From 'Foreman' to 'Warlord': Royal Titles in Iron Age Western Anatolia

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[This short paper is devoted to the etymology and historical background of a triplet of Anatolian titles: Carian *k̂λmu(δ)*, an epithet of god *Trquδ-* (Tarhunt), Lydian *qaλm(λ)u-* 'king', and Greek πάλμυς, both 'king (βασιλεύς)' and an epithet of Zeus. Significant progress in the study of this triplet has recently been reached by Loiacono, but we argue that there is still room for additional refinements, which concern both the formal relationship between the three lexemes under discussion and its historical implications.]

This short paper is devoted to the etymology and historical background of a triplet of Anatolian titles.[1] These are Carian *k̂λmu(δ)*, an epithet of god *Trquδ-* (Tarhunt), Lydian *qaλm(λ)u-* 'king', and Greek πάλμυς, both 'king (βασιλεύς)' and an epithet of Zeus (Hawkins 2013: 188–90).[2] Significant progress in the study of this triplet has recently been reached in Loiacono (2018–2019), a doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Perugia. Nevertheless, we submit that there is still room for additional refinements, which concern both the formal relationship between the three lexemes under discussion and its historical implications.

Lydian *qaλm(λ)u-* is established as the word for 'king' based on the analysis of the dating formulae in Lydian burial inscriptions from Sardis (Gusmani 1964: 179–80, Gusmani 1980: 82; cf. Yakubovich 2019: 301).[3] The standard interpretation of the Lydian letter <q> is as the labiovelar sound /kʷ/ (Gérard 2005: 57). It is possible that a distorted form of the Lydian word for king is reflected in the gloss of Hesychius κοαλδδειν: Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα if the writing ΚΟΑΛΔΔΕΙΝ represented a corruption for the earlier *ΚΟΑΛΜΕΙΝ. However, the origin of the diphthong EI and

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2. The Greek form also appears in the Iliad as Παλμύς (*Il.* 13.792), the name of an ally chief of the Trojans, who came from lake Ascania, presumably a Phrygian or Mysian territory.

3. Forms of this word occur in the following Lydian inscriptions: 14.13 (*qaλmk*, morphologically *qaλm=k*, case unknown); 11.8 (*qaλmλad*, morphologically dat.-loc. *qaλmλ=ad*); 41.2, 42.2, and 110.2 (dat.-loc. *qaλmλuλ*); 2.2 and 50.3 (restored (dat.-loc.[*q̣*]*aλmλuλ*); 16,2 (restored poss.adj., nom.sg.c. [*qa*]*λmliš*); 16,3 (restored dat.-loc. [*qa*]*λmλuλ*); 59,2 (restored dat.-loc. *qaλmλ*[*uλ*]); and 62,2 (*qaλmuk*, morphologically *qaλmu=k*, case unknown).

final N remains unclear (cf. Gusmani 1964: 274–5) and this is not the only interpretation that has been proposed.[4] Quite aside from this gloss, it is possible to argue on synchronic morphological grounds that *qaλmu-* is the original stem in Lydian, whereas the allomorph *qaλmλu-* is secondary (Yakubovich 2019: 310–1).[5] Even the most stringent critics of Anatolian loanwords in Greek accept Gk. πάλμυς as a borrowing from Lydian *qaλm(λ)u-* (Oreshko 2018: 113; Simon 2018: 401), as first suggested by Danielsson (1917: 22ff). The title must have entered the Greek language before Gk. */kʷ/ became /p/. The labiovelar sounds had been preserved in Mycenean Greek, written in Linear B up to ca. 1200 BCE, but disappeared by the time of the first surviving alphabetical inscriptions, in the 8th century BCE. This implies that πάλμυς was borrowed into Greek at an early period (Hawkins 2010: 225).

