

## The Luwian adverbs *zanta* “down” and \**ānni* “with, for, against”

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1. Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I presented the evidence for a Hieroglyphic Luwian ablative-instrumental ending /-in/ for the demonstrative pronouns *zā-* “this”, and *apā-* “that”. I suggested that this ending derived from an adverbial PIE ending \*-(i)m, and that its inclusion in the demonstrative paradigm still left room for vestigial remains of an originally pronominal ablative-instrumental /-adi/, as recognized by Melchert<sup>2</sup> in REL-*a-ti* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 4a-b). Further study<sup>3</sup> has shown that /-adi/ is indeed preserved in the demonstrative adverbs *zadi* “here, in this way” and *apadi* “there”, also attested with rhotacism. The demonstrative dative-locatives *zati* and *apati* on the other hand, are never rhotacized, meaning that their dental must be fortis. This distribution of /t/ for the demonstrative datives and /d/ for the demonstrative adverbs is confirmed by Cuneiform Luwian. The Cuneiform Luwian pronominal datives *apatti* and *kuwatti* are written with double <tt>, representing the phoneme /t/, the adverbs *kuwati(n)* “as, how” and *apati(n)* “thus” with single <t>, representing the phoneme /d/.

The pronominal and adverbial ablative-instrumental endings /-in/ and /-adi(n)/, respectively, do not leave much room for yet another ablative or instrumental case ending, although this cannot be excluded. An instrumental analysis is currently accepted for Cuneiform Luwian *zanta*, but I will show that *zanta* is the local adverb “down”, and the regular cognate of Hittite *katta* “down”.

2. The adverb under discussion is listed 14 times as *za-an-ta* and 14 times as *za-an-da* in Melchert’s *CLL*<sup>4</sup>. Of this relatively large number of 28 attestations only a few could be used to establish its semantics. Carruba<sup>5</sup> presents a plausible translation of *zanta* as “hiermit”<sup>6</sup>, based on four attestations in KUB 32.8+5 iii 26ff., KUB 35.88 iii 13ff. and KUB 35.133 iii 15f.

According to Carruba, *zanta* is the old petrified instrumental of *zā-* “this (one)”, the Luwian counterpart of the Old Hittite instrumentals *apēdanda* “with that (one)” and *kēdanda* “with this (one)”. This has been accepted by Starke<sup>7</sup>, Melchert<sup>8</sup>, Van den Hout<sup>9</sup> and Hart<sup>10</sup>, although it seems that Taracha, Haas and Hutter have developed a different opinion given their translations (see section 3.1).

The problem with this equation is that the instrumental ending *-ta/-da* = /d/ in Hittite *kēdanda* and *apēdanda* is added to the extended oblique stems *kēdan-* and *apēdan-*,

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<sup>1</sup> Goedegebuure 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Melchert 2003: 191 n. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Goedegebuure *fc.*

<sup>4</sup> Melchert 1993: 278.

<sup>5</sup> Carruba 1982: 44 with fn. 18.

<sup>6</sup> For *zanda/zanta* as a conjunction see Otten (1953: 77); Laroche (1959: 113): “Nature et sens inconnus”.

<sup>7</sup> Starke 1990: 42.

<sup>8</sup> Melchert 1993: 278.

<sup>9</sup> Van den Hout 2001: 185 fn. 90.

<sup>10</sup> Hart 2004: 344.

also present in the pronominal dative singular *kēdani*, etc.<sup>11</sup>. The extension with *-an-* is an inner Hittite development, whereby the dative-locative forms ending in *-ani* (*kēd-ani*, etc.) replace the older locative forms ending in *-i* (*kēd-i*, etc.). The *-n-* in *zanta* cannot be accounted for in the same way. To arrive at *zanta* we need an oblique stem *zan-*, but the paradigm of *zā-* does not contain an extended oblique stem *za+an*<sup>12</sup>. Had the formation been similar to what is observed in Hittite, the extended oblique stem should have been *\*zaštani*, based on Hittite *kēd-i* : *kēd-aš* : *kēd+an-i* ~ Cuneiform Luwian *zašt-i*<sup>13</sup> : *zašt-anza* : *\*zašt+an-i*, and the instrumental should have been *\*zaštanda*, not *zanta/zanda*.

The formal difficulties are such that we better abandon the connection with the demonstrative *zā-*, even though “damit” or adverbial “thereby” make contextual sense, and turn to another grammatical class, that of the local adverbs. Reinterpreting *zanta* as “down”, cognate to Hittite *katta*, makes as much as or more sense than “damit, thereby, therewith” in Carruba’s examples, but “down” has the advantage that it clarifies several additional passages (see examples 3, 4, 9 and 15).

3.1. The *dūpaduparša*-ritual of Kuwatalla contains many instances of *zanta/zanda*. In most cases *zanda* is followed by a form of the participle *dūpaimmi-* “hit, struck”, for example in *ḥarmāḥati=ti(y)=an=ta tappānin lātta zanda dūpaimin iššarin zanda dūpaimin EME-in*<sup>14</sup> “From his head he took it, his hair, (representing) the *zanda dūpaimin* hand, the *zanda dūpaimin* tongue” (KUB 32.5+8 iii 11’-14’). On the one hand, *zanda* is treated as separate from *dūpaimmi-*, so Carruba<sup>15</sup> (“er hat hiermit die geschlagene Hand, hiermit die geschlagene Zunge genommen”), and Hart<sup>16</sup> (“therewith”). On the other hand, Taracha and Haas reject *zanda* as an instrumental, treating *zanda dūpaimmin* as a unit, as their translations suggest (Taracha<sup>17</sup> “(und dadurch) die heimgesuchte Hand (und) die heimgesuchte Zunge”; Haas<sup>18</sup> “(und dadurch) die ... Hand (und) die ... Zunge”).

