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# Labiovelars in Lycian and Relative Chronology

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# 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*

\**h₂obʰós* > A *ebe* ‘this’ (NOM.SG.C)

cf. Hitt. *apās*

\**h₂obʰédos* > A *ebette* ‘this’ (DAT/LOC.SG)

cf. Hitt. *apēdas*

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K<sup>W</sup>-PAL

PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>* / *V*<sup>[front]</sup> > Lyc. A *t/τ*, B *k*

- \**k<sup>w</sup>er-ó-* > A *tere-/τere-*, B *kere-* ‘territory’ (N)
- \**k<sup>w</sup>i-* > A *ti-*, B *ki-* ‘who, which’ (RELPRON) cf. Hitt. *kui-*

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

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

(A) Evidence for MERGE → K<sup>W</sup>-PAL

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Lyc. A *telixa* (x2 TL 29.6)

*se=ñne mlē : Ɂur̥tu : telixa : se=i ñtepi wazzisñ telixa : pddāti* (TL 29.6)

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Context suggests **transitive verb of motion**

Hajnal suggests ‘to make turn’ from PIE caus. to root \**kʷel-* ‘to turn’, i.e. \**kʷol-éie/o-* > Lyc. A *tel(e)i-di* ‘to make turn’ (1995: 144; 168 n. 207)

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PIE \**kʷ* / *\_o* > Lyc. A *t*      implies      MERGE → K<sup>W</sup>-PAL

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Lyc. A *teri* / *terñ* / *τerñ* ‘when’ (temporal conjunction)

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Cf. Hitt. *kussan-* ‘salary, fee’      Lyd. *iš-qasānwv* ‘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<sup>(w)</sup>uéh<sub>3</sub>s-n* : *\*k<sup>(w)</sup>uh<sub>3</sub>s-én-*

Lyc. A *qehñn-* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>ó̄s-(V)n-* < *\*k<sup>(w)</sup>uéh<sub>3</sub>s-(e)n-*

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

## (B) Evidence for K<sup>W</sup>-PAL → MERGE

Lyc. A/B *q(a)la-* (C) ‘precinct’

Important forms:

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

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

Laroche (1960: 183); Melchert (2004: 55); Oettinger (2004: 131); Neumann (2007: 320-304); Schürr (1997: 129f.); Sasseville (eDiAna-ID 1183)

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Cf. Lyd. *qela-* (N) ‘plot of land’ < \**kʷél-o-*

PIE root \**kʷel-* ‘to turn’

τομή-*type* result noun \**kʷol-éh₂-*

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

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Lyc. A *hriqeri-* (C ) ‘?’

*se=i ni=p<sup>!</sup>e : {a} tise hriqeri si<j>ezi [e̤]tri : hrppi tātu* (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-̊eni* 'to lie'

