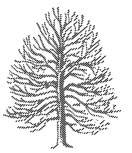
Vina Diem Celebrent

Studies in Linguistics and Philology
in Honor of

Brent Vine

edited by

Dieter Gunkel
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Beech Stave Press
Ann Arbor • New York

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Typeset with LaTeX using the Galliard typeface designed by Matthew Carter and Greek Old Face by Ralph Hancock. The typeface on the cover is Cognac by Steve Peter.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

ISBN 978-0-9895142-5-5 (alk. paper)

Printed in the United States of America

21 20 19 18 4 3 2 1

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Empire Luvian *416-*wa/i-ní* and Related Problems

H. CRAIG MELCHERT



I welcome the opportunity to contribute to this richly deserved volume in honor of Brent Vine, a friend since our days together as graduate students and an invaluable colleague during my years at UCLA. Having failed to find a topic in one of his areas of special interest, I hope that Brent with his characteristic graciousness will accept this token of esteem despite the patently flimsy pretext that it ends with an etymology with special relevance for Germanic, an area that much occupied us both at the beginning of our careers.

I have recently presented arguments against the claim by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:200–1) that in Empire Luvian the signs L 172 and L 416 have disyllabic values *ala* and *ali*[1] and offered evidence that the word (VIR_2)*416-*wa/i-ní-sa* in the YALBURT inscription (nom.-acc. singular of a neuter stem in *-id-* with a collective sense) must mean 'troops, army, infantry', not 'enemy' (contra Yakubovich 2008).[2] I therefore begin discussion of the base word *416-*wa/i-n(i)-*, attested six times in the SÜDBURG inscription (plus a further derived adjective) and once in KIZILDAĞ 4, with the premise that the word must be read */liwa(n)n(i)-/ and its sense reconciled with that of 'troops' in its derivative (VIR_2)*/liwan(n)id-/.

The *editio princeps* of the SÜDBURG hieroglyphic inscription from Hattusa by David Hawkins (1995) was exemplary, but multiple factors necessarily made parts of his overall interpretation provisional. It is safe to say that in the more than two decades since no consensus has emerged, and there are virtually as many interpretations of the text as there are interpreters. I cannot here present *in toto* the arguments

[1] I stress that I now accept the rest of their analysis: (1) these signs (and L 319, the Iron Age version of L 416) spell a lateral /l/, not a dental obstruent; (2) in Empire Luvian L 172 expresses only *la* and L 416 only *li*, whereas in Iron Age Luvian both are used to spell *la* and *li* (now read *lá/í* and *la/i*).

[2] See Melchert forthcoming. I repeat here only the crucial passage YALBURT block 13+3, §4ab: *a-wa/i-mu* |*416-*wa/i-ni-sa* 4×MILLE CENTUM ASINUS/MULUS-*ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i* ||NEG-*wa/i a-sa-tá*. This can only mean 'I had 4100 troops, but there were no mules/asses'—another example of the topos in which the Hittite king boasts of succeeding despite having less than optimal resources (see already Weeden 2014:54 with nn. 130 and 131 and references). This example also eliminates the sense 'ruler' (Oreshko 2016:70–2).

Offprint from Dieter Gunkel, Stephanie W. Jamison, Angelo O. Mercado, and Kazuhiko Yoshida (eds.), *Vina Diem Celebrent: Studies in Linguistics and Philology in Honor of Brent Vine*. Copyright ©2018 Beech Stave Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

for my own understanding of it or respond in detail to every alternative analysis. I can only try to justify the reasons for my interpretation of *416-*wa/i-ní* in this text.

In order to contextualize my specific arguments, I must make explicit two basic working assumptions. First, the discourse structure of the text is Luvian. As seen by Hawkins (1995:26 and 45), the text narrates a mixture of military exploits and building activities, *framed* by an opening subordinate clause describing a martial act linked temporally to a closing clause describing the building of the structure that bears the inscription.[3] Such separation of a protasis and apodosis may not seem credible, but Hawkins's analysis—unfortunately generally ignored—is fully confirmed by a less spectacular parallel in KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c*, §§7–15 (Hawkins 2000:103), where a mere seven clauses describing a victorious military campaign are likewise framed by a linked protasis and apodosis.[4] An important consequence of this analysis is that the Iron Age parallel shows that the protasis and apodosis of the frame are in the first person (contra Oreshko 2016:84–5 and passim).[5]

On the other hand, the SÜDBURG inscription is by a Hittite king, not a minor post-Empire ruler of a city-state. Furthermore, the YALBURT inscription of Tuthaliya IV and the NIŞANTAŞ inscription of Suppiluliuma II (of which we have a partial Hittite version in KBo 12.38) do follow the *res gestae* tradition in terms of content. In trying to make sense of the narrative of SÜDBURG, it is therefore legitimate to seek collocations and topoi found in the Annals of Mursili or the Deeds of Suppiluliuma.

