Some Indo-Uralic Aspects of Hittite

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Since the Anatolian branch has been shown to have been the first one to have split off from PIE, in cases where the Anatolian evidence diverges from the evidence from the other IE languages it is sometimes problematic to determine which linguistic situation is more original. In this article it is claimed that in some cases evidence from the Uralic language family, which is hypothesized to have been a sister to the IE language family, may be decisive in solving such problems. Two case studies are presented that support this claim.

The Anatolian branch can be shown to have been the first to split off from Proto-Indo-European because several instances can be identified in which Hittite shows an original situation where all other Indo-European languages have undergone a common innovation (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 7-11). This means that the Indo-Hittite hypothesis as postulated already in the 1920s is cogent in the sense that the ancestors of the speakers of the non-Anatolian Indo-European languages shared a period of common innovations that no longer reached the ancestors of the speakers of Proto-Anatolian. This brings about a methodological problem: if a certain feature is attested in all non-Anatolian Indo-European languages but not in Anatolian, to what extent can this feature be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European? On the one hand one could argue that the feature was lost in Anatolian and that its presence in PIE can safely be assumed (as is usually done); on the other hand, however, one could now also argue that the feature is due to a common innovation of the non-Anatolian languages and that its absence in Anatolian shows that it was not present in PIE. The same is true for the inverse: if a certain feature is attested in Anatolian but in none of the other IE languages, it is usually assumed that we are dealing with an Anatolian innovation. Nevertheless, it has now become just as possible that we are in fact dealing with an archaic feature and that its absence in the other IE languages is due to a common loss that they

underwent during their period of shared innovations.

Of course, there are sometimes internal arguments to decide the matter. For instance, the verbal root **mer-* is attested in Anatolian with the meaning 'to disappear', whereas in all other IE languages it has the meaning 'to die'. In this case it is less probable that an original meaning 'to die' would develop into 'to disappear', whereas the other way around is perfectly cogent (cf. euphemistic expressions like *to pass away, to be gone,* French *disparaître*). We can therefore safely assume that Anatolian has preserved the original situation, which means that the semantic shift of 'to disappear' > 'to die' is a common innovation of the non-Anatolian IE languages (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 8).

Whenever such arguments are absent or not as strong as in the case mentioned here, it becomes problematic to decide whether an Anatolian peculiarity is to be regarded as an innovation or an archaism.

The Proto-Indo-European language did not come about out of nowhere. Like any other language it must have had its precursor and relatives. Although the literature about a further relationship between Indo-European and other language families is vast and many candidates have been suggested, in my opinion the most promising view is the theory that connects Indo-European with the Uralic language family.[1] Most recently, Kortlandt (2001: 1) argued that "we may think of Indo-European as a branch of Indo-Uralic which was transformed under the influence of a Caucasian substratum." Moreover, he was able to give a meaningful interpretation of the PIE verbal system as built up of morphemes attested in Proto-Uralic as well (o.c.).

This new approach to the pre-history of Proto-Indo-European may also be helpful in breaking the methodological impasse we are sometimes faced with when linguistic features attested in the Anatolian languages conflict with the material of the non-Anatolian Indo-European languages. It is my intention to present here two cases with regard to personal pronouns where an Indo-Uralic point of view can elucidate the position of the Hittite material vis-à-vis the non-Anatolian IE languages.

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[1]This theory was conceived in the 19th century already (e.g. Thomsen 1869). Among its most important supporters are Holger Pedersen (1931: 338), Björn Collinder (e.g. 1954), Frederik Kortlandt (e.g. 1989, 2001), e.a.

Enclitic possessive pronouns

In order to express possession, Hittite can use two constructions. Besides the genitive forms of personal pronouns (*ammel* 'of me', *tuel* 'of you (sg.)', *apel* 'of him/her', *anzel* 'of us', *šumenzan* 'of you (pl.)', *apenzan* 'of them'), a series of enclitic possessive pronouns is used which are attached to the noun they belong to: 1sg. =*mV*- 'my', 2sg. =*ttV*- 'your (sg.)', 3sg. =*ššV*- 'his/her', 1pl. =*šummV*- 'our', 2/3pl. =*šmV*- 'your (pl.) / their'.[2] The enclitics are inflected and agree with the noun they are attached to. Structurally, we can therefore analyse these forms as NOUN + ENDING + POSS.ENCLITIC + ENDING. Consider for instance the following examples: *atta-* (c.) 'father' and *peda-* (n.) 'place'.[3]

