Vina Diem Celebrent

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in Honor of

Brent Vine

edited by

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Are Correlative Pronouns Always Overt in Lydian?*

PHILOMEN PROBERT

1 Introduction

Many surviving Lydian relative sentences begin with the relative clause, as in (1):[1]

(1) ak=it ešλ širmaλ qyš
CONJ=PTC DEM.DAT.SG temple.DAT.SG REL.NOM.SG.ANIM
fẽnšλipid niwiscν
do-harm.3SG.PRES/FUT injustices.DAT.PL.(?)
fak=mλ=it=in qλdãns tawsas
CONJ=him.DAT/LOC.SG=PTC=PTC Qλdans.NOM.SG. mighty.NOM.SG.ANIM
artimu=k ipsimšiš katšarlokid
Artemis.NOM.SG=CONJ Ephesian.NOM.SG. do-harm.3SG.PRES/FUT (23.2–4)
'# And whoever does harm to this temple with injustices(?), **# to him** mighty Qldans and Ephesian Artemis will do harm.'[2]

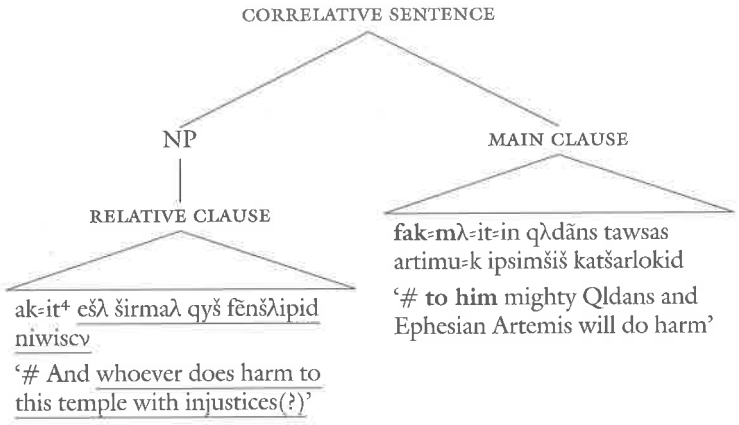
*I am honoured to offer this tentative effort to Brent Vine, with heartfelt thanks for his kind and scholarly example. This paper is indebted to a graduate seminar on Lydian led by John Penney in 2009; I am very grateful to John in particular and to the other participants. I am further grateful to Craig Melchert, John Penney, Eleanor Dickey, and the editors of this volume for extremely helpful critique of draft versions. And whoever blames them for any shortcomings, Ephesian Artemis will have a word with him or her.

[1]Lydian texts are quoted on the basis of H. C. Melchert's corpus, which is based on Gusmani's (1964, 1980–6) and is available at http://linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/webpage/lydiancorpus.pdf. I almost always follow Melchert on readings and the location of clitic boundaries, indicated by the sign =. A dot under a letter indicates an uncertain letter, triangular brackets an emendation, and ° an incomplete word. I follow Melchert's corpus in writing *w* rather than *v*, and adopt the practices of writing *s* for the dental sibilant, *š* for the palatal one, and *p* rather than *b* (so e.g. Melchert 2006, after Schürr 1999:171–3). In the translations given in this paper, # marks the presence of a clause-combining conjunction *ak* or *fak*. English 'and' or 'well then' is given in addition where appropriate in English. In numbered examples and translations, underlining indicates a relative clause. If an example contains more than one relative clause, underlining is used only for the one on which the argument focuses at that point. A clause-combining conjunction occurring at the boundary between underlined relative clause and what follows is shown in bold, as is a correlative pronoun "picking up" an underlined relative clause. Where the status of a particular pronoun is under discussion—is it a correlative pronoun or not?—bold will not be used but the pronoun will be shaded.

[2]On *niwisscν* (and *wissiš* e.g. in (20)) see Schürr 2006:1576. John Penney (personal communication) suggests

Structurally, example (1) is clearly a correlative sentence: a sentence-initial relative clause is adjoined to a structurally complete main clause, which contains a pronoun 'picking up' the relative clause (a 'correlative pronoun'). The relative clause has the distribution of a noun phrase in a topic (or 'left-dislocated') position, and the structure can be represented informally as shown in (2).[3]

(2)



More formal ways of labelling the nodes of this tree would be available, but the important point is that the relative clause is adjoined to the main clause, not a constituent of it. Two features of our example make this particularly clear. Firstly, the clause boundary between relative clause and main clause is clearly marked by the clause-combining conjunction *fak*. Secondly, the overt correlative pronoun *=mλ* makes it clear that the relative clause is not itself the indirect object of *katšarlokid* in the main clause: the syntactic slot for an indirect object is taken in that clause by *=mλ*. Some twenty-seven examples (including our example (1)) with a clearly-marked clause boundary and overt correlative pronoun can be identified with some confidence, even if translations can be given only tentatively. A list of these examples is given in the appendix.

This paper asks whether Lydian correlative sentences *always* contain an overt correlative pronoun, as in example (1), or whether we also find sentences with the same basic structure but with the correlative pronoun implicit rather than overt. If we could answer this question with confidence, the answer ought to help us narrow down the number of possible interpretations of difficult texts. As it is we will not be able to offer a definite answer, but posing the question in the first place may provide a new angle from which to grapple with difficult passages.

that *niwisscv* could be accusative singular, which would account for the form more easily than a dative plural, if in this passage the word is an internal accusative with *fẽnšλipid*.

[3]Compare Garrett 1994:41–57, on similar structures in Lycian and Hittite.

[4]The conjunction *ak=* connects the whole correlative sentence to what precedes. As such, it should strictly speaking be shown outside the relative clause, but I simplify this matter to avoid overcomplicating the diagram; so also in the diagram under (4) below.

To approach our question we consider potential candidates for the status of correlative sentence with non-overt correlative pronoun. We shall find that some candidate sentences have at least one possible analysis with an overt correlative pronoun, and the others may not be correlative sentences at all.

2 Correlative pronoun or some other pronoun?

In example (3) we have one relative sentence nested inside another. As shown under (4), both the larger and the smaller relative sentence begin with the relative clause, and have a clause-combining conjunction (*ak* or *fak*) marking the boundary between relative clause and what follows.

