

Civilizations of the Ancient Near East

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VOLUME IV
1995

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Indo-European Languages of Anatolia

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WE HAVE EVIDENCE FOR at least half a dozen Indo-European languages in Anatolia and northern Syria during the second and first millennia BCE. Except for Phrygian, all of these share a number of features pointing to a period of common prehistoric development that we may call Common Anatolian. One may therefore speak of an Anatolian subgroup of Indo-European languages comparable to Germanic, Slavic, or Celtic. To this group belong Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, Lycian, and Lydian. It is now virtually certain that we should add Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic, but our evidence for and understanding of these languages remain very limited.

It is important to bear in mind that the Anatolian family as just defined is primarily a linguistic concept. The existence of such a subgroup of Indo-European languages is entirely independent of any theories about migration or diffusion of population groups. The speech community associated with the reconstructed prehistoric Common Anatolian stage may or may not have lived on the soil of Anatolia.

The Anatolian subgroup is attested in documents dating from the sixteenth century BCE to the first centuries CE and in three very different writing systems: cuneiform, hieroglyphic, and alphabetic. The first two systems use a mixture

of logographic and syllabic spellings. Since the use of the different systems is roughly chronological, it is convenient to group the languages according to the writing system employed.

The Cuneiform Languages

Texts in Hittite, Palaic, and a form of Luwian (Cuneiform Luwian) appear in cuneiform documents. Most of these were discovered in the capital of the Hittite Empire, Khattusha (modern Boğazköy), in central Anatolia, but significant Hittite texts have also been found farther east at Maşat Hüyük (pronounced Mashat Huyuk) and at ancient Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) on the Syrian coast, and there have been scattered finds elsewhere.

With the exception of one magnificent bronze specimen, the cuneiform is inscribed on clay tablets dating from the sixteenth to the thirteenth centuries. Recent advances in scholarship now permit us to give a relative chronology for most manuscripts and compositions, and we may distinguish Old Hittite (1570–1450), Middle Hittite (1450–1380), and Neo-Hittite (1380–1220). This division, details of which remain subject to revision, refers to periods of the language, which correspond only indirectly to political developments.

Phrygian

Our evidence for the Phrygian language is twofold. First, we have more than a hundred inscriptions of Old Phrygian, dating from roughly the eighth to the fourth century BCE, written in an alphabet related to that of Greek. These texts are on stone or various objects, chiefly pottery, discovered in Gordion and other sites in west-central Anatolia. Second, there are the "Neo-Phrygian" inscriptions, dating from the second and third centuries CE, written in the Greek alphabet. Virtually all of these are curse formulas appended to tomb inscriptions that are otherwise written in Greek.

There is general agreement that Phrygian is an

Indo-European language totally distinct from Anatolian languages in the narrow sense. (For the appearance of a few Indo-Aryan words in the Hittite "horse-training" texts and Indic gods in Hittite-Hurrian documents, see the article on Mitanni in Part 5, Vol. II.) Phrygian shares a number of features with Greek, including notably the "augment," an *e*-prefix marking past tense in the verb. Nevertheless, the dialectal position of Phrygian within Indo-European is a matter of dispute and is likely to remain so, pending major new discoveries that would dramatically increase our understanding of the language.

The appearance of a few Hittite words (for example, *išhyuli*, "obligation, contract") in Assyrian texts from Kanesh (modern Kültepe) dating from the nineteenth century shows that Indo-European languages were already in the central Anatolian area at the beginning of the second millennium, although actual texts in the languages appear only several centuries later.

The documentation for Hittite is extensive. Virtually all genres of texts are represented, but the bulk of the material deals with aspects of the state religion: cultic administration and practice, and associated mythology. The Cuneiform Luwian texts are limited to variations on fewer than a dozen compositions, chiefly rituals, while for Palaic we have merely a few fragments.

Hittite

Hittite was the chief administrative language of the Hittite Empire. To what extent it functioned as a spoken language at various places and times

in the empire is impossible to determine. It is noteworthy that the Hittites themselves called the language *nešili*—that is, "of Nesha [Kanesh]."

Hittite is an unmistakably Indo-European language in all respects. All sure influence from other languages, such as Hattic, Hurrian, and Akkadian, is confined to loanwords. Earlier claims about heavy non-Indo-European "substrate" or "adstrate" effects on Hittite—features of other languages in the area before or alongside Hittite occupation—were grossly exaggerated.

