CHAPTER TEN

CARIAN AS AN INDO-EUROPEAN ANATOLIAN LANGUAGE

Despite the scarcity of linguistic information obtainable from the analysis of Carian inscriptions, several traits can be observed that clearly place Carian within the Indo-European Anatolian family of languages. More precisely, some of these traits situate Carian in the group of so-called Luwic dialects, integrated by Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, Lycian, Milyan, and probably also Sidetic and Pisidian, which share a series of phonological and morphological features that differentiate them from other Anatolian dialects (Hittite, Palaic, Lydian). The present chapter will be devoted to summarizing all of these traits found in Carian. For this task, it is essential to use evidence drawn from onomastics, in order to create a more complete picture of the Luwic character of Carian. I am aware of the risk involved in basing an argument on the etymological interpretations of proper names, but I think that a significant number of these interpretations can be confidently used to demonstrate the proximity of Carian to Luwian, Lycian and the rest of the Luwic dialects. I refrain from offering an exhaustive treatment of this subject because I consider it to be more realistic, and also more illustrative, to focus on a reduced, but very meaningful set of traits that clearly establish the Anatolian—and particularly Luwic—character of Carian.

Beginning with phonology, a good indication that Carian belongs to Anatolian is the preservation of the PIE laryngeal *h₂, a trait that differentiates Anatolian—from the exception of Lydian—from other Indo-European languages. As shown in Chapter 6, in Carian (and also in Lycian and Milyan) this PIE laryngeal becomes a tectal stop (lenited in some positions, at least in Lycian and Milyan), in contrast to Hittite and Luwian, where it appears as a (velar?) fricative (Hitt. CLuw. ⟨h⟩, HLuw. ⟨h⟩). The examples are taken from onomastic materials, but they seem convincing: pikʷ/bikʷ in piks, dbiks, pikre (Πγρης), all from PIE *bh₂h₂- vs. CLuw. pihʷ (see p. 337), quq = Lyc. xuga, ‘grandfather’, vs. CLuw. hüha-.

Specifically Luwic is the satem treatment of the PIE palatal voiceless stop *k (CLuw., HLuw. ⟨z⟩, Lyc., Myl. s, against k used elsewhere
in Anatolian). Evidence for this treatment in Carian (> s) is provided by the demonstrative pronoun s(a)−: sa, san, snn, comparable to CLuw., HLuw. za− vs. Hitt. ka−. We can also consider as Luwic the loss of PIE *gw in (i)bʰ = CLuw. im(ma)ra/i− ‘open country’, against its preservation in Hitt. gim(ma)ra− (< PA *gēmro−).

In derivational morphology, a remarkable trait that once again situates Carian in the Luwic subgroup is the presence of an ethnic suffix -yn/-ŷn-, easily interpretable as the Carian counterpart of Luwian -wanni-, HLuw. -wani-, Lyc. -ũni, Mil. -wůni-.

In inflectional morphology we can also identify the ‘i-Mutation’, i.e. the insertion of -i− (probably from PIE *-ih2-) before the ending (replacing the thematic vowel if this exists) in the nominative and accusative singular and plural of the common gender nouns, a widespread phenomenon in the Luwic subgroup. It is true that this -i− does not appear as a result of the apparently defective vowel notation in Carian,1 but its effects can be detected in the umlaut displayed by the vowel of the preceding syllable in the word ted, ‘father’, for which an original a can be postulated, therefore *tadi− > *tedi− > ted− (cf. Lyd. taada− ‘father’ vs. Lyc. tedi− ‘id.’, also with umlaut). Another possible example of ‘i-Mutation’ can be considered for the Carian genitive -š, if we accept Melchert’s very plausible etymological explanation (from the possessive *-asso−, in fact an ‘i-mutated’ form of the possessive *-asso−).

Melchert’s explanation of -š also implies that Carian employed this sigmatic adjectival suffix to build nominal complements, which represents another clearly Luwic feature of Carian: it is in these languages (Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, Lycian) that we find this suffix used as a replacement for the inherited genitive endings, either in all cases or in the great majority, depending on the dialect.

Other Carian case endings are equally consistent with this theory. While the acc. sg. -n informs us merely of the IE character of Carian (-n < PIE *-m), the common gender acc. pl. -š, if really indicative of a *-ns origin (as the preservation of the sibilant seems to suggest, vs. its loss when it comes from *-iš in the nom. sg.), allows us to see the proximity of Carian to Luwic: *-i−ns is the ac. pl. c. ending behind CLuw. -inz, HLuw. <-iža> (= /inz/), Lyc. -iš, Mil. -iž. The presence of the Carian palatoalveolar (?) sibilant -š, instead of simple dental -s,

1 Regarding this problem, see above pp. 238–242.