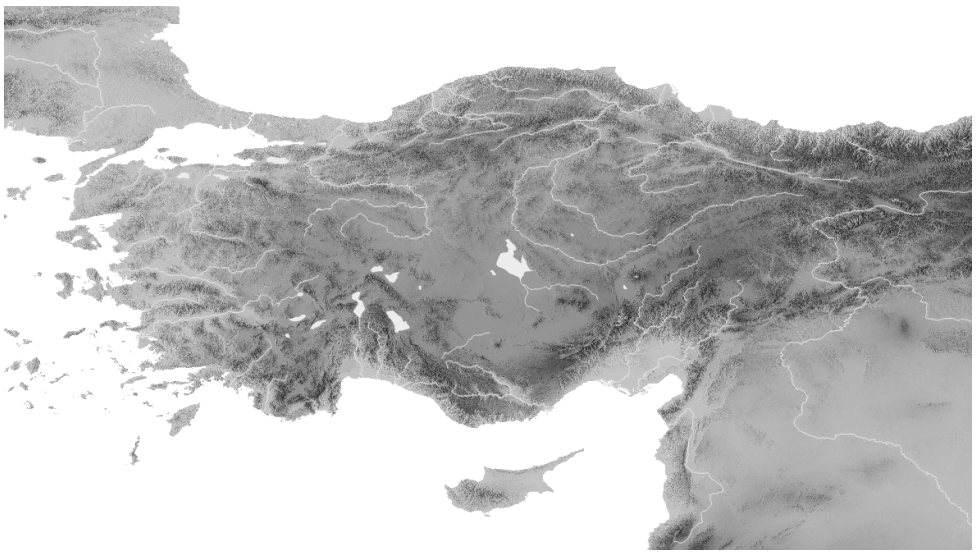
News from the Lands of the Hittites

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Verona 11-12 May 2023



Edited by

Federico Giusfredi, Elena Martínez Rodríguez, Alvise Matessi,

Stella Merlin and Valerio Pisaniello

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Contents

Preface
Federico Giusfredi - Elena Martínez Rodríguez - Alvise Matessi - Stella Merlin - Valerio Pisaniello 7

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego
Carian and Greek personal names in contact 9

Paola Cotticelli Kurras
Greek Loanwords in some Aramaic and Armenian transcriptions: graphematic considerations on the 'spiritus asper' 29

Paola Dardano
Multilingualism in Late-Bronze Age Anatolia: Some Reflections on Akkadian in Ḫattuša 45

José L. García Ramón
Languages in contact, borrowing, areal developments: on Anatolian and Greek (and Ionic) coincidences in phraseology 61

Federico Giusfredi - Stella Merlin - Valerio Pisaniello
Phraseology and literary topoi between Anatolia, the Aegean and the ancient Near East 75

Daniel Kolligan
Notes on Syro-Armenian language contact 95

Massimiliano Marazzi
The New Painted Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Hattusa: Overview and Status of Research 119
Leopoldo Repola
Appendix. From numerical models of the pyramid to the geometric analysis of Yerkapı hieroglyphics

H. Craig Melchert
Hittite Contact Effects on Luwian? 155

Marianna Pozza - Virna Fagiolo
Fragments of Scribal Bilingualism in the Hittite Lexical Lists: the choice of verbal nouns in -war (-mar) versus nouns in -(ā)tar and -eššar 173

Florian Réveilhac
*Anatolian Names in °ασητας/°ασατης/°ασατας, CLuw. *aššatta, Lyc. B *asata- and Lyc. A ahata* 195

Elisabeth Rieken
Hittite-Luwian Hybrid Nouns 213

Zsolt Simon
Gazelles, theonyms, and Syrian toponyms in Hieroglyphic Luwian transmission 225

Mariona Vernet
Who was ArKKazuma? Some considerations that point to a Carian origin of this divinity 235

Livio Warbinek
Who was Karḫuḫa? Dynamics of Contact in the Karkemišean Lands 249

Preface

The present volume contains the proceedings of the international conference *Languages and Cultures in Contact in the Ancient Mediterranean*, organized as the final event of the ERC project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299). The conference took place in Verona on May 11 and 12, 2023. It concluded a series of workshops that started in February 2019 with the first edition and continued with an online double event in 2021 and with a new physical edition after the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2022. While most of the papers included in this volume are from the 2023 conference, one (by Giusfredi, Merlin and Pisaniello) is the written version of a paper presented during a previous edition that the authors had not, in the meantime, published elsewhere.

Just like the PALaC project, this volume reflects, with its contents, our complex interdisciplinary view on the study of linguistic and cultural contacts in the ancient world, combining historical linguistics and philology, the study of the history of writing systems and that of religions, cultures and polities in and around ancient Anatolia, from the proto-historical phase of the Middle Bronze Age up to the mature stage of the Hellenistic era.

With over forty articles or chapters, a two-volume final monograph and another edited volume, the output of PALaC has been, we believe, quite rich.[1] Still, science is about publishing as much as it is about communicating ideas and promoting discussion among peers. While it would have been impossible for us to publish the proceedings of all the events we organized during the lifetime of PALaC, we are particularly happy to be able to publish at least the proceedings of the last one, and we are, needless to say, extremely grateful to the editors of *News from the Lands of the Hittites* – Stefano de Martino, Massimiliano Marazzi and Clelia Mora – for giving us the opportunity to do so on the pages of this outstanding journal.

Our gratitude also goes to the authors of the contributions in this collection, for offering such a rich variety of papers on so many different topics. The articles collected in these proceedings reflect such variety. The contributions by Dardano, Melchert, Pozza and Fagiolo, Rieken, and Warbinek deal with the Bronze Age Hittite corpus and the areal relationships of the languages represented in it. Those by Adiego, Réveilhac and Vernet deal with the Luwic languages of the late Iron Age, while Marazzi, Repola and Simon concentrate on Hieroglyphic Luwian.

1 A list of publications with Open Access links is available at http://ercpalac.info.

Giusfredi, Merlin and Pisaniello, and García Ramón explore the problem of Aegean-Anatolian contacts. Finally, the two papers by Cotticelli Kurras and Kölligan take us to a much later stage, and deal, from different perspectives, with the study of the areal context during the age in which the Syriac and Armenian traditions flourished and co-existed with Greek in the late antique stages of the history of Anatolia.

Verona, November 2023

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Hittite Contact Effects on Luwian?

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ABSTRACT

Significant Luwian contact effects on Hittite have been thoroughly established, from prehistoric through the Early New Kingdom to the end of the Hittite Empire. A review of possible influence of Hittite on Luwian has fully confirmed expectations—based on the sociolinguistic situation in the Empire period—that such effects are minimal: very rare specially conditioned lexical borrowings and none on grammar. Empire Luwian and its Iron Age successor do predictably share some topoi with Hittite royal compositions, but these merely reflect that the diction and narrative structure of public display inscriptions in Luwian originate in those of the last two Hittite kings, Tuṯḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II. They are lacking in the extant private documents of Iron Age Luwian.