Even in the case of vocabulary, the borrowing of words is largely limited to expected areas: terms relating to aspects of the cult, items of higher culture, and the names for some flora and fauna. The impression that Hittite replaced most of its inherited vocabulary is false, being based merely on the fact that most of our documentation relates to ritual practice. At least 75 percent of the core vocabulary is based on inherited Indo-European material.

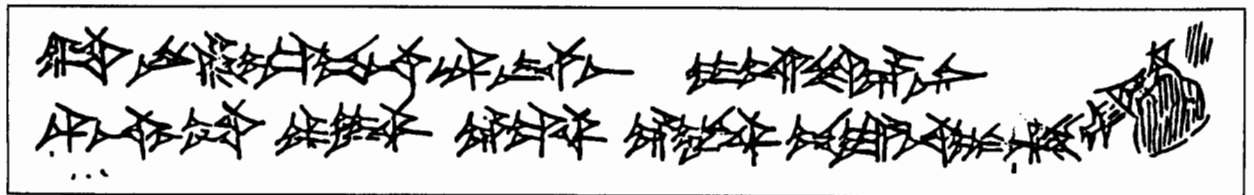


Fig. 1. Hittite cuneiform inscription on clay from Boğazköy, circa 1500 BCE. Adapted from HEINRICH OTTEN AND CHRISTEL RÜSTER, *KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE AUS BOĞAZKÖY*, VOL. 22 (1974)

The Hittite sound inventory includes eighteen consonants. The sounds represented by the symbols *b, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w,* and *y* are roughly equivalent to those of English (*g* equals the hard *g* of "gun"). The Hittites spelled their voiceless sibilant with the cuneiform signs of the "shin" (*š*) series. In Akkadian texts this sound represented a palatal similar to English *sh*, and by convention Hittite personal and place names are transliterated in these volumes with *sh*. The actual pronunciation in these cases is hard to determine. In ordinary Hittite words the sound was certainly a dental *s*, and it is given as such in this article. There is also a *ts* sound, as in "cats," plus *k^w* and *g^w*, similar to the initial sounds in "queen" and "Gwen." Finally, there are two harsh *h*-like sounds rendered imprecisely here as *ḫ* and *ḡ*. Hittite has four vowels, each in contrasting short and long varieties: *a, e, i,* and *u*. The symbols have the values of western European languages, roughly English "ah," "say," "see," and "sue," respectively.

As an ancient Indo-European language, Hittite is of the expected "inflectional" type, marking the function of most words in a sentence by variations in their endings. The noun has two numbers, singular and plural. Alleged traces of a dual are highly dubious. Old Hittite does often distinguish a count plural from a collective plural ("leafy branch": count plural, "leafy branches"; collective, "foliage"). There are only two grammatical genders, animate and inanimate. Recent research has shown that the Anatolian languages did inherit a separate feminine gender from Proto-Indo-European but subsequently merged it with the masculine.

Old Hittite distinguishes a maximum of eight cases in the singular: vocative, nominative, accusative, genitive, dative-locative, allative, ablative, and instrumental. Vocative merges with nominative, and allative with dative-locative in the plural. Note also that the ablative and instrumental each have a single form for both singular and plural. As in other older Indo-European languages such as Greek or Latin the inanimate gender does not distinguish nominative and accusative.

In Neo-Hittite, the case system has been much reduced, with only five cases in the singular (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative-locative, and ablative-instrumental) and three

in the plural (nominative-accusative, genitive-dative-locative, ablative-instrumental). Most case endings in the noun are either inherited from Proto-Indo-European or built on inherited Indo-European material.

Pronouns are predictably irregular in both stem formation and inflection. Most of the stems are recognizable as Indo-European: for example, *wēs*, "we"; *āntsas*, "us"; and *kwis/kwin*, "who/whom." The stem for "this" is inherited: *ka/i-* (compare Latin *ci-trā*, "on this side"). However, the stem *abā-*, "that," reflects an important Anatolian innovation. Unlike the noun endings, several of the pronominal inflectional endings are quite unusual, and there is not yet any totally convincing explanation for their origin.

