-kin) and of ‘Plainsmen’”.—Is the ruler *esānāmla* here really Trqqiz? ¹¹

4) 44c.39—41 (a) ...*ub(e) ekere: seb[edi: k]udi: slāmati: zrbblā* (b) *mqrē : muri ... /pasbb]az sebe sbirtē pzziti: lelebe-di : xntabasi*

“(a) ... he selects, among gifts [and] amends, where one may add the spoils [zrbbl-l-ā to IE **ser-uo-* ‘booty’ (?); implied: + d. *laKri* ‘to/at the trophy-display’]. (b) Muri (= Natri? High commander?) determines allotment(s) from raids for troops(?) and assets of/for the command”.

5) 44c.41—4 (a) [*mqrē*] (?)*-pe: ni-ke: waxsi: pibi: krese: (a)rmpali: predi:xapaxi: l[ax]adi: ... mrKKas uwēti* (b) *seb(e) enē: laKri: xntabaimi: slāma zrbblā*

“(a) Don’t give allotments to warriors for fight(s) / raid(s), when announcing *m.*-grants from ... raids for Arma’s accommodation/luxury (Hitt. *happ-?*), (b) and add this (acc. comm. *enē*), the spoils, to the trophy-display ...” (*xntabaimi* may be either loc. ‘during *x.*-rite’, ‘*x.*-priest/leader’).

Strophes cI (troops come from raids) and cII (“domestic” supplies are delivered to gods’ reserves) have a parrallel in the str. cXIV (which seems to be a “summary” of the Mil. part of 44c; ex. 6a matches ex. 1 [especially if Tunewñni = Natri?]; ex. 6b matches ex. 2), as well as in 55.4. (ex. 7). Note that the interpretation of ex. 6a is based on the interpretation of ex. 7a.

6) 44c.63—5 (a) *wixsaba laba...tñme xbade /lēme/... tunewñni* (b) *seb(e) erēpli: sabaka: qetbeleima: trqqiz: tbišu: (c)s(e) erij(e) ekaburā ...*

“(a) Tunewñni(-Sungod?) has relied (*xbade*) on fighters for spoils in ... [and] fights (*wixsaba laba ... tñme /lēme/ ?*) (b) and Trqqiz twice (2 seasons in a year?) has relied on the *qetbeleima* in supply store(s) (*erēpli*) for ‘selections’ (*sabaka*) (c) and [he has relied] on the enforcers (and ordinary gods: acc. *masa?*) for levy/seizures (*erije*)”.

Cf. verb *xbade* in 55; apparently, this text refers to Prijāma-Trqqiz:

7) 55.4 (a) *kuli-ke: /mru-kapsi/? : tidñta: xbade:* (b) *s(e)be: purese: mñnusāma: lajata*

“(a) And he relied on troops (*kuli*) in fights/raids (*tidñta*) for spoils (*/mru-kapsi/?*) (b) and [he relied] on the ‘takers’ (*lajata*) in supply stores (*purese*) for

tations are possible (*Iketesi* = second god?). Note that ex. 2 is semantically similar to the beginning of the inscription 55 “Pixre sets hopes (*welputi*) on the pledge to the nymphad to accommodate (inf. *ma-dr-a-ne*) ... nymphs at *wirasaja*-offerings of due allotments (*t-mqrē*)”.

¹¹ Str. cIII may mostly show topic I: Distribution (to people before a god?) of grants/spoils brought from raids.—We may deal everywhere with establishing of regular payments

‘indemnity-shares’ (*mñnu-sāma*)” (??). Or both words in *m*- refer to gods?. ¹²
NB: symmetric structure in this sentence: acc. + *m*. + d. + “center” + d. + *m*. + acc.

Cf. the short preceding sentence in 55.4 where the god (Priĵāma-Trqqiz?) himself imposes tribute on people:

- 8) 55.4 [z]aj/ta: āpiti[... a]tli: pijanuwa
“(He = god Priĵāma?) imposes tribute/taxes for payment to himself”
[+ ‘(he) relied on troops in raids for spoils, and on the takers ...’, in ex. 7].

We can compare the sequence ex. 8 + ex. 7 with two consecutive sentences in 44d.44—7 (ex. 9a—b):

- 9) (a) xzzāta-pe: trqqiz trm̃mile: zm̃pde eseti: xerigazñ (b) epe-qzz[i] trppalau:
(e)ri-pssedi: prlleli: (i)kedi-pe ...

“(a) Trqqiz approved (?) X.’s (stele-with-)obligation for Lycians for fulfillment. (b) I’ll collect tributary (: *pirli*?) sur-charge (?) from supplies from assets/property (and I’ll tie/attach [: Hitt. *kal-el*-] it to the last levy)”.—This is the first of two passages in which *Xerēi* imposes surcharge on taxes in connection with establishing new tribute both for Trqqiz and Wzza Ijesi.

Note *atli* in 44d.10—2 (where it also refers to the main god):

- 10) (after a description of a rite [dI—II] and a rite violation [dIII]): *atli tñne*
[= /*tune*/ or /*tine*/ ‘to pay’?]: qā[.]ā: prij(e) eduli se: trm̃mile: kupr[l]lese me-pe
(e)ne tubidi: urtu: mrsxxā: trqqiz...

“For harm (*eduli*) to the foremost ones, Trqqiz ... will force him, the tribute/indemnity violator, to pay fine/amends to self (= Trqqiz) and to Lycians of Kuprle(‘s kin)’.”

Before we continue, we may note that str. cI above deals with presenting trophies to Trujeli; str. cII—with providing supplies for the divine assembly member (= Natri) [or: for the assembly gods]; str. cIII—with a rite for the ‘Ruler’(-Trqqiz?); str. IV—with allotting assets to the military.

* * *

Strophes cVI—X refer both to a potential attack in future and to some raids/fights in the past. After a sudden assault on supplies, Lycians fight back (str. cVI): 44c.44—6 “Now, (if) with devastating assault (*ekemijedi: waxsadi*) one robs (*zrqqiti*) from Xanthian (?) supplies (/zireimedi/: *xbadasadi*)”, etc.

Then (str. cVII) appears the Kaunian Protector (Natri) who “doesn’t flee from battling” (44c.46—7 *ne puketi: xbidewñni: ulaxadi: zrētēni*). Natri fights and wins, being extolled.

¹² For *purese* cf. Hitt. *pur-puris*- ‘vessel’, note *pur-pura*-(?) Cf. IE **pū-ro*- ‘corn, wheat’; for *mñnu-sāma* (: *ek-āne*- ‘indemnity share’?) cf. Hitt. *maninkuwa-nd-atar* ‘shortness’?

Xeriga dedicates a *tuwi*-stele to the fight(er)s (*waxsa*), and a *tala*-altar (?) to *zrigali* (= ‘Victor’ = *zriqali*-Natri?) (str. cVIII); cf. Greek poem in 44.

Protector-Natri brings amends/spoils from raids and [he himself ?] distributes shares to Lycians, Tuburans, as well as to the Sungod (d. *ziwi*): str. cIX—X which are represented by exx. 11—2.

- 11) 44c.51—3 (a) *se-d(e) ekeri trisu: qñnātbisu: prete: laxadi: zrētēni* (b) *seb(e) ebe qirzē ... trñmiliz: tbisu: trisu: tuburiz: pduradi ...*

“(a) And then amends/spoils (acc. sg. coll.) 3×12 times brought from raids the Protector, (b) and he (?) delivers/presents a double share for Lycians, [and] a triple [share] — for Tuburans”.

- 12) 44c.54—6 ... *hñtawā ... sebedi: qirzē: ziwi ...*

“[In several cities] he (?) selects a special (?) share for the Sungod ...”¹³ Note that Natri-Zrētēni provides supplies for [his father] the Sungod: *ziwi* = *zusi* = *zuta* = *urasli* = *wzza ijesi* (?).

Xerēi starts speaking in the str. cXI (our ex. 13) where he seems to tie up the preceding events with his rule; it is possible that all. *(i/e)lija* refers to *pidritēni* (+ *iketesi*??) in ex. 14 (and *pidritēni* matches *welpumi*?).

- 13) 44c.56—8 (a) *ne ... eki wisiu utetu ñt(e) elija* [: Lyc. *ñt(e) ele*, Mil. *lle* ?] (b) *pidritēni: pirlī: murēñēdi: tuburiz ... s(e) iketesi: /arppaxusēti/: tñpewēti*

“(a) Not for deficiency am I imposing duties [to be provided] to *(i/e)lija*, (b) [because] *pidritēni* (-Natri?) defends (?) Tuburans for gifts (?), and [Lycians] for assets (??)”.—Altern.: *(i/e)lija* = two gods; *iketesi* = second god.

