The fate of the Proto-Anatolian demonstrative *ési
Petra Goedegebuure, virtual XL ECIEC 2021, June 19, 2021

1. Current views

Starting point: Melchert 2009, especially p. 155f.

1.1. PA proximal or 1st person demonstrative *ḱo/i/e-. Reflexes of *ḱo/i/e- are present in Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, probably Carian, and replaced in Lycian (ebe-) and Lydian (eš-).

1.2. PA medial or 2nd person demonstrative *obhó-, or anaphoric only. A reflex of *obhó- in 2nd person use is only found in Hittite. In Luwian it became only far-deictic after the loss of the 3rd person demonstrative *āšši- in Kizzuwatna Luwian and *ānna/i- in Hattusa/IA Luwian. It became the proximal demonstrative in Lycian.

1.3. PA distal é/ówo-. Given Lydian oš- and perhaps Carian u-, PA *e/ówo- might originally have been be far-deictic term. It was replaced by asi in Hittite and *āssi and *ānna/i- in Luwian.

1.4 Anaphoric é/ó-. Reflexes of *é/ó- are present in Hittite, Kizzuwatna Luwian as *ési with 3rd person deixis, but in Lydian with proximal deixis. Because of the opposing deixeis, no deictic semantics can be reconstructed for PA. Anaphoric pronouns, on the other hand, easily acquire deictic semantics when 'inserted' in the demonstrative system. PA *ési was changed in Hittite to *ósi under the influence of *ḱo- and *obhó- (Melchert 2009:157, with refs.).

1.5. Anaphoric é/óno/i-. The same applies to *é/óno/i-. Here we find a near-deictic reflex in Hittite and Carian, but a far-deictic one in Palaic and presumably in Hattusa Luwian.

	Deictic demonstrative			Anaphoric pronoun (or neutral demonstrative)		
	Prox./1	(Med./2)	Dist./3			
PA 1	*ḱo/i/e-	*obhó/é-	*é/ówo-	*é/ó-	*é/óno/i-	
PA 2	*ḱo/i/e-	*obhó/é-	*é/ówo-	Anaphoric > deictic *ési	Anaphoric > deictic *óno-	*éno-
Hittite	ka- (1)	apa- (2)	x	asi (3)	ana- (P)	anna/i- (B,D)
Kizz. Luw	za- (1)	*apa-(2>D)	x	*āssi- (3) >x	—	—
Hatt. Luw.	za- (1)	*apa- (2)	x	—	—	*ānna/i- (3)
Palaic	ka- (P)	x	x	—	—	ānna/i- (D)
IA Luwian	za- (1>P)	apa- (>D)	x	—	—	x
Lycian	x	ebe- (>P)		—		
Carian	?sa-(P)	? x	?u-(>D)	—	an- (P)	—
Lydian	x	? x	oš-(>D)	eš- (P)	—	—

Legend: x = item has been replaced or vanished without replacement; P = Proximal; D = Distal; B = borrowed; — = perhaps never existed.

2. Research questions and proposal

2.1. Questions

1. How can we explain the nominal inflection of Luwian *ānna/i- < *éno/i- when the other demonstratives show the pronominal inflection? *Pace* Kloekhorst 2014:569 (who only refers to Melchert 1994, not 2009, but could not have known my 2014 study of *asi* and *anna/i-*), the stem *anna/i- does* exist.
2. What do we do with Palaic *ānni-*, which should be the reflex of *éno/i-? We do not have Çop's Law in Palaic.
3. How likely is it to find two different distal demonstratives in the closely related dialects of Kizzuwatna and Hattusa Luwian?
4. Was PA *ési (1) a third person = 'other' oriented/distal demonstrative, (2) a neutral demonstrative, or (3) an anaphoric pronoun?

