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PIE *y > Lydian d

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Lydian alone, of all the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, has no synchronic /y/. Obviously, this could easily result from a complete loss of inherited *y, but our current very limited understanding of Lydian historical phonology also permits us to consider other possibilities.

E. VETTER; SBÖAW, phil.-hist. Kl., 232/3 (1959), 44ff, has demonstrated convincingly that Lydian verbal forms in *-idy* are preterite first singular.² Although not all of his examples are valid, it is the merit of GUSMANI, RIL 94, 1960, 281ff, to have shown that the actual preterite first singular ending is simply *-v*.³ GUSMANI also points out, RIL 94, 288, that several of the verbs in *-idy* are denominative, while HEUBECK, HdOr, 1969, 413f, suggests, that *-idy* (vs. *-v*), pres. 3rd person *-idi-it* (vs. *-di-i*), and pret. 3rd person *-il* (vs. *-i*) are characteristic in general of derived verbs (vs. base verbs).

The analyses of both GUSMANI and HEUBECK are essentially correct, but there is one crucial exception whose significance has not been appreci-

¹ Bibliographical abbreviations are those of The Hittite Dictionary of the University of Chicago (edd. H.G. GÜTERBOCK and H.A. HOFFNER, Jr.), Chicago 1980ff. For the texts and all aspects of Lydian grammar I refer the reader to the invaluable handbook of R. GUSMANI, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Lyd. Wb.), and the three fascicles of its *Ergänzungsband* (Erg.).

² Contra CARRUBA, *Athenaeum* 38, 1960, 33ff., and 47, 1969, 75ff. The crucial passage is that of text 24.5-6: *but=ml=ad amu bitocr bidv qed=k=ml alad štanwičv*. The presence of the third person singular dative pronoun *-ml* "to him" makes it impossible too for *amu* to be dative "to me", as already correctly emphasized by GUSMANI, RIL 94, 282². It must be the subject: "... or I gave it to him (the supreme authority of the *temenos*) as a *b..* and whatever else I designated for him" (thus VETTER).

³ I will soon argue in detail elsewhere that *dyv* is a postposition "from" (see already VETTER, SBÖAW 232/3, 131f, while *wičv* is an adverb, as per CARRUBA, *Athenaeum* 38, 47. However, GUSMANI's examples *štrčdv* and *lamv* are solid.

ated: *bi(d)-* "give". The stem *bi-* (also in *fa-bi-l*) was correctly compared with Luv. *piya-* and Lyc. *pije-* "give" by CARRUBA, *Athenaeum* 38, 42 and ZDMG 111, 1961, 460. GUSMANI, RIL 94, 282, correctly isolated the stem *bid-* (in pret. 1st sg. *bidv* and pret. 3rd person *bill* < *bid-l*).⁴ For obvious reasons no one would take this example as a derived denominative verb. HEUBECK, *HdOr*, 414, also analyzes *bid-v*. Note, however, that in purely phonological terms *bidv* and *bil(l)* match derived (denominative) stems in *-idv* and *-il*.

This parallelism is not accidental, nor is its source at all obscure. Just as CLuv. pret. 3rd sg. *piyatta* "gave" matches *-ye/o-* denominative pret. 3rd sg. *tiwatariniyatta* "cursed",⁵ so Lyd. *bidv* "I gave" (< **piyom*) matches denominative *fētariniidv* "I designated" (< **iyom*). The source of the *-d-* in pret. 1st singular *-idv* is intervocalic *̣y*.

The assumption that intervocalic *̣y* becomes Lydian *d* not only accounts for the unexplained *-d-* of pret. 1st singular *-idv*, but for other examples of Lydian *d* as well. The verb *trodv*, which occurs twice in text 10, 5-6 surrounding the clear pret. 1st singular *qistoridv*, must also be taken as pret. 1st singular. This form shows a *-d-* which does not appear in other forms of the stem *tro-* (attested in the compounds *fa-tro-*, *(fa-)kan-tro-*, *(f)ēn-tro-*, *(f)is-tro-*).

Likewise, contra GUSMANI, RIL 95, 1961, 176, the context of *qisredv* in text 18 also supports an interpretation as a pret. 1st singular: [*je wānāv qisredv ni = m = it fēns-ai[bid] ak = m = ś = in śof*. The enclitic *-m-* of the next (prohibitive) clause is most plausibly taken as an oblique form of "me", while the best solution to the odd-looking *śof* remains that of BOSSERT, *Heth*.

