Luwic Stress

Uncovering word accent in an extinct language family

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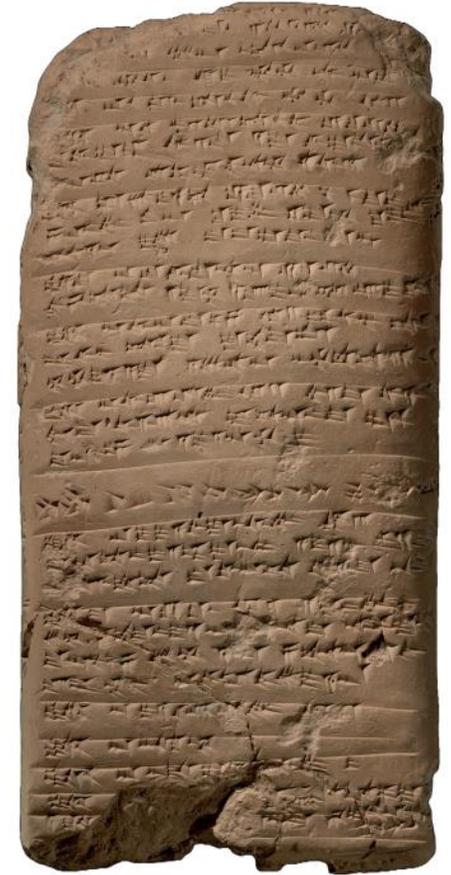
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Luwic Stress

A Comparative Study on Luwian, Lycian, and Lydian Word Accent

Oscar Billing

Roadmap

1. Introduction
    What is the state of Anatolian accentology?
    Which languages are "Luwic"?

2. Methodology
    How to locate the accent?
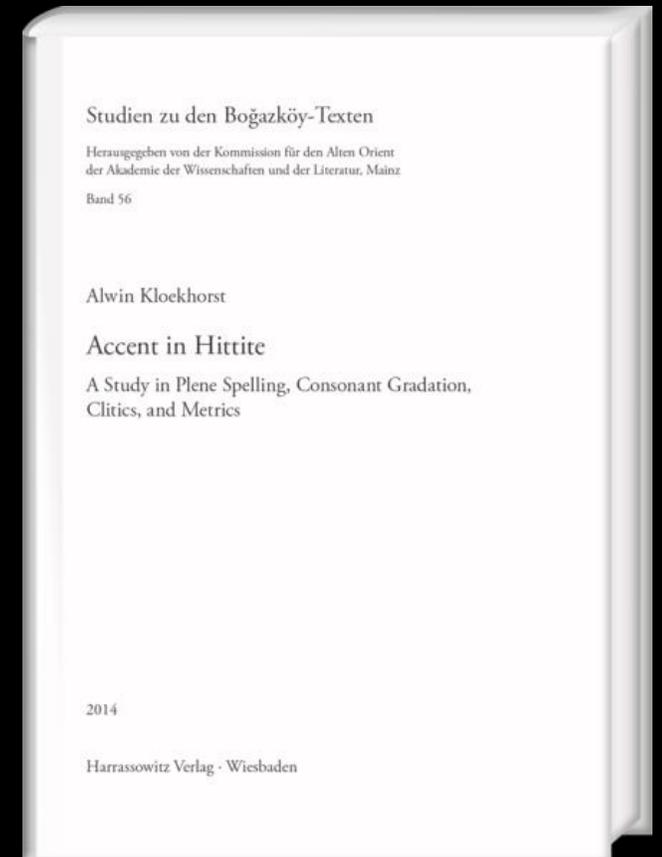
3. Example (agent nouns in *-lā-*)
    How can progress in Luwic accentology be achieved?
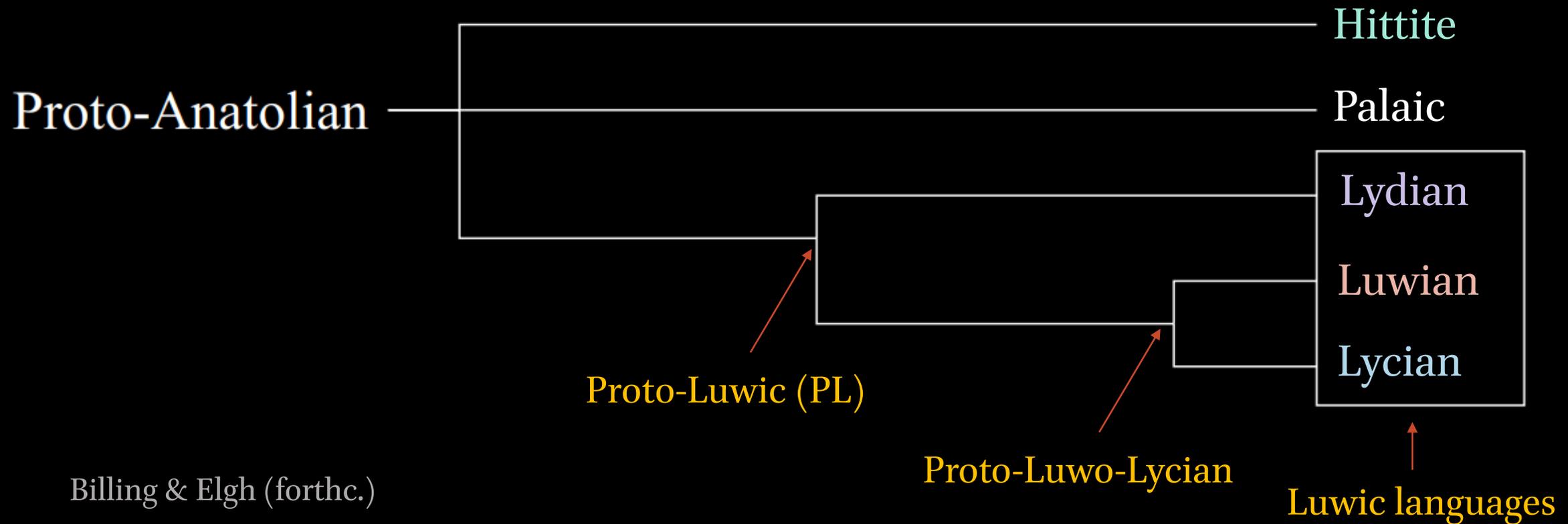
4. ~~Typology~~
    ~~What was the accent like in Luwic?~~

Anatolian accentology

- Anatolian accent must be understood in **Indo-European** context

- **Hittite** has been **well-studied**

    (cf. e.g. Kloekhorst 2014; Yates 2017)

- **Other Anat. languages – not so much…**

- **Recent progress** in understanding of non-Hittite Anatolian languages = an **opportunity**!

Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

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Band 56

Alwin Kloekhorst

Accent in Hittite

A Study in Plene Spelling, Consonant Gradation,
Clitics, and Metrics

2014

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

The Anatolian language family

Proto-Anatolian

Hittite

Palaic

Lydian

Luwian

Lycian

Proto-Luwic (PL)

Proto-Luwo-Lycian

Luwic languages

Billing & Elgh (forthc.)

Luwian

- Attested 16th–7th cent. BCE
- Cuneiform vs. Hieroglyphic script
- Cuneiform:
  - 16th–13th cent. BCE
  - ca. 14,000 word tokens (Yakubovich, p.c.)
  - Mainly **ritual** texts, embedded in **Hittite**
  - **Code switches** in Hittite texts
    e.g. "Gloss wedge words" (€, €€)
  - Various **dialects**
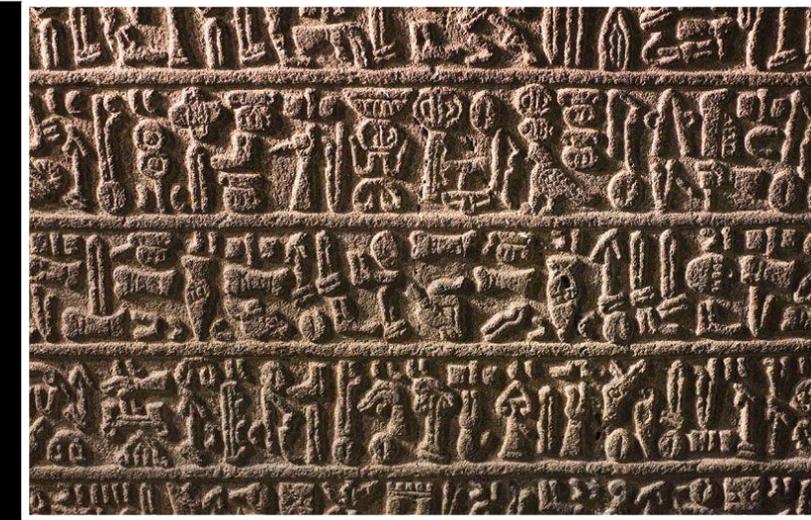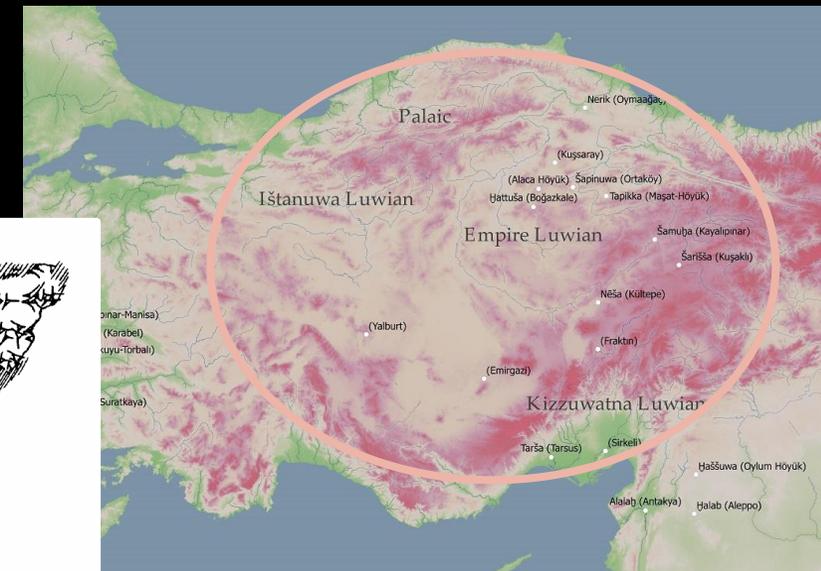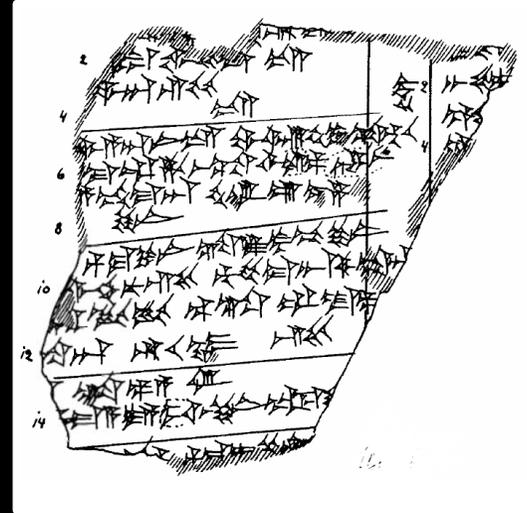
Lycian