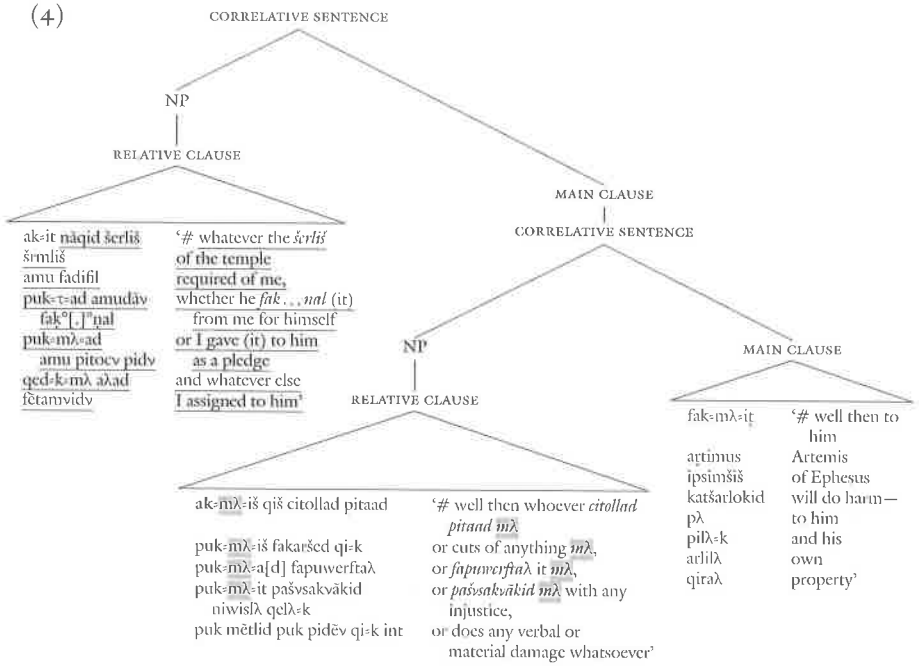
For present purposes it is the larger relative sentence that is of particular interest, and the relative clause of this larger relative sentence is underlined below. This relative clause is followed by the conjunction *ak* (shown in bold), and then the relative clause of the smaller relative sentence—which at the same time begins the 'main clause' of the larger relative sentence. This second relative clause contains five verb phrases co-ordinated using *puk* 'or', the first four of these containing the third person enclitic dative singular pronoun form *=mλ* (relevant instances are shaded below), and the third verb phrase also including the neuter accusative *=ad* 'it'.

(3) ak=it nãqid[5] šerliš šrmliš amu fadifil puk=τ=ad amudãv faḳ°[.]°ṇal puk=mλ=ad amu pitocv pidv qed=k=mλ aλad fẽtamvidv **ak**=mλ=iš qiš citollad pitaad puk=mλ=iš fakaršed qi=k puk=mλ=a[d] fapuwerftaλ puk=mλ=it pašvsakvãkid niwislλ qelλ=k puk mẽtlid puk pidẽv qi=k int fak=mλ=iṭ aṛtimus ipsimšiš katšarlokid pλ pilλ=k arlilλ qiraλ (24.3–14)
'# Whatever the *šerliš* of the temple required of me, whether he *fak . . . nal* it from me for himself or I gave it to him as a pledge, and whatever else I assigned to him, # well then whoever *citollad pitaad mλ* or cuts off anything

[5] I work with the traditional view that *nãqi-* (and occasional *nã= . . . qi-*, with the two parts in tmesis) is a derived relative pronoun of some sort (see Gusmani 1964:170–1). Sideltsev and Yakubovich (2016:98–9 n. 24) have recently suggested that *nãqi-* means 'if anyone' rather than 'whoever'. Some such diachronic source would explain the possibility of tmesis, but if *nãqi*-clauses were conditional clauses in synchronic terms we might expect them to be picked up less regularly than *qi*-clauses by what looks like an overt correlative pronoun. (To put this differently, a sentence-initial relative clause such as '(He) who damages it' or 'Whoever damages it' is likely to be picked up by a pronoun in the main clause, e.g. 'Artemis will punish **him**', whereas a sentence-initial conditional clause such as 'If anyone damages it' could just as well be followed by e.g. 'Artemis will take revenge'.) The sentences considered in this paper do not suggest any such difference between *nãqi-* and *qi-*. Of the 27 correlative sentences with clear correlative pronouns listed in the appendix, 9 (33%) are introduced by *nãqi-* (examples (12), (13), (14), (19), (21), (22), (23), (24), (36)). Of the 7 candidates for possible correlative sentences without correlative pronouns considered in this paper (examples (3), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10)), 2 (29%) are likewise introduced by *nãqi-* (examples (3) and (5); in example (3) we also find *qed*, co-ordinated with *nãqid*). The proportion of sentences introduced by *nãqi-* is thus very similar for the instances with a clear correlative pronoun and for the more doubtful cases; synchronically speaking this similarity supports the traditional interpretation of *nãqi-* as a relative pronoun. The pronouns *nãqi-* and *qi-* probably differed in meaning, but the difference may well have been subtle and (like Greek *ὅστις* and *ὅς*) both pronouns are usable in conditional relative clauses.

mλ, or *fapuwerftaλ* it *mλ*, or *pašvsakvākid mλ* with any injustice, or does any verbal or material damage whatsoever, # well then to him Artemis of Ephesus will do harm—to him and his own property.[6]

(4)



For present purposes we would like to know whether any of the shaded instances of *=mλ*, or indeed anything else, is actually a correlative pronoun—that is to say, a pronoun 'picking up' (and coreferential with) the underlined relative clause.

All four shaded instances of *=mλ* are usually taken to refer to the *šerliš* of the temple,[7] and so to pick up the subject of the underlined relative clause, not the whole relative clause. On this view the only pronoun picking up the relative clause itself would be the *=ad* 'it' in *puk=mλ=a[d] fapuwerftaλ* 'or *fapuwerftaλ* it *mλ*'. If we ask

[6]For the idea that *puk . . . puk . . .* in the underlined relative clause means 'whether . . . or', see Melchert 1997:38. Alternatively, I find it possible that the meaning here is 'or . . . or' (as per Gusmani 1960:286), if Lydian relative clauses of the type 'whatever he required and/or requisitioned' allow the second conjunct to contain an anaphoric pronoun in the syntactic slot that the relative pronoun occupies in the first one (i.e. if in Lydian one could say 'whatever he required and/or requisitioned it'). At least at first sight, we find a similar structure at 54.2–3, in our example (7): *ak=ad qiš fišqānt puk=as fēdanoλt* 'and whoever destroys it or (he) *fēdanoλt*' (see also example (15)). Since *=as* in this instance is a subject pronoun, it may be due to the rule (likely to obtain in Lydian as well as Hittite and Luwian; see Melchert 1997:39) requiring an overt subject with a subset of intransitive verbs. On the other hand it is not clear to me whether this rule need give rise to the *=as* in *puk=as fēdanoλt*, or whether the subject relative pronoun *qiš* could in principle have fulfilled the requirement to have an overt subject with the second verb.