1. BACKGROUND: LUWO-HITTITE CONTACT[1]

Contact between Luwian and Hittite is universally acknowledged to have existed from the prehistoric period to the end of the Hittite Empire. Loanwords into Assyrian assure that both Luwian and Hittite speakers were in Central Anatolia by the Colony Period (Dercksen 2007 and Giusfredi - Matessi - Pisaniello 2023:73–74, both with further references). This finding is unaffected by continued debate regarding their relative numbers and relationship to each other: cf. among others Goedegebuure 2008, Marazzi 2010, Kloekhorst 2019, Giusfredi 2020, Yakubovich 2020, and Giusfredi - Matessi - Pisaniello 2023:70–76.

Evidence presented over the last three decades has proven that Luwian influence on Hittite, both lexical and grammatical, is profound and includes prehistoric effects seen already in OH, increases in MH, and becomes pervasive in NH. I cite merely a selection of works: Starke 1990, Rieken 1991, 1994, 1996, 2006, Melchert 2005, van den Hout 2006, Yakubovich 2010, Simon 2015ab, Cammarosano 2018, Valério 2023. More results are already available online in the eDiAna Dictionary (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/search.php) and more are to come in Yakubovich - Mouton 2023 and Melchert 2024. See also Elisabeth Rieken's paper in this volume. Not all new examples will necessarily win general acceptance, but many will.

There is also a consensus that Empire Luwian, direct evidence for which consists of the inscriptions of New Hittite kings, developed in a bilingual Luwo-Hittite environment. Continued debate over the dating of the first use of the Anatolian hieroglyphs as phonetic signs (see the recent summary by Yakubovich 2022) does not alter this fact. The feature of "initial *a*-final" in Empire period inscriptions—wholly unmotivated in writing

1 I am much indebted to Federico Giusfredi for reminding me that in the oral version of this paper I egregiously forgot the work of Zsolt Simon (2011) regarding topoi in Empire and Iron Age Luwian and the question of which may reflect transmission from Hittite—thus allowing me to correct that omission here. I also thank Timothy Hogue and Shigeo Yamada for invaluable assistance regarding the status of the topos of gods preceding a king in battle in Assyrian sources. I am of course solely responsible for the content of what follows.

texts in horizontal registers, but entirely so in the limited writing field of seals—and the fact that the SÜDBURG inscription may be "read" vertically as well as horizontally affirm that the use of the hieroglyphs to write public display inscriptions is an innovation of Tutḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II, in imitation of Assyrian royal inscriptions (thus with Marazzi 2019: especially 333–336). Breyer (2022) has even argued (with some plausibility) that Empire Luwian, created by these kings for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, is a "functionalect" comparable to that of the medieval German Minnesang. These circumstances furnish a basis for possible influence from Hittite on at least Empire Luwian.

2. FURTHER PREMISES FOR HITTITE CONTACT EFFECTS ON LUWIAN

The sociolinguistic situation in the latter part of the Hittite Empire, in which Luwian was surely the dominant spoken idiom (see e.g. Yakubovich 2010: Chapter 5 and van den Hout 2006) make large-scale effects of Hittite on Luwian unlikely, and those suggested below are in fact extremely limited in scope: one lexical borrowing (likely specially conditioned), one possible morphosyntactic calque, three topoi, and three features of narrative structure. Readers will immediately notice that strictly speaking the last two categories are matters of language use. Genuine effects on Luwian grammar are therefore almost non-existent. I will return to this point in the conclusion.

Besides the context of the creation of Empire Luwian, important for my argumentation is evidence of interference effects from it on cuneiform Luwian, *including* that of the rituals from the Lower Land and Kizzuwatna. One quite certain such effect is occasional use of the common gender nominative plural in the function of direct object. Syncretism of the common gender nominative and accusative plural in favor of the former (ending *-nzi*) does not happen in Luwian transmitted in cuneiform, but there are exceptions, where a noun in *-nzi* serves as direct object: *ḫ(u-u-i)]š-te-in-zi* and [(*ma-al-wa-ra-an-)z]i* in KUB 17.15+KBo 52.215 ii 6 and 9, both objects of *kištanunun*. The dialectal affinity of this text is indeterminate, but the following belongs to a version of the "Great Ritual" and the *dupaduparša*-ritual attributed to Kuwattalla and Šillaluḫi (CTH 760), for which see Mouton and Yakubovich 2021:32–4 and Yakubovich - Mouton 2023.1:142–203.

(1) KUB 35.48 ii 11–14 MH/NS (CTH 760.4)
[^{d}UT(U-*ta* EN-*y*)]*a tiwaliya piya=aš* LÚ.KÚR-*inzi* [(*kattawatna*)]*llinzi ūtnaššinzi ḫišḫišašši<n>zi* [(*taparuw*)] *aššinza tatariyammaššinza* [(*ḫīruta*)]*ššinza* EN.MEŠ-*anza*
"Sun-god, divine lord, give them (i.e., hand them over)—the enemies, the lords of vengeful words, binding spells, *hindrances*[?], curses (and) perjuries!"

The proleptic pronoun *-aš* and nominal ending *-nz(a)* are correct common gender accusative plural for the language of Lower Land rituals, but use of the common gender nominative plural ending *-nzi* in direct object function can only be interference from Empire Luwian, likely at least the written dialect of the Ḫattuša scribe writing the copy. The parallel version KUB 35.45 ii 18–21 has interference only in "enemies", but this confirms the reality of the interference.

Likely but less certain is present first plural *likuwanni* 'let us swear' in HT 1 i 34 (notably in Hittite context!) in the Ritual of Zarpiya, the one assured cuneiform Luwian ritual from Kizzuwatna (Mouton - Yakubovich 2021:27 and 46). The variant *-wanni* is the predicted preform (the result of *-*wéni* by "Čop's Law") of present first plural *-unni*, the only ending found elsewhere in cuneiform Luwian ritual texts. In the latter *-*wanni* was apparently

generalized to paradigms with accent on the stem and thus syncopated to *-unni*, which then in turn was generalized to all verbs (cf. Melchert - Yakubovich 2022:24–5).

