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ANATOLIAN INTERFACES  
HITTITES, GREEKS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

*Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction,  
September 17-19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*

edited by  
*Billie Jean Collins, Mary R. Bachvarova  
and Ian C. Rutherford*

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## PREFACE

When Ian Rutherford and Mary Bachvarova first conceived the idea for a conference on cross-cultural interaction in Anatolia, they found a willing collaborator in Billie Jean Collins, who volunteered Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia as the location for the conference. Its purpose would be to bring together scholars who might not normally travel in the same academic circles to engage in a discussion about Anatolia's many cultural "interfaces." Cross-cultural interaction in ancient Anatolia between indigenous groups, such as the Hattians, Indo-Europeans, including Hittites and Greeks, and Near Eastern cultures, particularly the Hurrians, resulted in a unique environment in which Anatolian peoples interacted with, and reacted to, one another in different ways. These cultural interfaces occurred on many levels, including political, economic, religious, literary, architectural and iconographic. The rich and varied archives, inscriptions and archaeological remains of ancient Anatolia and the Aegean promised much material for study and discussion. After a year of planning, on September 17–19, 2004, an international body of scholars, more or less equally divided between Classicists and Anatolianists, met at Emory University. These Proceedings present the rich fruits of the discussion that took place over those three days in Atlanta.

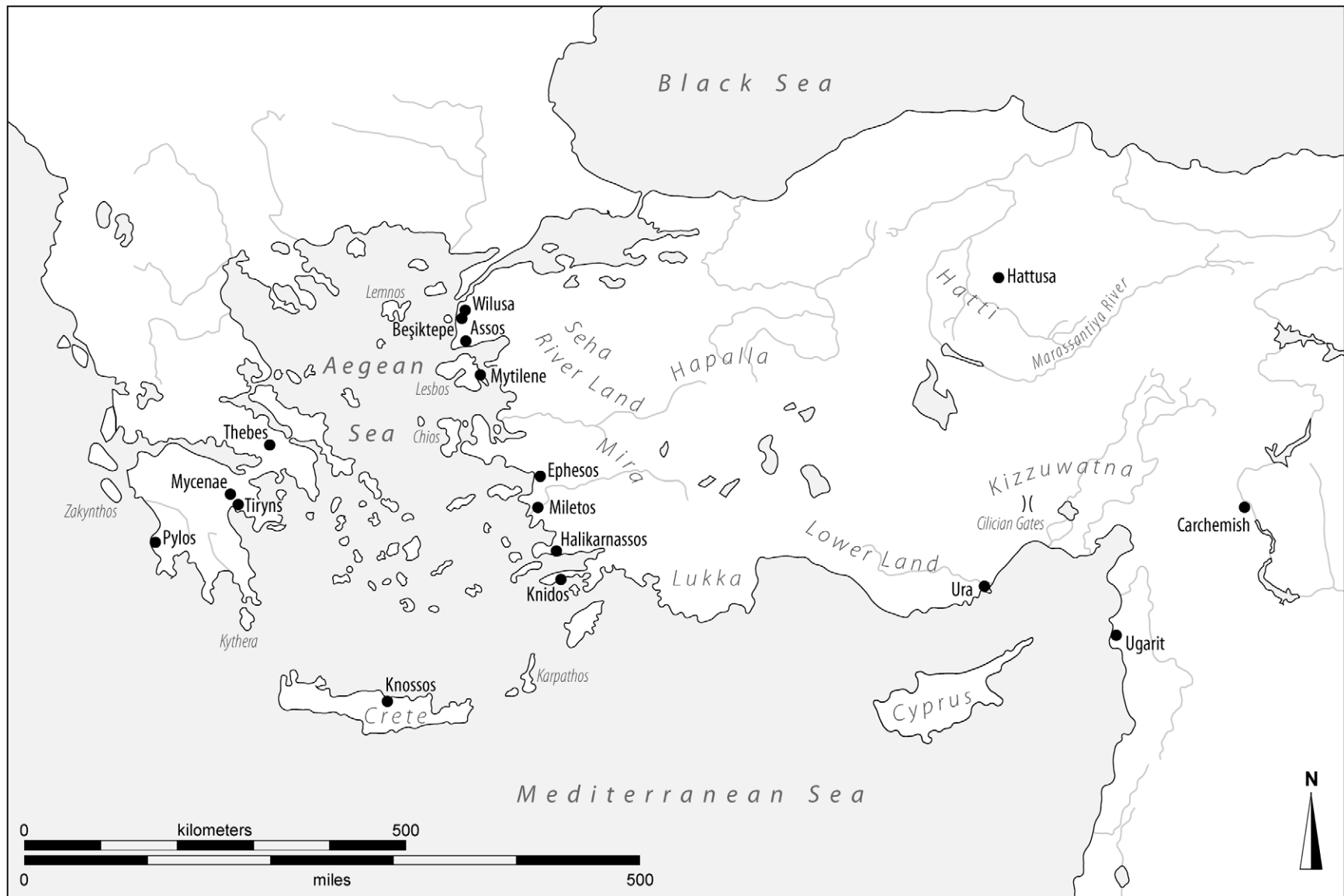
Hosted and co-sponsored by the Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies of Emory University, the conference, "Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors in Ancient Anatolia: An International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction" was made possible by the generous support of many sponsors. From within Emory, the sponsors include the Center for Humanistic Inquiry, the Department of Anthropology, the Department of Art History, the Department of Classics, the Department of Religion, the Graduate Division of Religion, the Graduate Program in Culture, History and Theory, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Institute for Comparative and International Studies, the Michael C. Carlos Museum, the Office of International Affairs, the Program in Classical Studies, the Program in Mediterranean Archaeology and the Program in Linguistics. Support from outside the University came from the American Schools of Oriental Research, the Georgia Middle East Studies Consortium, the Georgia Humanities Council, the Foundation for Biblical Archaeology and the Hightower Fund. The publication of these proceedings was made possible by a subvention from Emory College and the Emory Graduate School of Arts & Sciences. Thanks also go to Susanne Wilhelm of Archaeoplan for preparing the maps for the volume.

The conference "Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors" underscored how all our fields of study can benefit from a cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary approach. If, in publishing these proceedings, we draw attention to the importance of Anatolia in recovering the cultural heritage of the western world, then our efforts have been worthwhile. Many at the conference expressed the hope that it might be the beginning of a regular series of formal conversations on the topic, and one participant predicted that the conference would usher in a new era of cross-disciplinary cooperation. We certainly hope so.

