

233<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the  
American Oriental Society  
Los Angeles, March 10, 2023

PETRA M. GOEDEGEBUURE  
THE OI AND NELC

THE LUWIAN  
WORD FOR  
'CITY' AND THE  
'A<sub>5</sub>-LA-NU OAKS  
FROM ARMI

# INTRODUCTION

Trameri, A. 2019: 'Notes on the use of the sign URBS (L.225) in Anatolian Hieroglyphic,' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 46: 249-69

## Logosyllabic writing of 'city'



The variety of Luwian spoken in Hatti and later the polities of southern Anatolia and northern Syria (mid-14<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> c. BCE), was written in Anatolian Hieroglyphs, a logosyllabic writing system. In logosyllabic writing systems some words are never fully spelled out. One such lexeme is the Luwian word URBS 'city, town'. All that the texts show us is that URBS may be followed by the complement *-mi-na/i-* (Trameri 2019).



# ROADMAP: KARAHÖYÜK § I \*A-LA-MI-NÍ

Word misunderstood as /alaman-/ ‘name’

- Reject based on orthographic conventions

New proposal: /allamminna/i-/ ‘city’, \*/allammi-/ ‘fortification’, \*/alla-/ ‘strength’

- Based on orthographic conventions
- Contextual analysis
- Iconographic analysis of the logogram representing the lexeme
- Morphological analysis
- Detecting related roots in Luwian, Hittite, Eblaite, Akkadian
- Archaeobotany
- Historical linguistics



# LET'S GIVE THE COUNTS PER SPELLING VARIANT



Variant 1	/alaman/		'Variant 2' (K. §1)
<á>	46	0	<*a>
<la/i>	44	2	<la>
<ma>	46	0	<mi>



## <MI> VERSUS <MA>

Bauer, A., Sasseville, D., Steer, T. 2022: 'Proto-Anatolian  $*(h_1)lōmn̄/*(h_1)l̄mEn-$  (eDiAna-ID 1304)' eDiAna. (URL: <http://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1304>)

In old inscriptions <mi> also has value <ma>

- Did Bauer et al. test this for the inscription, KARAHÖYÜK, that shows  $*a-la-mi-n^o$ ? — Seems not.
- Problem! In 7 cases where we expect the value /mi/, we find <mi>
- And in 3 cases where we expect the value /ma/, we find <ma>

Conclusion: in our text <mi> is /mi/ and <ma> is /ma/, so ...  $*a-la-mi-n^o$  is *not* /alaman-/

## OTHER LEXEMES ENDING IN <-MI-NA/I->: URBS-MI-NA/I- 'CITY'!

'in the city'? URBS-*mi-nali-* ca. 35x

- § 1 Armanani, lord of the pithos-men, set up (this) stele **in (this) city (?)** before the Storm God of the land of POCULUM.PES.\*67 **in the name**
- § 2 When Great King Iri-Teššub came to the land of POCULUM.PES.\*67,
- § 3 he found **the city** desolate.

# ROADMAP

Word misunderstood as /alaman-/ ‘name’

- Reject based on orthographic conventions

New proposal: /allamminna/i-/ ‘city’, \*/allammi-/ ‘fortification’, \*/alla-/ ‘strength’

- Based on orthographic conventions
- Contextual analysis
- Iconographic analysis of the logogram representing the lexeme
- Morphological analysis
- Detecting related roots in Luwian, Hittite, Eblaite, Akkadian
- Archaeobotany
- Historical linguistics





# THE SYMBOL FOR URBS 'CITY':



Laroche, E. (1960), *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, p. 123

