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ИНСТИТУТ НАРОДОВ АЗИИ

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S U M M A R I E S

ON SLAVERY IN THE HITTITE KINGDOM

Slavery in Hatti is to be considered as the main factor defining the character of the Hittite social organisation.

I. The sources of slavery in Hatti were: a) war, b) insolvency, c) punishment for some kinds of crime, d) trade, e) marriage with a slave, f) theft or kidnapping.

The phrase parnassea suwaizzi cannot be interpreted as an indication of a special source of slavery, for it only means that the offender delivered his composition directly to the house of the victim of the offence.

We must distinguish hereditary, life-long and temporary slavery.

2. The slave in Hatti was the property of his master who could kill him at will; the slave could be bought or sold or accepted as compensation for an inflicted damage. The provisions of the Hittite Laws stipulating punishment for the murder or mutilation of a slave aim not at the protection of his life, but rather at safeguarding the property of the slave-owner.

The responsibility for a crime perpetrated by a slave was borne, as a rule, by his master.

But the slave preserved some elements of legal personality and could figure in certain (very limited) cases as a subject of law.

3. Hittite society knew three categories of slaves, viz. state slaves, temple slaves and private slaves.

The state slaves who represented the bulk of the enslaved population of Hatti were under the authority of the "Seal-house" (Ī R É.Z Á) or of the governors (Ī R D U M U.L U G A L). The "Seal-house" (É.Z Á) was the administration of the crown lands and settlements and all the royal property (movable and immovable) on the territory of Hatti proper. The same functions were carried out by king's deputies in conquered areas.

The term N A M.R A denoted people captured in war (including appantes, i.e. prisoners of war taken as combatants). Later on the term N A M.R A obtained apparently a social meaning and denoted a slave captured in war, a foreign slave.

The organisation twikkanz united the state slaves hipparas who were employed mainly in work of state importance (construction of roads, fortifications, building of palaces, temples and possibly also irrigation works).

Apart from this, among the state slaves there were farmers (LÚ.MEŠ^š U R U₄.L A L), shepherds (LÚ.MEŠ^š S I P A.G U D and LÚ.MEŠ^š S I P A.U D U), artisans (LÚ.MEŠ^š BE-EL QA-TI), maid-servants (LÚ^{AMĀ}TU), warriors (LÚ.MEŠ^š sarikuwas?), concubines, etc.

The position of the temple slaves differed apparently very little from that of the slaves belonging to the king.

The law did not interfere, as a rule, with the relations between the slave and his private owner.

4. The class struggle in Hatti had both a passive form (flight from the master) and an active one (insurrection).

I. M. DUNAJEVSKAJA

PRINCIPLES OF THE VERBAL STRUCTURE
IN HATTIC (PROTO-HITTITE)

The interpretation of the Hattic verb meets with considerable difficulties. The unilingual texts defy so far all attempts at their interpretation. The Hattic versions of the Hat-

tic-Nesite bilingual texts are somewhat easier to approach but they also remain obscure in many respects.

As a result of the analysis of the Hattic-Nesite bilingual texts by E.Forrer, J.Friedrich, E.Laroche, A.Kammenhuber and others the sense of about 150 Hattic words has been made clear, among them ca. 30 verbs and some verbal affixes have been identified. In this paper some additional interpretations of verbal stems are proposed.

The analysis of Hattic verbal forms shows that both prefixes and suffixes may be present in them. The prefixed part may consist of one or several prefixes. The suffixed part is less transparent. It seems to consist of no more than two suffixes (possibly, but seldom, more). The function of the suffixes remains obscure. The prefixes are predominant, most verbal forms having no suffixes. Verbal forms without prefixes are rare.

In this paper, on the basis of the confrontation of different verbal forms with prefixes (mostly taken from bilingual texts, although unilingual texts are also made use of), it is shown that the prefixes occupy certain constant places in a more or less regular chain-order in relation to one another and to the verbal stem. According to their place in the chain, seven groups of prefixes can be identified. In each individual verbal form not more than two or three groups are usually represented, which tends to confuse the picture.

The prefixes can be classed into several types: 1) consonant +vowel+consonant (only prefixes of negation); 2) consonant+vowel; 3) vowel+consonant. (In these last the quality of the vowel depends in many cases on the vowel of the preceding cuneiform sign and may thus be left out of account as having no independent phonetic significance. On the other hand, one cannot be sure that the vowel of the prefixes is in all cases devoid of significance being dependant solely on its graphic or, at best, its phonetic surroundings. Some prefixes display a cer-

tain constancy in their vowels); 4) in a few cases where the vowel does not seem to depend on the peculiarities of cuneiform writing a prefix consisting of one vowel only may perhaps be identified.

