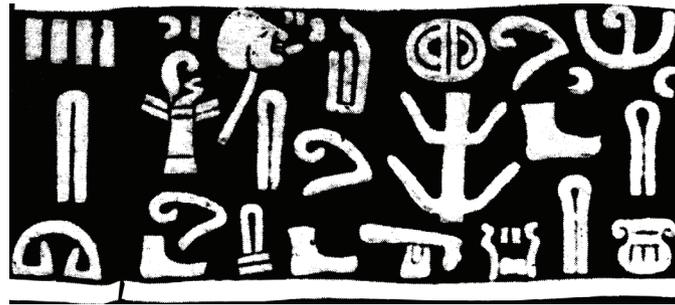


ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis
LUWIAN AND HITTITE STUDIES
PRESENTED TO J. DAVID HAWKINS
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

ITAMAR SINGER

Editor



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John David Hawkins

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("OCCIDENS") *i-pa-ma-ti-i* (DEUS.ORIENS) *ki-sá-ta-ma-ti-i* PRAE-*ia* AUDIRE+MI-*ma-ti-mi-i-sa*
"Far famed to West and East" (KARKAMIŠ A 6, 1; Yariri)

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PREFACE

John David Hawkins was born on September 11th 1940 in Exmouth, Devon, as the eldest of the three children of John Alexander Sneyd Hawkins and Audrey Joan Spencer. His parents had met and married in India, where John Hawkins served as an officer in the Royal Artillery, and came back to England shortly before David's birth. In 1948, John Hawkins, who had studied at Cambridge, bought a farm in Devon where David was brought up. It was an old and distinguished family which had a multiplicity of interests both cultural and practical. David's friends were impressed by the casual and tolerant atmosphere which prevailed at home. In the Hawkins household there was no snobbishness or insularity; all sorts of people mingled and the vagaries of the British upper classes were looked at with affectionate irony. These qualities have been perpetuated by David, as anyone who has known him even briefly can readily confirm. Cats were a great source of amusement in the family and David expanded on his father's eccentric way of talking to them. Probably David's first linguistic achievement was the composition of the *Official Cat Phonology*, which is still put to use when stray cats occasionally visit his village house. There was no television in the Hawkins home, so reading aloud in the evenings in front of a roaring fire was the norm, preferably Dickens, Tolkien and Agatha Christie. The latter was a not-too-distant neighbour and David used to visit her and her husband Sir Max Mallowan, the renowned Mesopotamian archaeologist, from time to time. Could these visits have sparked his first interest in the ancient Near East?

David was educated at a local private school, Upcott House, and at the age of 13 he went to Bradfield College, Berkshire, a renowned school with a good tradition of Greek and Latin teaching. He excelled in his studies and took an active part in the school plays, especially Greek drama, for which Bradfield was famous. One of his teachers was the classicist David Raeburn, who authored a number of translations of the classics and books on the performance of classical plays. David has remained in touch with him ever since.

From 1958 David studied, on a state scholarship, Classics and Philosophy (*Literae Humaniores* or 'Greats') at University College, Oxford. He was lucky in his tutors: A.E. (Freddie) Wells for classical languages and literature, George Cawkwell for ancient history and P.F. Strawson and G. Paul for philosophy. His natural inclination was clearly for the linguistic and textual subjects and he finished that part of the course (*Honour Moderations*) with a First. He received his BA in 1962 and his MA in 1965.

From 1962 he worked for a postgraduate diploma in Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London. He studied archaeology with Seton Lloyd, history with Peggy Drower, Ancient Hebrew with Raphael Loewe and Akkadian with Harry Saggs and Donald Wiseman. He obtained his diploma with distinction in 1964 and won the Gordon Child Prize. By this time he had already switched his interests from Classics to the Ancient Near East, apparently under the strong impression left on him by the Gilgamesh Epic.

In 1964 he became a Research Fellow in Akkadian at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and then remained in the Near and Middle East Department where he taught until his retirement in 2005. In 1993 he was appointed to a personal chair in Ancient Anatolian Languages. He also contributed courses in archaeology to the Institute of Archaeology where he became an Honorary Visiting Professor.

In 1993 David was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, and in 1998 a Foreign Member of the American Philosophical Society. Most recently (2009) his old Oxford college, University College, made him an Honorary Fellow. He served as the honorary secretary of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq from 1976 to 1986 and edited its journal *Iraq* from 1970 to 1995. Concomitantly he sat on the council and on the executive committees of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara.