Once *zanta* is treated as part of a syntactic unit with a participle, the only conclusion can be that *zanta* is a local adverb functioning as a preverb. The known Cuneiform Luwian local adverbs that appear in the stative-motion couplings also attested for Hittite are:

Stative place words			Motion place words		
Luwian	Hittite		Luwian	Hittite	
<i>ānnan</i>	<i>kattan</i>	“below, under”	?	<i>katta</i>	“down”
<i>andan</i>	<i>andan</i>	“inside”	<i>ānta</i>	<i>anda</i>	“in(to)”

<sup>11</sup> Melchert 1977: 461.

<sup>12</sup> But we seem to have a generalized extended form *zanni-* of the demonstrative *zā-*, attested as acc.sg.comm. *zannin* (KBo 4.11 rev. 43). The instrumental of this stem would not be *zanda* but *\*zannid* > *zanni*. Since pronouns do not participate in the phenomenon of *i*-mutation, *zanni-* is a genuine *-i*-stem. Given the single *n*, the form *zāni* (KUB 35.107 iii 9’), parallel to Hitt. *ini* (KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 i 12’), nom.-acc.sg.neuter of *aši* “that, yon” should be kept separate.

<sup>13</sup> As I have shown in Goedegebuure *fc.*, Cuneiform Luwian *zāti* “in this way”, is not the dative-locative. For this case we only have singular *zašti* and plural *zaštanza* (for attestations see Melchert 1993: 281).

<sup>14</sup> For this passage and all following Cuneiform Luwian text citations I refer the reader also to Starke’s transliterations in *StBoT* 30 (1985).

<sup>15</sup> Carruba 1982: 44.

<sup>16</sup> Hart 2004: 344.

<sup>17</sup> Taracha 2000: 154.

<sup>18</sup> Haas 2003: 559.

<i>āppan</i>	<i>appan</i>	“behind, after”	<i>āppa</i>	<i>āppa</i>	“back; again”
<i>parran</i>	<i>peran</i>	“before, in front”	<i>parī</i>	<i>parā</i>	“forth, away”
<i>šarri</i>	<i>šer</i>	“above, up”	<i>šarra</i>	<i>šarā</i>	“(up)on, thereon”

The only local adverb that is not attested is the motion version of *ānna* “under”, namely “down”. One expects *\*ānna*, but the only instance of *a-an-na* occurs in a very unclear context (KBo 13.260 ii 5). On the other hand, *zanta* occurs in sufficiently large numbers to establish its meaning and to justify its insertion in the empty “down” slot.

Thus, to start with the first combination of *zanta* with a verb, *zanta dūpai-* means “to strike down”. This makes it the exact cognate of the Hittite expression *katta walḥ-*, mainly attested as an adnominal participle in combination with people in the oracle concerning the cult of the deity of Arusna (KUB 22.70, CTH 566)<sup>19</sup>. “Striking down/beating up” can be taken quite literally as physically assaulting someone, and being struck down as being assaulted, but it remains to be seen whether this is also the case in the *dūpaduparša* ritual.

But I find the literal meaning in KUB 22.70 also doubtful. The neuter plural participle *katta walḥanta* “down stricken (object)” in KUB 22.70 rev. 61 cannot refer to assaulted persons: (“In view of this fact that they are seeking to determine the wish of the deity of Arusna:”) *nu mān IR-uar kuitki wemiyanzi / mān katta walḥanta kuitki wemiyanzi nu apēl ŠA DINGIR-LIM UN.MEŠ-uš kuiēš kā nu=kan ḥantezzi / parā tiškanzi mān=za DINGIR-LIM parā tiyauwar malan ḥarti* “Shall first the people of that deity who are here reveal whether a (hostile) plea (to the god) will somehow be found, (or) whether down stricken (objects) will somehow be found? If you, o deity, approve of (such a) revelation, (...)” (KUB 22.70 rev. 60-62). I therefore do not believe that Pattiya, mother-in-law of the king and one of the main characters of KUB 22.70, was clubbed down. Instead, she was cursed (KUB 22.70 rev. 14: *‘Pattiyaš=wa ḥurtanza* “Pattiya has been cursed”) and (thus?) afflicted (KUB 22.70 rev. 15: *‘Pattiyaš=wa=kan katta GUL-anza* “Pattiya has been stricken down”).

To return to the *dūpaduparša* ritual, the expression *[za-]an-ta du-pa-a-i-‘im-mi’[-in i-iš-ri-in]* “[d]own stricke[n hand]” in KUB 35.50:3’ occurs in the same context as *ad-du-wa-li-iš i-iš[-ša-ri-iš]* “the bad/evil hand” in KUB 32.9 obv. 8, a tablet belonging to the *šalli aniur* “the Great Ritual” of Kuwatalla<sup>20</sup>. Based on the latter text and many other parallel passages in the *šalli aniur*, KUB 35.50:2’-6’ can be restored as *[za-an-ta] / [du-pa-a-i-im-mi-in EME-in za-]an-ta du-pa-a-i-‘im-mi’[-in] / [i-iš-ri-in ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-in] ta-at-ri-ya-am-na-aš-š[i-in] / [EME-in ḥi-ru-ta-aš-ši-in EME-in] MU.KAM-in ad-du-wa-l[i-in ITU.KAM-in ad-du-wa-li-in (??)] / [wa-aš-pa-an-ta-aš-ši-in-za e-er-]ḥu-u-wa-an-za ma-i-ya-aš[-ši-in EME-in]* “the down stricken tongue, the down stricken hand, the tongue of *taparu*, of curse, the tongue of oath, the bad year, the bad month, the *irḥwa*-s of wearing shrouds, the gossip of the community”. The expression *zanta dūpaimmi-* “down stricken” therefore stands on a par with *adduwal-* “evil” in the larger context of perjury and slander. The down stricken body part is not beaten up, but touched by evil and therefore evil itself. It is damaged or more probably impaired through a curse or the likes, as is also suggested by the co-occurrence of “down stricken” and “cursed” in KUB 22.70 (see above). The

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of *katta walḥ-*, see Ünal 1978: 118-120.