[7]So e.g. Melchert (2006:1161–2), taking all instances as datives of disadvantage and translating the first, second, and fourth instances in their contexts as 'whoever *p*'s (a) *c*. from him for himself'; 'or cuts off from him anything for himself'; 'or *p*'s (to) him for/in something evil'.

whether there is an overt correlative pronoun, *=ad* here hardly fits the bill: in the examples listed in the appendix, all the enclitic correlative pronouns occur in the particle chain attached to the first clause-combining conjunction after the relative clause.

But it is worth asking whether the first, second, and fourth shaded instances of *mλ* need refer to the *šerliš* or whether they could refer instead to the property that the underlined relative clause picks out. (The third instance does refer to the *šerliš*, because here *=ad* refers to the property. For *=mλ* with different antecedents in successive clauses, see our example (18) and its variant (17).) If these instances of *=mλ* refer to the property, the first in particular would be exactly where an overt correlative pronoun should go, and the second half of the sentence could be translated '# well then whoever *citollad pitaad* **from it** or cuts off anything from it, or *fapuwerftaλ* it from him, or *pašvsakvãkid* to it with any injustice, or does any verbal or material damage whatsoever, # well then to him Artemis of Ephesus will do harm—to him and his own property'. If the hypothetical wrongdoer is envisaged as appropriating or removing pieces of temple property it might not be surprising to find pronouns referring to the whole from which parts are taken away. Craig Melchert points out to me that overt enclitic dative pronoun forms rarely have semantically inanimate antecedents elsewhere in Anatolian, although occasional examples are found in Hittite. However, a parallel for Lydian *=mλ* with a semantically inanimate—albeit this time grammatically animate—antecedent can be found at 4b.1–3 (*es wãnas maneliš aluliš ak=mλ=t qiš fẽnšlipid* 'This tomb (is) of Mane (son) of Alu. And whoever does harm to it . . . ') and the variant at 4a.1 (*es asinas maneliš aluliš ak=mλ=t qiš fẽnšλipid* 'This *asina-* (is) of Mane (son) of Alu. And whoever does harm to it . . . '). Lydians apparently did not feel that *=mλ* meant only 'him/her' (dative), to the exclusion of 'it' (dative). Given this, it would not be surprising if they also used *=mλ* with an antecedent that was grammatically as well as semantically inanimate, such as our underlined relative clause with coordinated relative pronouns *nãqid* and *qed*.[8]

Examples (5) and (6) have sentence-initial relative clauses followed by a main clause beginning with *ak=ms*, where *=ms* (shown below with shading) is a dative plural form meaning 'to them'. This pronoun has been taken to refer to the group of people called *mλimns*. Thus, Melchert (2006:1164) translates example (5) as 'whatever __s the Mλimna's from/in Sardis, we have decreed an *aλidad wiswid* for them', while Yakubovich (2017:275–6) gives the translation 'Whatever the *mλimna-* group represent in respect to Sardis, we approved for them/you a just reform'. Melchert (2006:1164) translates example (6) as 'Whatever __s the Mλimna's from/in Sardis,

[8]Craig Melchert (personal communication) makes a different and intriguing suggestion, that *=iš* may be a local particle functionally equivalent to Hittite *=(a)šta* (rather than a reflexive as per Melchert 1991), and that in examples (3)/(4) both instances of this particle (not the instances of *=mλ*) express 'from it (i.e. the property)' in *ak=mλ=iš qiš citollad pitaad puk=mλ=iš fakaršed qi=k*. In this case we would not have a correlative pronoun as such, but we would nevertheless have an indication of the syntactic relationship between the underlined relative clause and what follows.

the *š.* of Artemis have decreed to *i.* it to them (*or* decreed it to be *i.* to them)', while Yakubovich (2017:280) translates this example as 'What(ever) the *mλimna-* group represent in respect to Sardis, the *šiwraλmi-* officials of Artemis *placed* them/you *under oath*'.[9]

(5) nãqida mλimns išt sfarλ
REL.NOM/ACC.SG?/PL?.NEUT Mλimna-.NOM?/ACC?.PL PREP? Sardis.DAT.SG
iitλ **ak**=ms aλidad wiswid
?.3SG.PRES/FUT.MID CONJ=them.DAT.PL ?.ACC.SG ?.ACC.SG.NEUT
kaττiwν
decree(?).1PL.PRET (22.5–6)
'Whatever *mλimns išt sfarλ iitλ*, # *ms* we have decreed(?) an *aλidad wiswid*.'

(6) qida iitλ mλimns
REL.NOM/ACC.SG?/PL?.NEUT ?.3SG.PRES/FUT.MID Mλimna-.NOM?/ACC?.PL
išt sfarλ **ak**=ms irduν šiwraλmiš artimul
PREP? Sardis.DAT.SG CONJ=them.DAT.PL ? ?.NOM.PL Artemis.GEN.SG
kaττirs
decree(?).3PL.PRET (22.10–1)
'Whatever *iitλ mλimns išt sfarλ*, # *ms* the *šiwraλmiš* of Artemis *irduν kaττirs*.'

If *=ms* is indeed correctly interpreted as referring to the Mλimna's, *=ms* would pick up a constituent of the relative clause (*mλimns*) rather than the whole relative clause: it would not be a correlative pronoun.[10] But it is worth asking whether *=ms* could instead pick up the whole relative clause, and thus be a correlative pronoun.