In the 1960s David started to go regularly from London to Oxford to study Hittite with Oliver R. Gurney and there got involved in a seminar on the so-called Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions led by Leonard Palmer and attended, among others, by Anna Morpurgo Davies and Jill Hart; this is the subject on which he eventually focused and which he revolutionized. His friendship and scientific cooperation with Morpurgo Davies continues to play an important role in his life. In the country cottage at Minster Lovell near Oxford, which he shares with his life partner, Geoff Ryman, a well known writer, she and countless other friends and colleagues are always welcome for a good chat on professional matters and a hearty drink and meal. David's culinary capacities are only surpassed by his scholarship, and as a devoted gardener he proudly makes use of his self-grown freshly picked vegetables in his perfect cuisine, which puts pay to the myth that there is no independent British cooking.

From 1965 onwards David traveled regularly to Turkey, Syria and Iraq in order to inspect Hieroglyphic monuments in museums and open-air sites. He immediately realized how inaccurate and incomplete the available drawings and publications were and consequently initiated an ambitious project of copying and obtaining good photographs of the entire corpus of inscriptions. This Sisyphean enterprise was crowned by the publication in 2000 of the three parts of his monumental *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. I, The Iron Age Inscriptions*, exactly a hundred years after the pioneering enterprise of L. Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum*. He also played an instrumental role in the definitive publication of the Hieroglyphic text of the Karatepe bilingual by Halet Çambel as *Volume II* of the Corpus. A third volume in preparation will include *Addenda* to the Iron Age material, the Empire period inscriptions, and a general Signary, Glossary and Grammar of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

David's enormous black briefcase containing the full documentation for the Corpus travelled with him everywhere and miraculously has never been lost or damaged even in dire situations (see H. Gonnet's contribution to this volume). His idiosyncratic handwriting and neat hand copies can be traced back to two of his greatest talents, drawing and close scrutiny: 1. From his early days he developed an interest in political cartoons and for a while even contemplated turning this skill into a profession. 2. His talent for drawing is enhanced by a remarkable ability to notice even the minutest details and changes in other peoples' appearance or outfit. Many a detail in an inscription or on a seal that went unnoticed by others has immediately been detected and recorded by David. His spectacular decipherment of the Karabel inscription, a western Anatolian monument which was previously visited by countless travellers and specialists, may serve as a notable example. He never gets tired of inspecting a worn down inscription in different lighting conditions, not even the hopeless Nişantaş rock in Boğazköy which he is about to publish shortly.

In tandem with his strenuous efforts to produce an accurate documentation of the Hieroglyphic materials, David is one of the greatest contributors to Anatolian philology, history and culture. Suffice it to mention here, as notable examples, the new interpretation of four wrongly deciphered signs in the early 1970s (in collaboration with Anna Morpurgo Davies and Günter Neumann) which brought about the elucidation of the language and the (re)unification of Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Hittite (now Hieroglyphic Luwian); the discovery in 1975 of the signs for the negatives which had been confused with the relatives and which suddenly made sense of countless texts; the demonstration in the 1980s of

the continuity of the royal house of Bronze Age Carchemish in the Iron Age genealogy at Malatya; the decipherment of the inscription at the sacred pool complex at Boğazköy in 1995 and its Underworld connections; the refinement of western Anatolian geography in 1998 through the identification of the figure depicted at Karabel as a king of Mira. Recently he has been working on the spectacular discovery of the Aleppo citadel inscriptions and their far-reaching historical implications. As anyone who has collaborated with David will readily confirm, he is a most generous colleague always ready to offer his expertise and cooperate in publication projects, e.g., his recent involvement in the publication of the enormous glyptic corpus from Nişantepe in Boğazköy.

As a token of our long friendship, I hope that this Festschrift presented to David by his students and friends, will serve as an appropriate tribute to this incomparable individual and scholar. A parallel Festschrift with non-Anatolian articles appears in the journal *Iraq* 2010, edited by Dominique Collon and Andrew George. I wish to express my gratitude to several persons who have provided assistance in the preparation of this volume: Sanna Aro, Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo, Donald Easton, Shirley Gassner, Graciela Gestoso-Singer, Sivan Kedar, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Denzil Verey and Mark Weeden.

The Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University is congratulated for exceptionally accepting this volume in its Monograph Series. This book was published with the support of the Israel Science Foundation.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABoT	<i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri.</i> Istanbul 1948
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.</i> Wiesbaden 1958-1981
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy text (inventory number)
CAD	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.</i> Chicago Oriental Institute 1956 ff.
CHD	<i>Chicago Hittite Dictionary.</i> Chicago Oriental Institute 1980 ff.
CHLI 1	J.D. Hawkins, <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions Vol. 1: Inscriptions of the Iron Age.</i> Berlin/New York 2000
CL, CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
CLL	H.C. Melchert, <i>Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon.</i> Chapel Hill 1993
CTH	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites.</i> Paris 1971
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary.</i> Berlin/New York/Amsterdam 1984 ff.
HEG	J. Tischler, <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar.</i> Innsbruck 1977 ff.
Hit.	Hittite
HKM	S. Alp, <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük.</i> Ankara 1991
HL, HLuw	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hur.	Hurrian
HW	J. Friedrich, J. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch.</i> Heidelberg 1952-1966
HW2	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch,</i> 2nd ed. Heidelberg 1975 ff.
HZL	C. Rüster and E. Neu, <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon.</i> Wiesbaden 1989
IBoT	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri.</i> Istanbul/Ankara
IE	Indo-European
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.</i> Berlin
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.</i> Berlin
Lyc.	Lycian
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie.</i> Berlin
RS	Ras Shamra/Ugarit texts (inventory number)
SBo I-II	H.G. Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy I-II,</i> Berlin 1940, 1942
VBoT	A. Götze, <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte.</i> Marburg 1930

PUBLICATIONS BY J. DAVID HAWKINS

Compiled by Sanna Aro and Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo

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SPELLING OF INITIAL /A-/ IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

H. Craig Melchert

Los Angeles

It is a great pleasure and honor to take part in this tribute to David Hawkins, who has made unequalled contributions to our understanding of the language and history of the Luwians. The present essay not only would have been impossible without the magnificent corpus of Iron-Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that he has provided us, but also builds directly on an insight of his. I regret that the available evidence does not permit a fully satisfying solution to the problem addressed, but hope that our honorand will feel that my efforts have advanced the state of the question.

Hawkins (2003:159-161) first noted in Empire (second-millennium) texts the peculiar practice he has dubbed “initial-*a*-final”, by which the tall sign *a* representing initial /a-/ in some words is written after rather than in front of the other signs.¹ Thus *mi-sa-a* for /amis/ ‘my’ (EMİRGAZİ altars §4) or *wa/i-mu-a* for the sequence of initial conjunction and clitics /a=wa=mu/ (YALBURT 2, §§2,3).² Hawkins (2006:12-13) affirmed continuation of this practice in some texts of the first-millennium. I will henceforth adopt his convention of representing such spellings as **a-mi-sa* and **a-wa/i-mu*.

An exhaustive survey of all HLuwian texts in Hawkins (2000) allows a much broader claim: the practice of “initial-*a*-final” remains in force in all areas where HLuwian texts are attested through the early 9th century: Karkamiš (KARKAMIŠ A1a, A1b, A2+3, A4b, A4d, A11a, A11b+c, A12, A13d, A14a, A14b, A16b, A18d, A20a, A23, A25a; KELEKLİ), Tell Ahmar (TELL AHMAR 1, 2, 5, 6, ALEPPO 2, BOROWSKI 3), Maraş (MARAŞ 8), Malatya (GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, IZGIN 1 & 2), and Aleppo (BABYLON 1).³ Its appearance in the Emirgazi, Südburg, and Yalburt Empire-era inscriptions and from Malatya in the north to Karkamiš and Tell Ahmar in the south strongly suggests that it was employed throughout the region where HLuwian was written. The practice has disappeared entirely by the mid 9th century, including most significantly in all the areas cited above where it was in use through the early 9th century.

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1. As Hawkins indicates, the phenomenon had previously been identified on seals. See also now Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005:291. While the use on seals surely is relevant to the original motivation for the practice, I must limit my discussion to HLuwian texts due to constraints of time and space.
 2. Since a bound transcription of HLuwian is at best problematic and at worst misleading, I will consistently use // to indicate phonological interpretations of HLuwian words. The use of voiceless and voiced symbols for stops should be taken as conventional.
 3. It is important to stress that Hawkins’ chronological division of the corpus is for the most part based on historical (primarily prosopographical) evidence. While I have surveyed all texts in his corpus, I have for obvious reasons placed decidedly lesser weight on texts whose dating is uncertain or rests merely on factors such as artistic style, form of the script, or linguistic features (such as rhotacism). The full data base used is available at: <http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/>. Click on the link “HLuwianInitiala”.