<sup>20</sup> Starke 1985: 73ff.

noun phrase *zanta dūpaimmi-* is therefore better translated as “afflicted (through an evil act)”:

- 1 *dūpaduparša* ritual (NS, KUB 32.8 iii 11’-19’)  
Honey [(and) olive oil] are poured into a cup of clay. He places them in there, and also, the Old Woman removes the blue (thread of) wool from his head, and puts it in the cup of clay. While the ritual patron pulls out from his head a hair, an eyelash and an eyebrow hair, the Old Woman conjures as follows in Luwian:  
ḫar-ma-a-ḫa-ti-ti-ya-an-ta tap-pa-a-ni-in / la-a-at-ta **za-an-da** du-ú-pa-i-mi-in / iš-ša-ri-in **za-an-da** du-ú-pa-i-mi-in / EME-in la-al-pí-i-in-ti-it-ta / la-a-ad-da ku-wa-an-na-ni-in-ti-it-ta / la-a-ad-da iš-ša-ra<-aš-ša>-an-za-pa-ti-it-ta / pa-a-ta-aš-ša-an-za ta-am-mu-u-ga la-a-at-ta / **za-an-da** du-ú-pa-im-mi-in iš-ša-ri-in / **za-an-da** du-ú-pa-im-mi-in EME-in.  
From his head he took it, his hair, (representing) the **afflicted** hand, the **afflicted** tongue. He took his eyelash, he took his eyebrow (hair), he took his hand (and) feet nail clippings, (representing) the **afflicted** hand, the **afflicted** tongue<sup>21</sup>.

This passage is immediately followed by

- 2 *dūpaduparša* ritual (NS, KUB 32.8 iii 26’-29’)  
He lights a (piece of) firewood over the cup of clay in which the honey (and) olive oil are poured, and it burns up. The Old Woman conjures as follows in Luwian:  
ta-a-in-ti-ya-aš a-a-ya-ru / ma-al<-li>-i-ti-ya<-aš> a-a-ya-ru **za-an[-da]** / du-ú-pa-im-mi-i-iš ‘iš-ša-r’[i-iš] / ‘**za-an-da**’ du-ú-pa-i[m-mi-iš EME-iš]  
Let it be turned into (lit. be made) oil, let it be turned into honey, the **afflicted** ha[nd], the **afflict**[ed tongue]<sup>22</sup>.

The equation of *zanta dūpai-*, mainly attested in the *dūpaduparša* ritual, and *katta walḫ-* renders it very likely that the *katta walḫuwaš* SISKUR.SISKUR<sup>23</sup> mentioned in a tablet belonging to the Great Ritual (KUB 35.18 i 3, 5) is the Hittite designation for SISKUR *dūpaduparša*. The *dūpaduparša* ritual is regarded as a ritual against punishment, and it has been suggested that this punishment was perhaps administered by a local form of the Luwian Storm-god, the Storm-god of punishment<sup>24</sup>, *dupattanaššin* <sup>d</sup>U-an<sup>25</sup>. However, *dupattar* “punishment”<sup>26</sup>, which underlies *dupattanaššin*, is formally not the same as *\*dūpadupar*. Although both are derived from *\*dūpa-* “hit, strike”, they slightly differ in meaning (under the assumption that different forms represent different meanings). In line with *walḫuwaš*, genitive of *walḫuwar*, *dūpadupar* is probably the verbal substantive<sup>27</sup> of the full reduplication *\*dūpadupa-*, “the repeatedly striking, hitting”.

<sup>21</sup> For transliterations and/or (different) translations see 1985: 118-119, Carruba 1982: 44, Haas 2003: 559 with n. 51, Hart 2004: 344.

<sup>22</sup> Or, with Carruba (1982: 44), “the hand of the afflicted (one), the tongue of the afflicted (one)”.

<sup>23</sup> Starke’s suggestion that the *katta walḫuwaš* SISKUR.SISKUR is perhaps the same as SISKUR.SISKUR *ḫalliyatanza* (1985: 76) is rightly rejected by Hutter (2003: 253).

<sup>24</sup> Hutter 2003: 253.

<sup>25</sup> Attested in KBo 3.63 i 6’, w. dupl. KBo 3.64 i 8’, KBo 3.66: 4’, see 1990: 477f. Also attested in the same semantic field are <sup>d</sup>U *tarmatnaš* “the Storm-god of pegging” (KBo 21.81 obv. 12), <sup>d</sup>U *walḫūwaš* “the Storm-god of striking/punishing” (IBoT 1.33 rev. 57) and Luwian [<sup>d</sup>U] *tarmai<m>miš* “the pegging Storm-god” (KUB 38.10 iv 4’).

<sup>26</sup> Starke 1990: 477f.

<sup>27</sup> Although one would expect *\*dūpadupawar*. For *\*dupawar* “das Schlagen, the hitting, striking”, see Starke 1990: 551-552.

Thus, the equation with the *katta walḥuwaš* ritual, the ritual “of afflicting”, shows that the *dūpaduparša* ritual is not a ritual against divine punishment<sup>28</sup>, but a ritual against afflicting (through an evil act) in general.

The *dūpaduparša* ritual contains two further instances of *zanta* outside the syntagm *zanta dupaimmi-*. One of them occurs in KBo 29.9: 11', and the other one can be restored in the parallel text KUB 32.8+5 iv 23. To my knowledge the duplicates of these parallel texts have never been fully exploited. Starke<sup>29</sup> only partially uses the duplicate KUB 35.14 to reconstruct KBo 29.9, and it seems that the parallel texts KUB 32.8+5 and KUB 35.117<sup>30</sup> were never used either<sup>31</sup>. By combining these texts we can restore an almost complete context that further supports the meaning of *zanta* as “down”:

- 3 *dūpaduparša* ritual (NS, KBo 29.9: 10'-12', w. dupl. KUB 35.14 i 7'-10' (+<sup>29</sup>) KUB 35.117 l.col. 1'-4')  
(The Old Woman) conjures as follows in Luwian:  
[ku-]i<sup>1</sup>-iš-tar ma-al[-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an EN-ya ]r<sup>1</sup>-ad-du-w[a-a-a]l a-an-ni<sup>32</sup>-ti a-tu-ut-ta /  
[ta-ni-mi-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-in-zi ša(r-ra za-a-ti-)]r<sup>1</sup> pu-u-wa[-an-d]u a-at-tar **za-an-ta** /  
[(pu-wa-an-du) tar-m(a-a-i-im-ma-an)<sup>33</sup> URUDU-ya-ti tar]-r<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>[-]ti  
[Wh]oever performs e[vi]l (acts) against the rit[ual patron], may [all the gods] pou[n]d upon him in this way: may they pound **down** on (him) by means of [a bronze p]eg that which is to be [n]ailed.
- 4 *dūpaduparša* ritual (NS, KUB 32.8+5 iv 21-24)  
[ku-i]š-du-ur a-<ad->du-wa-l[a .....]pí-ya a-du-ut-ta / [ta-]ni-mi-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-z[i ú-ut-r]a (??) šar-ra za-a-ti-i / [pu-]u-wa-an-du a-ta-tar **za[-an-ta]** tar-ma-in-du URUDU-ya-ti / [tar-]ma-ti  
Whoever ..... evi[ls] on him, let [a]ll the gods pound [spell]s (??) upon him in this (following) way: let them nail them **d[own]** on (him) by means of a bronze [p]eg.

<sup>28</sup> A ritual against divine punishment would be unheard of. The divine punishment would be an incentive to find the causes for divine anger that led to the punishment, after which the sufferer would perform a conciliatory, healing and purification ritual.

<sup>29</sup> Starke 1985: 123-124.

<sup>30</sup> Starke (1985: 122 fn. 25) presents KUB 35.117 iv 1'-6' as a duplicate to KUB 32.8 + 5 iv 21'-24', but it serves better as a duplicate to KBo 29.9 obv. 10'-14', and possibly even as an indirect join to KUB 35.14 i 7'-11':

7'	[ku-]i-iš-tar ma-al[-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an EN-ya (a-ad-du-wa-a-a)]l
8'	a-an-ni-i-ti a-du[(-ut-ta) ta-ni-mi-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-in-zi
9'	[ša]r-ra za-a-ti- <sup>1</sup> r <sup>1</sup> [(pu)-(wa)-an-d(u a-at-tar za-an-ta )]pu-wa-an-du
10'	[tar-m]a-a-i-im-ma-an [ URUDU-]ya-ti
10a'	[tar-ma-(ti)]
11'	x-ti-pa URUDU-iš[ zi-la GAG-i na-a-ú-w]a i-ti
12'	[ <sup>1</sup> ú]É.DÉ.A-iš-pa-an[ ]x[
13'	[t]a-a-pa-am-pa-ti [

<sup>31</sup> Starke 1985: 120, 122.

<sup>32</sup> Collated on the photograph in the online Konkordanz version 1.5. The hand copy shows *a-an-ni-i-ti*.

<sup>33</sup> Meriggi (1957: 208 n. 41) restores [l]āimman in KUB 35.14 i 10'. He rejects Rosenkranz's (1952: 87) reading [m]āimman, which would have lead to a hapax and does not fill the space towards the left border. The broken sign, however, looks more like MA than LA. Restoring a participle [tarm]āimman, to be compared with tar-ma-a-i-im[...] in KBo 29.6 rev. 4', resolves these issues.

The exact Hittite equivalent of *-tar zanta tarmai-* “nail down” is *-šan katta tarmai-*<sup>34</sup>. We actually find the expression *-šan katta tarmai-* in another text that belongs to the rituals of Kuwatalla, KUB 35.78: 5’-6’ (*nu=ššan*<sup>MUNUS</sup>Š[U.GI ...] / [...]katta tarmāizzi), but for full contexts see for example the following two passages from rituals with a Luwian background:

- 5 Anna’s ritual for a sterile vine (NS, KUB 12.44 iii 6’-9’)  
*idāluš=wa=ššan / antūwahza idāluš EME-aš / idālawa IGI.HI.A-wa*<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫatalkišnit / katta tarmān ēšdu*  
 “May the evil person, the evil tongue, the evil eyes be nailed down with the *ḫatalkeššar*-wood!”
- 6 Pupuwanni’s ritual against sorcery (NS, IBoT 4.14 + KBo 24.4 rev. 5’-6’, w. dupl. KBo 58.16: 5’-6’)  
*n=ašta NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.MEŠ IŠTU 9*<sup>GIŠ</sup>*GA[G ŠENNUR (?)*<sup>35</sup>*] / [Û 9 (?)*<sup>GIŠ</sup>*GA]G MA.NU*<sup>36</sup>*katta tarmāizzi*  
 S/he nails down the thick loaves with nine [plum-tree (?)] pe[gs and 9 (?)] cornel cherry-tree pegs.

3.2. Another often treated passage from a Luwian birth ritual, KUB 35.88 iii 14’ ff., describes how the illnesses of nine bodyparts, that is, the head, the eyes, the ears, the mouth, the throat, and the hands have to be combed *zanta* with a comb. The relevant clause, *zanta=wa=tar meltanza kišamman āšdu*, is more or less understood, as the following translations show. The only difference lies in the interpretation of *zanta*. For *zanta* as the instrumental of *zā-*, see Carruba<sup>37</sup> with “(die neun Kämme beschwört Kamrusepa), **damit** wird die *meltanza* gekämmt werden” and “(Beschwöre die neun Kämme, (o Kamrusepas,)) damit die Krankheit weggekämmt sei”<sup>38</sup>, and Van den Hout<sup>39</sup> with “Let the *m.* be combed away **hereby**”, following Melchert<sup>40</sup> in his translation of *zanta*. Haas<sup>41</sup>, Hutter<sup>42</sup>, and originally Starke<sup>43</sup> analyze *zanta* as a nom.-acc.pl.neut. adjective to *meltanza*, as their translations suggest. Hutter has “**These** *melta*-evils shall be combed away”, and Starke and Haas have “**Folgende** Krankheiten sollen weggekämmt sein”. However, this would require a demonstrative stem *zant-*, for which

<sup>34</sup> On the nailing (*tarmai-*) of evil-doers and their products in general, see Haas 2003: 736ff.