	'my ...'	'your (sg.) ...'	'his/her ...'	'our ...'	'your (pl.) / their ...'
nom.sg.c.	*attaš=miš*	*attaš=tiš*	*attaš=šiš*	*attaš=šummiš*	*attaš=šmiš*
acc.sg.c.	*attan=man*[4]	*attan=tan*	*attan=šan*[5]	*attan=šumman*[6]	*attan=šman*[7]
nom.-acc.sg.n.	*pedan=met*[8]	*pedan=tet*	*pedan=šet*[9]	*pedan=šummet*[10]	*pedan=šmet*[11]
gen.sg.	*attaš=maš*	*attaš=taš*	*attaš=šaš*	*attaš=šummaš*	*attaš=šmaš*
dat.-loc.sg.	*atti=mi*	*atti=tti*	*atti=šši*	*atti=šummi*	*atti=šmi*
nom.pl.c.	*atteš=meš*	*atteš=teš*	*atteš=šeš*	*atteš=šummeš*	*atteš=šmeš*
acc.pl.c.	*attuš=muš*	*attuš=tuš*	*attuš=šuš*	*attuš=šummuš*	*attuš=šmuš*
nom.-acc.pl.n.	*peda=met*	*peda=ttet*	*peda=ššet*	*peda=šummet*	*peda=šmet*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

This construction especially occurs in the oldest texts and its use declines throughout the Hittite period, which may indicate that we are dealing with an archaic formation.

Within the older Indo-European languages, this system is unique: no other ancient IE language uses enclitic possessive

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[2] Note that Hitt. -*tt*- = /t/ and -*š*- = /s/.
[3] Not all forms given here are attested as such, but they can safely be inferred on the basis of forms that are attested.
[4] This form is assimilated to *attamman*.
[5] This form is assimilated to *attaššan*.
[6] This form is assimilated to *attaššumman*.
[7] This form is assimilated to *attašman*.
[8] This form is assimilated to *pedammet*.
[9] This form is assimilated to *pedaššet*.
[10] This form is assimilated to *pedaššumet*.
[11] This form is assimilated to *pedašmet*.

pronouns.[12] Instead, we find possessive adjectives that can formally be regarded as thematic derivatives of the personal pronouns: *$h_1$mo-* 'my', *$t(e)uo-$* 'your (sg.)', *$ns(m)o-$* 'our', *$us(m)o-$* 'your (pl.)'.[13] Because of the absence of corresponding forms in the other IE languages the Hittite possessive enclitics are usually regarded as the result of an innovation within Hittite. E.g. Sturtevant (1933: 194) and Kronasser (1956: 146-7) assume that the enclitics are recent creations based on the enclitic dat.-loc.-forms *=mu* 'to me', *=tta* 'to you', *=šše* 'to him/her' and *=šmaš* 'to you (pl.) / them'. However, this scenario does not explain several formal peculiarities (e.g. the discrepancy in form between *=nnaš* 'to us' and *=šummV-* 'our' or the archaic looking distribution of the vowels *-i-*, *-a-* and *-e-*) nor the fact that within Hittite the possessive enclitics seem to be archaic.

In the Uralic languages, the use of personal possessive suffixes attached to nouns is a wide-spread phenomenon. Compare for instance:

Saami[14]		Mari[15]	
ač'ča-m	'my father'	*olma-m*	'my apple'
ač'ča-d	'your (sg.) father'	*olma-t*	'your (sg.) apple'
ač'če-s	'his/her father'	*olma-še*	'his/her apple'
ač'ča-mek	'our father'	*olma-na*	'our apple'
ač'ca-dek	'your (pl.) father'	*olma-δa*	'your (pl.) apple'
ač'če-sek	'their father'	*olma-št*	'their apple'

Kamassian[16]		Vogul[17]	
dʲaɣa-m	'my river'	*kum-əm*	'my man'
dʲaɣa-l	'your (sg.) river'	*kum-ən*	'your (sg.) man'
dʲaɣa-t	'his/her river'	*kum-ə*	'his/her man'

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[12] The use of enclitic possessive pronouns in Bulgarian, Romanian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian and Modern Greek, one of the features of the Balkan Sprachbund, must have arisen secondarily in these languages (the older stages of Slavic, ancient Greek and Latin did not possess them).