I set aside as artificial creations mere mechanical transpositions of Hittite lexemes in cuneiform Luwian texts: GIŠ*kattaluz*[*zi*]*≠ša* 'threshold' in *KUB* 35.54 iii 29 (CTH 758, Ritual of Puriyanni) is on morphophonological grounds a mere adaptation of the Hittite word, as per Starke (1990:214). See Kloekhorst 2008:464–465 for the etymology. If it is genuine Luwian, neuter nominative-accusative plural DUG*ḫarši*ḪI.A in *KBo* 4.11:29 (CTH 772.1, Song of Ištanuwa) likewise reflects an adapted DUG*ḫaršit-* 'pithos' of Hittite common gender DUG*ḫarši-* (modeled on the many instances where a Luwian neuter stem in *-it-* is adapted in Hittite into a common gender *i*-stem). LUGAL-*uš* 'king' in KUB 9.31 ii 22 (Ritual of Zarpiya) is simply use of the Hittite word. The Luwian word is cuneiform *ḫantawatti-* = hieroglyphic /χantawati-/, directly cognate with Lyc. *xñtawati-*.[2]

3. PUTATIVE CONTACT EFFECTS OF HITTITE ON LUWIAN

3.a. Genuine Lexical Borrowing

CLuw. *nānaššri-** 'sister' (in *nānaššriya/i-* 'of a sister') beside *nāni-** 'brother and **niyaššra-* 'lady, mistress' (in [*malḫaššaššanzan* EN-*y*] *aššarā* 'mistress of the sacrifice' in *DBH* 46/2.33 (*Bo* 4700):13, matching *BELTI* SÍSKUR ibid. 9 and 10) beside *niya-** 'lord, master' both suggest that the consort of a *ḫantawatti-* /χantawati-/ should be */χantawatassri-/, thus far nowhere attested. We find instead in Iron Age Luwian (MAGNUS.DOMINA)*ha-su-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-sa*. Why would Luwian borrow just the title for 'queen'?

One should note first that evidence in Luwian for the female consort of a *human* ruler is almost non-existent (there is none for the Lycian counterpart). Iron Age Luwian /χassussra-/ occurs ten times. Just one instance assures its function as the counterpart of /χantawati-/:

(2) KULULU 5, §7ab (8thC):
wa/i-sá ni-i || REX-*ti-sá ni-pa-wa/i-sá* (FEMINA)*ha-su-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-sa*
"whether he is a king, or she is a queen…"

In the oldest occurrences the reference is to a divine queen:

(3) MEHARDE/SHEIZAR (MEHARDE), §6 (early 10thC, per Hawkins 2011:51–53)
|*pa-ti-pa-wa/i-*a* |DEUS.REGIO-*ni-si* |(MAGNUS.DOMINA)*ha-su-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-sa* |LIS-*za-sa-li-sà* | *sá-tú-*a*
"May the Divine Queen of the Land be a litigant against him!"

Similarly ibid., §§1 and 8 and SHEIZAR, §7 (Hawkins 2000:417). Likewise in KIRÇOĞLU, §2 (8thC) the reference is to a Divine Queen of the Land. In KARKAMIŠ A23, §§3 and 10 and A25*a,* §6 (late 10thC or early 9th) and A31 + fragments, §7 (mid-8thC) the reference is to Kubaba, Queen of Karkamiš.

Designation of the chief goddess of a city (or city-state) as dMUNUS.LUGAL 'divine queen' is widespread in second-millennium Anatolia (van Gessel 1998:730–733). In some Old Hittite contexts she is identified with d*Kataḫḫa* (Haas 1994:475 with refs.), probably correctly, given that this name is the Hattian word for 'queen' (Soysal 2003:540–541). But already in Old Hittite we find the *interpretatio hethitica*: URU*Kātapaš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri* (KBo 17.5 ii 5, OH/OS)—cf. Haas 1994:413

2 Since we effectively have no access to spoken Luwian in the Bronze Age, there is no way to exclude in principle that in the multilingual environment of Ḫattuša (city and land) Luwian speakers for whatever reason adopted the Hittite word for a few concepts. But the very few even putative instances just cited justify no more than occasional interference effects. Cf. also note 3.

and 614. While the "queen" of Katapa is especially prominent, the notion clearly was current in the Hittite Empire at large, and noteworthy for our purposes is that there is also a ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL $^{URU.d}$U-*aššša* (KUB 15.1 ii 46.48 and 15.18 iii 14). I therefore suggest that the borrowing of *ḫaššuššara-* took place in Empire Luwian as a designation for a divine queen, as still reflected in the chronology and pattern of attestation in Iron Age Luwian. Its spread to use for a human queen was secondary (and for all we know only partially replaced */χantawatassri-/).[3]

3.b. Morphosyntactic Calque

As argued compellingly by Valério (2023), the basic sense of Luwian *mūwa-^{hhi}* is 'to drive', and I contend that this sense fits all instances of HLuw. /mo:wa-/ without the reflexive /-di/ (cf. Valério op. cit. 69–72). The clearly negative collocation /a:pan mo:wa-/ (*pace* Schürr 2020) means 'to push back, repel' (note the local particle /-ta/ in the first example):

(4) KAYSERİ, §§11–12 (Hawkins 2000:473)
wá/í-tá-´ |(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-´* |POST-*na* |FORTIS-*wa/i-i* |*á-ta-há-s*[*i-zi*]-*pa-wá/í-na* |DEUS-*ní-zì-´* |*á-ta*-[...]-*í-zì* [*AR*]*HA-´* |*á-tà*<*-tu*>*-u*
"Kubaba shall push him back, and may the A. deities devour his *innards*!"

(5) SULTANHAN, §§31–33 (Hawkins 2000:466)
|"LUNA"-*ma-sá-pa-wa/i-na* |*ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá* || |*á-pa-sá* |("CORNU")*ki-pu-tì-´* |*a-ta* |*tu-wa/i-i-´* |*kwi/a-i-pa-wa/i-na* |*ka+ra/i-mi-si-za-sa* |(DEUS)*ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa* |*á-pa-na* |*mu-wa/i-i* |*á-ta-ha-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na* |DEUS-*ni-i-zi* |*ARHA* |*á-tà-tu-u* ||
"The Moon God of Harran shall put him on his horn, indeed Kubaba of Karkamiš shall push him back, and may the A. deities devour him!"

The force of simple *mūwa-^{hhi}* is 'to drive (ahead of oneself)', in a positive context 'to propel, *prōmouere*, promote', but with someone or something unwanted 'to expel, drive away' (with Valério, op. cit. 70):

(6) SULTANHAN, §§43–45 (Hawkins 2000:467)
|*a-wa/i-´* |*kwi/a-sá* |*kwi/a-sá* |*za* |LOCUS-*lá/í-z*a |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*i-ta* || |*wa/i-tà* |NEG$_2$-*´* |*hwi/a-sa-ha* |*mu-wa/i-ta* |*a-wa/i-tà* |*á-pi-i* |*sa$_5$+ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sá* |*á-tà* |*wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-sa-a-ri+i* |*wa/i+ra/i-ya-ri+i* |*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i-ha*
"Whoever has *held* this place, no one has promoted it, but Sarwatiwara has remade it, with the help and goodness of Wasusarma."

(7) KIZILDAĞ 4 §2bc (for readings see below)
REGIO OMNIS$_2$ (L.273)*mu(wa)-tá* REL *mu$^{!}$-sà-ka-na*(REGIO) *mu(wa)-tá*
"When he drove away/expelled all countries, he drove away/expelled the land of Muska."

Against Poetto 1998:470 et al., per his own excellent photo the sign read by Meriggi et al. as *ka* is quite clear and bears no resemblance whatsoever to the head of a bird of prey! The order of reading also argues against †AQUILA-*na* = /arin/. Interpretation of REL as 'when' explains the otherwise awkward repetition of /mo:wata/.