I sought to follow the second approach in my initial review of Hawkins's edition and in my more extended attempt at an interpretation of the text (Melchert 2002). While I retain several aspects of my analysis, others predictably have been proven erroneous. My most egregious mistake was to claim (2002:137–9) that we already knew from the YALBURT inscription the Luvian equivalent of every verb used in Hittite royal annals to describe military actions and that such an interpretation for the verbs INFRA *á-ka* and PUGNUS.PUGNUS in SÜDBURG (Hawkins 1995:28 and 40) was implausible. I compounded the error by trying to exploit the fact that the sign ⟨á⟩ is written in the sequence INFRA *á-ka* as a ligature with INFRA. I further

[3] As per Hawkins (1995:26) and Cancik (2002:80 and passim), this narrative structure imitates the practice of Middle Assyrian kings in their building inscriptions.

[4] Unfortunately, Hawkins weakened the force of the comparison by not making clear enough in either passage that the opening temporal clause does *not* form part of the framed narrative. See my discussion in Melchert 2006:291–3. *Pace* Oreshko (2016:98 n. 205), clause §7 in KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* has nothing to do with the following narrative, which shows the standard topos by which the failure of predecessors (§8) is contrasted with the success of Katuwas (§§9–14).

[5] The narrative structure of the text with its blend of military exploits and building activities and framing device is one (though not the only) reason why I must reject the widespread view that the SÜDBURG inscription should be attributed to Suppiluliuma I instead of Suppiluliuma II. The annals of Hittite kings from Hattusili I through Mursili II are self-described as *pišnātar* 'manly deeds' (*res gestae*), and their contents focus entirely on military exploits. There is no evidence that Early Empire kings yet felt any need to display their power through public inscriptions. This practice imitating Assyrian kings is an innovation of Tuthaliya IV followed by his son Suppiluliuma II.

argued against INFRA *á-ka* as a verb because it is in three instances immediately followed by a finite verb (twice PUGNUS.PUGNUS and once *ARHA* CAPERE).

None of these arguments is conclusive, and the last two are in fact problematic. Since the SÜDBURG text only exceptionally writes the conjunction *a-* and any attached clitics,[6] nothing precludes taking the graphically sequential verbs as appearing in successive clauses, the second in each case with an entirely natural but unwritten conjunction *a=* plus pronominal object: 'and I PUGNUS.PUGNUS-ed them/I took them away'. On the other hand, eliminating the preverb-verb combination INFRA *á-ka* in favor of an adverb *á*-INFRA-*ka* is highly suspect epigraphically and leads to insurmountable syntactic difficulties.

Appearance of a logogram *between* two syllabic signs would be highly aberrant in spelling a Luvian appellative. Rare exceptions involve divine names: (DEUS)*Ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa* 'Kubaba' (frequent in Karkamish inscriptions and elsewhere) and *á*-CERVUS$_2$.*463-*zi/a* in EMİRGAZİ altars §§2 and 30 (for which see Hawkins 2006:57). The ligature of INFRA and ⟨á⟩ is merely another of the peculiarities of the SÜDBURG inscription. One may compare the *scriptio ludens* of *506, a pictogram for a ladle, for /han(n)a/ in spelling /hanna-/ 'grandmother(s)' in clause §13 (see Hawkins 1995:41, citing Hoffner, comparing Hittite *ḫan-* 'to draw [water]'). More seriously, eliminating the verb INFRA *á-ka* forces artificially supplying one in clause §4—also in clause §1, since, as per above, one *cannot* blur the protasis of the framing device with the first narrative clause that follows. Each requires its own verb.[7]

