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Linguistic and Cultural Interactions between Greece and Anatolia

In Search of the Golden Fleece

Edited by

Michele Bianconi



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Al mio maestro Romano Lazzeroni (1930–2020)
in memoria



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CHAPTER 4

A Possible New Greco-Carian Contact Phenomenon

H. Craig Melchert

1 High Rounded Vowels in Carian[1]

1.1 *The Status of /u/ in Carian*

There is no current evidence for a synchronic length contrast in Carian vowels. Per Adiego (2007: 237 and 257) the Carian letters conventionally numbered 5 and 28 (see ibid. 21) represent not high back rounded [u], which is represented rather by letter 19, but rather high front rounded [y]. He likewise argues (ibid. 235) that letter 32 is a dedicated letter for the glide [w]. In an unpublished internal series review for the Handbook of Oriental Studies, I rejected both claims and subsequently have refused to alter the previous transliterations of these letters.

I stand by my arguments against *w* for letter 32, but use *w* here to illustrate the fallacy: letter 32 is more common in a syllabic environment (between consonants or consonant and word boundary) than next to a vowel, while it is actually less common next to a vowel than sign 19.

Adiego (2007: 257) presents [y] as resulting from a *conditioned* fronting of [u], but while this may be attractive for some examples, it is quite impossible for *ýbt* (sic!) 'dedicated, donated' < **uboto* (= Lycian *ubete*) with following prehistoric back vowels, very unlikely for *týn* (a form of 'to place, dedicate' cognate with Luvian *tuwa-*), and unprovable in the suffix *-eym* in the personal name *para-eym*. Furthermore, his entire argument is based on the dubious premise (2007: 235) that the multiple ways to spell [u] in Egypto-Carian require special explanation. Since the Egypto-Carian alphabet may easily represent a conflation of the competing local alphabets of Caria, the argument is far from compelling.

Nevertheless, two points made by Adiego remain eminently valid. First, letters 19 and 32 alternate (NB including in a syllabic value), while letters 5 and 28 also alternate, but almost never do the first and second pair alternate. The only exception is the suffix -(*d*)*u/ybr-* in personal names: it is spelled mostly -(*d*)*yb*(*y*)*r-* (*ardybyr-, dtýbr-, dýbr-, kśatýbr-, smδýbr-*), but also *kudtubr-* and

1 I am indebted to the two anonymous reviewers for very helpful suggestions for improving the presentation.

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šoδubr-. The consistent contrast between the respective pairs suggests that some feature does unite each pair versus the other.

Second, Carian renderings of Greek names and Greek renderings of Carian names mostly support the contrast (see the glossary in Adiego 2007 for the data):

Carian *u/w* = Greek ο/ου

Greek > Carian

Οὐλιάδης = ***u****liade*

Carian > Greek

*m**w**sat* = Μουσατης (Lydia); cf. also Μ**ο(υ)**σητα (Pisidia)
*m**u**te-* = Μουτας (Cilicia)
*pa**u**-* = Παος (mono- or disyllabic?)
*ptn**u**pi-* = Πετενουπις (name of Egyptian origin)
*p**u**nwśol-* = Greek Πονυσσλλος
*šen**u**rt-* = Σανορτος
*uks-m**u**/wks-m**u**-* = Ουαξα-μοας and Ουαξα-μως (Isauria, Cilicia)
u**r*(*o*)*m*~w**rm-* ~ **Ο**ρας (Lycia); **Ου**ρα-μουτας (Cilicia)

Carian *y/ý* = Greek υ

Greek > Carian

Λυσικλῆς = *l**y**sikla-*
Λυσικράτης = *l**y**sikrata-*

Carian > Greek

*ard**y**byr* = Αρδυβερος
*l**ý**kse/i* = Λυξης
*para-e**y**m-* ~ Αρτ-ημυμος
*par-**ý**dk-* = Παραυδιγος
*ša-**y**riq-* = Σα-υριγος (cf. also *id-yrik-* and *par-yrik-* and appellative *yrik-*)
***y**larmi-* = **Υ**λλαριμ- (Hyllarima)

There are in Greek renderings of Carian names a few exceptions:

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-u/wśoλ- = -υσσωλλος (consistently) (due to the following palatal *ś*?)
wli/íat- = **O**λιατος *and* **Y**λιατος (due to the quality of the *l* before yod?)
quq- = Γυγος (also in *d-quq-* = Ιδα-γυγος and *šr-quq-*)