[9]One might ask what, if any, syntactic role the relative clauses (or rather their implicit resumptions) are taken to play in the main clauses on the interpretations quoted here. Regarding example (5), I take it that for both Melchert and Yakubovich the relative clause sets up a topic without strictly playing any syntactic role in the main clause, i.e. 'Whatever __s the Mλimna's from/in Sardis, in relation to that we have decreed an *aλidad wiswid* for them' (after Melchert) or 'Whatever the *mλimna-* group represent in respect to Sardis, in relation to that we approved for them/you a just reform' (after Yakubovich). Regarding example (6), Melchert's translation clearly implies that the (implicit resumption of the) relative clause has a syntactic role in the main clause as the object of *irduν* (with *irduν* taken as an infinitive). I take it that Yakubovich again considers the relative clause to set up a topic without strictly playing any syntactic role in the main clause, i.e. 'What(ever) the *mλimna-* group represent in respect to Sardis, in relation to that the *šiwraλmi-* officials of Artemis placed them/you under oath'. The alternative suggestion put forward below makes for a clear syntactic relationship between relative clause and main clause (one that can be expressed in the main clause with a dative), but a looser semantic connection is certainly possible if Lydian allows this in correlative sentences (see Probert 2006:62–5, 69–70 on similar examples in Middle and Late Hittite). Any such correlative sentences would necessarily lack an overt correlative pronoun, in the absence of a syntactic slot for the correlative pronoun to occupy.

[10]Correlative pronouns are sometimes thought of as 'picking up' the relative pronoun in particular (rather than the whole relative clause). On this conception one may say that correlative pronouns do pick up a constituent of the relative clause (namely the relative pronoun or the relativised constituent). For our purposes what is important is that in examples (5) and (6) *mλimns* is not the relativised constituent but some other constituent of the relative clause. Note in addition that as a common-gender noun, *mλimns* is not only a distinct item from the relative pronoun but also cannot form a constituent with it.

A question that arises in this connection is whether the forms *nãqida* and *qida* should be taken as singulars or plurals, because if a relative clause is picked up by a plural pronoun form (such as *=ms*), we would normally expect its relative pronoun to be a plural too. The forms *nãqida* and *qida* are usually taken as the relative pronoun forms *nãqid* and *qid* (normally nominative/accusative neuter singular) plus a generalising particle *=a*. However, it is often thought that the form *qid* functions as both singular and plural,[11] and we might expect the same to be true for extended *nãqida* and *qida*. Moreover, two of the three occurrences of *(nã)qida* occur precisely here, where *=ms* follows in the main clause, and the third appears in a context where a plural relative pronoun form is easier than a singular: *ešvaṿ mλwēndaṿ iṣkon qida tamv* 'all these parts which I have built' (2.5–6, in our example (13)). On the basis of the latter example, Sideltsev and Yakubovich revive a suggestion of Carruba's that *(nã)qida* is a marked nominative/accusative neuter plural form, innovated by adding the neuter plural ending *-a* to the basic neuter nominative/accusative form *(nã)qid*.[12] Tentatively, we might suspect that the co-occurrence of *(nã)qida* with *=ms* in our examples (5) and (6) is no accident, but also reflects the status of *(nã)qida* as a nominative/accusative neuter plural form. This suggestion opens up the possibility that in (5) and (6) we once again have correlative pronouns: 'Whatever items *mλimns išt sfarλ iitλ*, **# for them** (i.e. for those items) we have decreed(?) an *aλidad wiswid*', 'Whatever items *iitλ mλimns išt sfarλ*, **# for them** (i.e. for those items) the *šiwraλmiš* of Artemis *irduv kattirs*'.

The suggestion made here is challenged by Yakubovich's (2017) recent analysis of the whole of text 22 (building on that of Schürr (1997)), according to which the Sardians are the narrators for the main central portion of the text (including our examples (5) and (6)) and *=ms* always refers to the Mλimna's in that portion of the text. On the other hand, the possibility put forward here is compatible with the overall structure and sense for which Yakubovich argues: our instances of *=ms* would refer to items closely connected to the Mλimna's, even if not to the Mλimna's themselves.

The proposal made here would involve two further instances of an overt enclitic dative pronoun form (*=ms*) with a semantically as well as grammatically inanimate antecedent. The idea that this was a serious possibility in Lydian has been mooted above, but of course remains uncertain.

3 Non-overt nominative or overt dative?

The overall structure of example (7) has received widely divergent analyses. On one view, *qiš fišqãnt puk=as fẽdanoλt* is the relative clause and *fak=τ=ad kaprdokid* the main

[11] At 2.3, *qid* introduces a relative clause apparently modifying *laqriša*, which is most often thought to be a neuter plural: see Carruba 1969:64; Melchert 1997:33 n. 2.

[12] See Carruba 1969:63–4; Sideltsev and Yakubovich 2016:99, reporting a personal communication from Melchert.

clause.[13] On a different view, the relative clause ends with *kaprdokid* and the "main clause" (with another probable relative sentence nested inside it) begins with *nã=mλ qi=g dẽt*.[14] In order to leave both possibilities open, the Lydian text is presented here without the use of underlining or bold, and with two alternative translations. (In the translations, relative clauses are underlined as usual. Only the second analysis involves an overt correlative pronoun in the Lydian; in the second translation the English rendering of this pronoun is accordingly shown in bold.)

(7) ak=ad qiš fišqãnt
CONJ=it.ACC.SG.NEUT REL.NOM.SG.ANIM destroy.3SG.PRES/FUT
puk=as fẽdanoλt fak=τ=ad
or=he.NOM.SG ?.3SG.PRES/FUT CONJ=REFL=it.ACC.SG.NEUT
kaprdokid nã=mλ
restore(?)/steal(?).3SG.PRES/FUT ever=him.DAT.SG
qi=g dẽt
REL.NOM.SG.NEUT=CONJ(?) movable property.NOM.SG
nã=k=mλ [. . .]°clλ ak=ad artimuλ
ever(?)=CONJ=him.DAT.SG. ?.DAT.SG CONJ=it.ACC.SG.NEUT Artemis.DAT.SG
ipsimlλ fẽncãv
Ephesian.DAT.SG dedicate.1SG.PRET (54.2–6)

? 'And whoever destroys it or *fẽdanoλt*, # he shall restore it. Whatever movable property (there is) to him (i.e. whatever movable property he has) and . . . # I have dedicated it to Ephesian Artemis'.