One must retain the reading of INFRA *á-ka* as a preverb 'down' (now to be read as /t^{s}anta/, with Goedegebuure 2010) plus a verb /aka-/, the combination having a sense 'to subject' or 'to subjugate' (Hawkins 1995:23 and passim).[8] Contrary to my claim of 2002 there is in fact a suitable functional equivalent attested in the *res gestae* of New Hittite kings: (EGIR-*pa*) *taninu-* 'to put (back) in order'. The verb *taninu-* 'to put in order, arrange' is used concretely of properly ordering divine images (KBo 2.13 Ro 13, 20, Vo 5, etc.) and organizing divine rites (KUB 5.6+ i 41), but it is also with some frequency used euphemistically in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (KBo 5.6 i 38, etc.), the Annals of Mursili (KUB 14.15+ iv 34, KBo 4.4 iii 17, iv 42, etc.), and the report by Hattusili III of campaigns of Suppiluliuma I (KUB 19.9 i 8, 22) to

[6]We find only *a-tá* in clause §4, standing for /a=ad=ta/ 'and them' plus local particle. The reason for this exception is likely the "right dislocation" of the four country names that constitute the direct object to the right of the verb, requiring a proleptic pronoun. Whether or not we should read *ti-sa-a* in §7 as **a-ti-sa* with "initial-*a*-final," the analysis by Yakubovich (2008:8) is quite impossible. There is no evidence anywhere for a contraction of /a=di=as/ (conjunction + reflexive + acc. pl. 'them') to †/a=di=s/, and Empire-period /a=di=as/ would have been written as *ti-i(a)-sa-a*.

[7]To be explicit, one must construe clause §1a with the final clause §18: 'When I INFRA *á-ka*-ed *416-*wa/i-ní* all the land(s) of Hatti, in that year I made here a Divine Earth Road'. The verb of clause §1b that begins the narrative must be sought in the combination *502.*300, meaning 'rebelled' or similar.

[8]The etymology is for present purposes not crucial, but on phonological grounds (intervocalic voiced dorsal stops are regularly lost in Luvian) the derivation by Rieken (2007) from a preform **Hi̯eh$_1$-k-* seems more likely than the semantically equally satisfying derivation from **h$_2$eǧ-* by Poetto (1998a:111 n. 21), who compares Latin *sub-igō*.

describe the forced (re)imposition of the *pax Hethitica*. We may thus quite plausibly take INFRA *á-ka* as the functional counterpart of *taninu-*.

The question is whether INFRA *á-ka* is similarly a euphemism or a more literal 'to subjugate'. I believe the answer lies in the fact that in all but one of its seven occurrences in SÜDBURG INFRA *á-ka* is directly preceded by *416-*wa/i-ní*. We are dealing with a fixed collocation. I must stress the crucial difference between *416-*wa/i-ní* in SÜDBURG and (VIR_2)*416-*wa/i-ní-sa* in YALBURT: only the latter is accompanied by the VIR_2 determinative that marks a word as referring to people. This important difference is wholly ignored by Yakubovich (2008:7–10), who assumes that *416-*wa/i-ní* is a direct object 'enemy' equivalent to (VIR_2)*416-*wa/i-ní-sa* (likewise by Oreshko [2016:70–82], assuming 'ruler').

Even if we leave aside the problem that (VIR_2)*416-*wa/i-ní-sa* means 'troops, infantry' (see n. 2 above), there is no compelling reason to take *416-*wa/i-ní* in SÜDBURG as the direct object. In four of six occurrences there is an overt noun phrase available to serve as the direct object (§§1, 4, 8, and 12) and in the other two (§§9 and 14) the preceding context quite naturally allows for an unwritten pronominal 'it'. We are therefore justified in analyzing *416-*wa/i-ní* as a dative-locative construed with INFRA *á-ka*.

The next question is whether we should suppose a euphemistic 'to subject to (proper) order' or a more literal 'to subject to might/force'. Since 'forces' would be very suitable for the derived (VIR_2)*416-*wa/i-ní-sa* (collective stem in *-nid-*), taking *416-*wa/i-ní* as dative-locative of an abstract 'force/might' (stem in *-n-* or *-ni-*) seems attractive. The obstacle to such an interpretation lies in clause §5 of SÜDBURG, which must be read as follows (contra Hawkins 1995:22 and Yakubovich 2008:9): CAPUT.VIR *HATTI*(REGIO) *430 FINES-*zi/a-há* *416-*wa/i-ní-zi/a ARHA* CAPERE.

