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Note for Contributors

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Terena (Arawakan) *-eúko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’: etymology and a kinship terminology puzzle¹

This paper addresses the etymology of the nouns for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ in Terena, an Arawakan language of Brazil. Analogy based on the model of a pattern attested in Old Mojeño explains a feature of the form *-eúko* ‘uncle’ not accountable by regular sound change. The semantic side of the equations throws light on an aspect of the Terena kinship terminology that baffled anthropologists, supporting Oberg’s conjecture that these kinship terms had their meanings extended to include parallel parental siblings. Finally, additional lexical reconstructions for Proto-Mojeño and an alternative analysis for an allomorphy pattern in Paresi are discussed as well.

Keywords: etymology; linguistic analogy; kinship terms; Arawakan languages.

1. Introduction

This brief paper offers an etymological analysis of two lexemes of the Terena (Arawakan) kinship terminology: *-eúko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’.² I single out these two specific items for detailed consideration for two reasons: within a properly linguistic domain of concern, these items, and, notably, the noun *-eúko* ‘uncle’, raise an etymological problem, as matching it with its obvious cognates in the closely related Mojeño would seemingly demand the acceptance of a sporadic, non-regular process of consonant loss. See (1) for the currently accepted classification of Terena and Mojeño within the same ‘Bolivia-Parana’ branch of the Arawakan family.³

¹ Unless explicitly noted, all Terena data in this paper comes from the author’s own fieldwork activities at the Cachoeirinha Reservation, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. I am grateful to all my Terena consultants and friends for their patience and collaboration. I am also grateful to Ana Paula Brandão for discussion of data from Paresi and to an anonymous reviewer. All remaining flaws are my own.

² The Terena phonemic inventory consists of the consonants *p, t, k, m, n, ɲ, s, ʃ, r, l, w, j* and the vowels *a, e, i, o, u* (see Bendor-Samuel 1961; Ekdahl, Butler 1979). A circumflex accent indicates greater length of the vowel where it occurs, in addition to a descending pitch curve (*táki* [‘ta:ki] ‘his/her arm’). The acute accent has no particularly salient pitch contour, and its lengthening effect is realized on the following consonant, not on the vowel above which it occurs (*ásurupi* [‘as:urupi] ‘guts, intestines’).

³ Some comments are in order: First, there is an emerging consensus that, within the Bolivia-Parana subgroup, Terena, Mojeño and Paunaka are closer to each other than any of these is to either Baure or Paikoneka (Jolkesky 2016; Carvalho 2017). Second, I have included early (17th century) documentations of Baure (Old Baure) and Mojeño (Old Mojeño) as dialects of the same language in order to avoid making the unnecessary and often indemonstrable assumption that these documents represent early stages of currently spoken varieties, as opposed to, say, extinct dialects whose speakers were either decimated by colonial action or simply shifted to some encroaching language (usually Spanish). The same applies to late 18th- and 19th-century sources on ‘Guaná’, which, like Kinikinau and Layana, are co-dialects of the same language as Terena (see Carvalho 2016b for details).

(1) *Terena and its closest relatives***Bolivia-Parana subgroup***Baure-Paikoneka branch*

Baure (Baure, Old Baure, Joaquiniano)

Paikoneka

Achane branch

Paunaka

Mojeño (Old Mojeño, Ignaciano, Trinitario, Javeriano, Loretano)

Terena (Guaná, Chané, Kinikinau, Layana)

It can be shown, however, that instead of a sporadic process of consonant loss, simple analogical extension of a pattern observed elsewhere, namely in the kinship terminology of 17th century Old Mojeño, accounts for these developments. Finding a solution to this apparent difficulty constitutes a small yet real contribution to further understanding the historical development of Terena and its closest relatives.

The second reason, closely tied to the semantic side of the etymologies, stems from the puzzlement expressed by certain anthropologists that engaged in the study of Terena culture and social structure in the early decades of the 20th century. This was expressed by Oberg (1948: 287) who stated that:⁴

“(...) the Terena appear to have terms corresponding to uncle and aunt, for father’s brother and mother’s brother can be termed *eungo* or *lulu*, and father’s sister and mother’s sister can be termed *ongo*. A completely satisfactory explanation of these uncle and aunt terms cannot be made until more is known about the language and culture of the Terena.”

The need for special explanation seems to stem from the following fact: Terena kinship terminology has transparent, descriptive terms for parallel parental siblings: *poʔi* *ˈzâʔa* ‘father’s brother’ (lit. “my other father”; *ˈzâʔa* ‘my father’) and *poʔi* *ẽnõ* ‘mother’s sister’ (lit. “my other mother”; *ẽnõ* ‘my mother’). Since *-éúko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’ apply to both parallel and cross parental siblings, the superposition in Ego’s parallel siblings, who can be denoted by either set of forms, is somewhat unexpected. Oberg’s (1948: 287; 1949: 30) own suggestion is that *-éúko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’ would be originally ‘respect terms’ for mother’s brother and for father’s sister, respectively, and that, at some point, these would have been extended in their use, just like the vocatives *même* ‘mother (voc.)’ and *tâta* ‘father (voc.)’ were extended to all older people of the parental generation. This scenario certainly has some interesting parallels, as in the case of the Iroquoian languages Huron and Wyandot, in which extension of a term for ‘mother’s brother’ as referring to ‘mother’s sister’s husband’ was arguably facilitated by its previous use as a respect term used by younger men when addressing older men (Steckley 1993: 40–41).

I will argue that, although Oberg’s (1948, 1949) intuition of a recent meaning extension in the reference of *-éúko* and *-ôko* is correct, these were not respect terms but were most likely the referential terminology used exclusively for cross parental siblings, later extended to include parallel parental siblings as well. The complex terms for parallel siblings are, in turn, recent formations that lack cognates even in the closely related Mojeño language.

⁴ The forms <*eungo*> and <*ongo*> given by Oberg (1948) are the first person singular possessive forms for *-éúko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’, respectively. A first-person singular possessor is marked in Terena by a [nasal] feature that docks to the left edge of the word and spreads rightwards until it is blocked by an obstruent consonant. A short, transitional nasal consonant appears preceding the obstruent, which, in turn, becomes contextually voiced (see Carvalho 2017a). Hence: *eúⁿgo* ‘my uncle’, *ôⁿgo* ‘my aunt’.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2.1 deals with the formal issues raised by an attempt to relate Terena *-eúko* ‘uncle’ and its Proto-Mojeño (PM) cognate **-ékuko* ‘uncle’, arguing that analogical modification of a form **-ekuko* ‘uncle’, reconstructed for a common ancestor of Terena and PM, accounts for the somewhat unexpected Terena form lacking a medial velar stop *k*. Section 2.2 briefly discusses evidence from a more distantly related language, Paresi, that is consistent with the reconstruction of **kuko* ‘uncle’ (vocative) and **-ekuko* ‘uncle’ (referential) proposed in section 2.1. Section 2.3. focuses on semantic issues. I argue that the reconstructed etyma **-ekuko* and **-oko*, until this point glossed simply as ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’, respectively, had a more specialized meaning restricted to cross parental siblings only, that is: **-ekuko* ‘mother’s brother’ and **-oko* ‘father’s sister’. I rely on the early attestation of these meanings in their Old Mojeño reflexes and on evidence from other Arawakan languages to support the postulation of these etyma. The complementary forms for parallel parental siblings attested in PM and in Terena are not cognate and were independently innovated in each of these languages.

2. Terena *-eúko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’

2.1. Formal issues

Comparison of the Terena noun *-eúko* ‘uncle’ with its plausible cognate in Proto-Mojeño (henceforth PM), **-ékuko* ‘uncle’, raises an etymological problem (see Carvalho & Rose 2018 for Proto-Mojeño phonology). Though the final syllable matches in accordance to regular (identity) sound correspondences, as well as the vowel *e* and the vowel *u* (see (2) below for some supporting cognate sets), a correspondence of PM **k* to zero in Terena would require positing a sound change that lacks any motivation or independent support from regular developments.

(2) Identity regular correspondences for PM and Terena

PM **e* : Terena *e*

PM **-eno* ‘mother’ : Terena *-êno* ‘mother’; PM **-ope* ‘bone’ : Terena *-ôpe* ‘bone’;
 PM **-we-ʔo* ‘to take’ : Terena *-wê(j)o* ‘to take’.

PM **u* : Terena *u*

PM **juku-* ‘fire(wood)’ : Terena *júku* ‘fire(wood)’; PM **-woʔu* ‘hand’ : Terena *-wôʔu* ‘hand’; PM **une* ‘water’ : Terena *úne* ‘water’.

PM **k* : Terena *k*

PM **-piko* ‘to fear’ : Terena *-píko* ‘to fear’; PM **koti* ‘pain’ : Terena *kotí-we* ‘pain’;
 PM **apokeʔe* ‘soil, earth’ : Terena *pokéʔe* ‘earth, soil’.

PM **o* : Terena *o*

PM **-owo* ‘be, stay’ : Terena *-ôwo* ‘be, stay’, PM **uko-hi* ‘cloud’ : Terena *úko* ‘rain’;
 PM **-jeno* ‘wife’ : Terena *-jêno* ‘wife’.

A solution to this problem is suggested by slightly broadening our perspective and including the cognate set for ‘aunt’ as well and, crucially, by looking at evidence from 17th century Old Mojeño (henceforth OM) in addition to the modern dialects of the language.⁵

⁵ Except for the Old Mojeño forms given between angled brackets, thus preserving the original orthography of Marbán (1701), all forms from the Mojeño varieties were adapted from their source orthographies in agreement with IPA conventions. A source <y> is therefore adapted as *j* for the palatal glide, the allographs <c, qu> appear

Table 1. Forms for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ in Terena and Mojeño⁶

	Terena	Ignaciano	Trinitario	Old Mojeño (OM)
‘Uncle’	- <i>eúko</i>	- <i>ékuka</i>	(<i>apiaru</i>)	- <i>ekuko</i> (ref.) <i>kuko</i> (voc.)
‘Aunt’	- <i>ôko</i>	- <i>aka</i>	(<i>apenru</i>)	- <i>oko</i> (ref.) <i>koko</i> (voc.)

Trinitario forms will not be relevant now, as sources on the language give forms for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ that do not have cognates in Terena (I will come back to these Trinitario forms in section 2.3, where the semantic aspects of the relevant etymologies are discussed as well). In Ignaciano, according to Ott & Ott (1983: 632), *-aka* means ‘sister of the grandmother’, while *-ápenaru* means ‘sister of the mother’; *-ékuka* is given as a general term for ‘uncle’, in contrast to *-ápijaru*, reserved for the father’s brother (Ott & Ott 1983: 76, 633). There is no problem of either a formal or semantic nature in accepting that Ignaciano *-aka* is a cognate of OM *-oko* (and hence a reflex of PM **-oko*) and of Terena *-ôko*. On the formal side of the etymology, Carvalho (2017b) and Carvalho & Rose (2018) provide extensive evidence for the merger PM **a, *o > a* in Ignaciano, which is also relevant in the match of Ignaciano *-ékuka* : OM *-ekuko*. The divergent semantics of Ignaciano *-aka* ‘sister of the grandmother’ will be briefly discussed in section 2.3, though a detailed treatment of this semantic mismatch will not be the focus of the present contribution.

The crucial dataset for addressing the etymological problem raised by Terena *-eúko* is the OM data from Marbán (1701), presented in table 1 in an adaptation of Marbán’s original orthography for the language (see Carvalho & Rose 2018 for the orthographic conventions of Marbán). Marbán (1701: 115–117) offers a discussion of kinship terms, carefully distinguishing vocative and referential forms (the latter described as ‘possessive’). He notes, for instance, that *<tata>* ‘my father’ does not occur with the possessive prefixes; if these must be present, a separate form is used, as in *<piya>* ‘your father’ (with the second person singular possessor *pi-*), *<maiya>* ‘his father’ (with *ma-*, third person singular masculine possessor, for a male speaker)⁷ and *<suiya>* ‘her father’ (with *su-*, third person singular feminine possessor; see Marbán 1701: 115). Likewise, for ‘mother’, where *<meme>* ‘my mother’ is distinguished from *<peeno>* ‘your mother’, *<maeno>* ‘his mother’ and so on.

Marbán (1701: 115) presents *<cucô>* as meaning ‘my uncle’ and says that it admits the occurrence of person-marking prefixes, noting forms like *<necuco>* ‘my uncle’ and *<pecuco>* ‘your (sg.) uncle’. However, these possessed forms call for the establishment of a distinct root, vowel-initial *<ecuco>*, with the first person singular and second person singular prefixes, *nu-* and *pi-*, respectively, having their vowels lost to elision in internal sandhi with vowel-initial roots (see Carvalho & Rose 2018). This fact, in addition to the translation of *<cucô>* as ‘my uncle’,

here uniformly as *k*, and a glottal fricative is represented as *h*, not *<j>*. Ott & Ott (1983) also use *<h>* for a glottal stop, here represented as *ʔ*. Sources on the Mojeño varieties other than Marbán (1701) usually employ an acute accentual mark signaling the syllable bearing word-level main stress. I have retained these when citing Mojeño forms.

⁶ In this section, mainly concerned with formal issues, I will refer to the meaning of the relevant cognate forms using the generic labels ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’. The distinction between cross and parallel uncle/aunt will be discussed in detail in section 2.3, where tables 4 and 5 offer a summary of the reconstructed etyma advanced here.

⁷ Third person singular pronouns in Mojeño index the sex of the speaker in addition to the gender of the referent. Thus, *ma-* is third person singular masculine for male speakers, while female speakers use *pi-* instead (see Rose 2015 for details).

despite the lack of any overt mark for a first person singular possessor, suggests the existence of two separate (albeit formally close) lexemes or terms: the vocative or address form <*cucô*> and a referential term whose root is <*ecuco*>. Note also that there is no regular morphophonological process of vowel aphaeresis, in any documented variety of Mojeño, that could justify relating the free form <*cucô*> and the bound root <*ecuco*> to the same underlying form, and I will therefore treat these as similar to the pairs <*tata*> (vocative) : <*iya*> (referential) ‘father’ and <*meme*> (vocative) and <*eno*> (referential) ‘mother’ noted above (see Carvalho & Rose 2018 for the reconstruction of **-ija* ‘father’ and **-eno* ‘mother’ for Proto-Mojeño). Finally, the same basic reasoning can be employed for recognizing two roots, one vocative and one referential, for ‘aunt’: the vocative <*coco*> is given by Marbán (1701: 115) as meaning ‘my aunt’, whose gloss underscores its address function, and the possessive forms he cites, <*nuoco*> ‘my aunt’ and <*pioco*> ‘your aunt’. These possessive forms, after the identification of the prefixes *nu-* and *pi-* call for the recognition of a root <*oco*> ‘aunt’. Again, as no regular process of elision of word-initial velar stops exists in Old Mojeño or in any Mojeño variety, the free form <*coco*> and the bound root <*oco*> can be safely assigned to two independent terms or lexemes in OM. Finally, note that the distinct behavior of OM person-marking prefixes with the roots <*oco*> and <*ecuco*> follows from general properties of the morphophonology of the language: as noted in Carvalho & Rose (2018: 27), a prefix vowel in OM is regularly retained before a back (or non-front) vowel, as in <*nuamori*> ‘my grandson’ (Marbán 1701: 289), but is lost preceding a front vowel, as in <*nemotone*> ‘my work’ and <*nima*> ‘my husband’ (Marbán 1701: 502, 520), all with the first person singular prefix *nu-*.

Based on the OM evidence reviewed above and on cognates attested for Ignaciano (*-ékuka* ‘uncle’ and *-aka* ‘aunt’), it is straightforward to reconstruct **-ékuko* ‘uncle’ and **-oko* ‘aunt’ for Proto-Mojeño. The two vocative forms found in OM, <*cuco*> ‘uncle’ and <*coco*> ‘aunt’, have no attested cognates in the other Mojeño varieties. Nevertheless, and this is the central insight offered here, reconstructing the pairs **-ékuko* (referential) : **kuko* (vocative) ‘uncle’ and **-oko* (referential) : **koko* (vocative) ‘aunt’ both for Proto-Mojeño, and for an earlier proto-language shared with Terena (possibly the ‘Proto-Achane’ level suggested in Carvalho 2017b), makes it possible to account for the unexpected k-less form *-éúko* ‘uncle’ in Terena. Moreover, this account is also consistent with comparative evidence from other Arawakan languages. I will now deal with these two aspects of the diachronic account offered, reserving section 2.2 to the evidence from a more distantly related language.

The explanation I propose is based on an analogical modification of a form **-ékuko* ‘uncle’, which is the expected, yet unattested, Terena match for Proto-Mojeño **-ékuko* (see correspondences in 1 above).⁸ This analogy-based account is sketched in (2) below.

Table 2. Four-part (proportional) analogy underlying Terena **-ékuko* > *-éúko*

	‘Aunt’	‘Uncle’
Vocative	<i>*koko</i>	<i>*kuko</i>
Referential	<i>*-oko</i>	<i>*-ékuko</i> > <i>-éúko</i>

⁸ The crucial feature, for the present discussion, of the *expected* Terena cognate for PM **-ékuko* ‘uncle’ is the presence of a medial velar stop, not present in the actually attested form *-éúko* ‘uncle’. When mentioning this expected yet unattested form I have retained the root-initial accentuation of the PM form. In fact, however, the nature of the comparative and diachronic relations between the PM and Terena prosodic systems remains unexplored and the identical position of the accentual marks in this case should not be seen as entailing a particular hypothesis on this matter or as having any implications whatsoever.

Table 2 above presents the set of referential and vocative forms for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ that I reconstruct for some shared, intermediate proto-language whose set of daughter languages minimally include Terena and Proto-Mojeño. As seen above, this state of affairs is faithfully retained in 17th century Old Mojeño (OM). The specific analogical change that took place in Terena appears in the shaded cell in table 2. Terena *-eúko* ‘uncle’ results from analogical modification based on the model implemented in the (arguably) semantically related forms for ‘aunt’: a vocative form with a *kVkV* shape matching a referential form with a *VkV* shape (**koko* : **-oko*). This proposal, which accounts for the Terena form which is otherwise surprising in view of attested sound correspondences with Proto-Mojeño, is entirely consistent with the traditional understanding of analogical changes as: “(...) a morphological transformation on the model of forms already existing in a language. When this occurs, purely phonetic developments in accordance with the sound laws are for the most part suppressed and obscured” (Szemerényi 1996: 27).⁹ Finally, note that the apparently reduplicated shape is a generalized property of vocative, respect and other address forms in Terena kinship and social relations terminology, including *tâta* ‘father’ and *même* ‘mother’ (cf. referential *-háʔa* and *-êno*, respectively) but also *lûlu* ‘address term for male elders’, *ôtete* ‘address term for female elders’ (cf. referential *-ôte* ‘grandmother’) and *lêle* ‘address term for older male individuals of the same generation as Ego’. Thus, the reconstructed pair **kuko* (vocative) : **-ékuko* (referential), was not compliant with the general pattern having *-CVCV* vocative forms matching referential forms that lack this apparently reduplicated shape, and the simple deletion of the medial **k* of the referential form brought this pair in line with this structural pattern, one that is transparently manifested in the semantically related pair **koko* ‘aunt’ (vocative) : **oko* ‘aunt’ (referential).

2.2. Evidence from Paresi-Haliti

I have proposed that the set of forms in table 2, identical to those attested in OM, can be assumed for Proto-Mojeño and for some earlier proto-language ancestor also shared with Terena. The fact that assuming this set of forms allows one to explain the formally difficult Terena form *-eúko* ‘uncle’ is arguably evidence for this. Nevertheless, as noted in section 1, Terena and Proto-Mojeño are very closely related and it would be good if evidence from other, more distant branches could offer additional support the reconstruction of the pattern in table 2 for a proto-language older than Proto-Mojeño itself. In Paresi (also Paresi-Haliti, Pareci), usually classified as either a ‘Central Arawakan’ (Payne 1991: 489) or ‘Paresi-Xinguan’ (Aikhenvald 1999: 67) language, one finds both *koko*, a vocative form for ‘uncle’ (as well as for ‘father-in-law’; Ana Paula Brandão, p.c.)¹⁰ and the root *-koke*, the referential form for ‘uncle’ (Brandão 2014: 165). Besides, and perhaps of greater importance, *-koke* has a restricted vowel-initial allomorph *-ekoke* which occurs only with third person singular possessors. The restricted character of the allomorph *-ekoke* ‘uncle’ likely speaks for its inherited, primitive status, and hence for the existence, in Pre-Paresi, of the pair **-ekoke* ‘uncle’ (referential) and **koko* ‘uncle’ (vocative), a near-exact match to the situation attested in OM and projected back here as necessary to explain the odd Terena form *-eúko* ‘uncle’.

⁹ By ‘morphological transformation’ in Szemerényi’s quote one should understand ‘formal modification’, as opposed to looser definitions of analogical changes that include simple semantic shifts and other changes that lack formal repercussions under the same label of ‘analogy’. See Hock (2003: 443–445) for discussion.

¹⁰ Polysemy involving ‘uncle’ and ‘father-in-law’ is certainly a reflection of a positive marriage rule with cross-cousins which is, in fact, found among the Paresi (see Florido 2008: 116–119). As seen in section 2.3 Paresi *-ekoke* ~ *-koke* denotes a cross-uncle, that is, ‘mother’s brother’. I keep the use of the simpler label ‘uncle’, however, since my main source on the language, Brandão (2014), also employs this generic gloss.

Before proceeding, additional commentary is necessary on the synchronic status of the Paresi *-ekoke* ~ *-koke* allomorphy. Brandão (2014: 128, 165), the primary source consulted here for this language, offers an analysis that differs slightly from mine: a single underlying form *-koke* ‘uncle’ is posited, with the vowel *e* of *-ekoke*, the restricted allomorph in my analysis, being assigned to the third person singular possessor marker, *ene-*, instead. Paresi has two alternants of the third person singular marker that are completely predictable on phonological grounds: *e-* preceding consonants (e.g. *e-kahe* ‘his/her hand’), *en-* preceding vowels (e.g. *en-eare* ‘his name’; see Brandão 2014: 164–165). For two items an additional allomorph *ene-* is postulated in Brandão’s account: *ene-koke* ‘his/her uncle’ and *ene-zona* ‘his/her ripe fruit’. Concerning the first of these forms, *ene-koke* ‘his/her uncle’, both my account and Brandão’s require the specification of lexically-conditioned allomorphy: a distributionally very limited allomorph *ene-* of the third person singular marker in her account, a root allomorphy pattern *-koke* ~ *-ekoke* ‘uncle’ under my proposal. So, as they stand, both analyses invoke morphological idiosyncrasy, which seems in this case unavoidable and really demanded by the data. I think, however, that there are reasons for preferring the root-allomorphy analysis (*-koke* ~ *-ekoke*) over the prefix-allomorphy analysis (*ene-*, as well as *en-* ~ *e-*). Note, first, that comparative data from Proto-Mojeño and the likely shared ancestor of Terena and Mojeño speaks in favor of this solution, if not for a synchronic analysis of modern Paresi, at least for an early stage of the language, where Pre-Paresi **-ekoke* ‘uncle’ would match PM **-ékuko*. Second, and perhaps more critically, the other occurrence of the *ene-* allomorph in Brandão’s (2014) account is likely amenable to an alternative analysis that eliminates the need to postulate a lexically-conditioned allomorph *ene-* for the third person singular prefix: *ene-zona* ‘his ripe fruit’ would be analyzable as *en-ezona* ‘his ripe fruit’ under the not far-fetched etymological equation with the independently attested verb *-ezo-* ‘to fall’ (Rowan 2001: 88), the semantic relation being established on the fact that ripe fruits are often identified as such once they fall off from trees. Still, a compromise or middle-ground solution is achievable if these options are understood as referring to different stages of the language: *ene-* could have developed in the modern language as a restricted allomorph after the sporadic absorption (reanalysis) of the root-initial *e-* of **-ekoke*, whose existence is, after all, supported by comparative evidence. This will require delving into Paresi historical phonology and morphology, which lies outside the scope of the present contribution.

2.3. Semantics and the cross/parallel distinction among parental siblings

Concerning the semantic issues involving Terena *-éiko* ‘uncle’ and *-ôko* ‘aunt’, which relate to the ethnological problem brought up by Oberg (1948, 1949), the most important fact is that these terms **are cognates of Old Mojeño terms for cross-uncle (mother’s brother) and cross-aunt (father’s sister), respectively**. The distinction between parallel and cross terminology for Ego’s parental generation is clear in the OM material of Marbán (1701: 346), where the following forms are found: <*Nuapenorû*> ‘Aunt, sister of my mother’, <*Coco*>, <*Nuoco*> ‘Aunt, sister of my father’, <*Nuapiyarû*> ‘Uncle, brother of my father’ and <*Cuco*>, <*Necuco*> ‘Uncle, brother of my mother’. Before discussing the semantics of the etyma for parental cross siblings (‘father’s sister’ and ‘mother’s brother’), I will devote some space to the discussion of their complement, that is, the set of forms for parallel parental siblings, which are semantically unproblematic. Note that in this section I make use of the ordinary labels from kinship theory: FB= ‘father’s brother’; FZ= ‘father’s sister’; MB= ‘mother’s brother’ and MZ= ‘mother’s sister’

Based on cognates in Ignaciano and Trinitario that deviate semantically to a small degree, Proto-Mojeño forms are reconstructed for parallel parental siblings as in table 3 below (these reconstructions constitute an addition to the existing corpus of reconstructed PM etyma appearing in Carvalho & Rose 2018).

Table 3. Proto-Mojeño terminology for parallel parental siblings

	‘father’s brother’	‘mother’s sister’
Proto-Mojeño	*- <i>api-ija-ru</i>	*- <i>api-eno-ru</i>
Ignaciano	- <i>ápijaru</i>	- <i>ápenaru</i>
Trinitario	- <i>apiaru</i>	- <i>apenru</i>
Old Mojeño	< <i>Nuapiyarû</i> >	< <i>Nuapenorû</i> >

The Trinitario cognates are given only with non-specific labels for ‘uncle’, *-apiaru* ‘tío’ (Gill 1993: 2), and for ‘aunt’, *-apenru* ‘tía’ (Gill 1993: 2). For the Ignaciano variety, available sources confirm the restriction to parallel parental siblings, that is, ‘mother’s sister’ and ‘father’s brother’ or, respectively: *-ápenaru* ‘tía (hermana de madre)’ (Ott & Ott 1983: 74) and *-ápijaru* ‘tío (hermano de padre)’ (Ott & Ott 1983: 76). The matching to OM <*Nuapenorû*> ‘Aunt, sister of my mother’ (that is *nu-apenoru*), <*Nuapiyarû*> ‘Uncle, brother of my father’ (that is, *nu-apijaru*) is transparent and based on the semantics of the OM and Ignaciano cognates, I reconstruct *-*api-ija-ru* and *-*api-eno-ru* for ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’, respectively, in Proto-Mojeño.

These etyma include *-*api-*, the root for ‘two’, which occurs in combination not only with classifiers but in compounds with other lexemes, as in *-ápiha* ‘surname’, that is, *-api-iha* ‘second name’ (Ott & Ott 1983: 75), Trinitario *api-miro* ‘hypocritical’ (lit. “two faces”; Gill 1993: 2) and OM <*apibè*> ‘two thorns, two hooks’, <*apicù*> ‘two rivers’ and <*apimo*> ‘two planting sites’ (Marbán 1701: 381). From the evidence of all compared dialects it seems safe to reconstruct a synchronic morphophonological rule for PM that elided the final vowel of *-*api-* preceding either *-*ija-* ‘father’ or *-*eno-* ‘mother’. The meaning of the two reconstructed etyma is thus purely descriptive, *-*api-ija-ru* ‘father’s brother’ (lit. “second father”) and *-*api-eno-ru* ‘mother’s sister’ (lit. “second mother”).

The fully transparent morphology and compositional semantics of these formations suggests a recent innovation. Evidence from the suffixal morphology of these etyma provides additional evidence for this later formation. The suffix *-ru* is a Nominalizer (Olza Zubiri *et al.* 2002: 626–641) which likely derives from earlier suffixes having both Nominalizing and Gender-marking functions, a property noted both in more general discussions of Arawakan morphology (see e.g. Payne 1987: 64) and in first-hand descriptions of these languages, as in Hanson (2010: 167–179) for Yine, Brandão (2014: 204–209) for Paresi and Pet (2011: 22–23) for Lokono. The function of these morphemes as Gender-markers was lost in Mojeño and in other members of the family (see e.g. Payne 1991: 377), but remnants of this use remain in a few unproductive corners of the morphology, as in Ignaciano *máimaru* ‘widow, husbandless woman’ (that is, *ma-ima-ru*; Ott & Ott 1983: 271; where *-ima* ‘husband’ and *ma-* is a Privative prefix) versus Ignaciano *majenare* ‘widower, wifeless man’ (that is, *ma-jena-re*; Ott & Ott 1983: 279; *-jena* ‘wife’) and *-iha-ru* ‘name of a woman’ vs. *-iha-re* ‘name of a man’ (Ott & Ott 1983: 219–220). Since in the case of the etyma *-*api-ija-ru* ‘father’s brother’ and *-*api-eno-ru* ‘mother’s sister’ the suffix *-*ru* is used with no regard for the Gender of the referent, their formation postdates the loss of the Gender-marking content of this morpheme, thus being a relatively late development.

In Terena, terms employed for parallel parental siblings, as anticipated in section 1, are also transparent formations: *poʔi ʔzâʔa* ‘father’s brother’ (lit. “my other father”; *ʔzâʔa* ‘my father’) and *poʔi ênõ* ‘mother’s sister’ (lit. “my other mother”; *ênõ* ‘my mother’). These are, clearly, not cognate with the PM etyma *-*api-ija-ru* ‘father’s brother’ and *-*api-eno-ru* ‘mother’s

sister’. All in all, this is consistent with the idea that the terminology for parallel parental siblings was recently and independently innovated both in PM and in Terena.¹¹

Dealing now with the terminology for cross parental siblings, the central claim made here is that Terena *-éiko* ‘uncle’ (that is, FB and MB), and *-ôko* ‘aunt’ (that is, FZ and MZ) were subject to semantic broadening, since the etyma they derive from had their meanings restricted to ‘cross uncle’ (MB) and ‘cross aunt’ (FZ), respectively. Table 4 below shows the etyma **-oko* ‘father’s sister’ (FZ) and **-ekuko* ‘mother’s brother’ (MB) reconstructed for the common ancestor of Terena and PM, focusing on the semantic mismatches between their reflexes.

Table 4. Meanings of **-ekuko* ‘MB’ and **-oko* ‘FZ’ in Terena and two Mojeño dialects

Etyma	Mojeño		Terena
	Old Mojeño	Ignaciano	
<i>*-ekuko</i> (MB)	<i>-ekuko</i> ‘mother’s brother’ (MB)	<i>-ékuka</i> ‘uncle’ (MB, FB)	<i>-éiko</i> ‘uncle’ (MB, FB)
<i>*-oko</i> (FZ)	<i>-oko</i> ‘father’s sister’ (FZ)	<i>-áka</i> ‘grandmother’s sister’ (FMZ, MMZ)	<i>-ôko</i> ‘aunt’ (MZ, FZ)

The semantic comparisons above lay out clearly a number of semantic diachronic correspondences. OM is conservative in retaining the semantic specialization to cross parental siblings of the reconstructed etyma. In Ignaciano, the sole modern dialect of the language where reflexes of these etyma are found, **-ekuko* ‘mother’s brother’ had its meaning broadened to include ‘father’s brother’ as well. Ott & Ott (1983: 156) note that *-ékuka* is ‘palabra general’ (“generic word”) for ‘uncle’, while *-ápijaru* is, as noted above, a transparent, special term for ‘father’s brother’ (Ott & Ott 1983: 76). The etymon **-oko* ‘father’s sister’ changed to mean ‘grandmother’s sister’ (‘tía (hermana de la abuela)’; Ott & Ott 1983: 632).¹² A reviewer questioned the inclusion of Ignaciano *-aka* ‘grandmother’s sister’ in the same etymology as OM *-oko* ‘father’s sister’ and Terena *-ôko* ‘aunt’, possibly on the grounds that the diverging semantics precludes comparability. I think that this is not really a problem, but given this paper’s focus on Terena, not on Mojeño, and the existence of certain unclear features in the meaning of the Ignaciano form (see footnote 12), I will comment only briefly on this. The postulated change from etymological **-oko* ‘father’s sister’ (FZ) to Ignaciano *-aka* ‘grandmother’s sister’ (either FMZ or MMZ) consists, first and foremost, in ignoring or by-passing a generational difference in kin relations. This kind of semantic association is attested in many kinship systems and is, in fact, one of the defining properties of the Omaha/Crow terminological ‘skewing’ (Murdock 1949: 102; McConvell 2013: 154) where a single kinship term can refer to kin relations at Ego’s generation (G0) and also at the parental generation (G+1),¹³ besides being also attested in diachronic se-

¹¹ ‘Recently’ here should be understood as meaning ‘after PM and Terena split from their last shared common ancestor’, which, as noted below, may be identified with the Proto-Achane level tentatively proposed in Carvalho (2017b).

¹² The gloss provided by Ott & Ott (1983: 632) mentions no restriction to either FMZ or MMZ. Given the absence of any such specification, I have included a reference to *either* FMZ *or* MMZ as characteristic of the semantics of *-aka*.

¹³ In keeping with the traditional notation used in kinship theory, G0 denotes Ego’s generation (e.g. his siblings and ‘cousins’, whether classified together with siblings or not), G+1 stands for the generation ‘above’ Ego, that is, the generation of his parents and their siblings, G-1 is the generation immediately ‘below’ G0, that is, that of Ego’s children and the children of Ego’s siblings, and so on.

semantic change, as in developments relating ‘grandson’ (G-2) and ‘nephew’ (G-1) in the Indo-European domain (see for example Mallory & Adams 1997: 239–240). Moreover, the fact that the sex of the connecting relative which was added as a function of the generational shift, in this case the grandmother (FM or MM), has changed (in the etymological meaning FZ the sole connecting relative is the male F) does not make the semantic association implausible, since the sex of the relative denoted by the term (the sister Z) is a more salient parameter in semantic change in kinship systems (see Hage 1999: 433) and this is kept constant in the change FZ > FMZ, MMZ. Given the typologically recurrent (even if ‘marked’; see McConvell 2013: 154) status of semantic associations (or terminological classifications) that span that divide between generations in kin relations, and the fact that marking/salience relations proposed as constraints on diachronic change in kinship terms are not violated by this hypothesis, I think there are no obstacles of a semantic nature to the acceptance of Ignaciano *-aka* ‘grandmother’s sister’ as a cognate of OM *-oko* ‘father’s sister’ and Terena *-ôko* ‘aunt’.

For Terena, note that a single semantic broadening characterized by the loss of the cross/parallel distinction took place, that is: MB > (MB, FB) and FZ > (MZ, FZ). Terena *-eúko* ‘uncle’ (MB, FB) and *-ôko* ‘aunt’ (MZ, FZ) are the reflexes of etyma that were restricted in their reference to cross uncles (MB) and cross aunts (FZ). If the etymologizations in table 4 are indeed correct, I conclude that the semantic properties of the Terena terminology for parental siblings that intrigued Oberg (1948, 1949) stem from an extension in the meaning of forms traceable to **-oko* ‘father’s sister’ and **-ekuko* ‘mother’s brother’ and extension that derived a more ‘classificatory’ terminology referring to both cross and parallel parental siblings.