2.2. Proposal

	Person-based three-term system			Distance-based two-term system with competing proximal stems		
	'hic'	*'iste'*	*'ille'*	Prox.	Prox.	Dist.
PA	*ḱo/í/é-*	*obhó/é-*	*é- + i*	*só-*	*óno/i-*	*é/ówo-*
Hitt.	*ka-* (1)	*apa-* (2)	*asi* (3), *anna/i-* (BD)	> *s(o)-* (conj.)	*ana-* (P)	?*awan* (adv.)
KLuw.	*za-* (1)	**apa-* (2>D)	**āssi-* (3)	? *-sa* > *-sa/-za*		
HLuw.	*za-* (1)	**apa-* (2)	**āssi-* (3) > **ānna/i-*	? > *-sa/-za*		
Palaic	*ka-* (1)		*ānna/i-* (B3)			
HLuw.	*za-* (1 > P)	*apa-* (2)		? > *-sa/-za*		?*(a)wa-* (conn)
Lyc. A	>*se* (conn)	*ebe-* (>P)	*e-* (D)	*he-* (neut. *hñ*)		?*(e)wẽ* (adv.)
Lyc. B	>*sebe* (conn)	*ebe-* (>P)		*se-* (loc. *si*)		?*we* (adv.)
Car.	> *sb* (conn)	x		*san-* (P)	*an-* (P)	*u-* (D)
Lyd.	x	x	*eš-* (P)			*oš-* (D)

Light blue = based on eDiAna; orange = will not be discussed here; green = will be discussed here

1. The inflection of Luwian **ānna/i-* is nominal because it is a newly formed demonstrative; as in Hittite such demonstratives 'adopt' a nominal inflection. Its source in the acc.s.c. of **ési*, **éni* > **ānni*.
2. Given the absence of Çop's Law in Palaic, Palaic *ānni-* is also borrowed from Luwian.
3. Thus, Luwian originally only had **āssi+*.
4. I argue that Lycian A had the distal demonstrative **é-* as well. The presence of 3rd p. dem. **ési* in Hittite and Luwic, 2nd p. dem. *obhó-* in Hittite and Luwic, and the non-existence of distal **éno/i-* makes it likely that PA had a 3rd person dem. **ési+*, in addition to demonstratives that operated on distance-based contrasts.

3. Hittite

3.1. Hittite *kā-, apā-, aši+*

Hittite shows a three-term person based demonstrative system, with 1st person *kā-*, 2nd person *abā-*, and 3rd person *asi* (nom.s.c.), *oni* (acc.s.c.), *ini* (nom.-acc.s.n.), etc., from OH until Hattusili III. After his era the system seems to have dropped the 2nd person demonstrative, resulting in a distance based two-term system 'proximal *kā-* — distal *asi*' (Goedegebuure 2014).

3.2. Hittite *ana-, anni-* (borrowed from Luwian)

It also shows a proximal demonstrative *ana-* in very restricted temporal use and a distal demonstrative *anna/i-*, most likely borrowed from Luwian (Melchert 2009:157). Currently we have the following forms for *anna/i-*.

	anna/i-		
nom.s.comm.	*annis*	MH	ABoT 1.60 rev. 8; NH KBo 1.42 iii 33
acc.s.comm.	*annin*	MH	HKM 20 obv. 6
dat.-loc.s.	*anni*	MH?/NS	HT 55 + KBo 64.31:4'; KUB 35.148+ iii 28'
abl.	*annaz*	as of MH/MS	
nom.-acc.pl.neut.	*anni*	OH/MS	KBo 25.139+ iii 6

3.3. The Hittite demonstrative system

	Deictic					Anaphoric
	Person based			Distance based		
	1st	2nd	3rd	Proximal	Distal (B)	independent
pronominal	*ka-*	*apa-*	*asi*	?	*anni-*	*apa-*
adnominal	*ka-*	*apa-*	*asi*	*ana-*	*anni-*	*apa-*
	Productive throughout Hittite, though 2nd dem. *apa-* is not attested in LateNH			Restricted to temporal deixis	MH, in NH as *annaz* restricted to temporal deixis	
	Spatial deixis			Spatial > Temporal deixis		

4. Palaic *(-)ka-, ānni-*

Palaic had proximal *kā-* (encl. *-ka-*) and non-proximal *ānni-*:

(1)   KUB 35.165 rev. 22'-24' (MS, Palaic ritual, CTH 751)
§ They fill the cups of the deity, and sing this (in Palaic):
"He filled the cups(?). They offered[1] (one) to Zaparfa for drinking, [and] they invited him. If he comes as a guest,

---

[1]   Yakubovich (Ediana) analyzes as middle 'they were offered'.

