

The accentuation of the Luwic *a*-stems

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IERC 7, Milan, 28-04-2023



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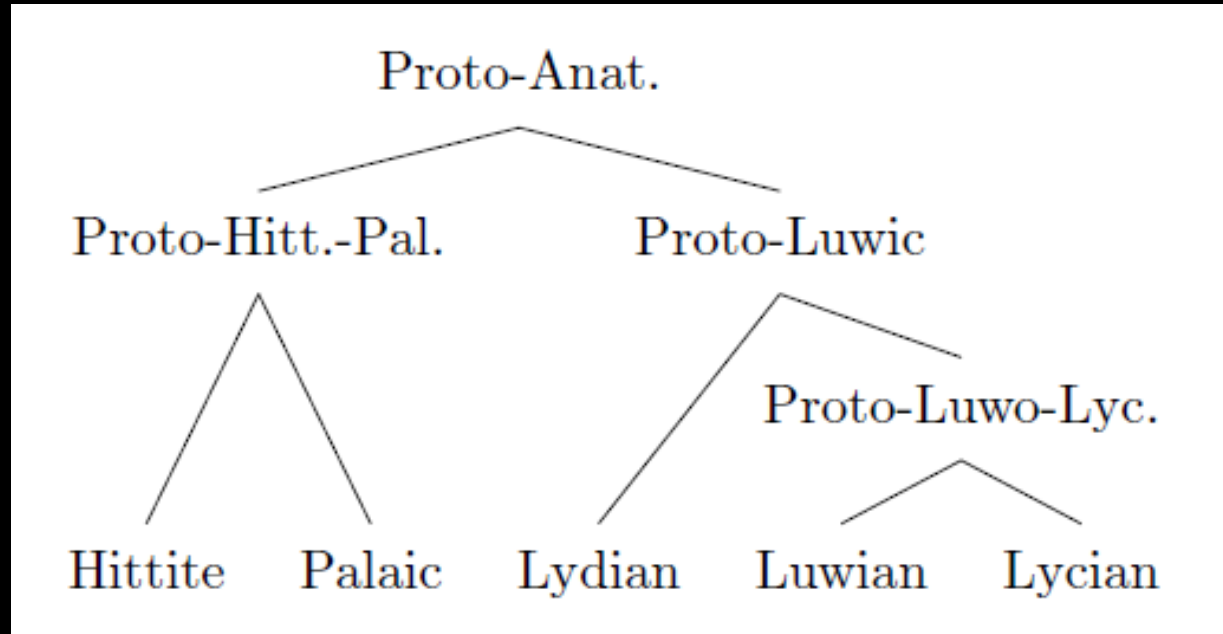
Introduction

- Many previous studies on **Hittite** accent
(e.g. Kloekhorst 2014; Yates 2017)
- However, no systematic treatment of **Luwic** accent
- This presentation: preliminary results from PhD project
- Goal: investigation of Luwic accent, synchronically and diachronically

The Luwic languages

What are **Luwic** languages?

- **Luwian** (ca. 1500-700 BCE)
- **Lycian** (ca. 500-300 BCE)
- **Lydian** (ca. 700-200 BCE)



(Tree inferred from unpublished computational analysis, Hitt.-Pal. insecure)

Determining the accent

Luwian

Hieroglyphic corpus mostly useless

(but cf. Vertegaal 2017; 2018)

Cuneiform corpus = **plene spelling!**

Plene = long vowels

Long vowels = correlated with accent

Mainly lengthening of accented vowels

Examples:

<𐎱𐎠𐎵-𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴> 'give!' < Pre-Luw. **píja*

<na-a-wa> 'not' < trans. PIE **né-ue*

3PL.PRES. desinence in (*ā*)*i*-verbs:

<-Ca-a-in-ti> < *-*áinti* < *-*eionti*

(Melchert 1994: 261-265; Vertegaal 2020: 218f.)

Determining the accent

Lycian

No positive evidence of accent, but widespread syncope

Syncope does not occur in stressed vowels

(Bybee 1998: 282-284; Hyman 2009: 217; Blevins 2008)

→ negative heuristic:

syncopated vowel = *not accented*

Resulting consonant clusters could be indicative of syncope

Examples:

tama- 'building' < **tóma-*

m̃ma(i)-^{di} 'to build' < **tomá-*

**zxxa-* 'fight' (cf. *zxxaza-* 'fighter')

< PIE **tioh₂-éh₂-*

Lyc. B *trpplē* 'threefold' < **tri-plóm*

(Eichner 1992: 67, 74; Sasseville eDiAna-ID 247)

Determining the accent

Lydian

Some vowel qualities only occur in accented syllables

Accent-indicating signs:

e, o, ā, ē, aa, ii

y = not accented (Gusmani 1983)

Metrical evidence

Widespread syncope

(West 1972; 1975; Eichner 1986; 1987)

Examples:

taadas = /táðas/ 'father'

woras = /wóras/ 'son'

asfāν = /asfán/ 'goods'

tawsēν = /tawsén/ 'great'

šyrmas = /çirmás/ 'temenos'

mršlas = /mrçlás/ 'defiler (vel sim.)'