Given the variety of attested meanings in the terminology for parental siblings in OM, Ignaciano and Terena noted in table 4, it is perhaps necessary to discuss in greater detail the reasons for reconstructing the meanings **-ekuko* ‘mother’s brother’ (MB) and **-oko* ‘father’s sister’ (FZ), instead of, say, etyma with less specific meanings of the kind attested in Terena. In my view both the early attestation of the more specialized semantics denoting cross parental siblings in OM and comparative evidence from other Arawakan languages jointly furnish the required evidence for these semantic reconstructions and, therefore, for seeing Terena as definitely innovative. However, before discussing this in greater detail I will present in table 5 below a summary of the total set of forms for parental siblings reconstructed here for PM and for the shared ancestor of Terena and PM (identified here simply as ‘etyma’). Note that cognates of Terena *-eúko* and *-ôko* in Proto-Mojeño are highlighted in bold, and so are the reconstructed etyma.¹⁴

Table 5. Terena and Proto-Mojeño terms for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’

Meaning	Terena	Proto-Mojeño	Etyma
FB	<i>-eúko</i>	<i>*api-ija-ru</i>	—
	<i>poʔi -háʔa</i>		
MB	<i>-eúko</i>	<i>*-ékuko</i> (ref.) <i>*kuko</i> (voc.)	<i>*-ekuko</i> (ref.) <i>*kuko</i> (voc.)
FZ	<i>-ôko</i>	<i>*-oko</i> (ref.) <i>*koko</i> (voc.)	<i>*-oko</i> (ref.) <i>*koko</i> (voc.)
MZ	<i>-ôko</i>	<i>*api-eno-ru</i>	—
	<i>poʔi -êno</i>		

¹⁴ It is a well-known fact to linguists working on South American indigenous languages that a form comparable to *kVkv* and meaning ‘uncle’, where V stands usually for a back vowel *u* or *o*, is found throughout a number of unrelated languages and language groups, in particular in the Amazon. These include families like Arawá (Dixon 2004: 17), Panoan (Oliveira 2014: 417) and, of course, Arawakan.

As noted, both Terena and Mojeño have complex, derived terms for parallel parental siblings (MZ and FB); these, however, are not only *not* cognate, but are so transparent in formation that a recent origin, that is, one postdating their separation from the last shared common ancestor, can be safely ascribed to them. Note that the OM forms discussed in the present paper are conservative in that: (1) OM preserves both the form and meaning of the terms reconstructed for PM, including the distinct referential and vocative forms for MB and FZ, and (2) the specialized meanings of the PM forms for cross uncle (MB) and cross aunt (FZ), attested only in OM, are projected further back to the etyma reconstructed for the common ancestor of Terena and PM, tentatively identified with the Proto-Achane level suggested by Carvalho (2017b).

The fact that OM was attested some three hundred years earlier than Terena and Ignaciano is not in itself a strong reason for taking its semantics to be more conservative. It is rather easy, even trivial, to find cases in which languages/varieties of younger (more recent) attestation preserve more conservative or archaic structures — a phonological contrast, a specific morphological formation — which are nevertheless absent from languages/varieties of earlier (older) attestation (see Kümmel 2015 for a recent discussion). In fact, Carvalho & Rose (2018: 24) note that the OM variety described by Marbán (1701) is less conservative than modern Ignaciano is in relation to the reconstructed accentual system of PM.

In the specific case of the semantics of kinship terms, however, I think that the early attestation of OM material makes it virtually certain that the meanings of these specific lexemes are more conservative than those attested much latter for Ignaciano and Terena. The same historic and cultural context that produced our existing documents on the Old Mojeño language, almost entirely restricted to the work of Marbán (1701), was also characterized by a still significant preservation of pre-Columbian social institutions, attitudes, practices and behaviors, including marriage practices, residence patterns, religious beliefs and rituals of the Mojeño-speaking populations, all described to some extent in available sources (see Denevan 1966: 45–49; Saito 2015; Hirtzel 2016 and references therein). Given the well-known effects that “altered life conditions”, to use Murdock’s (1949: 199) apt phrase, have on the kinship systems (including kinship terminologies) of different peoples under the pressure of acculturation, notably as a result of changes on residence pattern, the influence of missionary activity and as a consequence of depopulation (see Eggan 1937: 39–40; Spoehr 1947; Murdock 1949: 199–202; Voget 1953; Balée 2014), it is much more probable than not that the modern Mojeño and Terena terminologies have been much more drastically affected by change, *vis-à-vis* their presumed etyma, than is the case with the kinship terminology attested for 17th OM. Though the relations between, on the one hand, kinship terminologies and, on the other hand, kinship systems and social institutions is a complex one, it would be surprising if the changes in demography and social structure to which native indigenous populations have been increasingly subject in the last centuries have failed to make the semantics of kinship terms in modern Mojeño and Terena communities less conservative and more innovative than the terminologies recorded from Mojeño speakers in the 17th century, when many of their pre-Columbian social institutions and belief systems were still preserved.

Finally, evidence from more distantly related Arawakan languages is also consistent with the hypothesis of an older kinship terminological system showing bifurcate merging in Ego’s parental generation that is, one showing special terminology for cross parental siblings, or, in our case: **-ekuko* for MB and **-oko* for FZ. The Paresi term for ‘uncle’ discussed in the preceding section, *-ekoke* ~ *-koke*, although often glossed simply as ‘uncle’ actually means ‘mother’s brother’ (MB), as noted in ethnographic descriptions of the Paresi (see Bortoletto 1999: 58–59, fn. 27; Florido 2008: 117), the same being true for *-nake* ‘aunt’, or, more precisely, ‘father’s

sister' (FZ).¹⁵ The same ethnographies also add that the terms for 'father' (*aba*) and 'mother' (*ama*), in turn, classify both 'father' and his brother (F, FB) and 'mother' and her sister (M, MZ), respectively. Likewise, in Mehinaku, a language of the Xinguan branch (see e.g. Carvalho 2015, 2016a), *papa* classifies 'father' and 'father's brother', *mama* denotes both 'mother' and 'mother's sister' and specific terms refer to cross parental siblings: *kuku* 'mother's brother', *aky* 'father's sister' (see Florido 2008: 119–124 and references therein). Mehinaku *-aky* (FZ), Paresi *nake* < **na-ake* (FZ) are plausibly cognates of the etymon **-oko* (FZ) in table 5 above, and the same holds for Paresi *-ekoke* ~ *-koke* (MB), Mehinaku *-kuku* (MB) and the etymon **-ekoke* (MB) proposed here. Unravelling the exact nature of these relations depends, however, on future comparative investigations aimed at working out the regular segmental correspondences matching, on the one hand, Terena and Mojeño and, on the other hand, Paresi and the Xinguan languages.

3. Concluding remarks

This short contribution has provided an account to a specific formal difficulty arising from an attempt at relating the Terena noun *-eúko* 'uncle' to its cognates in the rather closely related Mojeño language. Instead of invoking a sporadic and unmotivated process of consonant loss, an account grounded on the analogical imposition of a pattern attested in 17th century Old Mojeño offers a principled explanation for the occurrence of *-eúko* instead of the predicted but unattested form **-ékuko*. The etyma reconstructed for an intermediate ancestor shared by Terena and Proto-Mojeño, and some of its specific features, such as the co-existence of referential and vocative forms for 'uncle' differing only by the presence of anlaut vowel in the referential form, are, moreover, supported by evidence from the more distantly related Paresi.

As to the semantic changes to which the reconstructed etyma were subject, I have shown that **-ekuko* 'mother's brother' (MB) and **-oko* 'father's sister' (FZ) were subject to broadening changes in Terena, were their reflexes, *-eúko* and *-ôko*, respectively, also denote parallel kin relations. It was also shown that PM and Terena, which present cognate and specific forms for cross parental siblings have, nevertheless, independently innovated derived terms for parallel parental siblings. A reviewer suggests that this, combined with the evidence from other more distantly related Arawakan languages, such as Paresi and Waurá, briefly discussed here, suffice as evidence for the hypothesis that Proto-Arawakan lacked specific terms for parallel parental siblings. I opt here, however, for a more cautious approach, given that Terena and PM are closely related languages and only very cursory comparison with a few other southern Arawakan languages has been presented here. Moreover, recent and pioneering comparative overviews of Arawakan kinship terminologies stress a high degree of variation and heterogeneity throughout the family (see Florido 2008: 160–161), a fact that makes even more risky any inference based on a few closely related languages. Perhaps Proto-Arawakan had complex, derived terms for parallel parental siblings of the kind seen in Terena and in PM, or, perhaps, a single underived form classified both the relevant parent and its sibling, as seen above in section 2.3 where Paresi *aba* 'F=FB' and *ama* 'M=MZ' were noted. Relating the reconstructed etyma presented here to their cognates in other Arawakan languages remains, therefore, a task for the future, once low-level (bottom-up) reconstruction has been successfully and extensively carried at the less inclusive level of closely related languages forming terminal branches.

¹⁵ Paresi *-nake* 'father's sister' likely includes a fossilized 1SG possessive prefix, **na-ake* 'my aunt', and thus instantiates a vocative > referential shift.

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Фернанду де Карвалью. Морфемы *-eúko* 'дядя' и *-ôko* 'тетя' в языке терена (аравакская семья): этимологическая разгадка одной аномалии в системе терминов родства

В статье предлагается оригинальная этимологизация имен существительных 'дядя' и 'тетя' в бразильском языке терена, относящемся к аравакской семье. В частности, некоторые особенности развития формы *-eúko* 'дядя', не имеющие объяснения в рамках обычной теории звуковых законов, предлагается считать аналогическим преобразованием по той же модели, которая засвидетельствована в старом мохеньо. Семантическое сопоставление вероятных когнатов позволяет пролить свет на странности в терминологии родства у терена, давно озадачивавшие антропологов, и подтвердить старое предположение Оберга о том, что сфера применимости соответствующих терминов родства в какой-то момент распространилась и на параллельных сиблингов. По ходу дела в статье также представлен ряд дополнительных лексических реконструкций для языка прамохеньо и альтернативный вариант анализа системы распределения алломорфов в языке пареси.

Ключевые слова: этимология, языковая аналогия, термины родства, аравакские языки.

Anatolian linguistic influences in Early Greek (1500–800 BC)? Critical observations against sociolinguistic and areal background¹

The paper addresses the question of the presence of Anatolian influence in Early Greek (conventionally, about 1500–800 BC). The first part addresses methodological questions of language contact, such as mechanisms of linguistic interaction and the scale of borrowings. In the second part, eleven important cases of presumable Anatolian lexical borrowings in Greek are critically analyzed. The results of the analysis suggest that the Anatolian influence on the vocabulary of Early Greek was minimal (if any), which strongly speaks against the possibility of influences in morphology, phonetics or phraseology.

Keywords: Greek-Anatolian interaction, Early Greek language, Anatolian languages, Hittite language, Luwian language, Lydian language, Lycian language, Carian language

It would be fair to say that the existence of *some* cultural influence of Anatolia on Greek language and literature which may be dated as far back as the Late Bronze Age is at present taken practically for granted. The assessments of the extent and depth of this influence, as well as of its exact source (the Hittites, the Luwians or some other peoples of Western or Southern Anatolia), may vary considerably from scholar to scholar, but the very idea seems to have assumed by now in the eyes of many (if not all) the quality of an established fact, mirroring in a way a similar process of ‘recognition’ of more general ‘Oriental’ influences in the early Greek literature. This belief is rooted in the obvious fact of immediate geographic proximity of Anatolia and the Aegean, in the somewhat less obvious but still demonstrable fact of contacts between the Mycenaean Greeks and Anatolian peoples and, lastly, in a far more problematic — and often subconscious — belief that Anatolia as a part of the Ancient Near East was culturally superior to the Aegean world in the Late Bronze Age, which should allegedly have automatically made the Greeks receptive to cultural impulses from this region. The underlying belief in the importance of the Anatolian factor for the Early Greek language and literature generated over the years an imposing (even if not all too dense) swarm of publications claiming to have found one or the other concrete instance of Anatolian or, to apply the term most fre-

¹ The current paper was submitted as a part of project ‘The Trojan Catalogue (Hom. Il. 2.816–877) and the Peoples of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. A Study of the Homeric Text in the Light of Hittite Sources and Classical Geographical Tradition’ (2015/19/P/HS3/04161), which has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 665778 with the National Science Centre, Poland.



At the core of the paper lies the talk given at the conference ‘Language Change in Epic Greek and other Oral Traditions’ (Leiden, 27–29 October, 2016) and the initial variant of the paper profited from the discussions with Lucien van Beek (the editor of the proceedings volume) and from the critical comments of an anonymous peer reviewer, to whom I express my gratitude. My further thanks go to Craig Melchert and Ilya Yakubovich, both for helpful suggestions and for correction of linguistic infelicities. Needless to say, all responsibility for the text remains my own.

quently used for the most part of the 20th century, *Hittite* influence in the domain of Greek vocabulary, morphology or phraseology².

The fact of geographic proximity of the Aegean and Anatolia and the existence of some sort of contact between the Greeks and the Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age is difficult to deny. However, these two factors still do not constitute a sufficient condition for existence of a cultural, linguistic or, even less so, literary influence of Anatolia on Greece. The very possibility and the direction of influence is determined by a far more complex and subtle combination of sociolinguistic factors which involve type and intensity of contact between two communities – which may or may not result in the situation of bilingualism – and, no less crucially, language attitudes within respective communities (see below for details).

Due in part to the above mentioned preconceptions and in part to the almost complete absence of direct evidence, the sociolinguistic dimension of the process of the Greek-Anatolian interaction was until recently practically left out of consideration. Ilya Yakubovich (2010: 140–157) was the first to look at the issue against a sociolinguistic background. However, his treatment is more of a critical overview of the relevant evidence rather than a linguistic analysis within the framework of methods that are current in modern sociolinguistic discourse. Some theoretical points of language contact were touched upon by Ivo Hajnal (2014: 107–110), who posed the question whether Early Greek and Anatolian might be described as a sort of *Sprachbund*, as was assumed in some earlier studies (e.g., Puhvel 1991a or Watkins 2000a), or if the nature of the language contact was more casual. In his analysis he drew upon considerations on contact-induced language changes presented in Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 37f., 65f.) which result from studies on modern and much better documented languages. As far as the question is concerned, Hajnal argued – rather unsurprisingly – against a *Sprachbund* scenario, coming to the conclusion that Greek-Anatolian contacts were rather confined in their extent and went exclusively in the direction East > West (i.e. Anatolia > Greece), resulting in some lexical borrowings but no structural changes in Greek (such as borrowing of morphological elements or changes in syntax). In a more recent treatment (2018), which largely repeats the argumentation of Hajnal 2014, a similar conclusion is reached. And yet, even while basically refuting the existence of bilingual communities on the Greek-Anatolian interface and accepting only a very limited number of Anatolian borrowings in Greek, Hajnal still quite optimistically assesses the existence of phraseological borrowings from Anatolia attested in the *Iliad* and other Early Greek literary works, ascribing them to an interaction on the level of ‘literary subjects and genres’. The idea that it is possible to speak about an interaction on literary level which leaves no perceptible traces in the lexicon of a language – neither in the domain of common words, nor even in the domain of *onomastics* which is arguably quite easily transferred from culture to culture – raises serious doubts and would require a detailed discussion. The aim of the present contribution is, however, to re-address in greater detail the sociolinguistic and areal aspects of the problem which Yakubovich and Hajnal touch upon only tangentially.³

² The popularity of the idea of Greek-Anatolian language contact is primarily due to the works of Jaan Puhvel and Calvert Watkins (see first of all Puhvel 1991 and the articles collected in Puhvel 2002, as well as Watkins 1995, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2007). For further literature and for a general good overview of the recent state of research in the field see Bianconi 2015. The recent monograph by Mary Bachvarova (2016), although building in part on linguistic argumentation, rather represents an elaboration of the topic from a literary/cultural perspective. The idea of more general ‘Oriental’ influences in Greek literature, inspired primarily by the works of Martin West (1997) and Walter Burkert (1992, 2004), recently saw a significant surge of interest (cf., e.g., López-Ruiz 2010, Haubold 2013, Metcalf 2015).

³ The question of sociolinguistic mechanisms of borrowings and ‘migration’ of terms in a certain area (*Wandervörter*) was also recently discussed in two largely identical articles by Pozza-Gasbarra (2014a and 2014b). How-

The first part of the paper will address the basic premises of the question about *how* and *why* a linguistic feature can be adopted from a foreign linguistic/cultural milieu, in other words, the sociolinguistic mechanisms of borrowing, with which the question of the scale (or hierarchy) of borrowings is further connected. In the second part I will give a critical revision the most important cases of supposed Anatolian *lexical* influence on Greek. Needless to say, the aim of this revision is not to give a full re-assessment of the situation — a task which would require a special monograph — but first of all to demonstrate the problems and caveats associated with the idea of Anatolian linguistic influence on Greek.

I. An analytical framework: mechanisms of linguistic interaction and the scale of borrowings

1) Quite naturally, theoretical issues concerning language interaction and mutual influence are rarely touched upon in discussions of dead languages attested through relatively small text corpora. Linguistic influences are here either quite obviously suggested by the material itself, as is, for instance, the case with the influence of the Prakrits on Tocharian or Greek on Coptic, or follow from more general historical considerations, as is the case with the influence of the Aegean substratum language(s) on Greek and comparable *substratum* scenarios, even if an exact quantitative assessment remains rather difficult in such cases. However, theoretical issues become crucial when one has to deal with interaction of two (or more) contemporary languages in neighboring regions (*adstratum* scenarios), when neither the direction nor the very existence of an influence is quite obvious. Geographic proximity and some contact between two communities, putative or actually documented, do not guarantee alone any linguistic or literary influence of one culture on the other. One can find numerous examples across the world when geographic proximity and contact between two linguistic communities result in no or practically no influence of one language on the other (let alone the literary level). An obvious example from the European linguistic area would be an extremely meager number of Celtic loanwords in standard British English, despite hundreds of years of close coexistence and significant intermixture of the two linguistic communities. The case is all the more remarkable given that the culture of different Celtic peoples, such as the Welsh or the Irish, at the end of 1st and beginning of 2nd can be in no way characterized (by modern scholars) as inferior to that of the Anglo-Saxons or the Normans. On the other hand, the heavy layers of Latin, French and Scandinavian borrowings in English show that the language was not just ‘open’ or ‘closed’, in a binary manner, to external influences — it was *selective* about the source. In other words, sociolinguistic factors play an extremely important and, in many cases, crucial role.

Further examples, also strongly tied to the question of language attitude, would be the more than modest number of Slavicisms in German or of words of indigenous origin in the American variety of English; in both cases the borrowings are restricted to very specific — virtually terminological — spheres, such as plant and animal names, cuisine, names of specific household items, cultural practices etc. and have almost no exponents in the everyday lexicon. Thus, without at least a rough assessment of sociolinguistic factors and language attitudes it is impossible to make any *a priori* claims about linguistic or literary influences of one culture on another, and the case of Greek and Anatolian is no exception. A preliminary assessment of so-

ever, the perspective adopted by the authors appears to be too general to be useful for the present inquiry. Unfortunately, I was unable to gain access to an earlier contribution of the authors to the question of Greek-Anatolian interference (Gasbarra-Pozza 2012).

ciolinguistic factors in Aikhenvald–Dixon 2001: 14–16 recognizes seven relevant parameters which apply to both sides of interaction:

a) Type of community, which refers both to its internal organization ('tightly-knit' vs. 'loosely-knit') and the degree of openness to interaction with neighbors. The lifestyle of a given community (e.g., nomadic communities of different types, village agriculturalists, urbanized societies etc.), social organization and even marriage patterns (which affect transmission of language between generations) may play an important part in it.

b) Size of the community.

c) Relations within a community, i.e. first of all hierarchical structure of a given society and relations between different strata.

d) Type of contact with other communities, which involves both frequency of contact (regular vs. sporadic), circumstances (trade, religious/cultic interaction etc.) and, again, social level on which the contact takes place.

e) Degrees of 'lingualism', which describes the mode of usage of two or more languages within a given community. It is crucial whether a certain multiethnic community may be described as bilingual or multilingual — or the nature of contact does not presuppose any degree of 'lingualism' at all.

f) Type of language interaction: one-to-one interaction between two languages or interaction between one language and a group of closely-related languages.

g) Language attitude, which describes more or less conscious strategies of dealing with foreign elements. This may range from unrestricted and unconditional acceptance of borrowings to creative adoption of external influences using internal capacities of one's own language ('loan translation') to a complete ban on or ignorance of foreign elements.

Needless to say, far from all of these factors can be assessed with any accuracy for the case of Greek-Anatolian interaction in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (before ca. 800 BC). Still, some clues do exist and the situation they seem to imply is, to say the least, far from telling about any Anatolian influence on Greek. To begin with, judging from archaeological evidence, which is practically the only available source for the given period, the Greek-Anatolian contact zone was rather 'slim' in the Late Bronze Age, being effectively confined to the coastal zone of western (mainly its central part corresponding to Ionia) and possibly South Western Anatolia (Lydia).⁴ Furthermore, it was not continuous, but concentrated in several pockets corresponding to major urban centers; with some probability one may speak about more or less continuous presence of some Mycenaean Greek communities only in Miletus/Milawanda, in the region of the lower Hermos (the archaeological site of Panaztepe) and, somewhat more speculatively, in Ephesos/Abasa and a couple of other cities.⁵ In the Early Iron Age the territory of Greek settlement in western Anatolia expanded in quantitative terms, but the pattern remained essentially the same: urban centers in the narrow coastal zone which were open towards the sea with its trade routes but had rather little interest for the Anatolian hinterland beyond their respective city state territories (*choras*). There are hardly any reasons to assume that the mode of colonization of the West Anatolian coast was any different from colonization patterns ob-

⁴ For a general picture of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery see Mee 1978 and especially Mountjoy 1998 with maps on pp. 38 and 52.

⁵ It is quite probable that the Greek-speaking communities were also present in the Late Bronze Age Troy (Wilusa). However, there are strong doubts that Troy, as well as the whole north-western part of Anatolia (the Troad and Mysia), can be properly defined as 'Anatolian' in an ethnolinguistic sense (i.e. speaking one of the languages belonging to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European languages). This question, which is the subject of the ongoing project of the author, will be addressed in detail elsewhere (cf., however, some considerations in Oreshko 2017).

served for instance in Southern Italy or on the northern Black Sea coast or in Egypt (Naukratis), where the defining feature was creation of Greek enclaves in the foreign ethnolinguistic milieu with only very limited (if any) attempt of integration of (or into) the pre-existing communities.

The Greek settlement in Pamphylia and Cilicia went quite possibly along somewhat different lines with a somewhat higher level of interaction with and integration into the local communities (as was also the case with Cyprus). However, there are no evidence that the Greek communities there functioned as ‘channels’ of Anatolian influences into Greek in general (i.e. core literary dialects as Attic-Ionic and Doric); if there was any Anatolian linguistic influence on Greek in Pamphylia, as the scarce evidence of the Pamphylian dialect seems to suggest, or Cilicia (where there is no evidence), it remained rather a local matter (cf. again the case of Cypriot dialect).⁶ The only site in the inland Anatolia for which we have direct evidence suggesting *some* Greek presence in the Archaic period was Sardis (Sappho and Alcaeus); it is, however, questionable if this situation may be projected to back before 800 BC.

The next factor about which one can make some reasonable guesses is the nature of contact with indigenous Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age. There is every reason to think that the driving force of Mycenaean presence in Anatolia was ‘economical’ considerations: trade and, probably even more so, piracy and raiding, as suggested by the evidence of archaeology and scarce textual sources (Hittite and Linear B)⁷. This circumstance predicts rather precisely the type of Mycenaean Greek communities active in the Late Bronze Age in Western Anatolia: tightly-knit groups of male warriors and traders, probably not too different from the groups of Vikings active in the medieval Europe and beyond. Contact with indigenous Anatolian communities was characterized at best by a cautious (material) interest, but may have frequently been rather strained. Contact in the sphere of religion and cult, although frequently conjectured⁸, remains a rather speculative possibility.

In the Early Iron Age, the pattern must have changed: the Greek settlements founded in the course of Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian migrations on the west-Anatolian coast represented full-fledged communities which included women and groups of any age and social strata. Both the size of the Greek communities in Western Anatolia in the Early Iron Age and the sociolinguistic pattern of their coexistence and interaction with the local communities are extremely difficult to assess even approximately. However, if there is no reason to doubt contacts on the level of *individuals* and, accordingly, the existence of a number of Greek-Anatolian bilingual speakers⁹, virtual absence of any literary evidence about long-term co-existence and/or intensive and regular interaction between Greek and, first of all, West-Anatolian communities in a specific common space and non-military context shows, at the least, that it was not common practice (again, the only exception seems to be Sardis).

⁶ For Pamphylian see, e.g., Filos in Giannakis 2014: s.v. with further literature. There is no evidence about Greek spoken in Cilicia, although the joint evidence of Greek sources and Luwian inscriptions from Cilicia (KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY) implies that the Greeks did settle there; in all probability those Greek communities shifted to the local idiom (Luwian) soon after the settlement (cf. considerations in Yakubovich 2015).

⁷ The few mentions of the Mycenaean Greeks (‘Ahhiyawa’) in Hittite texts suggest quite tense relationships, if not open hostility (see Beckman et al. 2011 with an overview of the issue on pp. 1–6 and 267–283, cf. also de Fidio 2008: 99–102). The evidence of Linear B texts mentioning female captives (*ra-wi-ja-ja*) from the regions of the West Anatolian coast and the nearby islands (as *ki-ni-di-ja* ‘Knidian women’ or *ki-si-wi-ja*, possibly ‘Chian women’) indirectly supports this, also implying that slaves were possibly one of the main ‘articles of commerce’ of the Mycenaeans in Anatolia (for captive women cf. also Chadwick 1988: 91–92).

⁸ See, e.g., Rutherford 2008, Mouton–Rutherford 2015, Teffeteller 2015, cf. also Bachvarova 2016: 216–265 for religious festivals as milieus for inter-cultural encounters.

⁹ For bilingual individuals see, e.g., the examples adduced in Hawkins 2010: 220–221.

However, probably the most significant if not crucial part in shaping the relationship between Greek and Anatolian (as any other language of the Ancient Mediterranean and beyond) was the Greek *attitude* to the foreign peoples in general and their languages in particular. The available evidence, however incomplete it is, plainly warns against the idea that Early Greek was readily open to any linguistic influences going from outside. Indeed, a very remarkable feature of the Greek picture of social *cosmos* was a sharp contrast between ‘Greek’ and ‘non-Greek’ (‘Barbarian’). It is quite probable that this attitude had crystallized only during the Persian wars at the beginning of the 5th century BC. However, it could not emerge overnight as a reaction to this encounter and its roots should lie much further back in the past.¹⁰ An important criterion of the distinction ‘Greek’ vs. ‘Barbarian’ was, along with perceived ethnic affinity, religion and the way of life, quite naturally, *language*. And, just as the pattern of the Greek settlement abroad in relatively closed communities correlates well with the Greek attitude to the ‘Barbarians’, the linguistic evidence, when seen from a broad areal and chronological perspective, shows that Greek was rather *restrictive* towards external linguistic influences or, at least, very *selective*. If one takes out of consideration the words which can with different grades of confidence be classified as coming from the Aegean *stratum* language(s),¹¹ the number of borrowings in classical Greek before Hellenistic period from any of the *contemporary* languages of the neighboring peoples is quite modest.

In a nutshell, the picture may be sketched as follows: the influence of the languages of the Balkans, Illyrian and Thracian, is, as far as one can judge from the extremely limited knowledge of these languages, barely noticeable in Greek. Even if one adopts an optimistic approach and counts the words transmitted as glosses which have an appearance of usual borrowings (cf. definition of a borrowing below),¹² as Thracian terms as βρωτος ‘(a sort of) barley beer’, ζήλας (ζελάς/ζειλά) ‘wine’ ῥομφαία ‘large, broad sword’, σκάλμη ‘sword, knife’, ζετραία ‘(a sort of) pot’,¹³ one may speak at best only about some Thracian influence in peripheral Greek dialects.¹⁴ Likewise, there is hardly any reason to assume any significant influence of Phrygian on Greek. In this case even glosses, consisting in the most reliable cases practically only of the words of basic (non-terminological) vocabulary (such as, e.g., δάος ‘wolf’ or ζέλικια ‘garden-herbs, vegetables’), does not suggest any actual presence of Phrygian borrowings in Greek dialects.¹⁵ On the other hand, there is demonstrably Greek influence in Phrygian which

¹⁰ On the Greek ethnocultural picture in general see, e.g., Cartledge 1993; for the reflection of this picture in the *Histories* of Herodotus, one of the most important sources in this respect, see Laurot 1993, cf. further Munson 2005. For more specific discussion see Coleman 1997, Tuplin 1999, Hall 2002: 90–124 (esp. 111–117 for the linguistic factor).

¹¹ For the substratum Aegean material in Greek s. most recently Beekes 2014, esp. Chapter 6 (‘The Pre-Greek Lexicon’), cf. also an overview by Silvestri in Giannakis 2014: sub ‘Pre-Greek Substrate’. However one assesses Beekes’ analysis of individual cases, the fact is that the number of words in Greek which defy more or less plausible explanation from Indo-European is rather significant.

¹² However, the words attested as glosses but found nowhere else, i.e. in theory known to Greeks but not in actual use, can be more correctly defined as *foreign words* (cf. below).

¹³ Cf. Tzitzilis in Giannakis 2014: sub ‘Greek and Illyrian’ and ‘Greek and Thracian’ with further refs.

¹⁴ Note, however, that a whole layer of the terms associated with the cult of Dionysos, as θύρσος, θίασος, διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος etc. may come from Thracian (or, more generally, from an East-Balkan linguistic adstratum), as many features of the Dionysian cult have clear association with Thrace. In general, there are good chances that the Thracian (or East-Balkan) element in the Greek lexicon is underestimated due to poor knowledge to linguistic situation there. A significant amount of words dubbed as ‘pre-Greek’ may come from this region.

¹⁵ The only two possible exceptions are δούμος ‘cultic/religious guild’ (~ Greek θίασος), a word frequently found in Greek inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia, and γάλλος ‘priest of the cult of Cybele’, well attested in Greek and Latin authors. For the material cf. Haas 1966: 157–172 (with often far-fetched interpretations) and Sowa 2007 and Sowa 2008: 39–68.

may possibly go back to a very early period, cf. *lavag[e]lta-* < λαφαγήτης (Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta*), *vanakt-* ‘king’ < (F)ἄναξ (Myc. *wa-na-ka*) attested in the Old-Phrygian period (M-01b) or later σορο- < σορός ‘cinerary urn, coffin’, θαλαμε- ‘grave chamber’ < θάλαμος/θαλάμη ‘inner room, chamber; grave chamber’, κορο- < poss. χῶρος ‘piece of ground, land’.¹⁶ Again, quite a similar situation is found with the Anatolian languages attested in alphabetic transmission after ca. 700 BC, such as Carian, Lydian and Lycian. There are no demonstrable borrowings from either Carian or Lycian into the core Greek dialects and there is only very slight lexical influence of Lycian on the variety of Greek spoken in Lycia which reflects local realities and customs (μινδῖς/μενδιτής ‘a supervisory authority (of elders)’ < Lyc. *miñt(i)-* and, more speculatively, πεατρα/πιετρα ‘a term of relationship’ (possibly, daughter-in-law)).¹⁷ This is, however, contrasted with clear evidence of Greek influence in Lycian, both lexical (e.g., *stala-* < στάλα (Dor.) or *trijere-* < τριήρη) and structural, which is perceptible even in the relatively scarce inscriptional material we possess. For Carian, we have a testimony of Strabo (14.2.28) that it absorbed many Greek words in it.¹⁸ Only in the case of Lydian there are some reasons to assume a somewhat stronger influence.¹⁹ There are at least three good cases of Lydian words in Greek which may be termed as proper ‘borrowings’ or, at least, as ‘well-known foreign words’ (πάλμυς, καύης and βάκκαρις, for which cf. below) and the Lydian material preserved as glosses makes an impression of somewhat more substantial knowledge of Lydian by Greeks than can be assumed for Lycian and Carian.²⁰ This correlates well with the probable presence of a Greek community in Sardis noted above. However it might be, in Lydia as well as in Caria and Lycia the population finally completely shifted to Greek, which once again clearly demonstrates the sociolinguistic status of Greek as a prestige language of the region and the main direction of influence. Greek was arguably more susceptible to the influences going from the cultures of the Near East and the greatest number of borrowings can be attributed to two eastern language groups: Semitic (first of all west-Semitic) and Iranian (first of all Persian). The number of certain borrowings from each of these two groups comprises at least two dozens.²¹ However, these two cases make the statement about the selectiveness of Greek in absorbing foreign influences even clearer. As for Semitic influence, it is clear that it comes from an intensive cultural and trade interaction between coastal and maritime cultures of the Levant —

¹⁶ Cf. Ligorio-Lubotsky 2013: 194.

¹⁷ See Melchert in Giannakis 2014: sub ‘Greek and Lycian’ with further refs. It is noteworthy that the few Carian ‘glosses’ all but one of which are preserved by Stephen of Byzantium, have rather dubious appearance (for the material cf. Adiego 2007: 455, cf. 7–12 with further refs.). At least in one case the explanation is clearly wrong: Ἀλάβανδα has nothing to do either with ‘horses’ (allegedly αλα) or with ‘victory’ (βανδα), but goes back in all probability to **ala-wanda-* (with fortization /w/ > /β/ (> /b/)), which contains the usual toponymic suffix *-wanda-* with possessive function and is based on the noun *ala/i-* (attested in Luwian). Only the gloss by Eusthatus (κοῖον/κοον ‘sheep’) seems to be correct (< **Hāwo-*). This evidence gives quite a clear idea of the level of acquaintance of the Greeks with Carian.

¹⁸ Str. 14.2.28: πλεῖστα Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα ἔχει καταμειγμένα, ὡς φησι Φίλιππος ὁ τὰ Καρικὰ γράψας ‘It has many Greek words mixed in it up, as says Philippos who wrote *Carica*’. Phillipos which Strabo refers to is Philippos of Theangela (FrGrHist 741) who wrote a treatise on Carians and Lelegians (Περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λελέγων) of which only four brief mentions are extant (fr. 5 preserved by Stephan of Byzantium which mentions a certain Θεαγένης in connection with a Cilician city Κασταλία hardly belongs here). Given that Philippos was born in a Carian city, it is quite likely that he spoke or at least had some passive knowledge of Carian.

¹⁹ However, there are reasons to assume that the case of Lydian is quite different in its essence.

²⁰ For a discussion of Lydian material see Hawkins 2013: 155–194, cf. Gusmani 1964: 271–278.

²¹ For Semitic loan-words see Masson 1967 and Rosóť 2013, cf. also an overview by Zaborski in Giannakis 2014: sub ‘Semitic Loans in Greek’. For Iranian see Schmitt 1971, Brust 2005, cf. short overviews in Benvenuto in Giannakis 2014: sub ‘Greek and Iranian’ and Hawkins 2010: 226–227.

‘Phoenicians’, comprising both the Phoenicians *strictu sensu* as well as the Syrian and Canaanite coastal peoples — and the Greeks, both in the Levant and in the Aegean and the wider Mediterranean, as is well documented by different sources. The presence of the Semitic borrowings perfectly correlates with the presence of the ‘Oriental’ influences in the material culture of the Aegean, especially strong around 800–550 BC. It is noteworthy that in the case of the earliest ‘Oriental’ words attested already in the Mycenaean Greek, such as *sa-sa-ma* ‘sesame’ or *ku-mi-no* ‘cumin’, it is more correct to speak about *areal words* (*Wanderwörter*), which were quite probably present in the Aegean substratum language(s) before the arrival of the Greeks, since nothing suggests that these words originated in one of the Semitic languages (for *sesam* cf. below). This applies to many of the alleged Anatolian ‘borrowings’ discussed below. Iranian or Persian influence in Greek dates after ca. 540 BC and clearly reflects significant political and cultural influence of the Persian Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia. Whether opposing or sympathizing the Persians (cf. *μηδισμός*), the Greeks could not remain absolutely immune to this influence. However, even in this case the absolute majority of the Persian words in Greek represents specific terms reflecting peculiar habits and realities of the Persian culture (e.g., *σατραπης/(ἐ)ξατραπης* ‘satrap’, *(ἀ)κινάκης* ‘short sword’, *ἀναξούριδες* ‘trousers’, *μάρις* ‘a liquid measure’ etc.) and represent well known foreign words rather than true borrowings fully embedded in the Greek language. It is noteworthy that in several cases we seem to deal with loan-translations of Persian titles rather than borrowings (cf. *βασιλεύς βασιλέων* ‘king of the kings’ or *χιλιάρχης* ‘commander of thousand’).

Lastly, this picture may be complemented by literary evidence concerning foreign languages or, rather, almost complete absence thereof. The extant corpus of Greek texts conspicuously lacks both reasonably clear passages in foreign languages and any serious discussion of foreign linguistic material.²² The few possible exceptions, such as a supposedly Lydian expression preserved in Hipponax fr. 92 (= 95 Degani) or a Persian phrase in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* (100), corrupt as they are, only prove the rule.²³ The Greek society, as reflected in literary texts, appears to be monolingual *par excellence*, even if in the Aegean were arguably present elements of many different ethnicities. There is an obvious and stark contrast with such multi-ethnic and multi-lingual societies as existed, for instance, in the Hittite Empire, where *at least five* different languages were in some currency in the capital besides Hittite itself (Akkadian, Hurrian, Luwian, Palaic and Hattian) or in the Achaemenid Empire with its documented usage of at least *three* different administrative languages (Aramaic, Akkadian and Elamite) and arguable currency of at least *two* other Iranian languages besides Old Persian (Median and Avestan).

