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Lydian *o*-vocalism and the word for ‘rite, cult supply’

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Abstract: Lydian *o*-vocalism has proved a difficult problem of historical phonology and the origin of many *o*-vowels remains unclear. In this paper, one sound law responsible for secondary *o*-vocalism is presented: the backing of an accented **á* when adjacent to *k*. This sound law provides an etymology for the nominal suffix *-oka-* and can be supported by several independent data points. One consequence is the elucidation of the word *kocwid* as meaning ‘rite, cult supply’, leading to an improved understanding of three separate Lydian passages. An ongoing rounding of *á* to *o* when adjacent to *f* is also hypothesised, based on new evidence with observable *a/o*-vacillation.

Keywords: Lydian, historical phonology, Anatolian languages, Indo-European linguistics.

1 Introduction

The Lydian language has always been considered more obscure than the rest of the Anatolian branch. However, recent research has opened new doors to the understanding of Lydian, especially via an improved historical phonology, making Lydian look more and more like its Anatolian sister-languages. The recent discovery that the laryngeal did not always disappear in Lydian but fell together with the velar sound *-k-* has provided new etymologies, in the end contributing much to the decipherment of the Lydian lexicon (see Oettinger 2017, 2021a, Yakubovich 2019: 402). Another phonological problem in Lydian studies concerns the ubiquitous vowel *-o-*, which may have had various origins, the main one currently confirmed being the monophthongisation of a (Pre-)Lydian accented

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diphthong *-éu-, óu- or -áu- (whether primary or secondary)¹, e.g. in the factitive/causative suffix -no-^(d) < *-néu-, in the verbs *ow-* ‘to regard in favour’ (cf. Hitt. *au(š)-*^(hi) ‘to look at’, CLuw. *āwāi-* ‘to see’)² and *tro-*^(d) ‘to hand over’ (cf. CLuw. *ta-ra-a-u-i-* ‘to hand over’), *ši-lawā-*^(d) vs. *iš-lo-dal*³, in adjectival *o*-stems < *’u-/éu- (cf. Hitt. -u/-aw-)⁴, in the nouns *wora-* c. ‘child, son’ < Pre-Lyd. *’uáurā- (with metathesis; cf. CLuw. *warwalan-* n. ‘seed’)⁵ and Lyd. *ora-* c. ‘month’ < Pre-Lyd. *’áurā- (with metathesis from *ar-uā-; for the root cf. Hitt. and Luw. *arma-* c. ‘month’ and Lyc. *nure(i)-* ‘new moon’)^{6,7}. Moreover, there was the connection between Lyd. *fa-korfi-*^(d) ‘to attempt (?)’ and Hitt. *karpiye/a-*^(mi) ‘to lift’, which was suggested by Carruba (1963: 396) and gained popularity, although Lyd. -o- vs. Hitt. a- always required a special explanation. Oettinger (1978: 87⁵⁴) cautiously suggested that a vocalic *’y might have been realized as Lyd. -or-, whereas Eichner (1986: 21²⁶) rather posited a change of Lydian accented -á- to -o- before a liquid and a labial (tentatively followed by Melchert 1992: 48²⁸, readjusted in Melchert 1994: 346 as “between dorsal and labial”, Oettinger 2021b: 468). Moreover, Poetto (1979: 200) suggested the preservation of a PIE *-o- next to a labial in order to enable an Indo-European etymology of Lyd. *koful* ‘water’, while Melchert (1992: 48²⁸) preferred secondary rounding comparable to that in *fa-korfi-*^(d). Recently, Mouton and Yakubovich (2019: 222²¹) suggested that Lyd. *koful* ‘water’ was a mutated stem *kof(i)-*, assuming that the -u- in the dative case was an epenthetic vowel (cf. *pλ* vs. *pυλ* ‘to him’), enabling an equation with CLuw. *hāp(i)-* ‘running water, river’ (superseding Poetto’s etymology). Here, they argue that the correspondence between -a- and -o- could be due to the neighbouring labial consonant just like in *fa-korfi-*^(d) (followed by Oettinger 2021b: 468f. “between dorsal and labial”). In a paper devoted to the Lydian vowel -o-, Oettinger (2021b: 468f.) goes a little further and tries to account for further changes of -o- to -a- and adds the conditioning in the proximity of -r- as in *qardoλcv*, though without providing an etymology to verify the approach. However, these alleged sound changes have never been properly tested on a larger set of Lydian data. Moreover, many *o*-vowels in