In the other prefixes the bearer of the main sense is the consonant which (as it seems, and as in the case of the prefix of negation it can be proved by bilingual texts) may be combined with any vowel. So far it is difficult to ascertain if these vowels have a grammatical value, and if they have, what that value may be. In some cases it is even hard to decide if the combinations of one particular consonant with different vowels represent one prefix or several.

The analysis of bilingual texts shows the following values of some of the prefixes to be the most probable: t+vowel+š (i.e. taš-, teš-, tiš-, tuš-) - negation (possibly this is not a prefix but a separate particle); te-, tu- - mood; h- and probably n- - object (possibly also subject of the [intransitive?/ verb]); š- (i.e. -aš-, -eš-, -iš-, -uš-) - possibly number of the object (plural); ta-, še-, ka- - locative and dimensional prefixes.

Taking into consideration the order of the prefixes according to their respective groups, we may provisionally identify the value of the different prefixal groups of the Hattic verb (the first group is the one nearest to the verbal stem):

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Negation	Mood		Object (also subject?)	Locative	?	Object (also subject?)
<u>taš-</u> , <u>teš-</u> etc.	<u>te-</u> , <u>tu-</u>	<u>-te-</u> , <u>-tu-</u>	<u>-h-</u> , <u>-š-</u> , <u>-pi?</u> , <u>-wa?</u>	<u>-ta-</u> , <u>-za-</u> , <u>-ka-</u> , <u>-ša-</u> ? <u>-še-</u> , <u>-ši-</u> ?	<u>-a-</u> , <u>-ya-</u>	<u>-h-</u> , <u>-n-</u>

The chain-principle in the order of the prefix groups in the Hattic verb has a great structural similarity to the correspon-

ding principle in Caucasian languages, for instance, in Adyghean (Circassian)¹; it is not impossible that a genetic affinity will ulteriorly be found to exist. The problem should be taken up by specialists in Caucasian linguistics.

G. G. GIORGADZE

ON THE LOCALIZATION AND THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF THE ETHNIC
AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OF THE KASKEANS

The localization of the "Upper Country" is of great importance in the determination of the position of the eastern and southeastern regions of the Kaskean territory. The "Upper Country" covered an area extending from the Southeast regions of modern Tokat and the environs of modern Sivas to Erzincan. The southern regions of the "Upper Country" reached apparently the line Delikli-taş - Divrik.

By the name "Upper Country" the Hittites occasionally designated all the "countries" (tribes) and different points situated to the Northeast of the Hittites. In such cases the name "Upper Country" was used in its broad sense. This term was also used in a narrower sense, designating one specific region (province) - the "Upper Country" proper. In the vast territory of the "Upper Country" (in the broad sense of the term) were situated many settlements, most of which formed the tribal union of the Kaskeans. Among the important regions of this area should be mentioned: the "country" Tipija, situated in the immediate

¹ A chain of prefixes which can be classed into groups according to their place in relation to the stem, two and more groups for prefixes of object, change of the order of the groups according to voice or transitivity of the verb are among the similarities.

neighbourhood of Azzi-Haiasa, Kathaidduxa (the border between Tipiia and Azzi-Haiasa ran along the line Kemah - Brzincan, - along the Karasu river, to the west of which Tipiia was situated); the "countries" Istitina, Kannuyara, Zazzisa (at the site of Zimarra, south of Tipiia), Haspina, Parduqata, Takkumita (west of Tipiia), Kathariia, Gazzapa (not far from the region of modern Kemah, approximately in the environs of modern Kemis), Turmitta (in the upper valley of the Halys river, in the environs of modern Sivas), Halila, Dudduska - "the main countries" of the Kaskeans (westward of Turmitta), Tuhuppiia and many others.

In the extreme Southeast of the Kaskean territory were apparently situated Piggainaressa and Iyahressa (northward from modern Kangal, roughly on the line Delikli-taş - Divrik) These two points were connected by a long military road which started in Harana (Arana of Ptolemaeus, on the ancient route Melitene - Sebasteia) and, running through many townships, ended in Hattusa.

In the central part of the Kaskean territory were situated Gazziura, which is usually located near modern Turhal, Kurustama (to the Southeast of Gazziura), Taskuriia (east of Gazziura), etc.; Timmuhala (Southeast of modern Tokat), in the direction toward Gazzapa) and a number of townships around it were possibly connected with the "Upper Country". The road, starting in Timmuhala, joined at Hurna (at the site of modern Kavalk) the road which, starting in the western regions of the Kaskeans, reached the Marassantiia (the upper Halys). Among the largest provinces of the western area of the Kaskean territory should be mentioned the "country" Ishupitta (westward of Gazziura, approximately at the site of modern Amasya), Pishuru (south of Amasya), which was immediately connected with Palhuissa (the regions south of Amasya), the "country" Taggasta (near modern Marsivan), the "country" of the Kummesmaha river (either the Kelkit-irmak or the Jeşil-irmak) and many others.