## ABBREVIATIONS

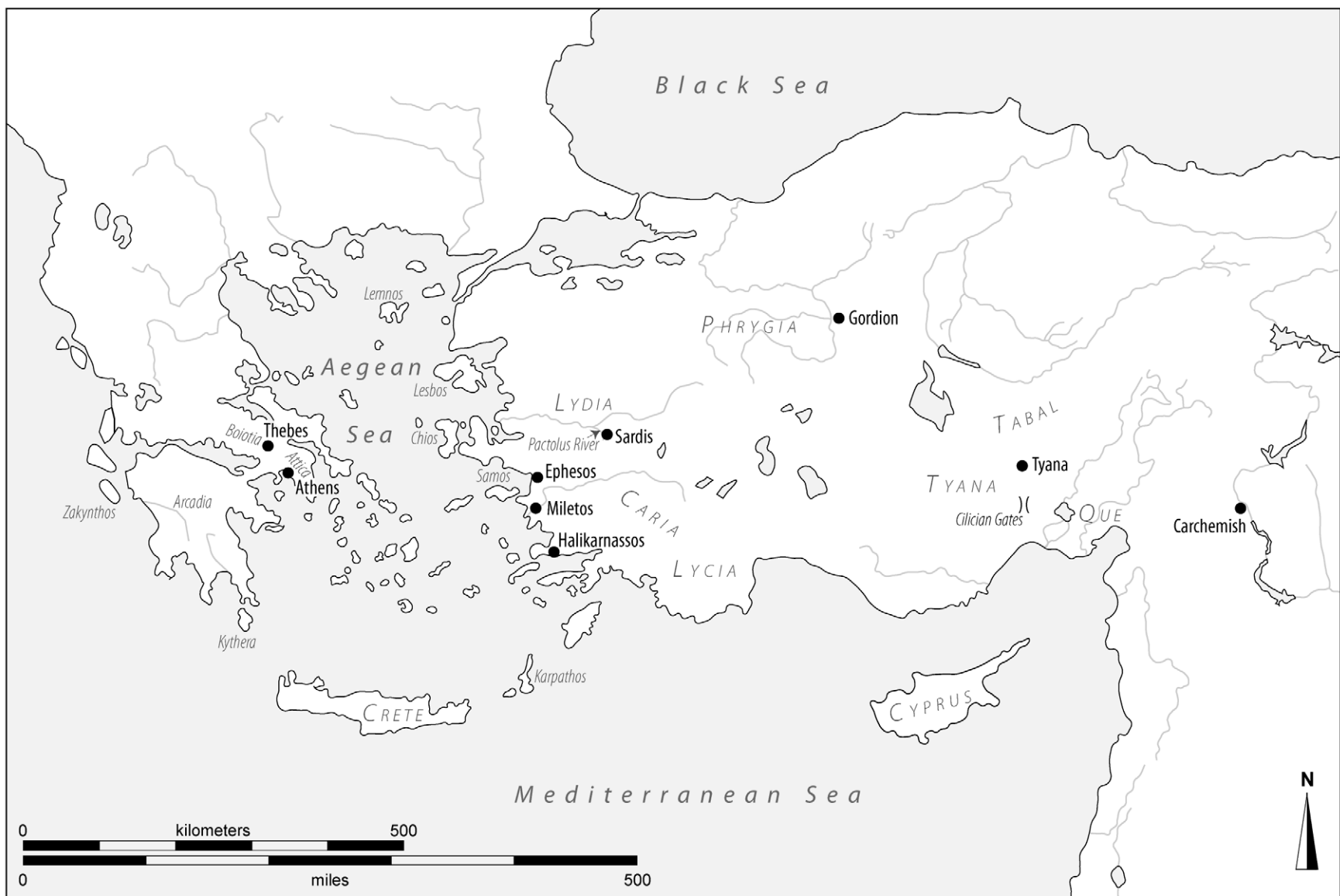
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1958–1981.
Alc.	Alcaeus
Anac.	Anacreon
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AP	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
Euphorion, <i>ap Ath.</i>	Euphorion, <i>ap Athenaeus</i> “ <i>Deipnosophistae</i> ”
Ar., <i>Thesm.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>
Archil.	Archilochus
Arnobius, <i>Adv. nat.</i>	Arnobius, <i>Adversus nationes</i>
Ath.	Athenaeus
ca.	circa
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . New York, Scribner’s Sons, 1995
CDA	J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . 2nd corrected printing. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2000.
CHD	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–
Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrep.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i>
CLL	H. C. Melchert, <i>Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon</i> . Chapel Hill, N.C., self-published, 1993.
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
CNR	Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
CTH	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris, Klincksieck, 1971.
CTH suppl.	E. Laroche, Premier supplement, <i>RHA</i> 30 (1972), 94–133.
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
DLL	E. Laroche, <i>Dictionnaire de la langue louvite</i> . Paris, Maisonneuve, 1959.
DLU	G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, <i>Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica</i> . Aula Orientalis Suppl. 7–8. Barcelona, AUSA, 1996.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin, Weidmann, and Leiden, Brill, 1923–.
Firmicus Maternus, <i>De. err. prof. rel.</i>	Firmicus Maternus, <i>De errore profanarum religionum</i>
fl.	floruit
fr.	fragment
Gr.	Greek
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin, Mouton, 1984–
HEG	J. Tischler, <i>Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–
Hitt.	Hittite
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Homer, <i>Il.</i>	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
Homer, <i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
[Hom.], <i>Marg. P.Oxy.</i>	Pseudo-Homer, <i>Margites</i> , Oxyrhynchus Papyrus

HW	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1952.
HW <sup>2</sup>	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . 2. Auflage. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975–
Iamblichus, <i>De Myst.</i>	Iamblichus, <i>De mysteriis</i>
IBoT	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri</i> . Istanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988.
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IEG	M. L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi graeci</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991–1992.
<i>Il. Comm. ad. Π</i>	R. Janko, <i>The Iliad: A Commentary</i> , vol. IV: Books 13–16. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1916–.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . 60 volumes. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1921–1990
KN	Knossos tablet
Lith.	Lithuanian
Luw.	Luwian
Lyc.	Lycian
Lyd.	Lydian
MesZL	R. Borger, <i>Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon</i> . Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 2003.
MHG	Middle High German
MSL XIII	B. Landsberger et al., <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</i> , vol. 13. Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1971.
MY	Mycenae tablet
Myc.	Mycenaean
Myl.	Mylesian
Nic. Dam.	Nicolaus Damascenus
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or.	<i>Oratio</i>
Pal.	Palaic
PIHANS	Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul
[Plutarch], <i>De mus.</i>	Pseudo-Plutarch, <i>De musica</i>
Plutarch, <i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
PMG	D. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , Oxford, Clarendon, 1962.
PN	personal name
PRU 4	C. F.-A. Schaeffer, <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV</i> . Paris, Imprimerie Nationale & Klincksieck, 1956.
PY	Pylos tablet
r.	ruled
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
Strabo, <i>Geog.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
s.v.	sub voce
Theoc.	Theocritus
trans.	translated by
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–.
Ugar.	Ugaritic
<i>Ugaritica V</i>	J. Nougayrol et al., <i>Ugaritica V</i> . Paris, Geuthner, 1968.
UT-PASP	University of Texas at Austin Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory
vel sim.	<i>vel similia</i> “similar word”
Verg.	Virgil
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World



Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.





Anatolia and the Aegean in the Iron Age



## LUWIAN MIGRATIONS IN LIGHT OF LINGUISTIC CONTACTS

*Ilya Yakubovich*

The study of ethnic movements in prehistoric Anatolia represents a field in which few issues are firmly settled.<sup>1</sup> Scholars such as V. Ivanov and C. Renfrew, advocating Anatolia as the homeland of the Indo-Hittite (Early Indo-European) language family, are opposed by those who treat the Indo-Hittite Anatolian languages as newcomers to Asia Minor. Within the second group, there are two major currents, one believing that Anatolians migrated to the Anatolian peninsula from the northeast, via the Caucasus (most recently, Stefanini 2002), and another tracing their way from northwest, via the Bosphorus (most recently, Darden 2001). It is probably fair to say that the last opinion has a larger number of adherents in Western European and American scholarship than either of the other two, but no consensus has been reached yet.

These attempts at remote ethnolinguistic reconstructions need not overshadow the importance of another aspect of Anatolian prehistorical research. Particular languages spoken over a vast territory within Anatolia in the second millennium BC must have had a starting point to their expansion. The principle of sequential reconstruction, in fact, dictates that one needs to decide where Hittites or Luwians “came from” before asking the same question about Proto-Anatolians or Proto-Indo-Hittites. In addition, we are better equipped to investigate the immediate prehistory of Anatolian peoples. Talking about Hittite or Luwian migrations, we can use early historical and literary texts, reflecting the national memory of the respective peoples, as well as the data coming from the analysis of linguistic contacts between Anatolian peoples and their known immediate neighbors. Neither of these two sources is available to us when we are discussing early Indo-European or Anatolian ethnic movements.