The overwhelming evidence for the practice in the older period assures us that the few apparent exceptions represent aberrations. For *wa/i-tá* in EMİRGAZİ §12 see Hawkins 2003:161. Likewise faulty are the isolated *wa/i-mu-ta* in KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §6 and *wa/i-ta* in ALEPPO 2 §6. The photo and drawing in Hawkins (2000) show that *wa/i* in KARKAMIŠ A4b §5 (with a blank space beneath!) is erroneous for *wa/i-a* (on which see below). In KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §8 read **a-mi-ya-za* with the drawing against Hawkins 2000:109. The reading *mi-ya-za* in IZGIN 1 §4 is less than assured. Recognition of “initial-*a*-final” also necessarily leads to new readings of certain sequences: **a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta | za-sa* in KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §11 (against Hawkins 2000:109), **a-mi-zi *a-ta/i₄-ni-zi* and **a-mu-pa-wa/i *a-ta/i₄-na-za* in KARKAMIŠ A23 §§4-5 (against Hawkins 2000:119). As shown by Hawkins’ drawing, in KARKAMIŠ A1a §38 the *a*-sign is positioned following *pa-ti-ha-wa/i* and under *pa* so as to serve for both **a-pa-ti-ha-wa/i* and **a-pa*.

Confirmation of the consistent use of “initial-*a*-final” in the early texts of the first millennium is important in that it allows us to extend modestly the list of words for which its use is assured and validates certain patterns that are merely suggestive in Empire texts. In addition to its use for sequences of clause-initial conjunction /*a*-/ plus quotative particle /-*wa*-/ plus further clitics, “initial-*a*-final” is also attested for: the stem /*ami*-/ ‘my’ (but not /*ama*-/!), /*amu*/ ‘I, me’, /*aba*-/ ‘that’ (and accented third person pronoun), /*apan*/ ‘(from) behind’ (EMİRGAZİ altars §22), /*apara*/ ‘afterwards’ (EMİRGAZİ altars §3, as per Hawkins 2003:160), /*as*-/ ‘to be’, /*aduna*/ ‘enemy’ (see n. 16 below), and probably /*addwa*-/ ‘evil’ (**a-MALUS-wa/i-za* TELL AHMAR 6 §30).⁴

It is important to stress that in the Empire period the use of “initial-*a*-final” is fundamentally optional. We find *a-wa/i-mi* (YALBURT 11,§2) vs. **a-wa/i-mi* (YALBURT 10,§2), *a-wa/i-mu* (YALBURT 6,§2 etc.) vs. **a-wa/i-mu* (YALBURT 2,§§2-3), and *a-mi* (EMİRGAZİ block A,1.3; B,1.2) vs. **a-mi-sa* (EMİRGAZİ block A,1.1; B,1.5). It is thus not surprising also to find occasional exceptions to “initial-*a*-final” in early first-millennium texts and even later: *a-wa/i-tà* (IZGIN 2 §2), *a-wa/i-tá* (MARAŞ 4 §4), *a-mi-sa* (TOPADA §19).

Examination of the spelling of initial /*a*-/ in the Empire period texts also leaves no doubt that the use of “initial-*a*-final” is at that period aesthetically motivated and has *no* linguistic significance. As is well established, HLuwian inscriptions on stone are typically written in horizontal lines or “registers” separated by line-dividers. The texts run alternately left-to-right and right-to-left in *boustrophedon* style. Individual words are written vertically top to bottom roughly in columns, with the shape of the component signs sometimes dictating an arrangement at odds with the order of reading.⁵ There is a *horror vacui*, and signs are usually distributed evenly through the available space (see plates 14-17 of KARKAMIŠ A11b and A11c in Hawkins 2000 for a representative specimen). The sign *a* is used from the Empire period onward as a mere space-filler, and some later texts also use the sign for *i* for this purpose.⁶

The relevance of the preceding to the spelling of initial /*a*-/ is that the relatively tall sign for *a* plus *one* other sign comfortably fills one vertical column in a given horizontal line, given the typical scale of signs used, but *a* plus two or more signs often does not. For this reason the EMİRGAZİ block writes *a-mi* (A,1.3; B,1.5) for /*ami*/ ‘my’ (dat.-loc. sg.), but **a-mi-sa* (A,1.1; B,1.2) for /*amis*/ ‘my’ (nom. sg. com.).

4. Thus with caution also Hawkins (2006:13). This example is not entirely assured, but TELL AHMAR 6 makes no use elsewhere of *a* as a mere space-filler.