The endings of the Kaskean geographical names reveal a certain similarity with those of the geographical names of Asia Minor of the Hittite period in general. The suffixes -anda, -ija, -ka (-ga), -na, -pa, -ra, -sa, -ssa, -ya (-uya), -ta (itta < inta < nd < t), etc., which occur in the Kaskean onomastics, correspond to the endings of the geographical names of ancient Asia Minor, viz. -ija, -ka, -na, -pa, -ra, -s, -ss (-σσ-), -ya, (-uya), -t [-at, -it, -ut and, as a result of nasalisation, -ant (-anda), -int (-inta), -unt (-unta)]], etc. Kaskean onomastics have preserved all the suffixes familiar in the nomenclature of Asia Minor of the Hittite period. A number of Kaskean geographical names contain some prefixes attested in Hattic, e.g. the nominal prefix aš-, the prefixes ha-, ti-, the plural prefix le-, etc.

Some features of the Kaskean names show definite Hattic characteristics, e.g. the use of -n as a mark of the Genitive, the formation of feminine names(?) by the element -h, the absence of r in the beginning of a word, etc. The root-reduplication attested in the Cappadocian tablets and Hattic texts often occurs in Kaskean names.

The major part of the Kaskean geographical names represent derivatives of Hattic words. The name Kaska itself may be etymologically interpreted on the basis of Hattic kasku "moon".

All this may be accounted for, if we assume that the Kaskean territory was inhabited by tribes closely related to the aboriginal population of ancient Hatti.

TH. V. GAMKRELIDZE

THE CONSONANTAL SHIFT (LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG)
IN HITTITE (NESITE)

The system of obstruents in Hittite differs considerably from that which can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. .

It is a well established fact that Hittite phonemes resulting from IE voiceless plosives were denoted by doubling the sign for the corresponding consonant where the cuneiform syllabary made it possible.

The double writing of a consonant indicates, according to E.H. Starkevant, lack of voice. The distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives was represented, in his opinion, by single and double writing of a consonant. This conclusion is based on the fact that the phonemes representing IE voiced plosives and voiced aspirates were consistently written single. The signs for voiced and voiceless plosives were interchanged without any regularity. This law, however, does not hold when we consider how the reflexes of voiced plosive plus laryngeal are represented in the Hittite cuneiform script. The clusters of voiced plosive plus laryngeal yield in Hittite phonemes represented by double writing of the corresponding consonant. Thus the reflexes of the clusters of voiced (and voiceless) plosive plus laryngeal patterned in the orthographic system of Hittite just as the phonemes resulting from the corresponding IE voiceless plosives. This conflicting evidence in representing IE voiced plosives is best accounted for, if we assume the phonemic identity of the reflexes of IE voiceless plosives in Hittite with the phonemes resulting from the clusters of corresponding IE voiced and voiceless plosives plus laryngeal. On the other hand, we cannot assume that the clusters of voiced and voiceless plosives plus laryngeal produced pure voiceless plosives in Hittite. The fact is that IE $*\underline{t}$ plus laryngeal yields in Hittite a phoneme which is not subject to assibilation before \underline{i} or \underline{e} , while the phoneme representing pure voiceless plosive $*\underline{t}$ becomes $[\underline{ts}]$ in this position. This fact can only be accounted for on the assumption that the cluster of $*\underline{t}$ plus laryngeal yielded in Hittite a phoneme which was phonetically different from the pure voiceless plosive $[\underline{t}]$. Otherwise it would have necessarily become $[\underline{ts}]$ before the palatal vowels, for the

law of assibilation was still operating in Hittite after the fusion of laryngeals with preceding plosives.

One of the main ideas of the laryngeal theory is the origin of the Indo-Iranian voiceless aspirates from the clusters of corresponding voiceless plosives plus laryngeal. The same holds true for Indo-Iranian voiced aspirates which in some forms must be analysed as the reflexes of IE voiced plosives plus laryngeal. The same development of the clusters of plosives plus laryngeal may be assumed for Hittite. This can account for the lack of assibilation in the phoneme [ʔh] resulting from the cluster of ^ht plus laryngeal. The aspiration of [ʔh] prevented its assibilation.

The identity in the representation of the reflexes of IE voiceless plosives and the phonemes resulting from the clusters of IE plosives plus laryngeal necessitate the inference that the IE voiceless plosives yielded in Hittite corresponding aspirates.