- Attested ca. 500–300 BCE
- ca. 200 **inscriptions** + **coins**
- ca. **6,000** word tokens
- **Alphabetic** writing system
- Two **dialects:**
        Lycian A (standard) vs.
        Lycian B (poetic; "Milyan")
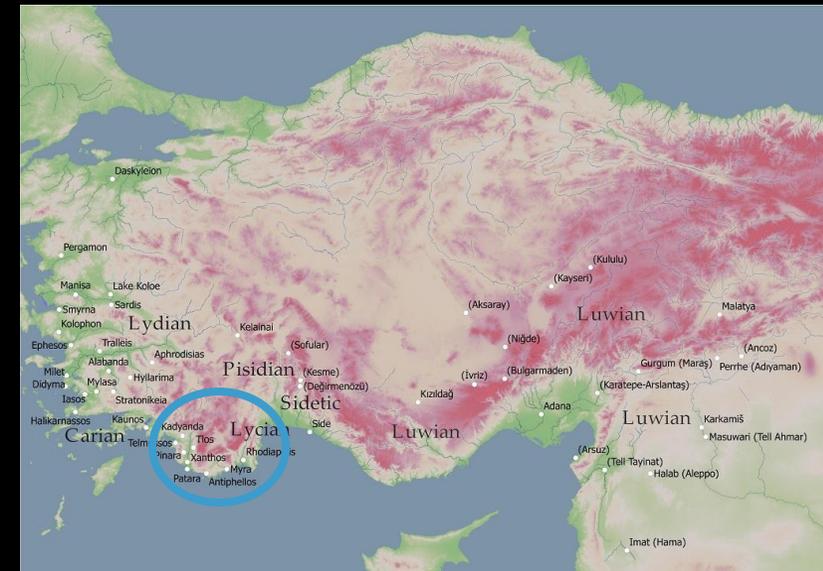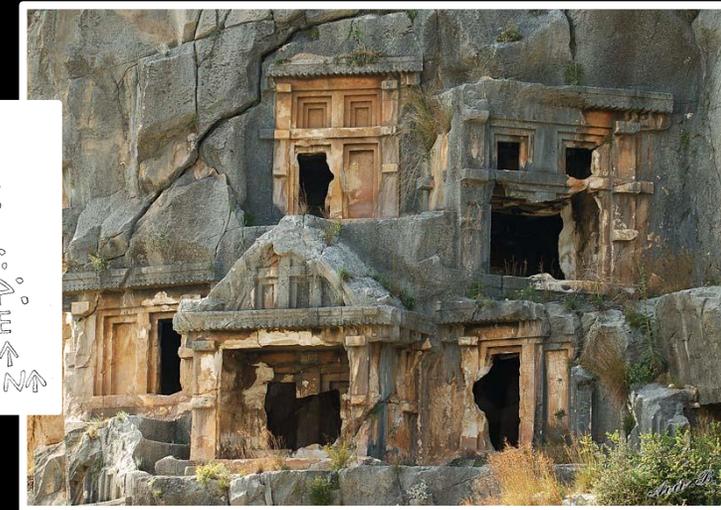
Lydian

- Attested ca. 700–100 BCE
  - Most from 5th–4th cents.
- Over 100 **inscriptions** in Lydia
- ca. 1,500 word tokens
- **Alphabetic** writing system
- Not well-understood
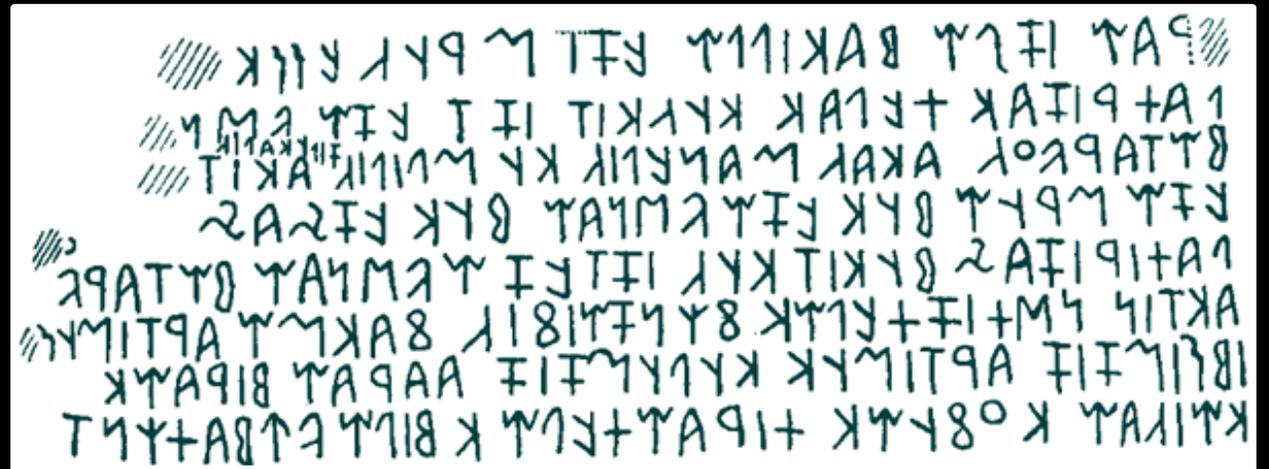
Locating the accent in Cuneiform Luwian

Plene spelling

- Addition of "redundant" **vowel** sign

    e.g. ⟨CV-**V**-VC⟩

    ⟨**V**-VC-⟩

- Spells vowel **length** in Hittite   (Rieken 2017: 19f.)

    - Thus also in Luwian

Can be used as **accent heuristic**

Locating the accent in Cuneiform Luwian

<u>Plene spelling</u>

- Etymologically **short** vowel spelled **plene** = **accented!**
  - Vowel lengthenings under the accent (Melchert 1994: 261-265)

    Cf. e.g. ⟨na-a-wa⟩ = [náːwa] 'not' < *né-ue

    ⟨a-pa-a-aš⟩ = [apáːs] 'that' < *h₁obʰós

- When **more than one** plene vowel = more **complicated**

    Cf. e.g. ⟨ˈtarˈ-pa-a-aš-ša-a-aš⟩ (KBo 29.63 ii? 6′) 'ritual substitute'

    ??? [t(a)rpáːsːaːs] or [t(a)rpaːsːáːs] ???

Locating the accent in Cuneiform Luwian

Plene spelling

- But **not** every accented vowel is long!   (and not every long vowel is accented)

  Cf. e.g. ⟨ku-wa-ar-ti⟩ 'cuts' = [kʷárti] < *kʷér-ti

- But plene spelling is (more or less) optional!

  KUB 35.45 (NS):   ⟨ḫi-i-ru-un⟩ (iii 25´)   vs. ⟨ᵈḫi-iˈ-ru-**ú**-un⟩ (ii 1)   'oath'

  KUB 35.45 (NS):   ⟨ta-**a**-pa-ru⟩ (iii 24´)   vs. ⟨[ta]-pa-**a**-ru⟩ (iii 9´)   '?'