⁴ The single *l* of *fabil* (and perhaps once *bil*) can be explained variously. First, it is not certain that the stem *bid-* was regular outside the first person singular preterite. Thus *bil* could be regular, and *bill* < **bid-l* analogical. Alternatively, if the regular stem was *bid-*, *(fa-)bil* could easily be a simplification of *bill*: cf. both *es* and *esf* < **es-š*.

⁵ This meaning of *tiwatariniyā-*, which is attested in asyndeton with *firwariyā-*, was demonstrated by C. WATKINS at the Eighth East Coast Indo-European Conference, Harvard University, May 1989, in a presentation to appear in *Fs. H. Rix*.

Kōn. 125, a pres.-fut. 1st singular with *f* for regular *w*: "I ___ ed [...(this)] tomb. No one shall disturb/violate me. I shall be well (or sim.)."

Finally, despite the problematic *bis* in the same clause, *unadv* of text 10, 18 is also in all likelihood pret. 1st singular, given the clear *inānidv* of the next clause. In general, I find unconvincing the arguments of GUSMANI, RIL 95, 176ff, for interpreting any of these cases as present third persons in *-yd* plus enclitic anim. acc. sg. object *-v*. There is simply no independent evidence that Lydian attaches enclitic pronouns to verbs (especially redundantly). The Lydian enclitic anim. sg. third person pronoun is *-av*, always with *-d-* and always in the expected "Wackernagel" position, second in the sentence. See the cogent arguments of CARRUBA, *Athenaeum* 38, 28ff, whose own analysis is also unpersuasive, however (see note 2 above).

The presence of pret. 1st singulars in *-adv*, *-edv*, and *-odv* beside *-idv* is not only unsurprising but in fact predictable. The other IE languages of Anatolia show other "y" formations besides simple denominative **-ye/o-*, and we would expect to find reflexes of these in Lydian as well. Hittite has a rampantly productive class of denominatives in *-di-/d-* reflecting **-ehye/o-* (renewed as **-dye/o-*): see MELCHERT, *Phon.* 39ff, with references. Given the change of intervocalic *̣y* to *d* in Lydian, a pret. 1st singular in **-dyom* would give regularly *-adv*.

As indicated by GUSMANI, *Lyd. Wb.* 30, the only clear source of Lydian *o* is sequences of **Cwa*, where pre-Lydian **a* can probably represent **o* or **a*. As I will argue in detail elsewhere, *Lyd. tro(d)*, which clearly means "grant, confer" or the like, is cognate with Cluv. (*pari*) *tarāw(i)ya-* "hand over". The Lydian stem reflects a virtual **drowdye/o-*, i.e. another denominative in **-ehye/o-*. In this case, syncope led to a preform **drwāye/o-* and hence Lydian *o* instead of *a*, but the development of intervocalic *̣y* to *d* in the pret. 1st singular *trodv* is the same as in *unadv*.⁶

⁶ For pretonic syncope in Lydian (especially in sequences involving a sonorant) compare *srmi-* "of the sacred precinct" < **srmiul-* to *srmiu-*.

While the meaning of *qisre(d)*- can only be guessed at, its phonological shape severely limits the possible morphology of its preform. A disyllabic verb stem with *-sr-* in the middle is surely a denominative of some sort. I have shown (Phoh. 36), that Hittite possesses at least one denominative in **-ye/o-* from a thematic stem, formed in the "classical" fashion from *e*-grade of the base, hence in **-e-ye/o-*.⁷ Lydian *qisre(d)*- may likewise represent such a denominative to a **ro*-stem. In the pret. 1st singular, **(r)éyom* would give regularly *-(r)edn*.⁸ The likely present second singular *katáares* (HEUBECK, Lydiaka 60f) would represent the same type: **réyes* > **rédes* > *-réds* > *-res*.

Evidence for the change *ý* > Lydian *d* is not limited to the preterite first singular in **-ýom*. The Lydian word for "earth" is *klída-*. FURNÉE has tentatively suggested a comparison with the obscure Grk. *χλῆθος* "mud, filth",⁹ but more likely is a connection with Grk. *γλά* "glue", *γλοιός* "sticky substance", Russ. *glej* "clay", Eng. *clay*, etc. Lyd. *klída-* (gender indeterminate) could match directly Grk. *γλά* < **glýeh₁*.