4

ānnī	**wasō≠ḫa**	24' [tab]arna	ti≠kuar	sūna	a≠du	pīsa[2]
DEM:ACC.PL.N	goodies:ACC.PL.N≠too	tabarna:VOC.S	2S.NOM≠FOC	fill:2S.IMP	CONN≠3S.DAT	give:2S.IMP

Let it be you yourself, o tabarna, who pours out **also those goodies** and give (them) to him.

ānnī here refers to either something that 'belongs' to or is near the addressee (so Melchert 2009:152), or something that does not belong to the speaker. This could make it the medial term in a three-way system, or the distal term in a two-way system. However, 3rd person *asi+* could be used in Hittite if the referent was to be given away, irrespective of the person (Goedegebuure 2014:149):

(2)   KUB 33.93 iii 27'-28' (NH?/IIIa-b? myth, CTH 345),

[kued]ani≠war≠an 28'	peḫḫi	**asi**	DUMU-an
who:DAT.S≠QUOT≠him	give:1S.PRS	3DEM:ACC.S.C	child-ACC.S.C

(He started to talk in himself:) "To whom shall I give him, **this** son?"

It is therefore possible that Palaic *ānni* is a distal demonstrative in its disassociative or distancing use. Under this interpretation Palaic also could have had a medial demonstrative *apa-*, but this cannot be substantiated. Addressee oriented *ānni* would have indicated that the goodies remained in the sphere of Tabarna, which is not the case.

5. Luwian

5.1. Luwian *zā-, apā-, *āšši-*

5.1.1. Per Melchert 2009:152-3, Kizzuwatna Luwian once showed at least a two-term demonstrative system, with proximal *zā-* (once clitic *-za*, KBo 29.6 obv. 25') and distal **āšši-* (only attested in *āššiwant-* 'poor', *āššiwantatar* 'poverty'). In both Kizzuwatna and Hattusa/IA Luwian the 'neuter' particle *-sa/za* is *perhaps* the reflex of **so-* 'this'.

5.1.2. Hattusa Luwian/IA Luwian also showed proximal *za-*, while Hittite *ānni-* suggests that it had a distal demonstrative *ānni-*. The ASSUR letters provide evidence that *apa-* was a 2nd person demonstrative:

(3)   ASSUR a § 6 (diff. Melchert 2009:153, who takes *apan* as distal)

(I also now have become irrelevant to you at your place. You did not scribble me any message.)

| NEG₂-a≠wa/i	| tara/i-pa-i-mi-i-sa	za-na	| **a-pa**≠ha	("PES₂")a+ra/i-ta-'
not≠PTCL	T.:NOM.S.C	1DEM:ACC.S.C	2DEM:ACC.S.C≠and	walk:3S.PST

|ka+ra/i-mi-sà(URBS)
Karkamiš:DAT.S

"Did not Tarpaimmi travel to Karkamish this (my) way and **that (your) way**?"

---

[2]   Information Structure of the sentence: Background (or focus presupposition) = [He fills X] because of [He fills the cups], Additive Focus X = 'those goodies too'. Embedded Replacing Focus Y = '(not he but) you Tabarna instead' ⇒ [[you yourself, o Tabarna]_F pour out]_B [also those goodies]_F. The word order follows the word order as would be predicted for Hittite, with fronted additive focus and preverbal replacing focus.

(4) ASSUR b §8 (with Melchert 2009:153)

| ("CANIS")zú-wa/i-ni-zi≠ha≠wa/i | **a-pa-zi** | REL-ri+i-´ | a-sa-ti |
| dog:NOM.PL.C≠and≠PTCL | 2DEM:NOM.PL.C | if | be:3PL.PRS |

"If there are (any of) **those** dogs, (pick two good ones with a strong sense of smell and send them to me)".

5.1.3. There is no evidence that *apa-* was far deictic in Hattusa/IA Luwian (*pace* Melchert 2009:153); the few candidates are either anaphoric (KARATEPE § XXXI, the referent of *apadi/apari* is "CASTRUM"-*sà* PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-tà-ia-´* ‖ ("OCCIDENS")*i-pa-mi* "VERSUS"-*na* 'strong fortresses towards the west', § XXV) or the 2nd person demonstrative (see ex. (3)).