<sup>35</sup> For the restoration of ŠENNUR see KUB 9.31 i 10-21 where both pegs of ŠENNUR and pegs of MA.NU are mentioned.

<sup>36</sup> The sequence MA.NU was previously misunderstood (Haas (2003: 739): [...]x-ma nu kat-ta tar-ma-a-iz-zi; Prechel (2002: 286 fn. 44): [ x x ] x x-ma-nu kat-ta tar-ma-a-iz-zi; Bawanypeck (2005: 287): [.] x x-ma nu kat-ta tar-ma-a-iz-zi), but correctly identified by Groddek (2007: 11).

<sup>37</sup> Carruba 1982: 44 fn. 18.

<sup>38</sup> Carruba 1998: 76.

<sup>39</sup> Van den Hout 2001: 185 fn. 90.

<sup>40</sup> Melchert 1993: 278.

<sup>41</sup> Haas 1994: 439 and 2003: 731.

<sup>42</sup> Hutter 2003: 230.

<sup>43</sup> Starke 1980: 84 and 1985: 207. Starke (1990: 42) later changed his opinion and followed Carruba (1982: 44).

there is no evidence. Beckman<sup>44</sup> does not translate *zanta* (“With the combs let him (the child) be combed!”).

But if we adduce a Hittite passage from one of Tunnawiya’s rituals, of Luwian background, it becomes immediately clear that *zanta* corresponds with *katta*:

- 7 Tunnawiya’s ritual against impurity of man and woman (NS, KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 ii 66-67, iii 1-4)

*n=an* <sup>MUNUS</sup>SUḪUR.LA<sub>5</sub> kuezziya IŠTU <sup>GIŠ</sup>GA.ZUM / *katta* 1-ŠU kišāizzi § *n=ašta* <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI *anda* kišša[n] *memai* / *kāša=kan* NÍ.TE *hūmanda* šaḫḫiškimi / *nu=šši=kan* *katta* kišān ēšdu *idalu* / *papratar...*

The chambermaid combs it (a figure of clay) down once with each comb. § The Old Woman speaks simultaneously: “Me here<sup>45</sup>, I am cleansing each body part. Let the evil uncleanness, ..., be combed down from him (the ritual patron).”

But we do not only have an exact Hittite equivalent, *zanta* in KUB 35.88 iii 14’ also occurs in the same structural position as two other local adverbs, *anta* “into”, and *šarri* “on top of, over”:

- 8 Luwian birth ritual (NS, KUB 35.88 iii 11’-17’ (NS), with MS dupl. KUB 35.89: 11’-13’)

ú-pa-at-ta-pa-wa-du ša-ar-ri-ya-ni-in<sup>46</sup> 2-šu 9-u[(n)<sup>47</sup>] / *an-ta-wa-aš*<sup>48</sup>-*ta* *wa-al-lu-na*<*aš*>-*ša-an* *wa-a-ni* *up-pa-an-t[a]* / *ša-ar-ri-wa-tar*<sup>49</sup> DUMU-in *wa-al-li-it-ta* *la-la-a-i-wa* [(9-un-za)] / <sup>GIŠ</sup>GA.ZUM-za <sup>d</sup>Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš **za-an-ta**-*wa-tar* *mi-el-ta-an-za* [Ø] / *ki-ša-am-ma-an* *a-aš-du* SAG.DU-za GIG-za IGI.ḪI.A-za GIG-z[(a)] / <sup>UZU</sup>GEŠTUG-za GIG-za <sup>UZU</sup>KAXU-za GIG-za <sup>UZU</sup>ḫur-ta-a[š-ša-an-za] / GIG-za ŠU<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A-za GIG-za

“She granted her 18 (lit. twice nine) combs (?). They brought them in to the midwife, (and) she lifted the child over (them). She, Kamrusepa, takes nine combs (saying): ‘Let (each) illness<sup>50</sup> be combed **down**: the illness of the head, the illness of the eyes, the illness of the ear(s), the illness of the mouth, the illness of the throat, the illness of the hands.’ ”

<sup>44</sup> Beckman 1983: 229.

<sup>45</sup> The translation “me here” tries to capture the function of *kāša* as a pragmatic sentence adverb that anchors the proposition in the speaker sphere. Similarly, *kāšma* and Old Hittite *kāšatta* anchor a proposition in the addressee sphere (Rieken 2009).

<sup>46</sup> The more reliable Middle Script duplicate KUB 35.89: 11’ reads [š]a-ša-ri-ya-ni-in, acc.sg.comm. of *šašariyana/i-*. This noun could be a *-na-* formation on *\*šašariya-* “?”. I am tempted to compare the latter with the Hittite verb *šešariya-* “to strain, filter, sieve”. The noun *šašariyana/i-* could then be a filter-like or sieve-like instrument. I therefore follow Carruba (1998: 76) and consider *šašariyana/i-* (*šarriyana/i-*) as the reading behind <sup>GIŠ</sup>GA.ZUM “comb” (see already Laroche 1959: 86: “objet de toilette”). This of course turns 9-unza <sup>GIŠ</sup>GA.ZUM-za in iii 13’-14’ in an acc.pl.comm., with Laroche (1959: 121, 125) but against Melchert (1993: 289, 298).

<sup>47</sup> Starke (1985: 227) restores 9-u[(n)-za]. The restoration of the element *-za* is not necessary. The scant evidence suggests that numerals in apposition simply take the neuter ending *-n*. The number x-šu 9-un follows a nom.sg.comm. (KBo 9.145: 11’: [...] / URUDU-iš GAG-iš 3-šu 9-un a<-aš>-du “Let there be bronze pegs, 27 [...]”) and a plural (KBo 9.145: 12’: [...] / <sup>GIŠ</sup>GAG.ḪI.A 3-šu 9-un a-aš-du “Let there be pegs, 27 [...]”).