Carruba (2006: 404) offered a plausible derivation of *qaλmu-* from **kuwála(n)-muwa-* 'forza/guida dell'esercito'.[6] The literal meaning of the compound, interpreted based on Luwian forms, would be '(having) the strength of the army'; cf. cuneiform Luwian *kwalan- ~ kulān-* 'army' (Melchert 1993: 114) and Luwian **mūwa* 'might, power (Melchert 1993: 151). Its less literal but more idiomatic translation into English is 'warlord'. Carruba (2006) derives **kuwála(n)-* 'army' from Proto-Indo-European $k^w elh_1$ 'to turn' (Rix 2001: 386–8), adduces Lyd. *qela-* 'plot of land' as another derivative of the same root, and treats the whole compound as an inherited Lydian formation.[7] This last suggestion is, in our opinion, rather dubious. On the one hand, the derivation of the word for 'army' from the root 'to turn' is possible but semantically not straightforward (cf. the doubts of Starke 1990: 237). On the other hand, Lyd. *qela-* 'plot of land' can be compared with Lycian *qla-* 'precinct' and Palaic *kuwalima-* 'enclosure' (Sasseville-Yakubovich 2018), which undermines its synchronic connection to the word for 'army' in any event. Since Lydian does not belong to the Luwic subgroup of the Anatolian languages (Yakubovich 2010: 6)[8] and neither of the nominal roots reconstructed in the compound under discussion are attested elsewhere in the Lydian

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4. The old suggestion of Heubeck (1959: 28f, *apud* Gusmani, *ibid*.) that κοαλδδειν should rather be equated with Lyd. *qλdãn-*, a divine name, has the advantage of delivering us from the burden of speculating about a corruption of the gloss. Conversely, it would need us to assume that the name of the Lydian deity had a meaning that lend itself to (re)interpretation as a title of power. While this is not necessarily incompatible with the etymological scenario put forward in this article, we forego further speculation on Lyd. *qλdãn-* for the time being. For a survey of previous interpretations of this theonym and a new suggestion, see Euler-Sasseville (2019).

5. Even though the precise syntactic function of *qaλmu=k* (62.2) and nom.-acc.sg *qaλm=k* (14.13) cannot be determined, both forms bear witness to the existence of the stem *qaλmu-*, affected by the syncope in the latter case, while the restoration of the possessive adjective [*qa*]*λmliš* (16.2) is consistent with this analysis. The poetic and archaic dat.-loc. *qaλmλ* (11.8) can be contrasted with the innovative form *qaλmλuλ*, which synchronically features the reduplication of the dative ending, and historically may have come into being as a contamination of the variants *qaλmλ* and **qaλmuλ* (with and without syncope).

6. Cf. Yakubovich (2019: 311, fn. 18) for the known cases of the loss of the Lydian nasal -*v*- between consonants.

7. Here and below, we assume that the labiovelar consonants were unitary phonemes in Luwian and Proto-Luwic but retain the traditional transliteration *kuw* (rather than *kʷ*) when citing other scholars who used it in the past.

8. The Lydian language is now treated as a member of the Luwic group in Sasseville (2020). This book, however, does not engage with all the innovations of the Luwic group but merely argues, that some of them, concerning verbal derivation, are shared by Lydian. The author summarizes his stance as follows: "While the issue of how Luwic the Lydian language is remains unsolved among Anatolianists, we aim at testing this hypothesis through the lens of their verbal stem formations" (p. 2). On the opposite extreme, Oreshko (2019: 228) claims: "It is quite possible – or even probable – that Lydian is in its origin not an Anatolian language, but an Indo-European language belonging to a different branch which appeared in Anatolia somewhat later than Hittite and Luwian and subsequently absorbed some Anatolian features". This statement is again made in connection analyzing of a select set of Lydian isoglosses, which the author prefers to treat as non-Anatolian.

corpus, the more plausible interpretation of Carruba's etymology is assuming a loanword from a Luwic language.

A different issue is the original meaning of the postulated compound *$kuwála(n)$-$muwa$-. While Carruba (2006: 404) suggested that the Lydian word originated as a title, he could not adduce other titles of such a shape in the Anatolian sources available to him at the time. Therefore, an attempt was made to derive Lyd. $qa\lambda m(\lambda)u$- from the personal name $Kwalan(a)$-$muwa$, attested several times in Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Empire period, notably in the Anatolian inscription AKPINAR 1 found north of İzmir and dating back to the 13th century BCE (EXERCITUS-mu REX+FILIUS 'Prince Kuwalan(a)muwa'; Ehringhaus 2005: 87). Given multiple historical cases of monarchical appellations originating with personal names (e.g., German *Kaiser* from the *cognomen* of Julius Caesar), one cannot rule out that the vassal king Kwalan(a)muwa emerged as an independent ruler in the west of Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittite empire and was commemorated in the local royal title. This hypothesis, however, implies far-reaching historical conclusions, for which we do not have independent confirmation, and therefore it must be entertained only as a last resort solution (cf. Yakubovich 2019: 312–3).