LW 14.7: *mršlas* | *ēnwnatoλ=k* ||
 ˘ - | ˘ ˘ - ||

The typology of Luwic accent

1) Stress-accent, not pitch or tone (cf. Hyman 2009: 217f.)

Luwian: vowel lengthening

Luwian/Lycian: Čop's law (*D > T / é_, **Lydian** unclear)

Lycian/Lydian: widespread syncope

Lydian: vowel phonology; vowel lengthening; demonstrably culminative

2) Free, or non-demarcative, accent

All languages have free accent

Lyc A. *tama-* < **tóm-a-* 'building' vs. *hr̃mma-* < **s(i)r-má-* 'temenos'

Lyd. *taada-* 'father' vs. *šyrma-* 'temenos'

CLuw. <**a-an-na-an**> (adv.) vs. <**an-na-a-an**> (prep.) 'under' (Melchert 2020: 264-265)

The typology of Luwic accent

3) Largely columnar, non-mobile

Widespread levelling of accent, both verbs and nouns

But some cases of possible mobile accent

(?) Luw. ergatives, e.g: ERG.SG. <[za-a]r-ta-a-an-ti-iš> [ʃsartá:ntis] 'heart' (KUB 35.75+35 iii 7)
cf. NOM/ACC.SG. <^{UZU}za-a-ar-za> [ʃsá:rʃsa] (KUB 32.7 r.col. 7)

Lyc. A NOM.SG. *trqqas* < *trh^w-ént-s
DAT.SG. *trqqñti* < *trh^w-nt-éi 'Storm-God' (Kloekhorst 2013: 143)

(?) Lyd. barytone DAT/LOC.SG. *porfλ*
oxytone DAT/LOC.PL. *prwãv* 'year' (Yakubovich eDiAna-ID 2284)

The *a*-stems

All languages have common gender continuants of PL *ā*- < PIE **eh*₂-stems

Luwian	non-mutated nominal stems	(Norbruis 2018: 34-36)
Lycian	<i>a</i> -stems	(Hajnal 1994)
Lydian	<i>a</i> -stems	(Sasseville 2017: 143)

There are both barytone and oxytone *a*-stems

Ex. Lyd. *taadas*- 'father' (BT) vs. *šyrma*- 'temenos' (OT)

Lyc. A *tama*- 'building' (BT) vs. **zxxa*- 'fight' (OT)

How was their accent distributed? Are there any rules?

The *a*-stems: Hypothesis

Oxytonesis correlated with *abstracts/collectives*

”Abstract” mostly used here for action/result nouns (Sasseville 2020:1f.)

Barytonesis correlated with *individuation* (Melchert 2014)

Less clear

The *a*-stems: Abstracts

Examples:

- Lyc. A *xтта-*, (Luw. *hatta-*) 'damage' < **h(V)tá-*
- Lyd. **pitá* (vb.), (Lyc. *pijata-*) 'gift' < **pitá-*
- Lyc. A **zxxa-* 'fight' (cf. *zxxaza-* 'fighter') < **zaH-á-* < **tioh₂-éh₂-*
- Lyd. *wstá-* 'expense (?)' < **wVs-tá-*
- (!) Lyc. B *mrssxa-* 'defilement' < **m(V)rs-aH-á-* (deverbal)
(trans. PIE **mrs-eh₂-éh-*, cf. Hitt. *marsahh-* 'desecrate') (Melchert 2015: 161)
- (!) Lyd. *qašaa-* 'fee (?)' << **qašan-* < **kuoss-en-* < **kueh₃s-en-*
(cf. Hitt. *kussan/kusn-*, Lyc. A *qehñn-*, root also in Germanic, e.g. Swe. *hyra* 'rent')

The *a*-stems: Abstracts – Luwian

Very few *a*-stems with plene spelling on final syllable

→ suggests widespread accent retraction (cf. Yates 2015; Versteegh 2020: 219)

But cf. *ahit*-stem abstracts (< *-eh2 + -id-), e.g.:

<aš-ru-la-a-ḥi-ša>	[asrulá:χisa]	'femininity'	(KUB 35.125 r.col. 4)
<ma-aš-ḥa-a-ḥi-š[a]>	[masχá:χisa]	'growth'	(KUB 35.133 iv 9)
<i-ú-na-a-ḥi-ša>	[juná:χisa]	'walking ability'	(e.g. KUB 35.11 ii 10)

etc.

ahit-stems = strong evidence for accent attraction of "abstract" *-eh2- (cf. Starke 1990: 155f.)