<sup>48</sup> The 18 *šarriyani*-s (combs) function as the missing antecedent of the acc.pl.comm. *-aš* (see Melchert 2004: 370). This pronoun was not translated by Starke (1980: 84, 1985: 207, 1990: 550 “Man schickte hinein zur Frau des Hebens. Sie hob das Kind hoch”), Haas (1994: 439, 2003: 731 “Man schickte hinein nach der Hebamme”), Carruba (1998: 76 “dabei gab (sie/er) der Frau des Erhebens”) or Hutter (2003: 230, “They sent for the midwife”).

<sup>49</sup> *šarri=wa=tar* is the equivalent of Hittite *šer=wa=ššan* and can be translated accordingly as “on top (of), over”. The verb *walliya-* “lift” does neither require *šarri* “up” nor a sentence particle, as *zam=pa=ku=wa* DUMU-nin *wallindu* “But furthermore let them lift this child” (KUB 35.103 iii 4) shows.

<sup>50</sup> According to Starke (1980: 84 fn. 34a) *melanza* is the Luwian reading behind GIG-za “illness”.

In the fragment KUB 35.124 (NS) we find both *warpa šarra* (ii 5) and *warpa zanta* (ii 8), again suggesting the status of local adverb for *zanta*.

3.3. A well-known expression in Hattian and Luwian mythological settings is the deity that looks down from heaven, usually in the Hittite language. A Luwian version was already recognized by Starke<sup>51</sup> in one of the pregnancy conjurations:

- 9 Pregnancy conjuration (MS, KBo 29.25: 6')  
 [.....<sup>d</sup>U]TU-wa-az **za-an-ta** ta-ap-pa-ša-t[i ma-na-a-ta]  
 [T]iwat [looked] **down** from Heaven.

Starke compares this clause with a similar one in a Hittite birth ritual with many Luwianisms, *nu=ššan* GAM AN-za<sup>d</sup>U-aš *aušta* “The Storm-god looked down from heaven” KUB 44.4 rev. 9, though without restoring *manāta* based on *aušta* or equating *katta* with *zanta*. For the appropriate deity we should add *nu=kan*<sup>d</sup>UTU-uš AN-za GAM *au[šta]* (KUB 24.7 iii 28) and <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš=*kan* AN-za G[AM] <sup>r</sup>au<sup>r</sup>[šta] (KUB 24.7 ii 53) from the birth fable “The Sun-god, the cow and the fisherman”. Luwian ‘looking down’ is also attested in fragmentary context in KUB 35.99: 4’ (MS): -<sup>a</sup>a-t[i] **za-an-ta** *ma-na-a-ta*.

3.4. The adverb *zanta* is twice attested in the Luwian parts of the Festival for the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The first attestation, KUB 35.133 iii 16, was already presented by Carruba<sup>52</sup>:

- 10 Festival for the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna (NS, KUB 35.133 iii 14-17)  
 an-za <sup>r</sup>pí<sup>r</sup>-i-ya ma-a-<sup>r</sup>ú(?)[-w]a-al-la-aš-ša ma-aš-ḫa-re-eš-ša / <sup>GIŠ</sup>GEŠTIN-an-za wa-[š]a<sup>?</sup>-ša-aš-ša<sup>53</sup> a-ta<sup>URU</sup>ḫa-at-tu-ša / za-ap-pí-ya-al-li **za-an-ta** ša-at-te-eš<sup>54</sup> pa-ta a-wi<sub>5</sub>-du § an-za-ta<sup>d</sup>U-an-za pí-pí-iš-ša an-za-da EGIR-an-da ša-aš-ša  
 Give us *mauwallašša*-s, **mašhareš**, grapevine(s), those of *wašaš* (blessings *vel sim.*)! You must send them **down** to the *zappiyalla/i*- in Ḫattuša. Let them come! § Give them to us, O Storm-god! Grant them to us permanently!

The verb *šā-* “release, let go, send” and its iterative *šašša-* correspond with Hieroglyphic Luwian (\*69) *sa-*<sup>55</sup>. To the attestations of (\*69) *sa-* listed by Melchert<sup>56</sup>, all with the preverb *ARHA*, we may add the following new attestation with *INFRA-ta*:

<sup>51</sup> Starke 1990: 98.

<sup>52</sup> Carruba (1982: 44 fn. 18) translates KUB 35.133 iii 15-16 as “In Hattusa has (*sic*) du (der Wettergott) hiermit (mit den vorher genannten Erdprodukten) das Vorratshaus (?) gefüllt/gepflegt (?) und es wird kommen (= es wird so sein)”.

<sup>53</sup> I suggest *wa-[š]a<sup>?</sup>-ša-aš-ša* is the neuter nom.-acc.pl. of *wašašašša/i-*, possessive adjective to the noun *wašaš-* = *ušaš-*, a favorable notion (KUB 17.20 ii 12). If this analysis is correct, Starke (1990: 107) is right in treating \ \ *ú-ša-aš-ša* in KUB 17.20 ii 12 as the neuter pl. of the *s*-stem *ušaš-*.

<sup>54</sup> The form *šatteš* is listed as a noun of unknown meaning in Melchert 1993: 193, but is better taken as the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg.pres. of *šā-* “release, let go”. The resulting sequence of verbs *piya-* “give” and *šā-* “release, let go” finds its parallel in the sequence of reduplicated verbs *pipišša-* “give” and *šašša-* “grant, release” in iii 17.

<sup>55</sup> Melchert 1989: 32ff.

<sup>56</sup> Melchert 1989: 35-36.



- 11 EREĞLI § 4, ed. Poetto 2002: 398, but with my own transliteration based on Plate III (Poetto 2002: 405).

§ 4 |wa/i-ta [| DEUS] TONITRUS-hu-za-sá [|]CAELUM ti-pa-sa-ti |INFRA-ta 'l'ni-i [|]REL-ha [|]sa-i

May the Storm-god not send anything down from heaven.