3 Valerio Pisaniello kindly reminds me of what has been read *mu-ki*-SUPER+*RA/I* in KARAHÖYÜK §6. Hawkins (2000: 292 with reference to Nowicki 1981: 258) judges possible a comparison with Hitt. *mukeššar* '(materials for) an evocatio ritual' (thus with CHD L-N 326, not a general word for 'ritual' as per Hawkins). I must agree with Nowicki that such a comparison is highly unlikely in the context (leaving aside the question of whether the first sign is *mu* or *ma*). As per Hawkins himself (2000: 292–93), both the logograms preceding and following *mu-ki*-SUPER+*RA/I* refer to built structures. More significantly, *mu-ki*-SUPER+*RA/I* stands *under* L.236, suggesting that we should read L.236(-)*mu-ki*-SUPER+*RA/I* as one word and as one of the built structures. Whether Armanani took the L.513-*tà-nu-zi/a* for or from the structures listed is an open question, but buildings play no role in the actions of an evocatio ritual.

For the sense cf. with Valério (op. cit. 70):

(8) Sargon II 13, 35–38 (8thC; Frame 2021:181)
na-si-iḫ KUR.*Ka-as-ku gi-mir* KUR.*Ta-ba-li ù* KUR.*Ḫi-lak-ki ṭa-rid* ^{m}*Mi-ta-a* LUGAL KUR.*Mu-us-ki*
"Who deported (the people of) the land Kasku, the entire land Tabal, and the land Hilakku, who drove away/expelled Mitâ, king of the land of Musku."

See also the first-person formulation cited in *CAD* 2006:57b s. v. ṭarādu A 2a with further examples. We clearly have a shared topos in these nearly contemporary inscriptions (time and direction of spread indeterminate). The reading *mu*$^{!}$*-sà-ka-na*(REGIO) in KIZILDAĞ 4 is now confirmed by:

(9) TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 §1 (8thC; Goedegebuure *et al.* 2020:30–33)
MAGNUS.REX *ka+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* HEROS URBS-*li-si-sa* FILIUS *mu-sà-ka*(REGIO) REL *mu(wa)-tá*
"When Kartapo (Hartapo), Great King, Hero, son of Mursili drove away/expelled the land of Muska…"

Hawkins and Weeden (2021:389) uphold the reading *mu*$^{!}$*-sà-ka-na*(REGIO) also in KIZILDAĞ 4, following Goedegebuure *et al*. 2020:32. However, the Akkadian parallel affirms that the sense of the simple verb is 'to drive (away), expel, not the contextually unlikely 'to conquer'!

Reexamination suggests that the same senses 'to propel' and 'to expel' are valid for the reduplicated stem *mumuwā*- attested in Hittitized form:

(10) KUB 33.68 ii 3–5 (Myth of a Disappeared Deity, *mugawar*-fragments, OH/MS)
nu=tta kī mugāuwaš uddār mummuwā[*n*] *ēštu nu* GEŠTU *lagān ḫar(a)k*
"May these words of arousal be propelled to you! Hold your ear inclined! (And whatever the king [and queen] say to you, listen to them!")

With Melchert (2010), following Laroche, Hitt. *mūgā(i)*- means not 'to invoke', but 'to arouse, bestir' absent deities (with both words and offerings) and induce them to return so that they *can* be invoked to fulfill wishes. The verbal component would have to be conveyed potentially over great distances, and thus a sense 'to be propelled' (forcefully, hence the reduplication) is entirely appropriate.

(11) KUB 36.96:9–13 (Fragment of prayer to Ishtar, ?/NS)
("My La[dy], [for] whatever [reason] you are angry at your servant and maidservant,)
nu karpin TUKU.TUKU-*an arḫa* ⌊*peššiya*⌋ […GIM-*an*]*x-iš :auwallaš kittari* [*nu=tta karpiš*] TUKU.TUKU-*aš QATAMMA arḫa :awiyaḫḫa*[*nza… n*?]*=an :mumuwāi*
"cast away the resentment and anger… [may your resentment] and anger likewise be dis-Xed. Expel it!"

Missing text prevents our understanding the intervening simile, but it seems clear that imperative second singular *:mumuwāi* must be roughly synonymous with 'cast away', also referring to the goddess's anger.

Simple /mo:wa-/ thus means 'to drive'. How does the sense 'to overcome, defeat, conquer' when combined with reflexive /-di/ arise? The usage appears in Empire Luwian in texts of Tutḫaliya IV (YALBURT passim; Hawkins 1995:68–71) and Šuppiluliuma II (NİŞANTAŞ line AII; Hawkins 2019:143–144). I assert a calque on Hitt. *-za tarḫu-/taruḫ*- 'idem', the routine expression of Hittite *res gestae* for 'to overpower, defeat', based on simple *tarḫu-/taruḫ*- 'to be powerful'. The already established sense 'power, might' of the widely attested noun *mūwa*- and its derivatives would have been enough foundation for the calque,

overriding 'to drive' of the simplex. Nor is a calque contradicted by the use in cuneiform Luwian ritual texts, chiefly the Great Ritual of the Lower Land: KUB 35.24+ Ro 5–9 (Starke 1985:83) and KBo 29.3+KUB 35.43 iii 6.11 (Starke 1985:145–6). As per above, this may reflect influence from Empire Luwian.[4]

3.c. Topoi

As part of his efforts to portray himself as a world ruler (*šar kiššati*), on which see van den Hout 1995, Tutḫaliya IV departed from his predecessors and presented his *res gestae* in public display inscriptions (in Anatolian hieroglyphs in Luwian). His son Šuppiluliuma II continued the practice, which surely took as models the inscriptions of Assyrian kings in both structure and diction (see Cancik 2002). However, we would also expect to encounter topoi found in the annals and treaties of preceding Hittite kings (whatever their ultimate source). The Luwian inscriptions of Tutḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II represent the most likely means of transmission to their "Neo-Hittite" Iron Age successors, for whom they would have remained accessible (cf. Simon 2011:231 and 238–239). As per Simon (2011:237), it is noteworthy that topoi of the Iron Age Luwian inscriptions lacking in the Empire forerunners cited are for the most part also unattested in the extant Hittite corpus.[5]

3.c.1.

