

## Ancient Anatolian languages and cultures in contact: some methodological observations<sup>1</sup>

In this paper, we will review the methodological and theoretical frameworks that have been developed to deal with the study of language contact and linguistic areas. We have tried to apply these methods to ancient contexts to check the existence of conditions for identifying language areas. Finally, we will provide examples of the combined linguistic and cultural-historical approach to ancient contact areas for phenomena in reciprocal direction, with particular reference to the case of the Aegean and Ancient Near Eastern context of Ancient Anatolia.

*Keywords:* Anatolian languages, language contact, cuneiform, cultural contact, linguistic areas.

### 1. Language contact, linguistic area and other related concepts

In the last years, several scholars have discussed the contact between Ancient Anatolian languages and some neighboring ones, including Greek and a number of Ancient Near Eastern ones, as indicative of a “linguistic area”, due to the fact that more general cultural contact between language groups is a sign of the presence of linguistic areas. In order to successfully assess these approaches, it is appropriate to take into consideration the linguistic framework of reference.

In the 1920s, Trubetzkoy (1928)<sup>2</sup> proposed the expression *Sprachbund*, “language league”, to describe the fact that unrelated languages could converge at the level of their structures following intense contact. He took as example the almost prototypical area of the Balkans. The concept of *Sprachbund* has been coined to underline the evidence that languages can share similarities even though they are not genetically related. In this sense, Trubetzkoy suggested that the different languages of the southern Balkans showed grammatical resemblances that could not be attributed to shared genealogical heritage, but must be due to convergence.<sup>3</sup> Grammatical correspondence in structure, not phonetic form, and relative paucity of shared basic vocabulary were the features of such a *Bund*. As regards the scientific background, it should also be mentioned that, already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some proposals within the cultural anthropology defined cultural areas, known as *Kulturkreis*; consider for instance Frobenius 1898, further developed in Graebner 1905.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Trubetzkoy’s concept of *Sprachbund* coined in 1928 in *Proposition 16* was modeled on Russian языковой союз (*yazykovoy soyuz*, “language union”).

<sup>3</sup> See V. Chirikba 2008: 26, who mentioned in this context also Baudouin de Courtenay (1904) and Schuchardt (1928: 212).

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear whether these ideas, later known under the rubric of cultural diffusionism, influenced linguistics at the time, but it is clear that later work on linguistic areas by scholars in the United States (Sherzer 1976,

One decade later Jakobson (1938: 353) emphasized that the languages in a linguistic area possess ‘remarkable resemblances’ among one another in syntax or morphology, while language families share common grammatical morphemes and words that indicate genetic heritage from a common ancestor. Weinreich (1958), the father of contact-linguistics, proposed the expression “convergence area” focusing on the geographical dimension of the phenomenon, which appears to be similar to the later “linguistic area” rather than to the more language-oriented label of *Sprachbund*.<sup>5</sup> As the notion of “linguistic area” was further developed, a number of definitional and theoretical issues came up, eliminating the possible difference between the concepts of *Sprachbund* and linguistic area. During most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the view arose that there were regions which showed as linguistic areas and others which did not. Since the early work of Trubetzkoy, a number of other regions were unveiled, in which contact between languages has led to convergence, and the general field of areal linguistics has developed accordingly.<sup>6</sup>

Nowadays, “linguistic areas” are defined<sup>7</sup> as social spaces (regions, countries, (sub-)continents) in which languages from different families have influenced each other significantly, leading to striking or remarkable structural resemblances across genealogical boundaries. This definition is used as a synonym to the former expression *Sprachbund*. According to Aikhenvald’s definition (2006: 11–12 but cf. also Velten 1943 and Emeneau 1956), we would have no difference between a linguistic area and a *Sprachbund*.<sup>8</sup> Campbell (1985: 26–29) provides an extensive survey of the literature on defining a linguistic area. It is also noteworthy that Joseph (1999), discussing the Balkan *Sprachbund*, wrote in footnote 3: “I use *Sprachbund* as a technical term rather than any of its clumsy and infelicitous possible translations such as “linguistic union” or “language league”; “linguistic area” is sometimes used in English, but “convergence area” probably comes closest to being a suitably apt term.”

At the beginning of the 1990s awareness grew that many linguistic patterns and features, both typological and historical, could and should be studied from an areal perspective. This areal shift led to a reconceptualization of many of the issues involved in areal linguistic studies. Even though the notion of “linguistic area” has been criticized in the strict sense, the areal perspective keeps gaining ground in the study of the distribution of linguistic features. “Con-

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cited under North America) was very much influenced by parallel work on culture areas (Kroeber 1939). See also Friedman 2000.

<sup>5</sup> Weinreich (1979: 1) recognizes the origin of language contact and of the language contact-induced linguistic change in the bi- or multilingual individual. To this regard, we affirm that some authors use the term grammatical replication, rather than borrowing. This is a distinction that was proposed by Weinreich, when he used the term “borrowing” for the transfer of substance or “matter, is, phonological or phonetic material or sound-meaning elements like loanwords and so on. “Replication,” by contrast, concerns “patterns,” structure, or meaning without phonetic substance.

<sup>6</sup> Trubetzkoy (1931: 233–234) clearly stated that a possible model of explanation such as the substrate theory or the “influence of a leading language” should not be employed too hastily. The idea of mechanisms of borrowing (even deep grammatical ones) was not unknown to him. Many contemporary authors do not speak directly of “language contact”, but prefer the general terms “loan”, “convergence”, “diffusion”, to clear the mechanism of diffusion of features in areas.

<sup>7</sup> Linguistic Areas (Rik van Gijn, Pieter Muysken, 2016, LAST MODIFIED: 30 August 2016, DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780199772810-0133, last view 07.06.2018.

<sup>8</sup> Aikhenvald 2006: 11f.: “a linguistic area (or *Sprachbund*) is generally taken to be a geographically delimited region including languages from at least two language families, or different subgroups of the same family, sharing traits, or combinations thereof, most of which are not found in languages from these families or subgroups spoken outside the area [...]. The stronger linguistic areas are those whose shared traits can be shown to be diffused — and cannot be ascribed to a common ancestor, to chance or to universals.”

vergence” is the result of the diffusion of the phenomena that spread out through language contact. Friedman (2000) provided historical background on Trubetzkoy’s sources and on the development of the concept in 20<sup>th</sup>-century linguistics and, due to the discovery of more and more linguistic areas worldwide, the topic has generated a vast literature. As regards the necessity to define the diagnostic traits that designate a linguistic area, we share the so-called “circumstantialist” approach<sup>9</sup> by a “listing approach” of factors, and we note that each effort to define what constitutes a feature can be very complex. In particular there is much debate about what specific criteria must be fulfilled in order for the term “linguistic area” to be justified.<sup>10</sup>

While earlier approaches were mostly structural and historical, recent works in areal linguistics try to give an answer to the questions how languages actually converge and what are the mechanisms promoting or blocking this type of convergence. Therefore, it is worth to notice that languages do not converge by themselves. It is the unconscious behavior of speakers, their bilingualism, or more generally the mechanism of contact between (geographically contiguous) speakers that produces this effect. Schaller (2012: 206) underlines in the same way the importance of a speakers community which provides this contact.<sup>11</sup>

If, however, it is possible to define a linguistic area on the base of multiple shared features and of social circumstances of speaker contacts that facilitate convergence, it is still difficult to agree in deciding which features count. This fact explains why each research has to set up a list of shared traits for each area and to specify the number of languages that are involved. To this regard, we note that Thomason (2001) wrote in her *Introduction*: “subsuming two-language contact situations under the rubric ‘linguistic area’ would mean that almost every contact situation in the world that involves significant structural interference would be a linguistic area; and although there are important similarities between interference in two-language contact situations and interference in more complex contact situations, there are also important differences.” For this interpretation, we refer further to Friedman (2006: 657): “[...] a sprachbund is understood as [...] different languages sharing grammatical and lexical developments that result from language contact rather than a common ancestral source”, and, again (Friedman 2006: 669): “Although the lexicon is the most salient surface manifestation of linguistic influence, words can travel between languages without the aid of communal multilingualism, whereas the diffusion or convergence of grammatical structures is a more complex process that requires at least a core community of bi- or multilingual speakers”.