? 'And whoever destroys it or *fẽdanoλt*, # and steals it for himself, well then whatever movable property (there is) **to him** (i.e. whatever movable property he has) and . . . # I have dedicated it to Ephesian Artemis'.[15]

On the first interpretation, the beginning of the main clause is clearly marked by the conjunction *fak*, and we would have a correlative sentence with non-overt correlative pronoun. If this is the correct interpretation one could argue that a non-overt correlative pronoun is to be expected in this instance, since nominative *=as* is

[13] So Gusmani 1961:199–200; Schürr 2000a:116–7; 2006:1579.

[14] So Melchert 1991:136. A third view again is that of Payne and Wintjes (2016:83–4), according to whom the curse formula beginning at *ak=ad qiš fišqãnt* continues up to *nã=k=mλ* [. . .]°*clλ*, at which point it breaks off without ever coming to a main clause. They give the translation 'And who destroys it or he (who) *does evil*, and he steals it for himself. (If) there is anything to him and . . . (for/to) him. I have dedicated it to Artemis of Ephesus', and comment, "Given that structure and content of such formulaic texts would have been widely known, one might assume that any reader would have understood the implicit apodosis." For a language we understand as poorly as Lydian such structures should usually be an explanation of last resort, but they can certainly occur in any language. Should Payne and Wintjes' analysis be correct, example (7) would have nothing to contribute to the main concerns of this paper: in the absence of a main clause, we could not sensibly ask whether the main clause contains an overt correlative pronoun.

[15] For the idea that *kaprdokid* means 'steals' see Oettinger 1995:45, reporting a personal communication from Melchert.

unexpected with a transitive verb (see Melchert 1997:39), and the direct object *=ad* makes clear that *kaprdokid* is indeed a transitive verb. However, a stressed subject pronoun could have been used, as in example (23). On the other hand, few of the overt correlative pronouns of the examples in the appendix are in the nominative (but see (24) as well as (23)), and subjects can be left implicit in other contexts: Lydian is a pro-drop language.

On the second interpretation there is again a clear clause-boundary, although this is marked only by the position of the second-position enclitic *=mλ*, as also in example (37). This time there is an overt correlative pronoun in *=mλ* 'to him'. Without deciding which interpretation is right we can say only that this example has a non-overt correlative pronoun in the nominative (i.e. the first interpretation) or an overt one in the dative (i.e. the second interpretation).

4 Examples that may not be correlative sentences at all

The overall structure of example (8) has been taken in two quite different ways. On one analysis, *datros=k=ms qesiš cẽntλ mλimnav šawv sfardẽtav* is the relative clause and the main clause begins with *ak=ms=ad šiwraλmiš artimul*. Taking the overall sentence structure in this way, Yakubovich (2017:278–9) gives the translation 'but whatever *datros(i)*-payment is due to(ward) them/you, toward the Sardian *mλimna-*, the *šiwraλmi-* officials of Artemis approved that for them/you, as well as the priests of Bacchus and the *prophet*'. On this interpretation we would have a clear correlative sentence with marked clause boundary and correlative pronoun *=ad*. The mismatch in gender between the relative pronoun form *qesiš* and the neuter correlative pronoun form *=ad* would be unexpected (although hardly impossible as a *constructio ad sensum*), and on this basis we might tentatively prefer the second analysis, on which only *datros=k=ms qesiš* is the relative clause while *cẽntλ mλimnav šawv sfardẽtav* is the main clause. Taking the overall structure in this way, Melchert (2006:1164) offers the translation 'Also (*-k*) whatever (*qesiš*) *datro-* (is) to them (*-ms*) (= they have), it __s (*cẽntλ*) for the Mλimna's (*mλimnav*) to *š.* to/for the Sardians. The *š.* of Artemis, the priest of P. and the *armτa-* have decreed it for them'. On this second analysis (which is reflected in the underlining and the translation given below), our sentence provides a candidate for a sentence-initial relative clause followed by neither clause-combining conjunction nor correlative pronoun:[16]

[16] More difficult to make sense of as candidates are 11.3 (*qid=ad šawv wratuλ arsτãnšrs kašnod*, rendered by Schürr (2003:118) as 'Das, was wir ...ten für *wratu*, ...ten sie *kašnod*!'), and 11.6–7 (*qed=k=τ=ad cfisad išaaλal umvod*, rendered by Schürr (2003:119) as 'und hier das, was er ...t, ...te er *umvod*'). If *qid* is really the relative pronoun form in both places, it is difficult to see what *=ad* is doing in either. Unless typological parallels can be found, we might hesitate to see *=ad* as either a pronominal head for the relative clause (can an enclitic hosted by the relative pronoun really fulfil this role?) or a correlative pronoun belonging functionally to the main clause. Alternatively *qid=ad* has been taken as an extended form of *qid* or as a form meaning 'because'; see Gusmani 1964:186–7, with bibliography.

(8) datros=k=ms qesiš cẽntʌ
?.NOM.SG=CONJ=them.DAT.PL REL.NOM.SG.ANIM ?.3SG.PRES/FUT.MID
mʌimnav šawv sfardẽtav ak=ms=ad
mʌimna-.DAT.PL ? Sardian.DAT.PL CONJ=them.DAT.PL=it.ACC.SG.NEUT
šiwraʌmiš artimul kaττirs kawe=k
?.NOM.PL Artemis.GEN.SG decree(?).3PL.PRET priest.NOM.SG/PL=CONJ
pakilliš armτa=k
of-Bacchus.NOM.SG/PL.ANIM ?.NOM.SG/PL.ANIM=CONJ (22.7–10)

? 'And whatever is *datros* to them *cẽntʌ mʌimnav šawv sfardẽtav*. And the *šiwraʌmiš* of Artemis and the priest(s) of Bacchus and the *armτa* have decreed(?) it for them . . . '

In sentence (9) we have a relative clause headed by a demonstrative pronoun, again apparently followed by neither clause-combining conjunction nor correlative pronoun:

(9) ešt=it qid trodv šẽšwad
DEM.ACC(?).SG.NEUT=PTC REL.ACC.SG.NEUT grant.1SG.PRET ?.ACC(?).SG
qištoridv kastãv
?.1SG.PRET ? (10.5)

'This *šẽšwad* which I granted I *qištori*'ed *kastãv*'.[17]

In principle, both examples (8) and (9) may be correlative sentences with unmarked clause boundary and non-overt correlative pronoun. But it is not clear that we have correlative structures here at all, because the underlined material could be an actual constituent of the main clause: in (8) perhaps the subject, and in (9) the object. On this analysis there is no overt marking of a clause boundary because there is no clause boundary, and no correlative pronoun because the relative clause itself (plus its pronominal head in (9)) occupies the relevant syntactic slot of the main clause.