Many aspects of Hittite prehistory appear to be uncontroversial. The self-designation of the Hittite language, *nišili*, *nāšili*, *nešumnili* “Nesite” is derived from the ancient toponym Nesa, which has been identified with the site of Kültepe near Kayseri in central Anatolia. This city, also known in Hittite and Akkadian sources under the name Kanesh, functioned as an important trade center in the twentieth to eighteenth centuries BC, hosting a large colony (*kārum*) of Assyrian merchants.<sup>2</sup> Most Anatolian names preserved in the excavated records of Assyrian merchants appear to be Hittite (Garelli 1963, 133–52). The status of Hittite increased during the reign of the Great King Anitta, an eighteenth century ruler of Kanesh/Nesa who succeeded in defeating a coalition of hostile kings and established his dominion over much of central Anatolia. The Hattian town of Hattusa, destroyed by Anitta, was later refounded and repopulated by the Hittites as their new administrative and cult center. Hittite (Nesite) was the state language of the Hittite kingdom, whose political history between the mid-seventeenth and the early-twelfth century BC is well known from written sources. There is no evidence, however, that the Hittite dominion triggered linguistic assimilation among the subjects of the kingdom; on the contrary, the ever growing number of Luwian glosses in Late Hittite texts indicates a widespread Hittite-Luwian bilingualism in Hattusa, which cannot be observed in earlier periods (van den Hout 2006).

A scholar trying to investigate the early migrations of the Luwians faces more challenges. The speakers of Luwian inhabited a vast area stretching from the eastern shore of the Aegean Sea to the Euphrates valley. In the mid-second millennium BC, Luwian was apparently the language of ruling elites in the kingdoms of Arzawa in western Anatolia and Kizzuwatna in southeastern Anatolia, before they were absorbed by the Hittite Empire. On the other hand, the early Luwian texts composed in Istanuwa, located on or near the river Sahiriya (modern Sakarya) in northwest Anatolia, and in Kummanni, the capital of Kizzuwatna, display a degree of grammatical homogeneity that renders the very existence of an “Istanuwian dialect” a matter of dispute (Melchert 2003b, 174–75). After the collapse of the Hittite state in the early-twelfth century BC and the disappearance of the Hittite language from written records, Luwian principalities reemerged in central and southeastern Anatolia, as well as in northern Syria. The language of the Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions reveals certain grammatical peculiarities of a dialectal nature, but no lexical change of any significance (Melchert 2003b, 171–72). A relatively uniform language used throughout Anatolia invites questions about the starting place and the direction of its proliferation. Unfortunately, the available historical sources do not give us a direct answer to these questions.

Bryce’s (2003) first comprehensive attempt at reconstructing Luwian history offered a scenario of Luwian eastward expansion. Bryce hypothesized that by the seventeenth century BC “Luwian-speaking groups had occupied extensive areas in the western half of Anatolia” (p. 28). His conclusions appear to be based mainly on the identification of the countries of Luwiya and Arzawa, which seemingly alternate in the two versions of §19 of the Hittite Laws.<sup>3</sup> Bryce goes on to state that “by the middle of the millennium, Luwian-speaking groups had spread southwards and eastwards, occupying much of southern Anatolia, from the region of (Classical) Lycia in the west through (classical) Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria and Lycaonia to Cilicia in the East” (2003, 31). He concludes by reiterating the hypothesis that the basic migratory pattern of Luwians within Anatolia was a movement southeastwards (2003, 35), cautiously extrapolating this trajectory to the earlier period when Luwians had allegedly penetrated Anatolia via the northwest (2003, 40).<sup>4</sup> No systematic defense of this scenario has, however, been suggested, perhaps due to the fact that Bryce’s paper represents a historical overview rather than a polemical article.<sup>5</sup>

In this paper, I am going to advocate a different theory, according to which the local *Urheimat* of the Luwians is to be sought in central Anatolia in the Lower Land (\**katteran udne*) of the Hittite sources, which roughly corresponds to the area known today as the Konya Plain. My argumentation will be based primarily on linguistic data. In section 1, I am going to discuss the early linguistic contacts between Luwians and Hittites, while section 2 will be devoted to linguistic contacts between Luwian and Greek. I am going to argue that these contacts were much closer in the first instance, which speaks in favor of territorial adjacency between Hittite and Luwian homelands. In section 3, I will attempt to demonstrate the inconclusive nature of arguments advanced in favor of Luwian eastward migrations, and present some historical considerations that are compatible with my linguistic analysis.<sup>6</sup>

## 1. LUWIAN AND HITTITE

It was widely believed for many years that Luwian influence on Hittite was limited to the “Empire period” after 1400 BC. The refinement of Anatolian historical phonology and morphology has enabled scholars to detect a large number of Luwian lexical borrowings already in Old Hittite. The presentation by Craig Melchert at the Eleventh Conference of the *Indogermanische Gesellschaft* (Melchert 2005) was based on the list of some seventy-five certain or likely Luwian loanwords in Old Hittite, eleven of them occurring in the Old Script texts. Even if we make an unlikely assumption that up to one half of Old Hittite/Middle Script and Old Hittite/New Script loanwords were introduced by the copyists of Old Hittite texts, and then make an additional allowance of twenty-five percent for uncertain cases, we will wind up with more than thirty

lexemes that were borrowed into Old Hittite from or through Luwian. This number is roughly similar to that of assured Hattic loanwords in Hittite (cf. Melchert 2003a, 17). A sampler of Old Hittite nouns derived from attested Luwian verbs is given below:

CLuw. <i>tabar</i> - “to rule”	Hitt. <i>tabarna-/labarna</i> - “a royal title” (OH/OS) <sup>7</sup>
CLuw. <i>uba</i> - “to establish”	Hitt. <i>ubati</i> - “demesne (vel sim.)” (OH/OS) <sup>8</sup>
CLuw. <i>tiššai</i> - “to cause, fashion(?)”	Hitt. <i>teššummi-/tiššummi</i> - “fired-clay vessel” (OH/OS) <sup>9</sup>
CLuw. <i>tūmmantī</i> - “to hear”	Hitt. <i>tūmantiya</i> - (c.) “obedience” (OH) <sup>10</sup>
CLuw. <i>šarlai</i> - “to exalt”	Hitt. <i>šarluma</i> - “exaltation” (OH) <sup>11</sup>

It is remarkable that many Luwian borrowings in Old Hittite belong to the administrative or ideological sphere. It is even more remarkable that six Hittite kings of the Old Kingdom period, namely Labarna, Hantili I/II, Zidanta I/II and the recently identified Muwatalli I (see Bryce 1998, 122–24) had names of Luwian origin.<sup>12</sup> One cannot agree more with Melchert (2003a, 21), who rejects the notion of Luwian substrate in Old Hittite on the basis of such data, preferring to talk about a Luwian adstrate. Thus, a significant number of Luwians lived side by side with Hittite speakers already in the seventeenth through fifteenth centuries BC. Furthermore, the prestige potential of the Luwian language must have been high enough to justify its usage in the regal onomastics.