The widespread Iron Age Luwian topos of an author boasting of his successes versus the failures of his forebears was first elucidated in its overt negative—positive formulation by Hawkins (1975:122 and 136–139), citing its occurrence in Ḫatt. iv 53–55 (thus also Cancik 2002:80), as well as in the later Phoenician Kilamuwa inscription and the Annals of Sennacherib. For one Iron Age Luwian example see (17) below—Hawkins (*loc. cit.*) and Simon (2011:233–234) offer further attestations. While the ubiquity of the topos allows for multiple modes of transmission, its appearance in Tutḫaliya IV's YALBURT inscription makes it at least one likely model for the Iron Age Luwian usage (Hawkins 1995:74, Simon 2011:236–237):

(12) YALBURT 4, §§2–4 (Hawkins 1995:68)
zi/a-tá-zi/a-pa-wa/i REGIO-*ní-zi/a* MAGNUS.REX-*zi/a* *HATTI*(REGIO) *a-mi-zi/a* (VIR_2) *TÁ*.AVUS-*zi/a* NEG-*a* *kwi/a-i(a)-ha* *hwi/a-i(a)-tá* *mu-pa-wa/i-*a* (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* *á-zi/a-tá* *a-wa/i* *zi/a-i(a)* REGIO-*ní-i(a)* ‖ […]
"To these countries no one (of) the Great Kings of the Hatti-land, my fathers and forefathers, had gone, but the Storm-god, (my) lord, favored me, and I [struck/destroyed] these countries."

4 One cannot entirely exclude that direct influence from Hittite also played a role. The use of *-za tarḫu-/taruḫ-* for 'to overcome, defeat' is attested from OH in the Illuyanka Myth (KBo 3.7 iii 24–25, OH/NS) of the Storm-god defeating Illuyanka (Hoffner 1990:13) and the Myth of the Storm-god in Lihzina (KUB 33.66+ iii 16, OH/NS) with *utnē* 'lands' as object (Groddek 1999:38 and 40). Transmission to Luwian from military narratives in Hittite cuneiform annals of the Hattuša chancellery seems unlikely, but the content and diction of Anatolian myths may have had wider circulation.

5 In the case of the exceptions, the (re)settling of lands and peoples and settling of unoccupied lands (see Simon 2011:234), influence of Hittite models cannot be excluded, but their mode of transmission to Iron Age texts remains to be elucidated (see on this issue Simon 2011:230 and *passim*). The case of another Iron Age Luwian topos ostensibly attested in Hittite—the expression of curse formulae "Let X be a litigant against Y!"—is seriously compromised by the fact that in Hittite X is always the human malefactor and Y the divine opponent (KBo 6.28 Vo 41, KUB 21.17 iii 26, etc.), while in Iron Age Luwian the two roles are always reversed (see Hawkins 2000:418 for the Luwian evidence). One may suspect two independent adaptations of an Assyrian model.

Hawkins (1995:30) also recognized a further example, even before the clause boundaries and syntax of the passage had been recognized:

(13) SÜDBURG (BOĞAZKÖY 21), §§1–4, 17–18; text of §§1–2 after Melchert 2006:291–292)
HATTI REGIO *kwi/a+ri (a)li-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka* VITIS$_x$ *ta-mi-na ma-sa$_5$ lu-ka i(a)-ku-na* L.502.L.300 MAGNUS.REX [FRO]NS-*zi/a* PRAE *nà-nú-pa* PURUS.FONS-*ma$_x$* MAGNUS.REX HEROS DEUS OMNIS$_2$ (list follows) *su-na-sa-ti* CRUS *a-tá (a)li-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka* VITIS$_x$ *ta-mi-na ma-sa$_5$ lu-ka i(a)-ku-na* (plus twelve more narrative clauses) TONITRUS(URBS) x-*ra/i-sà-ma*(URBS) INFRA.L.122(URBS) LIBATIO-*ha-sà* DEUS-*zi/a* DARE-*ha zi/a+a-ti* (DEUS) TERRA+VIA *pa-ti-*a* ANNUS *i(a)-zi/a*
"When I (had) subjected all the lands of Hatti (*a)liwani*—before former kings Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka (and) Ikkuna __ed. But now all the gods… have stood with fullness for Šuppiluliuma, Great King, Hero, and *in addition* I have subjected *(a)liwani* Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka (and) Ikkuna…in Tarhuntassa, X-city (and) Y-city I gave sacrifices to the gods—here in that year I made a divine earth-road."

The precise sense of the sequence L.502.300 still eludes us,[6] but the contrast between "before (= in the time of) former kings" and "but now for (me) Šuppiluliuma" and his successful subjection of the lands cited through the favor of the gods makes clear that we have another example of the topos.

3.b.2

The portrayal of a king as a mighty hunter is a clear instance of a Hittite topos transmitted to Iron Age Luwian through its use in Empire Luwian (thus Simon 2011:233, but with unjustified doubts). Hawkins (2006:58–62) fully established the reading and interpretation of the combination L.109.L.285 as CERVUM$_4$.IACULUM, spelling a noun 'hunter' and a verb 'to hunt'. The critical link is its use in KARAKUYU (Tutḫaliya IV) to describe how King Tutḫaliya IV hunts three named mountains. The parallel with the repeated accounts of hunting "all the mountains" by a King Tutḫaliya in the festivals for the tutelary deities is undeniable (KUB 2.1 vi 1–8; see McMahon 1991:114–115), KBo 11.40 vi 10–27 (pre-NH/NS) (McMahon 1991:130–131).[7] In view of the KARAKUYU example, there is good reason to take the passage in KIZILDAĞ 4, §3 as also illustrating the verb, with the same transitive syntax: (TERRA)*ta-sà*-REL$_x$+*ra/i* OMNIS$_2$ MAGNUS.REX VIR$_2$ *(a)liwani* CERVUS$_4$.IACULUM-*tà* (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM "A Great King, a man *(a)liwani*, he hunted all the lands, by (the help of) the Storm-god of Heaven" (against Hawkins 2006:60).[8]

6 Yakubovich (2008:7) tentatively suggests the plausible "were rebellious(?)", but also possible is an expression for lands previously not fully under Hittite control that Šuppiluilima II brought to heel. Cf. the much debated *kurewana-/kuerwana-* that appears in Hittite contexts, contrasting with "servant of His Majesty" and used of lands such as Arzawa and Kizzuwatna (see Puhvel 1997:265 for attestations).

7 There are reasons to think that the diction of the festival texts cited reflect models far earlier than Tutḫaliya IV, but this merely means that he is carrying on a long tradition of Hittite kings. In the extant NS versions he is almost certainly the referent. As per Hawkins (2006:60) BOHÇA, §5 likewise reflects hunting as a pastime of prominent men. The epithet *sà-ma-ya* of the wild beasts that Runtiya grants to the author is likely 'collective, assembled', an adjective in **-iyo-* from the adverb **som* 'together, with' (likewise Payne 2012: 98 "en masse(?)"). There is also merit in the suggestion of Dillo (2013) that ŞIRZI describes an installation designed for hunting animals, arguably including an area of open field that has been trampled down (*tarpammin*) and a raised hunting blind ("DOMUS+SCALA"(-)*ha-ti-i*, dat.-loc. sg.), both of which would have made prey easier to spot and to kill.

8 For present purposes the role of the much debated *(a)liwani* in this context may be left open: it may qualify 'man' or describe the manner in which he hunted.

3.b.3.