In some Hittite forms the voiceless velar spirant [h] represents IE ^hk and ^hk̂. Such a development of IE ^hk, ^hk̂ in Hittite is due not to palatalization of these IE phonemes as formerly explained, but to the shift of IE ^hk, ^hk̂ in Hittite to the aspirate [kh] which yielded in some cases the voiceless velar spirant [h]. To the aspirated character of [kh] is due the alternation of the signs for k/g and h attested in Hittite.

The Egyptian transliteration of Hittite names as well as the representation of foreign words in Hittite suggest the voicelessness of the phonemes written single. This assumption accounts for the fact that the pairs t:d, p:b, k:g are frequently interchanged in writing without any distinction between them. IE voiced plosives coincided in Hittite with IE voiced aspirates. Hittite distinguishes only between IE voiceless plosives, which produced corresponding aspirates, and IE voiced plosives and voiced aspirates which yielded corresponding voiceless plosives. The correlation of IE obstruents 'voiceless : voiced : (voiced) aspirates' changed in Hittite to the correlation 'aspirates : non-aspirates'. The

three-plosive system of Proto-Indo-European was reduced in Hittite to a two-plosive system in which the pairs of obstruents were differentiated by aspiration.

The shift of IE voiceless plosives to corresponding aspirates must be assigned to the period of independent development of Hittite, as this process was antedated by the assibilation of ^ht, this being a feature peculiar to Hittite. It follows that the consonantal shift operated independently in Hittite. This conclusion is supported by the different development of ^hdi and ^hti in Hittite as opposed to the development of these sequences in related Anatolian languages.

The consonantal shift may have originated in Hittite under the influence of Hattic which did not distinguish between voiced and voiceless plosives. The Hattic substratum caused the loss of aspiration and voice in IE voiced aspirates and voiced plosives. This process resulted in a shift of voiceless plosives to corresponding aspirates in the phonemic system of Hittite, owing to the tendency of the language to preserve the inherited system of correlation of IE obstruents.

x x x

The conclusion that double writing of a plosive designates the corresponding aspirate poses the question as to the origin of this method of indicating aspiration in the Hittite cuneiform script.

The Hittite syllabary must be traced back to a form which antedates the Old Babylonian script. Certain similarities between the Hittite and Hurrian syllabary lead some scholars to the conclusion that the Hittites borrowed the Hurrian system of writing and modified it to suit the requirements of their language. This assumption, however, involves certain difficulties of an orthographic-phonetic and chronological character. Some features of the Hittite syllabary cannot be accounted for, if we assume the Hurrian origin of the Hittite script. On the other hand, these

difficulties can be overcome on the assumption that the Hittite script is a direct adaptation of an Akkadian system of writing which goes back to the Old Akkadian syllabary.

The most probable source of the Hittite script seems to be the Akkadian system of writing which spread in Northern Syria at the end of the IIIrd millennium B.C. Common features of the Hittite script and the Akkadian writing from Alalakh (characteristic peculiarities in the writing of sibilants, absence of the signs for emphatics, indiscriminate use of the signs for voiced and voiceless plosives, etc.), as well as chronological considerations, lead to the conclusion that the Hittite system of writing was borrowed from the Akkadian of Northern Syria in the beginning of the IIrd millennium B.C.

As the Akkadian syllabary of Northern Syria failed to distinguish between a voiced plosive and its voiceless counterpart, the two series of obstruents in Hittite (aspirates : non-aspirates) could not be differentiated by the signs for voiced and voiceless plosives respectively (or vice versa). Under such circumstances double writing of a plosive was used as a means to designate the aspirate which is characterized phonetically by a more intense and prolonged articulation as compared with the corresponding non-aspirate.

In the Hurrian syllabary, which apparently goes back to the same source, the double writing of a plosive was used, independently of Hittite, to differentiate between a voiceless plosive and its voiced counterpart.

V. V. IVANOV

ON THE HISTORY OF SOME INDO-EUROPEAN WORDS IN CUNEIFORM HITTITE

In the present article some Hittite words of Indo-European origin are studied in their relation to non-Indo-European ele-

ments of the Hittite vocabulary. The article consists of two parts. The first one is consecrated to the semantic field of "dream" in the Hittite language. Methods of internal reconstruction are applied to Hittite šuppariḫa- "to sleep" and other words of the same type to show that šuppariḫa- was formed from a heteroclytic noun. This hypothesis is supported by comparison with other Indo-European languages. It is suggested that the old Indo-European heteroclytic name for "dream" must have disappeared in the Hittite language after the Hattic ("Proto-Hittite") word zaš(z)ḫi-/teša- "dream" had been borrowed. The Hattic origin of the word is proved by phonetic analysis (cf. the Hattic name of a god Tašapuna - , Zašapuna - , Zaḫpuna - with a similar phonetic structure). Since many Hittite sacral terms are Hattic loanwords, the borrowing of the word teša-/zašḫi- may be connected with the religious significance of the word used in different Hittite texts as a designation for the "dream as a revelation of the will of gods". After the old name for "dream" had disappeared other words of the same root (^hswep-, ^hsup-) were rarely used. Instead of them the Hittite verb šeš- (originally meaning "to be quiet", cf. Vedic saṣ-) and cognate words became the normal terms for the notion "to sleep". Thus the borrowing of the Hattic word led to transformation of the whole semantic field of "dream" in the Hittite language.