The Hittite verb distinguishes the expected three persons and two numbers, singular and plural. There are only two moods: indicative and imperative (the latter for commands). Wishes and conditions are expressed not by a subjunctive or optative mood but by a conjunction-particle *mān/man*.

An active voice is opposed to a mediopassive. The latter marks the passive ("is hit") and many actions internal to the subject ("sit down"). As in Greek or Latin, there are also "deponent" verbs, which are mediopassive in form but active in meaning.

There are only two tenses: a present-future and a preterite. Hittite does have a phrasal construction with the verbs "have" and "be" plus the past participle, but the meaning is that of an attained state, not that of a true perfect tense as in modern European languages. There is also an interesting "serial" construction with the verbs "come" and "go" which is strikingly similar to that of modern English ("Why did you go and do that?"), but its precise function is not yet clear.

Hittite has a single participle, which has a past meaning with action verbs ("eaten," "gone") but usually a present meaning with stative verbs ("knowing," "standing"). There are an infinitive ("to go") and a gerund or verbal noun ("going"), both of restricted use. Finally, there is a "supine," which occurs only in combination with the verbs "to put" or "to step," meaning "to begin" or "to undertake" to do something.

There are no obvious traces in Hittite of the opposition between "imperfect" and "aorist"

seen in Sanskrit or Ancient Greek. How and to what extent Hittite distinguishes “aspect” in the verb remains to be determined. While most of the inflectional endings of the Hittite verb are inherited from Proto-Indo-European, it contains many surprises in both formal and functional respects, and the relationship of the Hittite (Anatolian) verb to that of the other ancient Indo-European languages remains a matter of great controversy.

The following Hittite text sample (shown in fig. 1) is from an administrative text criticizing officials for improper behavior. Both composition and manuscript are of the Old Hittite period. The text reads left to right, top to bottom.

*ta ḫapinántas istēni párna-sa páysi étši ék^wsi
piyanátsi-ya-ta*

tah khahpeenAHntahs eestAYnee pAHrnah-sah
pIEsee AYtsee AYk(u)see peeyahnAHtsee-yah-tah
And (the bidding) of the rich (man) you do. To his
house you go. You eat, you drink, and he gives you
presents.

Every word in this passage reflects inherited Indo-European material. To name only the most obvious *ḫapinant-*, “rich,” has the same source as Latin *ops*, “wealth”; *ed/t-* matches English “eat”; and the final suffixed *-ta*, “you,” is related to “thee.”

Palaic

Palaic was once the spoken language of Pala, a land that lay to the north of the Hittite heartland in central Anatolia, in all likelihood northwest of the Halys River in classical Paphlagonia. Pala is mentioned as a separate part of the empire in the Old Hittite Laws, but it does not appear in later texts and presumably no longer existed during the later empire. Palaic was surely extinct as a spoken language by the fourteenth century and may have already been so by the time of our first texts in the sixteenth.

We owe what little Palaic we have to its cultic use by the Hittites, particularly for rituals offered to the Hattic god Zapparfa. It is generally said that the non-Indo-European Hattic had more influence on Palaic vocabulary than it did on that of Hittite, but this impression may be based merely on the fact that most of our Palaic texts deal with the Zapparfa cult. When it borrows

Hattic words, Palaic does also borrow the foreign sound *f* from Hattic, unlike Hittite, which substitutes *p* or *w*.

Palaic is clearly an Indo-European language closely related to Hittite and Luwian, in some ways more conservative than either. The very fragmentary nature of our evidence limits our understanding considerably.

Cuneiform Luwian

The cuneiform texts from Khattusha include a number written in a form of Luwian. There are also many Luwian words scattered through the Hittite texts, both as foreign words and as genuine loanwords. We know that Luwian was spoken over a large area of southern and southwestern Anatolia and into Syria (see below). We do not yet have enough information to integrate the