Hawkins and Yakubovich (locc. citt.) both interpret the *zi/a* following *416-*wa/i-ní* as a separate word 'this', but this makes no sense epigraphically and produces quite impossible syntax. Had the scribe wished to write *zi/a* as a separate word, there is enough space between *416-*wa/i-ní* and *ARHA* CAPERE to have put it in the expected position. It is quite clear rather that the scribe lacked the space to write the four signs of the word *416-*wa/i-ní-zi/a* in a strictly vertical sequence, so he had to add the final *-zi/a* to the lower left of the others, although this meant that this sign extends lower than the rest of the signs in the third register. A 'this' or 'these' also cannot be fitted into the rest of the syntax of the clause (see the admission in Hawkins 1995:37). Yakubovich construes *zi/a* with the preceding *416-*wa/i-ní* as 'this enemy', but as shown by Bauer (2014:55–9), aside from Phoenician-influenced examples in KARATEPE 1, there are no examples of postnominal determiners anywhere in Iron Age Luvian.

Hawkins (1995:35–6)—with hesitation—takes CAPUT.VIR throughout SÜDBURG as a title 'prince' and Yakubovich (2008:8) similarly assumes 'chieftain(s)'.

However, as seen by Otten (1989:335–6), CAPUT.VIR is simply the hieroglyphic equivalent of cuneiform LÚ(.MEŠ), and while use of LÚ ^{URU}X for 'prince, ruler' is rarely attested in New Hittite, in a military context the combination is far more likely to refer to the inhabitants of the respective countries named. This is especially true for clause §15b describing the forced deportation of the inhabitants of Tarhuntassa (see discussion with references in Melchert 2002:140).

Finally, Hawkins and Yakubovich interpret sign *196 throughout SÜDBURG as *HATTI*, although Hawkins concedes (1995:25) that this poses problems of interpretation. The solution is to read *196 when it occurs *alone* as syllabic *-há*, representing enclitic *=ha* 'also, and'. Hawkins objects that the phonetic value is otherwise unattested in the Empire period, but it clearly appears in KIZILDAĞ 3 in the name of Hartapu. By Hawkins's own dating (2000:434), this text comes from the period immediately after the fall of the Hittite Empire, and some scholars have entertained that it dates to the last period of the Empire (Singer 1996:69–70, Bryce 2005:352–3, etc.). The latter proposal is arguable, but even with the early post-Empire dating there is, *pace* Hawkins, no compelling reason not to date the innovation a few decades earlier to Suppiluliuma II (Melchert 2002:141 n. 5). I submit that reading sign *196 alone as *HATTI* merely adds to the incoherence of both Hawkins's and Yakubovich's interpretations of clause §5.[9] On the other hand, reading *-há* as enclitic 'also, and' leads to eminently coherent syntax: 'I took away (from them—the rebellious lands "subjected to order/force" in the preceding clause) all the people of Hatti and the *416-*wa/i-ní-zi/a* border territories'.

That is, upon putting down the rebellion, Suppiluliuma also repatriated the captured citizens of Hatti (= cuneiform NAM.RA.ḪI.A, Hittite *arnuwala-*) and reannexed to the Empire the lost border territories. Compare for the first NAM.RA.MEŠ ^{URU}*Ḫatti=ma=šmaš kuin udan ḫarke*[*r*] *nu=šmaš=an=kan arḫa dāš* 'While he took away from them (the people of Isuwa) the deportees of Hatti whom they had brought away for themselves' (KUB 40.8 i 6–7; Deeds of Suppiluliuma; CTH 40.III.25.C) and for the second *nu=za A*[*BU=YA*] ^{URU}*Tōman*[*na*] *ḫōman taruḫta n=at wet*[*et n*]*=at taninu*[*t*] *n=at* EGIR-*pa ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* [*iya*]*t* 'My father conquered the entire land of Tumanna and built it up and put it in order and again made it part of the land of Hatti' (KBo 5.6 i 37–9; Deeds of Supplilulium Fragment 28; cf. Güterbock 1956:91).

We may read *416-*wa/i-ní-zi/a* as accusative plural common gender /*416-wanint^{s}i/ of a derived adjective /*416-waniya-/ modifying /irxint^{s}i/ 'border territories' (with so-called "*i*-mutation").[10] I have searched in vain in attested Hittite and Luvian for 'strong' or 'mighty' as an epithet of borders or border territories. However, if we interpret the base abstract /*416-wan(i)-/ rather as '(proper) order', we may analyze

[9] Respectively '"Prince-Man" (to?) Hatti all the land(s)—(to?) the frontiers of Hatti the *Sun*(?) took away this(?)' (Hawkins 1995:23) and 'The chieftains in all the land of Hatti (and) on the frontiers of Hatti, I captured this enemy' (Yakubovich 2008:9).