1 Melchert (1994: 368).

2 Sasseville (2021a: 289f., 343f.).

3 Yakubovich (2019: 406f.), Oettinger (2021b: 469f.).

4 Sasseville (2021a: 180–183).

5 Oettinger (1995: 48f.).

6 Oettinger (2017), Oettinger (2021b: 467f.).

7 Partly outdated Melchert (1994: 368f.). Especially the sound law of Pre-Lyd. *’ua- > -wo- is difficult to maintain; cf. the clearly oxytone *a*-stem neuters *mruwaad* (LW 11.1) and *sfarwad* (LW 11.1; closes anaepastic third foot, *pace* Melchert 1994: 350f.). Currently, perhaps the best evidence in favour of *’ua- > -wo- could be the verb *os-* vs. Hitt. *wāš-*^(hi) ‘to buy’ (Melchert *apud* Sasseville 2021a: 285), but this is by no means assured.

Lydian still escape elucidation, implying more as of yet undetermined sound laws with the output *o*. In this paper, we suggest two such developments, tested on the entirety of the attested Lydian material. The result is an improved understanding both of Lydian historical phonology and of the texts themselves.

2 Lydian K-BACKING

A number of neuter abstract nouns in Lydian are formed with the suffix *-oka-* n., e.g. *altokad* ‘?’ (LW 10.14), *šaroka(d)=k* ‘protection (vel sim.)’ (LW 23.12; LW 24.15). Verbs derived from these stems are common (Sasseville 2021a: 245f.), i.e. *kaprdokid* ‘to steal (?)’ (LW 54.4), *katšarlokid* ‘to annihilate (vel sim.)’ (LW 17.3; LW 23.4, 10; LW 24.13), *warptokid* ‘to attack (?)’ (LW 23.7), giving us more examples despite the indirect attestation. Melchert (2004: 143) explains the suffix *-oka-* as a secondary “thematization” of stems in **-éh₂-*, equating it in function and partly in form with the Luwian abstract noun suffix *-āhit-*, found in e.g. *ašrulāhit-* ‘femininity’, *ħwitwalāhit-* ‘life’, *nakkuššāhit-* ‘scapegoat-status’, etc. The difference between the Lydian and Luwian nouns lies in the choice of the morpheme following **-éh₂-*, i.e. either **-o-* n. in Lydian or **-id-* n. in Luwian. Accordingly, Melchert posits a development **-éh₂-o-* > Lyd. *-oka-* (followed by Oettinger 2021a: 118, Oettinger 2021b: 469). The synchronic place of the accent in Lydian is unambiguous on account of the sign *o*.⁸ Melchert’s etymology is functionally compelling and formally increasingly plausible given the aforementioned discovery of a Lydian laryngeal reflex *k*, cf. e.g. *kastāv* (LW 10.5) vs. Hitt. *ħastāi-* ‘bones’, *koful* ‘water’ (LW 1.9) vs. Luw. *ħāp(i)-* ‘river’.⁹ However, Melchert concedes that the *o*-vocalism of the Lydian suffix remains a problem. On this issue, he states that “current evidence would permit either a complete merger of short **a* and **o* to *o* [...] with a secondary split of the *o* into *o* or *a* under conditions to be determined, or merely a partial conditioned merger of prehistoric short **a* with **o* as *o*” (Melchert 2004: 144). This claim is not substantiated by additional data, however.

The most obvious solution to the *o*-vocalism in *-oka-* is to postulate that the following *k* causes **a* to become *o*. However, there are no other solid cases of *o* before *k* to support this claim. A possible way forward is to extend the hypothesis to a preceding *k* also causing an accented **á* to become *o*. This claim is testable and would lend well-needed support to Melchert’s explanation of *-oka-* should it prove plausible. Our working hypothesis therefore stipulates that (Pre-)Lydian **á*

⁸ See Eichner (1986: 9).

⁹ For the Lydian word for ‘bone’, see Yakubovich (2019: 402).

is coloured to Lyd. *o* when adjacent to *k*, formalizable as $*\acute{a} > \acute{o} / k_ , _k$. This development will henceforth be referred to as *K-BACKING*, for which positive evidence is presented below.

With this new sound law in mind, the well-attested Lydian noun *kocwid* can be equated to the Luwian noun *ḫazziwit-* n. ‘rite, cult supply’. Note especially the perfect match in neuter gender and desinence in *-id*. The initial accent in the Lydian form would be responsible for the syncope of the second syllable preserved in the Luwian stem. As shown in Section 4.0, the meaning ‘rite, cult supply’ for Lydian *kocwid* can be supported contextually.