Luckily, there is an alternative borrowing scenario compatible with the reconstruction of *$kuwála(n)$-$muwa$-. The decipherment of Carian from the 1980s onwards has yielded us the form $\hat{k}\lambda mu\delta$[in inscription C.Ia3, made on a krater from Iasos (Adiego 2007: 147, 453). It is part of the larger sequence $trqu\delta e \mid \hat{k}\lambda mu\delta$[?,[9] which suggests that the word is an epithet of the Storm-god $Trqu\delta$- / Tarhunt, to whom the vessel is dedicated (Adiego 2007: 423).[10] The similarity between Carian $\hat{k}\lambda mu\delta$[and Lydian $qa\lambda m(\lambda)u$- < *$qa\lambda mu$- is remarkable in itself but derives extra support from three additional considerations. First, although the Carian letter <$\hat{k}$> stands for a phoneme that can most plausibly be interpreted as a palatal /c/, at least in palatalizing environments, it was the outcome of the Anatolian labiovelar */kʷ/. Lydian <q> = /kʷ/ likewise continues Proto-Anatolian */kʷ/: for example, the Carian linker $\hat{k}i$ and the Lydian relative pronoun qi- are both cognate with the Luwian relative pronoun /kʷi-/ (Adiego 2007: 243–4; Gérard 2005: 44). Second, Lydian <q> and Carian <$\hat{k}$> have the same shape (+), which does not belong to the core alphabetic signs of (Graeco-)Phrygian origin in either script (Adiego 2018). This is compatible with the assumption that the pronunciation of both letters in their respective alphabets was similar or identical at an earlier stage, and that one may have been the source of the other. Third, while the broken part of the Carian word remains poorly understood, we can at least stress the existence of the case ending or clitic -δ in Carian, which in all the attested cases is attached to nominal forms (Adiego 2007: 284, 319; Adiego 2019: 12). This fact supports the segmentation $\hat{k}\lambda mu$-δ[.[11]

Writing for the same volume in honor of Roberto Gusmani where Carruba proposed his etymology of Lyd. $qa\lambda m(\lambda)u$- for the first time, Meier-Brügger (2006) analyzed $\hat{k}\lambda mu\delta$[as a Lydian loanword in Carian. While establishing the connection between these two forms constitutes an

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9. The reading $trqu\lambda e$ in Adiego (2007: 147) is a misprint, as is the clear from the autograph on the same page. The correct reading $trqu\delta e$ is given in Adiego (2007: 453). Gusmani (1988: 145–9) proposed to restore this sequence as $trqu\delta e \mid \hat{k}\lambda mu\delta[e]$ (using modern transcription), but other interpretations are also possible.

10. The form $trqu\delta$-e probably contains a dative singular ending, although other candidates for dative singular endings in Carian have also been suggested (Melchert 2010). Cf. the genitive form $trq\delta os$, reflecting the same divine name, which was recently identified in Ca.Hy 1b (Adiego 2019: 20).

11. According to one hypothesis, recently advocated in Yakubovich (2019: 304, fn. 7), the Carian clitic or secondary case ending -δ is ultimately cognate with Hitt. *anda* 'in' and its Anatolian cognates. We are not willing, however, to commit ourselves to this hypothesis till more data become available.

important accomplishment of Meier-Brügger's analysis, its obvious methodological problem is explaining *obscurum per obscurius*, as the proposed direction of borrowing does not cast much light on the meaning of the Carian word, nor on the etymology of the two lexemes in question. In contrast, the meticulous analysis of Loiacono (2018–2019: 145ff, especially 170) assumes Carruba's etymology as its starting point and operates with the parallel but independent derivation of the Lydian and Carian titles from the same Luwian or Luwic proto-form **kuwalána-* +**muwa-*. One can definitely agree with Loiacono (2018–2019: 139–45) that the Hellenistic cult of Ζεὺς Στράτιος 'Zeus of the Army' in Carian Labraunda represents the *interpretatio graeca* of the earlier indigenous cult of *trquδ- k̂λmu-* 'Storm-god, the Warlord'.

While Loiacono's proposal is a starting point for our own analysis, we submit that it projects the origin of the titles farther than necessary. As stressed in Yakubovich (2019: 312), neither of the morphemes reconstructed for the Luwic compound is attested in the words for 'king' in the actual Luwic languages. Instead, we find Luwian /xantawatt(i)-/, Lycian A *xñtawate/i-*, and Carian *kδou-* 'king', all ultimately derived from Luwic **xanti* 'before, in front of' and therefore etymologically meaning something like 'foreman'. The only languages where the reflexes of the compound 'having the strength of the army' are attested as appellatives are Carian, Lydian, and Greek, but in Carian it is the divine epithet, in Lydian it is the royal title, while Greek preserves both meanings. The transition from the professional title 'warlord' to the divine epithet '(leader) of the army' is semantically straightforward.

