

The Development of Luvic Vowels in Lycian

Ilya Yakubovich, University of Chicago

One of the unsolved problems of Anatolian historical phonology is the vowel system of Proto-Luvic, defined here as the ancestor dialect of Luvian and Lycian. The Luvian language had a system of three short vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/, and three long vowels /i:/, /a:/ and /u:/. It is usually assumed that the Anatolian non-high vowels /a/, /e/, and /o/ merged into /a/ in the history of Luvian (the merger pattern of the respective long vowels is more controversial). Lycian had four vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/, which apparently had no quantitative phonological distinctions.

Melchert (1992) argued that Lyc. /e/ continues Proto-Anatolian */e/ and */o/, while Lyc. /a/ continues Proto-Anatolian */a/ and */a:/. This hypothesis prompts one to assume that the Proto-Luvic language (if it existed) had the same five-plus-five vowel system as the one reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian. On the other hand, Starke (1997: 476, fn. 108) suggested in passing that Lyc. /e/ may represent the regular reflex of Luv. /a/, presumably implying that Lyc. /a/ goes back to Luv. /a:/. This suggestion is conducive to projecting the Luvian three-plus-three vowel system into proto-Luvic.

Starke's suggestion, cannot directly account for a number of examples, the most obvious of which is the preterit first singular Luv. *-ha* ~ Lyc. *-xa/-ga*. I believe, however, that it can be salvaged once we assume the following relative chronology (the relative order of (2) and (3) is not essential):

1. $a > e$, except before or after the "laryngeals" /χ/, /γ/
2. /χ/ > Ø / _#, otherwise /χ/ > /k/
3. Vowel shortening (/a:/ > /a/, /i:/ > /i/, /u:/ > /u/)
4. *a/u*-umlaut and *e/i*-umlaut

The blocking of the change /a/ > /e/ next to the uvular fricatives */χ/ and /γ/ reflects a cross-linguistic articulatory constraint and is typologically well grounded (Bessel 1998: 5-6). Besides the 1SgPret. form cited above, this effect helps to account for the last vowel of Lyc. *xñtawata* < **xantawatax* ~ Luv. *hantawatah-it-* 'kingship', or for Lyc. *χuga-* < Anat. **xauxo-* 'grandfather'. In order to falsify my hypothesis, one has to adduce examples of Luvic /a/ of "non-laryngeal" origin developing into /a/ in Lycian. Yet the only example of this kind known to me is not probative because the quality of *a-* in Lyc. *ara* 'properly' and Lyc. *arawa-* 'free' derived from Indo-European **ar-* 'to fit' is conditioned through *a*-umlaut (Melchert 1992: 49).

The proposed solution reduces the number of Lycian archaisms that are not attested in Luvian and helps to define the common innovations of these two closely related languages. In addition, it increases the phonetic naturalness of Lycian historical phonology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bessel, Nicola J. 1998. "Local and non-local consonant-vowel interaction in interior Salish". *Phonology* 15: 1-40.
- Melchert, H. Craig. 1992. "Relative Chronology and Anatolian: The Vowel System". *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie: Akten der VIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*. Ed. R. Beekes et al. Innsbruck. Pp. 41-53.
- Starke, Frank. "Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend". *Studia Troica* 7: 447-87.