While the above etymology is merely possible, a much more solid example of *d* < *ý* in nominal formations is furnished by the suffix *-da-*, already correctly isolated by MERIGGI, RHA 3, 1935, 89-90. We find *taac-da* beside *taac-*, *šřen-da-* beside *šřen(i)-*, and *mlwēn-da-* beside **mlwēn-* in the base and derived form clear: see the lemmata in GUSMANI, Lyd. Wb.

⁷ This is also the source of the much more productive type of Luvian *-ti*, *-aiti* and Lycian *-iti*, *-eti*, as I intend to show elsewhere.

⁸ The best example for accented short **é* > Lydian *e* before nonnasal consonant is *serdi* "supreme authority", where the *e* can hardly represent long **é*, since the latter appears in Lydian as *i*: *ní* "not" < **né*, *sirma-* "temenos, sacred precinct" < **šřimo-* (for the sense of the latter and connection with Lyc. *hrhama(n)*- "land section" see INNOCENTE, InLing. 12, 1987/88, 111f. Compare also probably *wesfa-* "living" < **h₁wéswo-* as per GUSMANI, Erg. 3, 140.

The accent on the **-é* in **-réyom* is due to the influence of the primary type with *o*-grade of the root and suffix **-eye-*, represented in Lydian by *-karsē-* "cuis" < **korséye-*. Compare the eventual retraction of the accent in Sanskrit denominatives in *-a-yá-* after the verbs in *-dyá-*.

⁹ Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen. The Hague-Paris 1972, 136.

However, in all cases the suffix is clearly denominative, and *taac-* and *šřen(i)-* are definitely substantives. On general grounds we would expect a suffix added to substantives to be an adjective-forming suffix. The fact that some of the derivatives might be attested as substantives themselves would not be surprising.

Furthermore, the Lydian sequence *-nd-* in *šřenda-* cannot represent original **n* plus dental stop, because in original sequences of this kind the nasal consonant is lost: cf. *ēt-* "in(to)" < **éndo*. The original shape of the suffix must thus be *-Vda-*, with a vowel which has then been syncopated: cf. for the syncope *armra-* "of the Moon-god" < **armra-* to **árma-* "Moon-god" (see GUSMANI, Athenaeum 47, 1969, 139, following SHEYOROSHKIN, for the suffix and INNOCENTE, InLing 12, 117, for the syncope).¹⁰

By purely internal reconstruction we have been led to a denominative adjective-forming suffix of the shape **Vda-*. In view of the other evidence for *ý* > Lyd. *d*, an interpretation of Lyd. **Vda-* as **ída-* < PIE **iyō-* imposes itself. The **iyō-* suffix, though poorly attested in Hittite, was very productive in other languages of Anatolia: see my article in Historische Sprachforschung 103 (1990), 198ff.

GUSMANI, Lyd. Wb. 115f, suggests that *fadi-*, *fadiš-* and *fadin-* "make, do" (the last beside *ir-* "idem") may contain two preverbs: *fa-da-*. However, we find no unambiguous examples of **fa-da-*. This contrasts with the case of all other certain preverbs in Lydian: *(ša)kan-*, *(ša)kar-*, *(ša)wc-*,¹¹ *(š)ēt-*, *(š)is-*. We also have no examples of **diff-* or **din-*. It is therefore far more

¹⁰ The syncope of unaccented vowels in final syllables which produces *biđy* "I gave" < **piyom* also applies to *o*-stem nouns, to judge from *alarmā* "self", which surely continues a **mo*-stem (thus with INNOCENTE, InLing 12, 1987/88, 117). However, most barytone *o*-stems retain the stem-vowel *-a-* by analogy to oxytone *o*-stems, which are not infrequent in Lydian. Thus *wānaš*, *wānar*, *wānał* (and likewise *taččāna*) after *alāš*, *alēy*, *alāđ*, *alāđ*, etc. For the place of the accent in these forms see EICHNER, KZ 99, 1986, 203ff.

¹¹ GUSMANI, Lyd. Wb. 77, reads *baŋwašod* in text 23, 19, but he concedes, ibid. 260, that one could read *faŋw-* instead. Since there is no other evidence for a preverb *ba-* in Lydian, we should choose *faŋw-*.

likely that the *-d-* of *šadi(n)-* "do, make" and *šadiš-* "demand, impose upon"¹² is the reflex of a secondary *š* which developed out of the unvocalized sequence *ša+i-i*: *ša-i->šayi->šadi-*.