The research question we would like to address in the next pages is to what extent and with what limitations we may apply these concepts and definitions to the case of contact-scenarios of the ancient world, with special focus on the case of pre-classical Anatolia.

## 2. The main traits of a linguistic area

As a next step, we need to proceed by comparison and examine some more or less established examples of linguistic areas by looking at their definitions and characterizations based on the number of languages, on the number and type of shared features, as well as to outline the

<sup>9</sup> S. Campbell 1985: 26–29.

<sup>10</sup> Recent summaries of the problems include Dahl 2001, Thomason 2001, Stolz 2002, Campbell 2006, Matras / Sakel 2007.

<sup>11</sup> “Unter bestimmten historischen, sozialen, kulturellen und vergleichbaren Bedingungen und als Ergebnis von sprachlichen bzw. ethnokulturellen wechselseitigen Kontakten können Sprachgruppen entstehen, die als „Sprachbund“ bezeichnet werden.”

methodology used to identify a *Sprachbund* (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, Matras 2009), in order to check if these parameters can be extended to the Anatolian situation.

When reading some statements about the Ancient Anatolian region, especially as regards the Aegean interface, as constituting a proper “linguistic area”, it becomes immediately evident that such a concept should be defined based on both geographical and chronological parameters before trying to evaluate the *comparanda* in the right way. Thus, the emergence of a linguistic area is particularly striking when it includes languages belonging to genealogically unrelated groups (as in the case of South Asia), but this is not a necessary feature even to identify a *Sprachbund*. The Balkan languages, for instance, are all Indo-European, but they belong to different groups within Indo-European (Romance, Slavic, Greek, Albanian), and not all languages of these groups belong to the Balkan linguistic area. Therefore, virtually no one questions the validity of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. The situation, though, is always quite complicated if one deals with genetically related languages, because, the closer they are to each other, the more we have to consider the (possible) parallel independent developments (also explainable on the typological level), or the presence of common inherited features, or, again, a genetic common development (in a proto-historical time) such as a shared feature, or, finally and as a sort of last resort, the existence of contact-induced shared structures.

In this sense, it is necessary to clearly define a set of parameters, including: how many languages have to be involved, how many structures have to be shared, and, again, what kind of structures make up what we wish to label as a linguistic area. As a final step, in order to successfully apply the methodology to the ancient world, we need to analyse the historical information and the *corpora* in order to understand what kind of relation existed between the languages (i.e. *substratum*, *superstratum*), and, last but not least, to investigate the direction of the change.

In order to describe areal similarities, in section §1 we have tried to review some statements by those authors who, in the last decades, tried to define the concepts of “linguistic area” and “language league” as well as the different types of language contact. In the next pages, we will instead consider some literature dealing with concrete analysis of some of these settings. According to Haspelmath (2001b: 1492), a linguistic area can be recognized *ex negativo* “when a number of geographically contiguous languages share structural features which cannot be due to retention from a common proto-language and which give these languages a profile that makes them stand out among the surrounding languages. There is thus no minimum number of languages that a linguistic area can comprise.”<sup>12</sup>

Before listing and discussing some of the so-called shared traits between the Anatolian and the Greek linguistic systems beyond lexicon (cf. below, section §3), it is important to provide a frameset of the main traits of shared features that may or may not define a linguistic area. Schapper (2015)<sup>13</sup> provided a useful outline, according to which there would, indeed, be broad agreement about the features that define a robust linguistic area: *distinctiveness*, *consistency*, *demarcation* of features, and, occasionally and even though genealogical unrelatedness is not obligatory, also *cross-familial presence*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A similar definition is to be found in earlier works like those by Campbell, Kaufmann & Smith-Stark, 1986; Emeneau 1956; Sherzer 1973.

<sup>13</sup> Schapper (2015) introduces new parameters and features.

<sup>14</sup> “*Distinctiveness*. Accidental similarity between languages can occur where a feature is cross-linguistically widespread and sharing such a feature does not necessarily signal any kind of historical connection between languages. Worldwide some linguistic features are common, while others are rare. As such, a feature that frequently occurs outside of a linguistic area has lower distinctiveness and accordingly provides weaker evidence for a linguistic area. The rarer a feature is cross-linguistically the higher its distinctiveness and the greater its value in defining a linguistic area.

In the following table, we try to get more to the point and to sketch the distribution of some of the main traits in the history of the discussion about the concept of linguistic area, as they were outlined in the previous pages:

Table 1. Relevant areal features according to some influential scholars.

Features	Sapir 1921	Boas 1929	Trubetzkoy 1928, 1931	Greenberg 1953	Nichols 1992, 2003	Croft 2005
Phonetic units <sup>15</sup>	+	+				
Sound correspondences				+		
Lexical units	+	+	+			
Morphological units	-	+	+			
Grammatical units	-	+	+	+		
Form-only-criteria						+
Meaning-only-criteria				+		
Head/dependent-marking					+	
Alignment					+	

The table represents only a selection of significant contributions in the discussion on the intriguing topic on how to define a linguistic area. It is important to notice that the considered traits or parameters have changed over time. The breaking perspective is to be found in the interpretation of convergent similarities in the correspondence of categories, not in their (mor-

*Consistency.* Innovative linguistic features do not spread among the languages of a linguistic area evenly; some features spread farther than others, and if the feature originates in different places within the area there will inevitably be different patterns of spread. As such, not all languages within a linguistic area need exhibit all the features that are said to define the area. However, the higher the consistency with which languages in an area display a feature, the stronger the support for the area provided by that feature. Conversely, a feature displayed by a smaller proportion of languages in an area has lower consistency and provides weaker evidence for the area than do those of higher consistency.

*Demarcation.* Shared structural features that characterize a particular linguistic area do not have to be confined to the area. This is for two reasons. Firstly, a language may have a feature that is inherited from an earlier ancestral language and this feature may be still present in its sister languages outside the area. In that case, the feature is obviously not confined to the linguistic area, but may be still used as diagnostic of the linguistic area as long as it can be shown to have spread widely from the first language(s), which had inherited the feature to other unrelated languages in the area. Secondly, speakers of some languages within a linguistic area are likely to have contacts beyond the boundaries of the area, and by that means there may be some restricted diffusion of the features to languages outside the area. So, the clearer the demarcation a feature shows within a linguistic area (that is the less leakage beyond the area), the stronger the support for the area provided by that feature.