5.2. Luwian *ānni-*

If Hittite *anna/i-* was indeed borrowed from Luwian given the *i/a*-alternation, and assuming the Hittite paradigm was not innovated with respect of the original paradigm, we reconstruct the Luwian paradigm as follows:

	Hittite	Luwian, adnominal, not pronominal inflection
nom.s.comm.	*annis*	**ānnis*
acc.s.comm.	*annin*	**ānnin*
dat.-loc.s.	*anni*	**ānni*, not ***ĕnĕ́di* > ***ináddi*
abl.	*annaz*[3]	**ānnadi* < **ánnati*

Originally Luwian **ānni-* must have been a distal demonstrative, but this has to be reconciled with the existence of likewise distal Cuneiform Luwian **āšši-*. I suggest that the source of the Luwian demonstrative **ānni-* was **ānni*, accusative of **āšši*. The development of the new paradigm **ānni-*, based on the paradigm of the adjectival (or nominal??) *i*-stems, would have been exactly parallel to the development of the new Hittite paradigm *oni-* with the forms *onis*, *oniyas*, *onin*, *oni* and *onius* based on the accusative *oni* of the distal demonstrative *asi*. As in Hittite, the new Luwian paradigm did not adopt the traditional pronominal inflection, but the (ad)nominal inflection with *i*-forms in the nominative and accusative, and a dative-locative *-i* instead of expected *-atti*. The abl. *annaz* and dat.s. *anni* point at *i*-mutation.

	PA	Luwian1	Luwian2	Hittite2	Hittite1
nom.s.comm.	**ési*	**āssi*	**ānnī/is*	*onis*	*asi*
acc.s.comm.	**éni*	**ānni* ⇒	**ānnī/in*	*onin* ⇐	*oni*
nom.-acc.s.neut.				*oni*	*ini*
gen.s.	**ési?*	**āssi?*	**ānnā(s)si*	*oniyas*	*asi*
dat.-loc.s.	**édi*	**ātti*	**ānni*		*edi*
abl.-instr.	**édi*	**ātti*	**ānnādi*		*edi*
nom.-acc.pl.neut.	?**énih₂*	**ānnī* ⇒ Palaic?			*eni*

---

[3] Since Luwian would never have had *annaz,* Hittite borrowed **ānnati* before **-ti* > *-z*. Alternatively, Hittite *did* innovate, and replaced the 'un-Hittite' abl.-instr. **ānnadi* with more regular *annaz*.

Çop's Law is responsible for the geminate *-nn-* in Luwian, but this should not be the case for Palaic. Palaic, like Hittite, therefore borrowed this form (and presumably the whole paradigm) from Luwian. However, *i*-mutation does not explain the Palaic neuter plural *ānnī*, because neuter plural should have been **ānna. (Does this mean that Palaic borrowed the *original* Luwian demonstrative, and should we reconstruct neuter pl. nom.-acc. *énih₂?)

6. The demonstrative system in the 2nd millennium languages

	Deictic					Anaphoric
	Person based			Distance based		
	1st	2nd	3rd	Proximal	Distal	
Hittite	*ka-*	*apa-*	*asi*	*ana-*	*anni-* (B)	*apa-*
Luwian	*za-*	*apa-*	*āssi > **ānni-*	(ptcl. *-sa*)		*apa-*
Palaic	*(-)ka-*		*ānni-* (B)			*(-)apa-*
Hittite	Spatial deixis			Spatial > Temporal deixis		

So, we can restore a three-term system, but can we do this for PA as well? Or is this system the result of areal influence? (After all, *ānni-* was borrowed into Hittite and Palaic.)

7. Lycian A

I propose that Lycian A has a distal demonstrative *e-* < PA *ési, and remnants of a proximal demonstrative *h(e)-* < PA **só-*, only occurring in restricted environments in attested Lycian. This same demonstrative is also found in Lycian B as *se-* and Carian as *san-*. The PA demonstrative allative *ḱō 'to this, hereto' grammaticalized as the sentence connective *se* in Lycian A, B (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=201), and as Carian *sb*.

