
Labiovelars in Lycian and Relative Chronology

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Oscar Billing



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Introduction

Pedersen (1949: 20f.); Laroche (1967: 57f.); Carruba (1978: 165-167); Melchert (1992; 1994: 303; 311); Rasmussen (1992)

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MERGE PIE **e*, **o* > Lyc. A/B *e*

**h₁ob^hós* > A *ebe* ‘this’ (NOM.SG.C) cf. Hitt. *apās*

**h₁ob^hédos* > A *ebette* ‘this’ (DAT/LOC.SG) cf. Hitt. *apēdas*

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$*h_1ob^h\underline{o}s$ $> A \text{ } e\underline{b}e$ ‘this’ (NOM.SG.C) cf. Hitt. *apās*

$*h_1ob^h\underline{e}dos$ $> A \text{ } e\underline{b}ette$ ‘this’ (DAT/LOC.SG) cf. Hitt. *apēdas*

K^W-PAL PIE $*k^w / _V^{[\text{front}]} > \text{Lyc. A } t/\tau, B \text{ } k$

$*\underline{k}^w er-\acute{o}-$ $> A \text{ } \underline{t}ere-/ \underline{\tau}ere-, B \text{ } \underline{k}ere-$ ‘territory’ (N)

$*\underline{k}^w i-$ $> A \text{ } \underline{t}i-, B \text{ } \underline{k}i-$ ‘who, which’ (RELPRON) cf. Hitt. *kui-*

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With **MERGE** → **K^W-PAL** (A): PIE **k^w* / *_o* > Lyc. A *t/τ*, B *k*

With **K^W-PAL** → **MERGE** (B): PIE **k^w* / *_o* > Lyc. A/B *q*

(A) Evidence for **MERGE** \rightarrow **K^W-PAL**

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Lyc. A telixa (x2 TL 29.6)

se=ñne mlẽ : ʒur̥ṭtu : telixa : se=i ñtepi wazzisñ t̥elixa : pddãti (TL 29.6)

‘and I **t.-ed** the ʒ. for/to them and I **t.-ed** the w.-troop into place.’

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Formally 1SG.PRET.ACT

Context suggests **transitive verb of motion**

Hajnal suggests ‘to make turn’ from **PIE caus.** to root **k^wel-* ‘to turn’, i.e. **k^wol-éie/o-* > Lyc. *A tel(e)i^{-di}* ‘to make turn’ (1995: 144; 168 n. 207)

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Cf. Hitt. *kussan-* ‘salary, fee’ Lyd. *iš-qašānwv* ‘we rent out’ PGer. **hūzjan* ‘to hire’

Goetze (1954: 403); Neumann (1979: 27; 2007: 299); Kloekhorst (2008: 498);
Kroonen (2013: 261); Sasseville (2021b: 166f.); eDiAna-ID 1897

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Proterodynamic $*n$ -stem $*k^{(w)}uéh_3s-n- : *k^{(w)}uh_3s-én-$

Lyc. *A qehñn-* < $*k^wóś-(V)n-$ < $*k^{(w)}uéh_3s-(e)n-$

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Points to $*k^w / _o >$ Lyc. *A q*, implying K^W -PAL \rightarrow MERGE
(but not primary $*k^w$!)

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(B) Evidence for K^W -PAL \rightarrow MERGE

Lyc. A/B *q(a)la-* (C) 'precinct'

Important forms:

A *qla* (e.g. TL 84.3; NOM.SG)

B *zri-qli* (TL 44d.32; DAT/LOC.SG)

Laroche (1960: 183); Melchert (2004: 55); Oettinger (2004: 131); Neumann (2007: 320-304);
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Cf. Lyd. *qela-* (N) ‘plot of land’ < $*k^w\acute{e}l-o-$

PIE root $*k^wel-$ ‘to turn’

τομή-type result noun $*k^w\acute{o}l-\acute{e}h_2-$

(B *zri-qali* suggests syncope in A *qla*)

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Lyc. A *hriqeri*- (C) ‘?’

se=i ni=p'e : {a} tise hriqeri si<j>ezi [ẽ]tri : hrppi tãtu (TL 5.7-10)

‘one shall not place anything/anyone on top of the lower *hriqeri sijezi*’

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Photographs used with permission from Martin Seyer. Photo credits: R. Hügli.