The lexical evidence cited above can be supported by textual data. A Hittite ritual for the evocation of a disappearing deity (CTH 752) contains incantations in Palaic, Luwian and probably Hattic. The fragment 671/b = KUB 35.93+ belonging to this ritual, which contains a Luwian passage next to a Palaic one, has been written in the Old Script. The addressee of the ritual cannot be identified with certainty, but the usage of Palaic tips the scales in favor of the hypothesis that this is the god Ziparwa, who is in fact explicitly mentioned in a Palaic passage of the text. In any event, the myth of a disappearing deity belongs to the archaic Hattic stratum of Hittite religious tradition, and one could only wonder what would be the usage of Luwian incantations embedded in our text, if at the time of its composition, Luwian was an obscure language of the western Anatolian periphery. One has no choice but to admit that Luwian had its place in the Hittite state cult already in the Old Kingdom period, and furthermore its usage as a liturgical language was not restricted to the veneration of certain provincial deities. This conclusion can be supported further by adducing a Middle Script fragment 1109/v = KBo 19.155 and a New Script fragment Bo 5582 = KUB 35.5, which probably do not belong to CTH 752, but nonetheless display alternation between Hittite, Luwian and Palaic lines.

In fact, one can go even further backwards. Luwian personal names occur on the Assyrian tablets from Kanesh, even though their number is predictably rather small. One must realize that it is frequently difficult to discriminate between Luwian onomastic material and archaic Hittite names. Thus, Kültepe personal names containing the Luwian theonym Sanda (Laroche 1966, # 1097-8) are likely to be of Luwian origin; yet one cannot exclude the theory that Sanda, also attested in Lydia, was a common Anatolian deity that later fell out of favor among Hittite worshippers. The same holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for the well-known onomastic element (-)muwa(-), which does seem to occur very frequently in the names of Luwian origin. One would be on safer ground assigning Luwian provenance only to those Kültepe names that display phonetic or morphological innovations peculiar to the Luwic subgroup. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive, but it is based on the rigorous application of this principle; for a list of other possible Luwian names see Garelli (1963, 139–41).

Laroche (1966, # 128)	<i>a-lá-ú-a-ni</i>	Contains Luw. <i>-wani</i> - (Laroche 1966, 259–60)
Laroche (1966, # 411)	<i>ḫu-da-ar-lá</i>	CLuw. <i>ḫūdarla</i> - “slave,” Luw. <i>-la</i> -
Carruba (1992, 251)	<i>ḫu-tar-lá-ni</i>	See above
Laroche (1966, # 835)	<i>mu-a-na-ni</i>	* <i>Muwa-nani</i> ; Luw. <i>nana/i-</i> vs. Hitt. <i>negna</i> - “brother”
Laroche (1966, # 858)	<i>na-na-pí</i>	* <i>Nana-piya-</i> , cf. above

Laroche (1966, # 1513)	wa-šu-na-ni	* <i>Wašu-nani</i> , cf. above
Carruba (1992, 253)	wa-li-a-ša-zu	Contains Luw. <i>aša-z(a)-</i> “to say”
Laroche (1966, # 1520)	wa-wa-li	HLuw. <i>wa/i-wa/i-</i> vs. Hitt. * <i>kuwau-</i> “cow” <sup>13</sup>
Laroche (1966, # 1521)	wa-wa-la	See above
Laroche (1966, # 1581)	zu-a-ni-a	HLuw. <i>sù-wa/i-ni-</i> “dog” vs. Hitt. <i>kuwan-</i> “dog” <sup>14</sup>

The addition of merely suggestive onomastic material, selected on the basis of the lexical evidence, would increase this list by three or four times. Special prosopographic research is needed in order to see whether the majority of these people are the inhabitants of the Kanes area, or come from other regions covered by the network of Assyrian trade in Asia Minor. In any event, they are not likely to represent the indigenous population of western Anatolia since the *kārum* trade does not appear to have been extended this far westwards. Therefore the presence of Luwians in central Anatolia must be reckoned with already in the twentieth through eighteenth centuries BC. In fact, the ethnonym “Luwian” may explicitly be attested in the Assyrian Colony period as *nuwa’um* (Carruba 1992).

The linguistic contacts between Luwian and Hittite were not necessarily limited to the lexicon. Both languages belonged to the Anatolian Linguistic Area that can be established on the basis of common structural innovations (Watkins 2001). Below, I am going to mention only two of them that demonstrably occurred after the genetic separation of Hittite and Luwian.

The clearest instance of the areal phonological development is the devoicing of word-initial stops in Hittite and Luwian (Melchert 1994, 16–21). The same process, at least in the case of dentals, can be observed in the history of late Anatolian languages, Lycian and Lydian, recorded in alphabetic writing. It also occurred in the genetically unrelated Hurrian language, but not in its close relative, Urartean, which vindicates the areal nature of this phenomenon. The fact that it occurred after the genetic separation of Hittite and Luwian is borne out by numerous irregular cases where the word-initial dental stop failed to devoice in one of the two languages, and is graphically rendered as *l-* (phonetically, possibly, [ð]); cf. Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* “a royal title,” Hitt. (borrowed) *allappahh-* “to spit” vs. CLuw. *tappa-* “to spit,” CLuw. *la-* vs. HLuw. *da-* “to take,” and Melchert 2003b: 181, fn. 13.

In the morphosyntactic domain, one should compare the Hittite possessive construction with case attraction (*ammedaz* ŠU-az “with my hand”) and the Luwian phrases with possessive adjectives (*zaššin* DUMU-*annaššin annin* “the mother (acc.) of this child”). Both constructions represent linguistic innovations from the Indo-Hittite point of view, and case attraction is more widespread in Late Hittite than in Old Hittite (cf. Luraghi 1993, 148). Both constructions can be viewed as a counterpart to the Hurro-Urartean construction with “double case” / *Suffixaufnahme*, described in Wilhelm (1995; Hurr. *hibapte=ne=da* Šauška=*we=ne=da* “to the *hibapte* of (the goddess) Shaushka”). All three constructions represent instances of case agreement between the possessum and the possessor, but the fusional Indo-Hittite morphosyntax happened to be not well compatible with the clusters of case endings, and so the agreement marker replaced the genitive case ending in Hittite. A typologically parallel development is provided by the instance of Old Georgian *Suffixaufnahme*, which was likely one of the factors triggering case attraction in Old Armenian (cf. Luraghi 1993, 164). The Luwian construction with the possessive adjective is structurally more similar to its Hurrian counterpart, in that both the case agreement and the syntactic subordination between the possessum and the possessor are overtly expressed in morphology.<sup>15</sup>

We do not have enough information at this point to conclude whether Early Luwian was in direct contact with Hurrian and/or Hittite, or its structural innovations were mediated by another language belonging to the same linguistic area.<sup>16</sup> In either case, however, the central Anatolian homeland of the Luwians appears to be compatible with such contacts, whereas pushing it westward would render their explanation more problematic. It is true that both the word-initial neutralization of stops and the possessive adjectives also existed in Lydian, a language that was spoken in western Anatolia in the first millennium BC. In my account,



however, the spread of these areal innovations to western Anatolia can be connected directly with Luwian westward migrations.

## 2. LUWIAN AND GREEK

In order to test the hypothesis according to which the majority of western Anatolian population in the Bronze Age was Luwian-speaking, it is instructive to consider the Luwian borrowings into Greek. It is usually assumed that Proto-Greeks migrated to the south of the Balkan peninsula at some point in the early second millennium BC, while the earliest linear B tablets found in Crete date back to the fifteenth century BC. The Bronze Age Greek principalities (or perhaps one of them) were known to the Hittites as the (Great) Kingdom of Ahhiyawa, and we know from the Hittite records of the Empire period that Ahhiyawan kings frequently meddled in the political affairs of western Asia Minor, and on occasions exercised direct control over some parts of it, such as Millawanda/Miletos.<sup>17</sup> The abductions of the inhabitants of western Anatolia into Greece are confirmed by both Hittite and Mycenaean texts.<sup>18</sup> The frequent contacts between the Aegean islands and the Anatolian coastland allow Bronze Age archeologists to define the west Aegean–east Anatolian interface characterized by peculiar pottery styles (Mountjoy 1998).