*Cross-familial presence.* The languages in a linguistic area need not be unrelated. However, with related languages, distinguishing changes due to drift from changes due to contact may be very difficult. Where languages are unrelated, it is easier to establish which features are the result of borrowing and diffusion rather than inheritance. It follows that the more unrelated families a feature appears in, the clearer it is that the feature has diffused and the better it is as a diagnostic for area.”

<sup>15</sup> The members of a *Sprachbund* can fulfill the criteria of cogency (e.g. systematic correspondence of sounds) only in part, or in some cases not at all. Birnbaum (1965: 13) offered here more precise observations and considers the belonging of more languages of a *Sprachbund* to a same family as irrelevant, in case that “(dass), diejenigen strukturellen Züge, welche sie gerade als Mitglieder jenes Sprachbundes kennzeichnen, nicht auf der genetischen Verwandtschaft beruhen.”

phological) form, as it was postulated first by Greenberg. Greenberg describes four possible sources to identify the source of similarities in form–meaning pairings in the languages involved, for the method of language classification. Two of them are non-historical and two are historical (Greenberg 2001: 133). The two non-historical sources are accident (chance), which Greenberg calls ‘convergence’, and (sound) symbolism. The two historical sources are borrowing and common origin, the last being the goal of a genetic classification of languages. To this regard, we will focus on some observations by Croft as the editor of Greenberg’s *Genetic Linguistics*, who points out in the *Introduction* (2005: XIX) some relevant parameters to identify the differences between borrowings and inherited traits, like: “borrowing of cultural vocabulary [being] more likely than borrowing of core vocabulary”, “degree of similarity” of the shared forms, identification of a “single source of borrowing”, “semantic clustering” of shared structures in specific areas of the lexicon, “special sound correspondences” and “grammatical analyzability” indicating borrowing from the source language.

Coming to another parameter in the Table 1, we illustrate some examples of “form-only criteria”, quoted later by Croft (2005: xxiii), as for instance the availability of similar phonemes or classes of phonemes, the use of suffixes or prefixes, the order of the words, etc. On the contrary, “meaning-only-criteria” are for instance the similarities in the genre-classes of nouns or in the tense and aspect systems of the verbs, or the substitution of the infinitive through dependent clauses introduced by different conjunctions. As far as Greenberg’s position is concerned, the following quotation is illuminating (Greenberg 2005: 7–8): “Resemblance in meaning only is frequently the result of convergence through limited possibilities. Important and universal aspects of human experience, such as the category of number or a system of classification based on sex or animacy in the noun or one of tense or aspect in the verb, tend to appear independently in the most remote areas of the world and can never be employed as evidence for a historical connection.”

The parameters have been enlarged extending them to detailed analysis of other areas, like in Nichols (1992) or in Matras (2007). The set of parameters is thus expanded according to Nichols 1992: 254f.<sup>16</sup>

It remains, however, a general question to be answered: what traits (phonological / phonetic, morphologic, etc.) should be preferred, in other words what traits better predict whether an intense linguistic exchange has taken place or takes place? Are there traits that are more evident than others, for instance because they are more difficult to borrow or because they are particularly infrequent? How can we distinguish between shared and inherited traits?

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<sup>16</sup> “Where interactions among these features are concerned, head/dependent marking has the greatest autonomy and the greatest ability to predict other features: it influences complexity (dependent marking is associated with high complexity), alignment (dependent marking is associated with ergative alignment, head marking with stative-active and hierarchical), and word order (verb-initial order is associated with head marking, absence of a basic word order with absence of dependent marking, and verb-medial and verb-final order with dependent marking). Ergativity and high complexity are associated; this is the only universal correlation not involving head/dependent marking, and even it may be an incidental result of the association of both ergativity and high complexity with dependent marking. Head/dependent marking is correlated with alienable/inalienable possession (head-marking morphology, especially nominal morphology, strongly favors inalienable possession), noun-classes (outlier languages are likely to have head-marking morphology), plurality neutralization (head-marking languages are likely to have plurality neutralization), case (by definition), and perhaps nonfinite verbs. Alignment has some association with gender classes and (indirectly) inalienable possession, and clear association with some aspects of valence-changing morphology. While head/dependent marking has the greatest grammatical autonomy and is the best structural predictor, alignment has the greatest genetic stability. All features surveyed here have sufficient stability and persistence of one kind or another to make them useful as typological markers.”

In order to better assess the possible patterns of areas involving ancient Anatolia, which will be discussed in sections §§ 3–4, it is wise to briefly check the consistency of the theoretical models outlined above against the parameters established for a well-known area, the Standard Average European one (SAE).

The parameters of SAE-features listed by Haspelmath (2001: 1492) are the following ones:

- 1) definite and indefinite articles,
- 2) postnominal relative clauses with inflected, resumptive relative pronouns,
- 3) a possessive perfect (“have”-perfect) formed with “have” plus a passive participle,
- 4) a preponderance of generalizing predicates to encode experiencers,
- 5) a passive construction formed with a passive participle plus an intransitive copula-like verb,
- 6) a prominence of anticausatives in inchoative-causative pairs,
- 7) dative external possessors,
- 8) verbal negation with a negative indefinite,
- 9) particle comparatives in comparisons of inequality,
- 10) equative constructions based on adverbial-relative clause structures,
- 11) subject person affixes as strict agreement markers, and
- 12) differentiation between intensifiers (“emphatic reflexives”) and reflexive pronouns.<sup>17</sup>

None of these criteria relies on lexical borrowing, and all of them belong to the sphere of form-meaning couples and, more specifically, they concern grammatical, morphological and syntactic patterns. Of course, the boundaries between features that are absorbed by language contact and genealogically inherited ones can be identified relatively well for those linguistic areas in which the (hypothetical) proto-languages of specific idioms are successfully reconstructed. Haspelmath (2001) faces, in this case an ideal situation, which made the identification of areal features relatively plain, as all members of his SAE-league are documented extensively and for a long period, and they are Indo-European, so that some data that regard the possible structure of Proto-Indo-European are actually available. Haspelmath (2001) can therefore prove in many cases that a feature is very likely an innovation with respect to former Proto-Indo-European structures.

If, on the other hand, one turned for instance to an alleged Anatolian-Greek area, the set of innovative features would be difficult to define because of the genealogical relationship between the Anatolian languages and Greek. Since there are no *a priori*-criteria that can be easily generalized for the declaration of a *Sprachbund*, our conclusion is that the common features need to be identified case by case. We conclude the methodological overview of this paper by recalling some of the key arguments that describe a convergence area in a more general fashion.

Weinreich (1958: 379), discussing the Caribbean and Balkan areas, simply spoke of languages that had undergone intense convergent development building a “convergence area”. The definitions by later authors are unclear and vague, but consistently underline some important points to differentiate the types of processes leading to similarities. Campbell et al. (1986: 530) state: “[...] linguistic areas are characterized by a number of linguistic features shared by various languages — some of which are unrelated, or are from different subgroups within a family [...]”, and Friedman adds that (2006: 657) “[...] a sprachbund is understood as two or more geographically contiguous and genealogically different languages [...]”.

Masica (1976: 3) also noted that “[...] linguistic areas — [are] zones within which the processes of convergence are seen to operate with special strength and urgency, presumably be-

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<sup>17</sup> This is not the only catalogue that has been proposed to define Europe’s linguistic unity; for a survey of alternative lists, see Heine and Kuteva 2006.

cause conditions — cultural, political, or whatever — have been particularly favorable for mutual fertilization among the languages within them.”