7.1. Lycian A *ebe-* 'this'

The only know demonstrative is *ebe-*, with near deixis (= Greek τουτο-), the rest is not attested (Melchert 2009:153):

(5) TL 56
ebẽññẽ[4]   prñnãwu: m≠e≠ti[5]   prñnawatẽ   ixtta: hlah: tideimi: (…)
this.here:ACC.S.C house:ACC.S.C CONN≠3S.ACC.C≠REFL build:3S.PST:AGR I:NOM.S.C H.:GEN.S   child:NOM.S.C.
se≠ije   ti[6]   edi: tike: mẽtẽ: (…)
and≠3.DAT.S who:NOM.S.C do:3S.PRS   some:NOM.-ACC.S.N   harm: NOM.-ACC.S.N

"As for this here (grave-)house, Ikta, son of Hla, built it for himself, (his wife, and his children). And if anyone does any harm to it, (may the local Mother of the District and the country of Phellos smite him)."

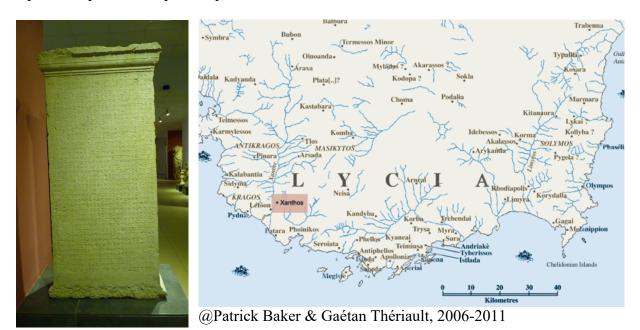[4] Proximal demonstrative: **ebẽññẽ** prñnãwu: ≙ τουτι το μνημα
[5] Reflexive: ≠ti ≙ αυτω[ι]
[6] Indefinite=conditional relative: ti ≙ εαν τις

7.2. New: Lycian A *e-* 'that'

7.2.1. *eli*

The Xanthos trilingual N320: Lycian-Greek-Aramaic public edict on a stele, found near the Apollo temple of a temple complex 4 km south-west of Xanthos.

@Patrick Baker & Gaétan Thériault, 2006-2011

"After Pigerese, Katamla's son, became satrap over Lycia, he assigned to the Lycians as stewards Ijera and Natrebijemmi, and to Xanthos as governor Erttimeli. And the citizenry and the Xanthian 'suburbanites' agreed (on) the following: They built the sacred altar for the King of Kaunos (the chief deity) and for Arkazuma, King. And as priest for these gods they appointed Eseimija, son of Qanturahe, and whoever is close to Eseimiya. And they have given him tax exemption regarding whatever is his," followed by:

(6) N320:12-14

s≠ed≠**eli**≠ñtãtẽ :		teteri :	sej≠epewẽtlm̃mẽi :
and≠3PL.NOM.-ACC.N≠**eli**≠in:place:3PL.PST:AGR		city:NOM.S.C	and≠perioikoi:NOM.PL.C

hrm̃mada :	ttaraha :
land.section:NOM.-ACC.PL.N	city:GEN.ADJ:NOM.-ACC.PL.N

And the city and the 'suburbanites' *added* **over there** the fields of the city. (Namely, that Xesñtedi and Pigrẽi *till*, so Melchert 2018). (Alternative analysis Rieken & Yakubovich fc.: *eliñ-ta-* "in das Nicht-Eigene zu (jemandem) setzen".)

7.2.2. Formal analysis

For the form of adverbial *eli* (perhaps also in TL 35:6 *se(j)≠eli≠hala*[-), compare adverbial *teli* 'where' and *ebeli* 'here' (TL 150:1), clitic *≠(e)beli* (e.g., TL 44b:2). The basis of the adverb of place *eli* is the distal demonstrative **e-*.

7.2.3. Functional analysis

The stele was located in the Letoon, the temple complex 4 km south-west of Xanthos. On the other hand, the fields mentioned in this sentence are located in the city of Xanthos (*ttaraha*), therefore they are 'not-here' = 'there'. Because there is no particular Focus on the location 'over there', but only on the city fields, *eli* 'over there' is part of the shared background of speaker and addressee (=reader), just like *ebeli* 'here' often is, allowing unaccented and cliticized *eli*.

7.3. New: Lycian A *he-* 'this'

7.3.1. hñti > hñ≠ti

The sequence *hñti* in N320:5 is currently understood as either a preverb *hñti* (Melchert 2004:24, Sasseville 2020:277), or perhaps *hñ* followed by the reflexive *-ti* (Melchert l.c., with further ref.), or perhaps lexicalized participle of *eh-* 'to be', "seiend, wirklich, wahr" (Neumann 2007:96), or "Adjektiv *hñti(je)-* zu *hãta-*", "etwa ‚Inhaber'"(Schürr 2014:18).