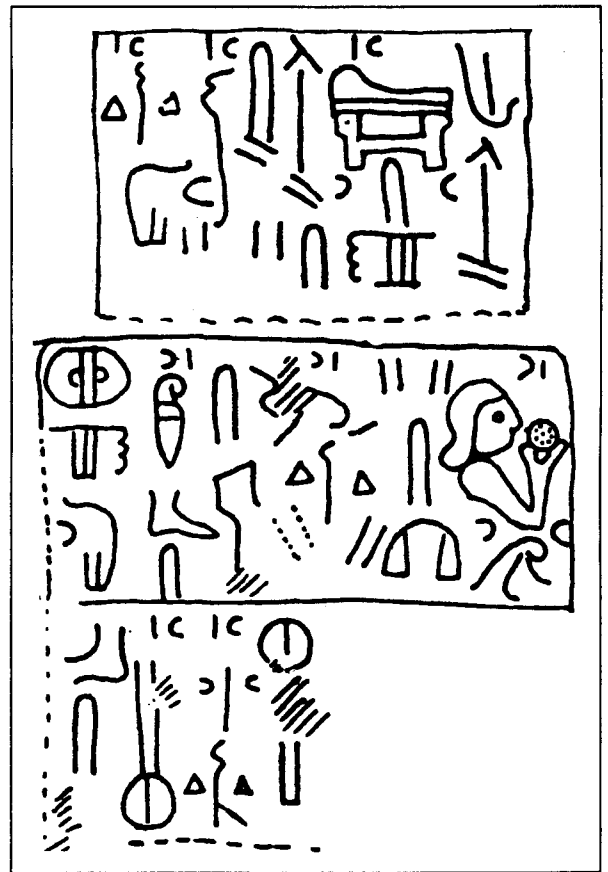


Fig. 2. Language specimen of hieroglyphic Luwian from Kululu (Turkey), early first millennium. ADAPTED FROM PIERO MERICCI, MANUALE DI ETEOGEROGLIFICO, PART 2, 1ST SER. (1967)

Luwian of the cuneiform documents into an overall geographic picture of Luwian dialects. (It is conceivable that one portion of the cuneiform texts, the "Istanuvian Songs," belongs to a different dialect of Luwian from the rest, but we understand these texts too poorly to assert this with confidence.)

In any case, there is no justification whatsoever for regarding the language of the Cuneiform Luwian texts as a dialect of Khattusha itself. At present, the only prudent course is to follow the majority of scholars in viewing Cuneiform Luwian as a coequal dialect with Hieroglyphic Luwian, whose chronological and geographic relationships remain to be determined. Minor differences between the two dialects are mentioned in the grammatical sketch below.

HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

The Hittites obviously borrowed the cuneiform writing system from Mesopotamia, probably through a north Syrian intermediary. However, the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs are apparently a native creation of Anatolia.

The Hittite hieroglyphs first appear on personal seals, the oldest of which date from the fifteenth century. Monumental inscriptions on stone begin in the fourteenth century. The use of the hieroglyphs survives well beyond the end of the Hittite Empire in former vassal states of northern Syria, where we have large numbers of texts dating from the tenth to eighth centuries.

Most of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone are concentrated in southern Anatolia (classical Cilicia and Commagene) and in northern Syria, but there are also examples from central Anatolia, including Khattusha itself, and a few from as far west as modern İzmir.

Most of the inscriptions on seals contain only names and titles. The titles are almost always written logographically, and the names often are as well (see "The Decipherment of Ancient Near Eastern Scripts" in Part 1, Vol. I, for further discussion of logographs). The earliest inscriptions on stone are also heavily logographic. Under these circumstances, the question of what language is being written becomes moot. Indeed, it is likely that for these texts we should speak not of "logographs" but of "ideographs"; that

is, the signs stand not for words in a particular language but for concepts meant to be readable for anyone knowing the system, whatever the reader's language. This use of ideographs is comparable to our modern "Arabic" numerals, which are virtually universally understood.

If we leave aside the strictly logographic texts above, then, except for a few one-word glosses, all texts in the Hittite hieroglyphs discovered thus far are in a form of Luwian. Based on the distribution of the stone inscriptions cited above, we may be sure that this form of Luwian was spoken in southern Anatolia and northern Syria. To what extent and at what periods it may have been spoken in central Anatolia cannot yet be determined. It is likely that forms of Luwian were spoken across wide stretches of western Anatolia during the second millennium, and there remains the tantalizing suggestion by Calvert Watkins, not yet proven, that the language of the Trojans was a form of Luwian as well.

Most of the stone inscriptions are dedicatory in some sense, but many contain lengthy historical preambles. We also have a handful of personal letters and economic documents inscribed on soft lead strips. The Hieroglyphic Luwian texts are the most extensive and varied in content of any of the Anatolian languages, except Hittite.