If intervocalic *š* becomes Lydian *d* as argued above, we may wonder about the outcome of initial *š*- before vowel. There is in fact at least one likely example of the same change *š > d*. The meaning "wealth, property" for Lyd. *dēt* is required by the occurrence in 24,19-20: *ak=it amu nāqit šāšēnu nak aaran nak bira=k(!) [n]ak dēt ēmv ...* "Whatsoever I possess, both estate and house and my _____ ...". As indicated by GUSMANI, *Lyd. Wb.* 99, the occurrence with "estate" and "house" suggests that *dēt-* refers to a particular kind or part of one's property. In Indo-European, including Indo-European Anatolia, the most basic division in property is between "mobile" and "immobile" wealth: see WATKINS, *Heth. und Idg.* 269-287 with references. This suggests that *dēt-* means "mobile wealth" beside *aara-* "estate" and *bira-* "house" (thus already VETTER, *SBÖAW* 232,3, 17). GUSMANI, *Lyd. Wb.* 99, had already compared Lyd. *dēt-* with Hitt. *ušu:iyant-* "sheep" on morphological grounds. Given the other evidence for *š > Lydian d* before vowel, we may actually equate the two words. Both continue a participle **(h)šé/ónt-* "walking". For Lydian *ē > *VnC* compare *ēt-* < *éndo*.

The word *dēt-* is attested as both animate and neuter in Lydian. GUSMANI, *Lyd. Wb.* 99, tries to account for this by assuming both animate and inanimate preforms of the participle. However, **(h)šé/ónt-* is a transferred epithet "walking (wealth)", and *ušu:iyant-* is consistently animate in Hittite. See the same objection by NEUMANN, *Gnomon* 37, 1965, 273, who also points out that the nt. nom.-acc. singular of the participle would almost certainly have lost its final stop, as in Hittite and Luvian. What GUSMANI does not make clear is that endingless *dēt* is attested at least twice as animate

¹² The meaning "anvertrauen" (thus *Lyd. Wb.* 115 following MERICCI) is impossible for *šadiš* in 24,4. In the first portion of text 24 Mitradasta is pledging property to the temple authority. Only in line 17ff does the latter make a reciprocal pledge to M. It is possible that *šad(i)š-* means simply "take" (legally), i.e. "confiscate", and that Lyd. *-š-* corresponds to Hitt. *ēp-* "take", but this cannot be proven. Note that "to seize, take" would at least be appropriate for the probably related *šmī* in 11,11 and "confiscatable" or the like for *šfrīs* in 24,22.

nominative singular. In 23,6-7 *dēt* is resumed by animate *-an* "it". In 24,22 we find *ak=mλ [αλαš] nid qisk dēt ifrīs* "Let there be to him (= let him have) no other property to be confiscated (?)". Beside anim. nom. sg. *dēt* we also find anim. acc. sg. *dēt* (24,20) and nom.-acc. sg. nt. *dēt* in 54,4 (modified by *qig > qid-k* and resumed by *-ad* in line 5) and 46,1 (*[a]lad dēt*).

The above distribution suggests that the originally animate noun (= Hitt. *iyant*) is treated secondarily as a neuter because some part of the paradigm no longer fits the pattern of animate nouns. While the change of original final dental stop plus *-š* to *-t* is hardly what we would expect, I know of no evidence against such an assumption. If the regular phonological result of **(h)šé/ónt-s, *(h)šé/óntm* in Lydian was *dēt/dēt*, it would account for the sporadic treatment as a neuter: cf. Hitt. *keššar-* "hand" (*keššar=šš* in KBo VI 3 I 6, but ŠU=(a)ššer in KBo VI 4 I 2). In any case, the interpretation of *dēt-* as "mobile wealth" and equation with Hitt. *iyant-* < **(h)šé/ónt-* seem reasonable. I find the derivation of *-d-* of *bīdv* "I gave" and other preterite first singular in *-idv* from an intervocalic *š* unavoidable. Such a development would also account for other preterite first singulars in *-Vdv*, supporting the already reasonable assumption that they reflect various denominative formations in *-ye/o-*. Such a phonological change is further supported by the existence of the Lydian denominative suffix *-da-*, which must continue **-Vda-* and which may be most plausibly equated with other Anatolian reflexes of the PIE suffix **-yo-*. The semantics and morphology of Lyd. *dēt-* "mobile wealth" suggest that it is derived from an old participle **(h)šé/ónt-* "walking" like Hitt. *iyant-* "sheep" via the same change of *š* to *d* initially before vowel.