(7) N320:5-7[7]
Context: After Pigerese, Katamla's son, became satrap over Lycia, he assigned to the Lycians as stewards Ijera and Natrebijemmi, and to Xanthos as governor Erttimeli.

me≠**hñ**≠ti≠tubedẽ :	arus :	sej≠epewẽtlm̃mẽi :	Arññãi :
CONN≠**hñ**≠REFL≠agree:3S.PST:AGR	authority:NOM.S.C	and≠perioikoi:NOM.PL.C	Xanthian:NOM.PL.C

m̃maitẽ (…)
build:3PL.PST:AGR

And the (city's) *authority* and the Xanthian 'suburbanites' agreed (on) **this=the following** (*hñ*): They built (the sacred altar for the King of Kaunos (the chief deity) and for Arkazuma, King.)

But as expected, *hñ* may also be used independently (TL 44b:23-24. Diff. Sasseville 2020:419, eDiAna (Yakubovich, Provisional annotation of the lycian corpus):

(8) TL 44b:23-24
Context: [.]. to levy the triremes of Chios (?). Nagu[ra..] levied the trireme of Xerẽ.

hñ≠ti≠t[ubedẽ]	[…..	m]erehi	## hijãnaxã	heledije […]
this≠REFL≠agree:3S.PST:AGR	[…..]	Merehe:NOM.S.C	seal:DUR:1S.PST:AGR	H.:DAT.PL

Merehe […] ag[reed] (to) **this=the following**: I have released[8] for the *heledi*-an […]

7.3.2. Functional analysis

David Goldstein (2014:116) lists the sentence N320:5 as problematic for his proposal of what triggers object agreement in Lycian. According to Goldstein, object agreement, i.e., *-ẽ* on the verb, only occurs when there is a uniquely identifiable referent (this excludes indefinites and demonstratives). The verb *tubedẽ* contains an agreement marker but a uniquely identifiable object is lacking. This problem is resolved if we take *hñ* as a cataphoric discourse deictic proximal demonstrative, referring to the next main clause. Normally, demonstratives do not

---

[7] For a very different analysis see Schürr 2014. Also differently Melchert 2018.
[8] I propose to parse *hijãna-* as *hije-* 'to release' plus durative *-ẽne-* (with vowel harmony because of *-xa*) < *siyanna-*. In Hittite this durative is found in *pe-ssiyanna-* 'to throw away, etc.'

uniquely identify, but this is different for *cataphoric discourse deictic* demonstratives: there is only one possible referent, the forthcoming stretch of discourse. Hence, I would consider the referents of cataphoric demonstrative uniquely identifiable.

7.3.3. Formal analysis

hñ is the acc.s.n of *he-*.

The reinterpretation as a demonstrative only works if we allow that the demonstrative is not just a clitic (like ⸗*(e)bi*, ⸗*(e)beli*, or ⸗*ka-* and ⸗*apa-* in Palaic), but a Wackernagel clitic that can precede the reflexive, just like the 3ʳᵈ person clitic pronoun ⸗*e*. I argue that *he-* 'this' is the discourse deictic alternative of anaphoric/proleptic ⸗*e*. The difference between an anaphoric or cataphoric 3ʳᵈ person pronoun and a discourse deictic one is the order of the referent: 3ʳᵈ pronouns target 1ˢᵗ order referents (things), discourse deictic pronouns target 3ʳᵈ order referents (propositions).

s⸗**ed**ᵢ⸗eli⸗ñtãtẽ :   …   [hrm̃madaᵢ :   ttarahaᵢ :] — 1ˢᵗ order
and⸗3PL.NOM.-ACC.N⸗there⸗in:place:3PL.PST:AGR land.section:NOM.-ACC.PL.N city:GEN.ADJ:NOM.-ACC.PL.N

me⸗**hñ**ⱼ⸗ti⸗tubedẽ :   …   ## [m̃maitẽ …]ⱼ — 3ʳᵈ order
CONN⸗this⸗REFL⸗agree:3S.PST:AGR

hñⱼ⸗ti⸗t[ubedẽ]   ## [hijãnaxã …]ⱼ — 3ʳᵈ order
this⸗REFL⸗agree:3S.PST:AGR   release:DUR:1S.PST:AGR

I suggest that the neuter pronoun *-ede* cannot have a proposition as its referent, and *hñ* cannot take a 'thing' as its referent (the demonstrative *ebe-* is used for that).