Luwian resembles Hittite in many respects, but is generally more innovative in its grammar. It has the same consonants as Hittite, minus g^w . Luwian distinguishes only three vowels: a , i , and u (again both long and short). One difference between Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian is that the latter shows frequent "rhotacism"; that is, it replaces d (and often l) with r .

As in Hittite, the noun shows a singular and a plural, again sometimes with the distinction of count plural versus collective plural. There are likewise only two grammatical genders, animate and inanimate, although Norbert Oettinger in 1987, following a proposal by Frank Starke, has shown that some forms of the animate continue the Proto-Indo-European feminine in formal terms.

The Luwian noun distinguishes four cases in the singular: nominative, accusative, dative-locative, and ablative-instrumental. Cuneiform Luwian shows the same distinctions in the plural, but Hieroglyphic Luwian has merged ani-

mate nominative and accusative in the plural. The ablative-instrumental has a single form for singular and plural. There are a handful of vocative singulars distinct from the nominative. The case endings mostly match those of Hittite, but Luwian has built several new plural endings based on the original animate accusative plural.

Hieroglyphic Luwian has some examples of a genitive singular, but it for the most part and Cuneiform Luwian entirely have replaced the genitive of the noun with a "relational adjective" which agrees with the noun possessed: "father's house" is expressed by "paternal house." While this construction occurs in Hittite and indeed in other Indo-European languages, its functional replacement of the genitive case is a significant characterizing innovation of the western Anatolian languages: Luwian, Lycian, Lydian, Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic. One disadvantage of the new procedure is that the adjective cannot indicate whether the possessor is singular or plural. Cuneiform Luwian has partially remedied this by creating new forms for the relational adjective in which the dative-locative plural ending is inserted between the stem and some case endings to mark plurality of the possessor.

The categories of the Luwian verb generally agree with those of Hittite: three persons, two numbers (singular and plural), two moods (indicative and imperative), two tenses (present-future and preterite), and two voices (active and medio-passive). Luwian also has a single participle, an infinitive, and a verbal noun. There are equivalents for some, but not all, of the phrasal constructions cited above for Hittite.

The following text sample (shown in fig. 2) is from a funerary stela. In this case, the text is divided into three panels, or "registers." Within each register the signs are read roughly vertically from top to bottom, starting at the left or right. This text begins at the upper left, and the first register reads left to right, the second right to left, and the third again left to right. The logographs for "couch" and "eat" are easily recognizable.

*wa-ta amíyants ísanants adám̄mis uwámm̄is pádi
sándadi ár̄ha warí̄ḫa*

wah-tah ahmEEyahnts EEsahnahnts ahdAHmees
uewAHmees pAHdee sAHndahdee AHRkhah
wahrEEKhah

On my couch having eaten (and) drunk, there
through (the grace of) Sanda I died.

Except for the divine name Sanda, all the words in this passage are ultimately derived from Proto-Indo-European. This is clearest in *ami-*, "my," and *ad-*, "eat." The verb *wari-*, "die," which may be related to the Old English verb *cwelan*, "die," shows the replacement of *l* by *r* mentioned above.

THE ALPHABETIC LANGUAGES

The remaining languages of the Anatolian subgroup are all attested in western Anatolia from the middle of the first millennium BCE to the third century CE in various alphabets either derived from or closely related to the Greek alphabet.

Lycian

We possess 170 to 180 inscriptions on stone written in the native language of Lycia, which lay on the southwest coast of Anatolia. There are also a number of very short inscriptions on coins. All the texts date from the fifth and fourth centuries.

All but a handful of the inscriptions on stone are funerary texts with highly stereotyped contents. One notable exception is the inscribed pillar of Xanthus, a lengthy dedicatory text with significant historical sections, unfortunately mostly unintelligible because of problems of vocabulary. Another is the "Létōn Trilingual," a stela inscribed with a Lycian text dealing with the establishment of a cult of Leto, accompanied by Greek and Aramaic translations.

