

Two Areal Features in Anatolian Languages: The Sentential Particle Chain and Relational Adjective

The case for an Anatolian linguistic area has been most recently argued by Watkins (2001: 52). Areal features include a tense/lax opposition of consonants, with voiceless stops word-initially, stress accent, ergativity, a limited inventory of tenses, SOV word order, suffixation and sentence initial particles. I analyze here two particularly interesting areal features: the rigidly ordered sentential particle chain of Hittite, Luwian, Lydian, Lycian and Palaic, which is the result of an abrupt shift by speakers of Hattic to proto-Anatolian, and the genitival adjective construction, which is productive not only in Luwian, Lydian, Lycian, Palaic and Carian, but also in the Tyrrhenian languages Etruscan, Lemnian and Rhaetic. Both the development of the clitic chain, with concomitant reduction and cliticization of the local preverbs, and the univerbation of the clitic pronoun to create the genitival adjective are by-products of phrasal stress. Each of the features, however, is the product of very different linguistic ecologies, allowing us to make a fine-grained analysis of the differing contact dynamics of Anatolian with Hattic to the East and (proto-)Tyrrhenian or a language sharing many of its features to the West.

In Hittite, Lydian and Lycian local particles, some of which are clearly reduced forms of preverbs (Hittite *-kan* and *katta*, *-san* and *sara*, *-apa* and *appa*) come at the end of the rigidly ordered, lengthy chain, in contrast with IE languages such as Greek and OIA where if a preverb is separated from its verb, it is fronted to the left of the clitic chain, and the chain attaches leftwards to it. While Hattic uses sentential particles, it has no extended chains of second position clitics, allowing no more than one to attach to the opening word. Yet, because of the word order Sentential Particle –Verb, the pronominal and local elements attaching rightwards to the verb root appear in the same place and order in the sentence as the chain of left-attaching clitics in Hittite, Luwian and Lydian (Hittite $\text{t}\check{\text{c}}\text{f. } k^{\text{h}}b\bar{o} \text{ } \check{\text{s}}\check{\text{n}}.\check{\text{s}} \text{ } \bar{\text{i}} \text{ } \check{\text{s}}\check{\text{m}}-\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{n}}, \bar{\text{i}} \text{ } \check{\text{s}}\check{\text{n}}-\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{f}}, k^{\text{h}}b\bar{o} \text{ } \check{\text{s}}\check{\text{n}}.9 \text{ obv. } 7'-8')$). A key factor in the re-positioning of the local particle at the end of the clitic was a well-established option of moving the verb to a position before its complements, the normal order in Hattic and Lycian, the latter providing key evidence for the development of the pattern in common Anatolian. In Lycian, particles attach themselves rightwards as in Hattic, and whether the local preverbs which attach themselves to verbs should be considered part of the chain depends on whether an accented word intervenes. While the entire process of cliticizing and attaching the local particle to the end of the particle chain can be explained as a process motivated entirely by discourse and prosodic considerations internal to the Anatolian languages, this should be expected of areal features (cf. retroflexion in OIA).

To avoid the under-characterized IE *o*-stem genitive singular Lydian, Lycian, Luwian, Carian and Palaic build adjectives by suffixing an enclitic personal pronoun (**so*; Hittite

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provides evidence of a different formation with *o-; and Lydian also uses the adjective formant –l-). While this type of formation is not confined only to Anatolian languages (cf. Gr. *-os-yo, *-os-o), the genitival adjective became particularly productive in Anatolian because fully bilingual speakers were able to equate them with the agglutination and Suffixaufnahme in their other "native language", a language of languages similar to Tyrrhenian (and maybe later on Hurrian). While Palaic provides hints of the intermediate stage of clitizing a demonstrative pronoun to derive the genitival adjective, and Carian preserves the pronoun *so, the development of the genitival adjective is particularly clear in Luwian, where it can be set in the context of responses to other under-characterized case forms and a shift in typology from fusional to agglutinative. Like Etruscan, Luwian marks plural number of the noun before the adjectival suffix. The conjecture that convergence with a Proto-Tyrrhenian language or a language sharing key characteristics with Tyrrhenian was the impetus for the development of the Anatolian relational adjectives is strengthened by the coincidence in the forms of the morphemes in question, that is, -l and –s, and by the identical patterning of stylistic variation combining both the relational adjective and the genitive (compare Etruscan TLE 619 and Hieroglyphic Luwian mārās ū).

Watkins, Calvert. 2001. An Indo-European Linguistic Area and its Characteristics: Ancient Anatolia. Areal Diffusion as a Challenge to the Comparative Method? In *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance: Problems in Comparative Linguistics*, edited by A. Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 44-63.