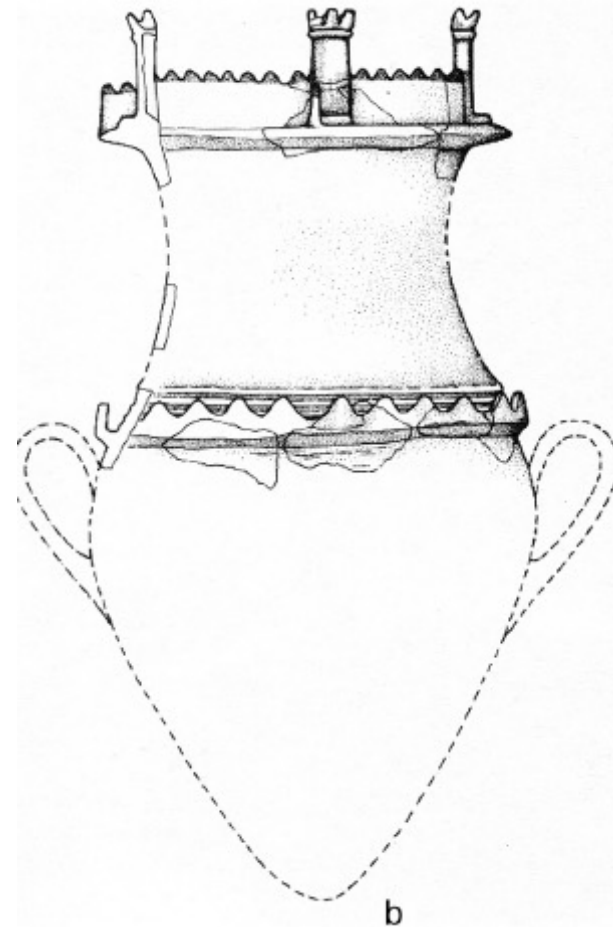
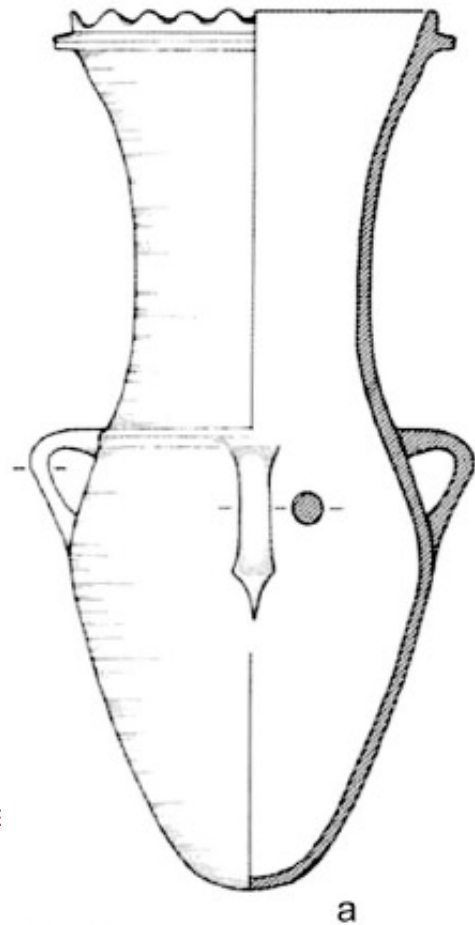
# 'OUTLINE OF A TOWER?'



THE SYMBOL FOR URBS 'CITY':



'OUTLINE OF A TOWER?'



# THE SYMBOL FOR URBS 'CITY': THE MERLON

Mielke, D.P. 2018: 'Hittite fortifications between function and symbolism' in A. Ballmer, M. Fernández-Götz, D.P. Mielke (eds), *Understanding Ancient Fortifications. Between Regionality and Connectivity*. Oxford - Philadelphia, Oxbow Books: 77

## Symbolic function of the city wall

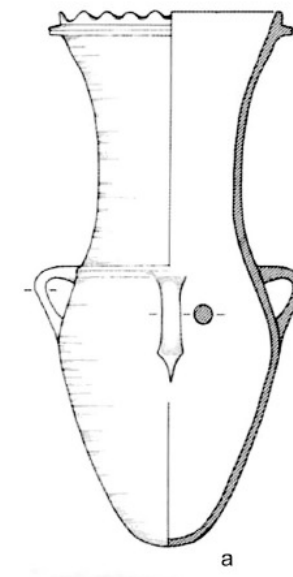
“[T]he contours of the walls also became the physical face of the city and ultimately culminated in a sense of equivalency between city wall and city [...]. The Hittite tower-vessels discussed above [...] clearly exemplify this relationship. Through their inclusion into ideological concepts of space and boundaries, city fortifications thus acquired a level of importance that went far beyond their actual military function. [...].”