In LW/N 115.8–9, a word *ḫiḳoṛšid* is attested once (see Gusmani and Akkan 2004). A plausible formal analysis of *ḫiḳoṛšid* yields a reduplicated verb in *-i*.¹⁰ The verb takes an indirect object *ešl šadmēl* ‘on this inscription’ and occurs just before a curse formula with the verb of destruction *fēnšlipid*, implying that *ḫiḳoṛšid* denotes an undesirable, punishable action. The formally similar verb *fakaršed* (LW 24.8) likewise has negative connotations.¹¹ This verb is in turn connected to the root $*kers-$ with Anatolian comparanda in Hitt. and Luw. *karš-* ‘to cut’ (Gusmani 1964: 119, Melchert 1992: 46). It thus becomes very attractive to subsume *ḫiḳoṛšid* under the same root. Presupposing the validity of this analysis, the *o*-vowel is only explicable via *K-BACKING* from Pre-Lydian $*ki-kārš-i-$. In *ḫiḳoṛšid*, the stress is on the root, a prerequisite for *K-BACKING*. The same cannot be said of *fakaršed*, where the accent falls on the *e*-vowel, i.e. on the suffix.

As mentioned in the introduction, the *o*-vocalism in the words *fakorfid* (LW 11.11) and *šawkorfl* (LW 14.3) is generally thought to be the result of an anticipatory rounding rule, whereby $*\acute{a} > \acute{o} / _rf$.¹² A secondary colouring can be considered secured on account of the Lydian word *karfto-* c. (LW 14.19), which most likely contains the same root, though with the accent on the suffix.¹³ With our new sound law, an alternative solution would be to attribute the *o*-vocalism to the preceding *k*, which moreover would be supported by the additional data. There is no compelling evidence against a law $*\acute{a} > \acute{o} / _rf$, but likewise no independent positive evidence where *k* does not precede the vowel. Indeed, *fakorfid* and *šawkorfl* are the only two items in which the sequence *-orf-* occurs. Hence, attributing the *o*-vocalism in these words to *K-BACKING* becomes the more parsimonious solution. The same may very well be the case for Lyd. *koful* (vis-à-vis CLuw. *ḫāp(i)-*, see above), although see the discussion in Section 3.0.

¹⁰ Sasseville (2021a: 241f.).

¹¹ Sasseville (2021a: 211).

¹² Eichner (1986: 21²⁶), Melchert (1994: 366f.).

¹³ Pace Sasseville (2021a: 331f.), a root etymology with a labiovelar is no longer necessary.

2.1 Evaluation of potential counterevidence to K-BACKING

While positive evidence is necessary to demonstrate the validity of a sound law, it is equally important that the law is compatible with the rest of the evidence. To falsify K-BACKING, one would need to find a clear case of an inherited accented *á* adjacent to *k*. Having examined the entirety of available Lydian material, it appears that no probative case of this kind exists. However, certain data points require further discussion.

There are clear cases where *k* stands adjacent to *ã*, e.g. *kāna-* (e.g. *kāna=k*, LW 41.6). As per Lydian accent rules, the *ã* must have been stressed. The conclusion here must be that the nasalized *ã* is exempt from K-BACKING. Since we cannot know the exact quality of the vowel denoted by *ã* and since *ã* is phonematically contrastive to *a*, the existence of cases like *kāna-* does not constitute counter-evidence. Furthermore, when nouns ending in consonants are followed by the coordinating conjunction *=k*, the final consonant is deleted, sometimes yielding a sequence *-a=k*. Most attested instances of this consist of unproblematic barytone stems where K-BACKING is not predicted to occur anyway (e.g. *taada=k*, LW 10.20; *wesfa=k*, LW 10.4). However, two items require further discussion. The item *çak* (LW 44.2) has heretofore remained without semantic interpretation. Being a monosyllabic word, an accented vowel *á* is the default assumption. Accordingly, this word would constitute a counter-example. However, we propose that the best analysis is to segment the sequence as *ca=k*, i.e. a form *ca* followed by the enclitic conjunction *=k*.¹⁴ This form is to be analysed as a nominative-accusative collective *ca* ‘shares, allotments’, i.e. the noun underlying the verb *ca*-^(t) ‘to give a share, make a dedication’.¹⁵ An Anatolian cognate is available in Lyc. *za-* c. ‘share, allotment’, with Melchert (2004: 87) ultimately going back to a deverbal abstract noun **d^hh₁-sḱ-éh₂*.¹⁶ This analysis is supported by the agreement with *lawl* (LW 44.3), most readily analysable as an adjective in *-l(i)-* with the zero-ending used for collectives (Sasseville 2017: 132) and translatable as ‘belonging to the reverence (?)’.¹⁷ Another relevant item is the sequence *akšaa**m*λ (LW 11.10) of unclear meaning, to be segmented as *akšaa(d)=k=m*λ (thus tentatively already Gusmani 1964: 55); note the immediately following *iškod* ‘all, every’. Our observations concerning the enclitic conjunction *=k* entail that K-BACKING cannot have been a synchronically active rule in the attested variety of Lydian, but must be dated to a Pre-Lydian stage.