1.2 [*u(:)*] *versus* [*o(:)*] *in Palaic and Luwian*

The entire issue of the Carian high rounded vowels has been renewed by the demonstration that not only Hittite (see Rieken 2005 and especially Kloekhorst 2008: 35–60 with references to prior scholars), but also Palaic and Luwian had phonetic (and limited phonemic) contrast of [u(:)] spelled with the cuneiform sign ⟨ú⟩ versus [o(:)] spelled with ⟨u⟩ (Melchert 2010 and Rieken 2016). The precise conditioning and etymological sources of the contrast are in part still under debate, but there is near universal agreement that a prehistoric **u* lowered to [o] next to the sound spelled with *ḫ* in cuneiform, which was either a velar fricative [x] or a uvular [χ] (for the latter value see now Weiss 2016).[2]

1.3 *Distribution of* u/w *and* y/ý *in Carian*

A review of the admittedly limited Carian lexicon with likely etymologies suggests a correlation between the [u(:)] versus [o(:)] contrast in Luwian and the putative contrast of [y] and [u] in Carian:

We find Carian *u/w* matching Cuneiform Luwian [o(:)] spelled with ⟨u⟩ (the ultimate etymologies are partly left open here). The *mu-* of the Carian personal names *uks-mu/wks-mu-* and *kbd-mu* matches CLuwian *mu-u-wa-* 'might' (Adiego 2007: 427). It also likely appears in the names *mute-* (cf. Luwian *Muwatti-*) and *mw-sat-*, an altered variant of Luwian *Muwa-ziti-* (Adiego 2007: 386 and Melchert 2013: 39). The element *pun-* in the Carian personal name *pun-wśoλ* is cognate with CLuwian *pu-u-na-* 'totality, all' (Adiego 2007: 337–338). Two examples show Carian ⟨u⟩ next to ⟨q⟩, which is the Carian equivalent at least in back environments of Cuneiform Luwian *ḫ*: *quq-* (also in *dquq-* and *šr-quq*) equals CLuwian *ḫu-u-ḫa-* 'grandfather' < **h₂éuh₂o-* (Adiego 2007: 334–335), while Carian *trquδ-* (attested in the dative *trquδe*) matches CLuwian *Tarḫunt-* 'Storm-god' < **tr̥h₂wn̥t-* (Adiego 2007: 423). The Carian names *u/wrm-* and *urom-* are derivatives of the adjective seen in CLuwian *u-ra-* 'great' (Adiego 2007: 338).[3]

2 It is important to bear in mind that with vanishingly rare exceptions the new synchronic [o(:)] vowel of Hittite, Palaic, and Luwian does not reflect inherited Proto-Indo-European **o*.

3 I would add Carian *w* and *ue*, which are likely forms of a deictic pronoun referring to the tomb (or stele) equivalent to Latin *iste*, cognate with Lydian *oš* (Melchert 2009: 154) < **aw-o-* (for which see Dunkel 2014: 2.101&105).

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Carian also consistently spells the result of syncopated initial-syllable *wa-* as *u/w*: the personal name *wli/íat-* may be analyzed as equal to CLuwian *walliyatta/i-* "exaltation, praise' (attested in the adjective *walliyattašša/i-*). Carian *u/wks-* in the name *uks-mu/wks-mu-* reflects a **waks-* seen in Ουαξα-μοας and Ουαξα-μως (Adiego 2007: 427). The same element also likely appears in the name *uksi-*.

Carian *wli-* in the name *šr-wli-* continues **wal(l)i-* seen in Ουαλις (Isauria). Despite the doubts of Adiego (2007: 344, note 16), the name element *u/wśoλ-* likely contains the base **was(s)-* 'good' in the sense 'dear' and is equivalent to a virtual "Luwian" **wassiyalla-* with the suffixes *-iya-* and *-alla-*: one may compare attested Iron Age Luwian /wassiyazza-/ (BONUS-*si-ya-za-*) 'be dear to', as attested in AKSARAY §5: *wa/i-ta á-mi-ya-ti* |(IUSTITIA)*tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i tara/i-ma-za* DEUS-*ni-za* |*za-ti* BONUS-*si-ya-za-ha* "Because of my righteousness I was dear to Tarhunzas and all the gods here." The personal name would then be a "Wunschname" understood as 'dear (to the gods)', effectively 'blessed'. More arguable is Carian *śuγλi-*, which perhaps is an ethnicon to the place name Σουαγγελα.