If Luwians constituted the bulk of the Bronze Age population of the western coast of Asia Minor, one can expect many Luwian words to have been borrowed into Mycenaean Greek around this time. This is emphatically not the case. The only likely borrowing from Luwian into Mycenaean identified so far is Myc. *di-pa-* “a kind of vessel.” This word, attested later as Gk. δέπας “cup” was compared with CLuw. *tappaš-* and HLuw. (CAELUM)*ti-pa-s°* “sky” (Melchert 2003b, 184 with references). The peculiar semantic shift “sky” > “cup,” reflecting the naive image of the sky as a cup covering the flat Earth, is supported by the Luwian sign CAELUM that graphically represents a bowl (Hawkins 2000, I, 26), as well as by the Hittite cognate *nēbiš-*, which, besides “sky,” can indicate a ritual object made of metal or of flour (Neu 1999, 621–22). As one can see from the above comparison, the Luwian word for “sky” displays a specifically Luwic assimilatory denasalization. Thus we can be sure that the Mycenaean word could not be borrowed from Hittite, but only from Luwian or a closely related tongue. Yet, since Luw. *tappaš-/ ti-pa-s°* is not directly attested with the meaning “bowl,” the Anatolian origin of Myc. *di-pa-* remains hypothetical.

This isolated and uncertain borrowing can be contrasted with five words borrowed by Mycenaean from Semitic, according to the conservative count of Bartoněk (2002, 492). Our limited knowledge of Mycenaean vocabulary, of course, leaves hope that more Luwian and Semitic loanwords will be identified in the future, yet even now one can get some sense of a proportion. If the Semitic borrowings into Early Greek can be explained, as they usually are, by intensive trade contacts, there is even more reason to suggest the same explanation for the borrowing of the Luwian word for “sky, \*cup.” These trade-driven loanwords can be contrasted with likely Mycenaean borrowings from the Aegean substrate or adstrate, the selective presentation of which by Bartoněk (2002, 490–91) contains eighteen items.

Three to four more loanwords can be gained by extending the search for Luwian borrowings into Greek into the Iron Age period. Πήγασος “Pegasos,” the horse carrying the lightning and thunderbolt for Zeus, is a Greek avatar of the Luwian Storm-god of Lightning (*piḥaššašša/i-*), chosen by the Hittite king Muwatalli I as his personal divine patron (Hutter 2003, 269 with references). HLuw. *tarwana/i-* “justice, judge,” borrowed into Greek as τύραννος “tyrant,” also made its way to the Levant, where it is reflected as Ugar. /zuranu/ “prince” and Hebr. *srn* “a title among the Philistines” (Yakubovich 2002, 11–12 with references).<sup>19</sup> HLuw. *tuwarsa/i-* “vineyard” has been compared with Gk. θύρσος “thyrsus, wand wreathed in ivy,” but the irregular correspondence of word-initial stops suggests that this may be a common borrowing from a third source.<sup>20</sup> Phonetic irregularities likewise complicate the direct identification between Luw. (PANIS) *turpa/i-* “(a kind of) bread” and Gk. (dial.) δόλπαι / δόλβαι “small cakes.”

These loanwords are clearly no match for several hundred Greek words of (likely) substrate origin collected, for example, in Furnée (1972). They can rather be compared with the small stock of likely lexical borrowings from or via Hittite into Greek, such as Hitt. *ešhar* “blood” vs. Gk. ἰχώρ “the blood of gods”; Hitt. *ḫuḫubal* “a percussion instrument” vs. Gk. κύμβαλον “cymbal”; Hitt. *kuwanna(n)* “copper ore” vs. Gk. κύανος “dark-blue enamel, lapis lazuli etc.”; Hitt. *kubaḫi* “a head gear” (< Hurrian) vs. Gk. κύμβαχος “crown of a helmet”; Hitt. *kurša* “hunting bag” vs. Gk. βύρσα “leather, hide.”<sup>21</sup> There are no reasons to think that the speakers of Greek and Hittite occupied directly adjacent areas in the second millennium BC, but these borrowings must rather be considered in the context of trade-driven cultural contacts in the eastern Mediterranean, similar to the contacts between the Greeks and the Phoenicians, but on a lesser scale.

As has already been said, distant maritime trade could likewise account for the only Luwian borrowing into Mycenaean attested so far. We know from archaeological data, such as the motley cargo of the sunken ship found near Uluburun, that international trade thrived along the coast of southern Anatolia in the Bronze Age. The linguistic evidence, however, seems to indicate that contacts between the two peoples continued throughout the Dark Ages, following the collapse of the Mycenaean city-states. The similarities between Cypriot and Pamphylian dialects of Greek on the one hand, and Mycenaean and Arcadian dialects of Greek on the other hand, suggest that the Greek colonization of the eastern Mediterranean was initiated by population groups displaced by the Doric migrations. With the mediation of Greek colonists, who no doubt kept some commercial ties with the Aegean area, new Luwian loanwords could penetrate the dialects of mainland Greece. Thus, Greeks did not borrow the common Luwian word for “king,” *\*ḫantawati-*, albeit attested in Greek transmission as the name of a semi-legendary Lydian king Κανδαύλης (Gusmani 1964, 274). They, however, appropriated the Luwian word for “ruler, judge,” a concept that gained prominence in the eastern Mediterranean during the Early Iron Age (Pintore 1979).

It cannot, of course, be excluded that individual Luwian words could enter Greek via land routes, or could even be borrowed from the pockets of Luwian populations living in western Asia Minor. But the overall comparison between the Luwian borrowings in Old Hittite and Greek suggests much closer lexical contacts in the first case. This conclusion is hardly compatible with the assumption that Luwian speakers inhabited western Anatolia in the early-second millennium BC.

It is true that the Greek dialects and the Indo-Hittite Anatolian languages share a number of structural similarities that are not likely to be coincidental (see most lately Högemann 2003, 6–9 with references). None of them, however, seems to be restricted to Greek and Luwian. These isoglosses can be divided into two small groups, those shared by Greek and most other Anatolian languages and those restricted to Greek and Lydian.

To begin with the first group, Proto-Greek and Common Anatolian share the constraint of the word-initial occurrence of *r-*, although *r-* secondarily emerges in Greek dialects and Hieroglyphic Luwian after the simplification of certain consonant clusters. This constraint may well have been caused by a common linguistic substrate. The Ionic iteratives marked by a suffix *-ske-* can be compared with Hittite *-ške-* and Luwian *-za-* marking the imperfective aspect. There is every reason to reconstruct *-sk'e-* as a common Anatolian imperfective marker, and the fact that its reflex is not identified in Lydian as yet may have to do solely with our poor knowledge of this language. In any event, it is easier to assume that East Ionic modified the function of the *-sk'e-* suffix by contact with an Anatolian language that did not assibilate Indo-Hittite palatals since Greek *-ske-* and Luwian *-za-* would hardly be identified as cognates by anyone but a historical linguist.