  KUB 35.58 (NS):   ⟨ḫi-ru-ú-un⟩ (iii 10´)   vs. ⟨ḫi-**i**-ru-ú-u[n]⟩ (ii 7´)   'oath'

- Sequences of type ⟨(-)ḫu-u(-)⟩ = unreliable (may be ligature) (Kimball 1999: 67f.; DCL: xi)

Locating the accent in Hieroglyphic Luwian

- Hieroglyphic Luwian script = largely **useless** for accent

  (but cf. Vertegaal 2017; 2018)

  Hieroglyphic evidence not used here

Locating the Lycian accent

Syncope as an accentual heuristic

- Lycian has clearly undergone widespread syncope
    - cf. e.g. *hrppi* 'on; for'
      - *trm̃mili* 'Lycian'
      - *θrm̃ma* 'command'

- Stressed syllables = not syncopated   (Hock 1991: 92-94; Bybee et al. 1998: 282-284; Hyman 2009: 217)

Negative **heuristic!**
If a vowel was syncopated, it did *not* carry the accent

Locating the Lycian accent

Syncope as an accentual heuristic

- However, Lycian syncope **rules not certain**   (Melchert 1994: 318-321; Hajnal 1995: 175-191)

- Phonotactic **blocking**

    Syncope = only when result is **cluster licensed** by Lycian phonology

Locating the Lycian accent

Example: gentival adjectives in *-Vhe/i-*

Syncope in e.g.:   A *teϑϑe/i-* 'paternal' (< **tédehe/i-*)

                          A *laϑϑe/i-* 'in-law' (< **ládahe/i-* 'of the wife')

                          A *punamaϑϑe/i-* 'of the totality'(< **punamadehe/i-*)

       Thus: Syncope occurred in environment *d_h* (> **-dh-* > ~~*-ϑϑ-*~~)

But no syncope elsewhere! Why not?

Lack of clusters ***-xh-*, ***-ph-*, ***-lh-*, ***-mh-*, etc., in entire Lycian corpus!

Conclusion: Syncope of suffix *-Vhe/i-* most often **phonotactically blocked**

Locating the Lycian accent

Syncope as an accentual heuristic

- However, Lycian syncope **rules not certain** (Melchert 1994: 318-321; Hajnal 1995: 175-191)

- Phonotactic **blocking**

  Syncope = only when result is **cluster licensed** by Lycian phonology

Method: treat every environment in **isolation**

  Given words C_1VC_2V and C_1C_2V

  where C_1C_2V has undergone **syncope**

C_1VC_2V	$= C_1\acute{V}C_2V$	
C_1C_2V	$= C_1C_2\acute{V}$	$< {}^*C_1VC_2\acute{V}$

Locating the Lycian accent

Syllabic resonants as an accentual heuristic

- Signs $\tilde{m}$ and $\tilde{n}$ = often result of syncopated syllables with nasal coda; cf. e.g.:

Cf. e.g. ethnic appurtenance suffix Lyc. A *-ñne/i-*, B *-wñne/i-* < *-wene/i-* (cf. Luw. *-wann(i)-*)

3PL.PRES.ACT ending *-ñti* from syncopated *-enti* (e.g. *marñti* 'they command')

- Reasonable assumption 1: Syllable nuclei $\tilde{m}$ and $\tilde{n}$ = **unaccented**

- Reasonable assumption 2: Syllable nuclei *l* and *r* = also **unaccented**

Another **negative heuristic**: syllabic resonants!

Locating the Lydian accent

<u>Metrical evidence</u>

- Inscriptions LW 10–15 = **poems**
  characterised by metrical structure   (West 1972; 1975; Eichner 1986; 1987)

- LW 11–14 = most regular:

  4 rising **feet** per **line**

  1 **foot** = 2–3 syllables

- Most common foot = **anapaest**

- **Last two feet** exhibit most regularity
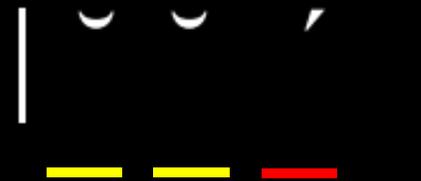
Locating the Lydian accent

<u>Metrical evidence</u>

Basic structure:

$$(\breve{x}) \; \breve{x} \; \acute{x} \mid (\breve{x}) \; \breve{x} \; \acute{x} \mid \breve{x} \; \breve{x} \; \acute{x} \mid \breve{x} \; \breve{x} \; \acute{x} \parallel$$

Example (LW 11.2):

wãnτas wic | n areλ | kaτared=k= | ms iškos ||

Locating the Lydian accent

<u>Linguistic evidence</u>

- Considering **metrics** + sign **distribution**: *ã, aa, ẽ, e, o* = always **accented**

    Allowed: *wãnav, taacdav, tẽmwav, ešvav, anlolav*

    Not allowed: ***wãnãv, **taacdãv, **tẽmwãv, **ešvãv, **anlolãv*

- Syllabic resonants (*l, λ, r, m, n, v*) = **unaccented**

- Sign *y* = unaccented /i/   (Gusmani 1983: 57-59; Melchert 1994: 342f.)

    Cf. *qiraaλ* (LW 13.7) vs. *qyraλ* (LW 23.11)

- Signs *a, u, i* = ambiguous

- Lydian also exhibits **syncope!** (and **apocope**)

Čop's law

$$*L > F \ / \ é\_ \quad (Lenis, \ Fortis)$$

- Originally formulated for Luwian by Čop (1970)

  mallit- 'honey' < *mélit-*

  maddu- 'wine' < *médʰu-*

- Also proven for Lycian by Kloekhorst (2012: 261)

  ebette DAT/LOC.PL pronoun < *h₁obʰédʰos*   (cf. Hitt. *apēdas*)

- Lydian status = unknown!

Čop's law = determines **Proto-Luwo-Lycian** accent

Locating the accent: summary

Luwian (cuneiform)

- Accent correlates with **plene spelling**

Lycian

- **Syncopated** vowels = **unaccented**
- Syllabic **resonants** = **unaccented**

Lydian

- Metrics
- **Certain signs** are **accented** vs. **unaccented**

Let's do a case study!