In order to characterize the origin of areal phenomena, and to distinguish them from other similar contact-patterns, the following considerations by McMahon, Matras, Vincent (2006: 669) can be very helpful, and we feel that they should also be regarded to as a fair description and summary of what should be looked for when a candidate linguistic area has been identified and needs to be investigated:

- The shared traits cannot be typical of the majority of languages of the world;
- The majority of the languages in the area should show the shared trait;
- Other branches of the language family to which the league-languages belong, or other neighboring languages should not show the shared trait;
- the trait must not be a very easy one to emerge in a language, in other words, marked structures count more;

After defining the theoretical framework and having provided a couple of examples from modern linguistic areas, it is now time to move to the problem of applying such a model to the object of study we are interested in: the case of ancient Anatolia. When comparing the observations made so far with the evidence we possess for language contact in antiquity, we will show that some traits that would not constitute conclusive evidence in the general framework have often been overemphasized. It will thus be clear why Calvert Watkins, a pioneer of the areal approach to the ancient Anatolian corpus languages, when speaking of an Anatolian-Greek area,<sup>18</sup> also affirmed: “The history in Indo-European, where the formation of diffusional linguistic areas is on the one hand relatively rapid (a matter of half a millennium or less), and on the other coexists with normal and relatively rapid genetic differentiations and the formation of species. I believe the Indo-European examples show that both contact-induced linguistic change (i.e. diffusion) and system-internally driven linguistic change can occur with equal abruptness and rapidity—thus both counting as ‘punctuation Language areas do not necessarily last, cf. second-millennium Anatolia, and note that the features diffused from Western Anatolian to Greek were not ‘areal’ features.” (Watkins 2001: 62).

### 3. Features of the Aegean interface area

Geographically speaking, Anatolia represented a bridge that connected the Aegean world to the Ancient Near East. Therefore, it is understandable that the interference between the languages of the Hittites and Luwians, on the one hand, and the languages of the Aegean, on the other, has received scholarly attention.

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<sup>18</sup> Focusing on the so-called Greek-Anatolian area, Calvert Watkins (2001) recently reintroduced the concept of *linguistic area* to describe some language relations in the Anatolian region that became evident after the recognition of the increasing importance of the Luwians and their relations to other people. The “Ahhiyawa question” and the clear relation between the Greek culture and Greek-Mycenaean world on the one hand, and the Anatolian one on the other go back to the nineteen-twenties. Kretschmer first, and then Forrer, sketched some aspects of the relationship between the two culture, especially as regards the onomastic and toponomastic systems. To this respect, the historical and archaeological debate that followed these discoveries may not be neglected, not only as regards the “Ahhiyawa” (Achaeans), but also on the identification of Wilusa, the state in North-West Anatolia, with Troy (see Heinhold-Krahmer 2013). Regardless of some problematic details, however, this scenario of certain cultural contacts provides the historical setting for possible language contacts in the area.



Still, before observing the features that emerge on the two sides of a putative Greek-Anatolian linguistic area and before considering the possible match with the expected shared features in contact-areas as outlined above in § 2, a couple of observations are in order even from a historical and geographical perspective. First of all, our understanding of the ancient world improves over time, and this is a fact that the study of language-contact as well as of any other specific aspect of antiquity may no longer neglect. In particular, since the 1960s the historical geography of pre-classical Anatolia and of the cultures and peoples that inhabited it has improved dramatically. We are now much more confident in understanding:

1. The rather small geographical limits of the diffusion of the Hittite language;
2. The approximate position and width of the cultures that spoke other Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages of Anatolia<sup>19</sup>;
3. The complex pattern of linguistic interference that must have existed starting with the age of the Old Assyrian colonies (cf. Goedegebuure 2008), resulting in the penetration of cultural (and linguistic?) elements in the Hittite Kingdom;
4. The importance and large diffusion of the different varieties of Luwian (and other Luvic languages) in Western and Southern Anatolia, that was still unrecognized in the studies published in the final decades of the 20th century;
5. The connection between the Anatolian cultures and the other cultures of the Ancient Near East (Hurrian language and culture, several Semitic ones), which from several perspectives outsizes the actually documented cultural connections between Anatolia and the West.

As for point 1, it is reasonable to assume that the Hittite language was originally spoken in a rather limited area located between Northern Cappadocia and the central course of the river Kızılırmak, an area that coincided with most of the one that hosted the Old Assyrian colonies prior to the formation of the Hittite Kingdom proper.<sup>20</sup> Obviously, in the centuries between 1600 and 1200 ca. BCE, the Hittite state became an increasingly influential kingdom and, eventually, an empire. Still, the Hittite language did not become an international language (except for the core Anatolian region),<sup>21</sup> and it was rather the other neighboring languages that influenced it both on the lexical and on the properly structural levels, with several attested reflexes of the Luvic lexicon and morpho(phono)logy and many “technical” loans (and translation calques) from Hurrian and from the Mesopotamian languages. It must be stressed that the two main Indo-European languages spoken in Hattuşa, Hittite and Luwian, tended to strongly converge at least locally in the Late Hittite period, and the existence of some kind of Standard Average Anatolian employed in the capital city of the Empire is quite conceivable. At the same time, as regards points 2 and 3 of the above list, our knowledge of the Luvic languages and cultures of Anatolia has improved dramatically. While Hittite was a rather limited language from the perspective of its geographical diffusion, the different varieties of Luwian, as analyzed in Yakubovich's extensive monograph (2010), were spoken in a very large area of Western and Southern Anatolia, from the Eastern coasts to Cilicia, where the so-called Luwian dialect of Kizzuwatna was in intense and morphologically productive contact with Hurrian.<sup>22</sup> These two

<sup>19</sup> Including the Luvic languages (Bronze and Iron age Luwian, Iron age Lycian A and B, Iron age Lydian, and a few minor languages by number of attestations, e.g. Carian, Sidetic, Pisidian; outside of the Anatolian group, Phrygian is also an Indo-European language of the Iron age that was spoken in the area).

<sup>20</sup> For a general overview on the period of the Assyrian colonies in Anatolia, see Bryce 2005, Chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>21</sup> In general, the *lingua franca* of the Ancient Near East, used in the international correspondence and in diplomacy, was Akkadian. In the Anatolian area proper, Hittite was indeed an official language of some importance, but the most widespread idiom was in all likelihood Luwian.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Yakubovich 2010, 48–53.

considerations evidently call for a methodological revision of several contact-related theories that have been proposed in the 20th century. In particular, these points can be exemplified by taking into consideration the evidence for contact phenomena at the Western frontiers of the Anatolian world. These will need to be compared with the criteria for the definition or areal scenarios as outlined above in § 1 and § 2.