cf. local adjectival suffix *-ze/i-*



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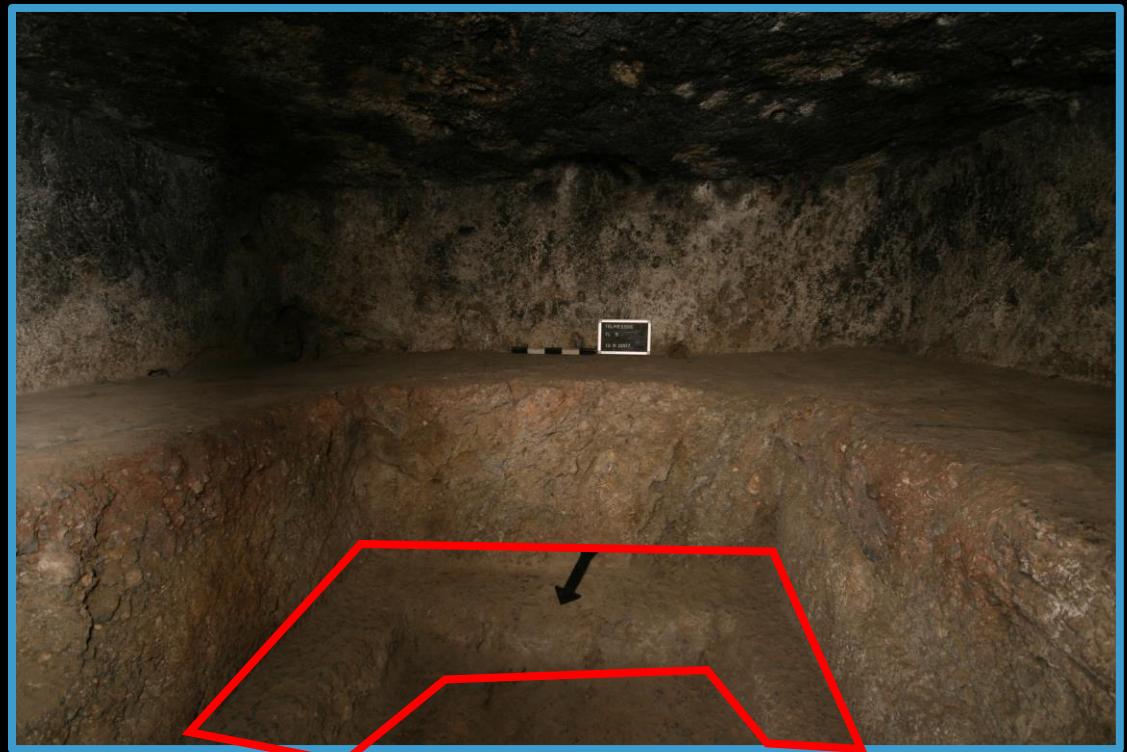
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‘one shall not place anything/anyone on top of  
the lower **bench-side elevated section**’



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Lyc. A *qeri-* ‘section’

A τόμος-type result noun to PIE root \**kʷer-* ‘to cut’

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

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Lyc. A (*hri-*)*qeri-* (C) ‘section’ < \*k<sup>w</sup>ór-o-

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5 (3) > 2

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Reconstruction: \**dolH-ié/ó-* (Melchert 2010; Sasseville 2021b: 158)

Lyc. A *teri / terñ/ τerñ* ‘when’ < \**kʷóri(m)*

Lycian sequence *te- / τe-* analogical from

*teli* ‘where’ (< \**kʷéli*) (Melchert 1994: 284; Dunkel 2014: 489)

# Conclusions

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
* <i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	* <i>k<sup>w</sup></i> / <i>_V</i> [front]	* <i>c<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t/τ [t<sup>(w)</sup>]</i>	<i>k</i> [c]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < * <i>k<sup>w</sup>i-</i> ; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < * <i>k<sup>w</sup>er-ó-</i>
* <i>k</i>	* <i>k</i>	* <i>c</i>	<i>k</i> [c]		A/B <i>km̩m̩et(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < * <i>kumónt-</i>
* <i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	* <i>k<sup>w</sup></i> / <i>_V</i> [back]	<i>*k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>q</i> [ <i>k<sup>w</sup></i> ]		A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < * <i>k<sup>w</sup>ol-éh<sub>2</sub>-</i>
* <i>h<sub>2/3</sub>u</i>	* <i>h<sup>w</sup></i>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < * <i>trh<sub>2</sub>u-nt-</i> ’
* <i>h<sub>2/3</sub></i>	* <i>h</i>	* <i>k</i>	<i>x</i> [k]		A/B <i>xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < * <i>h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-</i>

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

# Conclusions

1. The most likely relative chronology is K<sup>W</sup>-PAL → MERGE

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
*k <sup>w</sup>	*k <sup>w</sup> / _V[front]	*c <sup>w</sup>	t/τ [t <sup>(w)</sup> ]	k [c]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < *k <sup>w</sup> i-; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < *k <sup>w</sup> er-ó-
*k	*k	*c	k [c]		A/B <i>km̩m̩et(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < *kumónt-
*k <sup>w</sup>	*k <sup>w</sup> / _V[back]	*k <sup>w</sup>	q [k <sup>w</sup> ]	x [k]	A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < *k <sup>w</sup> ol-éh <sub>2</sub> -
*h <sub>2/3</sub> u	*h <sup>w</sup>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < *trh <sub>2</sub> u-nt-'
*h <sub>2/3</sub>	*h	*k			A/B <i>xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < *h <sub>2</sub> éuh <sub>2</sub> -eh <sub>2</sub> -