Case study: Background

- Problem: Luwic languages are scarcely attested

     Lack of cognates/**word equations**

     Lack of **comparanda** for historical analysis!

- Solution: **morphological types!**

     # Exponents of a type > # Attestations of individual lexemes

- Assumption: A given type is **uniformly accented**

Agent nouns in *-lā-

- All Luwic languages: productive *a*-stem agent noun type in *-lā-

  Luwian: *-alla-*   (e.g. *kwananalla-* 'carver')

  Lycian: *-ala-*   (e.g. *gasabala-* 'treasurer')

  Lydian: *-la-*   (e.g. *mršla-* 'defiler')

- Related to adjectival type Luw. *-alla/i-*, Lyc. *-ele/i-*, Lyd. *-l(i)-*

- Reconstruction: PL *-Vlā-* < PIE *-V-leh$_2$-*

  But how was the type **accented**?

Let's look at the evidence!

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Luwian evidence

Cuneiform Luwian candidate stems:

al(l)allā- 'pitfall (?)' or 'inimical domain'

auwalla- '(a plant?)'

hamsukkallā- 'great-grandchild'

hūwayalla- 'helper'

hūrtiyalla- '(vessel)'

kalla- '(mineral?)'

dussaniyalla- 'maker of strong ones (?)'

warpalla- '(part of wagon?)'

zazkitalla- 'stock (?)'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Luwian evidence

Some are never spelled plene and thus uninformative:

Stem	Form	Place of attestation
auwalla- '(a plant?)'	⟨€a-ú-wa-al-la-aš⟩	KUB 36.96: 11′ (LNS)
	⟨a-ú-wa-al-la-an⟩	KBo 19.142 ii 18′ (NS)
kalla- '(mineral?)'	⟨^NA4kal-la-an-zi⟩	KUB 27.29 iii 15 (NS)
	⟨^NA4kal-l[a-an-zi]⟩	KUB 27.29 iii 13 (NS)
warpalla- '(part of wagon?)'	⟨€€wa-a[r]-pa-al-la⟩	KpT 1.56 iii 66′ (NS)
	⟨€€w[a-a]r-pa-al-la⟩	KpT 1.56 iii 67′ (NS)
zazkitalla- 'stock (?)'	⟨za!-az-ki-tal-la-an⟩	KUB 16.77 iii 10 (NS)
	⟨€za-az-ki-tal-la-za⟩	KUB 46.42 iii 3 (LNS)
	⟨€€za-az-ki-tal-la-za⟩	KUB 46.42 iii 4 (LNS)

Semantically, none of these are obviously **agent nouns** either!

Agent nouns in *-*lā*-: Luwian evidence

Cuneiform Luwian candidate stems:

al(l)allā- 'pitfall (?)' or 'inimical domain'

~~*auwalla-* '(a plant?)'~~

hamsukkallā- 'great-grandchild'

hūwayalla- 'helper'

hūrtiyalla- '(vessel)'

~~*kalla-* '(mineral?)'~~

dussaniyalla- 'maker of strong ones (?)'

~~*warpalla-* '(part of wagon?)'~~

~~*zazkitalla-* 'stock (?)'~~

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Luwian evidence

Some are not likely exponents of the type

al(l)allā- 'pitfall (?)' or 'inimical domain'

- Many **plene spellings** on the final syllable (x15)

- But **semantics** make agent noun unlikely... (DCL: s.v.; Rieken & Yakubovich 2022: 273f.)

hamsukkallā- 'great-grandchild'

- Attested 3 times, always with stem-final **plene spelling**

- But is actually **diminutive** in *-kkalla-* (cf. Lat. *-cula*, e.g. *mātercula* 'little mother')

  not **agent noun** in *-alla-* (Sasseville 2014/2015: 116f.)

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Luwian evidence

Cuneiform Luwian candidate stems:

~~*al(l)allā-* 'pitfall (?)' or 'inimical domain'~~

~~*auwalla-* '(a plant?)'~~

~~*hamsukkallā-* 'great-grandchild'~~

hūwayalla- 'helper'

hūrtiyalla- '(vessel)'

~~*kalla-* '(mineral?)'~~

dussaniyalla- 'maker of strong ones (?)'

~~*warpalla-* '(part of wagon?)'~~

~~*zazkitalla-* 'stock (?)'~~

Agent nouns in *-lā-: Luwian evidence

hūwayalla- 'helper' & *hūrtiyalla-* '(vessel)'

- Both only attested in Hittite contexts ("Empire Luwian")
- Each spelled plene **once** on **first syllable**
- Recall: plene spelling ⟨ḫu-u-⟩ = **unreliable**

dussaniyalla- 'maker of strong ones (?)'

- Only attested in **Ištanuwa** Luwian song
- No plene spelling!
- **Metrics** indicate *dússaniyàlla-*   (Billing 2025)
- But **circularity**!

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Luwian evidence

Cuneiform Luwian candidate stems:

al(l)allā- 'pitfall (?)' or 'inimical domain'

auwalla- '(a plant?)'

hamsukkallā- 'great-grandchild'

hūwayalla- 'helper'   Initial accent??

hūrtiyalla- '(vessel)'   Initial accent??

kalla- '(mineral?)'

dussaniyalla- 'maker of strong ones (?)'   Initial + secondary suffix accent??

warpalla- '(part of wagon?)'

zazkitalla- 'stock (?)'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Luwian evidence

Cuneiform Luwian evidence – summary:

- Evidence = **scarce!**

- Evidence = **weak!**

- Maybe initial accent?

However, note geminate *-ll-*!! (important later)

---

al(l)allā 'pitfall (?)' or 'inimical domain'

auwalla '(a plant?)'

hamsukkallā 'great-grandchild'

hūwayalla- 'helper'

hūrtiyalla- '(vessel)'

kalla '(mineral?)'

dussaniyalla- 'maker of strong ones (?)'

warpalla '(part of wagon?)'

zazkitalla 'stock (?)'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

B *abrala-* '?'

(?) A *azzala-* 'decree (?)'

A *gasabala-* 'treasurer'

B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)'

A *parttala-* '?'

B *qidrala-* 'priest of animal sacrifice (?)'

B *qrbblala-* '?'

B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'

A *sttala-* 'stele'

A *tijala-* 'penalty-administrator (vel sim.)'