- 14) 44d.47—50 (str. dXV) (a) ... *sātñniu: qñtbē uwaxa: mlati: wzza: ijesi* (b) *me welpumi: mrKKdi pttīli-ke: xustti-ke qidrala: ke ... ziu: sukredi (e)ki-be: pasbu*

“(a) I have annunced *s. q.* for Wzza Ijesi in the precinct, (b) [and] now *welpumi* extols with *mrKK(a)*-grants the ... troops for swiftness (etc.) in adversity”. As usually, a (veiled) threat accompanies a statement about imposition of a new tribute: cf. also passages with *n-eburēni ... medutu* (44d); *neu qidridi ... xradi* (44c: our exx. 15 + 13); *ebudi ... titbeti* (55; cf. Lyc.).

Cf. here also str. cXII (our ex. 15) which succeeds str. cXI (ex. 13).

- 15) 44c.58—60 (a) *(e)ki... neu: psseje: qidridi: laxadi: zirēple* (b) *med(e) erēple: xradi: waxsa: truijele: m(e) ēmi: mawili kkleimedi: alKāna lax(a)*

“(a) Even in deficiency/distress one shan’t dash with assault for contributions (*psseje*) to [people’s] supply stores. (b) My guard (?) at the supplies of [local] *t*-god(s) keeps force to repel (if *alKāna* = inf.) assaults (*waxsa*) with battling (*kkleimedi*)”.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. *natri... laKra: trujeli: zazati* “Natri ... delivers/presents trophies to Trujeli(-Trq=qiz?)”, cI.

¹⁴ Cf. 44c.44—5 *ekemijedi: waxsadi: zrqqiti /zi-(e)reimedi/: xbadasadi* ‘... one robs with devastating assaults from Xanthian (?) tribute/produce supplies’.

III. BASIS FOR INTERPRETATION: MILYAN VERBS IN APPROPRIATE PHRASES

What follows now is a list of several Mil. verbs in their appropriate word combinations. As a rule, each entry starts with words which relate to those appearing in other Anat. languages; then some unrelated words are added which seem to be synonymous to the basic words of the given entry.

1) **'give'** *pibi-* // *pije-* (+ acc. *albā* 'award' [+ d. pl. *kupttle*] / *plejerē* 'assets' or sim. [+ *gezmmi* 'for distribution']) // *pina-* (+ acc. *el-el-i* 'supply [+ 'for gods' assembly'] / *kapsaqē* 'spoils' < **kapsa-* [+ d. *mqrimi* = *gezmmi*]) // *pssa-* 'pay regularly' (+ d. *ter(e)* 'in towns' + d. *ekere* for amends'), cf. d. *pise* 'for payments/grants' (+ d. *trmmile* 'for Lycians');

2) **'deliver, bring'** *zaza-* (+ acc. *tuburiz* 'Tuburans' [+ *waxsadi* 'from raids'] / *laKra* 'trophies' [+ d. *trujeli*, god]) // *sla-* (+ acc. *pasbā* ... *xntabu* 'troops ... command' [+ abl. *laxadi* 'from raids']) // *pddur-a-* (+ acc. *wijedri* + *pasbā* 'officers + troops' / *qirzē* 'share' / *tiu* 'grant, spoils' [+ abl. *qidrasadi* 'from raids' + d. *trqqnti*]) // *eleli-* (+ acc. *xlusā* 'produce' [+ d. pl. *nere*, gods]) // *pre-* (+ acc. *ekeri* 'spoils/amends' +abl. *laxadi* 'from raids');

3) **'provide'** *trbbe-* (in *trbbēni*, 3rd p. sg. pres. + *ne kmmēti* 'not all');

4) **'offer'** *xi* (imp. 2nd p.) + acc. *āla* [+ d. *zinase*, gods?] // *xi[s]-* 'offer repeatedly' (= Lyc.) + *kzta ē* 'when need' [subj. *kuprimesi*, libation priest?];

5) **'add, expand'** *slāma-*, *slama-* (+ acc. *zrbblā* 'spoils, booty' [+ d.-l. *laKri* 'to/at the trophy-display'] / *albāma* [+ d.-l. *qrbbli* (container, altar?)]) // *etrqqi* (= imp. +acc. *mqrē* 'allotment' [+ d.-l. *qrbbli* + abl. *tuwij(e)di* ... *zireimedi* 'from tributary supplies/reserve']). For *slāma-* cf. Lyc. *hlmmi*.

6) **'award'** *alba-* (+ acc. *xntabu* 'supervisor(s)' [+ d. *eluwī* 'for collection/levy...'] / *wijedri* 'authority' [+ d.-l. *tralije* ... *ereime* 'at/for Trallian levy']);

7) **'honor (a pledge)'** *xra-* (+ acc. *mlu* 'pledge' [+ d.-all. *zuta* 'Sungod' ?] / *ziwālā* [+ d. *irelesi*]) // *ēnē sla-* (+ acc. *tuwi* 'pledge' [+ all. *prijāma* (god) + d. *pasnte* / *pixrese* 'for protection of Pixre' / +d. *lbbeweli* (god) + d. *erbbi kmmqi-ke* 'for fight and ...']) / (*trmmilija* ... *qelesiya* 'Lyc. accumulation/amassment' [+ instr. *kmmasadi* 'with/from everything/household?']).

8) **'take'** *la-* (+ acc. *ali* ... *sebe pasbu* 'authority + troops' [+ d. *muwi* 'for enforcement'] / *xerigazn mqrē* 'X.'s allotment' [subj. gods *pigasa+urasla*]) // *epe* (imp. 2nd p. 'take/fix!') +acc. */sqajā/* [+ d. *prijāmi*, god] / *palarā* [+ d. *wzza ijesi*, god];

9) **'select'** *sebe-* (+ acc. *qirzē* 'share' + d. *ziwi* 'Sungod') [: instr. *sabadi*];

10) **'collect, accumulate, allot'** *trppala-* (+ acc. *epe-qzzi* 'sur-charge'?? [+ abl. *ikedi*... (*e*)*ri-pssedī* 'from assets ... from tribute']) // (*e*)*me-* (+ acc. *trppali* 'tribute, taxes' [+ instr. *prijelijedi*... *meredi* 'by/according to former laws'] / acc. *tesēni* [+ all. *qñza prijelija*]) // *qla-* (+ acc. *xl(u)sā* (?) 'produce' [+ d. *zppli* 'for supply' + all. *trqqnta*]) // *qelēne-* (+ acc. *qirzā* 'share' [+ all. *trqqntasa* ... *xrbbla[ta]* 'for T.'s reserve']) // *mqrīs-* (+ acc. *zabrala* ... *āala* [+ d. *ubre*] / *masxxxm* 'endowment' / *pruwa*);

11) **'determine'** *pzzi-* (+ acc. *ekānē* 'share' [+ d. *urasli* (-Sungod?)]) / *mqrē* 'allotment, share(s)' [+ for troops] / *sbirtē xñtabasi* 'command's assets' [+ 'from spoils'];

12) **'enforce, impose'** *muwa-* (+ acc. *mlu* 'pledge' [+ instr. *tuwēmedi* 'with offerings' + d.-all. *xaba ... n(e) eki* 'for accommodation ... not for deficiency'] / *dewis* 'obligations' / *ppe-[qz]zi* = *epe-qzzi* 'sur-charge'?) // *wisi-* (+ acc. *ut-et-u* 'duties' [+ *ne ... eki* 'not for deficiency']) // *āpi-* (+ acc. *[z]aj/ta* 'taxes' + *pijanuwā* 'for payment' + d. *atli* [refers to god = subject]);

13) **'force to'** *tubi-* (+ acc. *wrttu mrsxxā* 'indemnity[-rules] violator' + inf. *tñne* 'to pay' + d. *atli* [god] + d. *prij(e) eduli* 'for harm to the foremost ones').

14) **'violate'** *mrsxx-a-* (+ *urtuwāz mar[āz]* 'indemnity rules/laws') // *ebu-* or *abu-* (+ *prijē meri* 'prime law') // Lyc. *[e/a]bu-* 'stop' (+ acc. *iwē* 'law' + inf. *eri-zāna*);

15) **'damage'** *luga-* 'burn' (?) (+ acc. *qliju xupeliju* + *lijeiz ... lupeliz* 'sepulchral complex + ... nymphs' [= wooden statues?]) // *e/abure-* (in the 3rd p. sg. *e/aburēni* + acc. *atlasī ... ripssē*);

16) **'destroy, damage'** *ti/etbe-* (+ *zirāpla* 'supply stores' [+ d.pl. *eke* 'for deficit' ...] / *laKra* 'trophy-display' [+ instr. *apñtadi* 'by additions/booty']);

17) **'remove'** *mawa-* (+ *mlu* 'pledge' / *klleima* 'assault') // *qtti-* (+ *albm ubē* 'share of gifts' ?) // *zrqqi-* 'rob, steal' (+ instr. *ekemijedi waxsadi* 'with devastating assaults' + abl. ... *zireimedi* 'from ... supplies').

