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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. κολοός ‘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.

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