In sum, there is fair amount of evidence that the Greek of the 1st millennium BC was on the whole *restrictive* towards external linguistic influences. One should note that, besides purely political factors — which are not always a sufficient condition for acquiring by a lan-

²² The foreign languages, such as Lydian or Carian, *might* have been touched upon in special works concerning local histories, as, e.g., *Lydiaka* by Xanthos the Lydian (FrGrHist 765) or *Carica* by Philippos of Theangela (FrGrHist 741, cf. above fn. 18). This material might have served as the source of glosses preserved in the compilation by Hesychius. Even if this was the case — for which there is little tangible evidence — this would again be rather an exception which proves the rule: both mentioned authors were in all probability of a mixed ethnic background and their interest to the local history and culture is quite natural.

²³ For the Lydian expression in Hipponax’ text, which probably served as basis for several glosses of Hesych transmitted in a number of significantly deviating variants, see discussion in Hawkins 2013: 157–166. For a discussion of the Persian phrase in Aristophanes see Willi 2004. Similarly, a brief and rather naive discussion of Phrygian words in Plato’s *Cratylus* (410a) does not make an impression of a real interest to or knowledge of Phrygian (for a recent discussion against a linguistic background see Lamberterie 2013: 50–54).

guage the status of a prestige idiom — this quality correlates with extreme richness of Greek in *internal* linguistic capacities, which allowed Greek to develop a number of literary and scientific registers highly prestigious and influential in the Mediterranean and beyond. Of course, one cannot simply project this picture back into Late Bronze Age. However, at least some of the prerequisites of the attitude to the foreign might well have been present already then and the situation of interaction between Greek and Anatolian communities at that time does not seem to be especially advantageous for formation of bilingual communities. Thus, even if there might have existed a number of exceptional cases, the overall picture of Greek-Anatolian contact *does not* imply any significant cultural or linguistic influences in either direction.

2) Now let us look how differences in intensity of language contact affect language change. The borrowing scale discussed in Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 74–95, cf. Thomason 2001, 59–98, esp. 70–71) represent, despite its understandable restrictions as any abstraction, a quite precise analytical instrument, at least under the normal scenario of a language contact.²⁴ The authors define four stages of contact intensity, but for the present purposes it would suffice to look at the first two. On the first stage, the most casual type of language contact with rather few bilingual speakers, one has borrowings exclusively in the *lexical* domain with *no* structural changes on any level. Moreover, one borrows only from *non-basic* vocabulary; in practice this means that one borrows first of all nouns (rarer verbs or adjectives) with specific or even technical meaning, i.e. terms that are simply absent in the receiving language, such as, for instance, names of some professions or titles, of specific objects or cultural practices, plant and animal names etc (cf. above for the possible Thracian or Persian borrowings). On the second, more intensive stage, when some proportion (still not the majority) of population is ‘reasonably fluent bilinguals’, some function words, such as conjunctions, can be borrowed, and some slight structural influence of one language on the other may be observed, such as sporadic usage of new syntactical structures or new phonemes in borrowed words (as contrasted with the *adaption* of borrowings to the phonetic system of one’s own language on the previous stage). Re-interpreted in less abstract terms, this means that in the situation of a language contact one starts always with acquiring *separate* words (or, rarer, their combinations), which for one or another reason appear to be important. It is quite obvious that this corresponds to the very first stage of language acquisition by a child (or by a person going on a trip abroad). Correct syntax and phonetics are much less important things and can be for the time being ignored; only after becoming a more or less fluent bilingual speaker, one may turn attention to the subtleties of phonetics, syntax and idiomatic expressions of the second language, which may become with time so familiar that they begin to influence the first language. For the present purpose the most significant inference of this brief survey is the primary importance of *lexicon* as an indicator of language contact. In order to be able to demonstrate an influence of one language upon another one needs to present a more or less significant number of clear lexical borrowings. Before that, there is simply no point to look for similarities in morphology, syntactical structures or idiomatic expressions: they simply cannot come into being if one is not a fluent bilingual speaker, which should *necessarily* leave perceptible traces in the lexicon.

3) Lastly, it is appropriate to address briefly the question of what is a *borrowing* (*loanword*) and what is its difference from a *Wanderwort* to avoid misconceptions. Thus, *cheetah* is a borrowing in English from Hindi, because (a) cheetahs do not live on British Islands and, consequently, neither Celts nor Anglo-Normans needed a special word for the animal; (b) cheetahs do live in India with which the British arguably had close contact from the early 17th century on and where they quite probably first saw the animal; (c) Hindi as a specific source language

²⁴ Cf. also the hierarchy of lexical borrowing in Winford 2013: 176 (with further refs.).

of borrowing — and not, for instance, a language of Iran, a land for which both the presence of cheetahs and, at some point, of the British subjects is documented — is indicated by joint evidence of the word's phonetics and semantics: in Hindi the word *chītā* means ‘variegated, spotted’ (< Skr. *chitra*), which is quite an appropriate description of the cheetah’s appearance (in contrast, in Farsi cheetah’s usual name is *yuz palang*). It is noteworthy that in this case the choice between the definition of the word as a *true borrowing* or as a *foreign word* — a word not fully embedded into a language and used in restricted number of contexts virtually as a *terminus technicus* — is not quite obvious; however, the fact that the word is known to the majority of English speakers and that the phrase ‘he rushed to his breakfast as a cheetah’ would make sense without any reference to Near Eastern or African context (cheetah = swift animal) still speaks in favor of the former possibility. Similarly, the fact that the word *pajamas* is ultimately a borrowing from Persian is defined by the fact that a word almost phonetically identical to it (*pāi-jāme*) is known in Farsi as a name for loose trousers not typical for Europe, and has there a transparent internal form (‘leg-garment’); one only needs to assume the relatively unproblematic semantic change ‘loose trousers’ > ‘loose (sleeping) suit’. The only difficulty is that the word is also attested in the languages of India, so the question arises how one should properly define it: as an Iranian borrowing or still as an Indian one.

These two examples demonstrate the basic principles associated with linguistic borrowing: (a) one usually borrows first words for objects/notions absent in one’s own language; (b) the borrowed word has a phonetic form that is very close to the one in the source language with only basic adjustments to the phonetic system of the receiving language; (c) it has identical or very close semantics in both source and target language; (d) the most reliable criterion for defining the ultimate source of borrowing is etymological transparency in a given language; a rough idea where the word might come from may, however, be obtained by looking for the region where certain plant, animal, object or custom likely come from. There are, of course, some exceptions, e.g., the word *alcohol*, which is a borrowing from Arabic *al-koḥl* ‘antimony’ (black powder used to highlight eyelids) with a non-trivial and multi-stage semantic change > ‘easily sublimated substance’ > ‘spirit’ > ‘ethanol’ > ‘hard liquor’; such cases are, however, extremely rare.

As for *Wanderwort*, i.e. migrant cultural word, its principal distinction from a borrowing is that its ultimate source language is impossible to pinpoint with any certainty. A frequent mistake is to ascribe to a *Wanderwort* a certain origin simply on the basis of the *earliest* or relatively *more frequent* attestation in a given language (or a language group); as a typical example, one may mention the recurrent claim that *sesame* is a Semitic word, while in reality the distribution of wild species of the plant suggests that the word may ultimately come from a language of India or Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁵ Most frequently *Wanderwörter* represent names of animals, culture plants, minerals, vessels etc. Quite often a *Wanderwort* is restricted to certain regions, in which case one may speak about an *areal word*.

II. Alleged Anatolian borrowings in Greek: a critical review

The evidence for alleged influence of Anatolian languages on early Greek is based on the following representative cases:

1) Possibly the most popular correspondence figuring almost in every discussion of Greek-Anatolian linguistic contact is one between Greek δέπας ‘beaker, goblet’, whose lin-

²⁵ For a recent and balanced discussion of the word see Hawkins 2013: 145–149.

guistic predecessor is attested already in Linear B as *di-pa*, and Luwian *tipas-* (or, actually, *tibas-*, cf. below) ‘sky’.²⁶ This case is accepted as the most likely example of Anatolian lexical borrowing in Greek even by more cautious researchers, such as Melchert (2003: 184), Yakubovich (2010: 146) and Hajnal (2014: 110), and has triggered further speculations on Anatolian influence in the Greek mythological/literary tradition²⁷. Despite certain phonetic similarity of the words, the case represents at a closer glance a clear example of a linguistic chimera. The fact that has triggered the idea is that Hieroglyphic Luwian sign L.182 dubbed as CAELUM (‘sky’) is used in the writing of both the word for ‘bowl’ and for ‘sky’, from which one made a tacit inference that Luwian had the same word for both notions; in support a Hittite vessel name *tapiššana-* was pointed out.²⁸ Based on this, it was further supposed that the Greeks took over the word for ‘bowl’ (*tipas-*) from Luwians transforming it to *depas*. Both Anatolian and the Greek part of the equation are flawed by several misconceptions.

The first concerns HLuw. sign L.182 (CAELUM) and its function in spellings of the words for ‘sky’ and ‘bowl’. As was already pointed out by Zs. Simon (2009: 248, fn. 5 and 2016) the *attested* form of the word for ‘bowl’ CAELUM.PI²⁹ cannot conceal the same word as (“CAELUM”) *ti-pa-s-* ‘sky’, for the obvious reason that the phonetic parts of the two words do not correspond, irrespectively whether one takes <pi> in the spelling of the word for ‘bowl’ as phonetic complement (which renders the final part of the word) or phonetic indicator (which renders its initial part). However, contra Simon 2016, there is absolutely no necessity to assume another word for ‘bowl’ homonymous with the Luwian word for ‘sky’. The sign CAELUM represents in all probability an *ideogram* referring to a hemispherical object, since perception of sky as a sort of hemisphere appears to be a universal found in many cultures. Consequently, the sign has nothing to do with the phonetics of the words it stands for and there is no reason to think that the usual Luwian word for ‘bowl’ corresponded to that for ‘sky’ in more than one labial consonant *p/b*.³⁰

On the other hand, despite surface phonetic similarity of the Luwian word for ‘sky’ with Greek δέπας, there are a few problems with it. First, the initial stops in Anatolian were in all probability by default *voiceless* (an areal feature) and Melchert’s (2003: 184) claim that some of them could be voiced if coming irregularly from older *n-* is an *ad hoc* assumption put forward only to explain just the present case.³¹ A recent attempt of by Simon (2017: 258–260) to postu-

²⁶ The phonetic correspondence was noticed long ago (cf. review of the literature in Simon 2017(a): 248, fn. 8), but gained popularity mainly in the wake of the discussion by Neu (1999).

²⁷ Watkins 2007, cf. García-Ramón 2011: 88–89 and Teffeteller 2015: 721 with further literature.

²⁸ See Laroche 1960: 96–97 with further refs.

²⁹ Three known attestations of the word CAELUM.PI (one on the KINIK bowl and two on the ANKARA silver bowl) has been supplemented recently by a fourth one on yet another bowl from the Ankara museum (ANKARA 3), see publication by Çiftçi–Hawkins (2016) and further discussions in Poetto 2017 and Simon 2017(b).

³⁰ Given the fact that the spelling CAELUM.PI is attested already on the KINIK bowl, dated before 1200 BC, the interpretation of <pi> as phonetic *indicator* hinting at the initial syllable of the word might seem preferable, as this would accord with the usual Empire Period practice, seen, e.g., in such spelling as VIR.ZA/I for *zīdi-* ‘man’, MONS+TU for PN Tudhaliya, LABARNA+LA for title *labarna* and, quite probably, DOMINUS.NA for *nāni-* ‘leader, lord’ (cf. Oreshko 2014, 620). Unfortunately, cuneiform texts seem to attest no vessel name beginning with *pi-* (cf. list of vessels with determinative DUG in Tischler 2008: 218–219) so the possibility remains hypothetical. If one takes <pi> as phonetic *complement*, the simplest possibility would be to read the word as *huppi-* (*huppa-*) which is attested in cuneiform (a vessel of unclear form), connecting it with the family of words for vessels including *huppar(a)-* (from which *hupp(a)rala-* ‘potter’ is derived), *hupparanni-* ‘bowl’, *huprušhi-* ‘incense-burner’, *hupurni-* and *hupuwaya-*.

³¹ Cf. considerations by Katz 2001: 219 and Yakubovich 2013: 119. A form with the initial voiced dental is of course quite likely for the initial phase of development from PA **nebos-* (< PIE **nebhos-*), but it is difficult to imag-

late a new ‘Luw(o)id language’ which allegedly lacked initial devoicing of dentals does not seem in any way convincing.³² The character of the second stop is not without difficulties either: if in Kizzuwadna Luwian *tappaš-* clearly reflects the form with the stress on the first syllable effected by Čop’s Law, the *i*-vocalization of the first syllable of HLuw. *ti-pa-s-* seems to point out that the stress in this form was on the second syllable and, consequently, the labial of PA **neboš-* should have remained voiced/lenis.³³ In other words, the most likely phonetic interpretation of HLuw. *ti-pa-s-* is /tibás-/ or /tebás-/ which is not quite the same as δέπας.

Lastly, the Greek side of the correspondence is no less (if not more) problematic. The Homeric δέπας is not a ‘bowl’, but a ‘beaker’ or ‘goblet’, i.e. a much deeper vessel of a conical or bell-like shape, quite possibly on a stem, since stemmed drinking cups represented the most common type in the Aegean both in the 2nd and in the early 1st millennium BC (cf. *kylix*). Worse of that, the vessel referred in Linear B as *di-pa* was even further remote from whatever one might call a ‘bowl’. Its form is known quite exactly from the ideograms *202^{VAS} and *241^{VAS+DI} which follow the phonetically spelled name of the vessel: it represents a sort of jar with or without handles which could be fixed at the upper rim.³⁴ The early meaning of *di-pa* may still be glimpsed in several Homeric passages, most famously in the description of Nestor’s δέπας in Il. 11.632–637 which implies that it was a large vessel provided with four handles.³⁵ In sum, *di-pa* represents in all probability a word of Aegean substratum origin and has nothing to do either with the Luwian word for ‘sky’ (*tibas-*) or with that for ‘bowl’ whose reading is uncertain.³⁶

ine that this distinction would have been preserved in the second part of the 2nd millennium BC, since devoicing in the initial position as an areal feature should have affected any stop irrespectively of its origin.

³² The idea expands upon an earlier very tentative suggestion by Yakubovich (2013: 119) to identify the ‘Arzawa Luwic’ as a separate dialect/language put forward to explain just the initial voiced character of the dental in δέπας. All the other alleged Greek-Anatolian correspondences on the basis of which Simon elaborates the idea are extremely fragile, since, as in many other works, the sociolinguistic dimension of the phenomenon is simply disregarded and the crucial question *why to borrow?* is not asked at all. So, it is not clear why one should adduce Hitt. *pūrurali-* ‘lump, clump, ball’ in the first place to explain Greek βορβύλα ‘cake made of poppy and sesame’ (attested only by Hesychius), which looks as a usual diminutive with the suffix -υλο- (cf. δάκτυλος or ἀρκτύλος); even if no underlying *βόρβος/η is attested, the morphology of the word alone speaks against a borrowing scenario, as does the not-too-impressive semantic correspondence (given the culinary associations of βορβύλα, a connection with βιβρώσκω ‘eat’ and βορά ‘food’ may seem quite likely). As for the second comparison, βύρσα ‘skin stripped off, hide’ vs. Hitt. *kurša-* ‘skin, hide, fleece, (hunting) bag’, it is quite impossible to reconcile the phonetic forms of the words using a borrowing scenario; again, it is not clear why ‘skin’ should be borrowed from Anatolia, since the Aegean was, without any doubt, pretty well supplied with locally produced skins and bags made thereof. No more clear is the need to borrow a name for ‘small round net (used esp. for oystercatching)’ (γάγγαμον) from Anatolia (cf. Hitt. *kānk-* ‘hang’): the Aegean fishermen were quite probably much more experienced in ‘oyster-catching’ – as well as in any other type of activities connected with the sea – than their Central Anatolian colleagues and were probably well aware that the process of collecting oysters does not actually involve any ‘hanging’. Lastly, the toponym Δαινίς, an allegedly ‘Luw(o)id’ counterpart of Greek Ἐλαία derived from Luwian *tāin-* ‘oil’, represents an egregious example of a linguistic chimera whose existence is due exclusively to the recent ‘Luwian fashion’ (the name is ‘emended’ from Κίδαίνίς, the actual name given by Stephen of Byzantium as an older name of Ἐλαία, cf. Starke 1998: 457 and 475 with further refs.).

³³ Cf. Kloekhorst 2008: s.v. *nēpiš* with further refs.

³⁴ For the ideogram see, e.g. Bernabé-Luján 2008: 224. The vessel *di-pa* and the respective ideograms figure, for instance, on the famous tablet PY TA 641 which features *di-pa qe-to-ro-we*, *di-pa ti-ri-jo-we* and *di-pa a-no-we* provided with ideograms featuring four-handled, three-handled and a jar without handles respectively.

³⁵ Cf. already Ventris–Chadwick 1973: 326–327 and 493.

³⁶ Only a brief mention deserves an idea going back to Furnée (see ref. in Puhvel 1997: s.v. *kukupala-*) and recently favored by Hajnal (2011: 111), that another Greek vessel name, κύπελλον ‘big-bellied drinking vessel, beaker, goblet’ is somehow connected with Hittite ^{DUG}*kukupal(l)a-* or, apud Hajnal, with Hittite *hupallai-* ‘skull’.

2) Another correspondence which is favorably mentioned both by Yakubovich (2010: 147) and Hajnal (2014: 110) is κύμβαλον ‘cymbal’ vs. Hittite ^{GIŠ}huhupal whose meaning is generally defined as ‘a sort of percussion instrument’,³⁷ which is, however, by far not proven (cf. below). This connection is, however, not mentioned in either of Greek etymological dictionaries, and for a good reason: there are enough other possibilities to connect the Greek word, beginning with Greek κύμβη ‘drinking-cup, bowl; boat’ (with associated κύμβος and κυμβίον), from which κύμβαλον is considered to be simply a diminutive; a connection with Skr. *kumbhá-* and Av. *xumba-* ‘pot’ and Mlr. vessel names *comm* and *cummal* remains a possibility, although the underlying root for ‘hollow thing’ (as a bowl or ship) may equally be an *Wanderwort*.³⁸ As for ^{GIŠ}huhupal, or, more precisely, ^{GIŠ}huhubal, given the non-geminate spelling of the labial, it presents no clear advantages in comparison with traditional connections. First and foremost, the meaning of the word is not established with any certainty.³⁹ The usual classification of ^{GIŠ}huhubal with the percussion instruments is based on the fact that the instrument could be ‘struck’ (Hitt. *walḫ-* and *ḫazzik(k)-*), which would fit, however, not only for ‘cymbals’ but also for a ‘tambourin’ or a ‘drum’. However, the verb as a technical term is in this case finally ambiguous and it is not excluded that we are dealing with a sort of string instrument with a specific technic of playing, comparable with a ‘lute’. But even if one accepts identification of ^{GIŠ}huhubal as a percussion instrument, the determinative of wood (GIŠ) regularly used with the word would favor rather meaning ‘tambourin’ or a ‘drum’. The determinative speaks at the same time more or less strongly *against* interpretation of ^{GIŠ}huhubal as ‘cymbal’, since manufacture of the latter from metal was essential for its characteristic shrill sound; a pair of ‘cymbals’ made of wood may function at best as a sort of castanets.⁴⁰ Some distant connection of the Anatolian and Greek words is not excluded — as both ‘tambourin’ or ‘drum’ are finally ‘hollow things’ — but a borrowing scenario from Hittite into Greek appears to be highly unlikely.

3) In a way very similar (and even partly interrelated) case represents the alleged pair of correspondences Greek κύμβαχος ‘crown of a helmet’ — found only once in Homer (Il. 15.536) as a substantive⁴¹, but also used adverbially ‘head-foremost’ — vs. Hitt. *kupaḫi* ‘a headgear’, which is known to be present also in Hurrian as *kuwaḫi* (cf. Yakubovich 2010: 147 and Hajnal 2014: 110). On the one hand, the word does not have a particularly foreign appearance, as

The first term is attested in only one text (see Puhvel loc.cit.) which gives absolutely no indication what sort of vessel it is; one may note, however, that non-geminate spelling of the labial points to /b/. A connection with Akkadian *kukubu* ‘jar’ is quite likely (either as an Akkadian borrowing or as an areal term). As for Hitt. *ḫupalla/i-* (or, again, rather *ḫuballa/i-*, which may mean not ‘skull’ but ‘scalp’(!), cf. Puhvel 1991(b): s.v. *ḫupallas-*), it cannot by definition be seriously considered as an immediate source of the Greek word, even if some distant genetic connection is not completely excluded, which goes also for several other words in Greek and other IE languages (κύμβη and κύπη, Lat. *cupa* or Skr. *kūpa*, cf., e.g., Beekes 2010: s.v.v. κύπελλον, κύμβη 1 and 2). In fact, a more sensible comparison for κύπελλον would be *ḫuppar(a)-* which seems to represent a generic word for ‘vessel’ (cf. above, fn. 30). In this case, one would have to assume an example of an areal word rather than specific borrowing from Anatolian.

³⁷ See Puhvel 1991(b): s.v. *huhupal-*, basing apparently on earlier considerations of Furnée.

³⁸ See Chantraine 1968–1980: s.v. κύμβαλον, Frisk 1960–1973: s.v. κύμβαλον, Beekes 2010: s.v. κύμβαλον. Cf. also Arm. **kumb-* ‘emboss of a shield’, see Martirosyan 2009: s.v.

³⁹ See detailed discussion in Schuol 2004: 108–112; for an earlier discussion cf. Dinçol 1998 with further refs.

⁴⁰ Moreover, there are good reasons to identify ‘cymbals’ in *galgalturi-* which is used just with determinative for ‘copper’ (URUDU), cf. discussion in Schuol 2004: 124–129.

⁴¹ Note that Abbenes in *Lexikon der Frühgriechischen Epos (LfgrE)*: s.v. κύμβαχος interprets the substantive meaning of the word as secondary having originated from wrong analysis of a different collocation. This is quite dubious as morphologically κύμβαχος does not look like an adverb and from the semantic point of view the expression has to be based on the word for “head”/“headgear”.

there are several parallel formations in -αχος in Greek, such as οὐρίαχος or στόμαχος, and furthermore it is hardly possible to separate κύμβαχος from κύβη/κύμβη ‘head’ and verb κυβιστάω ‘tumble head-foremost’; a connection with κύμβη ‘drinking-cup, bowl’ (and then with further IE words) is likely both typologically and in view of the doublet κύβη/κύμβη.⁴² On the other hand, interpretation of the word as a borrowing from Anatolian has no obvious advantages. As a matter of fact, κύμβαχος is not a ‘helmet’ itself and the context of its sole attestation in Il. 15.536 does not make an impression that it is a special military *terminus technicus* taken over from a foreign tradition. It should be remembered that a borrowing scenario presupposes an exact or nearly exact correspondence in meaning. It is also noteworthy that the correspondence Anatolian ḫ ~ Greek χ is not regular (one would expect κ/γ in Greek), even if not impossible. As for *kupahi/kuwahi*, whose precise meaning is not quite clear, it may well be a Hurrian word, since it does indeed frequently appear in Hurrian texts and similar formations in -*ahi* are attested in Hurrian.⁴³ A connection with Hebrew *kōba’/qōba’* ‘helmet, turban’ looks very attractive; a Philistine connection of the Hebrew word is possible, but far from proven. More probable still seems that the word has been taken over into Hebrew from Hurrian (directly or indirectly) at the time of the Hurrian supremacy in Syria around 1400 BC and, consequently, there is no specific Aegean connection of the word at all.

4) Quite different is the situation with the next correspondence, the one that is generally favored by Classicists but more soberly assessed by Anatolianists. All three Greek etymological dictionaries mention the Hittite word ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)-*, whose meaning is generally cited as ‘copper; copper-ore (probably azurite); bead’, as a likely source of κύανος ‘dark-blue enamel, lapis-lazuli’ (later also ‘blue copper carbonate’), which is attested already in Linear B (*ku-wa-no*) presumably in the same meaning.⁴⁴ It has, however, been pointed out that both words demonstrate certain phonetic similarity also with Akkadian *uqnû* which means ‘lapis lazuli; lapis lazuli color’, with which Ugaritic *iqn(i)u* is quite probably connected; if one accepts the connection, the word may be properly defined as *Wanderwort*⁴⁵, which would most probably exclude it from the list of Anatolian borrowings, since there is no special reasons to connect either lapis-lazuli or dark-blue enamel with Anatolia.⁴⁶ However, the case proves to be even more problematic if one looks deeper into the Hittite material.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, there is *no* contexts which speak for a meaning of ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)-* as ‘copper-ore’; the only meanings which may be with reasonable certainty inferred from the contexts is that *ku(wa)nna(n)-* means ‘bead(s)’ when (predominantly) used with determinative for ‘stone’ (NA₄), corresponding to Sumerographic ^{NA4}NUNUZ, and ‘copper’ when used without it. The meaning ‘copper-ore’ is only an *assumption* produced out of the wish to bridge the two divergent meanings of the word, namely ‘copper’ and ‘bead’, and, further, to connect it with Greek κύανος.⁴⁸ However, *ku(wa)nna(n)-*, as was pointed already by Puhvel, is definitively not lapis-lazuli, which is

⁴² See Chantraine 1968–1980: s.v. κύμβαχος, Frisk 1960–1973: s.v. κύμβαχος, Beekes 2010: s.v. κύμβαχος.

⁴³ See the detailed and balanced account of Puhvel 1997: s.v. *kupahi-*. Cf. also the short discussion and literature in Richter 2012: s.v. *kub/wahi*.

⁴⁴ For the Greek word see Chantraine 1968–1980: s.v. κύανος, Frisk 1960–1973: s.v. κύανος, Beekes 2010: s.v. κύανος; for the Hittite see Puhvel 1997: s.v. *ku(wa)nna(n)-* and Tischler 1977–1983: s.v. ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nman-*, cf. also Yakubovich 2010: 147 with fn. 88, Giusfredi 2017.

⁴⁵ See Giusfredi 2017: 14 with further refs.

⁴⁶ The source of lapis-lazuli for the whole Near East and the Aegean was in the 2nd millennium BC in all probability Badakhshan in Afghanistan and the production of the blue enamel is connected first of all with Egypt.

⁴⁷ See attestations in Puhvel 1997: s.v. *ku(wa)nna(n)-*.

⁴⁸ See Puhvel 1997: 310.

spelled in Hittite texts ^{NA4}ZA.GIN, since both are mentioned side by side (KUB 29.4 I 8–10) and, furthermore, seems to have no specific color connotations. Neither does it mean ‘enamel’ or ‘glass’, since the Hittite language used different terms for this sort of materials (Hitt. *zapzagi-* or Akkadian *MEKKU* and *ANZAHHU*).

The idea that *ku(wa)nna(n)-* designates a sort of mineral in Anatolian becomes even more dubious in view of the hitherto unrecognized Luwian piece of evidence, which is appropriate to address here briefly. Two texts of HLuw. corpus contain a title which may be read phonetically as *kwan(n)anal(l)a-*⁴⁹. The context of both attestations in conjunction with a ‘scribe’ clearly suggests the meaning ‘stone-mason, engraver’.⁵⁰ Morphologically the word is quite transparent: it represents a derivative from *kwan(n)an(a)-* with the Luwian suffix *-all/i-* building names of professions. The root appears to be phonetically identical to that of *ku(wa)nna(n)-*. As for semantic side, the connection becomes clear when one considers the pictographic form of the ideogram used with the title: sign SA₄ (L.402) represents a circle with a further small circle inscribed in it. In view of the phonetic correspondence with *ku(wa)nnan-* there can be little doubt that the sign depicts a *bead*. Consequently, the original semantics of *kwan(n)anal(l)a-* should be ‘bead-cutter’ which was then generalized to ‘stone-cutter’/‘engraver’. The interpretation corroborates the impression created by cuneiform texts that ^{NA4}*ku(wa)nna(n)-* means *only* ‘bead(s)’. If one dismisses the meaning ‘copper ore’ for the Anatolian word, its connection with κύανος becomes rather illusive. There remains a slim possibility of a *distant* connection of the words if one proceeds from the assumption that the word was a *Wanderwort* with original meaning ‘lapis-lazuli’, which then took different meaning in different regions. However it is, the extant evidence gives no reason to see in the Greek word a borrowing specifically from any Anatolian language.

5) To the same semantical field as *ku(wa)nna(n)-* belongs a further word claimed to be an Anatolian borrowing. The Greek word for ‘lead’ whose standard literary form was μόλυβδος, but the older Mycenaean form was *mo-ri-wo-do* (/moliwdos/), was connected by Melchert (2008) with Lydian word *mariwda-*. The latter represents a deity name attested only once in the Lydian corpus (LW 4: 4); however, its appearance in association with god Sanda (*Sāntas*) suggests that the name may be identical to HLuw. *Marwāy(a)-*deities ((DEUS)*marali-wali-i-zi-i* (nom.pl.) in KULULU 2, §6) and further to CLuw. ^D*Marwāy(a)-* and Hitt. ^D*Mark(u)waya-*, whose name is connected with PIE stem **merg^w-* and, accordingly, interpreted as the ‘Dark ones’. The suggestion looks *prima facie* very attractive, since it presents a sensible explanation for the inner semantics of μόλυβδος (‘dark metal’) and the idea to look for the source of the Greek word in Anatolia, which is considered to be a region with very old and rich metallurgical tradition, looks entirely sound.⁵¹ That said, one should point out that almost every element of the hypothesis is fraught with uncertainty and that the resulting structure is extremely fragile. To begin with the Greek part, μόλυβδος represents only the standard and the most frequent form, while dialects show many other variants, such as μόλυβος, μόλιβος, μόλιβδος, βόλυβδος, βόλιμος, *βόλιβος (in Rhodian περι-βολιβῶσαι; cf. also μολυβρός ‘lead-colored’ (Hesych)).⁵² Despite the fact that the Mycenaean *mo-ri-wo-do* is the oldest form, there are actually no special reasons to proclaim it ‘more correct’, since there are *a priori* no objective criteria

⁴⁹ BOYBEYPINARI 1 §11: SA₄-na-na-la- and İVRİZ fr. 2: (‘SA₄’)kwa/i-na-na[-la]-, for the texts see Hawkins 2000: 530 and 336.

⁵⁰ Cf. also discussion in Payne 2010: 183.

⁵¹ Besides Hajnal 2014: 111, the etymology is favored by Beekes (2010: s.v. μόλυβδος).

⁵² See Chantraine 1968–1980: s.v. μόλυβδος or Frisk 1960–1973: s.v. μόλυβδος for the forms and discussion; cf. further Beekes 2010: s.v. μόλυβδος.

of this ‘correctness’.⁵³ The variation clearly shows that the word is originally non-Greek. In view of this variability, the connection with Latin *plumbum*, Bask *berún* or German *Blei* (OHG *blīo/blīwes*), suggested earlier, does not seem too outlandish (cf. also the variation μ/β in Greek itself, seen, e.g., in $\beta\lambda\tilde{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ vs. $\mu\omicron\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$). On the other hand, one should clearly realize that we do not have Lydian word for ‘lead’; the only known Anatolian word for the metal is Hitt. *šulāi*. As for the Lydian *Mariwda-*, there is every reason to see in it a Luwic borrowing. The scarce evidence which we have on the reflection of PIE g^w in Lydian suggests that it developed either to simple tectal k (as in *kāna* ‘wife’ < PIE $*g^wen-eh_2$) or to voiceless labiovelar k^w ($-qān-$ ‘strike/hit’ < PIE $*g^wen-$ ‘strike’), as admitted earlier by Melchert (1994: 357). Consequently, PIE $*merg^w-$ should have reflected in Lydian as $*marq-$ (or, less likely, $*mark-$). *Marwā(y)a-* on the other hand represents a specifically Luwic form reflecting the development $g^w > w$. Thus, Lydian cannot be the source of Greek $\mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$; nor is it likely to see it in Luwian, as *marwa-* proves to be rather far phonetically from any of the forms attested in Greek. As a result, the Anatolian origin of the word proves to be quite unfounded.

6) The third comparable case of a word for a material allegedly coming from Anatolia is Greek $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma$ ‘ivory’, which is attested already in the Mycenaean Greek (*e-re-pa*). Although less frequently than in the two previous cases, one still sporadically finds a claim that the word is a borrowing from Hittite (or Luwian) *lahpa-/lahba-* (e.g., Hawkins 2013: 225)⁵⁴, or, at least, that it has come into Mycenaean through Hittite/Anatolian mediation (Gasbarra-Pozza 2013), which is based (in part) on the now obsolete idea that Anatolia was an important ivory production center (cf. Masson 1967: 80–83 or Chantraine 1968–1980: s.v.). An Anatolian source of $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma$ is, however, hardly credible. On the one hand, Anatolia is not and has never been a natural habitat of modern species of elephants. There were only two regions adjacent to the Mediterranean in which elephants could be found in the Late Bronze Age: Africa (primarily Sub-Saharan) and the valley of the Orontes in Syria (for the latter see Çakırlar-Ikram 2016 and Pfälzner 2016). It is quite obvious that the words for ‘ivory, elephant’ found in the languages of the Mediterranean, if indeed borrowed, should come from either of these two regions. On the other hand, there is nothing in the phonetics of the Greek word which would in any way require the assumption of an Anatolian intermediary stage. On the contrary, assuming an Anatolian source, one would expect something like $*\lambda\alpha\gamma\beta\alpha\varsigma$ / $*\lambda\alpha\kappa\pi\alpha\varsigma$ in Greek. Thus, under the assumption that $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma$ and *lahpa-/lahba-* are indeed foreign terms in Greek and Anatolian, one should conclude that both words are independent reflections of a term found in a third language. Taking into consideration the distribution of the elephant itself and that of the terms for it, the most obvious candidate would seem to be a language spoken in the Orontes valley — and not in Africa, as assumed in Beekes 2010: s.v. and indirectly implied in Frisk 1960–1973: s.v. The language of the Orontes valley in the Late Bronze Age could only be a dialect of Northwest Semitic, close either to Ugaritic or to the language of the Amorites. The problem is, however, that the Semitic terms for ‘ivory’ and ‘elephant’ are well known and they demonstrate no similarity with the Greek and Anatolian terms: cf. Akkadian *pîru* ‘elephant’ and *šin pîri* ‘elephant tooth > ivory’ (corresponding to Sum. ZÚ.AM.SI), which also yielded Hurrian *šinniberi* ‘ivory’ (and *šinniberohhe* ‘made of ivory’); both Akkadian and Ugaritic also used the simple word for ‘tooth’ for the material (*šinnu* and *šn* respectively). So far, no traces

⁵³ *Inter alia* the variants show that $-d-$ was not an indispensable part of the word (cf. earlier attempts to explain it as secondary development from $*-y-$, see literature in the previous fn.). This in any case has bearing on the question of source, since the presence of $-d-$ was the reason why Melchert connected the word specifically with Lydian (and not with Luwian).