The second part of the article is consecrated to Hittite words formed from the base ^hd₁-eu-. Anatolian ^hd₁u-ot "the Sun-god, god of daylight" found in Cuneiform Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian and Palaic is cognate to Old Indian dyut "shine". The identity of the Hittite compound aššu-ḫiḫatt- "good day" and Vedic su-dyut is particularly significant. The old meaning of Hittite words formed from the root ^hdei- may have been preserved in the Urartean loanword šiuini "Sun-god", cf. Hittite šiu(i)- "god", šiyatt- "day", Luwian Tiyatt- "Sun-god", Palaic Tiḫaz "Sun-god". The meaning of Hittite šiyatt- shifted to the general

notion of "day" because as a special religious term for the "Sun-god" the Hattic loanword Ištanuš is used. The shift in meaning was reflected in the change of the gender. The Old Anatolian *dīu-ot was a noun of the animated gender. The gender of the noun was in accordance with the mythological conceptions, cf. Luwian tatiš tiḡas "the father Sun-god". After the Hattic name of the Sun-god Eštan > Ištan(uš) had been borrowed by the Hittite language the word šī₄att "day" tended to become a noun of the inanimate (neutral) gender.

I. M. DIAKONOFF

HITTITES, PHRYGIANS AND ARMENIANS

The question of the origin of the Armenians and the Armenian language belongs to the most intricate problems of the history of Transcaucasia. The difficulty consists in the fact that the territory of the Indo-European Armenian language was surrounded by territories of Caucasian languages and has been formerly occupied by speakers of Hurrian and Urartean. Thus it is obvious that the original speakers of the Armenian language must have been newcomers in this area. It has to be shown, when and how they arrived there.

G.A.Kapantsian has developed a theory according to which the Armenians, or Hay-kh, are descended from the inhabitants of the country of Hayasa mentioned in Hittite texts as situated in the region south of Erzincan. But the onomastic and toponymic material from Hayasa has, on the evidence of G.A.Kapantsian himself, no connection with the Indo-European Armenian language. On the other hand, the latter does not belong to the Old Anatolian or to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. It has been suggested that the Indo-European Armenian language belongs to a Thraco-Phrygian branch; this is also the opinion of the author. It is corroborated by the following evidence:

I.-E. ē;ō;ā > Thr. e, ie; u, iu; a; Phr. e (ī?); u (ū?);
a (ā?); Arm. i;u;a; I.-E. p;t;d Thr. p,ph; t,th; t; Phr. p,ph;

t, th; t; Arm. h, w (< ^hph); th, h; t; I.-E. bh; dh > Thr., Phr., Arm. b; d; I.-E. k'; g'; g'h > Thr., Phr. s (\int); z (δ); Arm. s; c; dz; ('z' in Thracian and Phrygian may be the transcription of an affricate); I.-E. k^w; g^w; g^wh Thr. k (kh?); g; Phr. k?; b (< ^kg^w); g; Arm. kh; k (< ^kk^w, g^w); g, dž; etc. Phrygian otu 'eight' < ^hottō and Armenian uth < ^hotō < ^hottō are also a common trait of these two languages opposed to all other I.-E. forms of the word 'eight' which reflect a prototype ^hok'tō. Cp. also the evolution of the initial s > h > 0 in Phrygian and in Armenian, and other similar phenomena.

The identical reflections of several I.-E. phonemes in Thracian, Phrygian and Armenian constitute a system, while similarities in the reflexion of the same I.-E. phonemes between any one of these languages and other Indo-European languages are sporadic.

On the other hand, the Armenian language could not have been an offspring of Phrygian, though both languages must have had a common origin; there are, for instance, different reflexions of I.-E. k^w in Phrygian (b) and in Armenian (k).

The augment e- is found only in Greek, Phrygian and Armenian (and, in the form a-, in Indo-Iranian).