18) **'dash, hurry (to)'** *qidri-* (+ d. *psseje* 'for contributions/produce' ... *zirēple* 'to/in supply stores' + instr. *laxadi* 'with assault') [: ex. 16 *titbeti zirāpla* 'will destroy supplies'];

19) **'flee (from)'** *puke-* (+ abl. *ulaxadi* 'from battles' [subj. *xbidewñni ... zrētēni* 'Kaunian Protector' = Natri]).

IV. PASSAGES WITH (e)ki (OR /ekemi/) + neu + VERB¹⁵

As it was stated in the Introduction, *neu* seems to mean 'still not' or 'not even':

1) ...*stt[ē]ni: trqqiz ... /ekemi/ ēke neu: zini: lelebedi plejere se: [xu]pe ekānē: kuprimi: pzziti: urasli*

"Trqqiz is angry (and all gods in the precinct?) when/if, even in distress, Zini(-Natri?) doesn't determine a delicious (*kuprimi*) allotment from raid(s) for Urasla(-Sungod?) at the *plejere*-'assemblage' and the tombs".

Trqqiz is shown as being angry (DS) if the god Zini (lit. 'Fighter' ?) doesn't determine an indemnity share (? *ek-āne-*) from raids (*lelebedi*; cf. synonym. *laxadi*, *waxsadi*, *qidrasadi*, *xusttedi*) for the god Urasla (cf. *pigasa ... urasla* 'Stormgod + Sungod' above); *zini* seems to be one of many names of Natri-Apollo: nom. *zini* = *muri* = *natri* = *zrētēni* = *welpumi* = *zriqali* (cf. table in section VII below):

¹⁵ In this section: ex. 1 = 44d.13—6; ex. 2 = 44d.27—9; ex. 3 = 44c.58—9.

- a) 44c.39—41 *m̃qrē* (acc.) : *muri* ... [*pasbb*]az *sebe sbirtē* (acc.) *pzziti: lelebedi: x̃ntabasi* “M. determines allotment(s) for troops & command’s assets+”
- b) 44c.52—3 *zrētēni...* *qirzē...* *tbiplē: tr̃miliz: tuburiz: trpplē: pduradi...* “The Protector presents a double share for Lycians, a triple [share] for Tuburans” [+ *h̃ntawā sebedi: qirzē: ziwi* “selects a... share for the Sungod”]
- c) 44d.30—2 “*zriqali* delivers (*zazati*) Tuburans from raids [for shares]”.
- d) 44d.47—50 “(I announced a glorification of defenders (?) in precinct before Wzza, and) *welpumi* glorifies with grants (*mrKKdi*) the ... troops (... *pasbu*) both for swiftness/raiding, and for seizing/confiscating (?), and for assailing in adversity”.
- e) 44c.32—4 “Natri brings/takes (*slati*) from raids/seizures (*xusttedi*) both the troops and the command for assets (*sbirte*), for tribute levy [or: ‘to tribute-reserve (*zi-(e)reima*)’], with selections, with grants/shares (*sabadi: mrKKdi* ?)” + “(He) presents (*zazati*) the trophy(-display) (*laKra*) to Trujeli(-Sungod?)”.¹⁶

Note that in both strophes (dIII—IV) which precede ex. 1 (= str. dV), potential tribute violators are threatened by Trqqiz’s ire (dIII: acc. + *ti zawa qttide ziti* ‘who removed supplies for z. (+ +) during harvesting/levy’ + *sapali (e)ki zppli uguwāmā tewete arm̃pā* ‘he encountered the iresome (?) Arma in need for savory [*sap-] supply’), and by punishment (dIV: ‘Trqqiz will force the tax/amends-violator to pay fine (*t̃nne qā[.]ā*) both to him and to Kuprllē-kin’s Lycians, for harm to the foremost ones: *prij(e) eduli*’).

In the subsequent strophes dVI—VII god Zuse (= Urasla above?) is again depicted as not receiving allotments, so potential violators get a warning.¹⁷

The following two passages represent strophes dVI—VII:

44d.17—9 (a) *me [pd]urade: erikle-be* (i.e., ruler Xeriga?): *trqq̃nti ... qi[d]ras(a)di tiu: ñtada x̃nnije ...* (b) [*t̃i*]u-be (?) *weri: xerigaz{:}ē: zuse dd(e) xu[sttite]* (?)

“(a) Now, [when] Herakles(-Xeriga) presented to Trqqiz a *tija* (= Lyc.) from raid(s) at grandmother’s tomb complex, (b) then Zuse scooped/emptied (??) Xeriga’s *tija* during / in front of *eweri*”.—It seems, *eweri* (: inf. *ewēne* ‘to drink’?) means ‘libation (priests)’, sg. coll.; cf. (*e*)*weri ... x̃ntabā uweti* ‘libation priests an-

¹⁶ For *kuprimi* cf. g.pl. *kātdqē* (= *kāt(a)qē*) ... *kuprimē* ‘of delicious grains’ (??) in 55.2—3 where this word-pair is a part of a symmetric construction (introduced by *ēmu ... qlaxa: zppli-de ... (e)ki-b(e)* ‘I accumulated for supply ... for need’) with the “center” */xlusā/* ‘produce’ (?):

kātdqē: trqq̃nta [.]*naz xl(u)[s]ā ... eda[z]* /*m̃parāna/ kuprimē*
g.pl. all. d.pl. acc.sg. d.pl. all. (attr.) g.pl. (attr.)

‘a produce (: Hitt. *halkuessar*) of delicious *kātdqe*-grains?? for Trqqiz of the fields both for [.]*na-* (= [*ā*]*na-* < **ona-*/**ōna-*?) and for eating/meals’.—This comes after strophes I—II of 55 where Pixre threatens to destroy supplies of those not bringing ‘kin and servicemen for duties’: */sxxaxa/*.

¹⁷ For the above (*e*)*ki zppli* cf. 55.2—3 *zppli-de... (e)ki-be* (+ all. *trqq̃nta*) see fn. 16.

nounce/call the supervisor (of glorification rites for Trqqiz)'. (Note similarity between dVI and dV above [ex. 1]: same place in Xanthos?)

44d.20—2 (a) [... *n*]i *seketu*: *ewēne zusi*: *zbali* ... [*terb*]lē (?) (b) *tbišu tustti*: *arm̃paimedi*: *qā[.adi: t]utla-de*: *ñte terēi*: (*e*)*ki tewēm̃ tunewñni*

“(a) One shan’t cut (?) supply for drinking (inf. *ewēne*?) for Zuse during *zbala* (: Lyc. *zbetē*, some offering?) (b) Twice will pay (lit. ‘put’) a(ny) civilian/town-dweller (*terēi*) to the guard(s) (: imp. *tutltu*), along with fine for Arma, damages/amends for harm/deficit to Tunewñni”.

Later, both Pigasa and Urasla took Xeriga’s allotment, and an *āzi* was made (*eim̃*) for Xerēi, ‘for (his) exploits [*sse* = *ese*, Lyc.] in ... fights’: *waxssa*.

* * *

- 2) “(*muni*-official hands over Mēmre’s stele/codex to builders?: *tuwa-d-i*.) One may collect tax (*trppali* : (*e*)*metu*) by/according to former laws not even in distress, etc”.—See the whole text in section V, exx. 1—3.

* * *

- 3) 44c.58—60 (a) (*e*)*ki-be-uwe neu*: *psseje*: *qidridi*: *laxadi*: *zirēple*: (b) *med(e) erēple*: *xradi*: *waxsa*: *truijele*: *m(e) ēmi*: *mawili kkleimedi*: *alKāna lax(a)* (?)

“(a) Even in distress, one may not dash ((*e*)*ki-be*... *neu* ... *qidridi*) for contributions/produce (*psseje*) to supply stores with assault (*laxadi*), (b) [because] my guard keeps force (/laxa/ ?) to repel (inf. *alKāna* ?) raids with assault (*waxsa* ... *kkleimedi*)”, or similar.—The latter sentence underlines that tribute violators shall be punished by the central authority. In 55, Pixre is precisely the one who uses his own power to punish duty violators.

In the preceding passage (44c.56—8), Lyc. ruler Xērei asserts: “Not for distress/deficiency am I imposing duties/tribute (*ne-p-eki wisiu utetu*) for *elija* / *ilija*; Pidritēni(-Natri?) is protecting (*murēnedi*) Tuburans for grants (? *pirli*), and [he is protecting] Lycian people for *iketesi*(-assets??)”.