⁵⁴ For attestations and discussion of the Hittite word s. Puhvel 2001.

of anything reminiscent of ἐλέφας or *lahpa-/lahba-* have been attested in association with ivory in the Semitic tradition⁵⁵. Given this fact, an assumption that both in Hittite and Greek the term represents an *inherited* term of Indo-European origin becomes practically inevitable. Taking into consideration the Near Eastern terms, one may tentatively suggest that ἐλέφας or *lahpa-/lahba-* reflects an old Indo-European term for ‘tusk’ or ‘bone’ or the like.⁵⁶

7) One more example of an Anatolian lexical borrowing in Greek cited by Hajnal 2014: 111 and also accepted by Yakubovich 2010: 47 is Greek τολύπη ‘clew, ball of wool ready for spinning or of spun yarn; globular cake’ vs. Hitt./Luw. *taluppi-* ‘lump, clod (of earth or dough)’ and *tarupp-* ‘assemble, collect’, which goes back to Melchert (1998) elaborating upon an earlier suggestion of Joseph (1982).⁵⁷ The phonetic correspondence is rather exact and the somewhat divergent meanings of Greek and Anatolian words can be reconciled with some effort. However, there are strong doubts that a word of such semantics — especially when viewed against the rest of the evidence — can be borrowed at all. As noted above, a crucial prerequisite for a borrowing from a foreign language in a situation of *casual* language contact, is that the respective word is absent in the receiving language. This can hardly be the case with word for ‘clew’, since it is hardly possible to imagine that it was absent in Greek before the contact with the Anatolians. Such a basic thing is known in any culture which deals with wool of sheep (or other domestic animals), and should have been known both in the Aegean before the arrival of the Indo-European speakers and to the ancestors of the Greeks themselves for several millennia before their appearance in the Aegean.⁵⁸ Another factor speaking against the borrowing scenario is that, on a closer consideration, there is a significant semantic distinction between

⁵⁵ An attempt by West (1992) to rehabilitate an old idea that ἐλέφας comes from Semitic *’lp* ‘ox, bull’ is unconvincing. As has already been pointed out by Masson (1967: 82), the word for ‘ox’ is never used for ‘elephant’ and has no associations with ‘ivory’ whatsoever. It would be quite weird if the Greeks would adopt a Semitic name for ‘ox’ when the terms both for ‘elephant’ and for ‘ivory’ were readily available.

⁵⁶ The easiest way to reconcile the Greek and the Anatolian forms as inherited terms would be to assume a laryngeal metathesis in Anatolian *lahpa-* < **hlapa-*, reconstructing the PIE root as **h₂leb^h-* (and assuming an irregular — synharmonic? — change in Greek: **aléb^ha-* > **eléb^ha-*). Curiously, a word with a comparable phonetic shape is indeed attested in Luwian: it is a word hidden behind the logogram L.85, conventionally transcribed as HALPA or GENUFLECTERE, which is used in the writing of the name of the Syrian city Haleb/Aleppo giving a phonetic clue for the reading of the ideographic TONITRUS.URBS ‘City of the Storm-God’ (cf. Hawkins in Herbordt 2005: 253). The sign depicts something like a human leg (‘kneeling leg’ in the definition by Hawkins, for the forms cf. Laroche 1960: 51) giving reasons for an assumption that Luwian had a term for leg or its part which sounded like **halpa-* or **hlapa-*. This is reminiscent of the picture with the German term for ivory *Elfenbein* < OHG *helfant-bein*, which is a hybrid combining Greek ἐλέφας and the Germanic **baina-* which means both ‘bone’ and ‘leg’ (cf. Kluge 2011: s.v. *Elfenbein* and Kroonen 2013: s.v. **baina-*). One may tentatively suggest that in Luwian **hlapa-* also meant both one of the long bones of the leg (shin bone or thigh bone) and could metaphorically be used for ‘ivory’. It is also noteworthy that the word for ivory may be attested in ASSUR letter e §§25, 29 as **317.CRUS₂-pa-*, where CRUS₂ closely corresponds in shape to HALPA (the general trade context agrees with this interpretation, but is not specific enough to prove it). On the other hand, an old suggestion of Saussure to connect ἐλέφας with PIE root for ‘white’ seen, e.g., in Lat. *albus* (s. Masson 1967: 81 fn. 7 for refs.) does not seem improbable. The root for ‘white’ may now be reconstructed as **h₂elb^h-* (cf. de Vaan 2008: s.v. *albus*) and thus is extremely close phonetically to **h₂leb^h-*. However, it is usually supposed that the root is reflected in Greek ἄλφι ‘barley groats’, ἀλφός ‘leprosy’ and the river name Ἀλφειός. Although a semantic development ‘white’ > ‘white thing’ > ‘bone’/‘ivory’ looks quite plausible, the formal explanation of the connection between the two roots remains elusive (could one think about an unsteady nature of the laryngeal in the root, oscillating between h₁ and h₂?).

⁵⁷ It seems that a similar idea has been even earlier proposed by Furnée, cf. Beekes 2010: s.v. τολύπη. For the Hittite word see also Tischler 1991: s.v. *taluppi-*.

⁵⁸ Cf., e.g., Barber 1991.

the Hittite and Greek words. As for Hittite, there are strong doubts that *taluppi-* had anything to do with ‘wool’, since the latter material, ubiquitously attested in different forms in the Hittite cultic texts,⁵⁹ never appears in combination with *taluppi-*. In Greek, on the other hand, *τολύπη* served as the basis for the denominal verb *τολυπεύω* ‘wind off carded wool into a clew for spinning’, which was used in the metaphorical sense ‘achieve, accomplish’, attested already in Homer (Il. 1.238, 4.490; Od.19.137). The evidence of this verb is important in two respects. First, it shows that *τολύπη* and *τολυπεύω* were deeply embedded in the Greek language already in the relatively early period, which would hardly agree with its status of a recent borrowing. Second, the semantics of the verb shows that *τολύπη* is first of all ‘wound/prepared wool’ which is essentially different from a simple ‘clump of wool’. Thus, the borrowing scenario rather poorly agrees with the evidence. If we are not dealing with just a chance similarity, a more likely explanation for the case of *τολύπη* and *taluppi-* would then be an assumption that the words represent independent reflexes of a PIE stem with the general meaning ‘assemble, collect’ or the like, which would well account for differences in meaning.⁶⁰

8) All the three Greek etymological dictionaries make a mention of a possible correspondence between Greek *θύρσος*, defined as a ‘cultic wand’ associated with the cult of Dionysos and HLuw. *tuwarsali-* ‘vineyard’ (with Beekes 2010: s.v. explicitly defining it as an Anatolian loan-word).⁶¹ However, Yakubovich (2010: 147), pointing out the irregular correspondence of initial dentals, suggested that both may be borrowings from a third source. This may be the case, but it is even more likely that the two words are not related at all.

Contrary to common assumptions, a connection of *θύρσος* with ‘vine’ is all but non-existent. As a matter of fact, *θύρσος* is a ‘rod’ or ‘staff’ with which one can ‘strike’ and as such could even be used as a weapon.⁶² The meaning ‘branch’ (*κλάδος*) or ‘rod, wand’ (*ῥάβδος*) is given as an explanation of the meaning of *θύρσος* by Hesychius and is confirmed both by literary texts (cf., e.g., Eur. Bacch. 308: *Βακχεῖος κλάδος* or 363: *κισσίνου βάκτρου* ‘(with) ivied staff’) and by the evidence of the vase painting where *θύρσος* as a usual attribute of the Maenads is depicted usually with a pine-cone at the end and wreathed in ivy (or, much less often, in vine-leaves).⁶³ A very similar attribute of the Bacchic cult was *νάρθηξ* ‘giant fennel (*Ferula communis*)’, and sometimes one gets the impression that it is simply another term for *θύρσος* (cf., e.g. Eur. Bacch. 147 or 1156). In fact, a scholiast even claimed that *θύρσος* is an old name

⁵⁹ Besides two forms of the word for ‘wool’, *hūliya-* and *hūlana-*, frequently rendered simply by sumerogram SÍG (with or without a further logogram for color), one may mention the following Hittite terms: *sic^chuttulli-* ‘strand (of wool)’ < *huett(i)-/huttiya-* ‘to draw, pull, pluck’; *malkeššar* ‘spun wool’ (?) < *mālk-* ‘spin’; *sic^ckiš(ša)ri-* ‘skein of carded wool(?)’; *sic^cmaišta-* ‘fiber, flock or strand of wool’(?); *sic^cehurati-* ‘plug of wool’. Cf. further *sic^ceššari-/ešri-* ‘fleece’; *sic^caštula-*; *kunzali-*; *zum(m)inali-* (a sort of wool). In Luwian is attested *šūrit-* ‘skein of wool’.

⁶⁰ Melchert’s proposal (1998: 50) to separate a prefix *ta-* (< PIE **to-*) in the word does not seem convincing to me in view of paucity of parallel formations in Hittite. More plausible looks Kloekhorst’s (2008: s.v. *tarupp-*) reconstruction of the root as **Treup-* with development of a secondary epenthetic vowel after the dental. However, the position of the liquid may be different, and a reconstruction of the root as **Torp-* with secondary development of epenthetic *u* before labial is also thinkable. Whatever the situation might be, there are good grounds to add here some Slavic evidence: **tǫlpa-/tǫlpa-* ‘crowd’ (cf. OCS *млѡна*, Russ. *толпа*, Czech *tlupa* etc.) and Russ./Ukr. *толнега/тобнуза* ‘fat and clumsy person’ (see Vasmer 1950–1958: s.v. *толпа*; the Baltic connection discussed by Vasmer does not seem quite convincing).

⁶¹ Cf. Chantraine 1968–1980: s.v. *θύρσος*, Frisk 1960–1973: s.v. *θύρσος* with further refs. A suggestion by Neumann (1961) to compare *tuwarsali-* with Greek *τύβαρις* ‘celery pickled in vinegar (a Dorian salad)’, still mentioned by Hawkins 2010: 225, can hardly be taken seriously.

⁶² For literary and pictorial evidence for *θύρσος* see Papen 1905 (pp. 41–45 for the use of *θύρσος* as a weapon).

⁶³ For pictorial evidence see Heinemann 2016: esp. 161–204.

for *νάροθηξ*,⁶⁴ which does not seem quite improbable, given the fact that the same root *θύρσ-* is found in the names of several other plants (*θυρσίνη*, *θύρσιον*, *θυρσίτης*), neither of which is in any way connected with ‘vine’. In sum, *θύρσος* is in no way a ‘vine-branch’, as many seem to tacitly assume, but is a sort of ‘staff’ functioning as an attribute of the orgiastic cult of Bacchus. Similarly, the latter deity is originally not a ‘god of wine’, but a god of ecstasy and cultic frenzy associated first of all with wild mountainous landscape and dancing.⁶⁵ The word may well be non-Greek in origin and may be connected, as many aspects of the Dionysian cult seem to be, with Thrace.

As for the Luwian word, it is attested in Luwian texts only in the 1st millennium BC. The usual Anatolian (both Hittite and Luwian) word for ‘wine/vine’, *wiyana-*, written mostly logographically as ^(GIŠ)GEŠTIN, designated quite probably also ‘vineyard’ (^(GIŠ)KIRI₆.GEŠTIN). It is also noteworthy that all the certain attestations of the word *tuwarsali-* (spelled as *tu-wali+rali-sà-* with or without ideogram VITIS) are confined to two inscriptions found in Central Anatolia (BOR §3–4 and SULTANHAN §2, 22, 34, 36)⁶⁶. In contrast, in KÖRKÜN §11 (South Eastern Anatolia) *wi(ya)na/a-* almost certainly means ‘vineyard’ and not ‘vine’. If not due to the chance of attestation, the picture might suggest that *tuwarsali-* is (predominantly) a Central Anatolian term. Both this observation and the chronology of the attestations suggest that the word may be connected with appearance (or, possibly, rather *spread*) in Anatolia of peoples of Balkan origin, Phrygians and their relatives.⁶⁷ Even so, it seems quite impossible to establish any semantic connection, even an indirect one, between *tuwarsali-* and *θύρσος* due to entirely discrepant meanings. Instead, a connection with Armenian *torr* ‘vine, vine branch’ suggested by Simon (2013: 116–117) looks not improbable. However, contra Simon, the evidence suggests rather that *torr* may be a genuine Armenian word brought from the Balkan homeland and *tuwarsali-*, accordingly, may be a Proto-Armenian borrowing in the late Central-Anatolian dialects of Luwian.

9) There has been suggested a possible connection between Greek *τύραννος* and Luwian word usually read as *tarwani-* and interpreted as ‘a sort of ruler’ (with possible development from ‘judge’).⁶⁸ If one proceeds from this interpretation of the Luwian word, the fairly good phonetic correspondence makes a connection of the words very attractive, a possibility supported by the fact that specific professional titles are indeed often borrowed from language to language. The question would be rather if it is an Anatolian borrowing or an areal word of unclear origin, which is suggested by further possible cognates in Hebrew *srn* (applied to Philistine leaders) and Ugaritic *srm*. However, recent analysis by Melchert (forthcoming) essentially changes the perspective. Elaborating upon earlier considerations of Pintore, Melchert convincingly argued that the word, whose likelier reading is probably *tarrawani-*, is not a professional designation nor a title, but an adjective with the basic meaning ‘just, righteous’, which might be applied to a ‘king’ as well as to a ‘servant’ or even a ‘wife’. This analysis makes it clear that the word is genuinely Luwian; on the other hand, the meaning of the word now proves to be

⁶⁴ See Papen 1905: 12.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Schlesier 2011 with further refs. The original meaning and etymology of the term *θύρσος* will be addressed in greater detail elsewhere.

⁶⁶ Besides that, there is an ambiguous attestation in MARAŞ 8, §6 of the word spelled as (VITIS)*tu-wali-ri+i-ta*, which may be phonetically interpreted as /t(u)warit(t)a/. It is doubtful that the word is to be simply amended to (VITIS)*tu-wali-ri+i-sà*!, but it may still be cognate with *tuwarsali-* (cf. discussion in Hawkins 2000: 254).

⁶⁷ For the argument that peoples culturally and possibly linguistically related with the Balkans were present in Anatolia already in the 2nd millennium BC, see Oreshko 2017.

⁶⁸ The suggestion goes back to F. Pintore (1979). For a detailed analysis and a survey of earlier literature, see Melchert forthcoming.

rather distinct from that of *τύραννος* or, as far as one can judge, *srn*. It is not impossible that a usual collocation ‘righteous ruler’ would lead to perception of *tarrawani-* as a title on its own which might be borrowed into Greek and might be subsequently developed — with a sort of ironical twist — to ‘absolute/unjust ruler’. However, it is perhaps telling that in Luwian itself the word did not develop into a stand-alone title and remained an adjective with broad meaning. It would also be justified to ask the question why the Greeks had to borrow *tarrawani-*, a word with quite an ambiguous reference to ‘ruler’, ignoring a much more straightforward and widespread word, which was used in slightly different forms as the usual designation for ‘king’, as far as one can see, in all parts of the ‘Luwic world’, e.g. in HLUw. *handawati-*, Lycian *xñtawat(i)-*, Carian *kδou-* and possibly reflected also in Lydian PN Kandaules (as a borrowing from Carian)? In fact, accepting the interpretation of *tarrawani-* as ‘righteous, just’ and taking the evidence unbiasedly, one should conclude that the word has nothing to do with *τύραννος* (which still might be a loanword in Greek).⁶⁹

10) One more example favorably assessed by Yakubovich (2010: 147) is Hitt. *ešhar* vs. Greek *ἵχωρ* ‘blood of the gods; serum (later)’, which goes back to a suggestion of Sayce (1922). However, neither of the Greek etymological dictionaries gives preference to this connection over other etymological suggestions, and with good reasons. There is an apparent phonetic discrepancy between the words: *ešhar* contains an additional sibilant which cannot just disappear in Greek; an expected outcome of the Hittite word in Greek would be *ἕσκαρ or *ἴσκαρ and the cluster *-sk-* is very stable in Greek. Moreover, one should note that besides Homer the word is rather well attested in later medical and natural philosophical literature referring to the ‘watery part of animal juices’. It is rather difficult to imagine how an allegedly poetic word taken over from a foreign tradition to refer in a sort of elevated style to ‘blood’ could so quickly lose all its ‘poeticness’ and assume such a technical meaning. A more likely explanation is that the word is genuinely Greek and originally referred to some ‘fluid of the body’; as a relatively vague term, it has been elevated by the Homeric tradition to a status of a poetic word, while in the everyday usage it kept its original meaning and was used by later scholars as a term.

11) Lastly, a mention should be made of my own (Oreshko 2013 (2015): 104–105) tentative suggestion concerning the bird name *κύμινδης* mentioned in Il. 14.291 as the name used ‘in the language of men’ for the bird known ‘in the language of gods’ as *χάλκις* which represents in all probability a species of owl (eagle owl or long-eared owl). The bird is called *κύβινδης* by Aristotle, which seems to be quite close to the Anatolian word for ‘copper’, already discussed above (*ku(wa)nna(n)-*), suggesting that *κύβινδης/κύμινδης* might be a loan-translation of *χάλκις* (or vice versa). However, in view of the evidence presented above one may doubt that the Greeks knew any Anatolian language so well as to be able to ‘translate’ a bird name. Moreover, an alternative and simpler explanation is available. Like the designation for another species of owl *κυκυμ(ω)ίς*, adduced for comparison earlier, the word could have an onomatopoeic origin, imitating the characteristic call of many owls (*ku*). This possibility is supported by evidence from other IE languages: in Celtic the word for ‘owl’ is reconstructed as **kawanno-*, but has in several languages *u*-vocalization of the first syllable (Middle Welsh *cuan* or Old Breton *cou(h)an*)⁷⁰, thus corresponding quite close to Greek *κύβινδης/κύμινδης*. Moreover, the initial part of the word corresponds to that of OHG *huwo* (< **kuwo*) and furthermore close to

⁶⁹ It is noteworthy that the phonetic side of the correspondence *tarrawani-* vs. *τύραννος* is also far from ideal, especially as far as vocalism is concerned. Proceeding from a borrowing, scenario the form which one would expect is something like **ταρ(ρ)αν(ι)ος* or **ταρ(ρ)(ο)υν(ι)ος*.

⁷⁰ Matasović 2009: s.v. **kawanno-*.

that of Fr. *chouette* and Slavic word for the bird *sova*, which might well go back to something like **kouā*.⁷¹ It is thus very likely that κύβινδης/κύμινδης is simply an *nd*-suffix extension of the same onomatopoeic root and χάλκις is a more descriptive term referring to the ‘coppery’ appearance of the bird.

III. Conclusions

Before proceeding to the actual conclusions, it seems useful to take a glance at the Lydian borrowings in Greek, which represent, as noted above, the clearest (if not the only) case of an Anatolian influence on Greek, in order to realize once again what ‘normal’ loanwords should look like. There are three clear cases of Lydian words in Greek texts⁷². The first one is πάλμυς ‘king’, a word known already to Homer as a personal name (of a Phrygian or Mysian leader), but used in its proper meaning by Hipponax of Ephesos in the 6th century BC (frs. 1, 7.4 and 47.1), once by Aeschylus (fr. 437) and by several later authors⁷³. The word represents an adoption of Lydian *qaλmλu-* ‘king’ well attested in Lydian texts and seems to be a true borrowing comprehensible to a general Greek speaker, albeit with somewhat restricted usage, still apparently bearing a perceptible ‘Oriental flavor’, and thus comparable with English *sultan* or *raja*.⁷⁴ The second word is καύης, corresponding to Lydian *kaue-* ‘priest/priestess’; the word is used by Hipponax (fr. 3.1) and later attested epigraphically.⁷⁵ The word seems to be well known at least to the speakers of the eastern Ionian dialect. The third is βάκκαρις which refers to some specific type of aromatic unguent and is used both by Archaic poets, such as Hipponax (fr. 107.21) and Semonides of Amorgos (fr. 14d), and by some 5th century BC authors, such as Aristophanes (fr. 319), Aeschylus (fr. 14) or Ion of Chios (fr. trag. 24).⁷⁶ The source language of the term is not completely clear, but the joint evidence of Hipponax, who associates the usage of βάκκαρις with Croesus, and of some lexicographers, makes the Lydian origin of the word quite likely. The difference of these examples from those discussed above is obvious: the first two words almost exactly correspond to the Lydian counterparts *phonetically* and, more importantly, *semantically*, belonging to the category of professional designations/titles which are in general particularly frequently transferred from language to language. The third one is the name of a *specific* product and, as such, is very likely to be borrowed together with the product, as is the case with (*eau de*) *cologne* in English. The words clearly reflect cultural contacts between the Lydians and the Greeks, presumably mostly after ca. 700 BC, even if they still do not presuppose extensive bilingualism.

The results of this survey are certainly rather discouraging: considering the evidence soberly and without obsessive concentration exclusively on Anatolian and Greek, one should state that among the most frequently cited cases there is not a single one which may be properly qualified as contact-induced borrowing from an Anatolian language into Greek dating to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. Due to the limited scope of the study it is not possible

⁷¹ Cf. Dersken 2008: s.v. **sovā*.

⁷² The number of possible Lydian words in Greek may be larger (cf. Hawkins 2013: 155–194), but it is difficult to say about some other words attested in Hipponax and elsewhere whether they were known to common Greek speakers or had restricted usage.

⁷³ Cf. Hawkins 2013: 188–190.

⁷⁴ It is noteworthy that the form of the word in Greek with π- corresponding to Lydian *kʰ-* suggests that it is a rather old borrowing, possibly dating back to the second millennium BC.

⁷⁵ Cf. Hawkins 2013: 183–187.

⁷⁶ Cf. Hawkins 2013: 156–157.

to claim *complete* absence of any influence of the Anatolian linguistic milieu on Early Greek. However, in order to demonstrate it one would need to find more convincing examples meeting the usual criteria for loanwords. So far, there are only several cases in which some distant connection between the respective terms in Anatolian and Greek is not excluded, but it is not a borrowing *strictu sensu*. If there is something behind the similarity of the Greek and Anatolian words discussed above beyond accidental phonetic resemblance, it has to be explained not in the framework of a borrowing scenario, but in different terms, such as *Wanderwort* or areal features; the mechanisms of such a transfer is a separate and a complex question that cannot be addressed here.

In keeping with what has been said above about methodology, this conclusion has far-reaching consequences for the question of Greek-Anatolian language interference in general. The virtual absence of direct lexical borrowings is a strong indication that there was no Greek-Anatolian bilingualism and that even the level of casual contact was extremely low. This necessarily means that any influence on the other levels of language, such as phonology, morphology or phraseology, is impossible by definition, since morphology and phonetics come *after* words; but the words, as one can see, did not actually come from Anatolian into Greek. Similarly, the absence of bilingual communities makes it rather unlikely that the Greeks had any access to Anatolian literary texts (oral or written) and, consequently, an explanation for any eventual similarities in phraseology or literary themes between Greece and Anatolia — or, wider, the Ancient Near East — should be sought along different lines, such as generic or typological similarity, common heritage or common cultural experience.

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Ростислав Орешко. К вопросу об анатолийском влиянии на раннегреческий язык (1500–800 гг. до н.э.): критика со стороны социолингвистики и ареального языкознания

В статье исследуется вопрос о возможном анатолийском влиянии на ранние стадии развития греческого языка (примерно с 1500 по 800 гг. до н.э.). Первая часть посвящена обсуждению общих методологических вопросов, связанных с языковыми контактами, таких, как механизмы языкового взаимодействия и масштабы заимствований. Во второй части критически обсуждаются 11 случаев потенциальных заимствований в греческий язык из анатолийских источников. Результаты анализа показывают, что анатолийское влияние на раннегреческий словарный состав было в лучшем случае минимальным, что, в свою очередь, фактически исключает возможность какого-либо влияния в области фонетики, морфологии и фразеологии.

Ключевые слова: греко-анатолийские контакты, раннегреческий язык, анатолийские языки, хеттский язык, лувийский язык, лидийский язык, ликийский язык, карийский язык.

К уточнению фонологической системы языка кавказско-албанских палимпсестов¹

Одной из самых актуальных проблем лингвистического кавказоведения является научное изучение кавказско-албанского языка. Несмотря на произошедшие в последнее время заметные успехи, некоторые вопросы описания фонологической системы и грамматической структуры кавказско-албанского языка требуют углубленного исследования. Предлагаемая работа задается целью по возможности восполнить имеющиеся пробелы и дать альтернативное описание фонологической системы кавказско-албанского языка, в том числе используя сравнительно-исторический метод. Уточнение фонемных значений кавказско-албанского алфавита может оказать большую помощь лингвистам-компаративистам, заинтересованными вопросами исторической фонетики нахско-дагестанских языков.

Ключевые слова: кавказско-албанский язык, фонологическая система, вокализм, консонантизм, фарингализация.

1. Введение. Датой начала научного изучения кавказско-албанского языка справедливо считается 1937 г., когда И. В. Абуладзе был обнаружен албанский алфавит в армянской рукописи XV в. (матенадаранская № 7117 рукопись), состоящий из 52 букв, с подписями их названий по-армянски (Абуладзе 1938). А. Г. Шанидзе, изучивший эту рукопись, пришел к выводу, что фонологическая система, на базе которой был составлен кавказско-албанский алфавит, «усиливает правдоподобность традиционного отождествления албанского языка с удинским» (Шанидзе 1938: 37). Позже, в 1956 году американским арменологом А. Курдяном в США был найден второй список кавказско-албанского алфавита (в армянской рукописи XVI в.) (Курдян 1956).

В 1948–52 гг. на территории Азербайджана возле г. Мингечаур в результате археологических раскопок были обнаружены образцы кавказско-албанской эпиграфики (одна лапидарная надпись и шесть граффити — в общей сложности до 200 знаков). В 1960–90-х гг. был опубликован целый ряд работ, посвященных, прежде всего, прочтению надписей и определению фонологической системы кавказско-албанского языка (см. Абрамян 1964; Гукасян 1968, 1969, 1971; Климов 1967, 1970, 1972, 1976, 1984, 1990; Муравьев 1981 и др.).




























В 1990 годах, во время экспедиций института рукописей АН Грузии под руководством З. Алексидзе, на территории Египта, в монастыре Св. Екатерины на Синайском п-ове, были найдены албано-грузинские палимпсесты (две рукописи — N/Sin 13 и N/Sin 55), содержащие более 200 страниц рукописного текста (около 60 т. знаков, 16 т. слов). Албанский текст содержит лекционарий (сборник литургических чтений) и Евангелие от Иоанна (Gippert et al. 2009).










В 2009 году была опубликована работа Й. Гипперта, В. Шульце, З. Алексидзе, Ж.-П. Маэ “The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsest of Mt. Sinai” («Кавказско-албанские па-





















¹ Проект осуществлялся при финансовой поддержке Национального научного фонда им. Шота Руставели [Грант № YS-2016-45, «Грамматический анализ кавказско-албанского языка»].


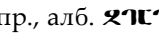


лимпсесты с горы Синай»). В этой монографии представлен визуальный материал, описание и исследование обнаруженных в монастыре Св. Екатерины албано-грузинских палимпсестов. Этот труд содержит также очерк грамматики кавказско-албанского языка (II секция), в котором, помимо прочего, представлен обзор фонологической системы кавказско-албанского языка (Gippert et al. 2009: II–1–20).

Несмотря на многочисленные достоинства указанной монографии, необходимо отметить, что некоторые вопросы описания фонологической системы и грамматической структуры кавказско-албанского языка, по нашему мнению, раскрыты неверно. Настоящая работа задается целью по-возможности восполнить имеющиеся пробелы и дать альтернативное описание фонологической системы кавказско-албанского языка. Важность точной дешифровки албанских рукописей обусловлена тем, что кавказско-албанский – это единственный из северокавказских языков, обладающий древним оригинальным алфавитом и датируемыми I тысячелетием н. э. письменными памятниками.

2.1. Вокализм. В списке кавказско-албанского алфавита матенадаранской № 7117 рукописи девять знаков обозначены как гласные (№ 1  'alt', № 2  'odet', № 5  'eb', № 7  'en', № 13  'irb', № 16  'ina', № 25  'ar', № 35  'un', № 47  'ion'), в албанских палимпсестах встречаются шесть знаков для гласных (, , , , ) и еще две гласные обозначены диграфами ( и ). Все представленные в палимпсестах гласные имеют графические аналоги в матенадаранской рукописи:  = ,  = ,  = ,  = ,  =  или .

Еще до обнаружения синайских палимпсестов были известны (см. Абрамян 1964; Гукасян 1968, 1969; Климов 1967, 1970, 1972, 1976, 1984, 1990; Муравьев 1981 и др.) значения пяти «простых» гласных, это:  (a),  (e),  (i),  (o) и  (u). Помимо этого, однозначно, что графема  передает дифтонг ej². Исходя из сказанного, в рукописи № 7117 необходимо исправить начальные буквы названий следующих гласных (т. е. их фонемные значения):  ej > e;  e > ej;  u > o.

Кроме гласных с установленными фонемными значениями ( a,  e,  i,  o,  u,  ej,  u), в матенадаранской рукописи имеется еще четыре гласных, это: «второе» и «третье»  (№ 16 и № 47), «второе»  (№ 25) и «второе»  (№ 2). Еще А. Шанидзе (1938: 30–32) предположил, что «второе»  (б) в действительности передает фонему  b. Это предположение было поддержано практически всеми последующими исследователями и не вызывает никаких сомнений. Также «второе»  (л) в синайских палимпсестах встречается в интервокальной и других характерных для согласных звуков позициях. По мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце³, фонемное значение этого знака  n̄ (Gippert et al. 2009: II–13). Таким образом, остается выяснить значения двух гласных, это «третье»  i и «второе»  a. Думается, что вопрос этих букв должен быть связан друг с другом, так как графическая форма этих знаков практически идентична (№ 25  'ar'; № 47  'ion'). По нашему мнению, буква  u, которая встречается в палимпсесте, должна быть идентифицирована со знаком № 47 ('ion'). В название этой графемы, по всей видимости, первая буква  i лишняя и ошибочно добавлена переписчиками.

² Помимо этого, знак  e в заимствованных из греческого или посредством греческого слова соответствует букве η, напр., алб.  (aleluja) – гр. ἀλληλουῖα 'аллилуйя';  (amen) – ἀμην 'аминь' и т. д. В таких случаях эта буква передает звук e. По мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, знак  e, помимо дифтонга ej, передает и долгий гласный звук ē, с чем невозможно согласиться.

³ Авторами грамматического анализа кавказско-албанского языка в Gippert et al: 2009 являются лишь Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце. Поэтому здесь и далее упоминаем только их.

В научной литературе по поводу фонемного значения знака **ᵓ** были высказаны различные предположения: С. Н. Муравьев (1981: 258–259) считал, что знак № 47 передает звук **ə**, с чем невозможно согласиться. В армянском алфавите была буква (**ը**), передающая звук **ə**. Таким образом, не было необходимости в передаче этого албанского звука буквой **ը**. Помимо этого, можно отметить, что в обоих списках кавказско-албанского алфавита в названиях букв нет знака **ը**, что косвенно свидетельствует об отсутствии фонемы **ə** в фонологической системе кавказско-албанского языка.

З. Алексидзе (2003: 151) предполагал, что эта графема, которую он идентифицировал со знаком № 25 матенадаранской рукописи, передает долгий звук **ā**, а диграф **ᵓᵓ**, который в палимпсестах встречается не реже некоторых простых гласных, – дифтонг **āw**.

По мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, знак **ᵓ**, который они также идентифицируют со знаком № 25, обозначал звук **a°**, а диграф **ᵓᵓ** – палатализованный **ü** (Gippert et al. 2009: II–11–12).

Для нас аргументация этих мнений остается неясной: в подавляющем большинстве случаев знакам **ᵓ** и **ᵓᵓ** в удинском языке соответствуют фарингализованные **oʰ** и **uʰ**. Исходя из этого, правильным представляется предположение Г.А. Климова. Он считает, что фонемным значением графемы № 47 является **oʰ** (Климов 1984: 13; 1990: 497). Это предположение подтверждается и участием этого знака в диграфе, обозначающем вариант фонемы **uʰ**⁴. Логичное чтение диграфа **ᵓᵓ** как фарингализованного **uʰ** предложено уже в Климов 1984: 13 и принято последующими исследователями (Лолуа 2008: 416, 2010: 58; Lolua 2009: 113; Kassian 2011–2012).

Кавказско-Албанский	Удинский
ᵓᵓ-ᵓᵓ (<i>toχʰan</i>) ⁵ ‘инжировое дерево’	<i>toχʰan</i> ⁶ ‘id’
ᵓᵓ (<i>toʰ</i>) ‘край’	<i>toγʰ</i> ‘id’
ᵓᵓ-ᵓ (<i>uʰγʰ</i>) ‘шесть’	<i>uγʰ</i> ‘id’
ᵓᵓᵓ-ᵓ (<i>viʰγʰ</i>) ‘семь’	<i>viγʰ</i> ‘id’
ᵓᵓᵓ-ᵓ (<i>tiʰγʰ</i>) ‘восемь’	<i>tiγʰ</i> ‘id’

Необходимо отметить, что знаки **ᵓ** и **ᵓᵓ** в удинском могут быть представлены другими соответствиями: **ᵓ** иногда передается нефарингализованным звуком **o**, а диграфу **ᵓᵓ** может соответствовать нефарингализованный гласный **u**, или фарингализованный звук **iʰ** (в ниджском **əʰ**), напр.:

Кавказско-албанский	Удинский
ᵓᵓ (<i>qʰiʰoʰ</i>) ‘двадцать’	<i>qʰo</i> ‘id’
ᵓᵓᵓ-ᵓ (<i>huʰk</i>) ‘сердце’	<i>ukʰ</i> ‘id’
ᵓᵓᵓ (<i>qʰiʰuʰ</i>) ‘страх’	<i>qʰi</i> (варт.)// <i>qʰə</i> (нидж.) ‘id’

⁴ «Простой» звук **u** в кавказско-албанском также передается по принципу **o + w**: **ᵓᵓ-ᵓ**.

⁵ Квадратными скобками с диакритикой, обозначающей фарингализацию (^[ʰ]), маркированы те звуки, на которые, по нашему мнению, приходится максимум фарингализации. Фарингализацию в кавказско-албанском отмечаем исходя из графического принципа, хотя сомневаемся в адекватном отображении фарингализации в письменных памятниках кавказско-албанского языка.

⁶ В удинском языке фарингализация распространяется на все слово. Мы обозначаем лишь максимум фарингализации, который приходится на увулярные и шипящие согласные, а если таких звуков нет в слове — то на первый гласный основы. Обозначение максимума фарингализации подразумевает фарингализованность всего слова, напр., точная фонологическая транскрипция формы **toχʰan** будет: **tʰoʰχʰaʰnʰ**.

По нашему мнению, нет аргументов, свидетельствующих в пользу предположения Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце. Знаку **ʊ** в удинском языке не соответствует фонема **a**, а одно из возможных соответствий для **ʊ** – **i̯//ə̯**, объясняется частым чередованием **u** и т.н. иррационального в удинском, а не наличием палатализованного **u** в кавказско-албанском языке.

Исследователи (т. е. Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце), по нашему мнению, неверно идентифицировали графему **ʊ** со № 25 знаком матенадаранской рукописи, название которого ‘ar’. Исходя из того, что этому знаку в удинском, как отмечено выше, постоянно соответствует звук **o**, а не **a**, то исследователи, по-видимому, предположили «среднее» между **o** и **a** фонемное значение этой буквы.

Необходимо также отметить, что лабиализованные и палатализованные гласные в фонологической системе кавказско-албанского языка, как считают Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце, представлены единственными звуками. Если же разделить наше мнение, то мы получаем стройную систему, в которой имеются фарингализованные варианты для всех простых гласных: фарингализованные варианты гласных **a**, **e** и **i** выражены графическими комплексами **ʌ** + графема, обозначающая простой гласный: **ʌa** (a^ʰ), **ʌe** (e^ʰ), **ʌi** (i^ʰ). Об этом ясно свидетельствуют соответствия этих комплексов в удинском языке, ср.:

Кавказско-албанский	Удинский
ʌvaʰn (vaʰn) ‘вы’	vaʰn ‘id’
ʌkaʰban (kaʰban) ‘пустыня’	q ^s avan ‘поле’
ʌbeʰɣiʰ (beʰɣiʰ) ‘солнце’	beɣ ^s ‘id’
ʌbeʰfi (beʰfi) ‘ваш’	eʰfi ‘id’
ʌiʰmiχ (iʰmiχ) ‘уши’	iʰmiχ ‘id’

Графические комплексы **ʌʊ** и **ʌʊʰ** не встречаются, что также свидетельствует в пользу фарингализованности звуков, обозначаемых буквами **ʊ** и **ʊʰ**. Если согласиться с мнением Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, согласно которому **ʊ** и **ʊʰ** передают звуки **a^o** и **ü**, а графема **ʌ** – звонкий фарингальный согласный, то тогда непонятно, чем обусловлено это позиционное ограничение, почему не встречается этот согласный перед гласными **a^o** и **ü**?

Представляется важным чередование знаков **ʊ** и **ʊʰ** с фарингализованными гласными, выраженными диграфами, напр., **ʌpaʰ** (p^ʰa^ʰ) ‘два’ (ср. уд. p^sa^s ‘id’) ~ **ʌp^oʌiʰ** (p^oʌiʰ < p^oʌ-ot-iʰ < p^aʌ-ot-iʰ) ‘опять’, ‘другой раз’ (досл. ‘второй раз’)..., это также подтверждает, что знаки **ʊ** и **ʊʰ** передают не лабиализованные или палатализованные звуки, а фарингализованные.