## THE SYMBOL FOR URBS 'CITY': THE MERLON

The merlon representing the city wall representing the city

- If the city wall represents the city,
- and the merlon represents the city wall,
- then the merlon represents the city



# ROADMAP

Word misunderstood as /alaman-/ ‘name’

- Reject based on orthographic conventions

New proposal: /allamminna/i-/ ‘city’, \*/allammi-/ ‘fortification’, \*/alla-/ ‘strength’

- Based on orthographic conventions
- Contextual analysis
- Iconographic analysis of the logogram representing the lexeme
- Morphological analysis
- Detecting related roots in Luwian, Hittite, Eblaite, Akkadian
- Archaeobotany
- Historical linguistics



# MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF /ALLAMMINNA-/

*-nna-* 'having something'

- A city is an entity having /allammi-/

*-mmi-* is a participle (substantivized)

- A city is an entity having things that have been /alla(i)-/ed

The verb /alla(i)-/ derives from a noun: 'make to have /alla-/'

- A city is an entity having things that have been made to have /alla-/

# POTENTIAL MEANING OF NOUN /\*ALLA-/ AS 'STRENGTH'

Luwian adverb /allummi/ 'strongly'

- /allummi/ is a derivation of a noun \*/alla-/ 'strength'!
- \*/alla-/ is the base of the denominative verb /alla(i)-/ 'to strengthen'
- The substantivized participle of /alla(i)-/ is /allammi-/ 'fortified object, fortification'
- /allammi-/ 'fortified object, fortification' is the basis of /allamminna-/ 'entity having fortifications > city'

The merlon represents the **city wall/fortifications** represents the city

- Iconography and morphological analysis are correlated

HITTITE (KBo 57.10 + KUB 31.86 II 16')

BÀD *ma purut tiyauwanzi* ʽ2-ŠUʼ *allān ēšdu*

Miller, J.L. 2013: *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts*, p. 222-3

Old interpretation (grammatical issues in red)

- “To apply plaster **(to)** the wall, though, **(it)** shall be **2ʼ** **alla-ʼ** (**thickʼ/highʼ**)”

New interpretation

- Now, the fortification (wall) must be **strengthened** by applying plaster twice



# HITTITE *ALLANTARU* 'OAK' AND AKKADIAN *ALLĀNU* 'OAK'

## Old interpretation

- Borrowed from Akkadian *allānu* 'oak'. Same word attested in Eblaite: *'a<sub>5</sub>-la-nu* (ca 2350 BCE)

## New interpretation *allantaru*

- It means 'strong tree': *allan taru* (which could still refer to 'oak')

## New Interpretation *allānu*

- *allānu* borrowed from Luwian. **But why? And why the -nu?**

# ROADMAP: HOW TO ESTABLISH THE MEANING OF A LEXEME

Word misunderstood as /alaman-/ 'name'

- Reject based on orthographic conventions

New proposal

- Based on orthographic conventions
- Contextual analysis
- Iconographic analysis of the logogram representing the lexeme
- Morphological analysis
- Detecting related roots in Luwian, Hittite, Eblaite, Akkadian
- Archaeobotany
- Historical linguistics



# OAKS

*Quercus rōbur* (Anatolia)



Shrub oak (Northern Mesopotamia)



# OAKS

Deckers, K., Polisca, F., Riehl, S., de Gruchy, M., Lawrence, D. 2021: 'Impact of anthropogenic activities on woodland in northern Syria (4th–2nd Mill. BC): Evidence from charcoal assemblages and oak measurements' Environmental Archaeology, DOI: [10.1080/14614103.2021.1989977](https://doi.org/10.1080/14614103.2021.1989977)

Winters, R.D. 2019: Negotiating Exchange. Ebla and the International System of the Early Bronze Age. PhD thesis, Harvard

## Oaks in northern Mesopotamia

- Deforestation between 4th and 2nd mill. BCE: eaten by flocks, very slow growing oaks > scrub (shrub) oaks (Deckers et al. 2021)

## Ebla

- *allānu* 'oaks' needed to be imported from Armi, presumably located in Cilicia (Winters 2019: 235). Important: Armi names are related to Hittite and/or Luwian!!