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sijeze/i- = 'bench-side'

cf. *si-ēni* 'to lie'

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hri-geri- (C) 'elevated section'

cf. *hri* 'upper'



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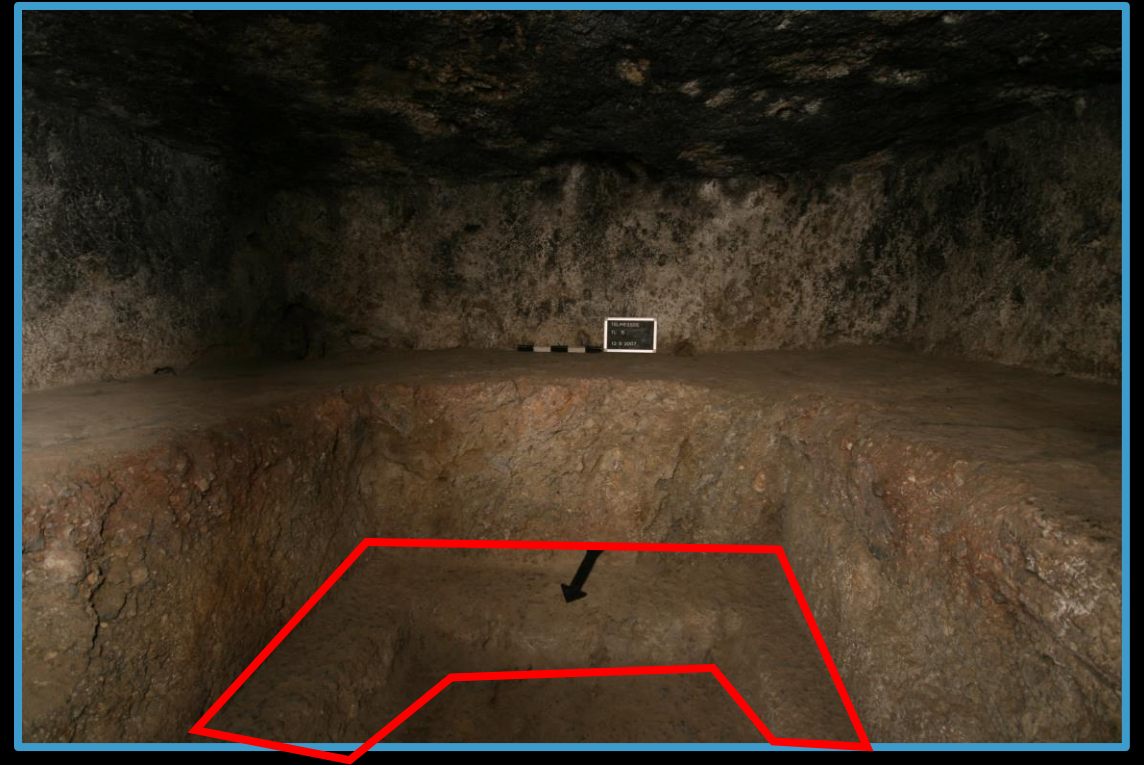
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t̥t̥u (TL 5.7-10)

'one shall not place anything/anyone on top of
the lower **bench-side elevated section**'



(B) Evidence for K^W -PAL \rightarrow MERGE

Lyc. *A qeri-* ‘section’

A τόμος-type result noun to PIE root $*k^wer-$ ‘to cut’

i.e. $*k^wór-o-$ ‘that which is cut’

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Necessitates PIE $*k^w / _o >$ Lyc. *A q-*, i.e. K^W -PAL \rightarrow MERGE

(B) Evidence for K^W -PAL \rightarrow MERGE

Lyc. B *qereimedi* ‘with sliced up (bread)’ (TL 55.2; 5; 7)

Formally: ABL/INS of **participle** to verb *qer(e)i-di*

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Semantics: Context on TL 55.4-5 suggests **offering**
(DIR OBJ *xba ladã* ‘lady Hebat’; apposition with *t[u]wẽmęđi* ‘with standing offerings’)

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Cf. CLuw. *€ku-ra-a-im-mi-i-iš* (KUB 51.27 i 7’; NS) apposition to sacrificial bread

Etymology: **k^wor-éie/o-* iterative to **k^wer-* ‘to cut’

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Lyc. *A qelehe/i-* ‘of the enclosure (?)’ (N 322.2) (Sasseville eDiAna-ID 1200)

Modifies *kumaza* ‘sacrificial priest’

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Cf. perhaps Pal. *kuwalima*- ‘enclosure (for sheep)’ (Sasseville & Yakubovich 2018)