B *trppala-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'

B *turaxxsala-* 'one of Mount Thorax (?)'

B *xumala-* '(priest) (?)'

B *zajala-* '?'

A *zala-* 'share-administrator (?)'

B *ziwala-* '(priest) (?)'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Stem	Relevant environment(s)	Syncope?
B *abrala-* '?'	*#_br*; *br_l*	???
A *azzala-* 'decree (?)'	*#_z*; *z_l*	???
A *gasabala-* 'treasurer'	*g_s*; *s_b*; *b_l*	???
B *qidrala-* 'priest of animal sacrifice (?)'	*q_dr*; *dr_l*	???
A *sttala-* 'stele'	*st_l*	???
A *tijala-* 'penalty-administrator (vel sim.)'	*t_j*; *j_l*	???
B *turaxxsala-* 'one of Mount Thorax (?)'	*t_r*; *r_xs*; *xs_l*	???
B *zajala-* '?'	*z_j*; *j_l*	???
A *zala-* 'share-administrator (?)'	*z_l*	???

- A *gasabala-* 'treasurer' & *sttala-* 'stele' = **loans**!

- A *azzala-* 'decree (?)' = probably **not** agent noun!

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

B *abrala-* '?'

(?) A *azzala-* 'decree (?)'

A *gasabala-* 'treasurer'

B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)'

A *parttala-* '?'

B *qidrala-* 'priest of animal sacrifice (?)'

B *qrbblala-* '?'

B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'

A *sttala-* 'stele'

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A *zala-* 'share-administrator (?)'

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Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)'

A *parttala-* '?'

B *qrbblala-* '?'

B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'

B *trppala-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'

B *xumala-* '(priest) (?)'

B *ziwala-* '(priest) (?)'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

B *qrbblala-* '?' & B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'

- **Resonant** nuclei in **first** syllable = **unaccented**

- No other accent heuristics

- Either accent *-ála-* or *-alá-* = **possible**

penultimate or **final**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

> B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)'
>
> (?) A *parttala-* '?'
>
> (?) B *qrbblala-* '?'   penultimate or final
>
> B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'   penultimate or final
>
> B *trppala-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'
>
> B *xumala-* '(priest) (?)'
>
> B *ziwala-* '(priest) (?)'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)' penultimate

- *mutala* (TL 44d.33); could also be NOM/ACC.PL.N of *mutele/i-*
- Cf. Lyc. A PN *mutlẽi* (M 210; TL 150.2) < (?) *mutelẽi* (*-ón- + -i-*; cf. Melchert 2013: 34)

A *parttala-* '?' penultimate??

- Cf. again A *mutlẽi*, but context is strictly *rt_l* not *t_l*
- May not be agent noun! (context suggests offering)

Agent nouns in *-lā-: Lycian evidence

B *trppala-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'   penultimate

- Cf. B *tbiplẽ : trpplẽ* 'twofold, threefold' (TL 44c.53)
- *tbiplẽ : trpplẽ* < * *tbiplẽ, triplẽ* < **dui-plóm* and **tri-plóm*   (Eichner 1992: 62; 74)
- Thus: *#trpl-* = licenced **result** of **syncope**!

B *xumala-* '(priest) (?)'   penultimate?

- Cf. A/B *mla-* '(offering)' < **molh$_3$-éh$_2$* (cf. Luw. *malhassa-* 'ritual'; eDiAna-ID 2285)
- Suggests syncope in *m_l*

Agent nouns in *-lā-: Lycian evidence

B *ziwala-* '(priest) (?)'   penultimate?

- Syncope in *w_R* = common!
  - Cf. e.g. appurtenance suffix Lyc. A *-ñne/i-*, B *-wñne/i-* < *-wene/i-*

- Syncope in *w_l* maybe attested in A *la-ti* 'to be dead' ← *la-* 'death' < *gʷolH-éh₂-*
  - Cf. HLuw. *wala* 'fatally' < 'for death'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

(?) B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)'	**penultimate**
(?) A *parttala-* '?'	(?) **penultimate**
(?) B *qrbblala-* '?'	**penultimate** or **final**
B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'	**penultimate** or **final**
B *trppala-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'	**penultimate**
B *xumala-* '(priest) (?)'	(?) **penultimate**
B *ziwala-* '(priest) (?)'	(?) **penultimate**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

(?) B *mutala-* 'mighty (one) (?)'	**penultimate**
(?) A *parttala-* '?'	(?) **penultimate**
(?) B *qrbblala-* '?'	**penultimate**
B *rm̃pala-* 'pillar official (?)'	**penultimate**
B *trppala-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'	**penultimate**
B *xumala-* '(priest) (?)'	(?) **penultimate**
B *ziwala-* '(priest) (?)'	(?) **penultimate**

Collapsing "**penultimate** or **final**" category into "**penultimate**" category

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lycian evidence

Lycian candidate stems:

(?) B *mutála-* 'mighty (one) (?)'	**penultimate**
(?) A *parttála-* '?'	(?) **penultimate**
(?) B *qrbblála-* '?'	**penultimate**
B *rm̃pála-* 'pillar official (?)'	**penultimate**
B *trppála-* 'substitute (vel sim.) (?)'	**penultimate**
B *xumála-* '(priest) (?)'	(?) **penultimate**
B *ziwála-* '(priest) (?)'	(?) **penultimate**

Evidence points to **penultimate** accent, i.e. *-ála-*

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Lydian candidate stems:

caqrla- 'one of *cẽqra-*'

isla- '?'

kanlela- '(month)'

mršla- 'defiler (vel sim.)'

tanla- '?'

tarpla- 'substitution'

ταλala- '?'

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Accent-indicating signs

caqrla- 'one of *cẽqra-*'   **final**

- Attestation ACC.SG / DAT.PL *caqrl<u>ã</u>ν* (LW 14.5) proves **final** accent

isla- '?'   **final**

- Attestation NOM.SG / ACC.PL[?] *isl<u>aa</u>ṣ* (LW 13.13) proves **final** accent
- But **uncertain meaning!**

tanla- '?'   **final**

- Attestation DAT.SG *t<u>a</u>nlaλ* (LW 46.5) proves **final** accent (otherwise ***tãnlaλ*)
- But **uncertain meaning!**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Lydian candidate stems:

caqrla- 'one of *cẽqra-*'	**final**
(?) *isla-* '?'	**final**
kanlela- '(month)'	
mršla- 'defiler (vel sim.)'	
(?) *tanla-* '?'	**final**
tarpla- 'substitution'	
ταλala- '?'	