On the other hand, East Ionian psilosis (the loss of word-initial *h-*) can be ascribed to Lydian influence, as per Oettinger (2005), but a similar phenomenon is not known in Luwian. The Lesbian adjectival patronymics in *-ios*, perhaps secondarily diffused into the other Aeolic dialects, can be compared directly with Lydian patronymics in *-lis*, while in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian the use of the patronymic genitive is at least as common. The specific isoglosses between Lydian and the Greek dialects of the eastern Aegean are not



surprising in view of their geographic proximity. The absence of specific isoglosses between Luwian and the same dialects represents yet another argument against the western Anatolian homeland of the Luwians.

### 3. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Now one has to address arguments that have been advanced in defense of the Luwian homeland in western Asia Minor. The claim that merits least consideration is the alleged continuity between Luwian and Indo-European eastward migrations, which clearly occurred in different time periods. The virtual absence of lexical distinctions between Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian contrasts with a large number of genetically unrelated words in the basic lexicon of Luwian and Hittite. The following list of thirteen items, partly based on Ivanov (2001), features only lexical items from Swadesh's one-hundred-word list.

Hitt. <i>ḫumant-</i> vs. Luw. <i>puna(da/i)-</i> , <i>tanima-</i> “all”	Hitt. <i>pešna-</i> vs. Luw. <i>zida/i-</i> “man”
Hitt. <i>šalli-</i> vs. Luw. <i>ura-</i> “big”	Hitt. <i>palša-</i> vs. Luw. <i>ḫarwa-</i> “road”
Hitt. <i>warnu-</i> vs. Luw. <i>kinu-</i> “burn”	Hitt. <i>mema-</i> vs. Luw. <i>aššaza-</i> “say”
Hitt. <i>ak(k)-</i> vs. Luw. <i>wal-</i> “die”	Hitt. <i>au(š)-</i> vs. Luw. <i>manā-</i> “see”
Hitt. <i>ḫarsar/n-</i> vs. Luw. <i>ḫarmaha/i-</i> “head”	Hitt. <i>ar-</i> (med.) vs. Luw. <i>ta-</i> “stand”
Hitt. <i>šakk-</i> vs. Luw. <i>un(a)i-</i> “know”	Hitt. <i>watar-</i> vs. Luw. <i>wār-</i> “water”
Hitt. <i>dalugi-</i> vs. <i>ārray(a)-</i> “long”	

If we add to this that only about one half of Luwian lexical items belonging to the one-hundred-word list could be identified so far, and extrapolate that the total number of lexical divergences in the list could be around twenty-five, we wind up with a cognacy rate that is lower than that of Slavic languages (no more than twenty lexical divergences between any two given languages). The split of Proto-Slavic into distinct dialects is usually dated to the mid-first millennium AD on historical grounds. If we assume that the rate of lexical replacement was the same in the case of Anatolian, one has to hypothesize that the split of Hittite and Luwian occurred some 1500 years before the historical attestation of both languages, that is to say around 3000 BC.<sup>22</sup> While many linguists have doubts that the rate of lexical replacement must be constant within each and every language family, the statement of Bryce (1998, 14) that the existing difference between Anatolian languages “appear to be consistent with the theory that the main dispersion of Indo-European Speakers occurred ... perhaps no more than a few centuries before languages made their appearance in written records” is counterintuitive. The differences between Hittite and Luwian seem to be rather close to those observable in the case of Polish and Russian or Italian and Spanish.

The conclusions of Bryce appear much more legitimate when applied to the Luwian dialects. It would be impossible to explain their close similarities if we assume that the dispersal of Luwians throughout Anatolia occurred already in the third millennium BC. In the absence of a centralized state that could enforce the uniformity of language, the dialects of, say, Istanuwa and Kizzuwatna would have become mutually unintelligible over a period of a thousand years. One has no choice but to admit that extensive Luwian migrations must be synchronized with the period of Old Assyrian trade in Anatolia, if not with the Hittite Old Kingdom (cf. Bryce 2003, 31). If so, it is futile to look for the continuity between the migrations of Proto-Anatolians to Asia Minor, and the subsequent Luwian expansion, just as the German *Drang nach Osten* in the early-second millennium AD in no sense continues the westward migrations of Germanic tribes a millennium earlier. Neither is there any need for the basic direction of Luwian migrations to continue any old pattern, as the Germanic parallel clearly illustrates.

The identification between the lands of Luwya and Arzawa would certainly represent a major piece of evidence in favor of Bryce's homeland theory. Yet, the scrutiny of the relevant context in the Hittite Laws prompts me to disagree with this identification. KBo 6.2 i 36–67 was reconstructed as [tāk-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>].LÚ-ḫan LÚ-na-ku MU[NUS-na-ku <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš-ki LÚ <sup>URU</sup>Lu-i-iš ta-a]-i-ez-zi na-an A-NA KUR Lu-ú-i-[ia p]é-ē-ḫu-te-ēz-zi, “If a Luwian abducts a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti, and leads him away to

the land of Luwiya....” In the parallel passage of the later copy KBo 6.3 we read *tāk-ku* LÚ.Ú<sub>19</sub>.LÚ-*an* LÚ-*an*-*nā-ku* MUNUS-*na-ku* <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš-[ki]* LÚ <sup>URU</sup>*Lu-ú-i-a-az tā-q-i-ēz-zi nā-an* A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Ar-za-u-wa pé-e-ḫu-te-e-zi* “If a man abducts a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti (or) from the land of Luwiya, and leads him away to the land of Arzawa.” The syntax of the second version is admittedly quite awkward, and one should probably agree with Friedrich’s suggestion, endorsed by Hoffner (1997, 30), and take *Lu-ú-i-a-az* (abl.) as a scribal error for *\*Lu-ú-i-a-aš* (nom.), matching *\*Lu-i-iš* (nom.) in the first version. Yet, once the error had been made, the sentence acquired a new possible interpretation, and a new scribe, confounded by the fact that the slave is lead to the same land of Luwiya from which he has been abducted, replaced Luwiya with Arzawa. This implies that Luwiya and Arzawa were *distinct* lands, at least in the opinion of the copyist of the Laws.

The traditional interpretation cannot explain why the original term Luwiya is preserved throughout KBo 6.3, and replaced with Arzawa only in the problematic context discussed above, and only in one of its two occurrences in this context. In addition, it creates an impression that Arzawa was under Hittite domination at the time of the drafting of the Laws. A different image can be inferred from the annals of Hattusili I (CTH 4); we learn that on one occasion he marched against Arzawa (not Luwiya!) and took from it cattle and sheep (de Martino 2003, 36). While there is tangential evidence that some parts of Arzawa may have been Hittite tributaries during the Old Kingdom period (cf. Bryce 2003, 47–48), one needs a vivid imagination in order to assume that they were abiding by Hittite legal regulations.<sup>23</sup>

The copiously attested Luwoid names of the Arzawan ruling elite leave little doubt that this independent kingdom was ruled by a Luwian dynasty by the fifteenth century BC. In view of the limited linguistic contacts between Luwian and Greek, I am inclined to view the Luwian presence there as a result of relatively short-lived military conquests.<sup>24</sup> One can further support this conclusion by considering the ethnolinguistic map of western Anatolia in the Iron Age. Lydians, a non-Luwic Anatolian population group that held sway in this region in the seventh–sixth centuries BC, are frequently regarded as invaders from the northeast, dislodging the Luwian population from the same area (e.g., Beekes 2002, 2003).<sup>25</sup> Yet, the Luwian lexical borrowings into Lydian texts are more compatible with the theory of a Luwian superstrate rather than substrate in this language. They are largely limited to Lydian personal names of Luwian origin appearing in Lydian and Greek texts, such as Lyd. PN Καδοας vs. HLuw. PN *ka-tú-wa/i-*; Luw. Lyd. PN Ουρπαλος vs. HLuw. PN *wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i*; Lyd. PN *Tiwdaš* vs. CLuw. *Tiwad-* “Sungod”; Lyd. PN *Walweš* vs. CLuw. *walwa-* “\*lion”; Lyd. PN(?) Κανδαυλης vs. Luw. *\*ḫantawati-*, Lyc. *xñtawata-* “king” (cf. Carruba 1959, 401–3). The scenario according to which Lydian invaders borrowed personal names from their new Luwian subjects is typologically rather improbable. It is easier to assume that Luwian elites in Arzawa were wiped out by the turbulent events of the late-second millennium BC, or gradually assimilated by the autochthonous Lydians, but their prestigious names lived on in the tradition.<sup>26</sup>