Of all our Lycian texts, just two thus far are written in a distinct dialect called either "Milyan" or "Lycian B" (the latter opposed to "Lycian A," that is, ordinary Lycian). While Milyan is in some ways more conservative than Lycian, it would be inaccurate to consider it an older form of Lycian. We must treat Lycian and Milyan as two coequal dialects whose precise relationship remains unknown, just as in the case of the two forms of Luwian.

Lycian shares a large number of features with Luwian, and this has led some scholars to speak prematurely of a "Luwo-Lycian" or "Luwoid" subbranch of Anatolian. The close relationship between the two languages is undeniable, but

there are also important differences, and some of the common features are shared with other western Anatolian languages such as Lydian. On the other hand, Luwian also shares certain innovations with Hittite and Palaic to the east. It therefore seems more useful at this point to view the Anatolian languages as a continuum of dialects rather than to try to divide them into clearly distinct "branches." (See also "The Lycian Kingdom of Southwest Anatolia" in Part 5, Vol. II.)

Lydian

Slightly more than a hundred texts in the native language of the western Anatolian kingdom of Lydia survive. Only a few dozen of these are of significant length and reasonably complete. All thus far have been found in the confines of Lydia, and all but a handful in the ancient capital of Sardis.

Except for a few short inscriptions on coins, some of which may be as old as the eighth century, our Lydian texts date from the fifth and fourth centuries and are thus roughly contemporaneous with our Lycian material.

So far as we can understand them, most of the longer Lydian texts are dedicatory in nature, and indeed mainly funerary. There are a few that appear to be decrees dealing with the granting of privileges or with property settlements. It is noteworthy that several of the texts are in verse, with a fairly rigid meter (based on word accent) and vowel assonance in the last word of each line.

There is one short bilingual text in Lydian and Aramaic that gave the first entry into the language, but we still lack a Lydian-Greek bilingual of any significant length. For this reason, our understanding of Lydian lags behind that of the other Anatolian languages mentioned above. We can for the most part analyze the grammatical structure with some assurance, but our grasp of the vocabulary remains vague.

Lydian clearly shares certain innovations with the rest of the Anatolian subgroup, and several specifically with the other western languages Lycian and Luwian. However, in many respects, it is unique among the Anatolian family. Given the relatively late date of its appearance and our limited comprehension of the language, we cannot yet determine whether the differences in its structure are due to archaisms preserved

only here or to a long series of prehistoric innovations. In either case, Lydian certainly did share in the prehistoric developments of Common Anatolian. The idea that Lydian appears in Asia Minor as the result of a separate development from that of the other Anatolian languages is erroneous. (See also "Croesus of Sardis and the Lydian Kingdom of Anatolia" in Part 5, Vol. II.)

Pisidian, Sidetic, and Carian

We must also make mention of three more languages of southwestern Anatolia that almost certainly belong to the Anatolian group of Indo-European languages. First, our evidence for Pisidian consists of some thirty-odd tomb inscriptions from northern Pisidia, located in southwestern Anatolia. These contain only names of the tomb occupants and patronymics, and date from roughly the second and third centuries CE.

For Sidetic, the language of Side, a city on the coast of Pamphylia, we have even less evidence: six inscriptions, all but one apparently dedicatory in nature, dating from the third century BCE, and a few older monograms on coins from the fifth and fourth centuries.

Texts in the native language of Caria, in the extreme southwest, are more extensive but widely scattered in space and time. We have a single fragmentary Greek-Carian funerary text from Athens from the end of the sixth century BCE. There are several inscriptions, also chiefly funerary, from Caria itself dating from the fourth and third centuries, as well as a few coins from the fifth century. The most extensive Carian texts come from Egypt, where there were several colonies of Carian immigrants. Dating from the seventh to the fourth century, most are funerary texts on stone, but there are a few dedicatory inscriptions on other objects and several graffiti.

Decipherment of the Carian script has been difficult and controversial. John Ray has at last established the values of some of the signs on an objective basis, using Egyptian renderings of Carian names. His work has confirmed some earlier proposals and refuted others. Much remains to be done. (See also "Soldiers to Pharaoh: The Carians of Southwest Anatolia" in Part 5, Vol. II.)