After an initial review of the available literature, the hypotheses can be divided into two main groups. Hypotheses of direct Greek-Hittite contact must be stricken whenever they imply phenomena that go beyond the isolated lexical and phraseological events, because no geo-historical contiguity existed that can motivate league-like explanations.<sup>23</sup> Lexical loans certainly existed: these include culture-words or *termini technici* (e.g., Gr. *kyanos* “blueish pigment”: Hitt. *kuwannan-* “copper(?)”, cf. Giusfredi 2017); phraseological loans have always been identified (cf. Dardano 2013). However, these are non-systematic events that lie on Gusmani's (1986) microphenomenic level, and, in the case of literary *topoi*, they depend on cultural contact rather than on linguistic one. Structural phenomena, on the other hand, cannot be safely reconstructed. If one considers the geographical position of Luvic, the areal features discussed e.g. by Romagno (2016; we also add the extension of *-ske-* to non-present verbal stems, that will be rediscussed later in this paper) seem unlikely to be shared by Greek and Hittite because of contact:

Table 2. Putative Greek-Hittite shared features and Luwian, classified basing on the types as they were defined in § 2.

Type	Hittite	Luwian	Greek	Table 1 feature type
Assibilation prs3sg	affrication	No	Eastern only	Morphological units
Modal particles	yes	No	Yes	Grammatical units
Inanimate-only allative	yes	no allative	Yes	Form and meaning criteria
Absolute participle	yes	yes	Yes	Grammatical units
Past <i>-sk(e)-</i> forms	yes	different morpheme	Homer, rarely Herodotus	Morphological units

In general, it takes some commonsense to realize that all of these allegedly contact-shared phenomena admit other types of explanation, which should be preferred since the areal geo-historical situation makes systemic interference highly unlikely. As for the putative match of the Hittite 3 person singular present *-zi* and Eastern Greek *-si*, independent phonetic change should be assumed. The use of particles to express modality certainly exists in both Hittite and Greek, as shown by these examples, also quoted by Romagno (2016):

- [1] ma-a-an -uš            -kan    ṁḫu-uz-zi-ya-as    ku-en-ta  
 PTCL    they.ACC.PL    PTCL    Huzziyas.NOM    kill.PST3SG  
 nu    ut-tar            iš-du-wa-ti  
 CONN    thing.N/A.SG    be.known.MED.PST3SG  
 “Huzziya would have killed them, but the matter became known”<sup>24</sup>

- [2] τὸ γὰρ ἔξωμα στρατοπέδω οὐκ ἄν ἐτείχισαντο  
 the indeed wall.N/A.SG camp.GEN not PTCL build.AOR3PL  
 “indeed, they would not have built the wall for the camp”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For a very different approach that leads to opposite conclusions, cf. Romagno 2016.

<sup>24</sup> KBo 3.1+ ii 11f. Text in Hoffmann 1984.

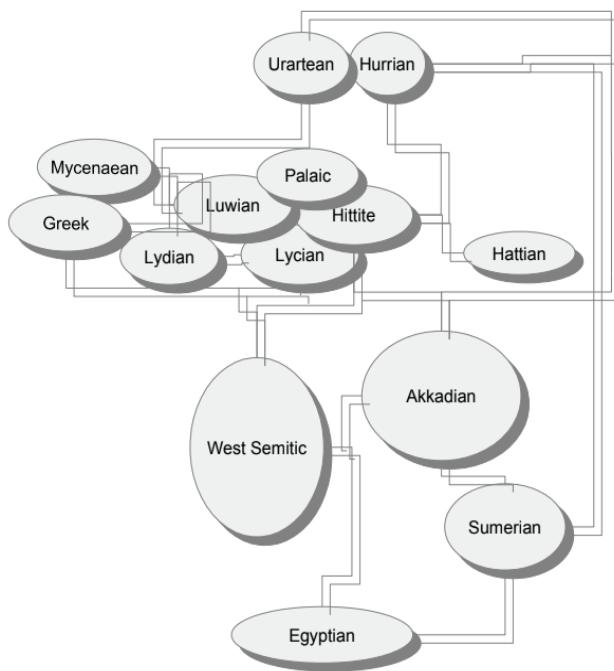
<sup>25</sup> *Thuc.* I, 11.1.

Still, this the presence of this kind of particles hardly an isolated feature inside the Indo-European, and it is also typologically quite common. Not uncommon are also the presence of inanimate-only allative (allative being a directional case) and the absolute use of the participle. As regards the presence of past *-sk(e)-* forms, we will argue later that this is probably a simple case of common morphological inheritance.

All these considerations make the case for a Greek-Hittite area of structural interference very weak,<sup>26</sup> no matter how tempting it is to assume that, in presence of historical contact, intensive cultural contacts must have taken place.

As a final methodological consideration on the cultural-historical side, indeed, it is always of the utmost importance not to confuse generic cultural contact — including the circulation of specific phraseologies and literary *topoi*, cultic and religious praxis, etc. — with language contact proper. Language and cultural contact imply each other in an asymmetric fashion, with the former implying the latter. Furthermore, even in case some hypothesized structural contacts that would have involved the Western cultures of Anatolia (that, unlike the Hittite ones, shared important geographical borders with the Aegean) appeared theoretically convincing, the single hypotheses would need to be very carefully assessed, to avoid an excess of confidence based on mere similarity. For instance, a connection between the Luwian “sentence particle” *-tar* and some Homeric words (*autar* and *atar*) has been proposed,<sup>27</sup> but the attempt was mostly based on the similarity of the segments, while the rather clear semantics of Luwian *-tar* — a second position Wackernagel particle that adds a directional and telic nuance to the sentence predicate — plays little or no role in the equation, which, therefore, becomes much less likely (cf. Giusfredi 2014 for further discussion; also Inglese 2017 with only a marginal attempt at supporting this putative connection).

#### 4. Generalized Pre-classical Anatolian Area and the ANE



The net of languages that played a role in the Anatolian cultural and linguistic environment in the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages can be defined as the set of languages that either are documented in the Anatolian archives or left a tangible trace of interference in the available corpora.

Apart from the Western peripheries — which, as stated above, and judging from the perspective of language interference, were in constant but rather loose linguistic and cultural contact with the Anatolian world — the context of this complex scenario is mostly Near Eastern and strongly connected with the other epigraphic communities of the Cuneiform *koinè*.

The Ancient Near Eastern cultures and languages that were involved in a complex net

<sup>26</sup> For similar conclusions on the putative Aegean-Hittite area, see also Hajnal 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Watkins 1995, 151; also Katz 2007; Dunkel 2008; Giusfredi 2014; Inglese 2017.

of contacts with the Anatolian ones are many: the genealogical affiliations of the languages, the cultural and political balances of the Mesopotamian, Syrian and peri-Anatolian worlds, the dark corners that we cannot explore because of the limits of the historical documentation, all contribute to producing a multivariate scenario. At the same time, any descriptive approach that tried to explore the peculiarities of single languages and cultures neglecting the very existence of loose boundaries, busy gateways and long-lasting *adstrata* would be destined to miss the target.

In general, the correct approach towards the study of ancient cultural and linguistic contacts, in Ancient Anatolia as in any other scenario, can be summarized as follows:

- no single direction should be over-emphasized: conventional boundaries, e.g. the East/West interface, are no historical objects, but rather *historiographic conventions*;
- as a consequence, every potential direction of contact should be assessed analytically: some may prevail by number of documented traces, other may be barely apparent, but an approximation should not imply neglecting the complexity of the object of study;
- the importance of nets of contact patterns should not be underestimated because a canon of sources privileges the hypothesis that a given culture or language was “dominant”;
- the importance of nets of contact patterns should not be overestimated because of some sort of scientific bias.