V. NEW RULES vs OLD RULES:

Warning not to distribute spoils to Lyc. military while the Victor (Natri?) brings Tuburans for shares

A portion of the text 44d (which includes passages with *neu prijelijedi* ... *meredi* ‘not by former laws’ and *ni-k(e) m̃qrimiz* ... *ni-ke dezi* ... ‘[there shall be] no distribution ... no enlargement ...’) seems to describe erections of several monuments and introduction of some new regulations: 44d.27—37 and 44d.44—55. When we compare 44d.27 *muni*: *trbbdi*: *tasñ tuwadi* ‘*m.*(-official) entrusts (< **tary-* ‘provide’?) the *tasa*-laws to the builders/suppliers (*tuwa-d-i*)’ and, somewhat

later, 44d.34 *me muni: trbbdi: tuwi: uwadra* ‘now, *m.* entrusts the *tuwi*-regulations to all’, we see that the noun *tasi-* possibly refers both to the text (= ‘law(s), regulations’) and to the stele on which this text has to be engraved: this was entrusted to the builders (or: suppliers?). As for *tuwi*, it may designate both the erected stele and the laws/rules/pledges engraved on it (cf. *mlu, dewis, xzzātā*),—so, the *tuwi* was entrusted to all [the Xanthians/Lycians] (*uwadra*) but at the same time it listed special allowances (*tesēni*) for the nobility (*qñza prijelija*; cf. *xñtawaza; trñmile kup=rllese*) as well as some privileges (*xezñ*) for ‘Plainsmen’/Xanthians (*xbadasa*).¹⁸

Imposition of certain new laws/regulations (acc. *tasñ ... mēmrezñ* ‘laws/codex of Mā/ēmre’?) is mentioned in 44d.27—9 (ex. 1) and in the subsequent passage 44d.29—33 (exx. 2—3); in 44d.34—7 the above allowances are mentioned; in 44d.37—44 *Xerēi* speaks about rewards to be payed to people for tribute collection; in 44d.44—56 he raises taxes in connection with new tribute to two major gods.

1) (a) *muni: trbbdi: tasñ tuwadi: mēmrezñ:* (b) *trppali* (= acc.): (*e*)*metu neu prijelijedi* (*e*)*ki-be meredi*

“(a) *muni*-official hands over/entrusts laws of M. to the suppliers(?); (b) (now) one shan’t collect taxes/amends by former laws even in deficiency/distress”.

2) (a) *ni-k(e) mqrimiz ñtuwitēni:* (b) ... *waxsadi: tuburiz ēke-d(e) epñ: predi: zazati: zriqali*

“(a) And (there shall be) no distributions to [Lyc.] command (b) while later [i.e., after a dealing-out of shares to Lycians?] the Victor(-Natri?) brings Tuburans with spoils (? *predi*) from raids”.¹⁹

3) (a) *ni-ke dezi:* (b) *mutala: apñtadi: tetbeti: laKra*

“(a) And (there shall be) no enlargement [of the trophy-display] (b) [because] a strongman may damage/destroy the trophy-display by addition(s)”.

Note that in 44c, warriors were encouraged to add ‘spoils/booty’ (*zrbblā*) to the trophy-display (*laKri*) without restrictions: see section VI below.²⁰

¹⁸ Note that in 44d.44—47 *Trqqiz* approves (or sim.) *Xeriga*’s *xzzāta-* (: *Luw. hizza-* ‘hand over, entrust’) for fulfilment: *es-et-i* (this seems to refer to tribute delivery); cf. also 44c.55 *dewis: as-a* (all.): *muwati: zrētēniz* ‘he (= *Natri-Zrētēni*?) enforces regulations (*dewis*; not just ‘steles’; altern.: ‘the same ones’) for fulfilment (*as-a*) for protectors’ [= for the benefit of the local gods-protectors?]. Note *Lyc. dewē xxxaza + ñtuweriha ade* ‘made stele-with-regulations for troops + commanders’ (*Lyc. ñt-uweriha* seems to match *Mil. ñt-uwitēni*). The above interpretation of *eseti* is confirmed by the subsequent *Xerēi*’s words: ‘I’ll collect tributary sur-charge (?) (*epe-qzz[i] trppalau ... prlleli*) from supplies from assets, and I’ll tie (: *Hitt. kaleliya-*?) it to the last levy (*epri ... ziti*)’.

¹⁹ Cf. 55 *pinau kapsakē ut(e) mqrimi* ‘I am presenting/giving the trophies for distribution according-to-promise’; note synonyms: *zrbbla-* ‘booty’ = *mrKK(a)-* = *kapsage-* = *ekeri-* = *Lyc. tāma-* ‘captured weapons’; cf. *laKra; tija*.

²⁰ For *apñtadi* cf. 44c.52—6 where, after the description of dealing-out of shares from raids (*laxadi*), it is said that ‘he (= *zrētēni-Natri*?) took both authority/command and troops for enforcement (*muwi*) from additions’.

We have explained *ñtuwitēni* as '[Lyc.] commander(s)' because this word appears as subject in a passage about an assault on Lyc. supplies (44c.44—6 = ex. 4), and because in 44c.51—3 (see section II, ex.11) both Lycians and Turburans receive their appropriate share separately (and Lycians seem to be the first to receive their allotments; cf. also ex. 2 above):

- 4) (a) *me ... ekemijedi: waxsadi: zrqqiti: /zireimedi/: xbadasadi* (b) *kudi mawate: klleima:* (c) *wijedri* (acc.): *ñtuwitēni: pduradi: sebe pasbā*

“(a) Now, with devastating assault(s) one plunders/robs from Xanthian supplies. (b) With whom / where (he once) removed the assailants, (c) [Lyc.] commander(s) bring(s) both the command/authority and the troops”.²¹

VI. A WARNING NOT TO DELIVER GRANTS TO PEOPLE While the ruler assigns a supervisor to a rite (for Trqqiz)

At the beginning of 44d we seem to deal with a rite for Trqqiz, Sarpedon (= Zeus's son, as also Natri-Apollo), and the assembly-gods; this rite was performed at *ermede*-reserve. Strophe dI (= 44d.1—4, ex. 1) describes preparations to the rite; the 2nd strophe (dII=44d.4—7, ex. 2) describes the rite itself:

- 1) (a) [*m(e) erm*]ed(e) *mq̄rē: etrqqi* (imp.) *tuwij(e)di: qrbbli: [z]ireime-di:* (b) *sebe-d(e) ēnē: slātu: xbadiz: qrbbledi:* (c) *ali-ke mlē mire-ke mlē t-mq̄risñte: wis-id-i: pruwā*

“(a) at/during */ermede/*, add/incorporate the allotment (acc. *mq̄rē*) to/in *q*.(*-container/altar?*), (b) and the 'Plainsmen'/Xanthians (?) shall enlarge/bring it with/from *q*. (c) Both the authority (*ali*) of the precincts (g. pl. *mlē*; cf. Lyc. *mlē θurtta* 'architect of precincts/temples') and the commoners (*mire*) of the precincts have allocated the grants/assets (?) *pruwā* for the enforcers (d. sg. coll. *wis-id-i* ?)”.²²

- 2) (a) *albrāna-ke: mlati: trqqñtasa qretu-pe:* (b) *tulijelije putu trlluba zrppedu* (c) *ni-ke qezm̄m̄i:* (d) (*e*)*weri qle-b(i)* (DS) *ēke: xñtabā: uweti: sukrē*

“(a) One shall fill/spray (*qr--* < **H₂er-*) Trqqiz's *albrāna* in the precinct/temple! (b) One shall adjoin (DS: *pu-* 'beigesellen') [statue of the god] Sarpedon to the assembly-gods for *trlluba*! [or: *trlluba* = voc., as *kuprimesi*, *pssesi*, *qrbblali*]. (c) (There shall be) no distribution (d) while the libation priests (sg. coll.) announce/call the supervisor (?) of glorification??-rites”.—Similar in 44d.47—8: *sātñniu qñtbē* [+ *uwaxa*] vs *xñtabā sukrē* [+ *uweti*].²²

²¹ This conflict continues in the next strophe (cVII) where Natri becomes involved: (a) 44c.46—7 *ñte ne puketi* (< **bheug-*): *xbidewñni: ul-ax-adi: zrētēni* (b) *seb(e) ēnari* (acc.?): *kupriti: turaxssali: /natri/* (c) *ti mlu mawate: waxsadi: wizttasppazñ* “(a) But the Kaunian Protector does not flee from a battle (**(u)walh-ahh-*), (b) and the Turaxssan Natri (n.) is extolling *ēnari* (= acc. = 'the Kaunian Protector-Natri'?), (c) who (= 'T. N.') has removed/destroyed with assaults W.'s cult/pledge/stele”.

²² Note a similar rite in 55.4—5 where Xbalada-Hebat is being 'adjoined' (imp. *da* or (*a*)*da*) to the god Prijāma and other gods.