The declension of the noun has some similar traits in the Anatolian languages and in Armenian (Dative: Anat. -iya, Arm. -i, -y < ^h-iya; Genitive: Arm. -ç < ^h-sk, which is originally an ending of possessive adjectives; cp. the loss of the Genitive and its replacement by an ending of possessive adjectives in all Anatolian languages with the exception of Hittite-Nesite). But generally the declension of the noun in Armenian is different from the Anatolian type. What the declension of Thracian and Phrygian nouns was like we do not know, apart from the fact that they retained the old Genitive -os and the Dative -e, -i; the Armenian forms of these two cases are obviously an innovation.

Our knowledge of Thracian and Phrygian vocabulary is very limited, so it is no wonder that we can find but few words common to these two languages and the Armenian language, which has lost a great part of its original I.-E. vocabulary. Still, we recognize the Armenian words hayr 'father' (< ^hphatir), mayr 'mother' (< ^hmathir), ēš 'ass' (< ^hesw), dĕrm 'hot' (< germ-) sayl 'two-wheeled cart', the verbal roots ber- 'to bear' and tu- (in tu-r-kh 'a present') - 'to give, to present' in the Phrygian (and Mysian) p(h)ater-, mater-, matar-, in the Thracian esb 'horse', in the Thracian and Phrygian germ- 'hot', in the Phrygian satilla 'chariot' and ber- 'to bear' and (according to D. Dečev) in the Thracian tō-/tū- 'to give'. In the Anatolian languages all these roots (with the exception of the Lycian¹ esb 'horse', perhaps borrowed) are absent or phonetically divergent. According to G.A. Kapantsian, several deities were common to Armenians and Phrygians.

Thraco-Phrygian tribes were unknown to Hittite documents of the II^d millenium B.C., but the Phrygians arrived in central Asia Minor at some time after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom; in the VIIIth century B.C. a Phrygian kingdom was here prospering; a number of inscriptions has come down to us. The Greek tradition that the Phrygians were originally a Thracian tribe, and that the Armenians spoke a language similar to Phrygian, is well known. The Assyrian and Urartean documents call the Phrygians Muški. It is commonly thought that the term is identical with the Greek Μοσχολί and the Georgian mesx- (name of a Georgian tribe). But the identity of ethnic terms does not necessarily imply identity of language, as can be shown by several examples, and there is no evidence of a Georgian language in the area of the habitation of the Muški.

¹ The phonetically different word for 'horse' in Hieroglyphic Hittite (ašuwās) cannot, of course, be the prototype of Arm. ēš.

There are two groups of these latter mentioned in cuneiform documents: one, to the east of the Taurus, is mentioned by the inscriptions of the VIIIth and the VIIth centuries B.C. and is evidently identical with the Phrygians. The other, mentioned by the inscriptions of the XII-IXth centuries, inhabited since the beginning of the XIIth century a region on the Euphrates north of the sources of the Tigris, and probably lived also, together with the 'Hieroglyphic Hittites', in the different districts of Armenia Minor. The reason why this group of the Muški does not appear in the inscriptions after the IXth century is probably that the major part of them was incorporated in the kingdom of Urartu after 800 B.C., and the others were indiscriminately called 'Hittites' by the Assyrians and the Urartians.

There are good reasons to think that the Armenians must have existed as a separate ethnic unit in Armenia Minor and in the western part of Armenia Major before the VIth century B.C., when we for the first time meet with the name 'Armenians' in the inscriptions. These Pre-Armenians may be provisionally identified with the eastern group of the Muški. Thus, the speakers of the Pre-Armenian language arrived on the upper Euphrates in the beginning of the XII century B.C., being the first wave of the Thracio-Phrygian infiltration into Asia Minor, of which the Bithynians were the last.

This does not imply, however, that the present day Armenians are direct descendants of the older group of the Muški; physically and culturally they are the descendants of the Hurrians and Urartians, who must have changed their language in the course of the VII-V centuries B.C.

The name Hay-kh, by which the Armenians now designate themselves, is derived from ḫathios, ḫathyos, a rendering of ḫati-, 'Hittite', a name given by the population of Urartu to the inhabitants of Armenia Minor. A similar change of name has given origin to the ethnic designation 'French'.

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE HURRIAN
AND URARTEAN LANGUAGES

After the work done in this field by several eminent Western and Soviet scholars the affinity between Hurrian and Urartean can raise no doubt. This paper aims at giving a first provisional survey of these two languages from the point of view of comparative grammar.

1. The phonetic values of the cuneiform renderings of Urartean sounds can be ascertained by a comparison of Akkadian, Armenian and Greek transcriptions of Urartean proper names. The main difference between Hurrian and Urartean in their phonetic structure lies in the system of plosives. While Hurrian distinguishes only 'single' and 'double' plosives (or, possibly, aspirated and non-aspirated plosives), Urartean distinguishes voiced, 'emphatic' and voiceless plosives. The author puts forward a hypothesis according to which the parent language of Hurrian and Urartean knew voiced, 'emphatic' and voiceless plosives both in a 'single' and a 'double' (respectively aspirated and non-aspirated) variant.