The more difficult example (10) is sometimes taken to consist of a relative clause *qed=m piš ẽtamv unadv* followed by a main clause *ak epad inãnidv sfarwad*. Alternatively, the sequence *qed=m piš ẽtamv unadv* is taken to comprise the whole relative sentence, with a new sentence then beginning with *ak epad*. Thus Gusmani (1964:180) translates *qed=m piš ẽtamv unadv* as 'was er (als) Bestimmung vorschreibt', while Bachvarova (2004:243) translates the same sequence as 'And whatever (it is??), as a designation he will write it'. To leave both possibilities open the Lydian text is presented here without the use of underlining, and with two alternative translations as with example (7).

[17]Compare Gusmani (1961:184), who comments on the parallel positions of the syntactically parallel verb forms *qistoridv* and *tamv*. Bachvarova (2004:243) translates 'This s, which I handed over, I q.-ed to k. (inf.?)'.

(10) qed=m piš ẽtamν
REL.NOM(?).SG.NEUT=PTC he.NOM.SG.ANIM regulation(?).ACC.SG
unadν ak epad inãnidν
prescribe(?)/write(?).ISG.PRET?/3SG.PRES/FUT? CONJ ? make.ISG.PRET
sfarwad
?.ACC.SG (10.18–9)

?'What he prescribes as a regulation, # I have *epad* made as a *sfarwad*'.

?'And whatever (it is), he will prescribe (it) as a regulation. And I have *epad* made a *sfarwad*'.

Both analyses run into a problem. The form *unadν* looks like a first-person singular preterite, not a third-person form, and the next clause has a clear first-person singular *inãnidν*. Yet *piš* 'he' can hardly fit in unless *unadν* is a third-person form. Attempts to take *qed=m piš ẽtamν unadν* as an entire sentence face a second problem too. The word *piš* 'he' does not look as if it can belong to the relative clause, given the mismatch in gender between *qed* and *piš*, and so we would seem to be left with a one-word (plus particle) relative clause *qed=m*. Can this really mean 'whatever (it is)'?[18] In passing, Melchert (1992:51) suggests that the form *piš* is the real problem in this sentence.[19] Could *piš* here mean something other than 'he'?

Since enclitic *=μλ* 'to him' exists beside *=ms* 'to them', the stressed pronoun *piš* 'he', with dative singular *pλ* 'to him', conceivably has a dative plural *piš* 'to them'. Such a form could have been created within Lydian via the following proportion:

enclitic DAT.SG	:	enclitic DAT.PL	::	stressed DAT.SG	:	stressed DAT.PL
=mλ	:	*=ms*		**piλ* (> *pλ*)[20]		**pis* (> *piš*)[21]

We do not see many stressed pronouns in Lydian relative sentences, but one reason for a stressed form here might be precisely to avoid a relative clause whose only stressed word is the relative pronoun. (If the relative pronoun normally carries topic intonation or the like, the clause may need a word to carry focus intonation.) If so, while Lydians say *datros=k=ms qesiš* 'whatever is *datros* to them' (i.e. whatever *datros*

[18]Cf. Probert and Dickey 2015:121 with n. 25 for the rarity of Greek relative clauses so elliptical that the only overt material is the relative pronoun.

[19]"In view of the clear example *inãnidν* of the next clause, we should probably also take *unadν* as pret. 1st singular, despite the problematic *bis*, which appears to be nom. singular 'he'."

[20]For the stressed dative singular form we should probably assume a preform **piλ*. (On the stem see e.g. Melchert 1994:7. The *-i-* in the nominative singular is not due to Anatolian *i*-mutation, in which case it would not appear in the dative.) The development of **piλ* to *pλ* must then have occurred, but not simply by the loss of unstressed vowels in final syllables (on which see Melchert 1994:373–4), as the form is stressed. Kloekhorst (2012:166) apparently accepts a more general sound change **iλ* > λ. Be this as it may, since *i*-stems regularly have a dative singular in -λ rather than -*i*λ (see Kloekhorst ibid.), the asterisked form **piλ* can probably be considered a synchronic underlying form, so that our analogy need not have taken place at a time when *pλ* was still **piλ*.

[21]For the palatalisation of *-s* by a preceding *i* see Melchert 1994:360–1. The asterisked form **pis* can be considered a synchronic underlying form, so that our analogy need not have occurred before this palatalisation.

they have), as in (8), they say *qed=m piš* 'whatever is to them' (i.e. whatever they have). This explanation implies that *qed=m piš* is indeed the entire relative clause: *qed=m piš ẽtamv unadv* 'whatever there is to them I wrote as (some kind of document)'. (The referent of *piš* may be the people to whom something is revealed in example (23), from the same text.) We would have neither overt correlative pronoun nor marked clause boundary. Once again we need not have a correlative sentence in structural terms, since *qed=m piš* could itself function as the direct object of *unadv*. All this is highly speculative, but it remains difficult to see any plausible syntactic structure if *piš* is a nominative singular here.

5 Conclusion

We set out to find out whether correlative pronouns are always overt in Lydian. No definite answer has been offered, but we have not seen any instance in which the only plausible analysis involves a non-overt correlative pronoun. I have previously argued that Old Hittite relative sentences with sentence-initial relative clauses fall into two types: a correlative type in which there is an overt correlative pronoun (except in rare examples with the conjunction *ta*), and a type in which the relative clause is an actual constituent of the main clause.[22] Our investigations raise the possibility of a similar situation for Lydian. More cannot be said, but asking the question may have opened up one or two new possibilities for the understanding of difficult passages. If others can advance our understanding by refuting them, this paper will have served its purpose.

Appendix: Relative sentences with clearly-marked clause boundary and overt correlative pronoun (all translations are tentative)[23]

(11) = (1) ak=it ešλ širmaλ qyš fẽnšλipid niwiscv **fak=mλ**=it=in qλdãns tawsas artimu=k ipsimšiš katšarlokid '# And whoever does harm to this temple with injustices(?), **# to him** mighty Qldans and Ephesian Artemis will do harm' (23.2–4).