¹⁴ eDiAna ID-1943.

¹⁵ For the Lydian verb, see Sasseville (2021a: 62f.).

¹⁶ See also Sasseville (2021a: 62f.).

¹⁷ On the Lydian root *law-*, see Yakubovich (2019).

The *-k-* in the particles *fak*, *ak*, and *nak* also did not colour the vowel *-a-* to *-o-*. First, they were hardly accented; cf. the lack of stress in the functionally comparable clause initial particle *nu* in Hittite.¹⁸ Second, it is worth taking into consideration that these Lydian particles go back to a univertation with the enclitic *=k* (< **k^ue*), which would not be expected to trigger K-BACKING anyway, e.g. Lyd. *ak* formally matching Pal. *a=ku(=an)* (KUB 32.18 I 15') and CLuw. *a=ku-wa* (KBo 29.25 II⁷ 7', III 10', 12') and *fak* the CLuw. sequence (*=*)*pa=ku-wa* (KUB 35.103 III 4, KBo 29.25 II⁷ 11', KBo 29.25 III⁷ 14').¹⁹ Accordingly, the lack of *o* in these items is not pertinent to the validity of the sound law. What can also be excluded from the counter-evidence are the several instances of a sequence *ka-* belonging to verbs composed with the preverbs *kat-* and *kan-*, e.g. *kan-cat* 'gives a share' (LW 13.10), *kat-avil* 'made' (LW 2.3), *kat-ul* 'to write' (LW 10.7), *karrirs* < **kat-širs* 'they impressed (with a seal)' (LW 22.9; 11). Since preverbs are unaccented in Lydian, these cases are not subject to K-BACKING anyway.²⁰

The verb *fa-saknakil* 'to defile' would seem at first sight to constitute a counter-example, provided that the accent fell on the penultimate or the antepenultimate syllable.²¹ However, the probativity of this example is severely impaired by the existence of the parallel form *pa-šv-sakvākid* (LW 24.9–10), which likely belongs to the same lemma but exhibits the vowel *ā*; cf. Hitt. *šakkar/n-* n. 'excrement' reflected in the Lydian sequence *sakn-*.²² Oettinger (2021b: 469) sees here the abstract suffix *-oka-* but suggests that the nasalization of the vowel is the result of secondary assimilation, preventing the change of *-a-* to *-o-*. Two other possible analyses may also explain *fa-saknakil*: The early date of LW 24 (Euler and Sasseville 2019: 135³⁴) could indicate that the form with *ā* is original, *fa-saknakil* thus representing either a secondary denasalization or simply a spelling error. Otherwise, the verb could be oxytone (there is to our knowledge no evidence in favour nor against), in which case the form with *ā* would be the spelling error. In conclusion, *fa-saknakil* hardly serves as counter-evidence to K-BACKING.

As demonstrated in this section, there is no compelling data that may serve to falsify K-BACKING. Given the solid set of positive evidence and the lack of

18 Based on evidence from Hittite poetry; see Durnford (1971), Melchert (1998), Kloekhorst (2014: 622f.).

19 See Carruba (1963: 394).

20 In the case of *kancat*, the accentuation *kancát* finds strong independent support in the metre. The word closes the line in LW 13, a poem with anapaestic final feet; cf. line final *wstaas* (line 2), *qiraad* (line 3), *qiraal* (line 7).

21 For the meaning, see Gusmani (1980: 41), Sasseville (2021a: 247).

22 Shevoroshkin (1969: 269), eDiAna-ID 694.

viable counter-evidence, we submit that the proposed sound law is valid and will assume so for the remainder of this paper.

2.2 Cases of *k* adjacent to a stem vowel *-o-*

Sequences with *k* adjacent to *o* are by no means rare in the Lydian corpus, including when *o* is the stem vowel. In a number of cases, K-BACKING allows for the identification of new Anatolian comparanda and thus for the formulation of novel semantic hypotheses. Some such cases are presented below, yet for these there are unreliable contexts or other caveats disqualifying them as real positive proof in favour of our sound law.