There is no exact equivalent phrase in Hittite. Although *šāi-/šiya-* < \**sh<sub>1</sub>-ye-* “shoot, hurl” shares its stem with *šā-* < \**seh<sub>1</sub>-*<sup>57</sup>, the functional equivalent of (*zanta*) *šā-* is (*katta*) *tarna-*<sup>58</sup>. But perhaps we may adduce

- 12 xxx (OH/NS, KUB 29.1 iv 13-15)

<sup>GIS</sup>GEŠTIN=wa / *maḥḥan katta šūrkuš šarā=ma=wa* / <sup>GIS</sup>*maḥluš šīyaizzi*

“Just as the grapevine thrusts down roots and thrusts up shoots, (so may the king and queen send down roots and send up shoots”).

In the same text there is another *zanta* in fragmentary context, *za-an-da pa-aš-ta* (KUB 35.133 ii 5'). Despite the lack of context, its meaning is again confirmed by the correspondences with Hieroglyphic Luwian INFRA-ta (BIBERE)*pas-* and Hittite *katta paš-* “swallow down”:

- 13 TELL AHMAR 6 § 32, ed. Hawkins *apud* Bunnens 2006: 16-17, 30.

a-wa/i \*a-pa-si-na |(CAPUT)ha+ra/i-ma-hi-na FEMINA-ti-i-na |INFANS-ni-na |INFRA-ta |(BIBERE)pa-sà-tú

Let him (the Storm-god) swallow down his head, wife (and) child!

- 14 xxx (MH/MS, KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.21 rev. 63-64)

*nu kī māḥḥan wātar dankuiš taganzipaš / katta pašta apātt=a idālu uttar taganzipaš katta QATAMMA pašdu*

Just as the dark earth has swallowed down this water, so let the earth swallow down also that evil word.

3.5. A presumed equivalence with an existing Hittite verbal phrase can be used to assess attestations that are otherwise completely opaque when trying to make sense of them solely based on contextual considerations.

For example, the Istanuwian song ‘title’ KBo 4.11 rev. 40-41 (see below) contains two lexemes, *wa-ad-da-ti[-...]-ta* and *ḥu-wa-al-pa-na-ti-a-ar*, that cannot be analyzed in their present forms. But if we dissolve *ḥu-wa-al-pa-na-ti-a-ar* in *ḥu-wa-al-pa-na-ti a-ar*, abl. of *ḥuwalpa(n)-* “hump” and imp.2.sg. of the as yet unattested verb *ār-* “arrive”<sup>59</sup>, we have at least a reasonable verb candidate that may be combined with *zanta* “down”: The equivalent Hittite verbal phrase is (-*kan*) Abl. *katta ar-* “arrive/come/go down from a location”<sup>60</sup>. Fortunately, we have *ḥuwalpanati* “from the hump(s)” to serve as the ablative for *zanta ār-*.

Assuming that *šuwatra* “storage jars, fillings” are unlikely to receive a command to come down from humps, I suggest to take *wa-ad-da-ti[-...]-ta* as the beginning of a

<sup>57</sup> Melchert 1989: 37-38.

<sup>58</sup> Melchert 1989: 33-34.

<sup>59</sup> For Hieroglyphic Luwian (“PES<sub>2</sub>”) *a+ra/i-* / *ar-* / see the Aššur letters a § 6 and f+g § 24.

<sup>60</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> A: 215.

separate clause, with [...]ta containing the local particle -tta, equivalent of Hittite -kan. This leads to the restoration wa-ad-da-ti[-it]-ta (waddati=tta). The form waddati is either the dative-locative of an otherwise unattested noun waddat(a/i)- “?” or the ablative of a noun wadda/i-. Based on the reading of Hieroglyphic Luwian MONS as <wati-><sup>61</sup>, Gérard<sup>62</sup> recently suggested that watti- is the word for mountain in Cuneiform Luwian, attested as a dative-locative watti in KBo 29.25 iii 10'. Our passage now provides the conclusive piece of evidence: the ablative phrase waddati *huwalpanati* matches the nominative phrase HUR.SAG.HI.A-inzi *huwalpa[ninzi]* in KUB 35.108: 21':

15 **xx** (**xx**, KBo 4.11 rev. 40-41)

šu-wa-at-ra wa-a-šu a-la wa-ad-da-ti[-it]-ta / **z'a-an-ta** hu-wa-al-pa-na-ti a-ar

The storage jars (are) good (and) deep. Come (sg.) **down** from the hump-backed mountains!

3.5. Final proof comes from the Bronze Tablet. The Luwian Glossenkeil word *z'a-an-ta-la-nu-na* = *zantallanuna* in Bo 86/299 ii 71 is synonymous with the Hittite infinitive *tepnumanzi* “diminish, belittle” in Bo 86/299 ii 77. The verb *zantallanu(wa)-* is a causative formation of the verbal stem *\*zantallyi-*<sup>63</sup>, itself derived from the adjective *\*zantalli-*<sup>64</sup>. This adjective is of course based on *zanta* “down, below”<sup>65</sup>. The verb *zantallanu-* can now be literally explained as “cause to be down, belittle”, German “erniedrigen”.

4. The equation of Cuneiform Luwian *zanda/zanta* “down” with Hittite *katta* “down” has repercussions for the Proto-Anatolian reconstruction of this adverb. Until now it could not be decided whether *katta*<sup>66</sup> is the regular reflex of either PIE *\*kmt-o* or *\*kmt-o*<sup>67</sup>. But whereas both *\*k* and *\*k̑* lead to *k* in Hittite, the distinction between these two velars is maintained in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, where we find PA *\*k̑* > *z*, and PA *\*k* > *k*<sup>68</sup>. With the re-analysis of *zanta* the verdict falls on *\*kmt-o*.

Hieroglyphic Luwian allegedly shows *\*kata* “down, under”. But since this adverb is always written INFRA-ta or INFRA-tá<sup>69</sup> there is no direct evidence for *k-* as the initial consonant<sup>70</sup>. More importantly, *\*kata* is the reflex *\*kmt-o*, not *\*k̑mt-o*. So, in agreement with Cuneiform Luwian *zanta* and *\*kmt-o* we should read INFRA-ta “down” as *\*zata* = *\*/tsanta/*.

<sup>61</sup> See Hawkins 2000: 350 with further references.