As an expression of divine aid in battle the formula *pēran ḫuwai-^{ḫḫi}/ḫuiya-^{mi}* 'to go before (someone)' (NB with *HW*^{2} 3.805, *not* 'to run'!) is standard in New Hittite royal annuals.[9] It already appears in OH/NS:

(14) KBo 10.2 i 27–30 (*res gestae* of Ḫattušili I, OH/NS)
("(I), the Great King, the tabarna, (am) beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. She [lift]ed me on her knees, she [took] me by the hand, *n*]*=aš=mu* MÈ-*ya peran ḫuwāiš* 'and she preceded me in battle."
KBo 10.1 Ro 13–14
LUGAL.GAL *tabarna naram* ^{d}UTU (eras.) *ana sūni-šu iškun-šu ù qa-šu iṣbat-ma ina pani-šu irṭúp alakam*
"The Great King, the tabarna (is) beloved of the Sun-goddess. She placed him in her lap, took him by the hand, and proceeded to go before him."

It also appears in the Annals of Tutḫaliya I (KUB 23.11 ii 29, iii 24, MH/NS). *Pace* de Martino (2003:41[106]), there is no strong reason to suppose that the example in Ḫattušili I is an interpolation of the NH copyist (cf. Hoffner 1980:314).

The matter of its ultimate origin is less certain. Devecchi (2005:117) cites similar expressions in Akkadian literary sources. Thanks to Timothy Hogue and Shigeo Yamada, I may cite a closer analogue in Assyrian royal inscriptions:

(15) Tukulti-Ninurta I A.078.5 48–53 (13thC, Grayson 2002:244)
("With the support of Aššur, Enlil, and Šamaš, the great gods, my lords,) *i-na re-ṣu-ti šá* ^{d}*iš$_8$-tár* NIN-*at* AN-*e* KI-*ti i-na pa-ni um-ma-n*[*i*]-*ia il-li-ku* "(and) with the aid of Ishtar, mistress of heaven and earth (who) goes before my army"

Likewise A.078.23 56–59 (Grayson 2002:272). Given other proven influence of Assyrian on Hittite royal diction, such seems likely here. However, all putative examples from third-millennium Assyrian royal annals that I have found so far are heavily restored (and the restorations could be based on the later examples like the one cited). At present, then, a Hittite origin and transmission in the opposite direction cannot be excluded.

Regardless of the ultimate source, the immediate conduit for the Iron Age Luwian usage is once again almost surely the Empire Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions:

(16) YALBURT (12, §2 – 13 §1, Tutḫaliya IV)
a-wa/i pi-na-(a)li(URBS) *tu-pi a-wa/i-mu* VIR$_2$*(a)li-wa/i-ní-sa pi-na-(a)li*(URBS) FORTIS.CRUS *a-wa/i-mu* (DEUS) TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-ta a-wa/i-mi* VIR$_2$*(a)li-wa/i-ní-sa mu-wa/i-ha*
"I struck Pinara. The forces of Pinara resisted me. The Storm-god, (my) lord, went before me, and I overcame its forces."

Likewise YALBURT 10, §3 and 11, §1. See Simon 2011:235–236 for the Iron Age attestations.

3.d. Narrative Structure
3.d.1.

As underscored by Cancik (2002), the general device of combining military exploits and building activities found in both the Empire and Iron Age Luwian narrative inscriptions imitates

9 As correctly emphasized in *HW*^{2} 3.805, there is no basis for supposing that this Hittite verb inherently includes a semantic component of haste, which in most contexts makes no sense (e.g., the NIN.DINGIR-priestess and others circling the hearth). The real Hittite 'to run' is *piddai-^{ḫḫi}*! Note the Akkadian equivalent *alāku*. The same applies to the cognate Luwian verb, as shown by examples (12) from YALBURT and (17) from KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c*. The kings did not run to the countries in question.

Assyrian royal inscriptions. However, a striking shared feature of the Empire and Iron Age Luwian narratives is the very specific feature of temporally framing a narrative by a subordinate and main clause that describe building the material support that hosts the inscription. As per Hawkins (1995:26 and 45), the *entire* narrative of SÜDBURG (BOĞAZKÖY 21) is framed by such a device, already cited above for other purposes as example (13).

It is important to stress that the opening subordinate temporal clause *HATTI* REGIO OMNIS$_2$ REL+*ra/i* *(a)li-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka* "When I (had) subjected all the Hatti-lands *(a) liwani*…" has no connection to the narrative that then follows (Hawkins' presentation, loc. cit., is not sufficiently explicit on this point). The behavior of the lands described in §2 that begins the actual narrative took place long before the year in which Šuppiluliuma II built the entrance to the underworld in which the inscription stands: *zi/a+a-ti* (DEUS)TERRA+VIA *pa-ti-*a* ANNUS *i(a)-zi/a* "here in that year I made a divine earth-road". Likewise, there is no direct connection of the final framing temporal clause to the last clause of the narrative: TONITRUS(URBS) *x-ra/i-sà-ma*(URBS) INFRA.L.122(URBS) LIBATIO-*ha-sà* DEUS-*zi/a* DARE-*ha* "In Tarhuntassa, X-city (and) Y-city I gave offerings to the gods". This action necessarily must have preceded the building of the chamber in which the inscription stood, but that is true of all events of the narrative, which are capped by the offerings made to the gods, presumably given in thanks for their help in Suppiluliuma II's described military successes.

With Hawkins (1995:26) and Melchert (2006:292–293), Iron Age Luwian attests at least one less spectacular but still impressive instance of the same structure:

(17) KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§7–15 (10th-early 9thC)
a-wa/i |*kwi/a-a-ti-i* |(ANNUS)*u-si-i* *ka-wa/i-za-na*(URBS) |(CURRUS)*wa/i+ra/i-za-ni-ná* |PES$_2$-*za-ha* *pa-tá-za-pa-wa/i-ta-*a* (TERRA+*LA+LA*)*wa/i-li-li-tà-za* *mi-i-zi-*a* |*tá-ti-i-zi* AVUS-*ha-ti-zi-ha* |L.348(-)*la/i/u-tà-li-zi-ha* |NEG$_2$-*´* (PES$_2$)*hwi/a-hwi/a-sà-tá-si…*|*za-zi-ha-wa/i-mi-i* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-ni-zi* *pa-ti-i-*a* ("ANNUS")u-si |AEDIFICARE-*MI-ha*
"In which year I drove the Kawean carriage—to those lands my fathers and grandfathers and *predecessors* did not march, (but the Storm-god of Heaven, Karhuha, and Kubaba loved me for my justice. They sat on my *huhurpal*, and they went before me, and I devastated those lands. I brought in spoils, and I came up from those lands in glory)—I also built these towers for myself in that year."

Once again, one must be clear that there is *no* temporal or logical connection between *a-wa/i* |*kwi/a-a-ti-i* |(ANNUS)*u-si-i* *ka-wa/i-za-na*(URBS) |(CURRUS)*wa/i+ra/i-za-ni-ná* |PES$_2$-*za-ha* "In which year I drove the Kawean carriage…" and the failure of Katuwa's precursors to act against "those lands".[10] It seems likely that the inscription and the support on which it stands followed closely his own military successes described in the narrative, but rhetorically their creation is linked by "additive focus" ("also") to a triumphal procession whose relationship to the narrated events must be inferred.

