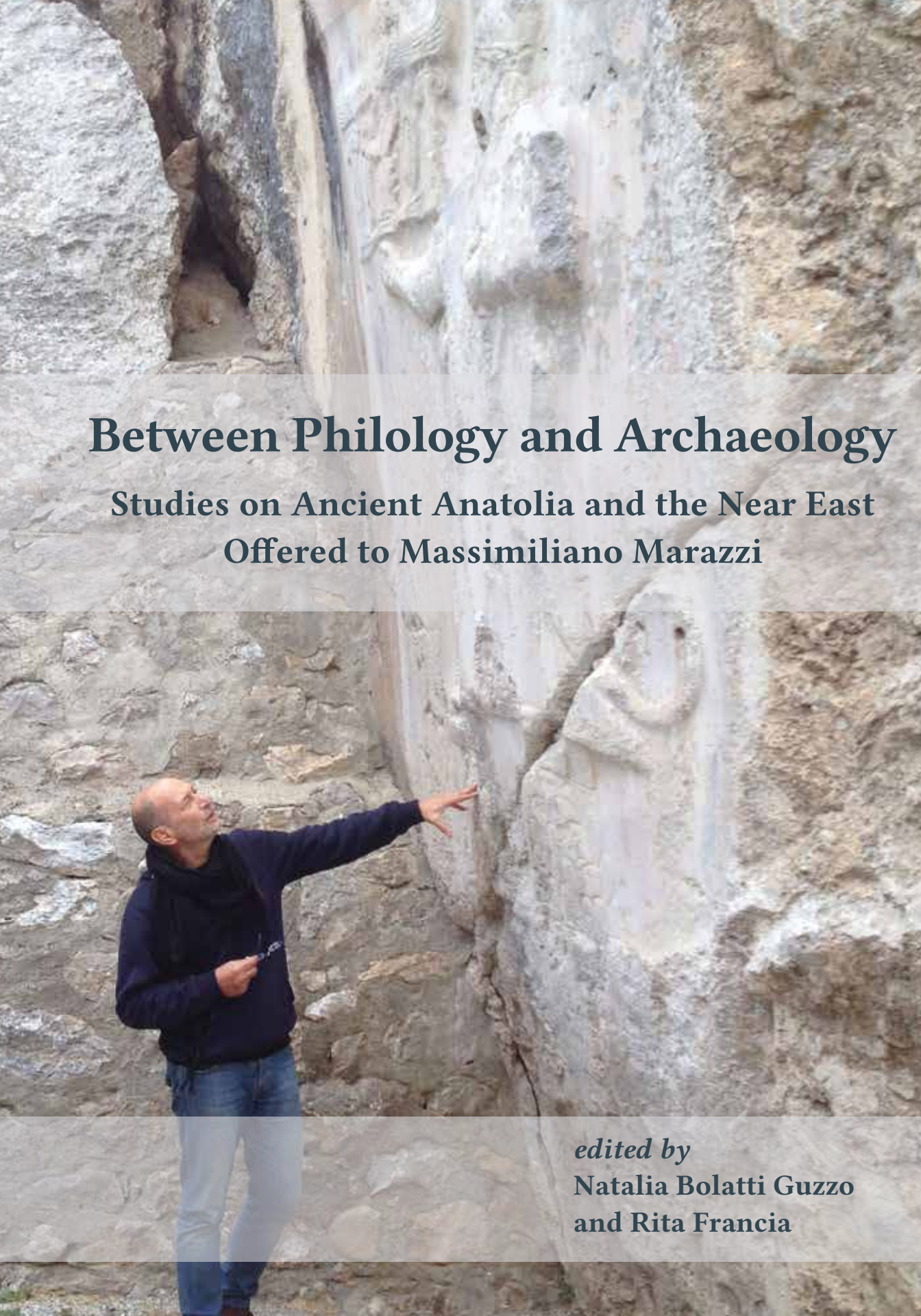


Between Philology and Archaeology

Studies on Ancient Anatolia and the Near East Offered to Massimiliano Marazzi

edited by
Natalia Bolatti Guzzo and Rita Francia

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BETWEEN PHILOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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Preface

It seems it was yesterday when, in the autumn of 1986, the editors of the present volume, at that time students of ancient Near Eastern disciplines at the University of Rome "La Sapienza," were attracted by the announcement, posted on the notice board of the Department of Glottoanthropological Studies, of new classes on languages of ancient Anatolia in the second and first millennia BCE.

They were going to be held by a young researcher, Massimiliano Marazzi, just returned to Italy after a long training period in Germany. From the very first lesson we were literally overwhelmed by his volcanic personality and lead into a research path that would unfold over the following years through repeated and endless seminar sessions, multiple projects, and stimulating scientific collaborations: an uninterrupted flow of ideas, experiences, and initiatives thanks to which a rich and profound scientific relationship has since been established and consolidated over time, not only on a professional basis but also on a human level.

It is therefore with great pleasure that today we can offer him this collection of essays as a tribute to his scientific career: a small token of gratitude and esteem from students, friends, and colleagues who have been sharing with him—often on the wave of his own enthusiasm—a passion for Anatolian studies and for the diverse territories of investigation, especially the uneven ones "at the border" (in its broad sense), that compose the articulated landscape of ancient Near Eastern cultures.

As a matter of fact, one of the most distinctive traits of Massimiliano Marazzi's scientific personality has always been represented by his constant interest in phenomena of cultural contact and interaction that occur at the interface between adjacent but different worlds.

The honoree graduated in Greek history at the University of Rome in 1972. He was soon driven by his innate curiosity to follow the traces of the early Aegean civilizations beyond the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, then broadened his horizon of investigation into the Anatolian and Near Eastern cultures. From 1973 to 1975 he was in Berlin, first as a fellow of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst at the Freie Universität, then at the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut.

However, it was mainly at the University of Würzburg—where he initially arrived with a grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung in 1983–1984—that he found fertile ground for cultivating and deepening his interests in the civilizations

of preclassical Anatolia, with special focus on the Hittite world. Relevant in this respect was the mentoring role—which later developed into a relationship of esteem and friendship also on a personal level—played by two prominent scholars, Einar von Schuler and Günter Neumann, who at the time held the respective chairs of Altorientalistik and Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft. This fruitful period represented also the basis for an intense collaboration with the University of Würzburg lasting until today.