The word *išlukol* is in all likelihood a verbal form of uncertain meaning (Gusmani 1964: 136). A Lycian B verb *luga*-(^{ti}) is attested (*lugātu*, TL 44d.60), probably meaning ‘to overheat, burn (vel sim.)’.²³ With K-BACKING, a phonological match between Lyd. *iš-luko-* and Lyc. B *luga-* emerges, but the Lydian context is too obscure for contextual-semantic analysis.²⁴

Yakubovich and Sasseville (eDiAna-ID 1502) tentatively suggest interpreting *kukok* (LW 14.17) as a noun followed by an enclitic conjunction, i.e. *kuko(s)=k*. The first element *kuko-* is then compared to other Anatolian words meaning ‘grandfather’, e.g. Hitt. *ḫuḫa-*, CLuw. *ḫuḫa-*, and Lyc. *xuga-*. The interpretation as a kinship term is supported by *taadas* ‘father’ occurring in the preceding line (LW 14.16). The issue of *o*-vocalism noted by the two authors could be resolved with K-BACKING. However, the Luwian cognate is barytone, whereas the Lydian stem would require oxytonesis. Moreover, a competing reflex of the word for ‘grandfather’ is found in the Lydian personal name *kuka-* ‘Gyges’, attested on coins now securely dated to the mid-7th century BC.²⁵ In this case, the stem vowel has not been coloured. A possible explanation for this mismatch is that the personal name was barytone, whereas the appellative was oxytone.²⁶

²³ Neumann (2007: 187f.), Shevoroshkin (2015: 194), Nikolaev (2021: 126), eDiAna-ID 1733.

²⁴ This would imply that a verbal stem in *-o-* may come from one in *-a-*. The ending allomorphy is not retrievable on the basis of the 3SG.PRET.ACT, but other Lydian verbs in *-o-* take lenited endings.

²⁵ Kerschner and Konuk (2020). For Ardys-Alyattes, son of Gyges, see Fischer-Bossert (forthcoming).

²⁶ Possibly reflecting different stem generalizations of an originally mobile paradigm. On the reconstruction of the Proto-Anatolian word for ‘grandfather’ as a proterokinetic stem, see eDiAna-ID 1500.

3 An ongoing *f*-rounding rule?

The emergence of a new Lydian inscription from the Carian city of Aphrodisias published in 2016 by A. Chaniotis and F. Rojas prompts us to re-evaluate the distribution of *-a-* and *-o-* in words that do not have a neighbouring *k-*. The new word *profɫ* is immediately connected by the authors to the Lydian words *prafrišš*, *prafriλ* (LW 23.8), *prafrav* (LW 47.2) and *prafri* (LW 44b.8), implying an otherwise unknown Lydian *-a-/o-* alternation. In this case, one must reckon with an optional *o*-spelling of an accented *-á-* in a specific environment. It thus becomes tempting to re-evaluate whether *-f-* can secondarily colour a neighbouring *-a-* to *-o-*. Comparing the root of Lyd. *kofuλ* ‘water’ matching CLuw. *ḥāp(i)-* ‘moving water, river’ with the one of *kafolu*cv (LW 15.1), we could hypothesize that the *-o-* of the second syllable developed secondarily from *-a-* in adjacency to *f* (thus already Oettinger 2021b: 469). Adducing Anatolian derivatives of the root for ‘water’, we find CLuw. *ḥapāt(i)-* c. and Lyc. B *xbad(i)-* c. both meaning ‘river-valley’, which, if one follows the sound law **d > λ [rʲ] /V_i* presented in Sasseville 2021b, would yield Lyd. *kafolu*- followed by the adverbial marker *-cv*, i.e. *kafolu*cv ‘in the manner of the river-valleys’ (see Section 4.0 for a translation of the passage).²⁷ The formation can be compared to the one of *kastalu*cv (LW 10.17), a term referring to a type of honorific burial and etymologically matching HLuw. HEROS-*li-*, CLuw. **ḥaštāl(i)-* ‘heroic, hero’ (borrowed into Hittite and further derived as *ḥaštaliyatar* ‘heroic feature’ and *ḥaštaliyešš^(mi)* ‘to become heroic’) likewise followed by the adverbial marker *-cv*, i.e. ‘in the manner of a hero’.²⁸

If one scans the Lydian corpus for further evidence, one encounters the word *laafcu* (LW 12.8) of unknown meaning, in which an accented *-á-*, spelled here with the digraph *-aa-*, was not coloured to *-o-* despite its proximity to the labial *-f-*. The verbal form *lafod* (LW 12.10), which likely contains the same root *laf-*, is however accented on the final syllable, i.e. on the verbal suffix. Just like in the case of *išlu*kol discussed above, it is worth asking if the nominal stem in *-a^(d)* (e.g. *< *eh₂-iē/o-*) could be coloured to *-o-* despite the apparent change of stem class. Another problem arises when examining the noun *tafaas*, *tafaal* ‘(an official?)’ (LW 11.4, LW 23.16), whose stem vowel shows no signs of *o*-colouring beside the consonant *-f-*. The last relevant piece of data would be *srfastid* ‘left’, although

²⁷ Alternatively, the *λ* could go back to a **-li-* as in *kastalu*cv discussed further on.