[13] The form of 3sg. and 3pl. is not fully clear. Note that these possessive adjectives are attested in the Anatolian branch as well, namely as HLuw. *áma/i-* 'my', *anza/i-* 'our', *unza/i-* (?) 'your (pl.)'.

[14] Examples taken from Korhonen 1988: 50.

[15] Examples taken from Alhoniemi 1988: 90.

[16] Examples taken from Simoncsics 1998: 587.

[17] Examples taken from Honti 1988: 153-4.

dʲaɣa-waʔ	'our river'	*kum-əw*	'our man'
dʲaɣa-laʔ	'your (pl.) river'	*kum-ɛn*	'your (pl.) man'
dʲaɣa-den	'their river'	*kum-ɛn*	their man'

When the noun is inflected, in some languages the possessive suffix follows the case suffix (e.g. Saami nom.sg. *ačʼča-m* 'my father' besides ill.sg. *ačʼča-sâ-m* 'to my father'; Kamassian nom.sg. *dʲaɣa-waʔ* 'our river' besides loc.sg. *dʲaɣa-nʲi-waʔ* 'on our river'), in some the possessive suffix precedes the case suffix (e.g. Vogul nom.sg. *kum-əw* 'our man' besides instr.sg. *kum-əw-təl* 'with our man'), whereas in others the order of possessive and case suffix depends on the case (e.g. Mari nom.sg. *olma-t* 'your apple' besides gen.sg. *olma-t-ân* 'of your apple' and loc.sg. *olma-še-t* 'in your apple').

Raun (1988: 561) states that for Proto-Uralic the following possessive suffixes can be reconstructed: 1sg. *-mV, 2sg. *-tV, 3sg. *-sV. For the plural forms, the plural suffixes *t or *k are added (still clearly seen in e.g. Saami *ačʼča-m* 'my father' besides *ačʼča-me-k* 'our father'). Although different languages show a different ordering of the possessive and case suffixes, Raun tentatively reconstructs for Proto-Uralic the order NOUN + CASE SUFFIX + POSS.SUFFIX.

If we look at the following scheme in which the Hittite and Proto-Uralic systems are given, we see that for 'my', 'your (sg.)' and 'his/her' these are very similar if not identical:[18]

	Hittite[19]	Proto-Uralic
1.sg.	NOUN + ENDING + *-mV* + ENDING	NOUN + CASE SUFFIX + *-mV*
2.sg.	NOUN + ENDING + *-tV* + ENDING	NOUN + CASE SUFFIX + *-tV*
3.sg.	NOUN + ENDING + *-sV* + ENDING	NOUN + CASE SUFFIX + *-sV*

This similarity is too striking to be coincidental. Since

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[18] The Hittite forms of 'our', 'your (pl.)' and 'their' are less clear regarding their prehistory. Nevertheless, because of the synthetic character of the Uralic forms (*-mV, *-sV, *-tV are combined with plural markers like *k or *t), it is conceivable that the initial -s- of Hitt. =*šummV-* 'our' and =*šmV-* 'your (pl.) / their' is identical to the PIE plural marker *s, which itself may, according to Kortlandt (2001: 6), reflect PIU *ti, a combination of the plural markers *t and *i (cf. Greenberg 2000: 106-10). In =*šummV-* we further see the morpheme *m 'I, me' and possibly the PIU reflexive morpheme *u. The exact interpretation of 2/3pl. =*šmV-* remains unclear, although within Hittite it must be cognate with the enclitic dat.-loc.sg.-form =*šmaš* 'to you (pl.) / to them'.

[19] Having rewritten graphic =*ttV-* and =*šV-* as phonological /-tV-/ and /-sV-/.

Hittite (or Proto-Anatolian) was never spoken in an area neighbouring Uralic languages, it is impossible that the system was borrowed into Hittite from a Uralic source. We can therefore conclude that the similarity must be due to a genetic relation between Hittite and Proto-Uralic.

You (sg.)