In Rome he was first confirmed as researcher at the Department of Ancient Historical, Archaeological and Anthropological Studies, then at the Department of Glottoanthropological Studies. In 1993 he moved to Naples as associate professor of Aegean and Anatolian Philology at the Istituto Universitario Orientale, then from 1999 he continued his tenure at the University Suor Orsola Benincasa, where he was full professor from 2001 until the present day. Here he constituted the Centro Mediterraneo Preclassico, a research center for the study of ancient Mediterranean civilizations, with particular regard to Aegean and Anatolian cultures, within which he directed and coordinated various scientific initiatives in collaboration with both Italian and foreign institutions. After his retirement, he received the title of "Honorary Professor," as a final recognition of his distinguished scientific and academic career.

Over the years he held further teaching assignments (among them that of visiting professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome), and was also involved as tutor, coordinator, or supervisor in several PhD and higher educational programs in the field of Anatolian languages, Mediterranean archaeology, humanities, and cultural heritage conservation.

At all stages of his academic career, he distinguished himself as an "unconventional" scholar, and in many respects as a forerunner of some innovative trends that characterize modern research in the humanities today.

A noteworthy aspect of Massimiliano Marazzi's research methodology is that he has generally favored an interdisciplinary approach in evaluating ancient data. This clearly emerges from his parallel interests both in archaeology and in philological studies, and in fact a vivid dialogue between these two domains has been maintained also on the strength of his fieldwork experience as an archaeologist.

In relation to the Anatolian documents, such an integrated approach implies, for example, a special focus on the materiality of the texts—for instance, their contexts of discovery, physical appearance, typology and characteristics of the media, and techniques of execution—elements which all proved to be particularly significant in the study of the composite character of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

A further merit of our honoree is to have envisaged from the outset—long before the now familiar notion of "digital humanities" became widespread—the opportunities offered by new technologies applied to the study of ancient records, taking advantage of the tools that gradually became available as research in this area evolved.

In response to the increasing need for systematization of the data, he promptly took to the creation of easily accessible electronic databases and Anatolian documentary corpora.

Thus, based on the bibliographical and lexicological cataloging published in the 1980s in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, he promoted the project *Index anatolicus*—established in 1995 through a cooperation with the Institut für Orientalische Philologie (University of Würzburg) directed by Gernot Wilhelm. This was later incorporated into the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz as a reference tool for bibliographical and lexicological updating. Not to be forgotten is his critical edition—again as part of the Hethitologie Portal—of the Hethitische Königserläße, a group of texts of considerable complexity that constitutes one of his favorite research subjects in which he offered stimulating suggestions on their historical, ideological, and juridical background.

Another prominent topic in Massimiliano Marazzi's interests are the Anatolian hieroglyphs, about which he conducted extensive scientific investigations based on accurate and up-to-date critical bibliographical overviews. This line of research—still going on—resulted, for example, in some reference works such as *Il geroglifico anatolico* (1990) and the joint publication *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel* (1984, 2nd rev. ed. 2009), and, most notably, the convention of transcriptions—with focus on the main interpretative problems—in *Il geroglifico anatolico: Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua "ridecifrazione"*(1998), which resulted from the roundtable organized by him in Procida in 1995 with the participation of some of the major experts in the field.

Moreover, on a theoretical level, Marazzi also faced the question of the nature and function of graphic systems, developing themes he had the chance to discuss at the beginning of his career in Rome with Giorgio Raimondo Cardona. He thus addressed and gradually deepened crucial issues such as the relationship between writing and language, or that between image and sign, always placing in an adequate historical-cultural and anthropological perspective the analysis of "script" (as a system) vs. "act of writing" (as a communicative phenomenon in its materiality, with its social, ideological, cognitive implications, etc.).

Given the insights that especially the earliest second millennium hieroglyphic material in this regard provides, it is not surprising that the honoree consistently devoted specific attention to it. As a recent example, he enthusiastically undertook the project of analyzing the imperial hieroglyphic monuments based on advanced 3D-scanning procedures that include interpolation and visualization of 3D-models of the inscriptions in a virtual environment in which it is easier to identify elements on the stone surface difficult to detect by a human eye. In this regard worth mentioning are his repeated surveys at the Hittite capital Hattuša, in cooperation with the archaeological mission at Boğazköy and the German Archaeological Institute of Istanbul, as well as his inspection of the rock reliefs at Sirkeli, in collaboration with the University of Bern.

The use of innovative digital technologies is also connected with the broader issue of cultural heritage conservation, which was equally central in Marazzi's

scientific vision, as reflected in his long-standing commitment, through various assignments and contributions, to promoting preservation, knowledge, and accessibility of ancient documents.

Finally, we wish to highlight one last and more private aspect of Massimiliano Marazzi's character that concerns his relation with students and collaborators. Tireless in his work, to which he devoted himself with passion, determination, brilliancy, and even fun, he has always been inclined to create composite work teams, being able to identify and bring out personal talents, professional skills and specializations, creating an atmosphere of participation and friendship.

As witnesses to some of his challenges in the field of Anatolian studies, we hope to please him with this initiative, made possible by the participation of friends and colleagues who warmly subscribed to it. However, we have deliberately chosen to restrict the subject of this volume to the field of Oriental studies, since it would have been too onerous for us to follow his multifaceted work in the realm of Aegean and Mediterranean archaeology. Accordingly, we present here the selected Anatolian bibliography of his contributions listed in chronological order.

Rome, May 2024

Anatolian Bibliography of Massimiliano Marazzi

1976

"Diskussionsbeitrag [zur historisch-religiösen Forschung im Rahmen des ägäisch-anatolischen Gebietes]." Pages 213–14 in *Études sur le Panthéon systématique et les Panthéons locaux. Compte rendu de la XXIème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée par l'Institut biblique pontifical et l'Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente de l'Université de Rome, Rome, 24–18 Juin 1974* (= *Or* 45). Rome: Biblical Institut Press. 1976.