Assuming that the local homeland of the Luwians was in central Anatolia places it in a reasonable proximity to the territory occupied by the speakers of the closely related Lycian, Milyan and Carian languages in the south, and the somewhat more distantly related Palaic in the north.<sup>27</sup> It also raises the likelihood that the Middle Bronze Age kingdom of Purushanda, located on the central Anatolian plateau, could be, wholly or in part, Luwian-speaking.<sup>28</sup> The king of Purushanda was the only Anatolian sovereign who was referred to by the title LUGAL.GAL “Great King” in the Old Assyrian tablets of the Karum II period. The situation apparently changed with the Hittite conquests of Anitta, which culminated in the surrender of the king of Purushanda. Anitta received from him as a gift an iron throne, probably to be interpreted as a regional symbol of supreme authority, and took him back to Nesa as a privileged vassal. Can it be that the Hittites inherited some bureaucratic infrastructures from this previous regional power (perhaps to be identified with Luwiya)? This would explain the early borrowings of administrative terms, such as *tabarna-* and *ubati-*, from Luwian into Hittite.<sup>29</sup>

The last remaining, and the least welcome task would be to comment on the factors that could prompt the Luwian sweep through the Anatolian peninsula. While the nature of the question precludes a definite answer, one can hypothesize that the importation of tin by Assyrian merchants dramatically increased the bronze production in certain parts of Anatolia, and those communities that benefited the most from international trade found themselves in a position of military superiority and could impose ruling elites upon less fortunate ethnic groups. Widespread local conflicts that mark the end of the *kārum* period seem to support the hypothesis that Assyrian trade in Anatolia led to a drastic shift in the balance of power. Can it be that the Luwians, alongside the Hittites, benefited from this situation? If we assume that the starting point of Luwian migrations was the Konya Plain, the historical Lower Land, this implies that the *kārum* of Purushanda (Burushatta) was probably on their territory, which would vindicate the suggested scenario.

## NOTES

- 1 Subject to the usual disclaimers, I am grateful to Trevor Bryce, Theo van den Hout, and Itamar Singer, for their comments on the drafts of this paper, as well as to Thomas Wier, who assisted me in improving its style.
- 2 The most recent discussion of absolute dates in Middle Bronze Age Anatolia can be found in Veenhof (2003). The historical datings related to the Hittite Kingdom are taken from Bryce (1998) throughout the article.
- 3 More precisely, he writes, “Its [= Arzawa’s] appearance is linked with the disappearance of the name Luwiya. Although the term *luwili* continued to be used as a linguistic term, the ethno-geographical designation Luwiya apparently dropped out of use, being replaced in later versions of the Hittite Laws by the name Arzawa” (Bryce 2003, 32).
- 4 Professor Bryce informs me in a personal communication that he prefers to leave quite open the question of where the Luwians came from before their arrival to Anatolia, allowing for the possibility that the main dispersion of Indo-European speakers occurred within Anatolia.
- 5 Nevertheless, the historical scenario advocated by Bryce has been perceived by some as a proven theory. Cf. a bold statement of Beekes (2003, 48): “It is generally accepted that the country of the (classical) Lydians was originally Luwian-speaking.” Beekes makes two references to Bryce (2003, 32, 40), erroneously attributing one of them to Melchert.
- 6 In this paper, I am going to abstain from participating in the discussion about “the language of the Trojans” that gained momentum after the publication of Watkins (1986). However instrumental this process may be for raising public awareness about Anatolian studies, I believe that we simply do not have enough data to discuss this question in a scholarly fashion. Isolated Luwoid names of Trojan heroes occurring in the *Iliad*, the mention of Wilusa in a Luwian song embedded in a ritual, or the discovery of a single Hieroglyphic Luwian seal in Troy, may tell us something about the cultural contacts of Trojan elites, but are not particularly helpful for elucidating the sociolinguistic situation in the area. One might put together an equally convincing argument for Trojans being Greeks by adducing the Wilusan king Alaksandu, compared to Alexander, the Wilusan god \*Appaliunas, reminiscent of Apollo, and the fact that Achaeans and Trojans speak without interpreters in the *Iliad*, whereas Carians are described there as “speaking a foreign tongue” (2.867).
- 7 The Luwoid character of Hitt. *labarna-/tabarna-*, borrowed in the two subsequent stages, is assured by the alternation *t-/l-*, as per Melchert (2003a, 19). The proponents of the Hattic origin of this royal title default by not being able to explain *labarna-* as a graphic alternant of *tabarna-* and/or disconnecting *tabarna-* from the obviously related Luw. *tabar-* “to rule.” The ultimate origin of Luw. *tabar-* is a matter of dispute. I tried to explain this Luwian verb as a substrate term also lurking in Gk. λαβύρινθος (Myc. *da-pú-ri-to-*) “royal palace in Knossos, labyrinth” (Yakubovich 2002), whereas Melchert (2003a, 19) insists on the Indo-European origin of Luw. \**tabar-* “powerful” (vel sim.) connecting it with MHG. *tapfer* “massive, firm, brave,” and reconstructing the protoform \**dh̥ b-ro-*. I remain skeptical of this binary comparison between Anatolian and Germanic, which in addition implies a protoform containing the rare Indo-European phoneme \**b*.
- 8 The direct cognate of Hitt. *ubati-* is attested in Luw. *ubatit-* “demesne (vel sim.),” while the occasional usage of the rare BA sign in the Hittite noun further supports its borrowed origin. Melchert (1993, 242) gives a somewhat different translation of Luw. *uba-*, namely “furnish, grant.” For the justification of my semantic reconstruction, see Yakubovich (2005), while Melchert’s ideas on this subject will soon be expounded in another Festschrift article.