<sup>62</sup> Gérard 2006: 248.

<sup>63</sup> Perhaps also attested in ABoT 56 ii 35' *z'a-an-t[a...]* (Starke 1990: 533 fn. 1964A).

<sup>64</sup> Starke 1990: 533 with fn. 1964A.

<sup>65</sup> Against Starke 1990: 533 fn. 1964A.

<sup>66</sup> For the absence of a nasal in *katta(n)* see Melchert 1994: 126 and Kloekhorst 2008: 464.

<sup>67</sup> Kloekhorst 2008: 463-464.

<sup>68</sup> Melchert 1994: 232, 234.

<sup>69</sup> Starke 1990: 362, Melchert 1994: 279, Plöchl 2003: 77 (with older literature), Payne 2004: 30, Puhvel 1997: 129, Kloekhorst 2008: 463.

<sup>70</sup> L 56, the Empire precursor of INFRA/SUB (L 57) represents *ká* on seals, so theoretically INFRA/SUB could have this value as well. However, in Iron Age Luwian this sign *never* alternates with regular *ka*. This can only mean it did not have that value anymore in Iron Age Luwian. Besides that, *\*annan* “under” is written with the same sign, which **precludes** INFRA/SUB = *ká*. Still, the reading of Empire INFRA as *ká* is by no means arbitrary, as explained by Yakubovich 2008. As L 56 represented the notion “under, below”, **the Hittite value** **The solution for** **Article Ilya 2008**

With the rejection of *\*kata*, the reading behind CUM-*ni/na* “(along) with, for, against” cannot be *\*/katan/*<sup>71</sup>. In view of the writing CUM-*na* one still could consider *\*za-ta-na* = *\*/tsantan/*, if it were not for the fact that CUM is overwhelmingly followed by *-ni*<sup>72</sup>. This speaks against a mere ending */-n/*, while on the other hand an ending */-ni/* finds support from the unique writing CUM-*i* in KARKAMIŠ A2 § 12. With the ending *-ni* as a phonetic reality, CUM-*ni* has to be disconnected from INFRA-*ta* and connected with SUB-*na-na* /*annan*/ <sup>73</sup> “under, beneath” instead. The latter is of course the same as Cuneiform Luwian *ānnan*. For CUM-*ni* this means that we should read it as *\*/anni/*<sup>74</sup>.

Surprisingly, supportive evidence for the reading of CUM-*ni* as *\*ānni* comes from the Lydian preverb *ēn-*, as Ilya Yakobuvich recently pointed out to me (pers. comm.)<sup>75</sup>. Luwian *\*ānni* goes back to PA *\*ānni*, just as Cuneiform Luwian *ānnan* goes back to PA *\*ānnem*<sup>76</sup>. PA *\*ānni* leads to pre-Lydian *\*ēni* which in turn should lead to *ēn* after apocope of the short final unaccented vowel. As a corollary the Lydian preverb *kan-* is stripped of its meaning “with”: together with *kaṛ-* this preverb is merely an allomorph of *kat-* “down”<sup>77</sup>.

6. To summarize, in all clear contexts the word *zanta* can be translated with “down” instead of “with this, herewith, hereby”. This new meaning is strengthened by exactly matching Hittite expressions which all show *katta*:

Cuneiform Luwian	Hittite	
- <i>tta zanta ār-</i>	- <i>kan katta ar-</i>	“come down from”
- <i>tar zanta kiš(ai)-</i>	- <i>kan katta kiš(ai)-</i>	“comb down”
[ <i>-tta</i> ] <i>zanta mana-</i>	- <i>ašta/-kan katta auš-</i>	“look down from”
<i>zanda pašš-</i>	<i>katta pašš-</i>	“swallow down”
<i>zanta ša-</i>	<i>katta šai-/šiya-</i>	“send down”
- <i>tar zanta puwa-</i>	∅	“pound down on”
- <i>tar zanta tarmai-</i>	- <i>šan/-ašta katta tarmai-</i>	“nail down on”
<i>zanta dupai-</i>	(- <i>kan</i> ) <i>katta walḫ-</i>	“strike down, afflict”
<i>zanta(l)lanu-</i>	<i>tepnu-</i>	“belittle, diminish”

As a result of Luw. *zanta* ~ Hitt. *katta*, we should now reconstruct PIE *\*k̑mt-o*. **Afmaken.**

	down	under, below	with, for, against
Hittite	<i>katta</i>	<i>kattan</i>	<i>katti-, kattan</i>
Lydian	<i>kat/kan/kaṛ-</i>	∅ ( <i>*ēnv?</i> )	<i>ēn</i>

<sup>71</sup> Against Melchert 2003: 203, Plöchl 2003: 81.

<sup>72</sup> CUM-*na* is only attested in KARATEPE Hu. § 15, versus CUM-*ni* in Ho. § 15, and in KARKAMIS A15b § 21.

<sup>73</sup> SUB-*na-na* is almost always spelled with the logogram SUB (L 57 = INFRA), but is also found in syllabic writing in *á-na-tara/i-* “lower” (KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.15, see Hawkins 2000: 506).

<sup>74</sup> We might even adduce the shape of the sign CUM (L 58) as evidence. The only difference between this sign and SUB = INFRA (L 57) is the addition of the LITUUS-sign to L 57. Since on rare occasions LITUUS has the syllabic value */a/*, we could perhaps read CUM+A-*ni*. The LITUUS would then make the relation with SUB-*na-na* explicit.

<sup>75</sup> Yakobuvich (2005: 78) already rejected the traditional view that *ēn* < PIE *\*en* (see for example Melchert 1994: 350), deriving it from *\*ēnv* “under” instead.

<sup>76</sup> For *ānnan* < *\*ānnem*, see Melchert 1994: 7 *et passim*.

<sup>77</sup> I will discuss my views on some of the Lydian preverbs elsewhere

CunLuw.	<i>zanta</i>	<i>ānna</i>	ø (*ānna ?)
HierLuw.	INFRA-ta */zanta/	SUB-na-na */annan/	CUM-ni */anni/

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