While the consistency of this pattern in Carian supports the claim that *u/w* and *y/ý* represent different vowel phonemes, the extant data for Luwian is too sparse and inconsistent to claim a correlation. One may compare CLuwian *una-at-ti-* beside *wa-na-at-ti-* 'woman' (where a zero grade is unlikely), but it is hard to distinguish objectively first-syllable syncope from ablaut: NB beside *walant(i)-* 'dead' and *(u)walantalliya-* 'of a mortal' both *ú-la-an-ti-* (likely /wlanti-/; cf. Lycian *lãta-* 'dead') and *u-la-an-ta-al-li-ya-* (3×) vs. *ú-la-an-ta-al-li-ya-* (1×).

Etymologically clear examples for a correlation of Carian *y/ý* and Luwian [u(:)] spelled with ⟨ú⟩ are unfortunately rather scarce. The one solid case is *ýbt* 'dedicated' < **úboto*, cognate with CLuwian *ú-pa-* 'furnish' and *ú-pa-ti-(t)-* 'landgrant' (Melchert 2004 contra Yakubovich 2005). I believe that we should add Carian *týn* 'I/they placed', to a verbal stem *tý-* cognate with CLuwian *du-ú-wa-* 'place' and Lycian *tuwe-* 'erect'.[4] Since this is a new analysis of the word *týn*, a short justifying excursus is called for.

The full context of Carian text C.Ha 1 (inscribed on a bronze phiale) reads *smδýbrs* | *psnλo* | *mδ orkn týn* | *snn*. Adiego (2007: 283–284) argues against *týn* as

4 In view of the special Lycian sense 'to place upright/in a standing position, to erect' and the existence of evidence elsewhere for a preform **steh$_2$u-* (Pokorny 1959: 1008–1009), I find attractive the suggestion that this stem reflects a virtual **(s)th$_2$w-* via **(s)tw-* (Ilya Yakubovich, personal communication), but for present purposes the ultimate etymology is a secondary issue.

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a verb and the "hyperbaton" of *snn orkn* 'this vessel', but the position of *snn* after *orkn* already proves dislocation of some kind, regardless of the analysis of *týn*. Furthermore, Adiego (2007: 324) himself has argued cogently against my (and others') idea that *mδ(a)* and *mδane* represent a finite verb. His own attempt to find the finite verb in *psnλo* is quite implausible. Other forms in *-o* appear to be nominal datives, an interpretation that is also suitable here, whether as the recipient or as an epithet of the beneficiary: 'I/they placed *this* vessel for P. on behalf of S.' or more likely 'I/they placed *this* vessel for S., the *p.*'. I underscore that despite still unclear details *mδa(ne)* appears to be correlated with *marked* word order.

1.4 *The Spelling of* u*-diphthongs*

As shown by Kloekhorst (2008: 42–43; see also 759) in Hittite native *u*-diphthongs are spelled overwhelmingly with ⟨Ca-(a)-ú⟩, but likely loanwords with ⟨Ca-(a)-u⟩, such as the ritual object $^{(GIŠ)}$*za-a-u* (for which see Tischler 2016: 679–680) and *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* 'sweat' in the horse-training text of Kikkuli, where a Hurrian source is plausible (Tischler 2006: 1066 with references). The differentiated spellings thus likely reflect [a(:)w] versus [a(:)o], with the latter mono- or disyllabic. His further assumption of a conditioned lowering of [aw] to [ao] in New Hittite is arguable. We find support for the spelling of native *u*-diphthongs with ⟨Ca-(a)-ú⟩ also in Cuneiform Luwian: *i-ik-ku-ú-na-ú-na-aš-ši-* 'of anointing' < **īkkūnawar/ *īkkūnaun-*, *gul-za-a-ú-na* 'to draw', *kur-ša-ú-na-an-ti-in-zi* 'islands', *pa-tal-ḫa-ú-na* 'to fetter' (versus just 1× *la-la-u-na* 'to take'). The pattern is the same in secondary diphthongs by contraction: *ḫi-iz-za-ú-un-ni* 'we fetch' (*-unni* contracted from **-wanni* in turn from **-wéni* by "Čop's Law") and *la-ú-na-i-* 'wash' beside uncontracted *la-ḫu-ni-*.