1978

(with Helmuth Nowicki) "Vorarbeiten zu den hethitischen Gebeten (CTH 372, 373, 374)." *OA* 17 (1978): 257–78.

1979

"Zwei Randbemerkungen zu den *Bēl Madgalti*-Instruktionen." *VO* 2 (1979): 79–86.

1980

"Nota sul testo KBo XXII 61 (= CTH 291)." *SMEA* 22 (1980): 67–78.

"Brevi note su una nuova presentazione delle manifestazioni "letterarie" nel Vicino Oriente Antico." (Review article of Hans Gustav Güterbock, "Hethitische Literatur," in Wolfram Röllig (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* 1: *Altorientalische Literaturen*, Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion 1978.) *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 6 (1980): 157–64.

1981

"Note in margine ad alcuni testi di preghiera ittiti." *VO* 4 (1981): 27–35.

(with Nilüfer Boysan) "Die hethitischen Königssiegel mit Hieroglyphenlegende: ein Überblick." *VO* 4 (1981): 5–17.

Review of "Texte der Hethiter 1-7, A. Kammenhuber edidit: rassegna critica." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 54 (1981): 255–98 (Tavv. I–II).

1982

"«… e perciò voi convocate il *tulija*»; breve nota all'editto di Telepinu § 31." Pages 151–53 in *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*. Edited by Johann Tischler. IBS 40. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität. 1982.

"«Costruiamo la reggia, 'fondiamo' la regalità»: Note intorno ad un rituale anticoittita (CTH 414)." *VO* 5 (1982): 117–69.

"La stabilizzazione di un potere centrale nel plateau anatolico durante la 1ª metà del II millennio a.C.: riflessi ideologici nella produzione giuridico-letteraria ittita." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 12 (1982): 93–98.

Review of Ahmet Ünal, *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof.* THeth 6. Heidelberg 1978. *WO* 13 (1982): 153–59.

1983

(with Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich and Helmuth Nowicki) *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel.* Band I: *Vorarbeiten.* Würzburg: Königshaus-Neumann. 1983.

"Inni e preghiere ittite: A proposito di un libro recente." (Review of René Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières Hittites.* Homo Religiosus 4. Louvain-la-Neuve 1980.) *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 49 (1983): 321–41.

1984

"Überlegungen zur Bedeutung von *pankuš* in der hethitisch-akkadischen Bilinguis Ḫattušilis I." *WO* 15 (1984): 96–102.

"Il corpus dei testi cuneiformi ittiti: vecchi e nuovi strumenti di lavoro." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 18 (1984): 173–82.

(with Nilüfer Boysan) "Verbesserungen und Nachträge zu *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel.*" *AfO* 29–30 (1983–1984): 605.

1985

(with Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich, and Clelia Mora) *Supplement zu Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel.* Band I: *Vorarbeiten.* Würzburg: Schöningh. 1985.

"Monumenti ittiti 'supporto' di iscrizioni geroglifiche: Una survey." Pages 299–303 in *Studi di Paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi.* Edited by Mario Liverani, Alba Palmieri, and Renato Peroni. Rome: Università "La Sapienza." 1985.

"'Costruiamo la reggia, "fondiamo" la regalità': note intorno ad un rituale antico-ittita." Pages 47–81 in *Soprannaturale e potere nel mondo antico e nelle società tradizionali.* Edited by Frederick Mario Fales and Cristiano Grottanelli. Milan: F. Angeli. 1985.

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Review of Onofrio Carruba, Mario Liverani, Carlo Zaccagnini, eds., *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore.* Studia Mediterranea 4. Pavia 1983. *WO* 16 (1985): 167–68.

1986

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"Die Hieroglypheninschrift am Löwentor von Boğazköy: Diskussionsbeitrag." *OA* 25 (1986): 51–57.

"Repertori archeologici sui traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo orientale: Egitto, Cipro, Vicino-Oriente." Pages 323–26 in *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo:Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica; Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11–12 maggio e 3–6 dicembre 1984).* Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi,

Sebastiano Tusa, and Lucia Vagnetti. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1986.

"Gli 'Achei' in Anatolia: un problema di metodologia." Pages 391–403 in *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica; Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11–12 maggio e 3–6 dicembre 1984).* Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi, Sebastiano Tusa, and Lucia Vagnetti. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1986.

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(editor, with Sebastiano Tusa and Lucia Vagnetti) *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica; Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11–12 maggio e 3–6 dicembre 1984).* Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1986.

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1988

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1990

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1991

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1992

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1993

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1996

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1997

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(with Natalia Bolatti Guzzo, Carla Pepe, Leopoldo Repola, and Andreas Schachner) "Le sculture di Yazılıkaya: nuove e vecchie "letture" delle volumetrie sulla base delle recenti rilevazioni tridimensionali" / "Yazılıkaya kabartmaları: güncel 3 boyutlu dijital taramaların ışığında volumetrilere ilişkin yeni ve eski 'okumalar'." Pages 43–65 in *Arte, funzione e simboli nella cultura materiale dell'Anatolia Antica / Eski Anadolu'nun maddi kültüründe sanat, işlev ve semboller. XII Convegno sul Contributo italiano a scavi, ricerche e studi nelle missioni archeologiche in Turchia / XII. Türkiye'deki arkeolojik* çalışmalara *eğitim, araştırma ve kazı'da* İtalya *katkısı sempozyumu (Atti del Convegno Istanbul novembre – dicembre 2020 / Sempozyum Bildirileri Kasım – Aralık 2021).* Istanbul: Istituto Italiano di Cultura. 2023.

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Forthcoming

"Die hethitischen „Königserlässe": Eine Aktualisierung." *Studia Hethitica Hurritica et Urartaica* 2.

"CTH 5: Vorarbeiten zu einer neuen Edition für das Mainzer Portal." *News from the Lands of the Hittites* 8.

(with Natalia Bolatti Guzzo) "Die Felsreliefs von Sirkeli." In a collective volume on Sirkeli Höyük edited by Mirko Novák.