Likely synchronically active,

cf. <ḥu-u-it-wa-la-a-ḥi-ša> [χ^witwalá:χisa] 'life' ← <[ḥu-it-wa]-r^a-li-iš> [χ^witwá:lis] 'alive'

The *a*-stems: Individuation – PL **élā*-stems

Two main phenomena suggesting barytonesis = individuation:

(1) PL **élā*-stems

(2) *Lydian* kinship terminology

PL **élā*-class: Productive class for forming agent/profession nouns (Sasseville 2014-2015)

Luw. *alla*-stems

Lyc. (*a*)*la*-stems

Lyd. *la*-stems

Derived from adjectives in PL **-élo/i-* < PA **-élo-*

Luw. *alla/i-*adjectives

Lyc. *ele/i-*adjectives

Lyd. *l(i)-*adjectives

Luwian and *Lycian*: Čop's law (D > T / *é*_) necessary to get Luw. *-ll-*

(Čop 1970; Kloekhorst 2012:261 n. 19)

The *a*-stems: Individuation – PL **élā*-stems

Some evidence for accentuation *-ála-* in Lycian, e.g.:

Lyc. B *trppala-* 'substitute (?)' (TL 44d.28), cf. *trpplē* 'threefold' < **tri-plóm* (Eichner 1992: 67; 74)

Cluster #*trppl-* clearly allowed as result of syncope

Thus, we expect Pre-Lyc. **trppalá-* > Lyc. B ***trppla-*

However, *la*-stems in Lydian are oxytone!

E.g. *caqrlāṽ* (LW 14.5) 'one of *cēqra-*' (epithet of Artemis)

Secondary development? (Čop's law in Lydian unsecure!) (Sasseville 2014-2015: 117)

Cf. perhaps Hitt. *-āla-* (e.g. ^{LÚ}*zuppāla-* 'kitchen functionary') < **-ó-leh₂* (Melchert *apud* Sasseville 2014-2015: 118)

Cf. perhaps Hitt. pron. GEN.SG. *-ēl* < **-é-lo-* (with syncope) (Rieken 2008)

→ Rooting suggests presuffigal accentuation is original

The *a*-stems: Individuation – Lydian

Kinship *a*-stems (most of them likely secondary) with no oxytonesis

ēna- 'mother' (cf. CLuw. *ānn(i)-*, Lyc. A *ēn(i)-*)

kāna- 'wife, woman' (cf. Cluw. *wān(i)-*)

taada- 'father' (cf. CLuw. *tāt(i)-*, Lyc. A *ted(i)-*)

wora- 'son' (cf. Oettinger 1995: 47f.)

Some other clear barytone individuated *a*-stems, e.g.:

šarēta- 'patron' (Yakubovich eDiAna-ID 769)

wesfa- 'good one' (Schürr 2006: 1574)

The *a*-stems: Counterexamples

Lyc. A *tama-* 'building' < **tóm-a-*, oxytonesis expected for result noun!

Secondary accent retraction through **demorphologization?** (Probert 2006: 291f.; Yates 2015)

Cf. retention in *mma(i)-di* 'to build'

Lyd. *tutra=k* 'daughter' (LW 80.12), barytonesis expected for individuated noun! (Schürr 2006: 157of.)

Oxytonesis inferred by sound law **-wá-* > Lyd. *o* (cf. Lyc. A *kbatra-*) (Sasseville eDiAna-ID 149)

However, etymological scenario is uncertain, attestation fragmentary

tútra- is not synchronically impossible

Lyc. A *xnta* and *xntla* '(title) (?)', barytonesis expected for individuated nouns!

xñtla- (GEN.SG. *xñtlah*) could be PN (cf. Melchert 2004: 109; Sasseville 2014-2015: 114)

Precise semantics and etymology (esp. of *xñta-*) = unclear (cf. Neumann 2007: 126)

List not exhaustive!

Conclusions

- Picture still messy!
- Evidence for oxytonesis in abstracts = pretty good!
- Evidence for productive barytonesis in individuated *a*-stems = ok...
 - Some tricky counterevidence still exists:
 - Why are *Lydian la-stems* (and *τα-stems*) oxytone?
 - Some recalcitrant individual lexemes
 - Simply lack of productive oxytonesis in derivation?
- However! **Luwic accentology** = fully viable field!
 - More research!

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Thank you!

Grazie!

Tack!