It is possible to compare the above [*erm*]ed(e) with *ermede* ‘at the *e*.-reserve’ in 44c.60—2 (= strophe cXIII): This strophe describes a violation of the rite when *tike* (‘someone’ as in Lyc.) adds/adjoins (? *pubrati*, to **pu-uar-*) offering supply [destined] for Trqqiz (... *xrbblatā: trqqñtasi*) to the supply [destined] for the assembly-gods [= Natri?] (*eleli: tuijeli + tali* ‘at the altar’?). As for *sukre/i-*, cf. the end of 44d where *xñtaba*-supervisor is acting in (?) a *sukri* (d.-l. sg.): a rite for Trqqiz; the verb here is *tutltu* (DS), possibly from **tu-tul-tu* (not **xñtabatu*). If *sukre/i-* is not an abstract notion, it may mean ‘libation’ (cf. imp. *medutu*; cf. *kupriti* vs. *kuprimē*; verb *sukredi*; participle *palaraima*; acc. ‘septuple share(s)’).

We may also compare the end of the strophe dI where the source of a distribution for people is mentioned (‘authority ... commoners ... allocated assets for the enforcers’: verb *t-ñqrisñte* + d. *wis-id-i*) with the end of the passage 44d.67—8:

3) *mire (i)kedi (i)je qñtra: ilēnedi (i)je: t-ñqrisñte: masxxñ*

“Commoners with proprietors here (?), supervisors with farmers (*ilēn-* < **ilesn-* ‘crop’ ?) here (?) have allocated the endowment”.

Cf. the preceding description of a distribution (44d.65—7):

4) *xumala-de nēnijeti: masxxñ (a) tije: qzze mirēñne: (b) xinasi-ke: sesi: ñqri (e)ke= bura (c) seb(e) ēnesi (etc.) xñtawaza*

“*x*.-official directs the endowment (a) for ... awards (?) for the commoners, (b) for allotment (*ñqri*) for the enforcers (*/ekebura/*) for the tribute-related (*xina-si*) service (*sesi*) ..., (c) and for the royalty of ... (descent)”.

To confirm the meaning ‘distribution/allocation [of shares/payments to people]’ for *qezñmi* we may analyze the whole passage 44d.37—44 (= strophes dXII—XIII, our exx. 5a—f) where a *qezñmi*-distribution performed by Xerēi in different cities is depicted (note indication of a source for *qezñmi* in ex. 5c; ex. 5b is similar to a line in the Greek poem in 44):

5a) *plejerē: pijeti: ilēne* (subj.): *qezñmi* (d.)

“Farmers (?) give(s) assets/plenty (cf. *plejere* ‘at the assemblage’ ?) for distribution”.

5b) *me (i)kedi (i)je: qelideli: albā-pe: kupttle: muxssa: pijelu*

“Now, with the proprietors here I’ll give/present a ‘royal’ (*qelid-e-li*; if to Lyd.) award to the dear ones (?) / governors (= *kup-ttl-e*, lit. ‘planners’) during *m*.-rites”.

5c) *mlez: ñte mlesi: mire: lide-be: (a)lbijēi: trelewñne*

“In precincts, the ‘awarders’ (sg. coll.) provided (? *lide* < **elide* ?) precinct grants for Trallians for commoners (partitive apposition)” [structure still not clear; is (*ñte*)-*mlesi* : *mire* subj. ??].

5d) *xñtabu-pe: kñtre: eluwi-pe: busawñn[a: q]la:*

“I awarded the authority for collection/levy (*eluwi*) for granaries (?? *kñtre*) for Busan precincts”.

5e) *tralije: wijedri-be: albaxā: m̃qr[ē er]eime*

“I awarded the supervisors (or the like) for Trallian levy of allotments (g. pl.?)” [g. pl. not secured].

5f) *mulēni-pe: zppli: ētre-be: asx[xat]i a[t]rala muwa*

“The attendants (n.sg. coll. *atrala*; for semantics cf. HierL *wasinasi*) will realize improvement in stores for the lower ones”.

We may note that *qezm̃mi* (2×), *qzze* (d. pl. ‘for grants/payments’), and *epe-qzzi/ppe-[qz]zi* (acc. ‘sur-charge’ or sim.) are synonyms in a broad sense of this word: they denote something which is given/payed (to people or by people).

VII. A WARNING NOT TO GIVE SHARES TO TROOPS FOR RAIDS While presenting grants to Arma(-Trqqiz) for accommodations

What follows is the stophe cV (= 44c.41—4) which clearly shows **importance of the sequence of actions in a rite**: It is prohibited to give shares from a raid to warriors before a rite for Arma-Trqqiz is announced (and conducted):

1) (a) *[m̃qrē]-pe: ni-ke: waxsi: pibi: krese:* (b) *(a)r̃mpali: predi: xapaxi: l[ax]adi: mrKKas uwēti:* (c) *seb(e) enē: laKri: x̃ntabaimi: slāma: zrbblā*

“(a) Don’t give [shares] for a fight/raid to warriors (?) (b) when announcing shares/allotments / *m.*-grants from spoils (?) from raids for Arma’s accommodation (c) and add this, the booty, to the trophy(-display) during the *x.*-rite (or voc.: ‘*x.*-priest/leader’?)!”.—Altern.: *mrKKas* = ‘providers’, cf. Tuburans in 44d.30 (if so, *predi* = ‘with spoils’)

Actually, str. cV describes the same events (stressing the importance of the action sequence) which were in more detail described in strophes cIII (Lyc. ruler Xeriga entrusts the trophy-display to ‘Plainsmen’-Xanthians and announces a rite(-supervisor?) for/before the ‘Ruler’; our ex. 2 = 44c.37—9) and cIV (Xeriga selects trophies for the display, and *muri* determines both shares for troops and assets for commanders; ex. 3 = 44c.39—41).

2) (a) *laKra: trbbdi: xeriga: me xbadiz:* (b) *kudi: mrKKd[i: ...]kssa: tr̃mmilija: uweti padmruwasa: kuplle[si ...] sebe xbadasi: esānāmla*

“(a) X. entrusts the trophy(-display) to ‘Plainsmen’/Xanthians (b) with whom/as he announces/invokes the Lyc. distributional (*pad-mr-*) ...-rite ... ([...]kssa + *tr̃mmilija padmruwasa*) for/before the Ruler of the Kuprllle-kin and the ‘Plainsmen’/ Xanthians”.

3) (a) ... *ub(e) ekere seb[edi: k]udi: slāmati: zrbblā:* (b) *m̃qrē: muri: tupleleimi* (attr. to *m.*) [: *pasbb*]az: *sebe sbirtē pzziti: lelebedi: x̃ntabasi*

“(a) ... he selects among grants [and] spoils/amends where to add (lit.: ‘where one adds’) the spoils/booty [+ d. *laKri* implied?]. (b) *muri* ... determines shares for troops and assets of (= for) command(ers) from raids”.—

Altern.: *lelebedi* ‘from the booty/spoils’ (cf. *lebi* ‘for a seizure’, *lbbeweli* ‘[god-]Provider’ = Natri?).

There is a significant similarity between ex. 1 above and ex. 2 in the section VI: in both cases it is stated that distribution of shares to people may not precede announcement of a rite for the main god.

Ex. 4 represents a schematic comparison of passages which seem to have as subject one of many designations of the god Natri (cf. section IV, sub ex.1). If this assumption is correct, Natri is a god who brings trophies / delivers shares for the Sungod (not for the Stormgod). Natri/Zriqali brings troops from raids (exx. 4a—b); Lyc. ruler Xeriga dedicates a *tala-* (altar?) to Zrigali ‘for leadership/steering’: *nei*. [Note *tali* ... *tulijeli* ‘at the altar for the assembly-god (Natri?)’].