- 9 Even though the adjectival suffix *-mna-* is Common Anatolian, the “*i*-mutation” in Hitt. *teššummi-* indicates the Luwian origin of this word.
- 10 Hitt. *tūm(m)antiya-* “obedience” is frequently accompanied by the gloss wedge. Luw. *\*tūmmant-* “ear” is a regular phonetic correlate of Hitt. *ištaman(a)-* “id.”
- 11 Luw. *šarlai-* “exalt” is derived from Luw. *\*šarla/i-* “supreme,” attested as HLuw. SUPER-*la-* “id.,” and cognate with Lyd. *serli-/selli-* “id.” (Melchert 1993, 191). Hittite uses in the same meaning a more archaic adjective *šarezzi-*, which is endowed with an unproductive suffix.
- 12 On Labarna, see note 7 above. Hantili means “first” in Luwian, whereas Hittite employs a more archaic adjective *hantezzi-* in the same meaning. Zidanta cannot be separated from Luw. *zida/i-* “man.” The name Muwatalli contains the suffix *-alli-* of Luwian origin (Melchert 2003a, 16).
- 13 Note that Pal. ...*]kuwawalla-* attested in a broken context may represent a precise match to Luw. *wawala/i-* “related to a cow (vel sim.)”
- 14 This etymology implies that the name *Zuwaniya-* is unrelated to a large family of names containing the element *zuwa/i-*. Alternatively, one can follow Garelli (1963, 141) and connect this name with Luw. *zuwa-* “bread, food.”
- 15 These constructions should be distinguished from the Greek σχῆμα καθ’ ὅλον καὶ μέρος, which is nearly restricted to the cases of the double accusative. Lühr (2002, 29–34) puts forth a theory regarding the historical origin of this construction that has nothing to do with linguistic contacts.
- 16 Some structural innovations of Luwian not shared by Hittite may also have been caused by areal diffusion. Here one can mention the elimination of the word-initial *st-* cluster, as well as the rise of agglutinative inflection of plural nouns, especially in Cuneiform Luwian. Both innovations can (although do not necessarily need to) be explained by early contacts between Luwian and Hurrian. On the likely preservation of *\*st-* in Hittite, see Kassian and Yakubovich (2001).
- 17 For the latest state of debate about the location of Ahhiyawa see Hawkins in Easton et al. (2002, 101). In spite of the lingering skepticism of individual scholars, the identification between Ahhiyawa and Mycenaean Greece, or a part thereof, can be fairly referred to as *consensus majorum*.
- 18 On the Hittite side, see especially the letter concerning Piyamaradu (CTH 181). On the Greek side, the implicit evidence is provided by the lists of female workers employed in the palatial economy of Pylos, whose names link them to the eastern Aegean (PY A series; see the contribution by Stavroula Nikoloudis to this volume).
- 19 The Indo-Hittite origin of *tarwana/i-* is not assured, but Luwian emerges as the most likely immediate source of borrowing into the other languages for semantic reasons. In all probability, “justice” is the original meaning of this word, while “judge” represents a type of metonymy known from English “justices.”
- 20 A similar correspondence between the Greek aspirate and the Luwian non-aspirated dental stop is attested in Gk. λαβύρινθος “royal palace in Crete, labyrinth” (Myc. *da-pú-ri-to-*), compared with the Carian toponym Λαβρυανδα. In general, it seems likely, although hardly provable, that the Greek suffix *-ivθος*, frequent in toponyms (e.g., Κόρινθος), has the same non-Indo-European substrate origin as the Anatolian toponymic suffix *-anda* (e.g., in *Purushanda*).
- 21 Hitt. *ešhar* “blood” corresponds to Luw. *ašhar*, which is a phonetically unlikely borrowing source for source for Gk. ἰχώρ. Hitt. *kuwanna(n)-* “copper ore” is presumably distantly related to Lith. *švinas* “lead,” which would indicate that its Luwian putative cognate would contain an initial affricate *z-*. In the other cases, the assumption that the words listed above were borrowed from Luwian rather than Hittite is possible, but gratuitous, since none of them is actually attested in the Luwian corpus.
- 22 For a rich set of data regarding the rate of lexical replacement in the languages of Eurasia, see Starostin (2001). The special cases of quick lexical change caused by a periodical tabooing of lexical items do not need to concern us here since the available sources do not bear out the existence of lexical taboos in ancient Anatolia.
- 23 Note that, even if one accepts the equation *Luwiya* = *Arzawa* in KBo 6.3, this does not need to reflect any more than the opinion of the copyist of the Laws. The toponym *Luwiya* apparently fell out of use already in the Old Hittite period, whereas KBo 6.3 is at earliest a Middle Script copy, and probably belongs to an even later period (see Hoffner 1997, 230 for the discussion). But, even if the copyist knew exactly what *Luwiya* was, he may have been guided by the political realities of his own time. Itamar Singer reminds me that the Lower Land was under the Arzawan control in the early-fourteenth century BC when the Arzawan enemy “made Tuwanuwa (classical Tyana) and Uda (Hyde) his frontier” (KUB 6.28 obv. 8–9 as quoted in Bryce 2003, 56).
- 24 Gindin and Cimburiskij argue that a very prominent role assigned in the *Iliad* to Lycians as the allies of the Trojans may reflect lingering memories about the Luwian military presence in western Anatolia (1996, 226–40). The cognate of the term *Luwiya*, *luwili*, is not attested in the Greek sources, and so one can speculate that the ethnonim



- “Lycians” was at some point extended by the Greeks to their close linguistic relatives, the Luwians.
- 25 The derivation of the ethnonym Λυδός “Lydian” from the toponym *Luwiya*, attempted in Beekes (2003), runs into a number of formal problems, such as the uncertain absolute chronology of the sound change *-y- > -d-* in Lydian (cf. the contribution of Craig Melchert to this volume). Yet, even if we assume that this is a correct etymology, it by no means implies that Luwians were autochthonous to Lydia. Country names are frequently based on the ethnonyms of foreign invaders that subsequently undergo linguistic assimilation, as the names of France, Russia, Normandy, Burgundy, Lombardy, Andalusia, Seistan, and Tokharestan would suffice to illustrate.
- 26 The following argument in favor of Luwian migrations to Arzawa is intriguing, but not quite conclusive. The syntactic heads of *Anza-pa-ḫaddu*, lit. “protect our health” (?), the name of an Arzawan prince in the fourteenth century BC, or *Mana-pa-Tarhunta*, lit. “Tarhunt, protect the *mana*” (?), the vassal king of the Seha River Land, are likely to contain imperatives of the Luwian verb *pa-* “\*to protect” (reconstructed in Melchert 1993, 162). The personal names containing imperative verbal forms are alien to the Indo-European tradition, but were quite common in Akkadian. Furthermore, the Akkadian imperative *uṣur* “protect!,” the functional equivalent of Luw. *\*pa*, occurs specifically in Old Assyrian names from Kültepe (Kanes), e.g., *Uṣur-Anum* “Anu, protect (me),” *Uṣur-ša-Aššur* “protect (one) of Aššur,” *Uṣur-ša-Ištar* “protect (one) of Ishtar” (Michel and Garelli 1997, 1, 327). Yet if we assume that the Luwian names in *-pa-* were calqued from Assyrian names in *Uṣur-* in the *kārum* period, and then carried over to western Anatolia, it remains unclear why the Hittites, who had to be in equally close contact with Assyrian tradesmen, do not appear to have similar calques in their onomastikon.
- 27 I generally accept the genealogical tree of the Anatolian languages suggested in Oettinger (1978). Note that the maps of Anatolian linguistic filiation printed on p. 91 of the same article implicitly assume the central Anatolian homeland of the Luwians.
- 28 This possibility has been raised already by Singer (1981, 130), who did not mean, however, to imply that this was the only Luwian kingdom of the time. As I argued above, the area occupied by the Luwians could not be as large in the early-second millennium BC as it was around 1300 BC. The fact that the mid-third millennium king of Purushanda, the legendary adversary of Sargon I, is provided with the Hurroid name Nurdah(h)i “the man of Nawar” in the Hittite recension of the *šar tamhāri* epic obviously should not be used as a basis for historical conclusions, as Archi (2000) correctly implies.
- 29 Stefanini (2002, 791–92) suggests on etymological grounds that the title *labarna-/tabarna-* could originally mean “governor/steward,” and interprets it as the original title of the governors of Kussar, reflecting their subordinate position to the rulers of Nesa. The retention of the old vassal titles by independent rulers is a relatively common phenomenon that can be illustrated by the SUKKAL.MAH dynasty of Elam or the Ottoman sultans, not to mention the stewards of Minas-Tirith. Nothing, however, precludes the hypothesis that this title could be bestowed upon the rulers of Hattusa and/or Nesa by the Great Kings of Purushanda. This assumption would correlate better with the Luwian origin of the noun *labarna-/tabarna-*.

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