Despite the fragmentary and problematic evi-

dence, we can already affirm that Pisidian, Sidetic, and Carian are Indo-European Anatolian languages, on the strength of one highly characteristic construction: the use of the relational adjective to mark possession cited above for Luwian. The Anatolian languages use two suffixes for this purpose. The more widespread of these had an original shape **-āssō/ī-* (the asterisk marks a hypothetical, reconstructed form). We thus find in Hieroglyphic Luwian *Halparuntiyas Laramassis nimuwitsas*, "Khalparuntiya, of Larama son," where *Laramassis* shows the suffix in the animate nominative singular, agreeing with the possessed noun *nimuwitsas*, "son," and the son's name, *Halparuntiyas*.

In Lycian, where original *s* becomes *h* between vowels and disappears at the end of a word, the above pattern appears as *Kudali Tshuhriyah tideymi*, "Kudali, of Tshuhri son" (*-ah* < **-āssōs*). Similarly, in Pisidian we find as a tomb inscription *Musita Tas*, "Musita, (son) of Ta." Here, as in Lycian, the original final *-s* of the nominative singular has been lost in both noun and adjective, and the final unaccented vowel of the latter has also been deleted, but the new final *-s* of *Tas* clearly continues the original double *-ss-* of the Anatolian adjectival suffix. The same pattern is repeated in Sidetic, as in *poloniw pordors*, "Apollonius, (son) of Apollodoros," and in Carian, as in *uksmu lkorś*, "Uksmu, (son) of Lkor," where the symbol *ś* indicates that the result of original double *-ss-* is somehow different from ordinary single *s*.

The other suffix used for the relational adjective contained an *-l-*. This is seen in Lydian, as in *es wanas maneliš aluliš*, "This tomb (is) of Mane, (son) of Alu" (the final nominative *-s* becomes *-š* in the last two words because of the preceding *i*). Carian also uses this suffix beside the continuant of **-āssō/ī-* given above.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF ANATOLIAN

The Anatolian languages (omitting Phrygian) share a number of innovative features that distinguish them from other subgroups of Indo-European languages. Some of these, particularly those involving the system of sounds or the syn-

tax, are too complex to be discussed here. I merely cite four brief examples.

First, the word for "me" has a *u*-vowel in the second syllable, apparently under the influence of the word for "thou/thee": Hittite *ammug*, Palaic suffixed *-mu*, Hieroglyphic Luwian (*a*)*mu*, Lycian, and Lydian *amu* after the model of Hittite *tug*, Palaic *tū*, and Hieroglyphic Luwian *tu-u* "thee."

Second, the Common Anatolian word for the demonstrative "that" is **obó-*, appearing as Hittite, Palaic, and Cuneiform Luwian *aba-*, Hieroglyphic Luwian (*a*)*ba-* Lycian *ebe-*, Lydian *pi-*, and perhaps Carian *ubi-*. In the last three languages, the meaning has shifted to "this."

Third, in Proto-Indo-European, "giving" and "taking" were viewed as parts of a single reciprocal act, one word for which was a verb **ay-*. In Anatolian, as elsewhere, societal changes brought a breakdown in the notion of reciprocity, and "give" and "take" became opposing ideas. The new Anatolian word for "give" as opposed to "take" was formed by adding an adverb **pe*, "away," to **ay-*. This is reflected in Hittite *pe/pi-*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *piya-*, Lycian *piye-*, Lydian *pi(d)-*, and indirectly in the Carian name *par-pyém-*.

Note that the first two examples are pronouns, where borrowing is unlikely, while the third involves a very specific shift in meaning combined with a particular formal device. All these cases thus surely reflect innovations of the Common Anatolian period.

Finally, Andrew Garrett has shown that the Anatolian languages develop "split ergativity," a feature of syntax by which grammatically inanimate nouns enter into quite a different system of relations with verbs than animate nouns do: for example, they must be marked with a distinctive inflectional ending when they function as agents (as in "The water washes the roof").

Developments since the 1960s, including the discovery of crucial multilingual texts, have only recently brought our understanding of the Anatolian languages other than Hittite to the point where we can begin serious comparative study of this subgroup. Further investigation will surely reveal much more about their structure and relationship to each other as well as to the rest of Indo-European and to neighboring unrelated languages.

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SEE ALSO *The Decipherment of Ancient Near Eastern Scripts* (Part 1, Vol. I); *Less-Understood Languages of Ancient Western Asia* (Part 9, Vol. IV); and *Resurrecting the Hittites* (Part 11, Vol. IV).