4)	subj.	verb + acc. (+ d. + instr.)	verb + acc. + d. (god) (+ instr.)
a)	<i>natri</i> Natri-Apollo	<i>slati pasbā + xñtabu xusttedi</i> brings troops+ command fr. raid	<i>zazati laKra trujeli</i> delivers trophy for Trujeli
b)	<i>zriqali</i> ‘Victor’ (?)	<i>zazati tuburiz waxsadi</i> delivers Tuburans from raid(s)	
c)	<i>welpumi</i> ‘Trusty’ (?)	<i>sukredi ziu pasbu + mrKKdi</i> extols bellicose troops w. grants	
d)	<i>zini</i> ‘Warrior’ (?)		<i>pzziti ekānē urasli lelebedi</i> determines share f. Urasli fr. raid
e)	<i>muri</i> ‘Defender’ (?) (<i>muri</i>)	<i>(pzziti) mqrē [pasbb]az (lelebedi)</i> determines share f. troops fr. raid <i>pzziti sbirtē xñtabasi lelebedi</i> determines commands’ lot fr. raid	
f)	<i>xbid. zrētēni</i> Kaun. protector	<i>ne puketi ulaxadi</i> doesn’t flee from battle(s)	
g)	<i>zrētēni</i> ‘Protector’ (<i>zrētēni</i>) (?)	<i>prete ekeri laxadi</i> was bringing amends fr. raids <i>(pduradi) qirzē tbiplē trmmiliz</i> delivers double share f. Lycians	
	(<i>zrētēni</i>) (?)	<i>pduradi trpplē (qirzē) tuburiz</i> [+] triple (share) f. Tuburans	<i>sebedi + hñtarwā + qirzē ziwi</i> selects ... share f. the Sungod

IX. A MILYAN WORDLIST²³

abura ‘enforcers’ (+ *tetbeti zirāpla* ‘will destroy supplies’ [of duty violators]) // (*a/e*)*burēni*, verb ‘stops, damages’ or sim.; cf. Mil.-Lyc. (*a/e*)*bu-* ‘violate’ // *ali* ‘authority’ (synon. *xñtaba*, *wijedri*, *qñtra*) // *a-du* (?) ‘he/one shall make’ (with *-d- /ede/* ‘it’?); see (*a/e*)*stte* // *alKāna*, inf. ‘to repel’ (?) // *a/epñta-* ‘addition’ or

²³ This is a shortened, but also updated, variant of a list in my paper in GsKorolëv (2002): 178—188.

‘spoils/amends’ // *arm̃pa-* ‘Arma(-Trqqiz?)’ // *as-a*, all. ‘for fulfilment’ (synon. *es-et-i*); cf. next // *(a/e)stte* ‘made, paid’ // *as-xx-a-* ‘realize’ (+ *mulēni ... zppli* ‘improvement in supply’ + *ētre* ‘for the lower ones’) // *atli* ‘for (him)self’, refers to Trqqiz // *atrala* ‘attendants’ (sg. coll.).

āpi- ‘impose’ (+ [z]*aj/ta pijanuwa* ‘taxes for payment’ + *atli*).

busawñn[a : q]la, all. ‘for Busan precincts’ ?

da or *(a)da*, imp. 2nd p. sg. ‘take/adjoin’ (?); cf. *putu* // *dadu* = *(e)d(e)adu* ? // *date* or *adate* ‘took/adjoined’ ? // *de*, *dde* ‘too, as well as’ ? // *dewis*, acc. pl. ‘(steles with) regulations’ (?) for *zrētēniz* [or: *dewis* = ‘the same (ones)’ ?]; cf. Lyc. *dewē* + all. *zxxaza* + // *dezi* ‘enlargement’ (of *laKra* ‘trophy display’); cf. Lyc. *ddeze-* ‘add’ (in an illegal burial).

ebe ‘he’ (used also as introd. pron. for a noun in n. sg.) // *eda-* ‘food’ in d. pl. *eda[z]* // *eduli* ‘for harm’ (+ *prij(e)* ‘for the foremost ones’; implied: Trqqiz + Lyc. royalty) < **ed-uol-* // *eiñ* ‘(is) made’ (: Luw. *ayammi-*) + *ēmu* ‘for me’ // *ek-ānē*, acc. ‘(indemnity) share’ (from raids/spoils: *lelebedi*) for *urasla* (-Sun-god?); cf. Lyc. *[ekā]nē* ? // *ekemije-* ‘devastating’, attr. to *waxsa-* ‘assaults’; cf. */ekemi/* = *eki* // *ekeri* / *keri*, d. pl. *(e)kere* ‘amends, spoils’ // *eki* / *ki*, d. sg.; *eke*, d. pl. ‘for deficiency / in adversity’ etc. (IE **eg-* ‘lack, be in need’); note redupl. verb *kiki-* ‘dwindle’ or sim. (about gods deprived of offerings) // *el-el-i-*, noun and verb ‘offer, deliver(y)’ (: *eluw-i* ‘for delivery’); to **elH-* ‘pour’ ? // *(e/i)lija*, all. (god?), after *ñte*; cf. Lyc. *ñte (e/i)le*, Mil. *lle*; Lyc.-Mil. */elei/* or */ilei/* ? // *(e)metu* ‘one shall collect’? (cf. IE **em-l-* in *er-ēpl-e/i-* ‘tribute store’ or sim.) // *epe* ‘take!’ or ‘fix!’, ‘select!’ (an offering for a god); cf. *n(e)epdi* ‘doesn’t take, select’ (+ acc.: people + ‘for duties’)??; cf. noun in g. pl. *epsē* ‘of selections’ to **ep-ss-e-* ‘select regularly’ ? // *epri ... ziti* ‘to the last levy’ // *erbbi* ‘for fight(s)’; cf. Lyc. // *ereime/i-* ‘levy; supply; granary’; cf. *zireime/i-* // *erēpli* ‘store’ or sim. (kept for gods); cf. *zi-(e)rēple* (same; for people) // *erije*, d.-l. ‘for raising/levy’ // *ermede*, loc. ‘reserve’ < **ar-m-* (or harvest feast?) // *es-et-i* ‘for fulfilment’ (= *as-a*) ? // *(e)stte*, verb: see *(a/e)stte* // *etrqqi*, imp. ‘add, incorporate!’ ? // *eweri*, sg. coll. ‘libation (priests)’ (?); *ewēne* ‘to drink’ (+ d. *zusi zbalī*)?

ē ‘when’ (see *kzta*) // *ēke* ‘if, when’ // *ēnari* ‘Mighty’ (god?) : Luw. *annara/i-* // *ētre* ‘for the lower ones’ (synon.: *mire*).

ike- ‘proprietor(s)’ in *(i)kedi*, abl.; cf. *ik-et-esi*, d.-l. (not n.?) // *irelesi*, d. (god Trqqiz?) < **irhallassi-* ‘exceptional’ ?? (pendant to *zuta*).

kal-u ‘I’ll tie/attach to’ (: Hitt. *kal-el-ija-* ‘tie up’) // *kapsaqē*, acc. ‘spoils’ < **kap-sa-*? // *kātdqē* (= *kāt(a)qē* ?), g. pl. ‘of granaries, (certain) grain’ (about offering supplies) : Hitt. *kant-* ‘wheat’ ? // *-ke* ‘and’ // *ki*, *kiki-* see *eki* // *kize* (*/ekize/*), d. pl. ‘for deficiency’ ? // *klleime-* ‘battling, assault’, to IE **kelH-* ? // *krese* ‘to warriors’ ? // *kudi* ‘with whom/which; while, as’ // *kuli* ‘troops’ (: Luw.?) // *kupri-* ‘extol’ or ‘libate’ (?) (: *medu-*); participle *kuprimi* (attr. to *ek-ānē* ‘indemnity share’), *kup-rimē* (g. pl., attr. to *kātdqē*, some produce for offerings); to IE **keup-* ‘desire’ ? // *kup-ttl-e* ‘for the dear ones’ or, rather, ‘governors’ (to Ht.-Luw. *kup-* ‘plan, plott’) // *kuti* ‘if, when’ (?) : Lyd. *kot* // *kzta ē* ‘when need’ (*/ekiz-et-a/*) ?

la- ‘take’ (+ *ali ... pasbā* ‘authority + troops’ / *xerigazn̄ m̄qrē* ‘X.’s allotment’); cf. acc. *lajata* ‘takers’? // *lebi* ‘for seizure’, *lelebedi* ‘from raids’ or, rather, ‘from spoils/booty’, etc. // *laKra* ‘trophies; trophy-display’ // *laxa-* ‘raid’ : Hitt. *lahha-* // */lēmē/* ‘in fights’ (< **lemH-*?), pendant to *t̄mme* (similar meaning?) // *lēpri* ‘schedule (?)’ : Hitt. *lammar* // *luga-* ‘damage, burn [wooden statues, etc.]’? (: HierL *luga-nu-*) // *lupeliz* ‘fragile, breakable’ (< IE **leup-* ‘peel, break’), attr. to *lijeiz* ‘nymphs [statues]’ // *lusasi-*, *lusali-* (gods’ epithets) ‘fiery’? (cf. HierL *lus-lus-* ‘burn’) // *luwa-dla-* ‘supply delivery’ (for nymphs; cf. *eleli-*) : Luw. *luwa-* ‘pour’