7.3.4. Etymology: he- < *so-

Lycian A *he-* cannot have **ḱo-* as its source. **ḱo-* should have led to a demonstrative ***se-*. Indeed, a reflex of allative *ḱṓ 'to this' is the conjunction *se* 'and' (David Sasseville, Andreas Opfermann (2020): Individual Anatolian Languages, 5. Reconstruction. In: eDiAna s.v. *ḱ̂ṓ). This leaves the demonstrative *so, which also works for Lycian B and Carian *san-*.

8. Lycian B se- 'this'

Lycian A *he-* should be compared with the Lycian B proximal demonstrative *se-* 'this' (dat. *si*, perhaps gen.adj. *sesi* in TL 44c:66??), which means that *se-* is not the reflex of **ḱó/é/í-* (*pace* Sasseville, eDiAna sub *ḱo-/*ḱi-/*ḱe-, 3. Lycian B, with refs.):

(9) TL 44c.34-36 (edition Sasseville, eDiAna sub *ḱo-/*ḱi-/*ḱe-, 3. Lycian B)
trqqiz⸗kke⸗pe   me⸗de zppli   xixbati   qetbeleimis
Tqqi:NOM.S.C⸗and⸗EMPH but⸗PTCL feast:LOC.S summon:3S.PRS   invigorating:ACC.PL.C.

si⸗ke   **tesi**   uwedris   erẽpliz
this:DAT.S⸗and oath:DAT.S   all:ACC.PL.C   deity:ACC.PL.C

"The Storm-god, on the other hand, summons to the feast **and to this oath** all invigorating deities".

9. Carian *sa-* 'this'

Finally, we might want to compare Lycian A *he-* and Lycian B *se-* with Carian *sa-*. That means we should derive it from the demonstrative **só-*, so already suggested as an alternative to **kó-* by Melchert (2009:157). Carian also shows non-proximal *u-* and proximal *an-*.

10. Lydian

The only deictic demonstratives recognized thus far are proximal *eš-* 'this' (nom.s.c. *ess,* acc.s.c. *ešn,* nom.-acc.s.n. *eš(t)*, nom.-acc.s.pl. *eš*) and distal (?) *oš-* 'that (?)' (Melchert 2009:153). There is a 3rd person anaphoric pronoun *ed-* (nom.s.c. *edš,* nom.-acc.s.n. *edt*, dat.-loc.s. *edλ*) that seems to function like the independent pronoun *apa-* in Hittite and Luwian (raising the issue of the functional difference with the anaphoric independent pronoun *pi-* < *i-*stem reflex of **obhó-*, or based on an adverb **obhí*):

(10) LW 44:15-17

tẽtr[od?]	qiš	fasaknakil	puk≠t	aλẽλ[od?]
?[.3S.PRS??]	REL:NOM.S.C	defile:INF	or≠PTCL	verb-[3S.PRS??]

edλ≠t≠in	niwiswa	ciwš	f[a…t]
that.one:DAT.S≠PTCL≠indeed	evil:ACC.PL.N	god:NOM.PL.C	verb[-3PL.PRS]

He who *orders*?? to defile [it] or *a.*-s [it], **on *him*** the gods shall [*unleash*??] evils.

Perhaps distal **éši* split in proto-Lydian into two demonstratives, distal > proximal **éši* and distal **édi*? Was the neuter of PA **éši* not *éni/íni* but *édi*? If so, compare process of split and renewal with Hittite *eni-* < neuters. *eni, aši-* < nom.s.c. (and *uni-* < acc.s.c.)).

Now that Luwian and Lycian had distal *e-*, I assume *eš-* was originally distal as well in proto-Lydian. Loss of **kó-* (and **obhó-*) and pressure from **ówo-* led to the shift in semantics from distal to proximal, compare Old French (9th-12th c. CE) speaker-oriented *cist* from Latin *ecce + iste*, and non-speaker-oriented *cil* from Latin *ecce + ille*).