3.d.2.

Against the usage *UMMA*… "(Thus) speaks PN, Great King…" of Hittite royal compositions

10 The function of the demonstrative pronoun here cannot be discourse-deictic, since the lands have not been previously mentioned. It must be an instance of Luwian /aba:-/ in its use to mark non-proximal spatial deixis. The unnamed lands are presented as not being part of the immediate surroundings of the rhetorical deictic center Carchemish. English "yonder" is probably a more accurate rendering here.

since OH,[11] NIŞANTAŞ (BOĞAZKÖY 5) begins: EGO-*wa/i-mi-*a* SOL_2 MAGNUS.REX *LABARNA+la* PURUS.FONS-ma_x… "I am My Sun, Great King, Labarna, Šuppiluliuma…".[12] As correctly argued by Güterbock (1967:74), this formula also appears in a cuneiform text of the same king:

(18) KBo 12.38 ii 22–23 (conquest of Cyprus, NH)
ūk=za ^{d}UTU-*ŠI tabarnaš* ^{m}KÙ.GA.[P]Ú-*aš* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{UR}[^{U}GIDRU]-*ti*…
"I am My Sun, the tabarna, Šuppiluliuma, Great King, King of the land of Ḫattuša…"

As thoroughly explicated by Hogue (2019a), this formula is first attested in the 15th century in Kassite Babylonia and at Alalakh, but there can be no doubt that its renewed adoption by Šuppiluliuma II provided the model for its widespread use in Iron Age Luwian inscriptions and its spread from there more generally into Syro-Anatolian monumental inscriptions, to elsewhere in the Levant and Mesopotamia, and even to the Decalogue in Exodus 20:2: "I am Yahweh, your god…". For the full argumentation for this trajectory see Hogue 2019a:327–339 and for the crucial function of the formula in monumental inscriptions and its relationship to (but not dependence on) images ibid. 339.[13]

3.d.3.

The use in SÜDBURG of a subordinate–main clause structure to frame an entire narrative (3.d.1) remains thus far unique to my knowledge. The predominant means of structuring narratives in Iron Age Luwian inscriptions was that of the "I am So-and-so" opening just described. However, it was not the only replacement of the *UMMA*… "(Thus) speaks…" formula of Hittite narratives and proclamations of Hittite kings before Tuṯḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II. It is the merit of Simon (2011:235–237) to have recognized and called attention to this less common but well established alternative (cf. already Hawkins 2000:454).

Simon plausibly terms this structure "independent introduction" (*unabhängige Einleitung*), but reexamination of all examples (including some unknown to him) suggests that the matter is more complicated.[14]

It seems best to begin with ALEPPO 6, whose natural order of reading seems to be:

(19) ALEPPO 6, §1 (11thC, Hawkins 2011:44)
REX ^{l}*tá-i-ta-sa* EGO-*wa/i-mi* (VIR_2) HEROS (VIR_2) *pa-lá/í-sà-ti-*[*nì*]*-za-sa* REX

11 One should not forget, however, that the two oldest examples of *res gestae* in the extant Hittite corpus, the Anitta text and the Acts of Ḫattušili I, both lack this feature and reflect public display inscriptions!

12 In the oral presentation of this paper I cited this feature as a topos, but for reasons that will become apparent I now think it is better characterized as marking a type of narrative structure.

13 But one must correct one error. Güterbock (1967:81) quite explicitly claimed only that the Hittite text of KBo 12.38 ii 22–23 is the Hittite version of a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription *comparable* to that of NIŞANTAŞ (*pace* Hogue 2019a 327). Since legible portions of the latter text contain no mention of Alašiya (Cyprus), prudence dictates that we remain with this cautious formulation.

14 Simon reasonably adds to Hawkins' list EĞREK, since there is no space for an introductory EGO (but cf. Hawkins 2000:492, following Meriggi, for the possibility that this was furnished by a full figure that is not preserved). The inscription KÖYLÜTOLUYAYLA is far too fragmentary to determine the structure of its opening. CEKKE §§1–5, an introduction truly independent of the narrative and proclamation that begins in §6, is a unicum that is not comparable to the others discussed here. As per Hogue (2019b), Iron Age Luwian (and contemporary Northwest Semitic) inscriptions highlighted the role of the author/narrator not only through the opening "I am…" formula, but also by the conceit that the one "speaking" the text not merely commissioned the text and its support, but in fact created them himself. Why in the case of CEKKE a servant of Sastura had to carry out this role for his lord and the latter's associates we can only speculate, but the situation is exceptional.

However, any attempt to read this as a grammatical Luwian sentence with "left-dislocated" topic and to render it as "King Taita (am) I, the Hero, Palistinean King" (Hawkins 2011:45) is doomed. A "left-dislocated" hanging topic as attested in Hittite cannot be totally excluded, but I know of no support for such syntax in Luwian. What is truly fatal for this analysis, however, is the order of REX ^{I}*tá-i-ta-sa*. In Luwian as in Hittite titles are treated as appositions and always *follow* the personal name (see examples in (21) and (22) cited below). One must conclude rather with Hawkins (2011:41) that the "unusual arrangement of titles, name and introductory *amu*-figure [are] doubtless for ornamental graphic effect".

More than a cursory look at the actual inscription (see photo and drawing in Hawkins 2011:42 and drawing in Payne 2016:292) makes abundantly clear that REX ^{I}*tá-i-ta-sa* is not truly independent of the text. Rather, it is positioned to do double duty: both to serve as the caption identifying the full figure as Taita *and* as the first predicate nominative of EGO-*wa/i-mi* (cf. Hogue 2019a:328–329). The position of REX above ^{I}*tá-i-ta-sa* is motivated by the desire to place the name immediately beside the full figure of Taita, whose right hand thus points to the name, rather than back at itself (see the fully elaborated analysis by Payne, loc. cit.).