ma-dr-a-ne, inf. ‘to accommodate, make thrive’ (or *mad-r-*, to *med-e-*?) // *marāz*, acc. pl., *meri*, acc. sg. ‘law(s), rule(s)’ (obj. of *mrsxxa-* and *(a)ebu-* ‘violate’ : Hitt. *marsahh-*) // *masxxm̄* ‘endowment’ : Hitt. *mask-* ‘give gifts’, *maskan-* ‘gift’ // *mawa-* ‘remove’ (forcefully); *mawili* ‘guard’? (synon.: *ñneri*) // *mede* ‘for allocation, stocking (up)’ (adj. *medije*, attr. to *pere*; verb *medetu* ‘may he reserve, allocate’, to IE **med-* ‘measure, stock up, care’ etc.?); cf. *ziti* ‘during levy’ // *medu-* ‘to wine, libate’ (synon.: *kupri-*?) // *meri* see *marāz* // *metu* see *(e)metu* // *mle-* ‘precinct, temple’ (: Lyc. *ñte-mle-*), loc. pl. *memleje* (: *ermede*, *plejere*, *[xu]pe*; Lyc. *nele*, *nelede*) // *mlu* ‘(stele-with-a-)pledge’ (refers to a periodical tribute to a god or gods); to IE **mleuH-* ‘speak’? // *mrKK(a)-* ‘dealing-out; grants, spoils’ : Hitt. verb *mark-* < IE **merk-* // *mrsxxa-* ‘violate; violator’ : Hitt. *marsahh-* // *mulēni* ‘improvement’? (: Late Anat. stem [mulli-]) // *muni* high functionary, ruler, lit. ‘defender’ (: IE **meu-n-* ‘defend’)? // *muri* ‘Protector’(-Natri?); *murēne-* ‘defend’(?), *murei* ‘for defence’(?); to IE **meu-r-* (?), see next // *mutala* ‘strongman’ : Luw. *muwattala/i-*; cf. next // *muwa-* ‘enforce’ (synon.: *āpi-*, *wisi-*); d. sg. *muwi* ‘for enforcement’; all. *muwa?* // *muxssa* ‘during m.-rites’ (?) : Hitt. *mukessar*.

/m̄parāna/ (all., attr. to *trqq̄nta*) ‘of the fields/hills’ (vs Lyc. *agarāi zeusi* ‘for Zeus of agoras’; *mahāna neleze* ‘for gods of squares/precincts’; cf. Anat. “gods of squares and fields”) // *m̄gre-*, *m̄qrimi-* ‘share(s), allotment(s)’; verb *m̄qris-* ‘allot’ (**meHur*).

ne ‘not’, *ne-u* ‘not even’ : Hitt. *na-wi* ‘not yet’ // *nei* ‘for guidance’? // *nere* ‘for water-gods’ (: IE **ner-*), attr. *nerija-* // *nēnije-* ‘send, direct’ : Hitt. *nanniya-* ‘drive’; to IE **ne-noiH-* ‘lead’; cf. *nei* // *ni* ‘not’ (prohib.; with imp., either present or implied) // *nuni ti* ‘who invokes’ or, rather, ‘satiates’ (+ acc. ‘fierce gods’); cf. Hitt. *nū-* ‘satisfy’, etc. : IE **neuH-* ‘shout’?

ñneri ‘guard, protector’ (synon.: *mawili*, lit. ‘remover’, *zrētēni*) : Lyc. *ñne-* ‘chase away’ // *ñtada*, *ñtete* ‘at the tombs’, synonym. *[xu]pe*.

padr-e- ‘dedicate, present’ (or sim.); *pad-mr-uwa-sa* ‘dedicative’ or ‘distributive’ (about a rite) // *pasb(b)a-* ‘troops, servicemen’ : Hitt. *paskuwai-* ‘reject, remove’? // *pasñte* ‘for protection’ : Hitt. *pahs-* // *pdur-a-* ‘bring, deliver’ < **paddur-* // *pibi-* ‘give’ (: Lyc.) // *pigasa* ‘Stormgod’ (+ *urasla* ‘Sungod’ + *lāte* ‘took’ ‘Xeriga’s allotment’); altern.: *pigasa* + *urasla* allatives // *pije-* ‘give, pay’ : Lyc. // *pina-* ‘present, deliver’ (+ *kapsaqē* ‘spoils’ / *eleli* ‘offer. supplies’) : Hitt. *piyannai/iya-* // *pirli* ‘for grant(s)’; cf. adj. *prlleli* // *pise* ‘for regular pay-

ments/salaries'? (: Lyc. acc. pl. *pisbas*) // *plejere*- 'multitude, assets' // *plluwi* 'for plenty'? // *predi*, instr.-abl. 'spoils'? // *prete* 'brought, used to bring'? (+ *ekeri* 'spoils, amends' + abl. *laxadi*); IE **bher*- 'bring' or **perH*- 'provide, get'? // *prijāma*- god (Trqqiz?), only in 55 // *prije*- 'first, prime' (+ 'law'); *prijeli*- 'foremost' (+ 'kins', or the like), 'former' (+ 'law') // *prlleli* 'tributary'; cf. *pirli* // *pruwa* 'allotments, supply'? // *pssa*- 'pay (taxes) regularly' (cf. *pise*, *psse*-) : Pal. *pisa*-, Luw. *pipissa*- // *psse*-, *-psse* 'tribute, payment'; d.-l. pl. *psseje* 'for contributions'; adj. *psseši* (this may be a voc. 'tax collector, revenue official' or sim.); cf. *pssa*-, *pise* // *pttili* 'for swiftness' (?) : Hitt. *pittiyalli*- 'swift' // *pu*- (in imp. *putu*), *pubr-a*- < **puuar*- 'adjoin' (?); cf. Lyc. *putu* etc. // *puketi* 'he flees' < IE **bheug*-, **bhug*-? // *punamade*- 'purification' (?) : Lyc. d. pl. *punere*, etc. (from IE) // *purese* see synon. *zirēple*, cf. *erēple* // *pzzi*- 'determine' (:Lyc.).

qā[.]*ā*, acc. 'fine' (with inf. *tñne* 'pay'?), instr. *qā*[.adi]; to IE **g^when*-? // *qelēne*-, *qla*- 'collect, accumulate', *qelelija* 'accumulation, amassment (of supplies)', *qlija* 'complex, assemblage', etc. < IE **H^wel*- or **H^wel*- 'twine' etc. (: Mil. *qel-el-i-ja* vs Hitt. *hul-al-ia*- 'tie up, enclose') // *qereime*-, participle 'raided, desecrated' or sim.; cf. Hitt. *hu(wa)r-na*- 'chase', Lith. *varýti* 'chase, drive' etc. // *qezm̃mi* 'distribution (rite)' (: *qzze*, *epe-qzzi*: some payments); synon.: *m̃qrimi*- // *qidrala*-, *q/xidrasa*- 'raid' (cf. next); but *xi-dra-sa*- may relate to *xi-na-si* // *qi-dr-i*- or *qid-r-i*- 'race, dash, storm' (: HL *hwiya*- 'hurry' and/or Lith. *áudra*- 'storm'; Lyc. *xudr*-; HierL *huidar* 'wild beast', etc.; cf. *xuzr̃nta*); for *qi-dr-i*- cf. *q-ñt-il-i* (next) in a text about god Tunewñni in fights (*sñmēte klleime*): *q*- < *qi*- < **Hui*-? // *qirze/a*- '(a promised) share' ('double', 'triple', 'septuple', etc.) : Lyc. *hurz(-id)*- 'vow', etc.? // *qñtili* 'for exploits (in fights)' or appos. to Tunewñni ('hero') // *qñtra* 'authority' (synon.: *ali*, *xñtaba*-, *wijedri*) // *qre*- verb (with acc. *albrāna trqqñtasa*: 'altar, offering') in a rite description: 'spray' (: Luw. *hur*-?) // *qtti*- 'withdraw, remove' (?) : Hitt. *huittiya*- 'pull' // *qzze*, *-qzzi* see *qezm̃mi*.

saba- 'selection' (?), cf. *sabaka* (: verb *sebe*-) // *sapali*, attr. to *zppli* 'reserve' (used for offerings to Trqqiz) // *sbirtē*, acc. '(promised) assets' (received by Lyc. commanders; governed by *pzzi*- 'determine' / *xustti*- 'seize'?) // *sebe*-, *seb[e]*- 'select'? (: noun *saba*-) // *seke*- 'cut, interrupt'? // *s(ep)tāmi*- 'seven(fold)', acc., attr. to *qirzē* 'share' // *sesi* 'in the service' (?) : Hitt. *seshai*- 'to order'? // *sēkēne* 'for seizures', to Hitt. *sanh*- 'search, demand' ? // *sla*- 'bring' (altern.: 'take'; 'expand'), governs acc. phrase 'both the troops and the command' // *slama*- / *slāma*- 'add' (or: 'expand') // *sñmēte*, d.-l. pl. (attr. to *klleime* 'battles'); cf. IE **kemH*- 'become exhausted' // *stt[ē]ni* 'is angry' // *sxxaija* '(pay for amends: *ekere*) to s.-authority' : Hitt. *sahhan*- '(feudal) service'; cf. *s[xxa]xa*, 55.1 (not a verb).