²⁸ On the meaning of the passage LW 10.16–18, see Yakubovich (2019: 404, 406). However, whereas Yakubovich takes *kastalu*cv as a direct object, the adverbial interpretation is preferred here on morphological grounds. Therefore, *fak=um ān išlodaλ alarmn kastalu*cv *kud=nak ēnas amās* can be translated instead with ‘let one revere me, my own self, in the manner of a hero, just like my/our(?) ancestors (lit. mothers)’.

we cannot be absolutely sure that the *-a-* following the *-f-* is accented here. The vocalic *-r-* in the root could have carried the accent, analogous to its counterpart *tesastid* ‘right’; cf. also the accented vocalic *-r-* in the genitival adjective *šrmliš* (see Sasseville 2017: 138f.).

The paucity of the data calls for caution, although it is worth asking whether the change of *-a-* > *-o-* next to *-f-* is slowly happening between the 6th–4th century BC. Unfortunately, many Lydian inscriptions lack a clear dating formula. However, exceptions to this include LW 23 and 24, which could recently be dated to the second half of the 6th century BC; more precisely the limestone stele LW 23 can be dated five years after the fall of the Lydian empire (see Euler and Sasseville 2019: 133f.). In this inscription no colouring of *-a-* to *-o-* occurred in *prafršiš*, *prafrl* as opposed to *profrl* in the new inscription from Aphrodisias, which might belong to a later period (cf. Chaniotis and Rojas 2016: 345). However, this is as far as one can go based on the current state of research.²⁹

4 Lydian passages featuring *kocwid*

In this section, we analyse all three passages in which Lyd. *kocwid* is attested, since this word constitutes an important new piece of evidence for the K-BACKING sound law. We will assume an identical meaning of *kocwid* in comparison to its Luwian counterpart *ħazziwit-* ‘rite, cult supply’. The first inscription discussed here is LW 15, a marble stele found in the wall of a chamber-tomb in the necropolis of Sardis.³⁰ It is metrical and its content has always been obscure until it was recognized that the first word of the text contains the name of the goddess Malis-Athena, also attested in LW 40 as *malil* (here without syncope).³¹ The word *wānal* ‘rock-carved grave’ occurring in line 9 of the inscription however confirms that LW 15 is a funerary poetical inscription. To better understand the role the goddess plays here, the elucidation of the lexicon is important. First of all, the verb *fa-d-il* ‘he made’ with Malis as the object can be compared to the typical Hittite-Luwian

²⁹ With this emerging rounding rule, the *-o-* in *koful* is ambiguous as to whether it is a result of K-BACKING or rounding brought on by the following *-f-*. However, since the former conditioning is independently confirmed and chronologically anterior, the vowel *-a-* would have become *-o-* before the *f*-rounding rule had a chance to apply. In the new Lydian inscription from Denizli (see Rojas and Akıncı Öztürk 2022), the DAT.SG *awloλ* is attested next to DAT.PL *awlāw*, although an *-o/-ā-* alternation in the stem vowel is so far unparalleled. Further data are needed to assess this issue.

³⁰ Buckler (1924: 33f.), Gusmani (1964: 257).

³¹ See Payne and Sasseville (2016), Payne (2019: 241³⁹), Schürr (2023: 86).

phraseology with verbs of ‘making’ taking a deity as direct object, resulting in the meaning ‘to celebrate’.³² Applying the colouring effects to the word *kafoλcv* ‘in the manner of the river-valleys’ (see above), we understand that the celebration of the goddess should have happened in the way royally dictated for the inhabitants of the river-valleys, a concept known from Hieroglyphic Luwian (KARATEPE 1 Hu. §48) and Lycian B (TL 44d.2–3).³³ Since the Lydian sentence is negated, it is likely that the owner of the grave has offended the goddess, which consequently called for amendments. This is further supported by the elucidation of the word *kocwid* ‘rite, cult supply’, the direct object of the verb *tfil*. Concerning the root *tf-*, without syncope *taf-*, it is possible to connect it to the one of Hitt. *tēpu-* ‘small’ and its derivative *tēpnu-* ‘to belittle, disrespect’, but in Lydian with the denominal or deverbial suffix *-i^(d)*, which would give us the more concrete reason behind the offense.³⁴ In the second line, we expect a positive action done by the owner as compensation. An etymological equation between Lyd. *tarpla-* and CLuw. *tarpalla/i-* ‘substitute’ provides such an action.³⁵ Our new translation of the passage yields a plausible sense; see (1).