11. The demonstrative system in the 1st millennium languages

	Deictic				
	Person based			Distance based	
IALuw.	1st **ḱo/i-* za-	2nd **obhó/í-* apa- (2)	3rd **ési*	Proximal **so-* (? > -sa/-za)	Distal **ówo-* conn (a)wa-??
Lycian A	conj. *se*	*ebe-* (>P)	*e-* (D)	*he-* (P, disc.deictic)	ptcl *-(e)wẽ*??
Lycian B	conj. *se*	*ebe-* (>P?)		*se-* (P)	ptcl *-we*??
Carian	conj. *sb*			*san-* (P)	*u(e)* (non-P)
Lydian	x	x	*eš-* (>P)	x	*oš-* (non-P)
		> Distance based			

12. Conclusion

With B=borrowing removed:

	Deictic			Distance based	
	Person based				
	*$\hat{k}o/i$- (1)	*$obhó/i$- (2)	*$ési$ (3)	Proximal *so-	Distal *$ówo$-
Hitt.	*ka*- (1)	*apa*- (2)	*asi* (3)	(>conj *s(o)*-)	(adv. *awan* ??)
Palaic	*ka*- (1/P)	?	?		
Luw.	*za*- (1)	**apa*- (2)	**āssi*- (3)	?-*sa* (>-*sa*/-*za*)	
IALuw.	*za*- (1)	*apa*- (2)	?	?(>-*sa*/-*za*)	(conn *(a)wa*-??)
Lycian A	(conj. *se*)	*ebe*- (>P)	*e*- (D)	*he*- (P, disc.d.)	(ptcl -*(e)wẽ* ??)
Lycian B	(conj. *sebe*)	*ebe*- (>P)	?	*se*- (P)	(ptcl -*we* ??)
Carian	(conj. *sb*)	x	x	*san*- (P)	*u(e)* (D)
Lydian	x	x	*eš*- (>P)	x	*oš*- (D)

Green: demonstratives discussed in paper; Blue: elements grammaticalized out of demonstratives

References

eDiAna = Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages, URL: https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php

Goedegebuure, Petra (2014). *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topics and Focus*, (StBoT 55) Wiesbaden.

Goldstein, David (2014). "Object agreement in Lycian." *Historische Sprachforschung* 127:101–124

Kloekhorst, Alwin (2014). *Accent in Hittite: A Study in Plene Spelling, Consonant Gradation, Clitics, and Metrics*, (StBoT 56) Wiesbaden.

Melchert, H. Craig (1994). *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, (Leiden Studies in Indo-Europaean 3) Amsterdam - Atlanta.

— (2004). *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language*. Ann arbor – New York.

— (2009). "Deictic Pronouns in Anatolian," in *East and West: Papers in Indo-European Studies* (ed. K. Yoshida & B. Vine), 151-161

— (2018). "The Trilingual Inscription of the Létôon. Lycian Version".

Neumann, Günter (2007). *Glossar des Lykischen. Überarbeitet und zum Druck gebracht von Johann Tischler*, (DBH 21) Wiesbaden.

Rieken, Elisabeth, Ilya Yakubovich (fc.). "Zu den Reflexen der Wurzel **al*- in den anatolischen Sprachen." In H. Fellner, T.-S. Illés and Melanie Malzahn (eds.), *Zurück zur Wurzel – Struktur, Funktion und Semantik der Wurzel im Indogermanischen: 15. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Wien, September 16, 2016*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Sasseville, David (2020). *Anatolian Verbal Stem Formation. Luwian, Lycian and Lydian*, (BSIEL 21) Leiden.

Sasseville, David (2020). 1. Individual Anatolian Languages, 1.3. Lycian B. In: eDiAna s.v. **k̂o-/k̂i-/k̂e-*k̂o-/k̂i-/k̂e*-. URL: http://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=939

Sasseville, David, Andreas Opfermann (2020): 1. Individual Anatolian Languages, 5. Reconstruction. In: eDiAna s.v. **k̂ō*

Schürr, Diether (2014). "Ein Lykischer Volksbeschluss?" *Incontri Linguistici* 37:13-26.

Yakubovich, Ilya (2015). Provisional annotation of the lycian corpus. eDiAna, URL: http://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/corpus.php