простые	ʌ a (№ 1)	ʌ e (№ 5)	ʌ i (№ 13)	ʌ o (№ 35)	ʌ u (№ 35+50)
фарингализованные	ʌaʰ (№ 14+1)	ʌeʰ (№ 14+5)	ʌiʰ (№ 14+13)	ʌoʰ (№ 47)	ʌuʰ (№ 47+50)

Таблица №1. Графемы и диграфы, обозначающие гласные звуки

Из представленных в табл. № 1 гласных звуков фонемный статус, по нашему мнению, имеют лишь простые гласные. Что касается фарингализованных вариантов гласных, то они встречаются, в основном, в анлауте, напр., **ʌiʰmiχ** (iʰmiχ) ‘уши’, ср. уд. iʰmiχ ‘id’; **ʌuʰiʰ** (uʰiʰ) ‘шесть’, ср. уд. uq^s ‘id’; **ʌuʰiʰ** (uʰiʰ) ‘царь’; **ʌoʰiʰal** (oʰiʰal) ‘птичка’;

ბეჯს (*be^ɛɣ^li*) ‘солнце’, ср. уд. *beɣ^ɛ* ‘id’; **ბეჯიჩ** (*be^ɛfi*) ‘ваш (-a/-e)’, ср. уд. *e^ɛfi* ‘id’; **ტოჯიან** (*to^ɛχ^li^ɛan*) ‘инжировое дерево’, ср. уд. *toχ^ɛan* ‘id’; **კაჯიანი** (*ka^ɛvan*) ‘пустыня’, ср. уд. *q^ɛavan* ‘поле’; **ხოჯახინი** (*ho^ɛjaχin*) ‘вера’, ‘верный’; **პაჯი** (*p^ɛa*) ‘два’, ср. уд. *p^ɛa* ‘id’; **პოჯინი** (*p^ɛo^ɛmin*) ‘опять’, ‘другой’; **ვიჯი** (*vi^ɛɣ^li*) ‘семь’, ср. уд. *viɣ^ɛ* ‘id’; **თიჯი** (*ti^ɛɣ^li*) ‘восемь’, ср. уд. *tiɣ^ɛ* ‘id’; **ჯიჯი** (*ɟi^ɛɟi*) ‘двадцать’, ср. уд. *q^ɛo* ‘id’; **ხიჯი** (*hi^ɛk*) ‘сердце’, ср. уд. *uk* ‘id’; **ჯიჯი** (*ɟi^ɛɟi*) ‘страх’, ср. уд. *q^ɛi* (варт.)//*q^ɛə* (нидж.) ‘id’; **ტოჯი** (*to^ɛ*) ‘сторона’, ср. уд. *t^ɔɔɣ^ɛ* ‘id’; **ჯიჯი** (*ɟi^ɛɟi*) ‘некоторые’, ‘другие’...

То, что фарингализованные варианты гласных в кавказско-албанском в двухсложных и многосложных словах встречаются главным образом в анлауте, соответствует дистрибуции фарингализации в удинском языке — максимум фарингализации в удинском приходится на начальный гласный основы, а если в слове есть увулярный или шипящий согласный, то на первый из этих согласных. Это дает основание для предположения, что фарингализация в кавказско-албанском не сегментное свойство гласных или согласных звуков, а свойство просодии, как и в удинском языке.

В кавказско-албанском языке не было долгих, палатализованных и назализованных гласных, которые широко представлены в других нахско-дагестанских языках. Долгие гласные в кавказско-албанском могли быть лишь позиционно обусловленными и встречаться на стыке морфем, напр., *ხო-ოთ* ‘пять раз’, хотя и в этих случаях один из гласных, как правило, редуцировался, напр., *de* ‘отец’ [эрг.] (< *de-e*); *ne* ‘мать’ [эрг.] (< *ne-e*); *eli(j)a* ‘Илье’ [дат.] (< *eli(j)a-a*); *išu* ‘мужчине’ (< *išu-u*), *χiš^ɛu* ‘женщине’ (< *χiš^ɛu-u*), *paiš^ɛu* ‘слуге’ (< *paiš^ɛ-u*) и др.

Несмотря на то, что в случае с кавказско-албанским языком мы не имеем дело с живой речью, некоторые обстоятельства дают основание предположить, что гласные кавказско-албанского языка можно было разместить в т.н. треугольнике, а не в прямоугольнике, как в большинстве современных лезгинских языков. На это указывает, прежде всего, отсутствие палатализованных гласных в фонологической системе кавказско-албанского языка.

Таблица №2. Гласные кавказско-албанского языка

ряд	передний		средний		задний	
	простые	фаринг.	простые	фаринг.	простые	фаринг.
Верхний	i	[i ^ɛ]			u	[u ^ɛ]
Средний	e	[e ^ɛ]			o	[o ^ɛ]
Нижний			a	[a ^ɛ]		

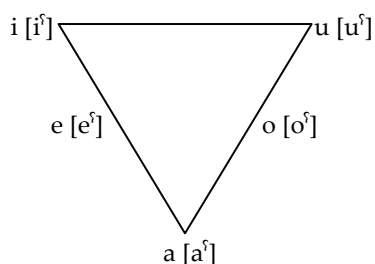


Рис. 1. Распределение гласных звуков кавказско-албанского языка

2.2. **Консонантизм.** В списке кавказско-албанского алфавита рукописи № 7117 имеется 43 знака, обозначенных как согласные. Несколько консонантов передаются двумя или тремя графемами: в матенадаранской рукописи три буквы **z** (№ 3 **ⲗ** 'zim'; № 6 **ⲗ** 'zarl'; № 20 **ⲗ** 'zoχ'), **č** (№ 10 **ⲗ** 'ča'; № 19 **ⲗ** 'čar'; № 27 **ⲗ** 'či') и **k** (№ 21 **ⲗ** 'kar'; № 30 **ⲗ** 'kař'; № 42 **ⲗ** 'kař'). Двумя знаками представлены следующие фонемы: **ž** (№ 8 **ⲗ** 'žil'; № 12 **ⲗ** 'ža'); **j** (№ 11 **ⲗ** 'jud'; № 50 **ⲗ** 'jajd'); **š** (№ 14 **ⲗ** 'ša'; № 33 **ⲗ** 'šak'); **l** (№ 15 **ⲗ** 'lan'; № 22 **ⲗ** 'lit'); **χ** (№ 17 **ⲗ** 'χejn'; № 37 **ⲗ** 'χam'); **h** (№ 23 **ⲗ** 'hejt'; № 24 **ⲗ** 'haj'); **c** (№ 26 **ⲗ** 'coj'; № 49 **ⲗ** 'cain'); **č** (№ 28 **ⲗ** 'čaj'; № 39 **ⲗ** 'čař'); **ž** (№ 32 **ⲗ** 'žaj'; № 34 **ⲗ** 'žajn'); **t** (№ 36 **ⲗ** 'taj'; № 45 **ⲗ** 'tiwr'); **p** (№ 41 **ⲗ** 'pes'; № 51 **ⲗ** 'piwr'); **s** (№ 43 **ⲗ** 'sejk'; № 46 **ⲗ** 'soj'). Десять согласных переданы одной графемой: № 4 **ⲗ** 'gař'; № 9 **ⲗ** 'tas'; № 18 **ⲗ** 'dan'; № 29 **ⲗ** 'mak'; № 31 **ⲗ** 'nuc'; № 38 **ⲗ** 'žaj'; № 40 **ⲗ** 'pen'; № 44 **ⲗ** 'vejz'; № 48 **ⲗ** 'čaw'; № 52 **ⲗ** 'kiw'.

В синайских палимпсестах встречаются 42 консонанта. Из них две графемы в списке рукописи № 7117 обозначены как гласные, это: № 2 **ⲗ** **b** (= **ⲗ**), название которой в матенадаранской рукописи читается как 'odet'; № 16 **ⲗ** (= **ⲗ**) 'ina' — это, безо всякого сомнения, согласный и предполагаемое фонемное значение этой графемы **n**. Все консонанты палимпсеста с большей или меньшей вероятностью идентифицируются с графическими формами рукописи № 7117 (см. таблицу №6). Три согласных матенадаранского списка не встречаются в палимпсестах, это: № 28 **ⲗ** 'čaj', № 32 **ⲗ** 'žaj' и № 34 **ⲗ** 'žajn'.

Если суммировать предположения, высказанные в научной литературе, то с полной уверенностью можно принять фонемные значения 27 знаков синайских палимпсестов, это буквы, которые присутствуют в заимствованиях и словах, имеющих точные удинские эквиваленты: № 2 **ⲗ** (**b**); № 3 **ⲗ** (**g**); № 4 **ⲗ** (**d**); № 6 **ⲗ** (**z**); № 8 **ⲗ** (**ž**); № 9 **ⲗ** (**t**); № 11 **ⲗ** (**j**); № 15 **ⲗ** (**l**); № 21 **ⲗ** (**k**); № 23 **ⲗ** (**h**); № 27 **ⲗ** (**č**); № 29 **ⲗ** (**m**); № 30 **ⲗ** (**q**); № 31 **ⲗ** (**n**); № 33 **ⲗ** (**š**); № 37 **ⲗ** (**f**); № 39 **ⲗ** (**č**); № 40 **ⲗ** (**p**); № 41 **ⲗ** (**γ**); № 42 **ⲗ** (**r**); № 43 **ⲗ** (**s**); № 44 **ⲗ** (**v**); № 45 **ⲗ** (**t**); № 49 **ⲗ** (**c**); № 50 **ⲗ** (**w**); № 51 **ⲗ** (**p**); № 52 **ⲗ** (**k**). Исходя из этого, фонемные значения матенадаранского списка нуждаются в нескольких исправлениях: № 2 **ⲗ** (**o > b**); № 3 **ⲗ** (**z > g**); № 4 **ⲗ** (**g > d**); № 37 **ⲗ** (**χ > f**); № 41 **ⲗ** (**p > γ**); № 42 **ⲗ** (**k > r**); № 50 **ⲗ** (**j > w**).

Кавказско-албанский алфавит отличается большим количеством знаков для обозначения сибилантов. В списке рукописи № 7117 имеется 19 сибилантов. Из них шипящие аффрикаты и свистящие и шипящие спиранты представлены двумя графемами, за исключением звука **č**, который передается тремя знаками. Из свистящих аффрикат лишь звук **c** передан двумя графемами, а **z** и **ç** — одной. Три знака из представленных в матенадаранской рукописи сибилантов в синайских палимпсестах не встречаются, это: № 28 **ⲗ** 'čaj', № 32 **ⲗ** 'žaj' и № 34 **ⲗ** 'žajn'. Таким образом, в палимпсестах не остается знака для звонкой шипящей аффрикаты (**ž**), а для **č** остается лишь один знак (№ 39 **ⲗ** 'čař').

На основании прочитанного материала в матенадаранском списке необходимо исправить фонемные значения некоторых сибилантов. Один из них — это № 19 **ⲗ** 'čař', который на самом деле передает фонему **ç**. Можно предположить, что армянские переписчики рукописи перепутали близкие по своим начертаниям графемы **ⲗ** и **ⲗ**. Это мнение высказано еще А. Г. Абрамяном (1964: 30) и поддержано Г. А. Климовым (1984: 13; 1990: 497), С. Н. Муравьевым (1981: 258), Й. Гиппертом и В. Шульце (Gippert et al. 2008: II–14).

З. Н. Алексидзе не знает фонемного значения данной графемы, но, исходя из того, что в названии этой буквы в матенадаранской рукописи фигурирует чуждая фонологической системе кавказско-албанского языка армянская **ⲗ** (**ṛ**), которая, как считает исследователь, имела функцию некоего диакритического знака, указывающего на большую гортанность или интенсивность албанского звука по сравнению с близким армян-

ским⁷, высказывает предположение о большей интенсивности данного звука по сравнению с «основной», «простой» фонемой (Алексидзе 2003: 95).

Это предположение нуждается в проверке: **ʒ** графема на общелезгинском и общедагестанском уровне может соответствовать как неинтенсивной ***ʒ**, так и интенсивной свистящей аффрикате ***ʒ̣**, ср.:

ʒ-ʒ̣ *vi(ç)*: уд. *vic* ‘десять’ ~ лезг. *çu-d*: таб. *jiçu-b*: аг. *içu-d*, *jiçu-r* (бурш.), *jiçu-d* (фит.): рут. *jiçə-d*: цах. *jiçe-llä* (гилмец.): арч. *wiç*: крыз. *jiçə-d*: буд. *jiçə-d* ~ даг. *weç-al*: авар. *апç* и др. (Бокарев 1961: 70; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 245 (об.-лезг. **йиçə*)).

ʒ-ʒ̣ *(ç)e*: уд. *a-риχ* ‘огонь’ (< **çə-риχ* — Pl. Tantum) ~ лезг. *çaj*, *çи*, *јəçə* (хлут.): таб. *çа*, *çи*: аг. *çа*, *çи*, *çaj* (фит.): рут. *çaj*, *çə*, *çä* (ихрек.), *çа* (хнов.): цах. *çа*: арч. *оç*: крыз. *çä*, *çər*: буд. *çи* ~ авар. *çа*: лак. *çи* и др. (Trubetzkoy 1930: 83; Муркелинский 1971: 193; Гигинейшвили 1977: 100; Талибов 1980: 296; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 354 (об.-лезг. **çaj*)).

но:

ʒ-ʒ̣ *(ç)i* ‘имя’ ~ уд. *с̣и* (< **с̣иr*, ср. форму мн. числа *с̣и-r-χоχ*) ~ лезг. *ṭ^war*, *ṭ^war* (хлут.); таб. *ç̣^our*, *zur* (дюбек.): аг. *ṭur*: рут. *dur*: цах. *do* (гилмец.): арч. *çor*: крыз. *tər*: буд. *tur* ~ авар. *ç:ar*, анд. *ç:er*, ахв. *ç:eri* и др. (Trubetzkoy 1930: 87; Муркелинский 1971: 142; Гигинейшвили 1977: 68, 106; Талибов 1980: 264, 297; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 1098 (об.-лезг. **ç̣^wer*)).

По нашему мнению, графема **ʒ** обозначала фонему **ç**, а интенсивную фонему **ç̣**: передавала № 48 **ʒ̣** (хотя возможны и другие трактовки), напр.:

ʒ-ʒ̣ *mi(ç):ur* ‘чистый’: уд. *ас̣ar* (< **таçar*), *мас̣и* ‘белый’ ~ таб. *març:i* (канд.), *marzi* (дюбек.): аг. *mạrt:e-f*: рут. *mit-də* ‘чисто’: цах. *mạrt:ə̣-n*: арч. *març* ~ авар. *ba-ç:-ad* и др. (Бокарев 1961: 71; Муркелинский 1971: 227; Гигинейшвили 1977: 107 (об.-даг.: **ba-ç:-ad*); Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 552 (об.-лезг. **mạrç:ə̣* ‘чистый’)).

По нашему мнению, процесс перехода интенсивных абруптивных аффрикат в неинтенсивные абруптивные аффрикаты в кавказско-албанском не был завершен. Помимо этого, как показывает пример *çe* ‘огонь’, не был завершен процесс перехода неинтенсивных абруптивных аффрикат в ноль звука в анлауте и инлауте, произошедший в удинском языке, см. (Церцвадзе 1964: 362).

В ряду сибилантов необходимо исправить еще несколько фонемных значений. № 26 **ʒ̣** (**ʒ̣** ‘soj’); фонемным значением этой графемы, по нашему мнению, должно быть **ç̣̥**, так как графеме **ʒ̣** в удинском, как показывает единственный пример, соответствует палато-альвеолярная фарингализованная аффриката **ç̣̥** – **ʒ̣̥** (**ç̣̥**)*a* ‘лицо’, ср. уд. *ç̣̥o* ‘id’...

№ 46 **ʒ̣̥** (**ʒ̣̥** ‘soj’); по нашему мнению, это палато-альвеолярный фарингализованный фрикативный **ʃ̣̥**, напр., **ʒ̣̥-ʒ̣̥** (**ʃ̣̥**)*ut* ‘хлеб’, ср. уд. *ʃ̣̥ut* ‘id’; **ʒ̣̥-ʒ̣̥** *e(ʃ̣̥)a* ‘после’, ‘за’, ср. уд. *oʃ̣̥a* ‘id’...

Как было отмечено, в палимпсестах не подтверждается наличие ни одной из имеющих в матенадаранской рукописи двух букв, обозначенных как **ʒ̣̥**. Несмотря на это, фонологическая система кавказско-албанского языка не остается без этой фонемы. Одной из обозначающих звук **ʒ̣̥** букв должна быть № 20 **ʒ̣̥** (**ʒ̣̥**, ‘zoχ’); по нашему мнению, здесь мы имеем фарингализованный вариант этой фонемы (**ʒ̣̥̥**), о чем свидетельствуют соответствия этой фонемы в удинском языке, напр., **ʒ̣̥̥** (**ʒ̣̥̥**)*[u]γ* ‘господин’, ‘Господь’ (**ʒ̣̥̥-ʒ̣̥̥** *ko(ʒ̣̥̥)in(ʒ̣̥̥)[u]γ* ‘господин (хозяин) дома’), ср. уд. *kʷonʒ̣̥̥ix* ‘id’; ср. также уд. *biχa-ʒ̣̥̥iy* ‘Бог’ ~ кавк.-алб. **ʒ̣̥̥** (**b[liχa-ʒ̣̥̥ul]γ*) ‘id’; **ʒ̣̥̥-ʒ̣̥̥** *(ʒ̣̥̥)itix* ‘мельница’, ср. уд. *ʒ̣̥̥otoχ* ‘id’...

Второй звук **ʒ̣̥̥**, по нашему мнению, должен быть № 18 **ʒ̣̥̥** (**ʒ̣̥̥**, ‘dan’); этой графеме в удинском соответствуют **ʒ̣̥̥** или **ʒ̣̥̥̥** (в ниджском), напр., **ʒ̣̥̥-ʒ̣̥̥** *ko(ʒ̣̥̥)* ‘дом’, ср. уд. *kʷoʒ̣̥̥* (варт.) //

⁷ Об этом свидетельствует сравнение графем **ʒ̣̥** “kaγ” (Чшр) и **ʒ̣̥̥** “kaγ” (Чшп). Знак **ʒ̣̥̥** передает фонему **q̣̥**, а **ʒ̣̥**, в названии которого фигурирует **ɣ̣̥**, — **q̣̥̥**.

k'ož (нидж.) 'id'; **ᲥᲚᲚᲚᲚ** (*š*)*e(š)er* 'туба', ср. уд. *žežer* 'id'... Представляется, что здесь мы имеем 'простую' (нефарингализованную) звонкую палато-альвеолярную аффрикату **ž**.

Помимо этого, коррекции должно подвергнуться фонемное значение № 36 графемы **Ლ** (**Ლ** 'taj'); точное звучание этой графемы определить сложно, хотя имеющийся редкий материал дает возможность предположить интенсивный шипящий абруптив **č̣**. Основанием для этого предположения служит то, что в удинском этой графеме соответствует звук **č**, а интенсивность этого звука мы постулируем исходя из требований системности (предположительное существование интенсивной свистящей абруптивной аффрикаты) и наличием «простой» **č** в фонологической системе кавказско-албанского языка, ср., **ᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ** *aqa(č̣):i* 'голый (-ая//о-е)' ~ уд. *aqači* 'id'⁸; **ᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ** (**č̣**)*ap-bijesun* 'засовывать' ~ уд. *čap-besun* 'прятать'...

Таким образом, система сибилантов в кавказско-албанском языке представляется нам в следующем виде:

Таблица №3. Предполагаемая система сибилантов кавказско-албанского языка

		аффрикаты				спиранты	
свистящие	простые	№ 38 Ლ ʃ	№ 49 Ლ s	№ 48 Ლ ç	№ 19 Ლ *č̣:	№ 6 Ლ z	№ 43 Ლ s
	шипящие	№ 18 Ლ ž	№ 39 Ლ č	№ 27 Ლ č	№ 36 Ლ *č̣:	№ 8 Ლ ž	№ 33 Ლ š
	фаринг.	№ 20 Ლ ẓ̌ʰ	№ 26 Ლ č̣ʰ	№ 10 Ლ č̣ʰ		№ 12 Ლ ẓ̌ʰ	№ 46 Ლ ṣ̌ʰ

К этим знакам необходимо добавить графему **Ლ**. Эта буква, когда встречается после согласного или в начале слова и участвует в комплексах с гласными **a**, **e** и **i** (иногда и с **o** и **u**), обозначает фарингализованность вышперечисленных гласных, а в нескольких словах в интервокальной позиции наблюдается иное употребление этого знака — в этих редких случаях он обозначает звук **š** (или **ṣ̌ʰ**), напр., **ᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ** *tu(š)ak* 'работник', ср. груз. *tušak-i*, арм. *mšak* 'id' и др.

Таким образом, мы в кавказско-албанском языке предполагаем четверичную систему свистящих и шипящих аффрикат и парную систему свистящих и шипящих спирантов. Помимо «простых» шипящих сибилантов, по нашему мнению, в кавказско-албанском существовал второй ряд шипящих согласных, который состоял из фарингализованных вариантов. Интересно, что предлагаемая система близка к постулируемой Б. Б. Талибовым системе сибилантов для пралезгинского состояния, предполагавшей наличие четверичной системы свистящих и шипящих аффрикат и корреляцию по интенсивности только лишь среди абруптивов (Талибов 1980: 325).

В научной литературе сибилантам кавказско-албанского языка были даны различные квалификации, так, например, С. Н. Муравьев предполагал наличие интенсивных рядов свистящих аффрикат и свистящих и шипящих спирантов (Муравьев 1981: 239).

По мнению В. Л. Гукасяна, для кавказско-албанского была характерной четверичная система свистящих и шипящих аффрикат (звонкий – придыхательный – преруптив – абруптив), наличие локальных рядов дентолабиализованных шипящих аффрикат и интенсивных («сильных») свистящих и шипящих спирантов (Гукасян 1969: 68).

⁸ Это слово засвидетельствовано А. Шифнером (1863: 74). Видимо, эту лексему в удинском заменила заимствованная из азербайджанского языка форма *č̣ur'laq* (варт.)//*č̣ur'laγ* (нидж.). А в родственных лезгинских языках знаку **Ლ** в форме *aqa(č̣):i* соответствует свистящий абруптив **ç**, ср.: лезг. *q̣eçil*, таб. *q̣açli*, аг. *q̣açul-f*, рут. *ha'çul*, крым.-, буд. *q̣açu-n* 'голый (-ая//о-е)'.

Как считают Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце, в кавказско-албанском были постальвеолярные (палато-альвеолярные) и альвео-палатальные ряды шипящих согласных⁹ и ряд палатализованных альвеолярных согласных (смычных, аффрикат и спирантов) (Gippert et al. 2009: II-4-6, II-13-15, II-17).

Так как предыдущие исследователи не работали со сколько-нибудь объемным кавказско-албанским материалом и их воззрения сохраняют значимость лишь в контексте истории изучения вопроса, остановимся только на мнении Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце. Система сибилантов, которую предлагают ученые, вызывает серьезные вопросы. Нужно отметить, что нахско-дагестанским языкам не свойственны альвео-палатальные согласные и противопоставление палатализованных и непалатализованных фонем. Более того, эти явления не реконструируются ни на одном уровне нахско-дагестанской фонологии. Предложенная же нами квалификация второго ряда шипящих согласных как ряда фарингализованных, напротив, подтверждается материалом удинского языка, т. е. языка, который является единственным из сохранившихся кавказско-албанских диалектов, ср.:

Кавказско-албанский	Удинский
𐌀𐌆 (ž'e) 'камень'	ž'e 'id'
𐌀𐌆𐌆𐌆 (oš'al) 'поверхность', 'земля'	oš'al 'id'
𐌆𐌀𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 (ž'omox) 'мельница'	ž'omox 'id'
𐌆𐌆 (č'a) 'лицо'	č'o 'id'
𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 (kač'i) 'слепой'	kač'i 'id'
𐌆𐌆𐌆 (bač') 'сто'	bač' 'id'

В удинском языке засвидетельствована веляризация шипящих, вызванная процессом фарингализации. Если в словах, в которых нет шипящих согласных, фарингализация имеет палатальный тембр, то фарингализованные шипящие согласные веляризованы и смещают назад соседние гласные переднего ряда (Кибрик, Кодзасов 1990: 347). Этот процесс дал основание некоторым исследователям для выделения веляризованных или интенсивных шипящих фонем в удинском языке, с чем невозможно согласиться. Исследователи, рассматривающие фарингализацию в удинском языке как сегментное свойство гласных, в своих записях веляризованные или интенсивные шипящие согласные, за редким исключением, помещают по соседству с фарингализованными гласными (resp. в фарингализованных словах).

Таким образом, на основании фонологической системы удинского языка, мы предполагаем, что второй ряд шипящих согласных является рядом фарингализованных звуков. Необходимо также отметить, что процесс фарингализации широко распространен в родственных лезгинских и других нахско-дагестанских языках. Не удивительно и возможное наличие интенсивных согласных в кавказско-албанском языке. Интенсивные согласные фонемы представлены практически в каждом дагестанском языке.

⁹ Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце в фонологической системе кавказско-албанского языка выделяют следующие шипящие звуки — альвео-палатальные (Alveolar-palatals): *𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆 и постальвеолярные (Postalveolars): 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆 (см. Gippert et al. 2009: II-14-15, II-17). В таблице на стр. 4-6 и в детальном обзоре фонем кавказско-албанского языка (Gippert et al. 2009: II-13-15) дана транскрипция данных звуков согласно международного фонетического алфавита (IPA): *𐌆𐌆 = dʒ, 𐌆𐌆 = tʃ, 𐌆𐌆 = tʃ, 𐌆𐌆 = ʒ, 𐌆𐌆 = ʃ; 𐌆𐌆 = dʒ, 𐌆𐌆 = tʃ, 𐌆𐌆 = tʃ, 𐌆𐌆 = ʒ, 𐌆𐌆 = ʃ. Исходя из этого, по всей видимости, под «альвео-палатальными» согласными нужно подразумевать палато-альвеолярные (постальвеолярные), а под «постальвеолярными» — альвео-палатальные.

После обширного обзора сибилантов перейдем к вопросу остальных консонантов:

Кавказско-албанский язык характеризует троичная система смычных. Фонемные значения всех смычно-взрывных согласных точно установлены, это: № 2 **б** (b), № 51 **в** (p), № 40 **г** (p̥); № 4 **д** (d), № 9 **т** (t), № 45 **т** (t); № 3 **г** (g), № 52 **к** (k), № 21 **к** (k).

Из увулярных смычных, точно установлено фонемное значение абруптива № 30 **з** (q̥). Невыясненным остается вопрос придыхательной **q**. Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце не видят отдельного знака для этой фонемы в кавказско-албанском алфавите. По мнению исследователей, одним из значений графемы **q̣** (№ 24 **q̣** 'haj') было **q**, но этот знак обозначал и увулярный фрикативный **χ** (Gippert et al. 2009: II-11). Помимо этого, в кавказско-албанском алфавите встречается похожий на **q̣** знак **q̣**, который, по мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце (Gippert et al. 2009: II-11), передавал велярный спирант (**χ̣**). С последним предположением мы не согласны: в кавказско-албанском языке, как и в удинском, совпали рефлексы общезезгинских ***χ**, ***χ̣**, их интенсивных вариантов и еще нескольких латеральных фонем. Важно, что фонема, обозначаемая знаком **q̣**, часто восходит к общезезгинской ***χ** или ***χ̣**; напр.:

бзвч *a^hχi* : уд. *aχ^hil* 'далекий' ~ лезг. *jaryal* : таб. *jarχla* : аг. *warχa* 'далеко': рут. *χərə-də* 'id': арч. *aχ* ~ лак. *arχ:-sa* 'далекий' и др. (Хайдаков 1973: 106; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 269 (об.-лезг. **ʔarχ:(al)*).

qvq *χel* 'беременная': уд. *χel* // *qel* 'ноша', 'вьюк' ~ рут. *χäl* : цах. *χew* : арч. *χ:al* : крыз. *χel*, *χil* : буд. *χel* ~ дарг. *χala* и др. (Муркелинский 1971: 170; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 1069 (об.-лезг. **χ:äl*)).

qoq *χod* : уд. *χod* 'дерево' ~ таб. *γurd-in har* (дюбек): рут. *χəd* ~ дарг. *χur*; *χ:ur* (цу-дах.) 'липа' и др. (Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 1079 (об.-лезг. **χ:ort*: 'липа')).

бqvq-γo-γq *biχesun* : уд. *biχsun* 'рожать' ~ лезг. *χaz*, *χana* : таб. *χuz* : аг. *iχas* : рут. *huχ^was* : цах. *iχas* : крыз. *χujiž*, *ruχri* : буд. *χosu* и др. (Гигинейшвили 1977: 127; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 576 (об.-лезг. **ʔiχ^wa*)).

Наше предположение подтверждает также то, что знаком **q̣** передается звук **χ** в заимствованных словах, напр., **qvq-γo-γq** *χoran* 'куща' ~ арм. *χoran* 'id'; **qvq-γo-γq** *χošaḳ* 'жара' ~ арм. *χoršaḳ*, груз. *χoršaḳ-i* 'id'; **qvq-γo-γq** *χeχer* 'пила' ~ груз. *χerχ-i* 'id'; **qvq-γo-γq** *χartḳaḳ* 'кусок' ~ арм. *χortakem* 'id'; **qvq-γo-γq** *daχtaḳ* 'дощечка' ~ арм. *taχtak* 'id'; **qvq-γo-γq** *saχej* 'лицо', 'вид' ~ груз. *saχej* 'id' (см. Gippert et al. 2009: II-11). Если в кавказско-албанском увулярная фонема **χ** обозначалась знаком **q̣**, то почему **χ** в заимствованных словах передается не этой графемой, а знаком **q̣**, который, по мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, являлся не увулярной, а велярной фрикативной?

Знак **q̣** же, как правило, в удинском соответствует увулярному смычному **q**, напр., **qvq** *qo* 'пять' ~ уд. *qo* 'id'; **qvq-γo-γq** *qi^or* 'некоторые (люди)', 'те', 'другие' ~ уд. *qi* 'другая половина'; **qvq-γo-γq** *mi^hqen* 'праздник' ~ уд. *miq^h* 'радостный', 'счастливый'; **qvq** *u^hq* 'шесть' ~ уд. *uq^h* 'id'.

Необходимо отметить, что знаку **q̣** в удинском иногда соответствует **χ** и **γ**; напр., **qvq-γo-γq** *a(q)çibal[j]* // **qvq-γo-γq** *a(q)siba[j]* 'Пасха' ~ уд. *aχçima* // *aχsibaj* < груз. *ayvsebaj*; **qvq-γo-γq** *ba(q)esun* 'находить' ~ уд. *bay^haesun* 'быть найденным'...

По всей видимости, необходимо разделить мнение А. С. Касьяна, согласно которому, фонема **q** фонетически реализовывалась как аффриката **qχ** (Kassian 2011–2012). Такая аффрикатная реализация **q** характерна для языков Дагестана как с точки зрения синхронии, так и диахронии. Аффрикатным произношением объясняется взаимозаменяемость между №24 **q** и №17 **χ** в некоторых фиксациях (параллельное употребление графем **q̣** и **q̣** в аффиксах датива III и множественного числа, см. Gippert et al. 2009: II-10–11). Соответственно, можно предположить, что и № 30 **z** был реализован как аффриката **q̣χ**.

Спиранты в кавказско-албанском языке представлены парной системой. Фонемные значения всех спирантов можно считать точно установленными: № 44 **Ɑ** (v), № 37 **Ɱ** (f); № 6 **Ɐ** (z), № 43 **Ɒ** (s); № 8 **ⱱ** (ž), № 33 **Ⱳ** (š); № 12 **ⱳ** (ž'), № 46 **ⱴ** (š'); № 17 **Ⱶ** (x), № 41 **ⱶ** (γ). Ларингальный ряд представлен лишь одним согласным: № 23 **ⱷ** (h).

Сонорные согласные: № 29 **ⱸ** (m); № 31 **ⱹ** (n); № 15 **ⱺ** (l); № 42 **ⱻ** (r); № 50 **ⱼ** (w), хотя последний согласный, видимо, не является фонемой и, за редкими исключениями, встречается в диграфах, обозначающих фонему **u** и ее фарингализованную разновидность.

Остается вопрос двух согласных, это № 18 **ⱼ** и № 22 **ⱽ**. По мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, здесь мы имеем палатализованные соноры **n̄** и **l̄**. Мы не можем привести аргументов, противоречащих данному мнению по поводу первой согласной. Возникают сомнения в правильности предложенного значения второго знака (№ 22 **ⱽ**). Этой букве на общелезгинском уровне, как можно утверждать на основании показаний единичных примеров, соответствуют фонемы ***r** (в удинском **j**) и ***l**, иногда происхождение этого знака неясно, а в нескольких случаях, ему в родственных языках соответствуют шумные латеральные согласные, ср.:

ⱽⱽ *l̄aḡ* : уд. *jaq* 'дорога' ~ лезг. *req, req̄*, нютюг. *raḡq̄*, мн. *reḡer*, хлют. *raq̄* : таб. *raq̄*, дюбек. *raq̄'a* : аг., бурщ., тпиг. *raq̄*, бурк. *req* : рут. *raq̄, raḡ:ə* : цах. *jaq̄, jaq̄:ən* : арч. *deḡ*, лок. *deḡ:u* < об.-лезг. **räḡ*. Др. даг.: дагг. *daḡq̄* 'тропинка' и др. (Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 604; Dumézil 1933: 20; Муркелинский 1971: 142; Гигинейшвили 1977: 109; Талибов 1980: 264).

ⱽⱼ (**ⱽ-ⱼ**) *il̄(u)* 'слово', 'голос', 'речь' ~ лезг., таб., аг. *çal* : рут., крыз., буд. *çel* : арч. *çat*.

и:

ⱽⱽⱽ *bil̄a* (основа наст. вр.) : уд. *bije-sun* 'умирать, убивать' ~ лезг. *reḡiz, ḡena*, пов. *jiḡ* : таб. *ji-ə-ḡuz* : арч. *ḡis, ḡar* : аг. *ḡas*, бурщ. *ḡis* : рут. *w-iḡes*, мн. *da-ḡarḡas* : цах. *ḡeḡes* : крыз. *ḡä-jīž*, дур. *raḡäri*, пов. *säḡ* : буд. *sarḡar, saḡaži* < об.-лезг. **iḡe*. Др. даг.: ахв. *iḡ'u-ruḡa* и др. (Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 662; Бокарев 1961: 63; Гигинейшвили 1977: 103);

l̄am 'плащ' ~ анд. *anl̄:i* : ахв. *aⁿl̄'i* : цез. *miḡ'i* : тинд. *anl̄'i*;

hil̄ 'любой', 'какой-то' ~ арч. *heḡ'ana*.

Не обозначал ли знак **ⱽ** какой-то из шумных латеральных звуков?

2.3. Фарингализация. Бесспорно, что в кавказско-албанском языке мы имеем фарингализованные звуки. Наличие фарингализованных гласных в кавказско-албанском языке предполагал еще Ак. Шанидзе (1938). Это мнение разделяли и на материале мингечаурских надписей пытались обосновать Г. А. Климов (1984, 1990) и С. Н. Муравьев (1981). Согласно же мнению авторов II секции «Кавказско-албанских палимпсестов...» (Й. Гипперт и В. Шульце) фарингализация в албанском языке обусловлена наличием специфического фарингального согласного, выраженного в алфавите особой буквой **ⱽ** (Gippert et al. 2009: II–12).

Необходимо отметить, что если принять последнее предположение, то мы в кавказско-албанском получаем комплексы согласных с участием графемы **ⱽ** в абсолютном анлауте, напр., **ⱽⱽⱽⱽⱽ** (*ḡ[ʃ]aban*) 'пустыня', ср. уд. *q̄'avān* 'поле'; **ⱽⱽⱽ** (*b[ʃ]ey*) 'солнце', ср. уд. *beḡ* 'id'; **ⱽⱽ** (*p[ʃ]a*) 'два', ср. уд. *p'a* 'id'; **ⱽⱽⱽ** (*v[ʃ]an*) 'вы', ср. уд. *va'n* 'id'. Это несвойственно для лезгинских и других дагестанских языков как с точки зрения синхронии, так и диахронии. Помимо этого, можно отметить, что и в самом кавказско-албанском языке не встречаются комплексы согласных в абсолютном анлауте.