[10] Oreshko (2016:88) also analyzes *416-*wa/i-ní-zi/a* as a derived adjective, based on similar arguments.

/*416-wanint^{s}i/ as 'pertaining to order, ordered'. This adjective is effectively equivalent to a past participle of the preverb-verb combination *416-*wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka* 'to subject to order'. The word order supports this interpretation, since by this analysis the adjective is not describing an inherent quality of border territories, but rather a particular condition of those in question. As established by Rieken (2017), Hittite participles and similar adjectives in such "depictive" use are regularly postnominal. We may thus interpret clause §5 as 'I took away (from them) all the people of Hatti and the (re)ordered boundary territories'.

We must address the one remaining occurrence of *416-*wa/i-ní*, that in KIZILDAĞ 4, one of the rock inscriptions of Hartapu mentioned earlier. The reading and interpretation of this text have evolved considerably over the past twenty-plus years. Like most others,[11] I now follow for clauses §§2c–3 the basic reading (but not entirely the interpretation) by Poetto (1998b:469):[12] *ma-sà*(REGIO) AQUILA-*na mu(wa)-tá* (TERRA)*ta-sà*-RE[L+*ra/i*] *430 MAGNUS.REX VIR *416-*wa/i-ní* CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM CAPERE (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM.

Still outstanding issues include the precise meaning of the accusative of extent /arin/ in §2c, the case of (TERRA)*ta-sà*-RE[L+*ra/i*], the function and sense of VIR, and the status of CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM as a noun 'hunter' or a verb 'to hunt'. Against Poetto (1998b:470) and Oreshko (2017:54) /arin/ by itself cannot be interpreted as 'forever'. It is in fact directly equivalent to Greek *χρόνον* 'for a time'. As shown by KARATEPE 1, §LXXIV, to express 'forever' Luvian must explicitly add the modifier 'all' (see Hawkins 2000:58). Pragmatically, Hartapu's boast that he 'held power over Masa for a time' is quite sufficiently grand: to claim to have conquered or to have ruled a country 'forever' would be unprecedented even among Hittite kings and the rulers of city-states that succeeded them.[13]

Yakubovich (2008:11) objects to taking the clause-initial (TERRA)*ta-sà*-RE[L+*ra/i*] *430 as a direct object on the grounds that it would require assuming a pragmatically unmotivated OSV word order. But by any analysis (including his own locatival 'on all the earth') this phrase must have been "fronted" from the predicate to the left of the subject. Furthermore, the fronting is not pragmatically unmotivated: (TERRA)*ta-sà*-RE[L+*ra/i*] is being directly contrasted with the land of Masa in the preceding clause. Not satisfied with the boast that he had conquered/ruled Masa for a time, Hartapu adds on another about 'all the earth' or 'all the land(s)/countryside'.

The question is just what the second boast consists of. Yakubovich reads (VIR)*416-*wa/i-ní* with VIR as a determinative and CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM as a verb coordinated with CAPERE: 'hunted (and) captured the enemy'. The reading of VIR

[11] Note, however, that Oreshko (2016:73) challenges the reading (TERRA)*ta-sà*-RE[L+*ra/i*].

[12] However, I replace the reading VITELLUS.*285 (Hawkins 1995:104 and 2000:438) with the updated CERVUS4.IACULUM (Hawkins 2006:59).

[13] Given the presence of an accusative of extent of time in §2c, I find attractive the suggestion of Oreshko (2017:53–5) that /muwa-/ without the reflexive had the meaning 'to hold power over, to be master/ruler of', not 'to conquer', but this point is not crucial for the interpretation of clause §3.

as a determinative of *416-*wa/i-ní* is not impossible, but the position of VIR below MAGNUS.REX speaks decidedly against it.[14] Far more likely in the martial, indeed macho context, is that VIR is simply an epithet 'man' (thus Poetto), in the sense of 'a real man'.[15] We are assured that Luvian /t^{s}id(i)-/ meant 'man' in the sense of *uir* as well as *homo*.