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1. The most likely relative chronology is K<sup>W</sup>-PAL → MERGE
2. Inherited \**kʷ* before inherited \**o* yields Lycian *q*

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
* <i>kʷ</i>	* <i>kʷ</i> / <i>V</i> [front]	* <i>cʷ</i>	<i>t/τ</i> [ <i>t</i> <sup>(<i>w</i>)</sup> ]	<i>k</i> [c]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < * <i>kʷi-</i> ; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < * <i>kʷer-ó-</i>
* <i>k</i>	* <i>k</i>	* <i>c</i>	<i>k</i> [c]		A/B <i>km̩m̩et(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < * <i>kumónt-</i>
* <i>kʷ</i>	* <i>kʷ</i> / <i>V</i> [back]	* <i>kʷ</i>	<i>q</i> [ <i>kʷ</i> ]	<i>x</i> [k]	A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < * <i>kʷol-éh₂-</i>
* <i>h₂/₃u</i>	* <i>hʷ</i>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < * <i>trh₂u-nt-</i> ‘
* <i>h₂/₃</i>	* <i>h</i>	* <i>k</i>			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<sup>W</sup>-PAL → MERGE
2. Inherited \**kʷ* before inherited \**o* yields Lycian *q*
3. Since MERGE is Proto-Lycian, we must reconstruct intermediate phonemes \**c* and \**cʷ*

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* <i>kʷ</i>	* <i>kʷ</i> / <i>V</i> [front]	* <i>cʷ</i>	<i>t/τ</i> [ <i>t</i> <sup>(<i>w</i>)</sup> ]	<i>k</i> [ <i>c</i> ]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < * <i>kʷi-</i> ; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < * <i>kʷer-ó-</i>
* <i>k</i>	* <i>k</i>	* <i>c</i>	<i>k</i> [ <i>c</i> ]		A/B <i>km̩m̩et(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < * <i>kumónt-</i>
* <i>kʷ</i>	* <i>kʷ</i> / <i>V</i> [back]	<i>*kʷ</i>	<i>q</i> [ <i>kʷ</i> ]		A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < * <i>kʷol-éh₂-</i>
* <i>h₂₃u</i>	* <i>hʷ</i>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < * <i>trh₂u-nt-</i> ‘
* <i>h₂₃</i>	* <i>h</i>	* <i>k</i>	<i>x</i> [ <i>k</i> ]		A/B <i>xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < * <i>h₂éuh₂-eh₂-</i>

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# Conclusions

1. The most likely relative chronology is K<sup>W</sup>-PAL → MERGE
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4. Proto-Luwo-Lycian must have had phonemic distinction \**e* ≠ \**o* ≠ \**a*

PIE	PLuwo-Lyc.	PLyc.	Lyc. A	Lyc. B	Examples
* <i>kʷ</i>	* <i>kʷ</i> / <i>V</i> [front]	* <i>cʷ</i>	<i>t/τ</i> [ <i>t</i> <sup>(<i>w</i>)</sup> ]	<i>k</i> [ <i>c</i> ]	A/B <i>ti-</i> / <i>ki-</i> ‘who’ < * <i>kʷi-</i> ; A <i>tere-</i> / B <i>kere-</i> ‘territory’ < * <i>kʷer-ó-</i>
* <i>k</i>	* <i>k</i>	* <i>c</i>	<i>k</i> [ <i>c</i> ]		A/B <i>km̩m̩ēt(i)-</i> ‘how(ever) many’ < * <i>kumónt-</i>
* <i>kʷ</i>	* <i>kʷ</i> / <i>V</i> [back]	<i>*kʷ</i>	<i>q</i> [ <i>kʷ</i> ]		A/B <i>q(a)la-</i> ‘precinct’ < * <i>kʷol-éh₂-</i>
* <i>h₂/₃u</i>	* <i>hʷ</i>				A/B <i>trqqñt-</i> ‘Storm-god’ < * <i>trh₂u-nt-</i> ‘
* <i>h₂/₃</i>	* <i>h</i>	* <i>k</i>	<i>x</i> [ <i>k</i> ]		A/B <i>xuga-</i> ‘grandfather’ < * <i>h₂éuh₂-eh₂-</i>

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