(12) (A "false start" type structure: a long and digressive relative clause introduced by *ak=it n*[*ãqiš*] breaks off in favour of a new beginning, introduced by *ak=t=in nãqiš*; so Craig Melchert, personal communication.) (.) ak=it n[ãqiš] ešλ mruλ puk ešλ wãnaλ puk ešvav laqirišav puk=it kud išt ešλ wãnaλ pλtarwọ[d] ak=t=in nãqiš qelλ=k fẽnšλifid **fak=mλ** artimus ipsimšiš artimu=k kulumšiš aaraλ

[22] Probert 2006.

[23] The relative sentences at 9.5–10, 17.1–3, 26.2–4, 45.5, and 108.4–6 are excluded from this list because we lack the parts of the inscriptions that would contain the clause-combining conjunction and the correlative pronoun, although comparable curse formulae make it likely that these elements were present. At 80.11–3 we may well have a further correlative sentence with both these elements present (so Schürr 2006:1571), but the fragmentary state of the text leaves room for uncertainty. There may be a further example with both elements present at 54.4–6 (nested in what may be the main clause of our example (7)), but there is room for uncertainty because of the incomplete state of line 5, and because it is uncertain whether *nã . . . qi=g* is indefinite or relative.

piraλ=k kλidaλ kofuλ=k qiraλ qelλ=k pilλ wcpaqẽnt '# And whoever at this stele or this tomb or these *laqiriša*'s, or where in this tomb (there is?) *pλtarwod* —# whoever does harm to anything(?), # Ephesian Artemis and Koloan Artemis will do damage to **his** estate and house, earth and water, any(?) property of his' (1.4–9).[24]

(13) (Two conjoined relative clauses share a main clause.) ak=t=in nãqiš fẽnšλipid ešvaṿ mλwẽndaṿ iṣkon qida[25] tamυ puk wãnaλ ešλ p⟨u⟩k mruλ puk pλašoλ ešλ puk laqrišaυ puk=in alẽυ awλãυ qiš=k dctdid išt ešλ wãnaλ karolλ šapλalλ karola=s sfẽndaυ arwol **ak=ṃλ** artimuυ ipsimṿaṿ kulumṿa=k šiwraλmn [in]ãnu '# And whoever does harm to all these parts which I have built—either to this tomb or to the stele or to this *pλašod* or to the *laqiriša*'s, or to other objects, and whoever tries(?) to appropriate the property of Karos[26] in this tomb of Karos son of Šapla, # against **him** I invoke Artemis of the Ephesians and of the Koloans (in the person of) the college of priests(?)' (2.4–11).

(14) ak=t=in nãqiš fẽnšλipid **fak**=at=**aυ** epad [..]°ra pištaυ taqaλaυ šisirors sfẽnda=⟨k⟩=mλ=in [..]°lṗuqid '# And whoever does harm, # **him** *epad ... ra pištaυ taqaλaυ šisirors* and his property ... *lpuqid*'[27] (2.11–3).

(15) ak qiš qišred fak=as šilawad fa=t nid ẽnšλipid **ak=mλ** lews šarẽtas '# And whoever takes care(?) # and (he) behaves well(?) # and does not do harm, **# to him** Zeus (will be) well-disposed' (3.3–4).

(16) qiš=it fẽnšλipid ešλ wãnaλ puk ešλ mruλ **fak=mλ** lews wcpaqẽnt 'Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this stele, # **to him** Zeus will do damage' (3.4–5).

(17) ak=mλ=t qiš fẽnšλipid puk ešvaυ anlolaυ puk ešλ karolλ **fak=m⟨λ⟩** sãntas kuṗaw=k mariwda=k ẽnšλipp[i]ḍ '# And whoever does harm to it or to these *anlola*'s or to this *karol*, **# to him** Sanda, Kubaba, and Mariwda will do harm' (4a.1–5).

(18) ak=mλ=t qiš fẽnšλipid **fak=mλ**=t qλdãns artymu=k wcpaqẽnt 'And whoever does harm to it, **# to him** Qldans and Artemis will do damage' (4b.2–5).

(19) ak nãqiš ẽmλ kãnaλ kileλ puk ẽminaυ esaυ citalad fadint **fak=mλ** artimus qiraλ qelλ=k wcpaqẽnt '# And whoever does harm to my wife Kile or my descendants, # Artemis will do damage to any property **of his**'[28] (5.3–5).

[24] For *qelλ=k* as the dative of a word meaning 'anything' and/or 'whatever' see Gusmani 1964:181–4; Sideltsev and Yakubovich 2016:100 n. 25.

[25] For the idea that *qida* may be a plural counterpart of *qid*, see §2.

[26] On *karola=s* see Melchert 1991:132–3.

[27] For suggestions on the main clause see Gusmani 1964:196; Schürr 1997:206.

[28] On this inscription see Gusmani 1985.

(20) ak=it qiš ešλ wānaλ puk ešvav antolav puk ešvav laqrišav fēnšλipid **fak=av** wissiš niwisscv warptokid '# And whoever does harm to this tomb or these *antola*'s or these *laqriša*'s, **# him** Justice(?) will punish for injustices(?)' (6.2–6).

(21) ak=it nāqiš ešλ wānaλ pụ[k] laqrišav puk qelaλ fēnšλpid **fak=av** wisiš niwiscv warptokid '# And whoever does harm to this tomb or the *laqriša*'s or the land, **# him** Justice(?) will punish for injustices(?)' (7.3–6).

(22) ak=it nāqiš fēnšλipid ešλ wānaλ puk ešλ mruλ puk ešvav laqrišav kud=k=it ešλ wānaλ pλtarwod **fak=av** wissiš niwiscv warptokid '# And whoever does harm to this tomb or this stele or these *laqriša*'s, wherever in this tomb (there is?) *pλtarwod*, **# him** Justice(?) will punish for injustices(?)' (8.6–12).

(23) ak=um nāqid kol **fak**=m=it el **edš** wastvunliš qašaas '# Whatever he has revealed(?), **# this** is hereditary property'[29] (10.12–3).

(24) nā=m qid kot aλtokad **ak**=mλ=**ad** šḷ̆ēcad qirad 'Whatever he reveals(?) *aλtokad*, **# it** is steadfast(?) property to him'[30] (10.14–5).

(25) ešλ=it mr qiš fēnšλipid **ak=av** wissiš niwiscv warptok 'Whoever does harm to this stele, **# him** Justice(?) will punish for injustices(?)' (10.23–4).