I assert that this incontrovertible example of signs expressing name and titulature having to be read both outside and inside the narrative structure means that we should interpret other examples likewise. To cite a simple case:

(20) ERKİLET 1, §§1–3 (8thC, Hawkins 2000:494)
^{I}AVUS-*ha-SARMA-ma-sa* (DEUS)*ma-ru-ti-ka-sa* |*pu-ti*||*-ti-sa*
|*a-wa/i* |*za* |*wa/i-ni-za* |*á-mu* |*kwi/a-za-ha-´*
|*za-pa-wa/i-ta* |*ni* |*kwi/a-i-sa-ha*
|*sa-ni-ti*

In addition to serving as identifying the author of the inscription ("Huhhasarma, the *putiti* of (the god) Marutika"), the titulature can and should also be read as part of the text: "*I*, Huhhasarma, the *p*. of Marutika, carved this stone. Let no one overturn this!". Note the insistence that H. himself created the monument. Also noteworthy is the use of the clause-connector /a:-/ to relate the otherwise freestanding name and titulature to the narrative text.[15]

Confirmation for the dual function of what precedes the start of the narrative comes from its oldest assured attestation:

(21) YALBURT, 1, §1 + frag. and 16, §1–2 (see Hawkins 1992:260–263 and 267 and 1995:71 and 78)
SOL_2 MAGNUS.REX *LABARNA+la* MONS+*tu* *LABARNA+la* MAGNUS.REX HEROS *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS URBS+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS || NEPOS [PURUS.FONS-ma_x MAGNUS.REX HEROS] (DEUS) TONITRUS *wa/i-sà-ti* *a-wa/i-mi* REGIO.$OMNIS_2$ (L.273)*mu-wa/i-ha*

Hawkins, opp. citt., takes just (DEUS) TONITRUS *wa/i-sà-ti* as belonging to the clause that follows (for reasons cited below), but *a-wa/i* introducing the first clause of a narrative would be entirely unmotivated. The ALEPPO 6 example argues that we should also here regard everything preceding *a-wa/i-mi* as serving a dual role. We have the name and very full titulature accompanied by "by the favor of the Storm-god" (thus with Hawkins), entirely comparable to the "by the grace of God" that accompanies the names and titles of Christian monarchs: Tuthaliya owes his position as Hittite king to the favor of

15 This structure seems the most widespread, clearly being matched in KARKAMIŠ A4*b*, GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE (Malatya), and TOPADA (Tabal). It is likely also in KARKAMIŠ A17*b* and EĞREK (Tabal, but cf. note 14). In ERKİLET 2 there is no introduction at all, but this is surely due to lack of space on the unshaped boulder.

the Storm-god. At the same time, one should also read "I, Tuthaliya, Great King, the Sun, Labarna, …by the favor of the Storm-god conquered all the lands." As in the simpler version, *a-wa/i* is employed to indicate the connection of what precedes to the narrative.[16]

However, there is evidence that use of *a-wa/i* to connect the name and titulature to the start of the narrative is not obligatory:

(22) KIZILDAĞ 4, §§1–2abc
SOL_2 MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX HEROS (DEUS) TONITRUS AMPLECTI URBS-*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM DEUS-*na* $OMNIS_2$ ($BONUS_2$)*wa/i-sà-ti* REGIO $OMNIS_2$ (L.273)*mu(wa)-tá* REL *mu*$^{!}$*-sà-ka-na*(REGIO) *mu(wa)-tá*

Here there is no connective *a-wa/i*. Both the titulature and the expression of divine favor directly precede the first clause of the narrative. Hawkins (1992:266) reasonably argues that "by the favor of the Storm-god of Heaven (and) all the gods" is to be construed with what follows. But as in YALBURT, it may equally well be read with what precedes. This is now fully confirmed by TÜRKMEN–KARAHÖYÜK 1:

(23) TÜRKMEN–KARAHÖYÜK 1, §1 (Goedegebuure *et al*. 2020:30)
MAGNUS.REX *ka+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* HEROS URBS-*li-si-sa* FILIUS *mu-sà-ka*(REGIO) REL *mu(wa)-tá*
"When Kartapo (sic!) Great King, Hero, son of Mursili, expelled the land of the Muski."

For reading the REL sign as "when" and the interpretation of the verb see (7) above.[17] It is clear that the author of TÜRKMEN–KARAHÖYÜK 1 knew of KIZILDAĞ 4. What is of interest for interpreting the latter is that he clearly read not just "by the favor of…", but also the name and titulature as going with the first clause of the narrative. I assert therefore that in KIZILDAĞ 4 we should again suppose a dual reading: "Hartapo, the Sun, Great King, Hero…by the favor of the Storm-god of Heaven (and) all the gods" *and* "When Hartapo, the Sun, Great King…by the favor of…expelled the land of the Muski."[18]

4. CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this survey are overwhelmingly negative. We have seen no effects on Luwian grammar (phonology, morphology, or syntax). The one lexical borrowing and one likely calque are specially conditioned.

For reasons already alluded to in the introduction, these results should come as no surprise. Whether or not one follows Breyer (2022) in terming Empire Luwian and its Iron Age successor a "functionalect", it is clear that with very rare exceptions our textual evidence

16 It is true that in YALBURT 16+10, §3 the figure is repeated: [(DEUS)]$CERVUS_3$ ‖*wa/i-sà-ti wa/i-mi-*a* HEROS L.463.L.398 $CERVUS_4$.IACULUM MAGNUS. REX. Hawkins (1995:79) notes the absence of a connective conjunction, but wrongly suggests that it is due to its preceding the start of the narrative. The latter has already begun in §2! Rather we have an inserted comment that does not belong to narrative, but rather adds further honorifics that are attributed to the favor of the Stag-god. The structure merely mimics that of the preceding §§1–2. For the pairing of favor by the Storm-god and the Stag-god see Hawkins 1992:263.

17 The position of REL after the direct object here and in KIZILDAĞ 4, §2bc supports its interpretation as the subordinating conjunction, not a relative pronoun. In a "definite" relative clause the relative pronoun should follow the subject (and graphically it is unlikely that it would interrupt the titulature), but there is no motivation for it to follow any element of the predicate.

18 It is likely that KARAKUYU had a similar structure. The titulature is incomplete, but the configuration of the start of the narrative in line 2 argues against there having been any connecting *a-wa/i*: see Hawkins 2006:61–62 and 75.

reflects a quite artificial literary language.[19] Once Tutḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II made the decision—surely politically motivated—to have their self-aggrandizing display inscriptions written in the Anatolian hieroglyphs and in Luwian, they surely entrusted their composition to scribes fully competent in Luwian. In fulfilling their assigned task, the latter naturally adopted a number of topoi favored by their patrons, both those of previous Hittite kings and innovative ones in imitation of Assyrian royal inscriptions. But the overall sociolinguistic situation in Ḫattuša in the Late Empire would have provided no motivation to alter Luwian grammar in the direction of Hittite.

Since they serve to confirm the continuity from the Empire inscriptions of Tutḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II to those of similar content in Iron Age Luwian, I have followed Simon (2011) in treating also the shared narrative structures of both. But these too are closely bound up with the purpose and the display context of the inscriptions (see Hogue 2019ab). The structure of letters is as expected entirely different, with new topics being marked by *a-pi-ha* 'furthermore'. So once again there is no basis for supposing that the purposefully stylized use of the capabilities of the Luwian language in the rhetoric of display inscriptions had any effects on its grammar.

19 It is predictable that neither the KULULU lead strips with their economic minutiae nor the letters (ASSUR and YASSIHÖYÜK) contain any of the topoi found in the public inscriptions. More noteworthy is that the greeting formulas of the latter are very differently formulated from those of Hittite letters and even the adaptation of the internationally standard *UMMA*=PN_1=*MA ANA* PN_2 *QIBI=MA* is reordered.

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