The Hittite 2sg.pers.pronoun, nom. *zīk*, obl. *tu-* 'you (sg.)', corresponds to Palaic nom. *tī*, obl. *tū*, Cuneiform Luwian nom. *tī* and Hieroglyphic Luwian nom. *ti*, obl. *tu* 'you (sg.)' in the sense that they must all reflect Proto-Anatolian nom. *ti(H)*, obl. *tu-*. These forms deviate from the forms found in the non-Anatolian IE languages that all unambiguously point to a reconstructed nom. *tu(H)*, obl. *tu-*. It is usually taken for granted that the Anatolian branch has undergone some development by which original nom. *tu(H)* turned into *ti(H)*. As I have extensively argued in Kloekhorst 2008: 113f., this is impossible: the assumption that PIE *tu(H)* phonetically yields PAnat. *tī* is incorrect[20] and there is no model on the basis of which an original *tu(H)* could have been analogically remade to *ti(H)*.

Since it is typologically a common phenomenon that the oblique stem of a personal pronoun influences the form of the nominative, it is in my view likely that the original PIE system was *ti(H)*, *tu-* and that this was analogically altered to *tu(H)*, *tu-* after the Anatolian branch had split off, which then must be regarded as a common innovation of the non-Anatolian IE languages. This assumption is now supported by Uralic evidence.

In Uralic, the 2sg.-pronoun must be reconstructed as nom. *ti*, obl. *tinä* (Collinder 1960: 243; Rédei & Erdélyi 1974: 399). The striking similarity between PAnat. nom. *ti(H)* and Proto-Uralic nom. *ti* again can only be ascribed to a genetic relation between the two forms and can be used as additional evidence for the view that the PAnat. system *ti(H)*, *tu-* is more original than the system *tu(H)*, *tu-* as attested in the non-Anatolian IE languages.

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[20] Melchert 1994: 84 states that PAnat. *tī* must reflect PIE *tū* < *tuH* either through 'breaking' of the *ū* (*tū́* > *tyú́* > *tyí́* > *tī́*) or through palatalization of *t* (*tū́* > *t'ú́* > *t'ǘ* > *t'í́* > *tī́*). None of these proposed phonetic developments is attested anywhere in Anatolian: they are invented only to come up with a scenario for explaining PAnat. *ti(H)* vis-à-vis *tu(H)* as attested in the other Indo-European languages.

In both cases we have seen that a linguistic feature that is only present in Hittite/Anatolian and not in the other IE languages and that therefore usually is regarded as an innovation of Anatolian, in fact has corresponding features in the Uralic languages which shows that the discrepancy between the Hittite/Anatolian material on the one hand and the material form the non-Anatolian IE languages on the other must instead be due to loss or innovation within the latter group during their period of common development after the splitting off of the Anatolian branch. Conversely, these cases strengthen the idea that Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic go back to a common ancestor that is called Proto-Indo-Uralic. The relationship between Hittite/Anatolian, Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic may be schematized thus, in which 'CI' denotes the period of common innovation of the non-Anatolian IE languages.
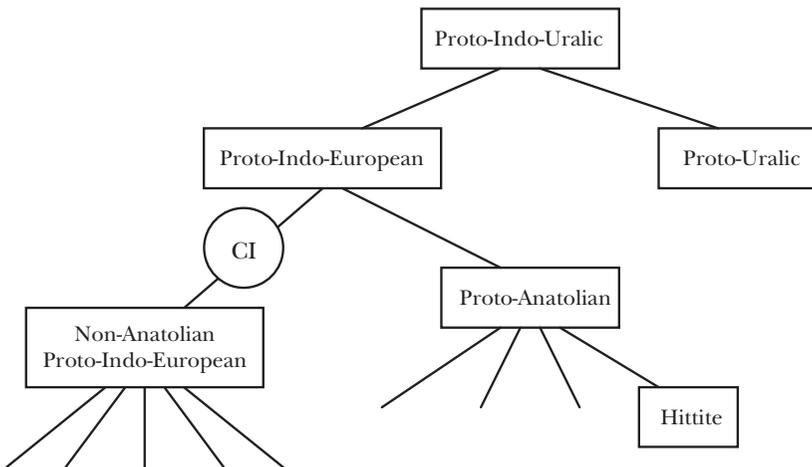
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