This hypothesis and some other deliberations have allowed the author to reconstruct the following scheme of phonetic correspondences between Hurrian and Urartean:

2. The five main vowels a, e, i, o, u are identical in Hurrian and Urartean, but in some cases (mostly in a final position) the vowels are reduced to -ə (written 'i') in Urartean. On the other hand, Urartean retains some final vowels lost in Hurrian (mostly in morphological elements).

3. The correspondence between consonants can be represented as follows: (see p. 599).

The Hurrian semivowels ɨ, ʉ (or y, w) correspond to identical phonemes in Urartean, but in the latter 'w' is dropped between vowels; the hiatus may be filled up by a 'y' (Hurr. sawala 'year', Ur. šale; Hurr. tiwe-, tiwa- 'word', Ur. ti-, tiya- 'to say').

Plosives:

Parent language: p p pp p̄ pp̄ b b bb t t tt t̄ tt̄ d d dd k k kk k̄ kk̄ g gg
 Urartean: p p̄ p̄ p̄ b b̄ b̄ t t̄ t̄ t̄ d d̄ k k̄ y(g) y(gg)
 Hurrian: p/b pp p/b pp p/b pp t/d tt t/d tt t/d tt k/g kk k/g kk̄

h?

Fricatives, etc.

Urartean: b [=v] m s z s [=s] š [=s] l l r n h h ʃ
 Hurrian: ff v m,mm s [=ts] z zz? šš z ll l r,rr n,nn hh ʃ

(The correspondence Hurr. z = Ur. z [=dz?] and Hurr. zz = Ur. s is dubious).

The 'w' is retained in Urartean in the Genitive and Dative ending of the Plural (-a-wə) but lost in the Singular, where the ending becomes -yə after a vowel.

On the basis of this reconstruction of phonetic correspondences between Hurrian and Urartean, the comparative morphology of the two languages can now be considered.

4. The structure of the noun-stem is identical in Hurrian and Urartean. The stem may be extended by certain modifying elements, basically identical in both languages. The suffixes of the adjectives (Hurr. -ohje, -hje, -je, -ne, -ae; Ur. -uhə, -hə, -(i)ne, -a(y)e), and the suffix of the abstract noun (Hurr. -še, Ur. -še) are also identical.

5. The plural of the noun is in Hurrian indicated by the element -až-, which survives in Urartean only in the plural of the Allative case (Ur. -ašte, Hurr. -až-ta). In Urartean there exists a separate form of the noun stem for the Plural (ending in -a). The Plural of the 'Absolute' case is in Urartean indicated by the ending -lə added to the noun stem of the Singular (or collective); this ending is identical with the Hurrian predicative pronoun of the 3d person Singular -lla.

6. The declension of the noun, apart from a few case-forms peculiar to each of the two languages, is identical in both:

	Hurrian	Urartean
Ergative	<u>-š</u>	<u>-še</u>
Absolute	-	-
Genitive	<u>-we</u>	<u>-(y)e</u> (Pl. <u>-wə</u>)
Dative	<u>-wa</u>	<u>-(y)e</u> (Pl. <u>-wə</u>)
Locative	<u>-(y)a</u>	<u>-a</u>
Stative	<u>-a</u>	<u>-a</u>
Allative	<u>-t/da</u>	replaced by <u>-edi</u> , which is in Hurrian a separate particle. Plural <u>-aš-te</u>

7. The Hurrian relative particle -ne- is also known in Urartean, although in a more limited use (mostly in the Absolute case).

8. The structure of the verb is identical in both languages. It consists of a chain of elements, including 1) the verbal stem with modifying elements (the latter identical in both languages);

2) indicators of tense or aspect: Hurr. -ed- (transitive verbs), -ed-t- (intransitive verbs) for the imperfective aspect, -oē- (transitive verb), -oē-t- (intransitive verb) for the perfective; Ur. -(i/e)d- for the imperfective aspect, no indicator for the perfective (-uš- and, probably, -št- as survival); 3) indicators of transitivity and intransitivity (Hurr. -i- and -o- or -u- respectively; Ur. -u- and -a- or -o- respectively); 4) indicators of negation or affirmation (or iteration?); absent in Urartean; 5) indicators of mood, first group: Hurr. -l-, also -r-, -n-; Ur. -l-; 6) indicators of mood, second group: Hurr. -ewa-, -ae-, Ur. -i/eye-, -a(i)-; 7) indicators of the subject of the intransitive verb (Hurr. 1 p. Sg. -tta, 3 p. Sg. -o, 1 p. Pl. -t/dilla, 3 p. Pl. -lla; Ur. 1 p. Sg. -de, 3 p. Sg. -be or -o, 3 p. Pl. -le) or of the subject of the transitive verb. There are two series of pronominal elements expressing the subject of the transitive verb: Series I for the indicative mood, Series II for Imperative, the unreal moods and for the negative and affirmative (iterative) forms.