Therefore, we would like to follow and elaborate upon the proposal of Ignasi Adiego, briefly mentioned as personal communication in Loiacono (2018–19: 153, n. 576), according to which Lyd. *qaλm(λ)u-* originated through contact with Pre-Carian.[12] Presumably, at the time of this lexical transfer, the Carian word was still pronounced with the initial /kʷ-/. The obvious advantage of this hypothesis is the economy of explanation: the etymological analysis of Carian *k̂λmu-* as a Luwic compound in the 2ⁿᵈ millennium BCE no longer needs to impact the further evolution of this epithet in the 1ˢᵗ millennium BCE. Lydian *qaλm(λ)u-* 'warlord' > 'king' was presumably borrowed as a structurally opaque lexeme and consequently underwent semantic changes that did not follow from its etymological structure. As for the multiple attested meanings of Greek πάλμυς, they may reflect a designation of power which, however opaque, was perceived as suited to both humans and deities in the Anatolian source.

Furthermore, the proposal of Pre-Carian borrowing into Lydian places this lexical transfer into a plausible historical context. It may be recalled that Herodotus (*Hist*. 1.8) recounts how the usurper Gyges, the first king of the Mermnad dynasty in Lydia, was previously the bodyguard (literally αἰχμοφόρος 'spearman') of his predecessor Candaules (Κανδαύλης) — an account that should echo events of the 7ᵗʰ century BCE.[13] What is remarkable in this story is the replacement of

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12. Loiacono's objections to Adiego's hypothesis are not compelling. He points out that the Lycian A cognate of *k̂λmu-* is *telẽzije-* 'army', which supports the reconstruction of **k̂elmu-* in earlier Carian, whereas Lyd. *qaλm(λ)u-* shows *a*-vocalism. Yet Lycian and Carian are two separate languages, and the evolution of their vowel systems need not have been precisely identical. In particular, there is no evidence that the short vowels **e* and **o* merged into *e* in Carian, as it happened in Lycian, while the relatively low frequency of Carian *e* would contradict this conclusion. Although the front vowel in the ancestor of *k̂λmu-* appears to have been required for internal reason (see the last paragraph of this paper), it may have been a low front vowel [æ], which could be easily rendered by /a/ rather than /e/ in Lydian.

13. There are certainly no reasons to believe all the aspects of the tale of Gyges, as narrated by Herodotus, which had probably been spiced up with erotic details already before it reached the Greek historian. It is, however, noteworthy that the status of Gyges as 'tyrant' (τύραννος), which is to say a ruler who obtained and held power in ways not

the dynast Candaules, whose name evokes Luwic *Xantawata/i- 'king' (Szemerényi 1969: 980–1, Yakubovich 2010: 94),[14] with another dynast Gyges, who was a high-ranking warrior and arguably had a Carian personal name.[15] The reputation of Carians as warriors is independently confirmed by their prominent role as mercenaries in Egypt at the time of the 26th Dynasty. Plutarch (*Greek Questions* 45) directly refers to the Carian army led by a certain Arselis, which fought against Candaules on the side of Gyges. Furthermore, Ivo Hajnal (*apud* Yakubovich 2017: 289) offered a plausible analysis of the tribal name Mermnas as a compound whose second part is cognate with Carian *mno-* 'son (?)' and the second element of the Carian royal name *kt-mno-/ k̂t-m̃o-* (= Gk. Ἑκατόμνως). To cut it short, the designation of the Lydian king as 'warlord' and the Carian origin of this noun are consistent with historical hints of a Carian assault on power in Iron Age Lydia.