In Carian personal names (to the extent they are identifiable), native names show as expected *-Vy-* (*artay-*, Αρτ-ηυμος, *paraeym-*, *pareý-*, *parpeym-*), while those adapted from Egyptian show *-Vu/w-* (*irow-*, *iturow-*, *niqau-*, *piew-*, *šamow*, *τamou*). Naturally some cannot be confidently assigned (*beíeym-*, *meýqak-*, *kblow-*, *loubaw-*, *parśolou-*). The few analyzable appellatives suggest a *possible* contrast: the likely ethnicon *mday/ýn-* with syncope from **-wén(i)-* (see also with further reduction *kbdyn-* 'Caunian') shows *y/ý* versus *kδou-* and *esakδow-* arguably 'ruler' < **$h_2$entowo-* (cognate with Lycian denominative *xñtawa-* 'to rule') and the personal name *qdarŕou-* < virtual **$h_2uh_1$trolowo-* (matching Luvian *ḫutarlā-* 'servant', also attested as a personal name). One notices the following prehistoric **-e-* versus **-o-*: thus perhaps [aɥ] vs. [aw] conditioned by the following vowel. However, given the current state of Carian etymology, one must take rather more seriously the contrast between native and foreign names.

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1.5 *Summary for Carian*

The inevitably limited number of probative examples in Carian suggests an *unconditioned* fronting of original syllabic *[u(:)] to [y]. It is impossible to determine whether *[o(:)] (NB this means the new Anatolian mid back rounded vowel, *not* PIE **o/ō*!) remained [o̜] or was raised to [u]. One should bear in mind that the Greek renderings of personal names given above (including many with ου for *u/w*) are not contemporary with the Carian attestations (and mostly not even from Caria). However, we also saw some renderings with υ, including *quq* where no conditioning for a raising was present. Such a "chain" shift [o̜] > [u] in connection with [u] > [y] is typologically probable (see Allen 1987: 76–78 and also Thompson 2014: 506).

2 High Rounded Vowels in Greek

On this well-studied topic I may be brief. The standard view is that fronting of **u(:)* in Eastern Ionic was probably as early as the 6th century BCE (based on the spelling of *u*-diphthongs as αο and εο): e.g., Allen 1987: 66, Lejeune 1972: 237, van Beek 2014: 505, citing Bartoněk 1966: 110 ff. (*non uidi*). Fronting in Attic was perhaps somewhat later. Méndez Dosuna (1993: 115–121) argued that the fronting is Proto-Attic-Ionic and that the apparent lack of the change in Euboean is due to a retrograde change of [y] > [u]. In a paper presented at Oxford in June 2016 (Méndez Dosuna forthcoming), he has argued that change is even earlier, effectively Proto-Greek.[5] The raising [o̜:] > [u:] was *probably* also "quite early" on structural grounds (Allen 1987: 76–78), in or before the 5th century BCE (Threatte 1980: 238–260). The ordering of the change vis-à-vis the fronting [u(:)] > [y(:)] is not absolutely certain, and one may entertain a "pull chain" or "push chain" (Thompson 2014: 506).

3 Conclusion

The oldest Carian inscriptions (from Egypt) date from no earlier than the 7th century BCE, mostly likely from the mid-6th century onwards (see Adiego 2007: 30–31). A connection between the Carian and Greek changes is possible with either the standard dating of that in Greek or with that of Méndez Dosuna to Proto-Attic-Ionic. An even earlier date is conceivable, though Proto-Greek may

5 I am grateful to Professor Méndez Dosuna for sharing with me the text of the paper in advance of publication.

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be too early, since one must allow ample time for the Ionians to have reached western Asia Minor and interacted with the (pre-)Carians.

The real difficulty in trying to relate the Carian and Greek changes is not one of chronology, but rather the relatively common typological status of such vowel shifts. If we could be more certain that the Carian as well as the Greek change included *both* the fronting of [u] to [y] and the raising of [o] to [u], the chances that the events are related would be significantly higher. One fact that speaks at least mildly for a connection (with the influence going either direction) is the apparent absence of such a shift in the roughly contemporary and neighboring Anatolian Indo-European languages Lycian and Lydian. There are reasons to think that the vowel transliterated as *u* in Lycian actually is not phonetically [u], much less [y], but a lower back rounded vowel [ʊ] or even [o]: see Molina Valero 2007: 110–113. Likewise, Lydian ⟨u⟩ is often equivalent to Greek omicron, as in *kulu-* for Κολόη (see Gérard 2005: 34). Since in both languages the *u* vowel does reflect prehistoric high back *[u] in non-lowering contexts (Lycian *uhe-* 'year' < **utso-*, Lydian *amu* 'I, me' < **emú*), it would seem that the inherited high back rounded vowel may actually have undergone lowering in these languages. I leave it to readers to draw their own judgments regarding how much weight should be attached to these findings.

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