Приведенные выше примеры показывают, что в аналогичных лексемах удинского языка комплексу, состоящему из графемы **ⱽ** + гласный, соответствует гласный звук, на который приходится максимум фарингализации в слове или гласный, находящийся по соседству с максимумом фарингализации. Это дает основание предположить, что знак **ⱽ**

Таблица №4. Согласные кавказско-албанского языка

локальный ряд		серия		шумные							сонорные					сонанты		
				смычные							спиранты		назальные		неназальные			
				смычно-взрывные			аффрикаты											
				звонкие	глухие		звонкие	глухие			звонкие	глухие	непалатализован.	палатализованные	вибранты		боковые	
придыхательные	абруптивы	придыхательные	абруптивы		интенсивные абруптивы	непалатализов.		палатализов.										
билабиальные		b	p	p̣							m							
		b	p ^h	p̣'							m							
дентолабиальные								v	f									
								v	f									
переднеязычные	альвеолярные	d	t	ṭ	ʒ	c	ç	*ç̣:	z	s	n	ñ	r	l	*ḷ			
		d	t ^h	ṭ'	dʒ	ts	ts'	*tṣ:	z	s	n	n ⁱ	r	l	*ḷ ⁱ			
	палато-альвеолярные				ʒ̣	ç̣	ç̣	*ç̣̣:	ʒ̣	ç̣								
	палато-альвеолярные (фарингализованные)				ʒ̣̣	ç̣̣	ç̣̣		ʒ̣̣	ç̣̣								
					dʒ̣̣	tʃ̣̣	tʃ̣̣		ʒ̣̣	ç̣̣								
дorsальные	палатальные														j			
	велярные	g	k	ḳ											j			
		g	k ^h	ḳ'														
	увулярные					q	q̣		ɣ	χ								
						qχ	q̣'χ		ɣ	χ								
ларингальные										h								
										h								

Примечание: фарингализованные палато-альвеолярные, по нашему мнению, не являются фонемами.

в кавказско-албанском лишь указывал на фарингализацию, а не обозначал конкретный согласный. Знак **ɬ** позиционно ограничен — он, как правило, встречается перед гласными **a**, **e** и **i**, редко — перед **o** и **u**, а перед **o'** и **u'** (по мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, — **a°** и **ü**) не встречается вовсе, что также трудно объяснить, если считать этот знак согласным.

С графической точки зрения фарингализация в кавказско-албанском алфавите обозначается тремя способами, это: обозначение гласных звуков «простыми» графическими символами; обозначение гласных звуков графическими комплексами **ɬ** + графема, обозначающая нефарингализованный гласный; обозначение шипящих согласных «простыми» графическими символами.

Фарингализованные **o'** и **u'** в кавказско-албанском алфавите обозначены «простыми» символами **ɬo** и **ɬu**. Диграф **ɬu** в данном контексте следует считать простым символом, т. к. нефарингализованный вариант звука **u** также выражен диграфом (**oɬ**). Этот графический комплекс, в свою очередь восходит к греческому диграфу **ou**, который также обозначал звук **u**, ср. также груз. **ოჲ** и арм. **ՈԻ**;

Фарингализованные варианты гласных **а**, **е** и **і** выражены графическими комплексами: **Თ** (a^ʰ), **Თ** (e^ʰ), **Თ** (i^ʰ);

Фарингализованные варианты шипящих согласных выражены следующими знаками: **Თ** (ž^ʰ), **Თ** (š^ʰ), **Თ** (ž^ʰ), **Თ** (č^ʰ), **Თ** (č^ʰ).

Таким образом, фарингализованные звуки в кавказско-албанском языке обозначаются следующими графемами:

Таблица №5. Графемы и диграфы, обозначающие фарингализованные звуки

гласные	Თ a ^ʰ	Თ e ^ʰ	Თ i ^ʰ	Თ o ^ʰ	Თ u ^ʰ
согласные	Თ ž ^ʰ	Თ š ^ʰ	Თ ž ^ʰ	Თ č ^ʰ	Თ č ^ʰ

Обозначение гласных и сибилантов двумя графемами, по нашему мнению, объясняется тем, что процесс фарингализации в кавказско-албанском языке создателем или создателями албанского алфавита в одном случае был воспринят как признак гласного, а в другом — как признак согласного (шипящего сибиланта). Как было отмечено, в удинском языке в словах, в которых нет шипящих согласных, фарингализация имеет палатальный тембр, а в словах с шипящими согласными — велярный (Кибрик, Кодзасов 1990: 347). Видимо, такое же положение было в кавказско-албанском языке.

Фарингализация в кавказско-албанском языке, как и в удинском языке, по всей видимости, является свойством просодии, о чем свидетельствуют параллельные формы написания с фарингализованными и нефарингализованными графическими вариантами, напр., в суффиксах (мн. числа, генитива и др.), вспомогательном глаголе *bi* ‘быть’, ‘иметь’ и т. д. Очевидно, что и представленные суффиксы, и вспомогательный глагол являются сильно грамматикализованными единицами, для которых естественно ожидать морфологическую связанность; другими словами, это как раз те единицы, от которых можно ожидать, что их форму будут определять другие единицы (основы).

3. Заключение. На данном этапе исследования с полной уверенностью можно определить фонетические значения 31 буквы кавказско-албанского алфавита¹⁰, это: № 1 **Თ** (a); № 2 **Თ** (b); № 3 **Თ** (g); № 4 **Თ** (d); № 5 **Თ** (e); № 6 **Თ** (z); № 8 **Თ** (ž); № 9 **Თ** (t); № 11 **Თ** (j); № 13 **Თ** (i); № 15 **Თ** (l); № 21 **Თ** (k); № 23 **Თ** (h); № 27 **Თ** (č); № 29 **Თ** (m); № 30 **Თ** (q); № 31 **Თ** (n); № 33 **Თ** (š); № 35 **Თ** (o); № 37 **Თ** (f); № 39 **Თ** (č); № 40 **Თ** (p); № 41 **Თ** (γ); № 42 **Თ** (r); № 43 **Თ** (s); № 44 **Თ** (v); № 45 **Თ** (t); № 49 **Თ** (c); № 50 **Თ** (w); № 51 **Თ** (p); № 52 **Თ** (k). Звук **u** и его фарингализованный вариант (**u^ʰ**) передавался диграфами: **Თ-Თ** (№ 35 + № 50); **Თ-Თ** (№ 47 + № 50).

По нашему мнению, установленным можно считать также следующие значения: № 17 **Თ** (χ); № 47 **Თ** (o^ʰ). Достоверно, что № 18 **Თ** обозначал звук **ž**, а № 38 **Თ** — **ž**. Предположительно, № 19 **Თ** и № 48 **Თ** обозначали разновидности звука **č**. Как мы полагаем, № 19 был неинтенсивным абруптивом **č**, а № 48 — интенсивным **č**.

К этому списку можно добавить ряд фарингализованных вариантов шипящих сибилантов: № 10 **Თ** (č^ʰ); № 12 **Თ** (ž^ʰ); № 20 **Თ** (ž^ʰ); № 26 **Თ** (č^ʰ); № 46 **Თ** (š^ʰ).

¹⁰ Сами авторы «Албанских палимпсестов» определенными считают фонемные значения 29 букв кавказско-албанского алфавита. Их список (№ 1–7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 21, 23, 29–31, 33, 35, 37, 40–46, 50–52) см. в Gippert et al. 2009: II–6–10. Ср. также с мнением Т. Майсака (2010: 97): «Из 52 кавказско-албанских букв бесспорно могут быть идентифицированы фонетические значения 29 букв ... Для остальных 23 символов определение значений менее очевидно, поскольку они отсутствуют в заимствованиях и словах с удинскими эквивалентами, не имеют соответствий в армянском и грузинском алфавитах, редко встречаются (три буквы не отмечены в палимпсестах ни разу), а кроме того, некоторые из „проблематичных“ букв слишком похожи и не всегда различимы в рукописи».

Два знака кавказско-албанского алфавита отличались своей полифункциональностью: № 7 **ц**, как было отмечено, передавала дифтонг **ej**, но в некоторых заимствованных из греческого или посредством греческого словах фонетическое значение этой буквы, по нашему мнению, было **e**. № 14 **т**, помимо обозначения фарингализации, могла передавать звук **š** (или **šʰ**) в интервокальной позиции. По всей видимости, № 24 **п** помимо фонемы **q** обозначал увулярный звук **χ**.

По нашему мнению, нуждается в дополнительных доказательствах предложенная Й. Гиппертом и В. Шульце фонемная квалификация следующих букв: № 16 **л** и № 22 **г** (**л̃** и **Г** соответственно).

Мы не согласны со следующими значениями, предложенными Й. Гиппертом и В. Шульце: № 10 **л** (по мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце — **č̃** [tʃ̃]; по нашему мнению — **č̃ʰ** [tʃ̃ʰ]); № 12 **к** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **ž̃** [ʒ̃]; по нашему мнению — **ž̃ʰ** [ʒ̃ʰ]); № 17 **ч** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **x̃** [x̃]; по нашему мнению — **χ** [χ]); № 18 **п** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **d̃** [d̃]; по нашему мнению — **ž̃** [dʒ̃]); № 20 **т** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **ž̃** [dʒ̃]; по нашему мнению — **ž̃ʰ** [dʒ̃ʰ]); **у**¹¹ (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **a°** [v]; по нашему мнению — **oʰ** [oʰ]); № 26 **о** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **č̃** [tʃ̃]; по нашему мнению — **č̃ʰ** [tʃ̃ʰ]); № 36 **л** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **t̃** [t̃]; по нашему мнению — **č̃:** [tʃ̃:]); № 46 **з** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **š̃** [ʃ̃]; по нашему мнению — **š̃ʰ** [ʃ̃ʰ]); **у** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **ü** [y]; по нашему мнению — **uʰ** [uʰ]); № 48 **г** (Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце — **ç̃** [ts̃]; по нашему мнению — **ç:** [ç:]). Помимо этого, не представляется возможным согласиться с мнением Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце о № 14 знаке албанского письма (**т**). По утверждению исследователей, этот знак передавал звонкий фарингальный спирант, являвшийся причиной фарингализации. По нашему же мнению, фарингализация в кавказско-албанском языке являлась не сегментным свойством, а просодическим, как в удинском. Соответственно, знак **т** не имел статус фонемы. Он создавал графические комплексы с гласными (как правило, с **a**, **e** и **i**; реже с **o** и **u**); помимо этого знака, фарингализация в кавказско-албанском алфавите передавалась гласными **у** (**oʰ**) и **у** (**uʰ**) и, как отмечено выше, рядом шипящих согласных: **к** (**ž̃ʰ**); **з** (**š̃ʰ**); **т** (**ž̃ʰ**); **о** (**č̃ʰ**); **л** (**č̃ʰ**).

Также можно отметить, что, по мнению Й. Гипперта и В. Шульце, знак **ц** обозначал фонему **ē** (кроме основного значения **ej**), с чем не представляется возможным согласиться.

Исходя из вышесказанного, следует, что исправлению подлежат следующие значения (названия) букв матенадаранской рукописи (исходя из возможностей армянской графики): № 2 **б** (**n** > **p**); № 3 **г** (**q** > **q**); № 4 **д** (**q** > **η**); № 5 **ж** (**t** > **t**); № 7 **ц** (**t** > **t**); № 18 **п** (**η** > **z**); № 19 **з** (**δ** > **δ**); № 20 **т** (**q** > **z** (**ž̃ʰ**)); № 35 **о** (**nL** > **n**); № 37 **к** (**tu** > **ʃ**); № 41 **с** (**ψ** > **η**); № 42 **л** (**υ** > **p**); № 46 **з** (**u** > **z** (**š̃ʰ**)); № 47 **у** (**h** > **n** (**oʰ**)); № 50 **г** (**j** > **L**). По всей видимости, еще в трех случаях названия рукописи № 7117 подлежат исправлению: № 16 **л** (**h** > **u** (**ñ**)); № 24 **п** (**h** > **tu**); № 36 **л** (**un** > **δ** (**ç:**)).

Представляется возможной графическая идентификация всех 48 графем палимпсестов со знаками матенадаранской рукописи. Четыре буквы рукописи № 7117 не представлены в палимпсестах, это: № 25, № 28, № 32 и № 34. Из них один знак (№ 32), по всей видимости, встречается в кавказско-албанской эпиграфике.

Таким образом, фонологическая система кавказско-албанского языка представляется нам в следующем виде:

Вокализм. Гласные представлены пятью «простыми» гласными (**a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**) и их фарингализованными вариантами (**aʰ**, **eʰ**, **iʰ**, **oʰ**, **uʰ**). Система гласных в удинском, по сравне-

¹¹ Мы не поддерживаем графическую идентификацию этого знака, предложенную Й. Гиппертом и В. Шульце. По нашему мнению, это № 47 матенадаранского списка, а не № 25, как предполагали исследователи.

нию с кавказско-албанской, усложнилась — возникли палатализованные гласные и т. н. иррациональный в ниджском диалекте получил дистинктивную функцию.

Консонантизм. Для фонологической системы кавказско-албанского языка была характерна троичная система взрывных (звонкий/аспирированный/абруптив), четверичная (как мы предполагаем) система аффрикат (звонкий/аспирированный/абруптив/интенсивный (сильный, геминированный) абруптив) и парная система спирантов (звонкий/глухой). Система дорсальных и ларингальных согласных в кавказско-албанском была бедной по сравнению с родственными лезгинскими и другими нахско-дагестанскими языками, что сближает кавказско-албанский и удинский.

Консонантная система удинского языка упростилась — были утеряны интенсивные аффрикаты (предположительно) и палатализованные сонорные согласные.

Несмотря на некоторые расхождения фонологических систем кавказско-албанского и удинского языков, если принять во внимание более чем тысячелетний промежуток между удинским и письменными памятниками кавказско-албанского языка, потерю традиций письменности и сильный процесс ассимиляции удин, то вышеприведенные расхождения покажутся незначительными.

Таблица №6. Система фонемных значений кавказско-албанского алфавита

№	Рукопись № 7117	Название	Палимпсесты	Фонемное значение	А. Г. Абрамян	Г. А. Климов	С. Н. Муравьев	В. Л. Гукасян	З. Алексидзе	Й. Гишперт, В. Шульце
1	Ⲁ	alt	Ⲁ	a	a	a	a	a ^h	a	a
2	Ⲃ	odet	Ⲃ	b	b	b	o ^h	b	b	b
3	Ⲅ	zim	Ⲅ	g	g	g	b	g	g	g
4	Ⲇ	gaṭ	Ⲇ	d	d	d	g	γ	?	d
5	Ⲉ	ejb	Ⲉ	e	e	e	e//e ^h	e	e	e
6	Ⲋ	zaṛl	Ⲋ	z	z	z	z	z	z	z
7	Ⲍ	en	Ⲍ	ej/e	ē	e ^h	e ^h //e	e ^h	ē	ej
8	Ⲏ	žil	Ⲏ	ž	ə	ə	ž:	ž	ž	ž
9	Ⲑ	tas	Ⲑ	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
10	Ⲓ	ča	Ⲓ	č ^h	ž	ž	č:	č	?	č ^h
11	Ⲕ	jud	Ⲕ	j	i	j	j//j:	j	j	j
12	Ⲗ	ža	Ⲗ	ž ^h	i	?	ž	ž:	ž?	ž ^h
13	Ⲙ	irb	Ⲙ	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
14	Ⲛ	ša	Ⲛ	[ʃ]/š	l	?	š:	š	š	ʃ
15	Ⲝ	lan	Ⲝ	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
16	Ⲟ	ina	Ⲟ	n ^h	x	?	i ^h //ə	i ^h	?	n ^h
17	Ⲡ	xejn	Ⲡ	χ	x	x	x	x	q//x ¹	x ^h
18	Ⲣ	dan	Ⲣ	ž	x	?	d	d	d	d ^h
19	Ⲥ	čaṛ	Ⲥ	*ç	ç	ç	ç	č ^o	ç?	ç
20	ⲧ	zoḥ	ⲧ	ž ^h	ç	?	z:	z:	z?	ž ^h
21	ⲩ	kaṛ	ⲩ	ķ	ķ	ķ	ķ	k ^o	ķ	ķ

№	Рукопись № 7117	Название	Палимпесты	Фонемное значение	А. Г. Абрамян	Г. А. Климов	С. Н. Муравьев	В. Л. Гукасян	З. Александрзе	Й. Гипперт, В. Шульце
22	𐌗	liṭ	𐌗	*l̥	h	?	l̥	l̥	?	l̥
23	𐌗	hejt	𐌗	h	h	h	h	h̥	h	h
24	𐌗	haj	𐌗	q/χ	ʒ	?	h:	h	?	χ/q
25	𐌗	ar	-	-	ä	ʒ	a ^h	a	ā	a ^o
26	𐌗	coj	𐌗	č ^h	ö	?	j://j	c	c?	č
27	𐌗	či	𐌗	č	č	č	č	č ^o	č	č
28	𐌗	čaj	-	-	γ	?	č:	č	?	*č̃
29	𐌗	maḵ	𐌗	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
30	𐌗	kaṛ	𐌗	q̇	j	?	k ^o //q ^o	q̇	q̇	q̇
31	𐌗	nuc	𐌗	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
32	𐌗	žaj	-	-	š	?	ž//ž:	ž	č̣//ẓ̌	*ž̃
33	𐌗	šak	𐌗	š	š	š	š	š:	š ²	š
34	𐌗	žajn	-	-	š	?	ž://ẓ̌	ž ^o	?	*ž̃
35	𐌗	un	𐌗	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
36	𐌗	taḵ	𐌗	*č̣:	č	?	ṭ:	ṭ	?	ṭ
37	𐌗	χam	𐌗	f	č	č	x://γ	q	γ	f
38	𐌗	ʒaj	𐌗	ʒ	č	?	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ?	ʒ
39	𐌗	čaṭ	𐌗	č	č	?	č	č ^o	č	č
40	𐌗	pen	𐌗	ṗ	ṗ	ṗ	ṗ	p ^o	ṗ	ṗ
41	𐌗	pes	𐌗	γ	ž	ž	ṗ:	ṗ	p?	γ
42	𐌗	kaṭ	𐌗	r	ɾ	r	q̇ ^o //k ^o	k̇	r	r
43	𐌗	sejḵ	𐌗	s	s	s	s	s:	s	s
44	𐌗	vez	𐌗	v	w	w	v	v	v	v
45	𐌗	tiwr	𐌗	ṫ	ṫ	ṫ	ṫ	ṫ	ṫ	ṫ
46	𐌗	soj	𐌗	š ^h	ṫ	?	s:	s	s?	š̃
47	𐌗	ion	𐌗	o ^h	r	o ^h	i ^h //ə	r	?	ü
48	𐌗	çaw	𐌗	*č̣:	c	?	r	ç	?	ç̃
49	𐌗	cajn	𐌗	c	c	c	c	c ^o	c	c
50	𐌗	jajd	𐌗	(w)	w	w	w	w	w	(w)
51	𐌗	piwr	𐌗	p	p	f	p	p	p	p
52	𐌗	kiw	𐌗	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
35+50	-	-	𐌗-𐌗	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
47+50	-	-	𐌗-𐌗	u ^h	-	u ^h	-	-	āw	ü
14+1	-	-	𐌗-𐌗	a ^h	-	-	-	-	-	fa
14+5	-	-	𐌗-𐌗	e ^h	-	-	-	-	-	fe
14+13	-	-	𐌗-𐌗	i ^h	-	-	-	-	-	fi

Примечание: звездочкой (*) обозначаем не установленные, вероятные фонемные значения графем.

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Roman Lolua. Towards specifying the phonological system of the language of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsests¹²

The scientific study of Caucasian Albanian is one of the most topical problems of linguistic Caucasology. Despite notable progress in recent years, some issues of description of the

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phonological system and grammatical structure of Caucasian Albanian still require thorough research. The present paper aims to fill these gaps as thoroughly as possible and provide an alternative description of the phonological system of Caucasian Albanian, using, inter alia, elements of the comparative-historical method. More precise definition of phonemic values of the graphemes that constitute the Caucasian Albanian alphabet would be of great help to historical linguists interested in issues of historical phonology of Nakh-Dagestanian languages.

Keywords: Caucasian Albanian, phonological system, vowel system, consonant system, pharyngealization.

Some morphological parallels between Hokan languages¹

In this paper I present a detailed analysis of a number of morphological comparisons between the branches of the hypothetical Hokan family. The following areas are considered: 1) subject person/number markers on verbs, as well as possessor person/number markers on nouns, 2) so-called ‘lexical prefixes’ denoting instrument and manner of action on verbs, 3) plural infixes, used with both nouns and verbs, and 4) verbal directional suffixes ‘hither’ and ‘thither’. It is shown that the respective morphological parallels can be better accounted for as resulting from genetic inheritance rather than from areal diffusion.

Keywords: Hokan languages, Amerindian languages, historical morphology, genetic vs. areal relationship

0. The Hokan hypothesis, relating several small language families and isolates of California, was initially proposed by Dixon and Kroeber (1913) more than a hundred years ago. There is still no consensus regarding the validity of Hokan: some scholars accept the hypothesis (Kaufman 1989, 2015; Gursky 1995), while others view it with great skepticism (Campbell 1997: 290–296, Marlett 2007; cf. a more positive assessment in Golla 2011: 82–84, as well as a neutral overview in Janj 2016). My own position is that the genetic relationship between most languages usually subsumed under Hokan is highly likely, and that the existence of the Hokan family can be taken *as a working hypothesis*, subject to further proof or refutation.

The goal of the present paper is to draw attention to several morphological parallels between Hokan languages. Some of these comparisons are new (e.g., third person possessive prefix on kinship terms in Seri and Salinan in section 1.2., lexical prefix ‘with the whole body’ in section 2.8., plural infixes in Oaxaca Chontal, Seri and Pomoan in sections 3.2., 3.4. and 3.5.), others have been proposed earlier. While many works by proponents of Hokan concentrate on lexical comparisons, comparative morphology drew much less attention. The main works in this area are Sapir 1925 (a pioneering study with many valuable insights, although based on the erroneous premise of the Hokan nature of the Subtiaba language which was later shown to belong to the Otomanguean family), Gursky 1966 (compares Hokan morphology with that of the so-called Gulf languages), Gursky 1995 (an extremely useful list of 138 morphological comparisons with supporting data, but without reconstructions) and Kaufman 2015 (a slightly revised version of an unpublished study written in 1989; contains a tentative model of Proto-Hokan word-structure and a large list of reconstructed grammatical morphemes without supporting data). Nowadays, we have much more abundant and detailed descriptive data for many languages under discussion, so existing comparisons require re-evaluation in the light of these data. This paper will concentrate on several areas where good comparisons can be

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found: person and number markers, lexical prefixes, plural infixes, and directional suffixes. There are other areas requiring work: plural suffixes and prefixes, TAM markers, stative and passive markers, nominalizers, etc. These could not be covered here because of space and time limitations. One must not draw the conclusion that the list of morphological comparisons in the present paper is exhaustive.

For the purposes of the present paper, the following languages and families will be regarded as Hokan: Karuk, Chimariko, Shastan, Achumawi-Atsugewi (Palaihnihan), Yana, Pomoan, Salinan, Yuman, Seri, and Oaxaca Chontal (Tequistlatecan). I suspend my judgment with regard to poorly attested languages/families like Esselen, Coahuilteco, Comecrudon and Cotoname. Another poorly documented language, Cochimi, is generally considered as related to Yuman (Mixco 1978). Following Kaufman (1989), I do not accept a Hokan affiliation of Chumashan. I also do not include Washo and Tol (Jicaque), although these languages might be related to Hokan on a deeper level. Washo was regarded as Hokan by virtually all supporters of the Hokan hypothesis. However, it has so few reliable matches with the rest of Hokan in the basic lexicon that its membership in the Hokan family seems improbable. If Washo and/or Tol will ever be shown to be related to Hokan, it will only be through comparison with reliable Proto-Hokan reconstructions, rather than with isolated morphemes in individual Hokan languages.

While reconstructing tentative Proto-Hokan forms, I will use the system of sound correspondences proposed by Kaufman (1989: 84–93).

1. Person/number markers

1.1. In Seri, finite verbs show the following subject inflection prefixes² (Marlett 2016: 420):

	sg.	pl.
1	?- (transitive), ?p- (intransitive)	?a-
2	m-	ma-
3	∅-, i- (3 rd person subject + 3 rd person direct object)	

This paradigm is strikingly similar to the paradigm of subject inflection reconstructed for Proto-Yuman (Hinton & Langdon 1976: 120): *ʔ- ‘first person’, *m- ‘second person’, *∅- ‘third person’³. While *m-* as second person marker is widespread in the Americas (Zamponi 2017), the pronominal paradigm ʔ-/m-/∅- is not. Remarkably, a similar paradigm is found in Chimariko, a Hokan language geographically distant from both Seri and Yuman. Chimariko verbal suffixes for singular agent are -ʔ(i) ‘first person’, -m(V) ‘second person’ and -h/∅ ‘third person’ (Jany 2009: 100). There are six verbal stem classes depending on the initial segment of the stem: *a*-stems, *e*-stems, *i*-stems, *o*-stems, *u*-stems and consonantal stems (Jany 2009: 33). Consonantal stems, i.e. stems beginning with a consonant, take suffixed person markers, while stems beginning with a vowel take person prefixes, which interact in a complex way with the stem vowel (Jany 2009: 100). The following table shows Chimariko person prefixes for agent:

² All data in this paper are in the Americanist transcription system.

³ The comparison between Seri and Proto-Yuman forms was proposed by M. Langdon (Marlett 2007).

	i-stem	e-stem	a-stem	o-stem	u-stem
1 sg.	ʔi-	ye-	ye-	yo-	yu-
2 sg.	mi-	me-	ma-	mo-	mu-
3 sg.	hi-	he-	ha-	ho-	hu-
1 pl.	ya-	ya-	ya-	ya-	ya-
2 pl.	q ^h u-	q ^h o-	q ^h a-	q ^h o-	q ^h u-
3 pl.	hi-	he-	ha-	ho-	hu-

We can posit the underlying forms of agent prefixes **y-* ‘1 sg.’, **m-* ‘2 sg.’, **h-* ‘3 sg./pl.’, **ya-* ‘1 pl.’ and **q^hu-* ‘2 pl.’. Then the following morphophonological rules will yield the observed forms of the prefixes: **y + i- → ʔi-*, **y + a → ye* (before consonants) / *ya* (before vowels), **a + V → a*, **u + i/u → u*, **u + e/o → o*, **u + a → a*. Sapir, who first suggested this analysis of Chimariko forms, noted their similarity with the markers of person in another Hokan language, Salinan (Sapir 1920a). Salinan has the following verbal subject markers (Turner 1987: 129):

	sg.	pl.
1	-eʔ	-aʔ
2	m-	k-
3	-oʔ	∅

According to Turner, “[w]hatever the first vowel of the verb stem, it is replaced by a in the first person plural and by o in the second person plural” (ibid.). So, Chimariko and Salinan have in common not only second person singular in *m-* and second person plural in velar/uvular⁴, but also vowels that replace (or merge with) the stem vowel: first person plural *a-* and second person plural *u/o-*.

Let us have another look at Seri: the first person plural prefix *ʔa-* (opposed to the first person singular *ʔ-*) in this language can be compared to the Chimariko *ya-* and Salinan *a-*. Both *y-* in Chimariko (Sapir 1920a: 293) and *ʔ-* in Seri seem to be taken from singular forms. If this hypothesis is correct, the Seri second person plural prefix *ma-* replaced the original form, which is preserved as *q^hu-* in Chimariko and as *ko-* in Salinan, under the joint influence of second person singular *m-* and first person plural *ʔa-*.

The same pattern of *a* for the first person and *u* for the second person can be found in Highland Oaxaca Chontal, where subject prefixes before consonant-initial verbal stems have the following shape (Langdon 1997: 26–28):

	non-past	past
1 sg.	ga-	ay-
2 sg.	do-, du-	o-/u-
3 sg.	di-	i-
1 pl.	aʔ-	aʔ-
2 pl.	doʔ-, uʔ-	oʔ-
3 pl.	di-, diʔ-	i-/iʔ-

Here, the pattern of *a* for the first person and *u* for the second person is extended to singular subjects as well.

⁴ Salinan does not have uvulars in its phonological system. It also has only three vowel phonemes: *a*, *e* and *o*.

1.2. Person marking in Hokan languages is also found on nouns, where it denotes person of the possessor. Seri has the following prefixes on nouns (Marlett 2016: 320–321):

	kinship terms	other possessed nouns
1	ʔi-	ʔi-
1 emphatic	-	ʔati-
2	ma-	mi-
3	a-	i-
absolute	ʔa- (before consonants) / ʔape- (before vowels)	ʔa-

Cf. the situation in Proto-Yuman, where the following prefixes can be reconstructed (M. Langdon’s reconstruction in Marlett 2007):

1	*ʔ-
2	*m-
3	*∅-
absolute	*ʔ-

The Proto-Yuman forms have been faithfully preserved in Kiliwa, where possessive prefixes ʔ- ‘1 person’, *m-* ‘2 person’ and ∅- ‘3 person’ are added either directly to the root, or to one of the prefixes *n^y-* ‘alienable’ or *i-* ‘predicative’ (Mixco 2013: 80–81). Cf. the following examples:

- (1) *yuw* ‘eye(s)’, *ʔ-yuw* ‘my eye(s)’, *m-yuw* ‘your eye(s)’ (Mixco 1985: 223)
- (2) *ʔ-waʔ* ‘house’ (Mixco 1985: 223), *waʔ* ‘house, dwelling’, *ʔ-i-waʔ* ‘my house’, *m-i-waʔ* ‘your house’ (Mixco 1985: 180)
- (3) *ʔ-mat* ‘earth, land, place’, *ʔ-n^y-mat* ‘my land’ (Mixco 1985: 74), *m-n^y-mat* ‘your (sg) land’ (Mixco 2013: 81).

Proto-Yuman also had an absolute prefix *ʔ-. Its Kiliwa reflex ʔ- is glossed by Mixco as ‘[d]ummy nominal (dn) prefix; occurring on many nouns, optionally absent in compound forms’ (Mixco 1985: 223). Its presence in such unpossessed forms as *ʔ-waʔ* ‘house’ and *ʔ-mat* ‘earth, land, place’ and absence from possessed forms *m-i-waʔ* ‘your house’ and *m-n^y-mat* ‘your (sg) land’ shows that it functions as an absolute in Kiliwa synchronically. The Proto-Yuman absolute *ʔ- was compared to the Seri absolute ʔa- by M. Langdon (Marlett 2007). The Kiliwa prefix *-i-* in possessed non-kinship noun forms can be compared to the Seri vowel *-i-*, which distinguishes Seri possessive prefixes from subject prefixes:

	possessive	subject
1	ʔi-	ʔ-
2	mi-	m-
3	i-	∅-

Thus, we can reconstruct a prefix of possessed nouns #*-i-* and an absolute prefix #ʔa-⁵ at least for the common ancestor of Seri and Yuman languages.

⁵ Following Kaufman (1989), we use # instead of * before preliminary reconstructions.

Now we can turn to nominal possession in Salinan. In this language “pronominal possession is morphologically marked by placement of stress, affixation and the presence of the *t* nominal article, which also occurs as a nominalizing prefix with verbs, as the initial prefix.” (Turner 1987: 69–70). Turner gives the following chart of possessive markers:

	singular	plural
1	<i>t-é-</i>	<i>t-á-t-e-</i>
2	<i>t-m-é-</i> <i>t-o-m-</i>	<i>t-k-ó-</i> <i>t-o-k-</i>
3	<i>t-e-</i> -a → -o -o/C_ -wó/V(?)_ penultimate stress	all of the singular plus a plural marker

The most regular type of possessive paradigm can be illustrated by the word *sanát* ‘hide, skin’ (Turner 1987: 74):

	singular	plural
non-poss.	<i>sanát</i>	<i>sanát-él</i>
1	<i>t-é-sanat</i>	<i>t-á-t-e-sanat</i>
2	<i>t-m-é-sanat</i>	<i>t-k-ó-sanat</i>
3	<i>t-e-sanát-o</i>	<i>t-e-sanat-él-o</i>

Here, the root is preceded by the vowel *-e-*, except in the second plural, where this vowel is replaced by *-o-*, cf. verbal paradigms above. This vowel, absent from the non-possessed form, can be identified with the possessed noun prefix *#-i-*, reconstructed above on the basis of Yuman and Seri data. The position of the marker in the word is the same: it is inserted between the person prefixes and the root (note that the prefix *-á-* ‘1 pl.’ is separated from *-e-* by an additional instance of the nominal prefix *-t-*).

The class of nouns without *-e-* vowel in possessed forms can be illustrated by the inalienably possessed noun ‘hand’ (Turner 1987: 83):

	singular	plural
1	<i>mé-n</i>	not attested
2	<i>t-o-m-mé-n</i>	-
3	<i>mé-n-o</i>	-

The following paradigm of the word for ‘house’ illustrates what Turner calls “change of initial vowel” (Turner 1987: 77):

	singular	plural
non-poss.	<i>t-a-m</i>	
1	<i>t-é-ma</i>	<i>t-á-t-e-m</i>
2	<i>t-m-é-ma</i>	<i>t-k-ó-ma</i>
3	<i>t-e-m-ó</i>	<i>t-e-má-l-o</i>

Here, the alternation of *a* in non-possessed forms and *e* in possessed forms is reminiscent of a similar situation in Seri. Moreover, we see here the same preservation of length as in Seri words such as *ʔaa-f* ‘nose’, whose possessed forms are 1 sg. *ʔii-f*, 2 sg. *mii-f* and 3 sg. *ii-f* (Marlett 2016: 341). Although Turner calls the alternation of *a* and *e* in the Salinan word for ‘house’ “change of initial vowel” (Turner 1987: 77), the non-possessed forms of words with this alternation in the examples adduced by Turner always have *-a-*: *ʔ-a-m* ‘house’, *ʔ-á-kata* ‘wood’ (2 sg. *ʔ-m-é-kata*), *ʔ-a-šax* ‘liver’ (2 sg. *ʔ-m-é-šax*) (Turner 1987: 76–77). This *-a-* might be a synchronic absolutive prefix, cognate to Seri *ʔa-* and Proto-Yuman **ʔ-*.

The similarities with Seri do not end here. Kinship terms in Salinan do not have the *-e-* vowel in possessed forms. Instead, they have a 3 sg. possessive prefix *ʔa-*, as illustrated by the word for ‘elder sister’ (Turner 1987: 87):

	singular	plural
1	peʔ	not attested
2	ʔ-o-m-péʔ	-
3	ʔa-pé-wò	-

Salinan *ʔa-* ‘third person singular possessive prefix on kinship terms’ can be compared to Seri *a-* ‘third person possessive prefix on kinship terms’. Both are opposed to third person possessive prefix *i-* (Seri) / *e-* (Salinan) on non-kinship nouns (recall that Salinan has no *i* vowel phoneme).

Let us now pass on to nominal possession morphology in Oaxaca Chontal (Waterhouse & Parrott 1978; Turner & Turner 1971: 326–327). In this small family, noun stems can be classified into free and bound. Free noun stems carry a definite article directly prefixed to the root. Bound stems take the prefix *-a-* between the definite article and the root in non-possessed forms. In other words, this *-a-* functions essentially in the same way as absolutive markers in Seri, Yuman and Salinan. When added to vowel-initial bound stems, the absolutive *-a-* merges with the stem-initial vowel in the following way: $a + e \rightarrow a$, $a + i \rightarrow ay$, $a + u \rightarrow o$. Possessed forms of consonant-initial stems have possessive prefixes (*ay-* ‘1 sg.’, *o-* ‘2 sg.’, *i-* ‘3 sg.’, *at-* ‘1 pl.’, *ot-* ‘2 pl.’, *it-* ‘3 pl.’) attached directly to the stem, while vowel-initial stems either require a possessive combiner consonant *-p-* between possessive prefixes and the root, or resort to a separate set of possessive prefixes⁶: *ayn-* ‘1 sg.’, *om-* ‘2 sg.’, \emptyset ‘3 sg.’, *al-* ‘1 pl.’, *ol-* ‘2 pl.’, *il-* ‘3 pl.’. Here, as in the verbal prefixes discussed above, vowels *a-* in the first person and *o-* in the second person probably descend from Proto-Hokan *#a-* ‘1 pl.’ and *##(q^h)u-* ‘2 pl.’, but the vowel *i* in the third person forms most likely continues Proto-Hokan marker of possessed nouns *#-i-*.