(with Andreas Schachner) "Boğazköy, Türkei – 3D-Scanning in der praktischen Anwendung zur Erforschung architektonischer und topographischer Phänomene." *E-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*

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"Kritische Bibliographie der Lexikographie des Hethitischen" in: *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*: Hethiter.net/:Lexemenbibliographie (2007) (with Natalia Bolatti Guzzo, Paola Dardano, Rita Francia, Michele Cammarosano, Carmen Riccardi, Alfredo Rizza) at https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetlexbibl/lexbibl.php?c=A.

Abbreviations

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	von Soden, Wolfram. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ARES	Archivi Reali di Ebla. Studi. Missione archeologica italiana in Siria a cura della Università (degli studi) di Roma "La Sapienza." Rome.
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi. Missione archeologica italiana in Siria a cura della Università (degli studi) di Roma "La Sapienza." Rome.
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASVOA 4/3	Forlanini, Massimo, and Massimiliano Marazzi. *Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico.* Fasc. 4/3: *Anatolia: L'impero hittita.* Rome: Herder, 1986
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
Boğazkoy 3	Bittel, Kurt, Rudolph Naumann, Thomas Beran, Rolf Hachmann, and Gottfried Kurth. *Boğazköy 3: Funde aus den Grabungen 1952–1955.* Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2. Berlin: Mann, 1957.
BoHa	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša
BoHa 5	Beran, Thomas. *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy 1: Die Siegel und Siegelabdrücke der vor- und althethitischen Perioden und die Siegel der hethitischen Grosskönige.* BoHa 5. Berlin: Mann, 1967.
BoHa 14	Boehmer, Rainer M., and Hans G. Güterbock. 1987. Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy: Grabungskampagnen 1931–1939, 1952–1978. BoHa 14. Berlin: Mann, 1987.

BoHA 19	Herbordt, Suzanne. *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa, mit Kommentaren zu den Siegelinschriften und Hieroglyphen von J. David Hawkins.* BoHa 19. Mainz: von Zabern, 2005.
BoHa 23	Herbordt, Suzanne, Daliah Bawanypeck, and J. David Hawkins, *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa.* BoHa 23. Mainz: von Zabern, 2011.
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*
CAD	Gelb, Ignace J., et al. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* 21 vols. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	Güterbock, Hans G., Harry A. Hoffner Jr., and Theo P. J. van den Hout, eds. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–.
CHDS	Chicago Hittite Dictionary Supplements
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CRRAI	Compte rendu Rencontre assyriologique internationale
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel. *Catalogue des textes hittites.* 2nd ed. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
CTU	Salvini, Mirjo. *Corpus dei Testi Urartei.* 4 volumes Rome: CNR, Ist. di Studi sulle Civilta dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2008–.
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DMOA	Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui
EDHIL	Kloekhorst, Alwin. *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon.* IEED 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
Emar IV	Beyer, Dominique. *Emar IV: Les sceaux; Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Emar, recherches au pays d'Aštata.* OBO Series Archaeologica 20. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.
HAB	Sommer, Ferdinand, and Adam Falkenstein. *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I. (Labarna II).* Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 16. Munich, 1938.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik/Handbook of Oriental Studies
HED	Puhvel, Jaan. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984–.
HEG	Tischler Johann. *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar.* Innsbruck Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–1983.
HL1	Hannig, Rainer. *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch.* Hannig-Lexica 1. 6th ed. Mainz: von Zabern, 2015.

HPM	Hethitologie Portal Mainz. Online: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php.
HPMM	Hethitologie Portal Mainz—Materialien
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HW^2	Friedrich, Johannes, and Annelies Kammenhüber. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch.* 2nd ed. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975–.
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IEED	Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IM	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
Konk.	*Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln.* Online: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/
K*RI*	Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1969–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Bibliographical.* Oxford: Blackwell.
KUB	Keilschrifurkunden aus Boghazköi
KZ	*(Kuhns) Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*
LAK	Anton Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen.* WVDOG 40. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1922
LANE	Languages of the Ancient Near East
L*D*	Lepsius, Carl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.* Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849. http://edoc3.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/lepsius/start.html.
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla. Napols, Rome.
MGBT	Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts. Pages 72–91 in Miguel Civil and O. R. Gurney, *The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts.* MSLSup 1. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1986.
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MSLSup	Supplements to the Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NABU	*N.A.B.U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NS	New Series
OA	*Oriens Antiquus*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIP 25	*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak.* Vol. 1: *Ramses III's Temple with*

	the Great Enclosure of Amon, Part I. OIP 25. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1936.
OIP 94	*Medinet Habu.* Vol. 8. *The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts.* OIP 94. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1970.
OIP 107	*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak.* Vol. 4: *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I.* OIP 107. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
Or	*Orientalia* Nova Series
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul/Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historischarchaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
PM II	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.* Vol. 2: *Theban Temples.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RecTrav	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes pour servir de bulletin à la Mission Française du Caire.* Paris: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*
RlA	Ebeling, Erich, et al. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–2019.
SAMR	Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBo II	Güterbock, Hans Gustav. 1942. *Siegel aus Boğazköy* II – *Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel.* Berlin: self-published.
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici*
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StudAs	Studia Asiana
TAPS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
Temizsoy 1992	Temizsoy, İlhan. "1990 Yılı Yesemek Taşocağı ve Heykel Atölyesi Kazı ve Restorasyon Çalışmaları." Pages 299–318 in II. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri, 29–30 Nisan 1991. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992.
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TM	Find siglum Tell Mardikh.

TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Urk. IV	Helck, Wolfgang. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Heft 17: *Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II.* Berlin: Akademie, 1955.
VO	*Vicino Oriente*
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
Wb.	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 1–5. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–1931.
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morganlandes*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und und vorderasiatische Archäologie*

General Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
abs.	absolutive
acc.	accusative
act.	active
add.	*addidit* (adds)
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ah.	*althethitisch* (Old Hittite)
Akk.	Akkadian
bibl.	bibliography
blk.	block
c.	common (gender) (in the glossary)
ca.	circa
caus.	causative
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cf./cfr.	compare
col.	column
coll.	collective
com.	common (gender)
compl.	complement(ed)
conj.	conjunction
cun.	cuneiform
dat.	dative
det.	determinative
dat.-loc.	dative-locative
dir.	directive
dupl(s).	duplicate(s)
dur.	durative
EA	El Amarna
ed.	edition

e.g.	for example
Egypt.	Egyptian
encl.	enclitic
ENK	early New Kingdom
eras.	erasure
erg.	ergative
esp.	especially
et al.	and others
fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
fr.	fragment
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
Gr.	Ancient Greek
hier.	hieroglyphic
Hitt.	Hittite
Hurr.	Hurrian
i.e.	that is
IE	Indo-European
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfective
indef.	indefinite (pronoun)
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
intr.	intransitive
iter.	iterative
jh.	*junghethitisch* (New Hittite)
lit.	literally
LMS	Late Middle Hittite Script
LNS	Late New Hittite Script
LSU	Landschenkungsurkunde(n)
loc.	locative
log.	logogram, logographic
Luw.	Luwian
m.	masculine
mh.	*Mittelhethitisch* (Middle Hittite)
mid.	middle (voice)
m.-p.	middle-passive (voice)
MS	Middle Hittite Script
man(s).	manuscript(s)
n.	note
N	(undetermined number)
neut.	neuter (gender)
no.	number
nom.	nominative
NS	New Hittite Script
obj.	object

obv.	obverse
OS	Old Hittite Script
p./pp.	page/ pages
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl.	plural
pl(s).	plate(s)
poss.	possessive (pronoun)
pres.	present (tense)
pret.	preterite (tense)
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
r.	reigned
ref.	reference
rel.	relative
rev./Ro	reverse
scil.	*scilicet* (namely)
sg.	singular
sjh.	*spätjunghethitisch* (Late New Hittite)
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
Sum.	Sumerian
s.v.	*sub voce*
trans.	transitive
V	vowel
var.	variant
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
vs.	versus

Initial *a-* and *á-* in Hieroglyphic Luwian

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Our honorand has made numerous important contributions to the study of Luwian and the Luwians. I cite here only Marazzi 2018 and 2019 and his role in Bolatti Guzzo et al. 2017. The first two are part of a series of papers in which he has delineated the development of the Anatolian hieroglyphs into a linearized writing system for Luwian that continues to show lingering effects of its iconographic origins. The co-authored paper reflects the efforts of an international team to apply 3D modeling to improving the readings of the rock inscription of Nişantaş (BOĞAZKÖY 5). The results of all of these are important for the present topic.

Kloekhorst (2004, 28–35) claims that use of the signs <a> and <á> word-initially in Hieroglyphic Luwian is in effectively complementary distribution (aside from rare exceptions). He argues (2004, 36–43) that <a> spells #[a-] with a vocalic onset, while <á> spells #[ʔ(a)-] indicating a word-initial glottal stop. In Melchert 2010, 147–49 I presented evidence that the practice of "initial-*a*-final" discovered by Hawkins (2003, 159–61) for the empire period (second millennium) actually lasted through the early ninth century. I pointed out that this finding was "ruinous" to Kloekhorst's claim (Melchert 2010, 152–53). The basis for this conclusion seemed straightforward to me, but apparently I was insufficiently explicit, since it has been misunderstood and rejected: see Simon 2012, 485–86 and 2013, 8–10. It thus seems necessary to revisit the issue.

First of all, *pace* Simon, I did not accept that there is any complementary distribution of initial spellings with *a-* and *á-*, even in the period before the mid-ninth century. Since it was clear that there was no contrast in Kloekhorst's terms through the early ninth century, I tried to find another, but concluded that no plausible one existed (Melchert 2010, 153–56). Second and most crucially, what destroys Kloekhorst's claim (and likewise that of Simon) is the abundant evidence (based on use of initial-*a*-final!) from the eleventh through the early ninth century from Karkamiš, Tell Ahmar, Malatya, and now Amuq for spellings of /amu/ "I, me," /ami/a-/ "my," the third person pronoun /aba-/, and /a(:)s-/ "to be" with initial *a-*. Although he cites both my published paper of 2010 and the online posting of the full data (see here n. 1), Simon (2013, 7–9) totally ignores all evidence based on

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"initial-*a*-final" spellings, both from the empire and from the eleventh to ninth centuries. I stress that he offers no arguments against the validity of "initial-*a*-final" spellings. I thus feel compelled to present the eleventh- to ninth-century evidence in condensed form here:[1]

KARKAMIŠ: *mu-*a* (A18*b* §2 +15x); *mi-i-sa-*a* (A1*a* §22 +3x), *mi-i-na-*a* (A11*b+c* §5, §16), *mi-i-*a* (A11*b+c* §34 +2x), *mi-ya-ti-*a* (A11*a* §4, §7 +2x), *mi-(i)-zi-*a* (A11*b+c* §8 +3x), *mi-ya-za-*a* (A11*a* §10 +2x); *pa-na-*a* (A1*a* §35), *pa-*a* (N-A SgNeut, A1*a* §38), *pa-sa-*a* (GenSg, A2+3 §15 +1x), *pa-ti-*a* (A14*a* §9 +6x), *pa-ya-*a* (A11*b+c* §12), *pa-tá-za-*a* (A25*a* §2 +1x); *sa-ti-*a* (A2+3 §22), *sa-tá-*a* (Pret3Sg, A11*a* §17 +1x).

TELL AHMAR: *mu-*a* (TA 5 §10 +4x); *mi-(i)-sa-*a* (TA 5 §2 +4x), *mi-(i)-na-*a* (TA 2 §16 +3x), *mi-i-*a-* (TA 2 §13 +4x), *mi-*[*i*]*-zi-*a* (TA 6 §5), *mi-ya-ti-*a* (TA 6 §6); *pa-sa-*a* (GenSg, ALEPPO 2 §10 +1x), *pa-si-(i)-*a* (GenSg, TA 2 §23 +4x), *pa-ti-i-*a* (TA 6 §26 +3x), *pa-si-na-*a* (TA 6 §32), *pa-*[*sa*]*-na-*a* (TA 1 §8), *pa-sa-za-*a* (TA 1 §16); *sa-tá-*a* (TA 1 §8 +1x).

MALATYA: *mi-i-*a* (IZGIN 1 §2), *mi-ya-ti-*a* (IZGIN 1 §9); *pa-sa-*a* (NSgC, IZGIN 2 §9), *pa-ti-*a* (GÜRÜN §7 + 1x), *pi-*[*na*]*-*a* (IZGIN 2 §4), *pa-sa-na-*a* (IZGIN 2 §8, §9).