(26) wānta=k=t ešvav ifrol qiš fakorfid katofn puk mruwaaλ **fak**=mλ=at=**av** wissiš waars nid kantrod 'And whoever *ifrol fakorfid katofn* to these *wanta*'s or to the stele, **# him** *wissiš waars nid kantrod* to it'[31] (11.11–2).

(27) ak qed aλidad tasod **ak**=mλ=**ad** inānt '# And whatever alteration she orders, **# that** he will make for her'[32] (22.14–5).

(28) citoλs puk afaris qλ dēt amudāv **ak**=m=**av** prafršiš prafrlλ šawtarid '(He) to whom (there is) a *citoλs* or *afaris* as movable property from me, **# him** the *prafršiš* will look after for the *prafrliš*'[33] (23.6–7).

(29) (A correlative sentence with two more nested in its main clause.) ak=it qed fasfēnu **ak=at** qλ fakantrow ak=mλ=iš qiš citollad pitad fak=mλ=t=in qλdān=k artimu=k katšarlokid puλ pilλ=k arlyllλ qyraλ '# Whatever I own, # (as for him) to whom I offer **it**, # whoever *citollad pitad* from him, # to him Qldans and Artemis will do harm—to him and to his own property' (23.8–11). (In English the meaning is more easily expressed without nesting correlative sentences: 'Whoever *citollad pitad* from him to whom I offer whatever I own,

[29] For the sentence structure cf. Carruba 1969:74.

[30] For the sentence structure cf. Carruba 1969:74.

[31] Cf. Eichner 1993:126; Bachvarova 2004:229. Schürr (2000b:125) takes the curse formula to begin at *qiš* (so e.g. 'whoever *fakorfid katofn* or to the stele, # him *wissiš waars nid kantrod* to it').

[32] Cf. Yakubovich 2017:282.

[33] For a different interpretation, with *qλ dēt amudāv* as a headed relative clause modifying *citoλs puk afaris*, see Melchert 1997:37.

Qldans and Artemis will do harm to him—to him and to his own property'.)[34]

(30) (The first of the correlative sentences nested in the main clause of (29), with the second nested in its own main clause.) ak=at qλ fakantrow **ak=mλ=**iš qiš citollad pitad fak=mλ=t=in qλdãn=k artimu=k katšarlokid puλ pilλ=k arlyllλ qyraλ '# (he) to whom I offer it, # whoever *citollad pitad* **from him**, # to him Qldans and Artemis will do harm—to him and to his own property' (23.8–11).

(31) (The last of the nested correlative sentences.) ak=mλ=iš qiš citollad pitad **fak=mλ=**t=in qλdãn=k artimu=k katšarlokid puλ pilλ=k arlyllλ qyraλ '#whoever *citollad pitad* from him, **# to him** Qldans and Artemis will do harm—to him and to his own property' (23.9–11).

(32) amu=k=it qyd fasfẽnu **ak=at** pawafuλ šelλ=k kantoru aλaλ nid qλ=k 'Whatever I own # I give **it** to the sanctuary and to the authority, not to anyone else' (23.14–6).

(33) (A correlative sentence with another one nested in its main clause; for a translation of the smaller correlative sentence that mimics the structure of the original, see (34).) ak=s qiš ẽmν ẽtamν uν ḟawcvasoḍ puk in mẽtḷid puk pidẽν qi=k int **ak=mλ=**i̯[š] qed ẽn̤ud ẽtaṃs u̯ν ak=ad artimus pifers=t '# And whoever *uν ḟawcvasoḍ* my order or does any verbal or material damage whatsoever, **# for him** Artemis *pifers* whatever the order *ẽnud uν*'[35] (23.18–22).

(34) (The correlative sentence nested inside the main clause of (33).) qed ẽn̤ud ẽtaṃs u̯ν **ak=ad** artimus pifers=t 'whatever the order *ẽnud uν*, **# that** Artemis *pifers*' (23.21–2).

(35) (A correlative sentence nested in the main clause of our example (3).) ak=mλ=iš qiš citollad pitaad puk=mλ=iš fakaršed qi=k puk=mλ=a[d] fapuwerftaλ puk=mλ=it pašvsakvãkid niwislλ qelλ=k puk mẽtlid puk pidẽν qi=k int **fak=mλ=**i̯t artimus ipsimšiš katšarlokid pλ pilλ=k arlilλ qiraλ '# well then whoever *citollad pitaad* from it(?)[36] or cuts off anything from it(?),[37] or *fapuwerftaλ* it from him, or *pašvsakvãkid* to it(?) with any injustice, or does any verbal or material damage whatsoever, # well then **to him** Artemis of Ephesus will do harm—to him and his own property' (24.7–14).

[34] For the likelihood that *=at* contains the pronoun form *=ad* (plus the particle *=t*), see Melchert 1997:33 n. 3; cf. Gérard 2005:92 n. 589. This form is distinct from the particle *=(a)t=* of *fak=at=aν* and *fak=mλ=at=aν*, since the pronoun forms *=ad* and *=aν* do not co-occur (see Melchert 1997:39).

[35] For the reading *mẽtḷid* and for the sense of the word, see Innocente 1986.

[36] The interpretation of the various instances of *=mλ* concerned us under example (3) but has no bearing on the overall structure of the inner correlative sentence (35) nested inside (3).

[37] On *fakaršed* see Melchert 1991:140–1.

(36) ak=it amu nãqid fasfẽnu nak aarav nak pira=k [n]ak dẽtv ẽmv **ak=at** amu mitridaš[taλ ka]weλ kantoru šawwastal '# And whatever I own, whether estate or house or movable property of mine, **# it** I entrust to Mitridatas the priest *šawwastal*' (24.18–21).

(37) (Two lines of verse whose ends are lost; they probably comprise a single sentence with the demonstrative form *edλ* picking up the relative pronoun form *qiš*. This time the main clause does not begin with a conjunction, but the second-position enclitics *=t=in* make the clause boundary clear.) qiš fasaknakil puk=t aλẽλ̣[⏑ ⏑ –] **edλ=t=in** niwiswa ciwš ḟ°[– ⏑ ⏑ –] 'Whoever *fasaknaki*'ed or *aλẽλ* . . . , **to him** the god will *f*. . . the injustices(?)'[38] (44.16–7).

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[38] See Schürr 2006:1576.

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