Since *416-*wa/i-ní* has been shown not to be a title, one must agree with Yakubovich (2008:11–2) that CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM can likewise hardly be a noun or a title (since *416-*wa/i-ní* stands between it and MAGNUS.REX). Therefore it is more likely, as he suggests, that CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM is a verb 'hunted', as already suggested by Hawkins (2006:61–2) for the occurrence in KARAKUYU. However, Yakubovich's interpretation 'hunted (and) captured' is problematic, leaving aside the analysis of *416-*wa/i-ní* as 'enemy'. While it sounds natural enough in English to speak of 'hunting' an enemy, all available evidence is that Hittite *ḫuwarn(a)-* 'to hunt' and *šiyatalliya-* 'to shoot' are used only of hunting wild game, never of humans. For 'to hunt' in the sense of 'to search for' Hittite uses *šanḫ-* and for 'to pursue', *parḫ-*.

Once we construe CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM in KIZILDAĞ 4, §3 as a verb, there is no reason not to take the sign ⟨tà⟩ that stands immediately beneath it as a phonetic complement for a preterite third singular verb (with a "lenited" ending). The Hittite cuneiform evidence presented by Hawkins (2006:53–4) for hunting activities by Tuthaliya IV shows consistently accusative syntax for the lands, mountains, and rivers that he travels, hunts, and shoots (in). We may therefore most economically interpret KIZILDAĞ 4, §§2c and 3 as: 'He ruled/conquered the land of Masa for a time. A Great King, a (real) man, he hunted *all the lands/earth/countryside* *416-*wa/i-ní* (with the help of) the Storm-god of Heaven'.[16] The Hittite passages use *-ške-*forms of the relevant verbs to indicate the habitual nature of Tuthaliya's hunting activities. Given the other evidence suggesting 'order' for /*416-wan(i)-/, I propose to interpret *416-*wa/i-ní* in KIZILDAĞ 4, §3 as 'in order, sequentially' (compare Latin [*ex*] *ordine* or *per/in ordinem*), effectively conveying the serial nature of Hartapu's hunting forays.

Latin *ordo*, *ordinis* also provides a parallel for the semantic link between /*416-wan(i)-/ 'order' and its collective derivative (VIR$_2$)/*416-wanid-/ 'troops'. The Latin noun, in addition to the concrete senses 'line, row' and 'order/sequence in space or time' and the abstract meaning 'proper conduct, procedure', is also used (especially in the plural) to refer to a military formation or cohort, to a body of men drawn up for battle (*OLD* s.v.; cf. n. 18 below). It is thus entirely reasonable that the collective

[14] I must, however, agree with Hawkins (1995:104), Poetto (1998b:469), Yakubovich (2008:11), and Oreshko (2016:72) that the VIR must be read *after* MAGNUS.REX. I see no justification for reading VIR MAGNUS.REX (Hawkins 2000:438 and 2006:60).

[15] Compare the passage in the Old Hittite "Palace Chronicle" (KBo 3.34 ii 8–9; OH/NS): ('Askaliya was (a) lord in Hurma',) *apāšš-a kuwatta kuwatta* LÚ-*eš$_{17}$ ēšta* 'and he also was in every respect a man'.

[16] Since clauses §§2a–b already describe the conquest of 'every country' by Hartapu, there also seems little reason to assume any reference to political conquest in the last clause, which may be taken as purely a boast about his hunting prowess (cf. Hawkins 2006:62).

derivative in /-id-/ has the effective meaning 'troops' in the military context of the YALBURT inscription.

As I have argued (Melchert forthcoming), there is no probative evidence for a disyllabic reading ⟨ali⟩ for sign *416, so we must return to the reading (though not the interpretation) of *416-*wa/i-ní* as /liwan(n)i/ by Hawkins (1995:117). Whether we are facing a neuter *n*-stem /liwan-/ or a common gender stem /liwa(n)n(i)-/ cannot be directly determined.[17]

As always, an etymology for our Luvian stem /liwan-/ or /liwa(n)n(i)-/ is a *cura posterior*, but a thinkable source for such a noun is available, even if some details of the morphology must remain indeterminate. Medial voiced dorsal stops are almost certainly lost intervocalically in Luvian (with labiovelars being deoccluded and resulting in /w/): see the discussions by Rieken (2007:294–6) and Melchert (2012:214–5) with references.