5. Aesthetic factors affecting the configuration of signs in texts are also well-known in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Ritner 1996:80-81) and Mayan glyphs (Macri 1996:178-179).

6. For early examples of space-filling *a* (conventionally transliterated as ‘) see *á-wa/i+ra/i-na-*’(URBS) (YALBURT 13,§3) and *la-mi-ni-*’ (KARAHÖYÜK §1). Contrary to my own previous impression, there is no connection between the demise of “initial-*a*-final” and the use of the *a*-sign as a space-filler.

Likewise on the EMİRGAZİ altars the sequence of initial conjunction plus quotative particle /a=wa/ ([áwa]) is written consistently *a-wa/i* (§§2,17,21,23), but /a=wa=an/ ([áwan]) with added clitic pronoun /-an/ (acc. sg. com.) is spelled **a-wa/i-na* (§§14,29). There manifestly cannot be any linguistic difference between the respective disyllabic forms with the same number of syllables and same accentuation. There is in particular no possibility of aphaeresis in **a-mi-sa* and **a-wa/i-na* (see already Hawkins 2003:161). Naturally, scribes can choose to shorten the sign *a* and permit the normal order of writing even with more than one following sign. In the 12th-century inscription KARAHÖYÜK the scribe shortens and slants the *a* so that all three-sign sequences are written in the normal order: not only *a-wa/i* (§§3,5,13), but also *a-wa/i-sa* (§24), *a-wa/i-mu* (§12), *a-mi-zi/a* (§13), *a-sa-ti* (§§20-21), etc. However, *four-sign* sequences are felt to be too long, and here the scribe employs “initial-*a*-final”: **a-wa/i-mi-tá* (§11) and **a-mi-i(a)-ti* (§15). In the YALBURT inscription the scribe freely manipulates the size and orientation of *a* and other signs in the respective sequences so as to produce alternates with and without “initial-*a*-final” (see the photos and drawings in Poetto 1993).⁷

The space motivation for the contrast between *a-wa/i* and **a-wa/i+* is sometimes still discernible in texts of the early first millennium (*a-wa/i* still typically fills an entire vertical column). Unsurprisingly, however, once “initial-*a*-final” becomes conventionalized it continues to be used even when it would not be necessary: the final *a*-sign is often reduced and written in the same column as the other signs of the word, rather than following in full size and occupying a column by itself, as earlier.

It cannot be coincidental that the two-sign word /anda/ ‘in(to)’ is also spelled with absolute consistency *a-tá* or *a-ta* throughout the history of HLuwian, never with “initial-*a*-final”. Here, however, a slightly different aesthetic applies from that in *a-wa/i*. In texts through the early 9th century the spelling is always *a-tá*. The *a*-sign is either shortened so that it and the following *tá* symmetrically divide the vertical space (e.g. KARKAMIŞ A14a §§6-7, A1a §§37-38) or the two signs are made into a sort of ligature (e.g. IZGIN 1 §§4-5, §18). Both practices reappear in later texts (e.g. ADIYAMAN 1 §4 and HAMA 4 §10, §12 respectively), and the former is also extended to the newer spelling *a-ta* (e.g. KARKAMIŞ A6 §7).⁸

That “initial-*a*-final” has *no* linguistic significance is confirmed by the spelling practices that replace it from the middle of the 9th century. I treat first the simpler case of clause-initial sequences of conjunction /a-/ plus quotative particle /-wa-/ with and without further clitics. In all texts from the mid 9th century onward the sequence /a=wa/ alone continues to be spelled *a-wa/i* with the normal order of signs. This is the overwhelmingly regular spelling in all regions. We also do find *beside* normal *a-wa/i* occasional instances of *wa/i-a* from a variety of regions (Cilicia, ÇINEKÖY §9; Karkamiş, TÜNP 1 §6; Malatya, PALANGA §§2,7,10; Amuq, JISR EL HADID frag. 1 l.2, KIRÇOĞLU §2, TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 3 l. 3 and frag. 10a-b l. 5; Tabal, ÇALAPVERDİ 1 §3). This spelling cannot be regarded as “initial-*a*-final” in the strict sense, because the latter had been entirely abandoned by this time. We must regard *wa/i-a* for *a-wa/i* rather as an imitation of the by then standard spelling of /a-/ + /-wa-/ plus further clitics as *wa/i-sa*, *wa/i-na*, etc. (see immediately below).⁹