AMUQ:[2] **a-mu* (ALEPPO 6 §3); *mi-i-*a* (ALEPPO 6 §2), *ma-wa/i-tá-*a* (N-APlNeut, ALEPPO 7 §10); *pa-sa-*a* (NSgC, ALEPPO 7 §13), *pa-sa-*a* (GenSg, ALEPPO 6 §10 +1x), *pa-sa-na-*a* (ALEPPO 7 §11).

One should add the overlooked example EGO-*mi-i-*a* in MARAŞ 8 §1 (early tenth century), which can spell only /amu=wa=mi/, with *a-* for /amu/, since a connective /a=/ is impossible in absolute text-initial position. For the same reason one must add EGO-*wa/i-mi-*a* of BOĞAZKÖY 5 §1 (Nişantaş).[3] Since EGO-*mi-*a* in BOĞAZKÖY 5 §d "I am Great King Suppiluliuma…" begins a new textual unit, it also must be read as /amu=wa=mi/ without clause-linking /a-/. The empire evidence for the spelling of /amu/ with *a-* is important, since it supports the evidence from YALBURT: *a-mi-zi* (blk. 4 §2 and blk. 11 §4) and *a-sa-tá* (Pret3Sg/Pl, blk. 3 §1), which Kloekhorst 2004, 35 could not explain. When one adds the evidence of instances with "initial-*a*-final" from the EMİRGAZİ altars and block, SÜDBURG, and YALBURT, it is quite clear that /amu/, /ama/i-/, /aba-/ and /a(:)s-/ "to be" are all spelled *consistently* in the empire with *a-*, while /at^{s}a-/ "to favor" and /a:(ya)-/ "to do, make" are spelled with *á-*, as they are throughout the first millennium.[4] It is un-

1. See https://linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/Hieroglyphic%20Luvian%20Initial%20a.pdf for the full evidence, with updates, to which MARAŞ 8 §1 and BOĞAZKÖY 5 §1 should be added. For brevity I do not spell out those instances where clitics follow the stressed word cited, including cases where they precede the "initial-*a*-final."

2. For the texts of ALEPPO 6 and 7 see Hawkins 2011 and for those of ARSUZ 1 and 2 Dinçol et al. 2015.

3. I have been assured by the author that this is also his understanding, despite the confusing transliteration in Hawkins 2019, 146.

4. Simon (2013, 8) implies that the geographic and chronological differences in these texts somehow weakens their evidentiary force. On the contrary, the consistency of usage in *all* texts from the empire argues that we must give it its full due.

fortunate that none of the appellatives attested with initial *á-* in the empire period are helpful in determining the status of initial **h₁-*: *á-* "to make, do" and *á-ka-* "to conquer" both likely had an initial **h₁y-* in Proto-Indo-European: see respectively Kümmel and Rix 2001, 225 with references and Rieken 2007, 296–98. However, in order to explain the loss of initial yod before **e*, one must assume that the **h₁-* was already lost at the latest in pre-Luwian (see Melchert 1994a, 75), so there is no possibility of an inherited glottal stop in these verbs. The etymology of *á-za-* "to favor" is far from clear.[5] We will return to the problem of the empire spellings.

However, evidence from post-empire texts available since 2010 is enough to refute that there was ever a contrastive use of initial *a-* and *á-* correlated with the presence or absence of an initial [ʔ]. As per the list above, the verb /a(:)s-/ "to be," which definitely reflects **h₁és-/*h₁s-*, is spelled without exception with *a-*, but in KARKAMIŠ A11*b+c* §18a and A12 §11 we find ("*350")*á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà* "blood offering," which must continue **h₁ésh₂-r̥+* (with Kloekhorst 2004, 38).[6] Furthermore, while "to be" as an appellative is always spelled with *a-*, in the transparent personal name /Astu(w)alamantˢa-/ "May there be renown (for him)" contemporary spellings show consistent *á-*: *á-sa-tú-wa/i-la/i-ma-za-* in KARKAMIŠ A14*b* §1, KELEKLİ §1, and KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §1 and *á-sa-tú-wa/i-lá/í-ma-za-* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b+c* §1).

The case of the accented first-person pronoun and its possessive adjective is more complicated, but equally decisive. Kloekhorst (2004, 39) derives the pronoun from **h₁m-u* reflecting PIE **h₁me-*, but not everyone believes that pronouns and particles obey the constraint that every PIE root must have an initial consonant, so despite his dismissal a preform **eme-* is possible. However, Simon (2012, 488–91) has presented an attractive new argument for a PIE preform **h₁-mé-* (sic!) and adduced as support the Lydian reflex *amu* (2012, 492–93). Per the rules of Lydian accent established by Eichner (1986), the accent must be on the final syllable. This would not preclude a preform **emé-*, but as Simon rightly observes, the so-called "limited Čop's Law" posited for Proto-Anatolian in Melchert 1994b must be rejected, since all alleged evidence except Hittite *ammuk* "me" has been refuted. There thus is no evidence for a preform **ému*, and one must assume that *all* Anatolian reflexes continue an oxytone stem. However, **emú* cannot possibly explain the geminate in Hittite *ammuk*. I find the account of Kloekhorst (2004, 39, n. 25) via a blend **h₁m- + h₁uĝ* (endorsed by Simon 2012, 492, n. 16) recherché and quite unnecessary. Once we posit a preform **h₁mú(ĝ)*, with vocalism taken from the second singular *tug* < **tú(ĝ)*, and follow the plausible widespread view that **h₁* was a glottal stop [ʔ], we may suppose that pre-Hittite speakers dealt with the complex onset *#[ʔm-] by inserting a syllabic nasal, whence *[ʔn̥múg] and *ammug*. Lycian and Lydian simplify prehistoric geminates and HLuwian orthography cannot indi-

5. *Pace* Simon 2013, 15, its transitive use and the post-empire determinatives LITUUS/OCULUS exclude derivation from the root of *ăšš-* "(be) dear" (Melchert 1987, 200 and Gérard 2004, 312–4) and thus < **h₁es-*.