The object of the transitive verb is in Hurrian expressed by detachable pronominal particles identical with the pronominal elements of the subject of the intransitive verb (3 p. Sg. is -en); in Urartean they are fused with the pronominal elements of the subject of the transitive verb into one morphological complex:

Series I:

	1 p. Sg.	3 p. Sg.	1 p. Pl.	3 p. Pl.
Hurrian	<u>-aff</u> (or <u>-av</u>)	<u>-i(y)a</u> , <u>-a</u>	<u>-av-za</u>	?
Urartean: (no object)	<u>-bi</u> [<u>-va</u>]	(not in use)	<u>-(v)-ša</u>	<u>-ito^x</u>
(object 3p.Sg.)	(no objective particle)	<u>-ne</u>	?	<u>-ito-ne</u>
(object 3p.Pl.)	<u>-w-le</u>	<u>-a-le</u>	?	<u>-ito-le</u>

x) This form belongs originally to Series II.

Series II:

	1 p. Sg.	3 p. Sg.	3 p. Pl.
Hurrian	<u>-e/i</u> , <u>-o^x</u>	<u>(-en)^{xx}</u> , 0	<u>-ido-...(-en)za</u>
Urartean (no object)	<u>-i/e</u>	<u>-i/ene</u>	?
(object 3p.Sg.)	<u>-i/e-ne</u>	<u>-i/ene-ne</u>	<u>-(i)t-ene-ne</u>
(object 3p.Pl.)	<u>-ne</u> ? <u>-le</u>	?	?

x) Verbal forms with the suffixes -ewa, -ae have no subject-elements in the Singular.

xx) The suffix -en is originally an objective suffix.

9. It can also be shown with some degree of certainty that the system of moods is identical in both languages.

10. The same applies to the pronominal system and to several other grammatical categories.

11. New translations of some obscure passages in Urartean texts are proposed.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS FROM ARRAPHĀ IN THE COLLECTIONS
OF THE USSR

This paper is a publication of one hundred cuneiform tablets and fragments dating from the middle of the II millennium B.C. and originating from clandestine excavations at the old Hurrian sites of Arraphā (Kerkuk) and Nuzu (Yorghān-Tepe). The tablets are preserved at the Hermitage (Leningrad) and at the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow).

Beside hand-copies and transcription of all documents, twenty of the best-preserved documents are published in translation with commentary. Among the published documents there are 10 loans, 19 tidennūtu-deeds, 16 mārūtu-deeds, 2 mārtūtu-deeds, 2 aḫātūtu-deeds, 1 marriage-contract (riksu), 1 deed of barter (šupe'ultu), 7 records of lawsuits and 9 administrative documents.

The greater part of the documents belong to the second generation of the Arraphites. Of an especial interest are the documents from the archives of Wullu (No. I2, tidennūtu; No. No. 29, 32 mārūtu) and of his son Akawatil (No. 49, šupe'ultu) - a branch, residing at the metropolis, of the family of Puḫišenni, one of the greatest families of Arraphā and Nuzu. From two of these documents it is apparent that Akia, son of Turari, and Aršuliḫe, son of Puya, who acted habitually as witnesses to Wullu, were his debtors. The document No. 3, a receipt for a loan of 220 inērū of grain (> 11 tons), borrowed by the dintu (family community) Tukitilla from Paišeri, administrator of the estates of Wullu, shows the scope of the usurious activities of the Puḫišenni family. The document No. 1, originating from the archives of Šurkitilla, son of Teḫiptilla, indicates an interest of 30% on a loan of grain. This enables the author to consider the problem of the fluctuations of the rate of interest.

The document No.50 mentions a guarantee against the misuse of the ordeal by the contracting parties. The contents of No.5I, the record of a lawsuit, seems to be a controversy between creditor and debtor concerning the marking of the latter's son by the slave-brand (? - abbūti epēšū).

An introduction to the published documents gives a summary of the social structure of Hurrian Arrapha in connection with the legal practice. Viewing the society of Arrapha as a system of patriarchal family communities in the process of being disorganized by the rich slaveholders who acted by means of usury, the author arrives at an interpretation of the legal practice of Arrapha substantially differing from the interpretation of the legal practice of Arrapha proposed by other scholars.
