

Conclusions to Volume 2

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First-millennium Anatolia represents a very complex and articulated area, both linguistically and historically. Several cultures seem to have emerged, resulting in written traditions and sociolinguistic scenarios that interacted with each other in complex ways.

In the Anatolian mainland, Syro-Anatolian or Neo-Hittite principalities, inheriting Hittite cultural traits, engaged in a quadripartite cultural and political interaction with Assyria, Phrygia and Urartu. By contrast, in Central Anatolia there is no uncontroversial evidence that Luwian hieroglyphic literacy re-emerged or was re-introduced before the early 8th century BCE. The southeastern part of this area entered the sphere of Assyrian political action around the mid-9th century after the campaigns by Shalmaneser III in the region known from Assyrian sources as Tabal. During the second half of the 8th century, Phrygia also entered the international scene.

The case of northern Syria is quite different. Based on the linguistic evidence, the defining feature of this area is the interference between Luwian and Semitic languages, especially Aramaic and Phoenician, which created a diverse cultural continuum broadly enclosed between Assyria, the Taurus mountains and the upper Orontes valley. This area was home to some of the earliest attested Syro-Anatolian polities, namely Karkemiš on the Euphrates and the partly mysterious and much-fabled kingdom of Palastin in northern Syria. Cilicia was another area of complex cultural interactions, possibly involving all the linguistic milieus that we addressed in this volume, with the presence of Luwian, Phoenician and perhaps (allegedly and quite debatably) Greek.

Moving westwards, western Anatolia is a complex and fascinating area of interface, with civilizations that were part of the Anatolian cultural and linguistic network and, at the same time, co-existed with the Aegean world during both the second and the first millennium BCE. The best known among the late polities is the kingdom of Lydia, with its capital city Sardis, for which we possess historical information that pre-date the Achaemenid conquest. Other areas, such as the Lycian region, emerge later in the sources, and their textual production reflects even more the complex features of the Aegean-Anatolian interface during the ages of Persia and the Hellenistic stage.

Turning to linguistic data, we tried to organize this volume in a fashion that attempts to reflect the complexity of the geo-historical scene. The first part

was dedicated to Anatolia and Syro-Anatolia, with the identification of areas of interference between Anatolian and Semitic.

First of all, we have the case of Cilicia, where Luwian mostly interacted with Phoenician, while the sociolinguistic role of Greek, in spite of some optimistic scholarly reconstructions, still appears very meager. Nevertheless, Cilicia interestingly behaves as a very specific area: moving eastwards, one encounters Zincirli/Sam'al, that presents a different sociolinguistic panorama, featuring a complex interaction between at least five different varieties or languages (Luwian, Phoenician, Sam'alian, Old Aramaic, and the peculiar Aramaic dialect of the *KTΜW* stele). The rest of the Syro-Anatolian area is strongly polarized: the Tabal region does not show significant traces of Semitic interference, at least for the Middle Iron Age, while the rest of Syria presents different cases of Luwo-Aramaic contact, with syntactic interference possibly at work in some southern texts from Hama.

Language contact with West Semitic also concerns the other Anatolian languages of the later first millennium, spoken in areas that were part of the Achaemenid Empire, in which Aramaic was one of the official languages. And, of course, Anatolian languages of the first millennium are also the bridging point between the two parts of the volume, because of their extensive contacts with Greek, which brings us to the problem of the Western interface.

While we tried to also provide a study of the interferences between Greek and the Western Anatolian languages (mostly, but not exclusively, Lycian and Lydian), the analysis of the Aegean world moved on different paths as well. The problem of the sociolinguistic contacts during second millennium BCE is discussed from two different perspectives. Firstly, we considered the Pre-Greek hypothesis, which turned out to be quite problematic as it is treated inconsistently by different scholars. Secondly, we proceeded to examine the contacts between Mycenaean and Anatolian peoples, which, while historically certain, do not seem to have generated much evidence for direct language interference. The situation changed, of course, during the first millennium, when Western Anatolia became an area of intensive co-existence of Greeks and locals, with a rich circulation of loanwords and *Wanderwörter*, which can be found in direct sources, or in secondary sources such as the collection of glosses by the classical and late antique scholars (as we argued, however, one should be cautious when using the latter, indirect kind of evidence). Cases of possible grammatical interference emerge only occasionally both in monolingual and in bilingual materials, although it is often impossible to establish if they reflected a true change in the language or if we are dealing with cases of translationese.

When comparing the results of this second volume with those published in the first one (Giusfredi, Matessi, and Pisaniello 2023), the impression is that the

evidence for sociolinguistic interference is, for the full and late first millennium, significantly richer. This may, of course, be a case of documentation bias. In other words, it may simply depend on the larger number of corpora and on the extension of the alphabetic Greek one (as opposed to a Bronze Age situation that was necessarily centered around the Hittite archives). But it is not impossible that the intensification of language contact was, in fact, also a true historical tendency. One should indeed consider the growth of long-distance trades and the birth of structured superregional empires such as the Neo-Assyrian and the Achaemenid ones. It seems quite reasonable to conclude that the lively circulation of loanwords or *Wanderwörter* in the East Aegean area or the diffusion of Semitic languages, at least in the written medium, to regions in which they were not present before, may also depend on a lively network of long-distance connections between what, with conventional labels that should certainly be revised, we still call the East and the West.