6. Since a long **ē* leads to Luwian *ī*, the attested word cannot continue **h₁ḗsh₂r̥*.

cate gemination, so we simply cannot tell whether the geminate *-mm-* is Common Anatolian or simply pre-Hittite.[7]

A preform **h₁mú(ĝ)* for the Luwian does not, however, prove that its reflex has a synchronic initial glottal stop. As per above, the only spelling for the personal pronoun from the empire through the early ninth century is *a-mu*. However, the evidence available in 2010 showed for the early first millennium an almost exceptionless pattern by which the allomorph of the possessive pronoun /ami-/ was spelled with *a-*, while /ama-/ (N-ASg/PlNeut) was spelled with *á-*.[8] It was this peculiar distribution that led to failed attempts to establish a contrast between *a-* and *á-* in terms of vowel quality (see Melchert 2010, 153–56 and Rasmussen 2007 and the proper rejection of both by Simon 2012, 486, n. 1). One could assume (against Kloekhorst 2004, 39) that possessive adjectives of the personal pronouns continue "vr̥ddhi" derivatives and suppose a preform **h₁ém-o-* (*[ʔémo-] and further, against Kloekhorst, that the initial glottal stop was lost before consonant, thus taking *a-mu* as synchronic [amú], which then analogically influenced the possessive adjective.[9] However, this account fails entirely to explain why the analogical influence would be restricted just to the two neuter forms /amantˢa/ and /ama/. In any case, as fully appreciated by Hawkins (2011, 50), the new example *ma-wa/i-tá-*a* /ama=wa=ta/ in the transitional (eleventh century) ALEPPO 7 §10 argues that the spelling of just the two neuter forms with *á-* is an innovation no older than the tenth century.

If one derives the demonstrative and anaphoric pronoun /aba-/ < **h₁obho-* with an initial laryngeal (Kloekhorst 2008, 191–92, Simon 2013, 12), then the same problems with the claim of a contrast in which initial *á-* indicates a glottal stop apply as well. It is spelled without exception with *a-* in the empire and transitional periods and almost entirely so in texts of the tenth and ninth centuries. However, in ALEPPO 2 (late tenth or early ninth century) we find beside *pa-pa-wa/i-*a* for /aban=ba=wa/ in §14 and *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta-*a* for /abati=ba=wa=ta/ in §21 rather *á-pa-si-z*[*i*] "his/their" for /abassintˢi/.

In sum, all words assuredly or probably reflecting **h₁V-* for which we have evidence in the empire are spelled exclusively with *a-*, not *á-*. Beginning in the transitional period there are sporadic *competing* spellings with *á-* beside the majority in *a-*. By the tenth century the use of *á-* in the neuter forms of the first person possessive adjective has become widespread if not standard.[10] From the mid-ninth century, with the demise of the practice "initial-*a*-final," the spelling of all of them becomes predominantly a mixture of full spellings with *á-* and with no indication

7. The positing of a "Lindeman variant" **h₁m̥mé-* already in PIE and the prehistorical Anatolian scenario presented in Melchert 2020, 267 depend on a particular view regarding the immediate result of **R̥* in Proto-Anatolian, and I place no weight on it here. I regard a pre-Hittite development as at least as likely.

8. The sole exception remains *á-mi-na* in KELEKLİ §2.

9. Lydian *ẽmi-* "my" with clear initial accent (Eichner 1986, 11) argues for **h₁ém-o-*, with which the Lycian facts are also entirely compatible (see Simon 2012, 492 with n. 17), as are the Luwian, since aphaeresis in /ama/i-/ does not exist (see Melchert 2010, 150–52 and the acceptance by Simon 2013, 8 and 13).

10. I forgo idle speculation on the various motivations for these "precocious" *ā*-spellings.

of initial syllables in *a-*, though there are more than a few spellings with initial *a-*, confirming that there is no aphaeresis (see n. 9 end).

The full evidence from the empire period for the exceptionless spelling with *a-* of /amu/ (3x in two texts), /ami/a-/ (7x in three texts), /aba-/ (3x in two texts), and /a(:)s-/ (3x in two texts) seriously problematizes the claim that the spelling of initial /a-/ was not yet fully established at that point (Simon 2013, 8 after Kloekhorst 2004, 34).[11] To these we may add *pa-na-*a* /a:pan/ "later" (EMİRGAZİ altars §22) and *pa+ra/i-*a* /a:ppari/ "afterwards" (ibid. §3) for what is only spelled *á-pa-na* from the mid-ninth century (ignored by Simon 2013, 252).[12] For words later spelled consistently with initial *á-* not yet attested in the empire period (nor even in the eleventh to ninth centuries) we face two possibilities. The first is that they all were spelled with *a-* in the early texts like those above. The second is that at least some of them were already spelled with *á-*. Either interpretation is fatal to the claim of a contrast of *a-* as [a-] and *á-* as [ʔ(a)-]—since at least /amu/, /ami/a-/ and /a(:)s-/ continue $^{*}h_1(V)$-.

A clear choice between the alternatives is not possible, but several facts point to the second. We have seen that KARKAMIŠ shows ("*350")*á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà* < $^{*}h_1ésh_2$-*r*+ contemporary with "to be" still spelled only *sa-ti-*a* and *sa-tá-*a* < $^{*}h_1és$-. Also significant is that /a:(ya)-/ "to do, make" appears as *á-* in EMİRGAZİ §§25 and 27, even if it shows no inflectional ending. This verb shows consistent *á-* after the mid-ninth century even in rhotacized form: *á-ra+a* /a:ra/ (MARAŞ 2 §3).[13] Unfortunately for the hypothesis of *á-* reflecting $^{*}h_1$- this verb lost its initial laryngeal before yod was lost (see above p. 175 with refs.). Whatever its etymology, /at^{s}a-/ "to favor" is already spelled with *á-* in FRAKTİN. Furthermore, use of initial *á-* for /at^{s}a-/ is well established in personal names in the Nişantepe corpus. Finally, there is /a(:)d-/ "to eat." Kloekhorst (2004, 31–32) correctly observes that this verb is in late texts always spelled with *á-*, even when rhotacized in the infinitive ("EDERE")*á-ru-na* (ÇİFTLİK §16), except in *a+ra/i-du* /arantu/ "let them eat" (KULULU 5 §11). He also duly notes the general absence of any spellings †*á+ra/i-*, but then vaguely suggests that this might have some meaning for HLuwian historical phonology. This is not credible: a different vocalism in the next syllable can have nothing to do with the presence or absence of an initial glottal stop. Both the third plural and the infinitive must continue the weak stem with accent on the second syllable. We are dealing with a purely graphic issue: existence of a CV sign for /ru/ permitted spelling with *á-*, but the prohibition against †*á+ra/i-* forced a spelling *a+ra/i-du* (or *ara/i-du*) for /arandu/. The point of all this is that the chances are very good that "to eat" was otherwise always spelled with *á-*.