A trace of the opposition *#ʔa-* ‘absolutive’ vs. *#-i-* ‘possessed’ seems to be preserved in Pomoan too. In her grammar of Eastern Pomo, McLendon (1975: 167–168) describes two “compound-linking suffixes” *-i-* and *-a-*. The affix *-i-* “linking the two members of a compound indicates that the second element in the compound is possessed by, or a part of, the first. It links nouns, and forms possessive prefixes which occur with kinship terms from the third person pronouns /*mí-p̣*/ ‘he’, /*mí-ṭ̣*/ ‘she’, and /*bé-k^h*/ ‘they’” (McLendon 1975: 167):

- (4) *mí-p̣iḍà-ṭ̣* ‘his wife’ : *dá-ṭ̣* ‘wife’
mí-riḃàyle ‘her husband’ : *báyle* ‘husband’
bé-kiḃàyle ‘their husband’

⁶ Preserved in Highland Chontal.

xà·boʔóyelidà·t̚ ‘bullsnake’s wife (a woman cured with a bullsnake was called this)’ :
xà·boʔóyel ‘bull snake’
ká·wkiYà ‘human bones’ : *ká·wk^h* ‘person(s)/people’, *Yá* ‘bone’
Máarakimò ‘dance house hole’ : *Máarak^h* ‘dance house’, *mó* ‘hole’

The affix *-a-* “linking the two members of a compound indicates that the second element in the compound is composed of, or by the first. It always links nouns.” (McLendon 1975: 168):

(5) *lólakà* ‘summer brush house (made of cut green willows with the leaves left on)’ :
lót ‘cut green willows with leaves left on’, *ká* ‘house’
č^hi·Níčakà ‘woodrat house’ : *č^hi·Níč^h* ‘woodrat’
há·yaxà ‘wine’ : *há·y* ‘wild grapes’, *xá* ‘water’

Another trace of the Proto-Hokan opposition #ʔa- ‘absolutive’ vs. #-i- ‘possessed’ is preserved in the Proto-Pomo lexical pair *ʔahp^ha ‘excrement’ / *ʔihp^ha ‘intestines’ (R. Oswald’s reconstruction, cited by H. Berman in Sapir 2001: 1053). The first word denotes an object that rarely figures as possessed, while the second word is typically possessed being a body-part. The same lexical pair is attested in Chimariko: *ápxa* ‘excrement’ / *íp̄xa* ‘intestines’ (Sapir 2001: 1053). Kaufman reconstructs #a-p̄xa ‘shit’ and #i-p̄xa ‘guts’ for Proto-Hokan (Kaufman 1989: 133).

1.3. To sum up, I propose the following reconstructions for Proto-Hokan.

1) Person/number prefixes on verbs (subject) and nouns (possessor).

	sg.	pl.
1	#ʔ-	#a-
2	#m-	#q ^h u-
3	#∅- or #h-	

In addition, kinship terms had a prefix #a- in the third person instead of #∅- or #h-.

2) Nominal prefixes #-i- ‘possessed’ (placed before root, but after person/number prefixes; not used with kinship terms and perhaps other inalienably possessed nouns) and #ʔa- ‘absolutive’ (mutually exclusive with possessive prefixes).

Details of derivation of daughter language systems from this reconstruction require further investigation.

2. Lexical prefixes

The so-called ‘instrumental’ verbal prefixes are a characteristic trait of many Californian languages belonging to different families; they can refer not only to instruments, but also to the manner of action (DeLancey 2008, Mithun 2007). Following DeLancey (2008), I will call them ‘lexical prefixes’. Although the presence of lexical prefixes is an areal feature and as such cannot be used as an argument in favor of distant genetic relationship, such an argument can nevertheless be built on the etymological relationship of specific prefixes. Below, we will look at some cases where two or more Hokan branches show comparable lexical prefixes⁷.

⁷ According to Sapir’s (1922: 217) analysis, Yana has no prefixes. Lexical prefixes of other Hokan languages correspond to Yana bound stems which must take a derivational suffix (Hinton 1988: 8-9).

2.1. #*tu-* ‘with the hand/fingers’

The prefix is attested in Chimariko, Atsugewi, Yana and Pomoan. A parallel is also found in the Washo verbal prefix *du-* ‘hands’ (Jacobsen 1964: 513). Washo also has a noun *ú·du* ‘hand’ (Jacobsen 1964: 260). This is one of the best parallels between Washo and Hokan.

2.1.1. The Chimariko prefix *tu-* ‘with the hand’ (Dixon 1910: 318, 329) can be illustrated by the following examples (Dixon 1910: 330).

- (6) *ni-tu-klucmu* ‘knock over with hand’
ni-tu-kmu ‘roll log with hand’
ni-tu-xiaxe ‘rub with hand’

2.1.2. The Atsugewi prefix *tu-* ‘the hand(s), arm(s)’ (Talmy 1972: 425) can be illustrated by the following example (Talmy 1972: 443).

- (7) *stuspaqítw* ‘I stuck my hand into the mud’
 |s·-w-tu-spaq-im^a |
 [|s·-w-...^a | ‘1, (3), factual’ (inflectional affix-set), |-spaq | ‘to move into, through mud’ (root), |-im | ‘thither’ (directional suffix)]

2.1.3. The Proto-Pomo prefix **du-* ‘finger, work, action’ is regularly reflected as *du-* in Southern Pomo, Kashaya and Northeastern Pomo, as *du-* in Eastern Pomo, and as ?- in Central Pomo and South Eastern Pomo (Oswalt 1976: 16; McLendon 1973: 96–97). The following examples are from Eastern Pomo, Southern Pomo, and Kashaya.

- (8) Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1975: 45)
du·dák^h ‘cut finger accidentally, or split open with fingernail (as to split open nut shell to get meat)’
 |du-dá-k^h |
 [|-dá- | ‘force open, expose, generally by interrupting the enclosing surface’ (root), |-k^h | punctual aspect suffix]
- (9) Southern Pomo (Walker 2013: 245)
duhnaṭ ‘to feel (peaches) to see if ripe’
 |du-hnaṭ-Ø |
 [|-hnaṭ- | ‘try, investigate’ (root), |-Ø | perfective suffix]
- (10) Kashaya (Buckley 2018)
duʔtáw ‘feel with a finger’
 |du-ʔta-w |
 [|-ʔta- | ‘seem, feel, detect with the senses’ (root), |-w | absolutive suffix]

2.1.4. The Northern Yana bound root *dô-* ‘do with the fingers’ (Sapir 1922: 219) belongs to the class of bound roots that cannot be directly followed by inflectional suffixes. For some reason, this morpheme is not found in Sapir & Swadesh (1960).

The forms discussed above were compared by Sapir (1917: 27; Chimariko, Eastern Pomo), Kaufman (1989: 123; Proto-Hokan #*tu-*), Gursky (1995: 145; Atsugewi, Chimariko, Proto-Pomo, Washo).

2.2. #*ma-* ‘with the foot’.

The prefix is attested in Atsugewi, Pomoan, and Yuman (Kiliwa).

2.2.1. The Atsugewi prefix *ma-* 'the foot (feet), leg(s)' (Talmy 1972: 425) can be illustrated by the following example (Talmy 1972: 444).

- (11) *smia·spáq̣t^hpu·ma* 'I stepped into a deep mud-hole'
 |s-^h-w-ma-spaq̣-tip-u·-im-^a|
 [|s-^h-w-...-^a| '1, (3), factual' (inflectional affix-set), |-spaq̣| 'to move into, through mud' (root), |-tip-u·| 'into a pit' (directional suffix), |-im| 'thither' (directional suffix)]

2.2.2. Proto-Pomo **ma-* 'sole of foot, hoof, claw of bird; twist of wrist' is regularly reflected as Southern Pomo, Kashaya, Central Pomo and Northern Pomo *ma-*, as Eastern Pomo *ma·-*, and as South Eastern Pomo *m-* (Oswalt 1976: 16; McLendon 1973: 97).

- (12) Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1975: 49)
ma·dák^h 'cut feet on glass'
 |ma·-dá-k^h|
 [|-dá-| 'force open, expose, generally by interrupting the enclosing surface' (root), |-k^h| punctual aspect suffix]
- (13) Southern Pomo (Walker 2013: 245)
mahnax̣du 'to feel around with foot (testing path)'
 |ma-hnax̣-ad-u|
 [|-hnax̣-| 'try, investigate' (root), |-ad-| 'along' (directional suffix), |-u| perfective suffix]
- (14) Kashaya (Buckley 2018)
mahc^háw 'push over with the bottom of the foot'
 |ma-hc^ha-w|
 [|-hc^ha-| 'fall over, push over: of stationary, vertical long object, usually inanimate' (root), |-w| absolute suffix]

2.2.3. The Kiliwa prefix *m-* 'foot' (Mixco 1971: 184; 1985: xvii) can be illustrated by the following example.

- (15) *mčhip* 'slip, lose footing' (Mixco 1985: 13)
 |m-čhip|
 [|čhip| 'slip, slide' (root)]

2.2.4. The verbal prefix #*ma-* can be compared to the Chimariko independent verb *ema-* 'act with the foot' (Conathan 2002: 28).

Forms discussed above were compared by Kaufman (1989: 123; Proto-Hokan #*mi-* ~ #*ma-*) and Gursky (1995: 145; Atsugewi, Proto-Pomo, Kiliwa).

2.3. #*pa-* 'with the mouth / by speech'.

The prefix is attested in Karuk and Pomoan.

2.3.1. The Karuk prefix *pa-* 'by means of the mouth' (Haas 1980: 70) can be illustrated by the following examples (Bright & Gehr n.d.).

- (16) *pakátkat* 'to take a taste of (something)'
 |pa-kat-kat|
 [|-kat| root, also found in *ákat* 'to taste; to taste like']
- (17) *panáknak* '(woodpecker) to peck'
 |pa-nak-nak|
 [|-nak| root, also found in *iknáknak* 'to knock, to tap']

2.3.2. Proto-Pomo **ba-* ‘mouth, snout, beak; sound, speak, hear’ is regularly reflected as Southern Pomo, Kashaya, Central Pomo, Northern Pomo and North Eastern Pomo *ba-*, Eastern Pomo *ba-*, and as South Eastern Pomo *b-* (Oswalt 1976: 16; McLendon 1973: 96).

(18) Kashaya (Buckley 2018)

bahná? ‘ask’

|ba-hnat-ʔ|

[|hnat-| ‘try, investigate, test’ (root), |ʔ| absolutive suffix]

(19) Kashaya (Buckley 2018)

bacéw ‘grab with the mouth, beak (of bird)’

|ba-ce-w|

[|ce-| ‘grab, catch hold of and hold onto tightly—often something movable in order to immobilize it’ (root), |w| absolutive suffix]

2.3.3. The prefix *#pa-* is possibly related to the Yana bound root *ba-* ‘to call, invite, shout, carry message’ (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 43), the Karuk verb *ípa-* ‘to say (ancient)’ (Bright & Gehr n.d.), and Highland Chontal verb *di-ba-lay-ʔma* ‘talk, converse, chat’ (Turner & Turner 1971: 61), where *-lay-* is apparently a suffix meaning ‘over and over’ (Turner & Turner 1971: 322).

Forms discussed above were compared by Kaufman (1989: 123; Proto-Hokan *#Pa-*).

2.4. *#pxu-* ‘by blowing’.

The prefix is attested in Atsugewi and Pomoan.

2.4.1. Atsugewi prefix *phu-* ‘from the mouth-interior of a person—working egressively—acting on the FIGURE [e.g., by spitting out]; from matter, propelled by the mouth working egressively sailing into the FIGURE [exs.: blown breath, spit, spat-out object]’ (Talmy 1972: 410, 421) can be illustrated by the following example (Talmy 1972: 455).

(20) *sʰhop·oqúw·ehè* ‘I blew the dust off my clothes’

|s-ʷ-phu-puq-uww-ihiy-^a|

[|s-ʷ-...-^a| ‘1, (3), factual’ (inflectional affix-set), |puq| ‘for dust to move off a surface (into a cloud)’ (root), |uww| ‘off from over a surface’ (directional suffix), |ihiy| ‘on one’s body’ (directional suffix)]

2.4.2. Proto-Pomo **p^hu-* ‘blow; burn transitive’ is regularly reflected as *p^hu-* in Southern Pomo and Kashaya, as *p^h-* in Central Pomo, as *fu-* in Northeastern Pomo, as *p^hu-* in Eastern Pomo and as *f-* in South Eastern Pomo (Oswalt 1976: 16; McLendon 1973: 98).

(21) Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1975: 52)

p^hu·šú·l ‘blow (continuously)’⁸

|p^hu-šú-|

[|šú-| ‘force, or attempt to force through a small, narrowed, or obscured opening’ (root), |-| continuative manner suffix]

(22) Southern Pomo (Walker 2013: 248)

p^hu·c:aw ‘wind to break off one (or branch just fall off)’

|p^hu-ç:a-w|

[|ç:a-| ‘to break’ (root), |w| perfective suffix]

⁸ This form is apparently cognate to Kiliwa *p-sul* ‘blow’ (Mixco 1985: 152). Kaufman (1989: 131) reconstructs *#p^husu:(l)* [s ~ š] ‘to blow’.

2.4.3. The prefix #*pχu-* is related to the Yana bound root *pu-* 'to blow, suck, do with mouth' (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 142), Shasta verb *-epχu?* 'blow' (Silver 1964: 171), Seri verb *-apχox* 'blow' (Moser & Marlett 2010: 525), and a number of forms in other Hokan languages.

Forms discussed above were compared by Kaufman (1989: 123; Proto-Hokan #*pχu-*).

2.5. #*ta-* 'with instrument'

The prefix is attested in Karuk and Yuman.

2.5.1. The Karuk prefix *ta-* 'with tool or implement' can be illustrated by the following examples (Haas 1980: 70; Bright & Gehr n.d.).

- (23) *táyunkiv* 'to pull (something) out with an instrument'
 |*ta-yun-kiv*|
 [|*-yun-*| root, |*-kiv*| 'out through' (directional suffix)]
- (24) *tê-t* 'to mow'
 |*ta-vit*|
 [|*-vit*| root, also found in *ivit* 'to detach', *ikvit* 'to cut']

2.5.2. A Proto-Yuman verbal prefix **t-* 'by means of instrument / general causative' can be reconstructed on the basis of Yuma *t-* 'to cause (general), to cause by means of an instrument' (Halpern 1947: 22–23), Mesa Grande Diegueño *t-* 'general causative' (Langdon 1970: 86), Copca č- 'general causative' (Crawford 1966: 115–116).

- (25) Yuma (Halpern 1947: 22)
tasúl^y 'to gouge'
 |*t-asúl^y*|
 [|*asúl^y*| 'to be ripped' (root)]

2.5.3. Forms discussed above were compared by Kaufman (1989: 123; Proto-Hokan #*ta-*) and Gursky (1995: 145; Karuk, Yuma).

2.6. #*ca-* 'with the teeth'

The prefix is attested in Karuk and Yuman.

2.6.1. Karuk prefix *θa-* (*ča-* in diminutives) 'with the teeth' can be illustrated by the following examples (Haas 1980: 70; Bright & Gehr n.d.).

- (26) *θáyunkiv* 'to pull out with one's teeth'
 |*θa-yun-kiv*|
 [|*-yun-*| root, |*-kiv*| 'out through' (directional suffix)]
- (27) *θáruprin* 'gnaw through'
 |*θa-ruprin*|
 [|*-ruprin*| 'through' (directional suffix)]

The last example is a 'bipartite stem', in which a lexical prefix is combined with a locative-directional suffix to create a verbal stem (DeLancey 2008).

2.6.2. A Proto-Yuman verbal prefix **č-* 'with teeth/mouth' can be reconstructed on the basis of Kiliwa č- 'with teeth/mouth' (Mixco 1985: 2), Yuma č- 'to cause with the teeth' (Halpern 1947: 22), and Jamul Tiipay č- ('Nine *ch-* stems denote actions performed with the mouth or by talking' [Miller 2001: 55]).

(28) Kiliwa (Mixco 1985: 2)

čphu ‘bite a hole’

|č-phu|

[The root |-phu| also occurs in *mphu* ‘hole, cavity’, *xphu* ‘make a hole’ (Mixco 1985: 119)]

2.6.3. Forms discussed above were compared by Kaufman (1989: 123; Proto-Hokan #*ca*=) and Gursky (1995: 145; Karuk, Yuma, Kiliwa).

2.7. #*ha*- ‘with a long object’.

The prefix is attested in Chimariko, Pomoan, and Yuman.

2.7.1. The Chimariko prefix *a*- ‘with a long object’ (Dixon 1910: 318, 329) can be illustrated by the following examples (Dixon 1910: 329).

(29) *ni-a-axiaxe* ‘rub with long thing (side of?)’

n-a-klucmu ‘knock over with bat’

2.7.2. Proto-Pomo **ha*- ‘long object thru air, leg, arm, wing’ is regularly reflected as Southern Pomo and Kashaya *ha*- (Oswalt 1976: 16).

(30) Southern Pomo (Walker 2013: 252)

hal:iṭ ‘to wave (branch) to chase flies’

|ha-l:iṭ-Ø|

[|-l:iṭ-| ‘fan’ (root), |-Ø| perfective suffix]

(31) Kashaya (Buckley 2018)

hačál? ‘spread legs apart’

|ha-čal-ʔ|

[|-čal-| ‘separate but remain attached at one point or along one side; hinged’ (root),

|ʔ| absolutive suffix]

2.7.3. A Proto-Yuman verbal prefix **a*- ‘long object’ can be reconstructed on the basis of Yuma *a*- ‘to cause a long object’ (Halpern 1947: 23), Jamul Tiipay *a*- (“Ten stems prefixed with *aa*- denote actions performed on a long object or actions which cause an object to become long” [Miller 2001: 53–54]), and Mesa Grande Diegueño *a*- (“The prefix {*a*.} generally indicates that the action denoted by the root is performed on or by means of one long object (or alternately a large, hard, or sharp object). People are included in the long object class” [Langdon 1970: 80]).

(32) Mesa Grande Diegueño (Langdon 1970: 80)

a·maṛ ‘to cover over a long object, to bury someone’

|a·maṛ|

[The root |-maṛ| is also found in *tu·maṛ* ‘to cover over a small object’ (Langdon 1970: 87)]

2.7.4. The prefix #*ha*- is related to the Yana bound root *ha*- ‘long object, affecting or by means of long object (refers to things like pole, tree, branch, hand, penis)’ (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 88) and the Kiliwa verbal root *-ha?* ‘set long object down’ (Mixco 1985: 32).

Forms discussed above were compared by Gursky (1995: 145; Chimariko, Yuma).

2.8. #*hi-* ‘with the whole body’.

The prefix is attested in Atsugewi and Pomoan.

2.8.1. The Atsugewi prefix *hi-* ‘the whole/specific part not treated by other prefix/unspecific part – of the body’ (Talmy 1972: 425) can be illustrated by the following example (Talmy 1972: 445).

- (33) *sùhek^h·ók^h* ‘I bumped into his protruding belly’
 |s-’-w-hi-k^hük-a|
 [|s-’-w-...-a| ‘1, (3), factual’ (inflectional affix-set), |-k^hük| ‘to move into contact with a big stomach’ (root)]

2.8.2. Proto-Pomo **hi-* ‘with the body and not specifically an individual part’ is regularly reflected as Southern Pomo and Kashaya *hi-* (Oswalt 1976: 16).

- (34) Southern Pomo (Walker 2013: 253)
ʔihnaʔ ‘to weigh’
 |hi-hnaʔ-Ø|
 [|-hnaʔ-| ‘try, investigate’ (root), |-Ø| perfective suffix]
- (35) Kashaya (Buckley 2018)
hiʔków ‘bump with the body, as when one slightly loses balance’
 |hi-ʔko-w|
 [|-ʔko-| ‘strike, bump, knock, hit to a moderate degree’ (root), |-w| absolutive suffix]

3. Plural infixes

In his review of J. A. Mason’s “The Language of the Salinan Indians”, Sapir (1920b: 306) remarked: “One of the most interesting and irregular features of Salinan is the formation of the plural of nouns and of the plural and iterative of verbs. No less than a dozen distinct types and a large number of irregular formations are discussed and illustrated by Mason, the great majority of them involving a suffixed or infixes *-t-*, *-n-*, or *-l-*.” Sapir compared Salinan infixes plurals with analogous plurals in Yana. Similar plurals occur also in Oaxaca Chontal, and possible traces of them can be found in Seri and Pomoan. For reasons of space, the discussion in the present paper will be limited to plural infixes only, although the same morphemes may function as suffixes and/or prefixes in Hokan languages. Following Sapir, we may start with Salinan infixes plurals.

3.1. The following examples of Antoniano Salinan nominal plurals from Turner (1987: 94–105) were recorded by J. P. Harrington.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (36) <i>mošéʔ</i> ‘flame’ | <i>moš<al>éʔ</i> ‘flames’ |
| <i>skóko·ye</i> ‘crest’ | <i>skóko·y<l>e</i> ‘pl.’ |
| <i>šʔeneyéʔ</i> ‘fish hook’ | <i>šʔeney<l>éʔ</i> ‘pl.’ |
| <i>ʔ-e-šxaʔa·yéʔ</i> ‘shoe’ | <i>ʔ-e-šxaʔa·y<l>éʔ</i> ‘pl.’ |
| <i>xátep</i> ‘corpse’ | <i>xát<l>ep</i> ‘pl.’ |
| <i>kó·láléʔ</i> ‘penis’ | <i>kó·la<t>leʔ</i> ‘pl.’ |
| <i>k-šé·ke·ʔeʔ</i> ‘slope’ | <i>k-šé·ke·ʔ<y>eʔ</i> ‘pl.’ |
| <i>mé·n</i> ‘my hand’ | <i>mé<he>n</i> ‘my two hands’ |
| <i>sónon</i> ‘my leg’ | <i>sóno<ho>n</i> ‘my two legs’ |

Additional examples can be found in Mason's description of Salinan (1918). Although not so reliable phonetically as forms recorded by Harrington, Mason's data are still useful.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (37) <i>epa·l</i> 'tongue' | <i>epa<ne>L</i> 'pl.' (Mason 1918: 126) |
| <i>e·xiwai</i> 'heart' | <i>e·xiw<il>ai</i> 'pl.' (Mason 1918: 126) |
| <i>ule·t</i> 'tooth' | <i>le·<he>t</i> 'teeth' (Mason 1918: 128) |
| <i>a·xo·L</i> 'tule' | <i>axo<ne>L</i> 'pl.' (Mason 1918: 128) |
| <i>ts'ahe·L</i> 'snow' | <i>ts'ax<an>eL</i> 'pl.' (Mason 1918: 133) |

The *-n-* infixes occur only before a stem-final lateral, at least in the forms given in Mason (1918). Salinan verbs also show infixation in plural forms (Turner 1987: 152–153).

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| (38) <i>k-ló·l</i> 'it burned' | <i>k-lo<x>l</i> 'they burned' |
| <i>k-á·mp</i> 'he came out' | <i>k-á·m<ele>p</i> 'they came out' |
| <i>k-olpax</i> 'it grew' | <i>k-ól<ta>pax</i> 'they grew' |
| <i>k-ěšem</i> 'he drinks' | <i>k-ěš<t>em</i> 'they drink' |
| <i>k-ónox</i> 'he arrives' | <i>k-ón<l>ox</i> 'they arrive' |

In three cases, "the *x* infix before the *t* of the stem results in *-xl-*" (Turner 1987: 153–154).

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (39) <i>ke-yó·t·e</i> 'I moved' | <i>ke-yo·xl·e</i> 'we moved' |
| <i>šó·t·o?</i> 'he drove it' | <i>šó·xl·o?</i> 'he drove them' |
| <i>šó·t</i> 'drive it away!' | <i>šo·xla?</i> 'drive them away' |

3.2. Lowland Oaxaca Chontal has several plural infixes (Waterhouse 1962: 95). The infixes *-ot-* and *-ut^y-* (palatalization is automatic after high vowels in Lowland Chontal) occur with both nouns and verbs; *-t-* occurs only with nouns, *-wat-* occurs with one noun, and *-n-* occurs with two nouns whose last consonant is *l^y*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (40) <i>in^yámpáywá</i> 'cross-beam' | <i>in^yámp<ot>áywá-?</i> 'cross-beams' |
| <i>xučay-</i> 'lie' | <i>xuč<ot>ay-pá?</i> 'they lied' |
| <i>akwé?</i> 'man' | <i>ak<út^y>wé?</i> 'men' |
| <i>ʔayguu-</i> 'come' | <i>ʔáyg<ut^y>úu-pá?</i> 'they came' |
| <i>akánió?</i> 'woman' | <i>aká<t>nío?</i> 'women' |
| <i>kóni?</i> 'grandchild' | <i>kó<t>ní?</i> 'grandchildren' |
| <i>sewí?</i> 'magpie' | <i>se<t>wí?</i> 'magpies' |
| <i>t^yučá?</i> 'field' | <i>t^yú<wat>čá?</i> 'fields' |
| <i>mil^yá</i> 'dog' | <i>mí<n>l^y-é?</i> 'dogs' |
| <i>imul^yá</i> 'forked pole' | <i>imu<n>l^y-é?</i> 'forked poles' |

Data from the Highland Oaxaca Chontal dictionary (Turner & Turner 1971) confirm that the infixal morphology goes back to Proto-Chontal.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (41) <i>al-ganay-?</i> 'group of small ranches' | <i>gal-gan<ot>áy</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>du-na-way-ʔma</i> 'lie down' | <i>du-na-w<ot>ay-ʔme</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>al-buʔwa</i> 'well' | <i>laŋ-bu<t>ʔwá-?</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>gal-gobé?</i> 'crow' | <i>laŋ-go<t>bé?</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>gal-cece?</i> 'squirrel, chipmunk' | <i>laŋ-ce<t>ce?</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>t-ɛŋone</i> 'knee' | <i>l-ɛŋo<t>né-?</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>t-imuko?</i> 'underbrush, thicket' | <i>t-imu<yot>ko?</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>t-ayda?</i> 'wall' | <i>t-ayd<ay>át</i> 'pl.' |
| <i>t-afiš</i> 'waist' | <i>t-af<iy>iš</i> 'pl.' |

Salinan and Oaxaca Chontal share the following features: 1) plural infixes with a lateral, either *-l-* or *-l̥-*, 2) *-n-* infixes that occur only before stem-final lateral, and 3) *-y-* infixes, rare in both language groups. The position of infixes in a stem varies not only between Salinan and Chontal, but also within each language.

3.3. Plural infixes in Yana have already been compared to Salinan infixes by Sapir (1920b: 306). The following examples are given after Sapir & Swadesh (1960); the capitals N, C and Y stand for Yana dialects – Northern, Central, and Yahi.

(42) <i>baaʒulʔi</i> (C) ‘bottom oak’	<i>ba<dʔ>ʒulʔi-wi</i> ‘pl.’
<i>daati</i> (C) ‘child’	<i>da<dʔ>ti-wi</i> ‘pl.’
<i>yaaxi</i> (Y) ‘parent-in-law, child-in-law’	<i>ya<dʔ>xii-wi</i> ‘pl.’
<i>kuuwi</i> (N) ‘shaman, doctor’	<i>k<ur>uuwi</i> ‘pl.’
<i>yeewi</i> (C) ‘friend’	<i>y<ar>iiwi</i> ‘pl.’
<i>sam(si)-</i> (C) ‘to sleep’	<i>saa<di>m(si)-</i> ‘pl.’

Jacobsen (1976: 214–215) has suggested that preconsonantal *dʔ* in Yana goes back to an earlier glottalized nasal. It is not clear whether we can compare it to *-n-* infixes of Oaxaca Chontal and Salinan, which occur only before a stem-final lateral. On the other hand, the *-di-* infix in *saa<di>m(si)-* can be compared to Salinan infixes with dental stop.

3.4. Seri⁹ has multiple ways of forming plurals on verbs and nominals¹⁰ (Marlett 1990: 532–540). These include suffixation, infixation, and replacement. We will look at instances of infixation and replacement.

In a few nouns, *-x-* is infixed before a final *-k* that itself may be deleted by a phonological rule (Marlett 1990: 536).

(43) singular	plural	
<i>-apak</i>	<i>-apa<x>k</i>	‘backside’
<i>-ask</i>	<i>-as<x>k</i>	‘body louse’
<i>-atak</i>	<i>-ata<x>k, -ata<x>-ox</i>	‘bone’

The same pattern is also found in verbs (Marlett 1990: 540; Marlett 2016: 446).

(44)	1	2	3	4	
	<i>-komka</i>	<i>-koma<x>ka</i>	<i>-kom<x>-ox</i>	<i>-koma<x>k-am</i>	‘noisy’
	<i>-iitk</i>	<i>-iit<x>k</i>	<i>-iit<x>-ox</i>	<i>-iiti<x>k-am</i>	‘drip’

This pattern can be compared to the Salinan examples like *k-lo<x>l* ‘they burned’. Another pattern is found in a large number of verbs, with an infix *-to(o)-* inserted after the stem-initial vowel (Marlett 1990: 540; Marlett 2016: 437).

⁹ The Seri examples are taken from Moser & Marlett (2010).

¹⁰ Seri verbs have separate stems for (1) singular subject, singular action, (2) singular subject, multiple action, (3) plural subject, singular action, and (4) plural subject, multiple action (Marlett 1990: 508). We list Seri verbs in four columns in that order, following the established practice (Marlett 1990). Note that in Marlett (2016: 442–448), “multiple action” is renamed as “imperfective aspect”. Still, Marlett (2016, 443) states that “[a]spect morphology also in effect indicates singular versus plural direct object and singular versus plural indirect object in many cases”. In other words, in such cases imperfective forms are used with plural objects. Seri frequently uses identical or similar means of marking subject plural and imperfective, so we can consider the Seri imperfective as a kind of plural.

(45)	1	2	3	4	
	-eefet-im	-eefet-am	-a<too>fet-am		‘trip against’
	-iip	-iip-tim	-i<too>pa-x ^w	-i<too>pa-tka	‘carry on head’

This type can be compared to dental infixes of Yana and Salinan. There are some additional minor types of plural infixation in Seri, but the most interesting pattern in the light of Hokan comparison is that of replacement of root consonants. Some nouns form their plurals by changing root-final *x* to *t* (Marlett 1990: 534–535).

(46)	singular	plural	
	ášox	ášť	‘star’
	ḡékox	ḡék ^w ť	‘wolf’

The same pattern is found in verbs (Marlett 1990: 538–539; Marlett 2016: 446).

(47)	1	2	3	4	
	-otexa	-otet-ka	-otet-kox	-otet-am	‘stagger’
	-neešx	-neešit-im	-neešit-kox	-neešit-kox	‘mash’
	-asx	-asať-im	-ať-kox	-ať-kox	‘spray’

Noteworthy, the initial *t* of certain suffixes changes to *k* after *ť*, if that *ť* replaces *x* in plural forms (Marlett 2016: 446–447). For example, forms like *-ať-kox* have a suffix with the underlying form *-tox*. This change does not happen after underlying *ť*, which does not alternate with *x* (Marlett 2016: 447). A search through the electronic version of the Seri dictionary (Moser & Marlett 2010) reveals that there are no Seri words with the cluster *tx*. If we suppose that *ť* in the plural forms of verbs was originally an infix, then the replacement *x* → *ť* in the plural forms can be seen as a result of a regular cluster simplification *tx* > *ť*. Forms with the change *t* > *k* could result from the following development: **-as<ť>x-tox* > **-as<ť>x-kox* > *-ať-kox*.

In another replacement pattern, root-final *t* and *n* change to *ť* in the plural subject forms of verb (Marlett 1990: 539; Marlett 2016: 436). In one case—the verb ‘to go’—a *t* replaced by *ť* is not root-final.

(48)	1	2	3	4	
	-ooit	-oiit-im	-ooit-a	-oiit-am	‘dance’
	-atax	-atax-im	-atx	-atax-otka	‘go’
	-atni	-atin-im	-atť-otka		‘jab’

A search through the electronic version of the Seri dictionary (Moser & Marlett 2010) shows that the cluster *tn* is banned, while the cluster *tt* is found in two cases only: underived noun *yaott* ‘muscle’ and *t-toť-tim*—an imperfective form of the verb *k-kot* ‘argue’. In other words, there is no obstacle for the explanation of the replacement *n* → *ť* along the same lines as with *x* → *ť* above: **-at<ť>n-otka* > *-atť-otka*. The change **tn* > *ť* can be viewed as regular. The same explanation can be applied to the change *t* > *ť*, if 1) the form *t-toť-tim* was created or analogically restored after the supposed change **tt* > *ť*, and 2) *tt* was preserved word-finally, thus accounting for *yaott*. The infixation hypothesis can also account for the exceptional case of the verb ‘go’: if the replacement *t* → *ť* was originally caused by some kind of suffixation, it would not target the first consonant of the root. Under the infixation account, plural forms of this verb developed in the following way: **-a<ť>tx* > *-atx*, **-a<ť>tax-otka* > *-atax-otka*. If the hypothesis sketched above is correct, *ť* that replaces *x*, *n*, and *t* in Seri plural forms can be compared to the *-l-* infix of Salinan and *-ť-* infix of Oaxaca Chontal.

3.5 Proto-Pomo had an affix **-t-/*-ta-* ‘plural act’ (Oswalt 1976: 22). In Southern Pomo, this morpheme is suffixed after a vowel-final verb root, but infix if the verb root ends in a consonant (Walker 2013: 255–261). In Kashaya, the plural act affix can be infix or suffixed depending on the final phoneme of the root (Buckley 1992: 336–340). The following example is from Southern Pomo (Walker 2013: 258).

(49) singular act	plural act
<i>ʔahloḱ-o</i>	<i>ʔa:lho<ṭa>ḱ</i>
‘one (piece) falls off’	‘(pieces) drop off’

The Pomoan plural act infix can be compared to dental infixes of Salinan, Yana and Seri.

3.6. The similarity of plural infixation systems discussed above seems too remarkable to be accounted for by a sheer coincidence. The geographical distance between Pomoan, Yana, Salinan, Seri, and Oaxaca Chontal makes areal explanation of the observed matches unlikely. Thus, the most probable scenario here is inheritance from a common parent language.

However, if infixated plurals are inherited from Proto-Hokan, why are they absent from the other Hokan branches? The answer may lie in one of the features of the Northern California linguistic area (Haas 1976). Many languages of this area lack number marking in all or most nouns. Achumawi lacks number marking in the noun (de Angulo & Freeland 1930: 81). In Shasta, noun themes can optionally attach a collective suffix, but otherwise plural marking on nouns is absent (Silver 1966: 100–101). Chimariko lacks plural marking on nouns (Jany 2009: 71). Karuk plural suffix *-sa* is added only to adjectives and personal nouns, and even there its presence is optional (Bright 1957: 81). In Yurok, “[i]n the great majority of nouns the same form is used both as singular and plural” (Robins 1958: 23). In Klamath, only kinship nouns have a true plural expressed by a suffix. Others can only occur with a ‘distributive’ reduplication (Barker 1964: 183–184). With most Maidu noun stems no plural morpheme occurs (Shiple 1964: 28). Since Karuk plural suffix and Shasta collective suffix lack cognates in other Hokan branches, while Chimariko and Achumawi do not have noun plurals at all, we may suppose that at some stage all Hokan languages of the Northern California linguistic area, except Yana, lost inherited number category in nouns under areal influence.

4. Directional suffixes ‘hither’ and ‘thither’

4.1. Proto-Yuman had a pair of directional verbal suffixes that can be reconstructed as **-k* ‘hither’ and **-m* ‘thither’. Their reflexes are attested in all branches of Yuman: Kiliwa, Delta-California, River, and Pai. These suffixes also acquired various secondary functions in daughter languages, e.g., marking switch reference. Below we will look at examples of the use of these suffixes in their primary function as directionals.

For Kiliwa, Mixco (1971: 139) lists two directional suffixes: *-k* ‘hither’ and *-m* ‘thither’.

- (50a) *s-ʔ-hín-k* ‘to run this way’
 (50b) *čan-m* ‘to descend that way’

In the Delta-California branch, Jamul Tiipay has directional suffixes *-k*, indicating that “the action denoted by the stem is directed towards a point of reference”, and *-m*, indicating that “the action denoted by the stem is directed away from a point of reference (often the speaker)”. The suffixes appear only after vowel-final roots (Miller 2001: 69–70).