Turning to the etymology of Car. *k̂λmu-*, we accept the gist of Carruba's proposal (formulated with respect to Lyd. *qaλm(λ)u-*), but the presence of the letters <λ> in both Carian and Lydian lexemes requires additional discussion. In Carian, <λ> corresponds to a sound or sounds transcribed in Greek as λλ and λδ, which Adiego (2007: 248–9) tentatively interprets as a geminate liquid, "more dental than … Greek λλ". Crucially, the letter never appears in initial position. Furthermore, according to Adiego, the sound(s) of <λ> would have been very close to that of Carian <l>, since only the letter <l> was used for both phonetic segments in the alphabets of Thebes and Mylasa. The distribution of Carian λ and its interpretation as a geminate agree in principle with a direct derivation of *k̂λmu-* from *kʷálnmuwa- < *kʷálan(a)-muwa-. In this scenario, Carian -λ- would be derived from the sequence liquid + dental nasal */-ln-/, which might have been difficult to pronounce before another nasal /m/. In contrast, Lydian <λ> has been convincingly interpreted as a palatal liquid sound /λ/, representing the historical outcome of the sequence /l/ plus glide /j/ (Gérard 2005: 23, 62 with ref.). While the rendering of the Carian geminate -*ll*- with a palatal sound in Lydian is in principle conceivable, the hypothesis that the Carian geminate exhibited additional palatal properties at the moment of transfer would be phonologically more natural.

This observation can be matched with new empirical data supporting the possibility of reconstructing a somewhat different Proto-Carian compound *kʷalji-muwa- '(having) the strength of the army'. A group of related Greek inscriptions from *Hamaxia*/Sinek Kalesi (Rough Cilicia), datable to the 1st century BCE, contains remarkable local personal names, complete with patronymics: Κουαριμοας Κουαλεως 'K., son of K.', Κουαλις Πολέμωνος 'K., son of P.' and

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14. It is possible that Candaules originally represented a title or epithet, which was reinterpreted by Herodotus as a personal name. According to Herodotus, the Greeks call Candaules Myrsilus, and this latter personal name has more chances to have actually belonged to the predecessor of Gyges. It is also possible that the title Candaules is of Carian origin and specifically represents a derivative of Car. *kδou-* 'king' (Yakubovich 2010: 95). However, this need not imply that Myrsilus actually carried this Carian title, since Herodotus of Halicarnassus probably relied on Carian sources for his tale of Gyges, and therefore Candaules may represent a title attributed to Myrsilus in the Carian milieu. For another example of how Herodotus perceived Anatolian history through a Carian lens, see Högemann-Oettinger (2018: 90). Cf. also the Lycian personal name transmitted in the Greek alphabet as Γενδαυλατις (Zgusta 1964: 134, §214).

15. Adiego (2007: 384–5, with ref.) suggested that the name of Gyges (Γύγης) has a Carian origin by evoking the Carian personal names *quq* ~ Greek Γυγος and *dquq* ~ Greek Ιδαγυγος, in turn related to Luwian *huhha* 'grandfather'. The initial voiced stop /g/ in the Greek transcriptions of these names (presumably rendering an uvular sound represented by the Carian *q*) contrasts with the voiceless obstruent in the cognate Lycian name, Κουγας (Zgusta 1964, §717). But whether Gyges can only be Carian depends on whether the initial "laryngeal" could be preserved in inherited Lydian forms in a position before *u*, the question that is currently *sub judice*.

Πολέμων Κουάλεως 'P., son of K.' (Bean-Mitford 1970, inscriptions 54c and 54a, cf. Balzat *et al*. 2013: 244 for the chronology). These names attest to two most probably related Luwic forms, Κουαριμοα-ς and Κουαλι-ς (genitive Κουαλεως). The former one is compatible with the interpretation *k^wali-muwas*, if we allow for rhotacism,[16] while the latter one prompts the interpretation /k^walis/. The Luwic stem concealed in these names cannot represent a formal derivative of /kʷalan-/ 'army', but appears to be in some way related to it. Besides the obvious similarity between the names Kuwalan(a)muwa and Kulaniya-muwa, one can conjecture that the Greek name Πολέμων, from Gk. πόλεμος 'war, fight', was chosen as a rough equivalent of Κουαλις, lit. 'related to the army'. Elsewhere in Anatolia, we have evidence of pairs of father/son names that look like approximate translations: e.g., Lycian Ορνεπειμις (= virtual *Urnepijẽmi* 'Given by the great one' < Luwic *uranna/i-* 'great' + *pijamma/i-* 'given'), the son of a certain Μεγιστόδοτος, whose name means the same as his father's (Colvin 2004: 69; Melchert 2013: 48).[17]