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Metrical evidence

mršla- 'defiler (vel sim.)'   **final**

- Form *mršlas* (LW 14.7) closes **third foot** = **final** accent
  - [...] *mršlas | šitarfλos ||*
- Syllabic resonant *-r-* = **unaccented**; suggests **final** accent

tarpla- 'substitution'   **final**

- Form *tarplas* (LW 13.6) closes **line** = **final** accent
  - [...] *ul=τ=iṇ koτ|τis tarplas ||*
- But **meaning** suggests not **agent noun!**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Lydian candidate stems:

caqrla- 'one of *cẽqra-*'	**final**
(?) *isla-* '?'	**final**
kanlela- '(month)'	
mršla- 'defiler (vel sim.)'	**final**
(?) *tanla-* '?'	**final**
(?) *tarpla-* 'substitution'	**final**
ταλala- '?'	

Agent nouns in **-lā-*: Lydian evidence

kanlela- '(month)'

- **Meaning** suggests not **agent noun!** (but month-name could be secondary)
- Two stems: *kanlela-* vs. *kanlala-*

kanlelaλ	LW 43.2 (5th – 4th cent. BCE)	older
	LW 50.1 (323/322 BCE)	younger
kanlalaλ	LW 41.3 (343 BCE)	younger

stem *kanlela-* must be **penultimate**

stem *kanlala-* is **ambiguous (penultimate or final)**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

ταλala- '?'

- Attestation ACC.SG / DAT.PL *ταλalaν* (LW 13.8) proves **non-final accent**

- Otherwise ***ταλalãν*

- But: if DAT.PL, then stem may be *ταλal(i)*-!

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Lydian candidate stems:

caqrla- 'one of *cẽqra-*'	final
(?) *isla-* '?'	final
(?) *kanlela-* '(month)'	penultimate (old)
mršla- 'defiler (vel sim.)'	final
(?) *tanla-* '?'	final
(?) *tarpla-* 'substitution'	final
(??) *ταλala-* '?'	initial or penultimate

Agent nouns in **-lā-*: Lydian evidence

Lydian candidate stems:

caqrla- 'one of *cẽqra-*'	**final**		
(?) *isla-* '?'	**final**		
(?) *kanlela-* '(month)'	**penultimate**	(old)	
mršla- 'defiler (vel sim.)'	**final**		
(?) *tanla-* '?'	**final**		
(?) *tarpla-* 'substitution'	**final**		
(??) *ταλala-* '?'	**initial** or **penultimate**		

Most evidence points to **final** accent

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Proto-Luwic

Lydian — **Final** accent

Luwian — **Initial** accent (?)

Lycian — **Penultimate** accent
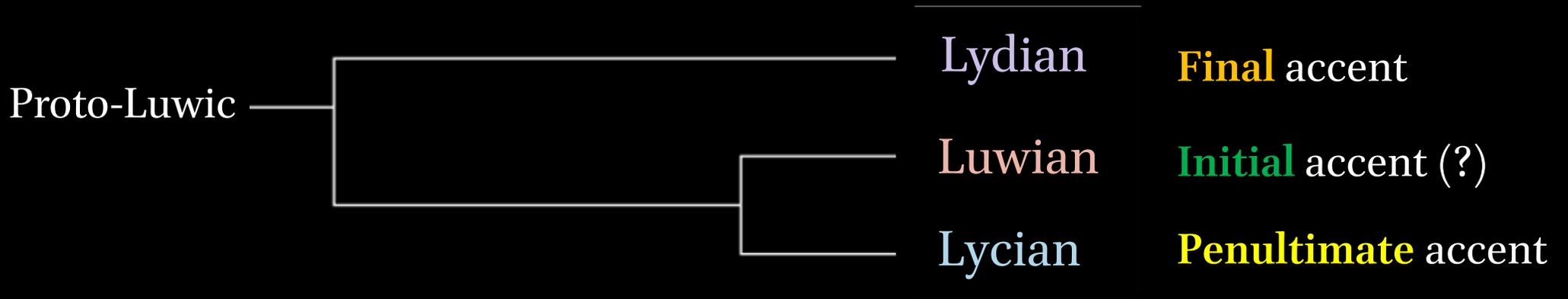
What was the accent in Proto-Luwic?

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

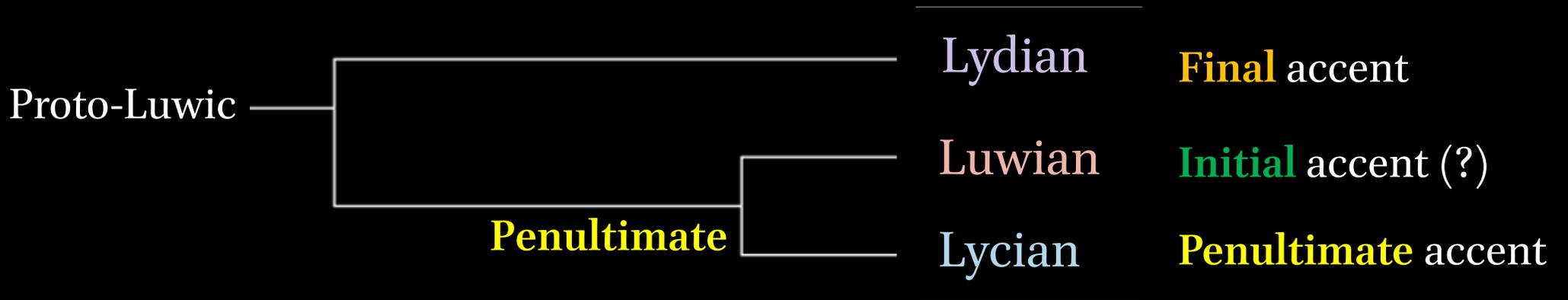What is the accent in Proto-Luwo-Lycian?