- (51a) *čepa-k* ‘to emerge, come out’ (cf. *čepa* ‘to exit’)
-u-k ‘to look (towards reference point)’
 (51b) *-a-m* ‘to go away’ (cf. *-a* ‘to go’)
čepa-m ‘to go out, escape’
-u-m ‘to look (away from reference point)’

In the River branch, Yuma (Quechan) has directional suffixes *-k* ‘towards here, towards self or speaker’ and *-m* ‘towards there, away from self or speaker’ (Halpern 1947: 28).

- (52a) *apá-k* ‘to arrive here’ (dist. pl.)
t-é-k ‘to bring something closer’
 (52b) *apá-m* ‘to arrive there’ (dist. pl.)
t-é-m ‘to move something away’

In the Pai branch, Hualapai has directional suffixes *-k* ‘toward the speaker’ and *-m* ‘away from the speaker’ (Watahomigie et al. 1982: 276–282).

- (53a) *e:-k-k* ‘to give/receive (toward me)’
ha:-k-k ‘to look this way’
vo:-k-k ‘to come home’
 (53b) *e:-m-k* ‘to send’
ha:-m-k ‘to look over that way’
vo:-m-k ‘to go home’

The Proto-Yuman directionals **-k* and **-m* have striking parallels in Chimariko, Achumawi, Atsugewi, Shasta and Karuk (Yana has a possible parallel only for **-k*).

4.2. Howard Berman in his analysis of Sapir’s Chimariko fieldnotes lists the verbal suffixes *-k* ‘motion towards here’ and *-m* ‘motion towards there’ (Sapir 2001: 1050–1051).

- (54a) *ná’awotBík* ‘come out!’
nówak ‘come!’
 (54b) *ná’awotBim* ‘go out!’
hówam ‘to go’

The reliability of Sapir’s data can additionally be confirmed by examples from the Chimariko text “Woman Wanders”, recorded by J. P. Harrington and analyzed by Jany (2009: 217).

- (55a) *xawi* *č^h-ušehe-k-tasun* *si-nda*
 Redwood.Indians 1SG.P-take.along-DIR-PST say-ASP
 “The bad Indians took me to this country”, the woman said’
 (55b) *noʔot* *č^h-ušehe-m-deʔw* *koʔi-hu-t*
 1SG 1SG.P-take-DIR-DER run.away-CONT-ASP
 ‘They took me off, I fled’

Although in the examples cited these suffixes surface as *-k* and *-m*, their actual underlying form in Chimariko may rather be *-ku* and *-mu* (Jany 2009: 40–41, 134).

4.3. For Achumawi, de Angulo & Freeland (1930: 94) record the derivational adverbial suffixes *-ig-* ‘hither’ and *-im-* ‘thither’. The following examples can be cited (de Angulo & Freeland 1930: 104).

- (56a) *d-ím-âlù-g-ì* ‘to look into, the speaker being inside’
d-ím-âdây-g-ì ‘to look out of, the speaker being outside’
- (56b) *d-ím-â-lù-m-ì* ‘to look into an enclosure (like a room, a pot, a cavern), the person relating the action being himself outside’
d-ím-âdây-m-ì ‘to look out of an enclosure, the speaker being inside’

The authors further illustrate the use of directionals as follows:

I am inside a room, and I say to someone who is standing outside the door: *t-ím-âlù-à-k* look in here!

I am outside the door of the room, and so is my companion, to whom I say: *t-ím-âlù-à-m* look in there!

I am inside a room with another man, and I say to him: *t-ím-âdây-à-m* look outside!

I stand outside the door, and I say to someone inside the room: *t-ím-âdây-à-k* look out this way! (ibid.).

4.4. Atsugewi has the directional suffixes *-ik* ‘hither’ and *-im* ‘thither’, which can follow other directional suffixes (Talmy 1972: 40). The directional *-ik* ‘hither’ can be illustrated by the following example (Talmy 1972: 441).

- (57) *sùratwí·suk·a* ‘I shingled the roof’

|s’-w-ra-tí-wi·s^u-ik·-^a|

[|s’-w-...-^a| ‘1, (3), factual’ (inflectional affix-set), |ra-| ‘a planar object sticking obliquely into/out of/against a surface’ (lexical prefix), |-tí| ‘for a planar object to move/be-located’ (root), |-wi·s^u| ‘to all-over a surface’ (directional suffix), |-ik·| ‘hither’ (directional suffix)]

For *-im* ‘thither’, see examples (7) and (11) above.

4.5. Shasta has the directional suffixes *-ik·a* ~ *-ak* ‘hither’ and *-i·ma* ‘thither’ (Silver 1966: 174). They can be illustrated by the following examples.

- (58a) *kwát·ak* ‘He came hither’ (Silver 1966: 36)

kwáska·yik·a? ‘They came running hither’ (Silver 1966: 157)

- (58b) *kwap·i·ma* ‘I threw it thither’ (Silver 1966: 65)

4.6. Finally, Karuk has a directional suffix *-mu* (*-vu* after vowels) ‘thither, to, toward’ (Bright 1957: 99).

- (59) *pá·θ-mu* ‘to throw to’ (< *paθ-* ‘to throw’)

ivyí·h-mu ‘(pl.) to arrive’ (< *ivyih-* ‘(pl.) to go’)

iθyúru-vu ‘to drag to’ (< *iθyuru-* ‘to drag’)

Its productive counterpart meaning ‘hither’ is *-ra* (Bright 1957: 99–100).

- (60) *pá·θ-ra* ‘to throw hither’

However, the latter suffix is probably not very old: Bright notes that it can be identified with the verbal root *na* ‘to come’ (ibid.). On the other hand, Karuk has another suffix with the same meaning: *-uk* ‘hither’. According to Bright (1957: 110), “[i]t occurs freely only after derivatives in *-aĩ* “to go in order to”; the resultant meaning is “to come in order to.” Besides these cases, *-uk* is added to a very few other stems; the meaning “hither” is apparent in some cases, but completely indiscernible in others”.

- (61) *imúsar-uk* ‘to come to see’ (< *imús-aĩ* ‘to go to see, to visit’ < *imus-* ‘to look at’)
ivyih-uk ‘(pl.) to come’ (< *ivyih-* ‘(pl.) to go’)
?ih-uk ‘to do a puberty dance’ (< *?ih* ‘to dance’)

The non-productivity of this suffix (except after *-aĩ*) and the presence of derivatives with obscured semantics (like *?ih-uk*) imply that *-uk* was driven out in its main function by the newly grammaticalized suffix *-ra* ‘hither’. The original situation is perhaps preserved in the pair *ivyih-uk* ‘(pl.) to come’ ~ *ivyih-mu* ‘(pl.) to arrive’.

4.7. The forms for ‘hither’ were compared by Sapir (1917: 20; Yana *-ki-* ‘hither’, Chimariko, Yuman), Dixon and Kroeber (1919: 107; Washo *-k*, Chimariko, Yana), de Angulo and Freeland (1930: 95; Achumawi, Atsugewi, Shasta), Jacobsen (1958: 201; Karuk, Yuma, Washo *-ug* ~ *-wg* ‘hither, in this direction’, Yana *-ki-* ‘hither’), Gursky (1966: 528; Yana, Chimariko, Palaihnihan, Yuman; 1995: 143; Achumawi, Atsugewi, Karuk, Yana, Shasta, Chimariko, Washo), Kaufman (1989: 119; Proto-Hokan *#-ukʷ*), and Berman (in Sapir 2001: 1053; Chimariko, Yuma). The forms for ‘thither’ were compared by de Angulo and Freeland (1930: 95; Achumawi, Atsugewi, Shasta), Jacobsen (1958: 203; Karuk, Yuma, Washo *-uwe?* ~ *-we?* ‘thither, in the other direction’, Yana *-ma-* ‘there, from there’), Kaufman (1989: 119; Proto-Hokan *#-wV* [*w* ~ *m*]), and Berman (in Sapir 2001: 1053; Chimariko, Yuma). Only de Angulo and Freeland (1930: 95) and Berman (in Sapir 2001: 1053) compare ‘hither’ and ‘thither’ morphemes as a set.

Chimariko, Achumawi, Atsugewi, Shasta and Karuk, but not Yuman, belong to the Northern California linguistic area (Haas 1976). One of the characteristic traits of this linguistic area is the proliferation of locative/directional verbal suffixes that frequently express such specific notions as ‘into water’, ‘downstream’, ‘into the house’, ‘into one’s mouth’ etc. However, apart from the ‘hither/thither’ directionals discussed above, few, if any, of the locative/directional suffixes of Chimariko, Achumawi, Atsugewi, Shasta and Karuk have similar form and meaning. Commenting on the areal spread of locative/directional suffixes in the Northern California linguistic area, Mithun (2007: 157–158) remarks that, within Hokan, they appear in Pomoan, Shastan, Karuk, Palaihnihan and Yana, but are absent in Yuman, apart from the cislocative ‘hither’ and translocative ‘thither’. Possibly, Proto-Hokan was in this respect more like Yuman than like Northern Californian languages. It can be assumed that subsequent development of Chimariko, Achumawi, Atsugewi, Shasta, Karuk and Yana in constant contact with each other led to the parallel emergence of elaborate locative/directional affix systems, but the common core of these systems—the directionals *#-k* ‘hither’ and *#-m* ‘thither’—was inherited from Proto-Hokan.

5. Conclusions

There are several reasons why the comparisons analyzed in this paper are unlikely to result from areal diffusion. Cross-linguistically, bound person markers are among the least borrowed types of morphemes. It is even harder to imagine that a triple opposition of *#a-* ‘3rd person possessor on kinship terms’ vs. *#i-* ‘3rd person possessor on other nouns’¹¹ vs. *#?a-* ‘absolute’ in Salinan and Seri may result from borrowing, especially given the geographical distance and lack of contact between these languages.

It is undeniable that areal diffusion played a role in the spread of lexical prefixes in Californian languages belonging to different families — various branches of Hokan and Penutian,

¹¹ From Proto-Hokan *#Ø-* ‘3rd person’ + *#-i-* ‘possessive’.

as well as in the Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan. But the eight lexical prefixes reconstructed above are not found in Penutian or Uto-Aztecan. Besides, many of them have lexical sources in the independent verbs found in various Hokan languages.

Plural infixes are tightly integrated into morphological structures of the languages that have them. Moreover, geographical distance between Yana, Salinan, Seri and Oaxaca Chontal makes the diffusion scenario rather improbable in this case.

Finally, directionals #-*k* ‘hither’ and #-*m* ‘thither’ constitute a ‘mini-paradigm’, found in languages as widely separated as Chimariko and Kiliwa. Any scenario of diffusion must explain why this and other characteristic Hokan features did not penetrate languages belonging to non-Hokan families: Penutian, Uto-Aztecan, Yuki-Wappo, or Chumashan.

The list of morphological comparisons discussed above is by no means exhaustive. Gursky (1995) lists 138 comparative sets for grammatical elements, and Kaufman (1989, 2015) offers more than 150 reconstructions of grammatical etyma¹². Kaufman (2015) also proposes a rather elaborate model of Proto-Hokan word-structure. While some of Gursky’s and Kaufman’s comparisons may be erroneous, many others are probably correct. Evaluation of these comparisons in the light of new descriptive data is one of the tasks necessary for the proper assessment of the Hokan hypothesis as a whole. Another necessary task is an attempt to verify sound correspondences and lexical reconstructions proposed by Kaufman (1989), as well as lexical comparisons proposed by Sapir, Gursky, and other researchers.

Attempts to reconstruct Proto-Hokan must take into account areal influences, especially in the Northern California linguistic area. While it has been frequently pointed out that areal diffusion in Northern California makes it hard to distinguish between genetic relationship and borrowing (Jany 2016), some results of the present study suggest a more optimistic outlook. Thus, if the hypotheses offered in this paper are correct, some features of Proto-Hokan (plural infixes and a simple directional system opposing ‘hither’ and ‘thither’ forms) are better preserved by languages outside of the Northern California linguistic area.

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¹² Ironically, Campbell (1997: 296) states that “Kaufman’s evidence is largely lexical”. Of course, Kaufman (1989) offers more lexical than grammatical reconstructions for Proto-Hokan, but one would search in vain for an uncontroversial language family where grammatical reconstructions outnumber lexical ones.

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М. А. Живлов. О некоторых морфологических параллелях между языками хока

В статье детально рассматривается ряд морфологических параллелей между ветвями гипотетической семьи хока (Северная Америка). Анализируются следующие области морфологии хоканских языков: 1) глагольные показатели лица/числа субъекта, а также именные показатели лица/числа посессора, 2) так называемые лексические префиксы, обозначающие инструмент или образ действия, 3) инфиксы — показатели множественного числа и 4) глагольные направительные суффиксы со значениями ‘сюда’ и ‘туда’. В статье показывается, что рассматриваемые морфологические параллели убедительнее объясняются как унаследованные из общего праязыка, чем как возникшие в результате контактов.

Ключевые слова: языки хока, америндские языки, историческая морфология, языковое родство и языковые контакты.

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Raní Indoevropané v Centrální Asii a Číně: Kulturní vztahy v zrcadle jazyka

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Монография Вацлава Блажека и Михала Шварца посвящена контактам ранних индоевропейцев с китайским и другими языками Центральной Азии. В ней рассматриваются взаимные заимствования между тохарскими языками и другими языками региона — как индоевропейскими, так и неиндоевропейскими, прежде всего китайским; тохарские и иранские названия металлов и их этимология; названия рек, озёр и гор в бассейне Аральского моря, озера Балхаш и реки Тарим — не только современные, но и известные по античным и древнекитайским письменным источникам (а также из Младшей Авесты). Примерно треть работы посвящена разбору различных версий классификации иранских языков. В конце имеются приложения — периодизация китайской истории и китайского языка по разным авторам, тексты Птолемея о реках в Согдиане и Серике (по-гречески с переводом), классификация тюркских языков по А. В. Дыбо (2006) и О. А. Мудраку (2009), сино-тибетских языков (по версии С. А. Старостина, а также по версии Г. С. Старостина и А. С. Касьяна), а также принимаемая авторами классификация китайских диалектов. Предисловие к книге написал крупнейший индоевропеист Джеймс Мэллори.

Авторов отличает широчайшая эрудиция — в книге цитируются работы, написанные на английском, немецком, французском, русском, чешском, польском, литовском и венгерском языках, приводится и анализируется материал не только тохарских и иранских языков, находящихся в фокусе внимания, но и тюркских, уральских, хурритоурартских, привлекаются к рассмотрению материалы таких языков, как картвельские, северо-кавказские, тай-кадайские, мон-кхмерские, семитские, дравидийские, эламский, шумерский, бурушаски, айнский. Для китайских слов приводятся реконструкции А. Шюсслера, С. А. Старостина, Э. Дж. Пуллиблэнка, а также У. Бакстера и Л. Сагара, подробно указываются все стадии развития, от наиболее древних до современного состояния, в обширных сносках приводятся чтения иероглифов,

входящих в анализируемые лексемы, на всех этапах развития китайского языка с момента первой фиксации данного иероглифа. Греческие, латинские, авестийские и тохарские цитаты даются не только в переводе, но и в оригинале.

Первая глава книги посвящена контактам тохарских языков с китайским. По мнению авторов, 30 лексем заимствованы из тохарских языков в китайский, 40 — наоборот, из китайского в тохарские. При этом заимствования из тохарского в китайский — ранние, они относятся к эпохе Чжоу (1200–600 до н.э.), тогда как обратные заимствования проникли из китайского в тохарские позже, в эпохи Хань и Тан. К числу тохаризмов в китайском, относятся, возможно, названия колеса и некоторая терминология, связанная с ритуальными практиками, тогда как из китайского в тохарские языки проникли названия мер, военная и бюрократическая терминология.

Не все этимологии в равной мере убедительны. Так, например, слово «земля» (кит. 坤 *kūn* 'земля (как женское начало)' < др.-кит. **khwōn*, согласно реконструкции С. А. Старостина) авторы считают заимствованным из тохарского, ср. А *tkam*, В *keŋ* (форма **tkem*, приведённая в книге без звёздочки, реально в тохарском В не засвидетельствована). Согласно точке зрения авторов, это заимствование, как и другие тохаризмы, должно было проникнуть в китайский язык задолго до распада пратохарского (первая фиксация — «И цзин», первая половина второго тысячелетия до н.э.), когда рефлекс и.-е. **o* ещё не утратил огубленности, а характерное для тохарского В отпадение начального **t* ещё не произошло, но при этом в китайском нет никаких следов этой фонемы. Возможно, при заимствовании произошло упрощение начального кластера, но тогда это, на мой взгляд, следовало бы оговорить. В некоторых случаях древнекитайское слово похоже на индоевропейское, но при этом не на собственно тохарское. Так, источник др.-кит. **tro* (совр. 株 *zhū* 'комель') больше похож не на тох. АВ *or*, а на рефлексы слова «дерево» в других индоевро-

пейских языках, где исконный смычный (*d) не выпал. Тох. АВ *tsäk-* ‘гореть, загореться’ больше похоже на обратное заимствование из др.-кит. **tek*⁷⁰ или **tiâuuk*, поскольку такой корень (даже с нужным вокализмом) есть в сино-тибетском, при этом тох. *ts* выводится из **tj* едва ли не лучше, чем из **d*^h. Тох. А *yāmutsi*, В *yāmuttsi* является, судя по контекстам, названием какой-то водяной птицы, так что выведение этого названия из китайского слова со значением «попугай» не кажется оправданным; к тому же и фонетика в данном случае оказывается сильно ближе к согдийской, чем к китайской. Выведение слова «десять тысяч» (А *tmām*, В *tumane*, *tmāne*) из китайского любопытно, однако существующая тюркская этимология кажется предпочтительной. В слове В *šipāñkiñc* ‘абак’ часть *-ñc*, возможно, представляет собой собственно тохарский суффикс, маркер двойственного числа при одном из типов основ, ср. *indriñc* (Du от *indri* ‘орган чувств; penis’), *mālyuwiñc*^a (Du от *mlyuwe** ‘бедро’). Поскольку абак (в частности, его китайский вариант суньпань) имеет разделение на две части, называть его с суффиксом дв.ч. представляется оправданным (ср. рус. мн.ч. *счёты*).

Обсуждая этимологию китайского названия льва (предположительно тохарского происхождения), Блажек и Шварц привлекают для подкрепления тезиса о возможности такого фонетического развития сопоставление кит. 昆子 **kuəntsɿə*? (Pulleyblank 1962: 226) ‘некий пушной зверь, на которого охотятся динлины’ с пратюркским **qirsaq* ~ **qarsaq*, которое, по мнению авторов, значит «песец» (polar fox). Но, как указывается у А. В. Дыбо (2007: 98–100), данная пратюркская лексема обозначала не песца, а степную лису корсака, чей мех не имеет промыслового значения, и вероятнее, что пушным зверем, на которого охотились динлины, был бобр, ПТ **kuntš* [там же]. Что же до самой этимологии тохарского названия льва, то попытка справиться с уникальными межтохарскими соответствиями как в области консонантизма, так и в области вокализма, в некотором смысле обречена на неполную убедительность: отсутствие данных соответствий в других словах делает невозможным нахождение поддерживающих примеров. Слово «тело» (А pl. *kapšīññāñ* vs. В *kektseñe*) ‘тело’, приводимое авторами в качестве аналогии для соотношения гласных, не годится, поскольку здесь имеется нормальное соотношение В *e* ~ А *a*, где А *a* развивает беглость (чередование с *ä* перед СС ~ Ø перед CV), а *ä*, в свою очередь, превращается в *i* между палатальными *š* и *ñ*. Для слова А *šisäk*, В *šecake* ‘лев’ такая трактовка не годится, поскольку А *i* здесь находится

в позиции перед CV, где исконное *ä* (или беглое *a*) должно было бы выпасть. В целом, уникальные соответствия скорее ожидаются для сепаратного заимствования (или заимствования из одного из тохарских языков в другой в такой период, когда звуки одного языка могли быть таким образом адаптированы в другом). Но если, как пишут Блажек и Шварц, тохары привозили львов китайцам, а не наоборот, предполагать китаизм в тохарском невозможно. Остаётся лишь предполагать, что тохары, перед тем как передавать название льва китайцам, сами заимствовали его из некоторого до сих пор не идентифицированного источника.

В целом ряде случаев для тохарских слов существует несколько допустимых этимологий, и невозможно однозначно определить, какая из них предпочтительнее. Так, например, слово тох. В *tsänkana* или *tsänkanta* (мн.ч.) ‘ячмень голозёрный’ может быть заимствовано из китайского 青稞 *qīngkē* ‘горный ячмень’ (< др.-кит. **tshêŋ* ‘зелёный/голубой’ + **khwa* ‘зерно’), а может быть производно от тохарского глагола А *tspänk-*, В *tsänk-* ‘обдирать (шкуру)’. Кроме того, поскольку китайская фонетика сильно отличается от фонетики языков, распространённых на рассматриваемой территории, за каждой китайской транскрипцией может стоять адаптация нескольких различных вариантов произношения — и это тоже создаёт возможности для различных этимологий. В таких случаях Блажек и Шварц рассматривают альтернативные варианты этимологий, приводя многочисленные аргументы как за, так и против, давая возможность читателю сформировать свою собственную точку зрения по обсуждаемым вопросам.

Авторы тщательно обосновывают направление заимствований — аргументами служит время, когда то или иное слово засвидетельствовано в китайских текстах, а также наличие родственных слов в других языках семьи; тохаризмы (все, кроме одного) зафиксированы в текстах, относящихся ко времени династии Чжоу. К десяти тохаризмам, обсуждавшимся в более ранних работах, Блажек и Шварц добавляют 15 новых этимологий. В китайском языке обнаруживается пять тохаризмов, связанных с конями и колесницами, значит, начало контактов должно совпадать по времени с появлением колёсных повозок в Китае (1200 до н.э.). Китайские же заимствования в тохарский относятся (за исключением слова «рис») к более позднему времени — часть из них происходит из среднекитайского, другая относится к эпохе Хань. В ряде случаев время фиксации позволяет предпочесть одну тохарскую этимологию другой: например,

тох. В *traksiñ* (acc. pl.) ‘колосья’ может иметь индоевропейское происхождение (ср. др.-греч. *θριξ* ‘волос’), а может быть поздним заимствованием из иранского. Но тот факт, что это слово было заимствовано в древнекитайский (種 **trak*), свидетельствует о том, что в тохарском оно к тому моменту уже имелось, а значит, поздним иранизмом быть не может.

Предположительные сближения китайских и тохарских слов, для выяснения точной истории которых не хватает данных, выделены в отдельный раздел. Возможно, будущий читатель этой монографии, получив какие-то новые данные, сможет принять то или иное решение — но в любом случае подробный разбор этих сближений, проведённый Блажеком и Шварцем, окажется для этого серьёзным подспорьем.

Отдельно рассмотрены заимствования в тохарские языки из других языков, а также китайские слова предположительно индоевропейского происхождения, для которых соответствий в тохарском нет, но могли бы быть. Специальный раздел посвящён словам, которые засвидетельствованы в китайских памятниках как элементы других языков, — их этимологии позволяют добавить ещё больше деталей в картину языковых контактов в Центральной Азии.

Во второй главе рассматриваются названия металлов в тохарских и иранских языках: их происхождение может пролить свет на историю культурных контактов и распространения металлургии в регионе. Тохарских названий металлов известно всего пять, иранских — более пятидесяти.

Тохарские названия меди и золота, вероятно, индоевропейского происхождения, название серебра заимствовано из согдийского (или какого-то его предшественника), при этом исконное индоевропейское название серебра было, согласно гипотезе Блажека и Шварца, заимствовано из тохарского в китайский, а в самом тохарском стало значить «белый». Для названий железа и олова/свинца наиболее вероятно, по мнению авторов, китайское происхождение. Но если А *añcu*; В *eñcuwo* ‘железо’ легко выводится из кит. 暗鑄 *àn zhù* ‘серый чугун’ (< Middle Chinese **ʔl̥m tɕuāh* < Han Chinese **ʔm̥h tso*; ко второй части этого композита восходят тюркские названия чугуна, в том числе источник русского слова *чугун*), то этимология В *lant** ‘свинец/олово’ < кит. 鉛鑄 *qiān zhù* (< **zwan* ‘свинец’ + **tso* ‘лить металл’) сталкивается с определёнными фонетическими трудностями, так что, может быть, не менее вероятным оказывается индоевропейское происхождение данного тохарского В слова. Индо-

европейская этимология тохарского названия золота (А *wäs*, В *yasa*) является общепризнанной, тем не менее, индоевропейские параллели этого корня скудны, надёжно связаны лишь италийские и балтийские, ср. лат. *aurum* (< **ausom*) и др.-прус. *ausis* ‘золото’, что предполагает и.-е. **auso-*, тогда как тохарские формы должны восходить к чему-то типа и.-е. **ues-*. Прочие приводимые Блажеком и Шварцем соответствия ещё менее убедительны: армянская форма *oski* (< **əwoskiya-* или **(h)usgiio*, по разным реконструкциям) содержит рефлекс «лишнего» и.-е. **g*, лувийское слово *wašha* обозначает нечто священное, но вовсе не обязательно золото (К. Мелчерт (2015) приводит контексты употребления этого слова, показывающие, что исконное значение этого слова связано с чем-то священным, посвящённым богам, а значения, каким-либо образом связанные с торговлей, у производных от этого корня являются более поздними). Сохранение рефлексов и.-е. «золота» в кельтских личных именах едва ли вероятно, учитывая известную нелюбовь кельтов к жёлтому цвету и, соответственно, к золоту.

Иранских названий металлов известно гораздо больше — в книге Блажека и Шварца рассмотрены 54 этимологии. Они поделены на 4 группы: индоевропейское наследие, индо-иранское наследие, иранские инновации и заимствования из идентифицируемых источников. Для исконных слов предлагаются этимологии, для заимствованных — источники, а также ряды промежуточных форм, позволяющих проследить путь заимствования. Рассматриваются заимствования между иранскими языками, а также из иранских языков в тюркские, славянские, картвельские и др. Наиболее архаичным из иранских названий металлов является слово **aijah-* (< и.-ир. **aias-*), служившее названием металла (меди, исходя из хронологических соображений) ещё в праиндоевропейскую эпоху. Иранские названия металлов отражают тот факт, что иранцы находились на перекрёстке разных культур — в них есть заимствования из языков Ближнего Востока (у некоторых иранских названий меди обнаруживаются источники, восходящие в конечном счёте к шумерскому или, возможно, к северо-кавказскому), Средиземноморья, Индии и Китая, а заимствования из иранских языков имеются в финно-угорских (в наибольшей степени — в пермских), тюркских, тохарских, картвельских, индоарийских языках, а также в армянском, китайском, сирийском и арабском.

Третья глава посвящена этимологическому анализу центральноазиатских топонимов, — не только нынешних и этимологически прозрачных, но и

тех, что отражены в греческих, латинских и китайских текстах (привлекаются также данные Младшей Авесты). Центральная Азия представляет собой восточную периферию мира, известного античным географам, и вместе с тем западную периферию мира, известного географам китайским, что даёт возможность сопоставлять информацию из разных источников. Авторы включают в рассмотрение как уже известные этимологии, так и свои собственные, с тем, чтобы составить целостную картину, дающую информацию о языковых контактах в изучаемом регионе.

Веским аргументом в пользу того, что тот или иной упоминаемый в древнекитайских источниках гидроним имеет иноязычное происхождение, служит использование в его составе иероглифов, по смыслу не соотносимых с водными пространствами: это означает, что иероглифы были использованы для фонетической записи каких-то местных названий. Как показывают авторы, эти названия могут восходить в тохарском, иранском, тюркском и даже енисейском языке. Например, енисейскую этимологию, по мнению авторов, может иметь название реки Или («бобровая река»). Другой вариант этимологии — тохарское слово для «газели» (А *yäl*, В *yäl*; др.-кит. **?iliat* восходит к форме тох. В Gen Pl *ylaṃts*), мотивировка именованья — такая же, как у притока Или, реки Текес, чьё название происходит от обозначения горного козла. Впрочем, другой приток Или, река Кунгес, имеет название, связанное с тюркским названием бобра, что сходно с предлагаемой енисейской этимологией. Сами авторы, впрочем, склоняются к тохарской.

Авторы предлагают оригинальные, подчас весьма изощрённые этимологические построения. Так, название гор Циляншань происходит, согласно их гипотезе, от незасвидетельствованного тохарского слова, которое, если бы оно существовало, было бы однокоренным к латинскому слову *caelum* 'небо': горы были так названы потому, что считались, подобно небу, чем-то священным. Название *Куньлунь* возводится к родительному падежу иранского слова, означающего горы, потому что так мог бы называться какой-нибудь из пиков — что-нибудь вроде «царь гор», а потом бы это распространилось на всю горную систему, а сама лексема «царь» при этом не отразилась бы в китайской передаче. Некоторые этимологии могли бы существенно выиграть от приведения типологических параллелей: например, произведение названия крупной реки от слова со значением «капля» не кажется *a priori* очевидным.

Общий вывод данного раздела состоит в том, что в бассейне Арала и озера Балхаш гидронимы в основном имеют иранское происхождение, хотя есть отдельные названия, восходящие к словам енисейских и тохарских языков.

Монография Блажека и Шварца характеризуется очень тщательной проработкой материала. Все приводимые в этих трёх разделах этимологии подробнейшим образом разбираются со стороны всех вовлечённых в сопоставление семей — сино-тибетской, индоевропейской алтайской, енисейской, финно-угорской; приводятся все необходимые соответствия рассматриваемых слов в родственных языках, анализируются возможности семантического развития. Если семантическое изменение нетривиально, авторы приводят примеры такого развития в рамках семьи, чтобы показать, что оно не является уникальным. В книге обсуждаются альтернативные этимологии, показываются их достоинства и недостатки, что даёт читателю возможность сформировать собственное мнение. В конце раздела о металлах их этимологии сведены в удобные таблицы. Подробнейшее оглавление позволяет легко найти любую из этимологий.

Последняя глава посвящена классификации тохарских и иранских языков. Авторы используют метод глоттохронологии, причём специально оговаривают, что принимают модификации методики, сделанные С. А. Старостиным: убирают из подсчёта заимствования и вводят поправку на время, к которому относятся собранные списки. Но, поскольку книга рассчитана на западного читателя, подсчёты приводятся и по формуле Старостина, и по исходной формуле Сводеша (авторы оговаривают, что она даёт менее точные датировки).

В начале главы приводятся шесть вариантов генеалогического древа индоевропейской семьи — три, построенных по традиционному методу общих инноваций и три — с использованием статистических методов, прежде всего глоттохронологии. Видно, что по поводу внутренней структуры семьи среди индоевропейцев консенсуса нет. Но симптоматично, что все три схемы, составленные на основе статистических подсчётов, помещают тохарский как особую ветвь, отделившуюся после анатолийской, но до разделения прочих ветвей. Впрочем, нельзя исключать, что такая позиция тохарского является следствием пережитых им языковых контактов: поскольку тохарская этимология известна не слишком хорошо, некоторые заимствования могли остаться неустановленными и оказались помечены как внутренние замены (понижающие процент совпадений), а не как заимст-

вования (которые следует исключить из подсчёта), что могло исказить статистическую картину.

Для датировки распада пратохарского разные исследователи предлагают различные варианты — от 1500–1100 до н.э. до примерно рубежа эр. Это может быть связано с трудностями, возникающими при анализе тохарских списков базисной лексики. Некоторые слова отсутствуют хотя бы в одном из списков, а слова «яйцо» и «дым» — в обоих (несколько странно выглядит незаполненность позиции «птица» в тохарском А: там должно быть *salat lu*, что буквально означает, как и в тохарском В, «летающий зверь»). Примерно половина тохарских слов из сводешевского списка, имеющих ИЕ этимологию, не совпадает со своими когнатами по значению. В ряде случаев этимологии не очень убедительны по семантическим и/или фонетическим соображениям. В списке, приводимом в книге Блажека и Шварца, очень много супплетивных пар и синонимов. Тем самым, общее число позиций, где возможно этимологическое тождество или различие, становится не таким, как в стандартном списке, меняется и распределение позиций по вероятности выпадения, и это приводит к тому, что формула может давать результаты, хуже коррелирующие с реальным положением вещей. Представляется, что лучшие результаты можно получить, максимально сокращая случаи двойного заполнения позиций в списке. Для этого, как показано в статье Kassian et al. 2010, необходимо проверять значения по контекстам и вносить в список только те слова, которые употребляются в диагностическом окружении. Это очень ценное дополнение к глоттохронологической методике, выявляющее природу наследования лексики и устойчивости именно этой части словаря, поскольку процесс передачи из поколения в поколение заключается в том, что ребёнок, овладевающий языком во время чувствительного периода, воспринимает обращённую к нему речь и вычлняет слова из фраз, понимая смысл по контексту. Соответственно, лучше всего наследуются те слова, которые встречаются в тех контекстах, которые попадают чаще всего, поскольку больше всего нужны в повседневной жизни. И именно такие контексты выписаны как диагностические в статье Kassian et al. 2010. Впрочем, из-за того, что тохарские языки засвидетельствованы плохо, проверка по контекстам во многих случаях затруднена.

При подсчёте даты распада пратохарского авторы не учитывают, что некоторые слова имеют одинаковые корни, но разные суффиксы, так что, вероятно, образовались сепаратно уже после распада

праязыка. На близких расстояниях, как кажется, такие пары лучше учитывать как различие, а не как общее наследие.

Распад пратохарского авторы датируют примерно V–IV в. до н.э. — это позволяет объяснить, почему самые ранние из буддистских заимствований подвергаются в тохарских языках тем же фонетическим преобразованиям, что и исконно индоевропейские слова, но при этом пратохарские праформы не восстанавливаются. К приводимому списку таких заимствований можно добавить ещё *B pat* ‘ступа’ (< *Buddha*-).

Заключительная часть главы посвящена классификации иранских языков. Поскольку иранских языков много, авторы поделили их на три части и посчитали сперва каждую часть отдельно, а затем соотношение между ними. Отдельно были посчитаны среднеиранские языки, подсчёты показали, что современный персидский является потомком среднеперсидского, но не подтвердили гипотезу о том, что ягнобский язык является потомком согдийского — согласно глоттохронологии, их общий предок распался приблизительно на рубеже эр. Отделение среднеиранских от авестийского и ваханского (и вообще разделение иранских) датируется XIX в. до н.э. И снова мы видим, как язык, испытавший сильное контактное влияние («памиризованный» ваханский), оказывается наиболее древним ответвлением на генеалогическом древе. Для определения места иранских языков внутри индоиранской ветви авторы провели сопоставление авестийского и санскрита, как наиболее древних из известных индоарийских и иранских языков; после этого к подсчёту были добавлены нуристанские и дардские языки. Согласно подсчётам авторов, нуристанские языки оказываются ближе к индийской ветви, чем к иранской: авестийский и нуристанские дают ту же дату, что авестийский и ведийский (XXVII век до н.э.), а ведийский и нуристанские — более близкую к нам по времени (начало второго тысячелетия до н.э.); по поводу дардских языков Блажек и Шварц принимают результаты А. И. Когана (Коган 2005), согласно которым дардские языки оказываются ещё более близкими к индоарийским, чем нуристанские (дата расхождения — середина второго тыс. до н.э.).

В конце главы приводятся списки иранских языков с этимологическими комментариями, которые представляют собой либо когнаты соответствующих слов в других иранских языках, прежде всего авестийского и среднеиранских, либо указание на источник заимствования. В таблицах заимствования подчёркнуты (что удобно, поскольку позволяет

легко выделить их даже в тех случаях, когда это заимствования из соседнего иранского языка и имеют этимологически тот же корень).

Классификация индоиранских языков была наложена авторами на временную шкалу, что позволяет сопоставить полученные результаты с данными археологии. Индо-нуристанскую ветвь Блажек и Шварц связывают с полтавкинской культурой, иранскую — с катакомбной. Поскольку полтавкинская культура была распространена в Поволжье, то, согласно предположению Блажека и Шварца, зафиксированное у Птолемея название Волги — Ра (греч. Ῥᾱ) может иметь индоиранское происхождение (ср. гидроним *Rasā*, в Ригведе и его авестийское соответствие *Raṇhā*).

Авторы предоставляют читателю не только свои выводы, с которыми каждый волен согласиться или не согласиться, но и огромное количество прекрасно проработанного и очень чётко изложенного материала. Тем самым, эта работа может послужить отправным пунктом для дальнейших дискуссий о языковых и этнических контактах в Центральной Азии.

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