In the specific case of pre-classical Anatolia, the existence of contact patterns with the Aegean area is historically and linguistically proven;<sup>28</sup> on the other hand, it represented only one of the directions of cultural interference that involved the Hittite and Luvic world. From the perspective of language contact, while to some extent Bronze Age diplomatic practices required the Mycenaean and the Hittite world to be in contact with each other, in most cases the degree of linguistic interference has been exaggerated in the scientific literature. On the other hand, studies dedicated to the linguistic contact between pre-classical Anatolian and the neighboring Ancient Near Eastern cultures have received only moderate attention.

Nevertheless, the Bronze Age Anatolian cultures, and more precisely the one(s) that culminated with the Hittite kingdom, were in close relationship with a cultural *koiné* that included the Akkadian and Hurrian cultures of Mesopotamia and the Semitic ones of central and northern Syria. The very writing system and scribal tradition used by the Hittites derived from the (ultimately) Sumerian ones of southern Mesopotamia, mediated, in a still partly unclear fashion, by the Semitic world. Already in the formative phase of pre-Hittite Anatolia, when Old Assyrian colonies were established in Cappadocia (ca. XX–XVIII centuries BCE), the documents attest the existence of a complex net of cultural and linguistic borrowings (cf. Dercksen 2007; Goedegebuure 2008) that involved the Hittite, the Luwian, the Hattian and the Assyrian components of a varied demographics, with an impact on the linguistic scenario that still requires further investigation. Even later, during a mature historical phase of the Hittite kingdom, the Hurrian, Luwian and Akkadian components became more and more relevant, but in different specific ways, with Hurrian and Luwian influencing the Hittite religious culture and Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the ancient Near East affecting the Hittite scholarship and scribal code (on the Hittite-Akkadian relationship, cf. e.g. the works by Dardano

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<sup>28</sup> This is not the place to dwell on an exhaustive list of the sources, data and theories pertaining to the Aegean Anatolian cultural contacts. It will be sufficient to quote two recent works that contain reference to the relevant literature published in the past: Melchert (in press) on the Mycenaean-Hittite political contacts; Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011 for the historical sources and an overview on the Ahhiyawa problem.

2012). Also during the Iron ages, with a brand new political balance and cultural scenario, the cultures and languages of Anatolia maintained their position of a bridge between the Aegean and the Syro-Mesopotamian worlds, while the North-West Semitic cultures of the Phoenicians and of the Aramaeans also entered the scene.

Assuming the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the hellenization of Anatolia as the *terminus ante quem*, the correct perspective of a contact-oriented study of the Ancient Anatolian world needs to take as an object a large net of cultures that evolved and changed over almost 16 centuries of documentary history.

## 5. Anatolian and the neighbouring languages

As previously stated, lexical borrowings and micro-phenomenic interference phenomena are not enough to define a proper linguistic area, let alone a language league. While in the case of the contacts with the Aegean world the relative lack of data makes every possible information extremely evident (and potentially valuable), inside the cultural *koinè* of the Ancient Near East there is a large amount of documentation that requires to be examined. Still, even in the promising environment represented by the Ancient Near Eastern cultural and linguistic context of the Anatolian world, phenomena that go beyond the level of lexical interference have been only sparsely identified. This does not mean that interference areas did not exist: language contact was at work in several areas of the peri-Anatolian world. Most likely, however, the phenomena were generally localized, limited to specific interface areas, and looked more like multilingual towns or regions than like large areas comparable with the SAE. Apart from this, when dealing with pre-classical corpus languages, some further methodological criteria need to be spelled out and added to the identification of the features listed above in § 2. The issues that need to be resolved in each case are the following:

- Assessment of the systematicity of a given pattern in the affected corpora.
- For unsystematic contact-related events (evidence of contact that is limited to single documents): can they still be used to evaluate some aspects of the cultural and linguistic environment that produced them?
- For systematic contact-related events (regular events concerning Phonological, Morphological, Grammatical and Syntactic Units as outlined in § 2): if they occur in related, albeit different, languages, do they depend on contact, or is the possibility of typological convergence or inheritance from a common forefather not excluded?
- Do the patterns of interference really depend on linguistic contact, or are there other types of contact that may explain them, e.g. cultural contact, contact between literatures, epigraphic and graphemic contact between different epigraphic communities?

We will now proceed to illustrate these issues and the way they can be solved, using examples taken from documented cases of contacts between Anatolia and the surrounding cultures.

### 5.1. The Luwian-Hittite interference area during the Bronze Age

A systematic event in language contact should comply to all of the following parameters:

- 1) the change must involve a relevant feature as the ones outlined above in § 2, table 1;
- 2) the change must be apparent in the language, and not only in specific manifestation of diaphasic types (in other words, contact between literatures or ritual practices does not imply that loans, calques or larger structures were actually part of the *langue*);

- 3) the change must replicate specific sub-structures (a single substantive that changes theme to imitate the morphology of a model language is a micro-phenomenon; if the change targets a specific set of cases matching the mechanics of the model language, it is more likely to be systematic).

These requirements can be well illustrated by considering some features of the Luwian-Hittite bilingual environment that Yakubovich reconstructed when studying the sociolinguistics of Bronze age Luwian, using the texts from the archives of the Hittite capital city. In his monograph of Luwian, Yakubovich (2010, 358ff.), basing on previous work by Rieken (e.g. 1994, 2006), identified several possible indications of linguistic contact in the certainly multilingual and multicultural setting of Late Hittite Hattuša. One of them was the so-called *clitic reduplication*. While both Hittite and Luwian featured a left-periphery of the clause-architecture that contained a rigidly configurational chain of Wackernagel clitics (including quasi-connectors, informational markers, a direct-speech particle, pronouns and sentential adverbial particles), the order in which some specific clitic pronouns must appear is different in the two languages. In some Late Hittite documents (notably CTH 106, the treaties between Tudhaliyas IV and the kings of Tarhuntassa, 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE)<sup>29</sup> and in some Late Hittite copies of older texts (the laws, CTH 291–2)<sup>30</sup>, some scribes, evidently influenced by Luwian, or being native Luwian speakers themselves, wrote the clitic pronouns that had a different collocation in the chain in the two languages twice: once in the expected Hittite position, once in the slot they would occupy in Luwian.<sup>31</sup>

[3] *UL=at=si={y}a-at=kan2* ar-ha da-an-zi  
not=*it=her=it=PTCL* away take.PRS3PL  
“Don't they take *it <it>* away from her?”<sup>32</sup>

[4] *n=a-at=si={y}a-at* GAM-an *NI-EŠ* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> GAR-ru  
CONN=*it=him=it* under oath put.MED.IMP3SG  
“*It <it>* must be put under oath for him”<sup>33</sup>

This phenomenon would qualify as a case of contact-induced change involving grammatical units. However, while it certainly depends on the multilingual environment of the late capital city of the Hittite kingdom, its *systematicity* should be carefully evaluated. Apart from being sporadic, it regards single instances of mistaken management of a part of speech. As such, it may very well depend from the inaccurate competence of single scribes, who in all likelihood were Luwian speakers. This does not imply that a change occurred in the Hittite spoken by Hittite native speakers.