(1) LW 15.1–3

1	<i>ṃλil=s</i> Athena.DAT.SG=EMPH	<i>nid</i> NEG	<i>kafoλcv</i> river.valley.ADV	<i>fadil</i> make.3SG.PRET.ACT
2	<i>[(-)]kolciš</i> ?.NOM.SG.C	<i>tarplas</i> substitution.ACC.PL.C		<i>fēnanil</i> perform.3SG.PRET.ACT
3	<i>[wo[?]]štil</i> ?.3SG.PRET.ACT	<i>āns</i> this.NOM.SG.C		<i>kocwid</i> rite.ACC.SG.N
	<i>qiš</i> who.NOM.SG.C	<i>tfil</i> neglect.3SG.PRET.ACT		

³² See Rieken (2007).

³³ For the translation of the two passages, see Sasseville (2021a: 51f.).

³⁴ The *u*-stem may have been preserved in the personal name *tafu-* attested on a seal carved with the word *tafulim* ‘I am (the seal) of Tafus’ (LW 76).

³⁵ Note the diverging stem class with an individuating suffix **-eh₂-*, i.e. CLuw. *-alla/i-* < **-é-lo-* vs. Lyd. *-la-* < **-leh₂-*, see Sasseville (2014–15: 117f.); cf. also the Lyc. B DAT.SG noun *trppali* ‘substitute (?)’ (TL 44d.28), whose *a*-stem flexion is further supported by the 1SG.PRES.ACT verb *trppalau* (TL 44d.46).

“He did not celebrate Malis-Athena in the manner of the river-valleys, [but] as (-)kolciš³⁶ he provided substitutions (and) [w.]-ed³⁷, the one who neglected the rite(s).”

Our next passage is found in a metrical inscription of a marble stele belonging to a chamber tomb of the necropolis at Sardis, i.e. LW 12.³⁸ The text contains posthumous instructions pertaining to the tomb. The noun *kocwid*, equated here with CLuw. *ħazziwit*- n. ‘rites, cult supply’, makes good sense in this context as well. Since it is the direct object of the verb *tatro*-(d) (reduplicated from *tro*-(d) ‘to hand over’), the concrete sense ‘cult supply (pertaining to the rites)’ is more appropriate here. The indirect object refers to someone in charge, warned at the beginning of the inscription not to rent out the grave.³⁹ The ones in possession of the cult supply to be delivered when *lumpaas* ‘mourning (vel sim.)’ (cf. CLuw. *lumpašt(i)*- ‘sorrow, regret’) occurs are the two people mentioned in the previous clause, i.e. *sfato*- ‘owner’ and his *sfatrra*-.⁴⁰ Much of the lexicon in the sentence has not been elucidated yet, but by using the etymological approach, some hypotheses may be offered. The adverb *laafcv* can be connected to the root *law*- in *ši-lawa*-(d) ‘to revere’ (see Yakubovich 2019) with a *-w/-f-* alternation.⁴¹ The meaning of the adverb would thus be ‘in a reverent way’. The direct object *tulod*, a neuter noun in *-o*- (an original adjective in *-u/-aw-*?), can be analysed as reflecting a root *tul*- matching the one of Hittite and Luwian *tūl-iya*- c. (Lyc. B *tulijele/i-*) ‘assembly’. This would imply that the verb *wrołt*, whose *o*-vowel remains puzzling, would have to refer to an action typically done to an assembly. One way to explain the vowel *-o-* in this word would be to assume an originally reduplicated verb **waruwar-i-*, where the contraction of the accented sequence *-uwá-* would have yielded *-o-* and the *-i-* of the verbal suffix would have palatalized the preceding liquid.⁴² The implied

³⁶ There is only one or maybe two small letters missing before *-k-*. The meaning of the word is still unclear, although it is expected here as a nominative singular to refer to the subject. The personal name of the offender cannot be excluded, despite the lack of a patronymic.

³⁷ On the restoration [wo]štil, cf. *woštíd* on line 5 of the new inscription from Denizli (Rojas and Akıncı Öztürk 2022).

³⁸ Buckler (1924: 25–27), Gusmani (1964: 255).

³⁹ LW 12.2: *dum=(m)λ=iš nid qaašlā wesfas alarmλ cawλos* “further, the soul of the deceased will be well-intentioned to him, to his own self, for not renting out”; see eDiAna-ID 1910, 1536 and 1836.

⁴⁰ See Sasseville (2021a: 168f.).

⁴¹ On the development of **ū > Lyd. f*, see Melchert (1994: 335f.); cf. also the synchronic vacillation in *porfcv* vs. *prwāv* ‘year’.