## Shrub oak (Northern Mesopotamia)



# OAKS

Dercksen, J.G. 2007: 'On Anatolian loanwords in Akkadian texts from Kültepe' *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 97(1): 26-46

## Oaks in Anatolia and Mesopotamia

- Majestic in A., shrubs in northern M.

## Lexeme for oak

- *Why* borrow the lexeme for 'oak' from Mesopotamia?
- *How about the reverse?*
- *-nu* often added to loans in Akkadian (Dercksen 2007)
- Anatolian *\*alla-* > Ebl./Akk. *alla-nu*?

## *Quercus robur* (Anatolia)



# ROADMAP: HOW TO ESTABLISH THE MEANING OF A LEXEME

Word misunderstood as /alaman-/ 'name'

- Reject based on orthographic conventions

New proposal

- Based on orthographic conventions
- Contextual analysis
- Iconographic analysis of the logogram representing the lexeme
- Morphological analysis
- Detecting related roots in Luwian, Hittite, Eblaite, Akkadian
- Archaeobotany
- Historical linguistics



# ETYMOLOGY OF NOUN \*ALLA- ‘STRENGTH’

Double *-ll-* points at Luwian, final *-a-* indicates either an agent noun, an abstraction, (added after presentation: or individuation)

- Luwian double *-ll-* < Proto-Anatolian \**é̌l-V-*
- Final *-a-* < \**-aH*
- \**alla-* < Proto-Anatolian \**é̌l-aH-*

Now to Proto-Indo-European

- PA \**é̌l-aH-* < PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>el-eh<sub>2</sub>*; PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>el-* ‘reddish, brownish, greyish’. But how about ‘oak’ and ‘strong’?

Red/grey > oak > strong!

- Latin: PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>rewd<sup>h</sup>-* ‘red’ > Proto-Italic \**rouβos* > Latin *rōbur* ‘oak’ > Latin ‘strength’ (think of *robust*)
- Luwian: PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>el-* ‘red, grey’ > Luwian \**alla-* ‘oak’ (borrowed into Ebl./Akk. as *allanu*) > Luwian \**alla-* ‘strength’

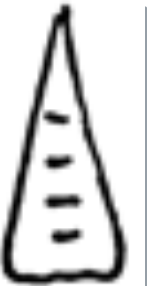
# SUMMARY

\**a-la-mi-ní* in KARAHÖYÜK § I: /alaman/ 'name' versus /allamminna-/ 'city'

- Contextually: 'in the city' much better

/allamminna-/ 'city'

- Morphological analysis: Noun /\**alla-*/ 'strength' was already reconstructed
- a city is an entity that has /*allammi-*-, **things that have been strengthened > city walls**
- Iconographic analysis: Symbol for city, the merlon, represents the city walls
- City walls represent the city



Luwian \**alla-* 'oak' > Akkadian/Eblaite *allānu* in 24<sup>th</sup> c. bce

- Historical linguistics: PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>el-* 'red, grey' > Luwian \**alla-* 'oak' (borrowed into Ebl./Akk. as *allanu*) > Luwian \**alla-* 'strength'



# CONCLUSION

Luwian URBS-*mi-na-* ‘city’ = /allamminna-/ ‘fortified settlement’

- Hittite: *ḥappir(iy)a-* ‘place of trade’
- Lycian: *teteri-* ‘settlement with its territory’



Luwian was already a distinct language in the 24<sup>th</sup> c. bce

- Luwian *\*alla-* ‘oak’ has broken the record for being the oldest known Indo-European word in a contemporaneous source by about 400 years
- This has consequences for the age and development of the Anatolian language family

233<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the  
American Oriental Society  
Los Angeles, March 10, 2023

PETRA M. GOEDEGEBUURE  
THE OI AND NELC



THANK YOU