While one may argue that this problem exists for every possible trace of contact in the documentation of a corpus-language, there are cases in which the true impact of a change appears much more likely. Drawing once again from the observations made by Rieken (1994) and Yakubovich (2010) on the Hittite-Luwian multilingualism and interference in the Late Hittite phase, it is appropriate to mention two other cases of contact-induced change: the extension of the *i*-mutation from Luwian to Hittite and the simplification of the paradigm of the Hit-

<sup>29</sup> Texts in Otten 1988; Van den Hout 1995. Other cases – some of which graphemically problematic – are sparsely attested in other texts, generally datable to the imperial age (cf. Yakubovich 2010, 358ff.).

<sup>30</sup> Text in Hoffner 1997.

<sup>31</sup> Rieken 1994 and 2006; Yakubovich 2010.

<sup>32</sup> KBo 4.10 obv. 8. Text in Van den Hout 1995: 100ff.

<sup>33</sup> KUB 26.12 obv. 43. Text in Miller 2013: 282ff.

tite noun with loss of the morphological opposition between nominative and accusative. Both belong to the category of contact-induced change affecting morphological units.

Summarizing in a few words the results of decades of studies, one may describe the Luwian *i*-mutation as a morphological change that turned the thematic vowel of the nominative and accusative *generis communis* of Luwian *a*-stems into an */i/*; it also affected consonantal stems by addition of a thematic */i/*. This change, regular and systematic in Luwian, is correlated with the *a/i*-thematic shift in Late Hittite (Rieken 1994) and was very likely a case of influence of Luwian on Hittite. From a cognitive perspective it probably depended on a reanalysis of the thematic vowel as a part of the proper ending of the most frequently employed cases of the inflection (nominative and accusative), and on an extension of the reanalysed ending to regularize the paradigms.

As for the lack of opposition between nominative and accusative in some Late Hittite forms, it is a consequence of the non-opposition of the two cases in the Luwian paradigm, that made the nominal endings of the common gender substantives interchangeable in Hittite as well.

These forms of influence of the Luwian nominal system on the Hittite one are significantly different from the case of clitic reduplication. First of all, while the changes are not compulsory for all nouns, their extension to Hittite seems to be more widespread. Furthermore, their integration in the language system seems to be proven by the fact that also in Hittite the selected themes and cases for the shifts are, indeed, the same as in Luwian. This is what is meant here when referring to the regular replication of (sub-)structures.

## 5.2. Syntactic similarities in Near Eastern bilingual documents: the Hurro-Hittite bilinguals and a Greek-Phoenician one in early Hellenistic Cyprus

In some cases, features that may be induced by contact emerge in specific documents that remain isolated inside of a corpus. This type of patterns, which I would define as “document-level” types of interference, is especially frequent in the bilingual or multilingual inscriptions and monuments. Contrary to the traditional approaches, not all multilingual texts should be studied by trying and identifying the “original version” as opposed to the “copy” or “translation”. Bilingual and multilingual documents are very different from each other, and their nature depends on the context and way of composition. If we consider, for instance, the Hurro-Hittite bilingual, the question for the original version is highly relevant (and rather easily answered, apart from sporadic passages that may present anomalies, the Hittite version is a translation of a Hurrian original).<sup>34</sup> This bilingual contains possible traces of syntactic interference, including the unusual position of words and constituents (examples [5a-b], with VO order in both Hurrian and Hittite, cf. Melchert 2015) and constituents or uncertainties in the use of hypotaxis, which would qualify as shared grammatical traits as outlined in § 2, table 1.

[5a] ku-u-le-eš an-ti ti-i-ib-ša-a-ri  
leave aside that(?).story.ABS  
“Leave that story aside!”

[5b] ar-ha da-a-le-es-tén a-pa-a-at ut-tar  
away leave.IMP2PL that.N/A.SG story.N/A.SG  
“Leave that story aside!”<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For an introduction see Neu 1996, in pc. 13–16. On the specific issue of translation practices, cf. Rizza 2007 with further references.

<sup>35</sup> KBo 32, 14+ i 23/ii 23.

However, the text was the product of the philological work of a scribe or, more likely, a group of scribes, or perhaps the result of a more complex tradition that produced a Hittite version of a Hurrian myth. As such, it cannot be immediately compared to other types of multilingual documents, as, for instance, bilingual epigraphs.

We shall exemplify this by moving towards the Western boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern world and towards the “latest” boundary of the period under investigation. If one considers the Phoenician-Greek bilingual CIS I, 95 from Cyprus (recently republished by Amadasi Guzzo 2015)<sup>36</sup>, with a dedication to Athene/<sup>nt</sup>, one will notice that the Phoenician text mimics the order of constituents (or: written words?) of Greek and tries to translate a typical Greek formula (ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ), but, at the same time, the Greek text was clearly written by someone who either omits or misplaces some Greek words or confuses the dative and genitive in at least one occurrence.

[6a] ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ<Ι> ΝΙΚΗ<Ι> ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
 A.DAT Saviour Victory and king.GEN.SG P.GEN  
 ΠΡΑΞΙΔΗΜΟΣ ΣΕΣΜΑΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΩ[ΜΟ]Ν ΑΝΕΘ[ΗΚ]ΕΝ ΑΓΑ[Θ]Η  
 P.NOM S.GEN the.ACC altar.ACC put.AOR3SG good.DAT.SG  
 ΤΥΧΗ  
 luck.DAT.SG  
 “To Athene Savior Victory and of(sic!) King Ptolemy Praxidemos of Sesma the altar posed for good luck”

[6b] L'NT 'Z ḥYM W L'D MLKM PTLMYŠ  
 'nt.to force living.PL and lord.to king.PL P.  
 B'LŠLM BN [S]SMY YQDŠ [']T MZBḤ [L]MZL N'M  
 B. son S. dedicate.PST3SG<sup>37</sup> OBJ.PTCL altar luck.to good  
 “To 'nt *force of the livings*” and Ptolemy Lord of the Kings B'LŠLM son of SSMY posed the altar for good luck”

It is fairly clear that in this case the question for the “original” version is pointless: in a multicultural environment such as Ptolemaic Cyprus in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or, more likely, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, where the political *élite* was Greek, the text was not written and then translated, but simply written as a bilingual in the first place. The poor result, from a linguistic perspective, is, however, a reflection of the cultural and linguistic environment in which it was produced. The scribe was probably a Phoenician speaker with a rather poor competence of Greek, who had to use both languages for political reasons.

While both the unusual patterns one finds in the bilinguals produced in the scribal offices of the Hittites and the ones found in CIS I, 95 qualify as “document-level” phenomena of replication of grammatical units, they do differ quite significantly depending on the context of their production. The role of Hurrian on the production of abnormal patterns in the Hittite version of the Hurro-Hittite bilingual does not mean that the scribe was competent in Hurrian or lived in a Hurro-Hittite mixed environment: it was the original text that interfered. On the other hand, the Cyprus epigraph is not the product of a scribal tradition and of the work of a scribal office, and therefore it certainly testifies at least to the existence of a multicultural and multilingual area (which, however, is not enough to prove linguistic areality *stricto sensu*).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. also Giusfredi 2018, for a discussion on the linguistic and cultural environment in which the text was composed.

<sup>37</sup> More precisely, *yipi'l* causative to QDŠ.