Even if we leave "to eat" aside, other consistent spellings with either *a-* or *á-* for particular words in the empire and the eleventh to early ninth centuries suggest

11. Simon's comparison with undifferentiated *zi/a* and *i/ya* is specious. There were at that point no competing signs for one of the two values. The coexistence of <á> beside <a> is not "a slight difference."

12. For /a:pari/ "afterwards" see Hawkins 2003, 160 and Goedegebuure 2010, 82–83.

13. For the reading *á-ra+a* and not †*á-a+ra/i* see Melchert 1988, 29–31.

that before the mid-ninth century there was an *orthographic* contrast in the use of initial *a-* and *á-*, but there is manifestly no correlation with the absence or presence of an initial glottal stop from prehistoric **h$_1$-*. Anticipating what follows, I hasten to add that there is also no correlation with vowel length: *á-sa-ha+ra/i* "blood" and *á-* "to do, make" had /a:-/, but so did *sa-ti-*a* (/a:sti/) and *pa-na*-a* (/a:pan/).

The preceding results make unnecessary an exhaustive treatment of the arguments of Simon 2010, but I obviously must address certain main points. He begins with a table showing the CLuwian words with initial *a-aC-* for which the HLuwian cognates are known. He claims that there are fourteen of these, twelve of which show initial *á-* spellings. One must eliminate the claimed CLuwian stem /a:ba:-/, which is based entirely on the aberrant spelling *a-a-pa-an* in KUB 35.103 ii 12, versus consistent *a-pa-(a)-* in a dozen other occurrences. *Pace* Simon (2010, 252, n. 11), the cited emendation by Kloekhorst is entirely in order: metathetic spelling errors are well attested in Hattusha cuneiform (see Rüster 1988, 303–4, who cites fourteen examples in Hittite syllabic spellings). What is egregiously ad hoc is Simon's positing a long first vowel in a well attested word accented on the second syllable on the basis of this hapax. In any case, as we have seen, /aba-/ in HLuwian is actually spelled through the early ninth century with *a-*. The same applies to /a(:)s-/ "to be" and /a:pan/ "behind; later." The word for "time" is always spelled *a+ra/i-*, never †*á+ra/i-* (but see above p. 177 for this being without phonetic significance). We have seen that the spelling of /a:-/ "to do, make" with *á-* argues against the sign representing an initial glottal stop. All the other examples cited for *á-* matching *a-aC-* date from the mid-ninth century onward and thus have no probative value.[14] Simon admits two instances where *a-* matches *a-aC-*, but HLuwian (LONGUS) *a+ra/i-* for CLuwian *ārraiya-* "long" has no significance, for reasons already given above. Consistent *a-tá* for "into" already from the tenth to ninth centures matching CLuwian *a-an-ta* and its continued use from the mid-ninth century seems significant, but *á-ta-na* for /a:ndan/ in TELL AHMAR 2 §2 and TELL AHMAR 6 §2 (see Rieken 2004, 459–60) beside *a-tá* for /a:nda/ ibid. §§2 and 30 again undercuts any contrastive use. There is thus no correlation between the use of *á-* in HLuwian and *a-aC-* in CLuwian.

Simon inconsistently accepts my claim of lengthening of all accented vowels in Luwian, including word-initially (2010, 260) and admits its validity for /a:nta/, but denies it (2010, 253) for other examples on the false grounds that their accent falls on a non-initial syllable. We have dealt with /abá:-/ and /a:-/ "to do, make" < **h$_1$yéh$_1$-* (the lenited endings in the strong stem in both Luwian and Lycian preclude a stem in **-yé/ó-*). The verb "to go" contains an accented initial long vowel, since it manifestly reflects **h$_1$éi-* in the strong stem, whence CLuwian *i-i-ti* (/í:di/) and HLuw rhotacized *i+ra/i*, as known since Morpurgo Davies 1982–1983, 261. Finally, as shown by Yakubovich (2010, 376–82), CLuwian *ānnī-/aniya-* "to do, treat"

14. MALUS-*wa/i-za-*a* in TELL AHMAR 6 §30 (late 10th–early 9th century), which never uses <a> as a space-filler, suggests that /a:dduwa(l)-/ "evil" should be added to those words spelled with *a-* in the older period.

also continues a preform with initial accent, a univerbation: **(h$_1$)éni-* "cum, con-" plus the verb "to do, make" (whichever root etymology and ablaut grade one assumes for it). Thus, none of Simon's cited counterevidence to initial *a-aC-* consistently reflecting accented vowels is probative.

On the other hand, only accent-induced vowel lengthening can explain the contrast in *both* syllables between the free-standing adverb *a-an-na-an* "below" < **(h$_1$)én-en* and the preposition and preverb *an-na-a-an*, where proclisis to a following noun or verb has shifted the accent: *annān pādanza* "under the feet" and *annān tiššān* "matched with" (= Hitt. *kattan ḫandān*, with Goedegebuure, pers. comm.). One thus may and should judge the allomorphy in CLuwian *āš-/aš-* "to be" and *āz-/ad-* "to eat" in the respective strong and weak stems likewise, against Simon 2010, 255–56. Note in particular *a-aš-du* < **h$_1$éstu* versus *a-ša-a-an-du* < **h$_1$s-éntu*. Obviously, I cannot treat every relevant CLuwian word here, much less the Hittite data, but I maintain that initial *V$_1$-V$_1$C-* indicates vowel length in all cases.

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