⁴² For the verbal stem class of Lyd. *wrołt*, see Sasseville (2021a: 168), and for the change of Pre-Lydian **-ri-* to *λ-*, see Sasseville (2021b) with further literature. For another possible example

root *war-* can be further connected with the one in Hittite *wēriye/a*-(mi) ‘to call’ and Lyd. *šiwraλm(i)-* ‘prosecutor’, which would yield a suitable meaning for *wroλt* as a verb of speaking, i.e. ‘to call, summon’.⁴³ A tentative translation of the passage is offered in (2).

(2) LW 12.7–9

7	<i>(nir=at nāv)</i>	<i>širmaλ</i>	<i>ēn ān</i>	<i>išmēnliš</i>	<i>sfatos</i>
		plot.DAT.SG	in DEMPRON?	?.NOM.SG.C	owner.NOM.SG.C
8	<i>pili(š)=k</i>	<i>ess</i>		<i>sfatrtas</i>	
	his.NOM.SG.C=CONJ	this.NOM.SG.C		(official).NOM.SG.C	
	<i>wroλt</i>		<i>laafcv</i>	<i>tulod</i>	
	summon(?).3SG.PRES.ACT		reverent(?).ADV	assembly(?).ACC.SG.N	
9	<i>kot</i>	<i>lumpaas</i>		<i>dum=mλ=it</i>	
	when	mourning.NOM.SG.C		furthermore=3SG.DAT.=ENCL	
	<i>kocwid</i>	<i>niqašlll</i>		<i>tatrot</i>	
	cult.supply.ACC.SG.N	non-renter.DAT.SG		hand.over.3PL.PRES.ACT	

“In the (sacred) plot (here), the owner of the *išmēn* and this *sfatrtā*-official of his will summon(?) the assembly(?) in a reverent way(?), whenever there is mourning(?). In addition, they will hand over the cult supply to him not renting out (the plot).”

The last passage with *kocwid* to be discussed here is part of the inscription LW 13, written on a marble slab, originally a panel belonging to some religious monument.⁴⁴ The noun *kocwid* is the object of *kan-ca*-(^l), a verb meaning ‘to dedicate’, yielding an appropriate sense within a religious context.⁴⁵ See (3) for our interpretation.

(3) LW 13.9–10

9	<i>ak=ad</i>	<i>wratos</i>	<i>asēmλ</i>
	PTCL=ACC.SG N	(official).NOM.SG	?.DAT.SG

of an accented contraction of **-uwā-* becoming Lyd. *-o-*, cf. Lyd. *τorsa* ‘vineyard (?)’ (eDiAna-ID 2406).

⁴³ The verb *walflad* attested in the new inscription from Denizli (Rojas and Akıncı Öztürk 2022) can be similarly analysed as a full reduplication of Pre-Lydian **war/li-war/liya*-(^d), despite the different stem formation.

⁴⁴ Buckler (1924: 27–29), Gusmani (1964: 256).

⁴⁵ The same verb is found in *ši-cēni*-(^l) with the imperfective suffix *-ēni*-(^l) (Sasseville 2021a: 520f.). On the meaning of the verb *tarpra*-(^d) in the first clause, see Sasseville (2021a: 111).

	<i>wotlλ</i>	<i>tarprad</i>	
	? .DAT.SG	act.as.representative.3SG.PRES.ACT	
10	[...]ēv	<i>širēnit</i>	<i>kot=τ=in</i>
	? .ACC.SG.C	dedicate.3PL.PRES.ACT	when=REFL=ENCL
	<i>kocwid</i>	<i>kancat</i>	
	rite.ACC.SG.N	dedicate.3SG.PRES.ACT	

“The *wrato*-official will act as its (i.e. the *qira*-property’s) representative for *a*. *w*. and they will be dedicating the [...], whenever he dedicates a rite.”

Overall, the meaning assigned to Lyd. *kocwid* obtained based on an etymological comparison with CLuw. *ħazziwit-*, made possible via K-BACKING, is appropriate in all three contexts in which the word is attested.

5 Conclusion

Summarizing, this paper attempts to phonologically reconcile already proposed etymologies by suggesting a new sound law, termed here K-BACKING. This is accomplished by presenting a larger set of data, including a new etymology of Lyd. *kocwid* yielding the meaning ‘rite, cult supply’. Examining a newly discovered Lydian inscription, we further argue that there is an ongoing rounding rule of accented *-á-* to *-o-* in Lydian next to the labial consonant *f*. The recognition of these phonological rules allows for a better understanding of three Lydian inscriptions, discussed in the final section of this article.

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