

New results on a centum substratum in Greek: the Lydian connection

Romain Garnier, Benoît Sagot

► **To cite this version:**

Romain Garnier, Benoît Sagot. New results on a centum substratum in Greek: the Lydian connection. International Colloquium on Loanwords and Substrata in Indo-European languages, Jun 2018, Limoges, France. hal-01798979

HAL Id: hal-01798979

<https://hal.inria.fr/hal-01798979>

Submitted on 24 May 2018

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

New results on a *centum* substratum in Greek: the Lydian connection

We introduce a consistent set of new etymological proposals concerning a number of unetymologised Greek words, analysing them as borrowings from Lydian or a pre-stage thereof. Lydian being very scarcely attested, these proposals must be considered as tentative. Yet they could reflect under-recognised linguistic and cultural contacts between Lydians (or pre-Lydians) and Greeks.

The number of Lydian words identified by glosses (or pseudo-glosses) is very limited (GUSMANI, 1964: 271–278). Two borrowings from Lydian to Greek have been identified since then, which both reflect one of the most specific phonetic laws that operated in the pre-history of Lydian, long before any epigraphical evidence, namely the law PAnat. **/VɣV/* > Lyd. *-(V)dV-* (where [d] probably reflects /d̄/; cf. MELCHERT, 1994). These borrowings are:

- Gr. μόλυβδος < Lyd. *mariwda-* /mar^wɰda/ ‘(the) dark (metal)’ < **marw.da-* < **marwida-* < PA (virtual) **morg^wiyō-* ‘dark’, according to (MELCHERT, 2008: 154).
- Gr. Λῦδος < **lūda-* < **luwda-* < **luwiya-* (MELCHERT, 2008: 156, fn. 6).

We will suggest a Lydian origin for eight additional Greek words or word families, relying on attested Lydian words and/or word formation patterns, as well as known phonetic laws. Six of them also reflect the above-mentioned law, namely: (i) Gr. λῦγδος [m.] ‘white marble’; (ii) Gr. κίβδος [m.] ‘dross of metal’; (iii) Gr. σίβδη [f.] ‘pomegranate’; (iv) Gr. ἄχερδος [f.] ‘wild pear-tree, *pirus amygdaliformis* (a.k.a. *spinosa*)’; (v) Gr. αὐτοκάβδαλος [adj./m.] ‘improvised, extempore’ (< **καβδαλός* ‘vaticinating, foolish, silly’); (vi) καλύδη [f.] ‘hut, cabin’. We will add two more examples: (vii) Gr. κολοδός ‘mutilated’ and Κύρβαντες; (viii) Gr. λυκάβαντ- [m.] ‘new moon (day)’.

These proposals constitute a follow-up to our article on a *centum* substratum in Greek (GARNIER & SAGOT, 2017). Some of the analyses proposed in this paper must be modified, even perhaps abandoned, but a number of them are fully compatible with an Anatolian source language, sometimes with typical Lydian features. We will therefore conclude with a brief critical reading of (GARNIER & SAGOT, 2017), showing that the *centum* substratum language we proposed in this paper could well be (a pre-form) of Lydian.

SELECTED REFERENCES

- BEEKES, R.S.P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2 Vol.). Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, Volume 10 (10/1 and 10/2). Edited by Alexander Lubotsky. Leiden • Boston: Brill.
- GARNIER, Romain & Benoît SAGOT. “A Shared Substratum between Greek and Italic”, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 122/1, 29-60.
- GÉRARD, Raphaël. 2005. *Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne*. Bibliothèque des cahiers de l’Institut de linguistique de Louvain (BCILL 114). Peeters: Louvain-La-Neuve.
- GUSMANI, Roberto. 1964. *Lydische Wörterbuch. Mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung*. Carl Winter: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- JAKUBOVICH, Ilya. 2005. “Lydian Etymological Notes”. *Historische Sprachforschung*, 118/1-2 (2005): 75-91
- MELCHERT, H. Craig. 1994. *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Leiden Studies in Indo-European, Volume 3. Amsterdam Atlanta: Rodopi.
- MELCHERT, H. Craig. 2008. “Greek *mólybdos* as a loanword from Lydia”. In: Billie Jean Collins, Mary R. Bachvarova and Ian C. Rutherford (eds.), *Anatolian Interfaces. Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbours. Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, Sep. 17–19, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 153-157.