- Luwian = **initial** accent

- Lycian = **penultimate** accent

Geminate in Luw. *-alla-* requires **Čop's law!** (Sasseville 2014/2015)

- Thus, Proto-Luwo-Lycian reconstruction = *-éllā-*

Proto-Luwo-Lycian = **penultimate**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Proto-Luwic

Lydian — **Final** accent

Penultimate

Luwian — **Initial** accent (?)

Lycian — **Penultimate** accent

penultimate vs. final accent?

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Three arguments in favour of penultimate accent

Argument #1: Hittite *-āla-*

- Hittite agent noun type in *-āla-* < *-ó-leh$_2$-   (Berman 1972: 119-127; GrHL²: 88f.)

    Cf. e.g. $^{\text{LÚ}}$*asusāla-* '(temple personnel)'

    $^{\text{LÚ}}$*tappāla-* '(kitchen functionary)'

    $^{\text{LÚ}}$*zuppāla-* '(kitchen functionary)'

- If *accentually* comparable,
    = circumstantial evidence for **penultimate** accent

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Three arguments in favour of penultimate accent

Argument #2: Lyd. *kanlela-* **vs.** *kanlala-*

- Oldest stem variant is *kanlela-*
  - Matches Luwo-Lycian **penultimate** accentuation!
- Perhaps: *kanlala-* is **innovated** variant, productive **oxytonesis**
- Accent retained in *kanlela-* because **month name**

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Three arguments in favour of penultimate accent

Argument #3: Gr. κάπηλος 'merchant'

- Per Oettinger: κάπηλος ← Lyd. *kapela-*   (Oettinger 2021: 120-122)

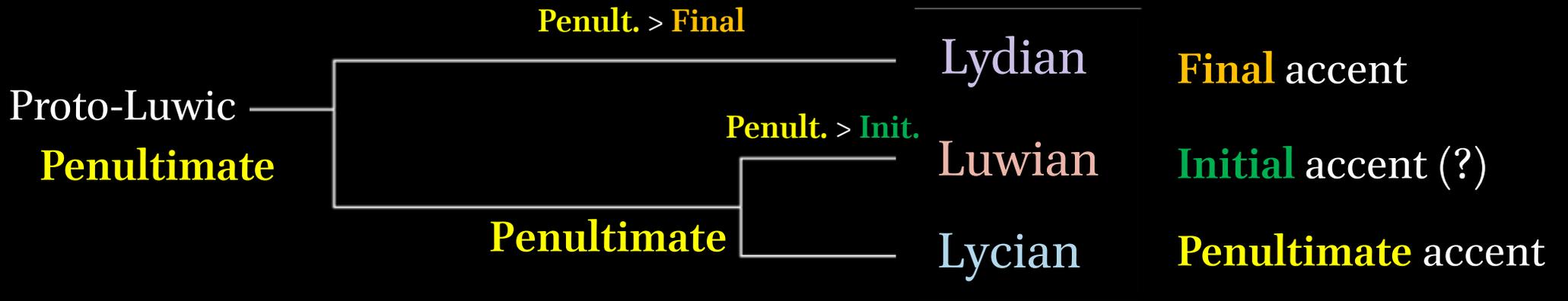- Sound substitution Gr. -η- < Lyd. *-e-* = **strongly** supported

  (Gusmani 1988: 191f.; Melchert 1994: 343; Gérard 2005: 35 n. 35; Kloekhorst 2023: 119)

- Sign *-e-* = **accent-indicating**

- Points to a prehistoric Lydian agent noun with penultimate accent!

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis
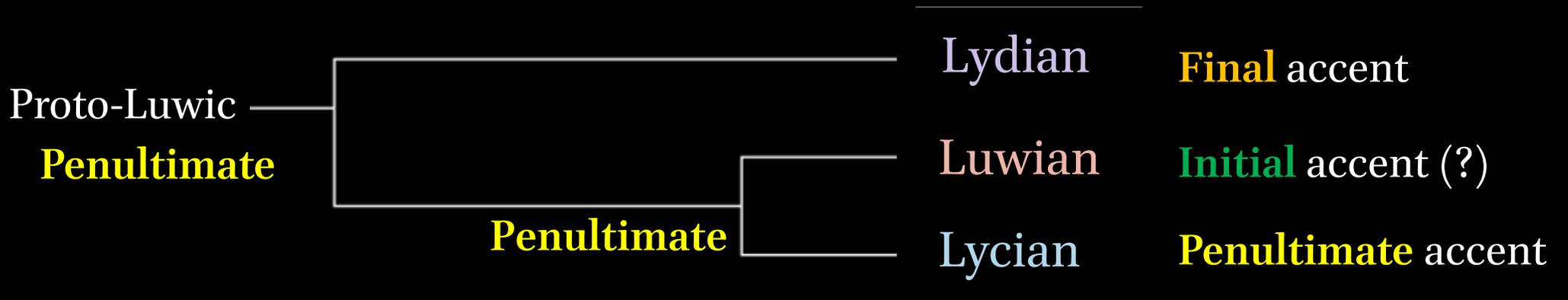
Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Agent nouns in *-lā-*: Synthesis

Accent retraction in Luwian   (**Penultimate** > Initial)

- many parallels, e.g.:
    - Accented reduplicants   (cf. e.g. *tātariyamman-* 'curse')
    - Denominal verbs in *-a-ti*   (a story for another time...)
    - Substantival *a*-stems   (a story for another time...)

Oxytonesis in Lydian   (**Penultimate** > **Final**)

- more difficult to explain
    - Perhaps analogy to adjectival type in *-ló-*?
    - Note e.g. NOM.SG.C *-las* < *-lós* & *-lās*

Summary and conclusion

- The Luwian accent = determined via:

  Cuneiform plene spelling

- The Lycian accent = determined via:

  Syncope   Syllabic resonants

- The Lydian accent = determined via

  Signs   Metrics   Syncope   Syllabic resonants

- The Proto-Luwo-Lycian accent = determined via Čop's law

- The agent noun type in *-lā- was accented *-élā- in Proto-Luwic

Luwic accentology is   DIFFICULT but POSSIBLE

Thank you!

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