5.3. *-sk(e)-* “past” forms in Anatolian and Greek

When proper cases of linguistic interference do emerge, our only partial knowledge of the ancient linguistic environment poses another problem. In case the languages that interact are genealogically related, before assuming that a common trait is induced by contact it is necessary to exclude inheritance by a common forefather and independent endolingistic change. An example is the existence of the Indo-European morpheme *-sk(e)-*, which produces iterative and imperfective finite verbal forms in Anatolian and *derived* verbs that have a full present and preterite paradigm. In Classical and *koinè* Greek the same morpheme has a more limited set of functions. Homeric Greek, however, allows for unusual unaugmented past aorists with *-sk(e)-* and for unaugmented imperfects:<sup>38</sup>

[7] ἄλλοτε δ' ἀγνώσασκε  
again PTCL not.recognize.AOR.SKE.3SG  
“she kept not recognizing (him)”<sup>39</sup>

[8] σιδηρεΐη κορύνη ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας  
of.iron.DAT.SG mace.DAT.SG break.IMP.SKE.3SG army.ACC.PL  
“with an iron mace he used to destroy the armies”<sup>40</sup>

The second type (present with *-sk(e)-* and secondary endings) also occurs twice in Herodotus, who was notoriously a half-Carian citizen of Halikarnassos.

[9] τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε  
art.DAT.SG alone.DAT.SG X.NOM gift.N/A.PL send.IMP.SKE.3SG  
“To him only Xerxes kept sending gifts”

Also basing on this, it has been suggested to explain the unexpected *-sk(e)-*aorists and imperfects as an influence of Anatolian (either as a form of induction of morpheme or as a case of modification of the semantics of a commonly inherited element). Also regarding the semantics there are traces of similarity and/or convergence: Daues (2009) has convincingly shown that the *-sk(e)-* forms in both language systems occur in specific syntactic patterns that may point to a function related to “backgrounding” informational status. As already stated, however, while *cultural* contacts existed there is no geographical contiguity between Hittite and Mycenaean/Greek, and the Luvic languages of Western Anatolia, once again, do not share the use of the *-sk(e)-* morpheme with Hittite, which makes an area of structural influence very unlikely.<sup>41</sup> A better course is still to assume that *-sk(e)-* had multiple original functions, and that the survival of the *-sk(e)-* past forms in Homer was, at least in part, also a literary solution to metric and stylistic requirements, that eventually entered as an exquisite archaism in Herodotus.<sup>42</sup> Common inheritance should always be ruled out before assuming patterns of language contact that are historically unlikely.

<sup>38</sup> Risch 1974: 276ff.; Puhvel 1991; Zerdin 2002; cf. Also Siehler 1995, 505f. for the very peculiar case βοσκέσκοντο in Od. 12.355, that evidently shows a first degrammaticalized suffix followed by a second repetition of the derivational morpheme. For a list of forms, see Daues 2009, 83f. Note the presence of the /a/ in σπεΐσασκε, that indicates that the sigmatic aorist root must be  $^{\circ}\text{-}\sigma\alpha$ , from  $^*\text{-sh}_2$ , with the  $h_2$  belonging to the theme and not to the personal endings.

<sup>39</sup> *Odyssey* XXIII.95.

<sup>40</sup> *Iliad* VII.141.

<sup>41</sup> In Luwian, the isofunctional suffixes seem to be *-ssa-* and *-zza-*; cf. Melchert 2003 and Yakubovich 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also Daues 2009, 86, with reference to an unpublished MA thesis by V. Francione.

#### 5.4. Graphemic contact and epigraphic communities

Since ancient languages are only attested in written records, a very important point is to correctly identify proper phenomena of contact-induced language shift, and to successfully tell them apart from phenomena in which the contact regarded writing systems rather than the languages they encoded, and thus influenced the epigraphic act of composing a text. This issue is strictly related to the distinction between true contact and document-level phenomena; however, the perspective here is magnified, and a proper analysis can, in this case, provide further insight into the way writing systems evolve.

An example of graphemic interference has been provided by Rieken and Yakubovich (forthcoming) in their talk “Contacts between Scripts in Bronze Age Asia Minor” (Chicago, March 2017). Since the order of compound logographic elements in Cuneiform Luwian does not reflect the usual order of constituents in Anatolian, but rather the one of Sumerian, modifiers (in the example in [11], genitives) follow their heads nouns ([11]) instead of preceding them ([10]).

- [10] tappasassinzi    tiyamassinzi    massaninzi  
 sky.of.NOM.PL    earth.of.NOM.PL    god.NOM.PL  
 “The gods of sky and earth”<sup>43</sup>
- [11] 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎸𐎢𐎣    AN  
 Storm-god    sky  
 “Storm-god of the sky”<sup>44</sup>

This pattern extends to the rendering of a limited number of compound logograms in the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing system, in which the logography is not based on the use of Sumerian signs, which implies that the only possible explanation for the convergent pattern is a merely *graphemic* influence of Cuneiform on the Hieroglyphic scribal praxis. Consider the following examples: [12], being partly phonographic, renders the real Luwian order of words, while [13], being completely logographic, has the inverted order.

- [12] Halpawanin(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-na  
 Aleppo.of.ACC.SG    Storm-god  
 “The Storm-god of Aleppo”.<sup>45</sup>
- [13] (DEUS)TONITRUS HATTI  
 Storm-god    Hatti  
 “The Storm-god (of) Hatti”<sup>46</sup>

#### 6. Provisional conclusion

In text-languages, language-contact manifests itself in several, complex and sometimes blurry ways; nevertheless, it is one of the strongest indicators of cultural contact and one of the most reliable sources for an investigation of the Ancient world. Therefore, the potential of the analysis of ancient patterns of linguistic interference reaches far beyond the strictly linguistic perspective of Indo-European reconstruction: loanwords travel easily, but less easily than single pieces of archaeological evidence, while structural morphosyntactic patterns and traits are

<sup>43</sup> KBo 22, 254 vo. 10.

<sup>44</sup> KUB 35, 133 ii 27.

<sup>45</sup> TELL AHMAR 5, §3.

<sup>46</sup> SÜDBURG §2.

only borrowed in situation of close cultural contiguity. Furthermore, far from being an optional approach to the analysis of ancient corpora, it is an unavoidable level on analysis: all that is contact-induced cannot be explained otherwise. Neglecting this fact would inevitably lead to a partial and incomplete picture of the past.

Nevertheless, the types of phenomena that are encountered in the corpora are much more difficult to identify and assess than in modern languages: speakers cannot be interviewed, and the exact interpretation of unusual patterns in written documents will always rely on comparison and will always require independent verification. In order to provide such verification, after the methodological steps outlined in this paper have been duly followed, any results of language-contact analysis will require to be matched against other pieces of historical evidence (historical and cultural geography, data deriving from the contents of the documentary sources, archeological evidence), in an epistemological circle in which all fields of the science of antiquity provide each other with substantial feedback.

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*Паола Комтичелли-Куррас, Федерико Джусфредди. К методологии изучения контактных связей между древними анатолийскими языками и культурами*

В статье дается обзор теоретических и методологических установок, разработанных для исследований в области языковых контактов и ареальной лингвистики, и проводится попытка применить эти методы к контексту древних языков с целью выявить условия, при которых можно говорить о языковых ареалах в древности. Авторы приводят несколько примеров того, как с помощью комбинирования лингвистической и культурно-исторической методологии можно обнаружить древние ареалы взаимонаправленных языковых контактов, в основном применительно к древней Анатолии в контексте Эгейского и древнеближневосточного регионов.

Ключевые слова: анатолийские языки, языковые контакты, клинопись, культурные контакты, языковые ареалы.