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Assessment of the evidence

Assessment of the evidence

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Lyc. *A telixa* ‘I sent, dispatched (?)’ rather with Hitt. *talliye/a-^{zi}* ‘to exhort’

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Lyc. A *teri / terñ / τερñ* ‘when’ < **k^wóri(m)*

Lycian sequence *te- / τε-* analogical from

teli ‘where’ (< **k^wéli*) (Melchert 1994: 284; Dunkel 2014: 489)

Conclusions

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w</i> / ₋ V ^[front]	<i>*c^w</i>	<i>t/τ</i> [t ^(w)]	<i>k</i> [c]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < <i>*k^wi-</i> ; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < <i>*k^wer-ó-</i>
<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*c</i>	<i>k</i> [c]		A/B <i>kṃmēt(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < <i>*kumónt-</i>
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w</i> / ₋ V ^[back]	<i>*k^w</i>	<i>q</i> [k ^w]		A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < <i>*k^wol-éh₂-</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}u</i>	<i>*h^w</i>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < <i>*trh₂u-nt-’</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>x</i> [k]		A/B <i>xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < <i>*h₂éuh₂-eh₂-</i>

Kloekhorst (2009); Sasseville (eDiAna-ID 3551)

Conclusions

1. The most likely relative chronology is **K^W-PAL** → **MERGE**

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<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*c</i>	<i>k</i> [c]		A/B <i>kṛmēt(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < <i>*kumónt-</i>
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<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*c</i>	<i>k [c]</i>		<i>A/B kṃmēt(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < <i>*kumónt-</i>
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w / _V^[back]</i>	<i>*k^w</i>	<i>q [k^w]</i>		<i>A/B q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < <i>*k^wol-éh₂-</i>
<i>*h_{2/β}u</i>	<i>*h^w</i>				<i>A/B trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < <i>*trh₂u-nt-’</i>
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1. The most likely relative chronology is K^W -PAL → MERGE
2. Inherited $*k^w$ before inherited $*o$ yields Lycian q
3. Since MERGE is Proto-Lycian, we must reconstruct intermediate phonemes $*c$ and $*c^w$

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w / _V^[front]</i>	<i>*c^w</i>	<i>t/τ [t^(w)]</i>	<i>k [c]</i>	<i>A/B ti- / ki-</i> ‘who’ < <i>*k^wi-</i> ; <i>A tere- / B kere-</i> ‘territory’ < <i>*k^wer-ó-</i>
<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*c</i>	<i>k [c]</i>		<i>A/B kṁmēt(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < <i>*kumónt-</i>
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w / _V^[back]</i>	<i>*k^w</i>	<i>q [k^w]</i>		<i>A/B q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < <i>*k^wol-éh₂-</i>
<i>*h_{2/β}u</i>	<i>*h^w</i>				<i>A/B trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < <i>*trh₂u-nt-’</i>
<i>*h_{2/β}</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>x [k]</i>		<i>A/B xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < <i>*h₂éuh₂-eh₂-</i>

Kloekhorst (2009); Sasseville (eDiAna-ID 3551)

Conclusions

1. The most likely relative chronology is **K^W-PAL** → **MERGE**
2. Inherited ***k^w** before inherited ***o** yields Lycian **q**
3. Since **MERGE** is Proto-Lycian, we must reconstruct intermediate phonemes ***c** and ***c^w**
4. Proto-Luwo-Lycian must have had phonemic distinction ***e ≠ *o ≠ *a**

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w</i> / ₋ <i>V</i> ^[front]	<i>*c^w</i>	<i>t/τ</i> [t ^(w)]	<i>k</i> [c]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < <i>*k^wi-</i> ; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < <i>*k^wer-ó-</i>
<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*c</i>	<i>k</i> [c]		A/B <i>kṃmēt(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < <i>*kumónt-</i>
<i>*k^w</i>	<i>*k^w</i> / ₋ <i>V</i> ^[back]	<i>*k^w</i>	<i>q</i> [k ^w]		A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < <i>*k^wol-éh₂-</i>
<i>*h_{2β}u</i>	<i>*h^w</i>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < <i>*trh₂u-nt-’</i>
<i>*h_{2β}</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>x</i> [k]		A/B <i>xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < <i>*h₂éuh₂-eh₂-</i>

Kloekhorst (2009); Sasseville (eDiAna-ID 3551)

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