tasi- '(stele-with-)regulations' : Lyd. *taša*- 'stele', etc. // *tbiplē*, acc. 'double (+ share)' // *terblē*, [*terb*]lē (?), acc. 'provision, supply' (for offerings for gods: *lle* (*lele*), possibly *zusi*) // *telitbe*- 'strike, destroy' : Lyc. *tebe*- // *tewe*- 'to encounter' (?) : Lyc. *tewēte*, d.-l. pl. 'opposite', etc. // *tewēñ*, acc. 'damages' (caused to god Tunewñni), governed by *tus*- 'put, pay' // *ti* 'who', *tike* 'someone' // *ti-d-ñt-a* 'in fights' : Lyc. *tddēt*- < IE **dei*- 'race, chase'? // *tñpewēti* 'kin,

people' (synon.: *sttrm̃mi*?), to IE **temp-* 'expand' (:Mil. *tēpe* 'in rising', about quota/debt/amends) ? // *tñne*, inf. 'to pay' < **tu-* (: *tu-s-*, noun *tsse*), or to **ti-* : Hitt. *kui-* 'pay' ? // *trbbdi* 'hands over, entrusts' : Hitt. *tarrawai-* 'provide, enrich', Luw. *tarāwi(ya)-* 'hand over', etc.; see next // *trbbēni* 'provides, delivers' (cf. *trbbdi*) // *trppala-* 'collect', *trppali*, acc. 'collection'; cf. Hitt. *tarupp-* 'gather' // *trpplē*, acc. 'triple (+ share)' // *tsse* 'for payments' (synon.: *pise*), to *tu-s-* 'pay regularly', inf. *tñne* 'to pay'? // *tubedi* 'with punishment', *tubi-* 'punish' : HierL *tupi-* 'smite'; cf. Lyc. // *tuburiz* 'Tuburans' (Lycians' closest allies) // *tu-s-* 'pay' (lit. 'put'; cf. Lyc.) // *tuwa-d-i*, d. sg. coll. 'to builders' (cf. *wis-id-i*)? // *tuwēme/i-* 'offering' // *tuwi*, acc. 'stele with a pledge' (synon.: *tasi-*, *dewi-*, *mlu*); cf. *tuwa-d-i*, *tu-s-*, *tuwije-*, *tuwēme/i-* // *tuwije-*, adj. 'tributary' (in *tuwij(e)di zireimedi* 'from tributary supply') // *tutasiz* gods (nymphs?); cf. IE **teuH-* 'favor, protect', Lat. *tūtus*, etc.

u- 'see' (in *uni* 'sees') : Hitt. *u-* // *ube-* 'grant' (: Lyc. *uba-*, etc.) // *ubre* 'for the upper ones' (?), syn. *prije* // *udrñte* 'to water' (?) : Hitt. *watru-* // *uguwāma-* 'suffering' (about Armpa without *sapali*-supply) < **uaH-/uH-* 'need, lack'? // *ul-ax-a-* 'battling' : Hitt. *walh-* 'strike, attack' etc. // *uni* see *u-* // *ute*, d.-l. 'on promise, according to rules' (?), used with *m̃qris-* 'allot, allocate'; reduced: *ut-*, *t-*; cf. nouns *ut-et-a-* 'duties', *utakija*; all to Hitt. *uttar* 'word, instructions'? // *uwe-* 'announce' etc. (= Lyd.); gerund *uwēti*.

warasijez, d. pl. 'helpers' (= those in government service?) or 'allies'? // *welp-u-* 'set hopes on' (IE **uelp-*), synon.: *xba-*, *xi-xba-* 'rely on' // *wesedi*, abl-instr. 'with goodness', or 'from goods'? // *wijedri* 'authority' // *wirasajaja*, all. to *wirasaja-* (offering rites for nymphs?) // *wisi-* 'to impose' (: Luw. 'to press'), noun *wis-id-i*, d. sg. coll. 'for enforcers'?

xaba 'for accommodation' (or sim.; cf. *xapaxi*); verb (*xi-xba-* 'rely on' (subj. god) : Hitt. *hap(p)-* 'attach (oneself)', *hapanzuwant-* 'obedient' // *xapaxi*, d. 'for abundance' (= *plluwi*), to Hitt. *happ-* 'abound', or = *xaba* above // *xbadiz* 'Xanthos Valley'; 'Plainsmen' (= Xanthians/Lycians); adj. *xbadasi(z)* etc. // *xi*, imp. 'offer!'; *xi[s]-* 'offer regularly' : Lyc. *xis-* // *xinasi*, adj. 'pertaining to tribute/offerings (*xi-na-*)'; cf. *xi* // (*xi-xba-* 'rely on; send' see *xaba-* // *xlusa-* = Hitt. *halkuessar* 'produce (used in rites), harvest, "first fruits"' // *xñtaba-* 'commander(s), supervisor(s), authority' : Hitt. *handai-* 'order, arrange' etc. // *xñtawaza* 'for the royalty'; synon.: Lyc. *xθθāna* // *xra-* 'preserve' (?) // *xrbblata-* 'special supply' (for Trqqiz; cf. *zppli*) : Hitt. *harpali-* 'heap', *harp-* 'separate' etc. // *xumala* high official // *xupdi-* 'add to' (: Hitt. *hup(p)ai-/huppiya-* 'put together, mix, increase'); synon.: *slama-*, *etrqqi-*, *kal-* // *xust(t)i-* 'seize, scoop' (?); noun 'seizure, raid'; to Palaic *huss-* 'libate' < IE **Haus-* 'scoop, draw (liquid)' ? // *xuzrñta*, all. 'fierce' (?), about gods; synon.: Lyc. *tabahaza*; cf. Luw. *tapassa-* 'fever', HierL *tapasali-* 'urgent' (e.g., 'urgent demands'); Mil. adj. *xuzruwāta* (+ *waxsa* 'fight(er)s'), *xuzruwēti-* (about gods and fighters) // *xxāti*, gerund to *xxa-* (used as *xra-*) // *xzzāta-* 'allocation', lit. 'handing over', cf. Luw. *hizza(i)-* 'hand over, entrust' in: 'Trqqiz approved (?) Xeriga's allocation for Lycians for fulfillment (*es-et-i*)'.

[z]**aj/ta** ‘taxes’ (with *āpi-* ‘impose’); *zajala* ‘tax-payer’ (+ *pssati* ‘pays regularly’) // *zaza-* ‘deliver, put/lay out, arrange’ // *zēna* ‘god(s)’ (with attr. *lusalija*) // *zija-* in acc. *ziu pasbu* ‘bellicose/fight-ready troops’ (cf. Lyc. adj. *zehi*, next); to IE **deǵH-/*d̥ieH-* ‘chase’ (?) (for *z-* cf. Lyc. */zēmi/* ‘on the ground’?) // *zinase*, d. pl. (gods?); *zini*, n. (god Natri?); cf. *zija-* above, cf. HierL *zina-* (related to *zisa-* ‘attack’); Lyc. *ēti zehi hbāti* ‘in ... fight’ (: Hitt. *suwai-* [swai-] ‘push’, etc.) // *zi-psse*, d.-l. ‘during/for produce delivery (harvesting)’ (?); *synon.:* (*e*)*ri-psse*; it is possible that *zi-* means ‘yearly’ (: HierL *zi-*?), and (*e*)*ri-* means ‘seasonal’ (: HierL *ari-*) // *zi-(e)reime-*, noun ‘produce delivery/supply; granary’; cf. *ereime-*, *zi(e)rēple*, *zi-psse*, *ziti* // *zirēple*, d. pl. ‘tribute supply’ (belongs to people); *zirāpla*, acc. coll. (belongs to people) vs *erēple* etc. (offering supply for gods) // *ziti*, d.-l. ‘during levy’; also with *epri* ‘last’ // *ziwi*, d. ‘Sungod’ (: Lyd. *ciw-* etc.) = *zuta*, *zusi*? // *zuse* (d. *zusi*) ‘Sungod, Zeus’; cf. *ziwi*, *zuta* // *zppli*, d.-l. ‘supply, storage’ (mostly for offerings for Trqqiz) : Hitt. *zuppala-* ‘royal kitchen functionary’, *zuppa-* (a vessel) // *zrbblā*, acc. ‘booty, spoils’ : Hitt. *sāruwai-* ‘to loot’, *saruwawar* ‘looting’ < IE **seru-o-* ‘loot’ // *zrigali*, d., *zriqali*, n. ‘victor’ (??): god Natri (?) // *zrqqi-* ‘rob, steal’ (+ ‘from supplies’) : Luw. in Hitt. *sarhiya-* ‘to attack/raid’, Hitt. *sarhunt-alli-*, adj. ‘pertaining-to-a-robber’ // *zuta*, all. or d. ‘Sungod’ (?) < **diut-*?