A way of reconciling /kʷalan-/ and /kʷalis/ is assuming the parallel Luwian stem /kʷal(a)-/ 'army', as did Starke (1990: 234–6), even if some of his relevant examples are more convincing than others.[18] There is no need to project this state of affairs into Proto-Anatolian or Proto-Luwic: one can rather assume synchronic reanalysis based on Luwian nom.-acc. /kʷalan/ as /kʷala-n/ and the analogical creation of a thematic neuter paradigm. The motivation for such a morphological process would be even stronger in the 1st millennium BCE, when the consonantal stems were generally on the way out in the Luwic languages. Once the stem /kʷal(a)-/ was in place, the possessive adjective /kʷalj(a/i)-/ 'of the army' (nom.sg. *k^waljis*) was formed according to the regular pattern. Once the stem /kʷalan-/ was no longer transparent, it was logical to remake the inherited compound *k^walan(a)-muwa-* as *k^walji-muwa-* '(having) the strength of the army', based on the same possessive adjective /kʷalj(a/i)-/ 'of the army'. Different stages of this process may have been implemented at various points in the evolution of the Luwic dialects (including Carian), although areal convergence could mitigate dialectal differences.

We submit that -λ- in the Carian divine epithet *k̂lmu-* may reflect not only the etymological *-ln-* but also the etymological *-lj-* of *k^walji-muwa-*. For the development *-lj-* > *-ll-* one can compare the situation in Greek, e.g. ἄλλος < *aljos* 'other'. There is, of course, no reason to assume

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16. Indirect evidence in support of the change *l* > *r* in Cilician onomastics comes from a selection of examples of the change *l* > *r* in Iron Age Luwian, as reported in Rieken and Yakubovich (2010: 216). More tentative is the idea that *krntryš*, the epithet of Baal in the Phoenician version of the KARATEPE bilingual inscription, reflects Luwian /kuranattarijas/ < *k^walanattalijas*, another derivative of *k^walan-* 'army' (Yakubovich 2008: 42). We shall not insist on this suggestion, since the Luwian equivalent of the Phoenician deity is "Highly Blessed Tarhunt", without any explicit reference to the army.

17. The direction of translation is not always clear. While Melchert (cited above) follows Schürr (2007: 36–7) in assuming that Ορνπειμις = *Urne-pijẽmi* is the Lycian calque of the Greek name of the father, Μεγιστόδοτος, Adiego notes that the latter is the single instance of this Greek personal name attested so far. This can be taken as evidence that it is rather the Hellenic name that originated as a calque of the Lycian one (Adiego 2020: 46). Thus, we might suspect that the tradition went further back in the genealogy of these individuals, i.e., that perhaps *Urne-pijẽmi* was not only the son of a Megistodotos, but also the grandson of another *Urne-pijẽmi* (or similar). Be it as it may, this does not hinder the scenario put forward here. It only suggests that naming practices might have been more complex than we can observe at present.

18. Thus, one may doubt whether the hieroglyphic forms, such as TOPADA § 8 EXERCITUS.*LU/A/I-ti*, can be used as an argument for the thematic stem /kwal(a)-/. The near-universal use of the <lu/a/i> sign, contrasted with the absence of <la> sign in the hieroglyphic spelling of the word for 'army', suggests that we are dealing with a phonetic indicator (i.e. *LU/A/I*) rather than phonetic complement, which in turn implies that the stem-final *-n* of /kʷalan-/ can simply be hidden under the logographic part of the spelling.

that *-*lj*- was the only source of Carian -*λ*-, as several Proto-Carian consonantal combinations may have contributed to the rise of the lateral geminate. For instance, Adiego (2007: 258) explains the Carian formant -*oλ* (in Greek spellings -ωλλος, -ωλδος) as cognate with Luwian -*alla*- and hence derived from *-*állV*-. Yet, the palatalized lateral consonant in Lydian *qaλm(λ)u*- 'king' tips the scales in favor of reconstructing the restructured *k^w*alji-muwa*- rather than the earlier *k^w*alan(a)-muwa*- '(having) the strength of the army' for the western Anatolian milieu in the 1st millennium BCE. An additional consideration that may be conducive to the same conclusion is the development of *k^w*- into *k̂*- in Car. *k̂λmu*-, which presumably reflects palatalization before a front vowel. Therefore, the phonetic interpretation *[k^wæλλmu-] can be proposed for the Pre-Carian source of Lyd. *qaλm(λ)u*- and Greek πάλμυς. The low front vowel of *[k^wæλλmu-] may in turn reflect the Carian umlaut if one starts with Proto-Carian *k^w*alji-muwa*- (but not *k^w*alan(a)-muwa*-). Summing up, the modification of Carruba's etymology is prompted by both Carian and Lydian evidence and derives further typological support from the Cilician personal name Κουαριμοας.

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