In seeking a Proto-Indo-European etymon we may thus consider not only roots of the shape **lei(H)-*, but also **leiĝ/ǵ(h)-* and **leigʷ(h)-*. Semantically, however, the only satisfactory comparandum is the set of Germanic words pointing to a Proto-Germanic **līko-* (or **leiko-*) 'shape, form, body' from a virtual PIE **līgo-* or **leigo-*. The only assured cognates are the family of Lithuanian *lýgus* 'flat, even, equal' and related Baltic forms. Since a suffix **-go/u-* is unlikely, the preform with a long **ī* (Pokorny 1959:667, etc.) requires a root **leiHg-*, at best a marginally attested PIE root shape. Fraenkel (1962:371) entertains **leig-* or **līg-*, while Kroonen (2013:337) argues decisively for **leig-*. For purposes of Luvian /liwan-/ ∼ /liwa(n)n(i)-/ we may leave the matter open. What is crucial is the sense of the Germanic noun 'shape, form' < *'likeness', because English shows that *form* may also be used with the meaning 'regularity, good order' (*OED* s.v., §8).[18]

There are several—in fact rather too many—possible scenarios for the formation of Luvian /liwan-/ ∼ /liwa(n)n(i)-/. Since Germanic **lei/īko-* 'shape, form' is not purely hypothetical, I suggest a Luvian adjective **lei/īgo-wén-* 'having a (defined) shape, form', thus 'regular' (with a suffix reasonably productive in Luvian), from which was formed a secondary *i*-stem noun—also a productive category in Luvian—with the sense 'regularity, order'. Compare arguably for both steps CLuvian *manna(ḷ)wann(i)-* 'face' < virtual **meneh₂-u̯én-i-* (where, as often, the sense of the

[17] If, as I contend, attested *416-*wa/i-ní* in SÜDBURG is a dative-locative singular, the distribution of the dative-locative singular endings *-a* and *-i* in Luvian established by Yakubovich (2015 §6.3) does exclude an *a*-stem */liwa(n)na-/.

[18] Cf. Spanish *forma*, for which the *DLE* (s.v.) gives as a third meaning 'modo o manera de estar organizado algo [mode or manner in which something is organized]', illustrated with the exemplary phrase *forma del gobierno* [form of government], and as a fifth 'condición física o anímica para realizar una determinada actividad [physical or mental condition for performing a particular activity]', e.g. *estar en buena forma* [to be in good form]. The *OED* entry also shows that English *form* has been used for a military formation, offering another parallel for the claimed relationship of */liwa(n)n(i)-/ and */liwa(n)nid-/. Continuing Latin *ordo*, cf. Spanish *orden* (*DLE* s.v. §3) 'regla o modo que se observa para hacer las cosas [rule or mode that one observes for doing things]', as well as various phrases with military use, e.g. *orden abierto* [open]/*cerrado* [closed], *orden de batalla* [battle]/*parada* [parade], etc.

derivative effectively replicates that of the ultimate base noun). I should note explicitly that this derivation requires assumption of a syncope of medial **i(y)a* > *i*: virtual **lei/īgo-wén(i)-* > **li:gawann(i)-* > **li:(y)awann(i)-* > **liwann(i)-*. See for such a syncope Yakubovich 2015:§5.2.1. Our lack of control of the precise conditions for such syncope in Luvian inevitably leaves its application rather *ad hoc*, but we can at least be fairly certain that the sequence in this case was unaccented. I do not exclude other possible derivations. In any case, it is of minimal concern whether the suggested etymology of Luvian /liwan-/ ∼ /liwa(n)n(i)-/ '(proper) order' is correct or not. I do think that this basic sense can account for the use of the word in SÜDBURG and KIZILDAĞ 4 and can be easily reconciled with the contextual sense 'troops, infantry' demanded by its derivative /liwa(n)nid-/ in YALBURT.[19]

Abbreviations

DLE = Real Academia Española and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, eds. 2017. *Diccionario de la lengua española: Edición del Tricentenario*. Accessed December 21, 2017. http://dle.rae.es.

OED = Murray, James A. H., Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions, eds. 1888–1928. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society.* Oxford: Clarendon.

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[19] A new treatment of the entire SÜDBURG text must be left for another occasion. I stand by my analysis (Melchert 2002:139–42) that clauses §§8–15 describe the contrast between merciful treatment of MONS.*277.QUINQUE and the liquidation of Tarhuntassa and forced removal of its inhabitants, but naturally I now assume that Suppiluliuma II did conquer both militarily.

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