All sequences of /a-/ + /-wa-/ plus *further* clitics are from the mid 9th century regularly spelled simply as *wa/i-X(-Y-Z)* with no overt indication of the initial /a-/ at all. This practice is so pervasive that

7. The fact that some inscribed blocks of the Yalburt inscription have more vertical space than others naturally also plays a role in the use of “initial-*a*-final”.
8. The configuration of *a-tá* in the Empire inscription SÜDBURG §4a is unique, with the two signs sloping one atop the other. I read this clause-opening sequence as /anda/ in the well-attested sense ‘in addition, furthermore’ against Hawkins 1995:35. His interpretation as an “unattached” clitic /-ada/ ‘them’ is highly unlikely in a text that writes no other clitics.
9. We naturally find a few instances of /a=wa/ spelled with alternate signs for *wa/i*: *a-wa/i₂* (TOPADA §29), *a-wá/i* (KARATEPE §XXXII, Ho). If genuine, the spelling *á-wá/i* in KAYSERİ §2 with the *á*-sign is absolutely unique.

I forgo giving extensive examples.¹⁰ I focus here only on two crucial points. First, the consistent spelling of /a=wa/ ([áwa]) as *a-wa/i* beside equally consistent *wa/i-sa* and *wa/i-na* for /a=wa=as/ ([áwas]) ‘and he/she/it’ (nom. sg. com.) and /a=wa=an/ ([áwan]) ‘and him/her/it’ (acc. sg. com.) shows conclusively that the latter sequences have not undergone aphaeresis even in the latest period, contrary to previous claims. There is absolutely no plausible mechanism by which [áwas/n] can undergo aphaeresis while [áwa] does not.¹¹

Further confirmation of the continued reality of the initial /a-/ is furnished by occasional exceptional spellings in texts after the mid 9th century: in SULTANHAN (Tabal, ca. 740-730 BCE) we find beside each other *wa/i-sá* (§3) beside *a-wa/i-sa* (§5) for /a=wa=as/ and *wa/i-na-* (§12) beside *a-wa/i-na* (§4) for /a=wa=an/.¹² Given this manifest equivalence for two-syllable sequences, we must likewise interpret not only *a-wa/i-tà* (SULTANHAN §45) but also *wa/i-tà* (*ibid.* §44!) as /a=wa=ada/ ([áwada]) ‘and it’ (nom.-acc. sg. neut.). The continued reality of accented initial /a-/ in all such clause-initial sequences is confirmed by further late spellings such as: *a-wa/i-mi* (HISARCIK §2), *a-wa/i-ta* (/a=wa=ta/ with particle /-ta/) (BULGARMADEN §2), and *a-wa/i-mu-ta* (PORSUK §5).

The late spelling of other words that show “initial-*a*-final” through the early 9th century differs radically from that just described for sequences with clause-initial conjunction /a-, and there is regional variation. However, by far the dominant pattern is to spell all the other words with the initial *á*-sign, which I must emphasize was never used for them prior to the mid 9th century.¹³ This is the standard usage in all securely datable late texts from Karkamiš:¹⁴ *á-mi-* ‘my’, *á-mu* ‘I, me’, *á-pa-* ‘that; he, she’, *á-sa-* ‘to be’. Likewise in Maraş (*á-mi-* and (“POST”) *á-pa(+)* ‘afterward’), Malatya (*á-mi-* and *á-pa-* ‘he’), and Hama (*á-mi-*, *á-mu*, and *á-pi-* ‘he’).¹⁵ Such spellings are also the norm in Tabal (*á-mi-*, *á-mu*, *á-pa-*, *á-pa-na* ‘after, behind’, *á-ru-ni-zi* ‘enemies’,¹⁶ *á-sa-*) and in Cilicia (*á-mi-*, *á-mu*, *á-pa-*, *á-sa-*).¹⁷ However, the last two regions named show some limited but highly significant variation. The unusual sign use of the TOPADA inscription from Tabal is well-known (see Hawkins 2000:460-461), and we can attach no significance to the unique spelling *a_x-mi-ya+ra/i* in TOPADA §10 with a sign attested nowhere else. However, the occurrence of *a-mi-sa* in TOPADA §19 beside regular *á-mi-sa₄* in §17 cannot be so easily dismissed. Even more telling is the striking variation in TOPADA §§37-38 in a repeated formula: *a-pa-sa-na VAS-tara/i-i-na á-pa-sa-[ha]* TERRA-REL<+ra/i>-na...*á-pa-sa-na VAS-tara/i-na a-pa-sa-ha DOMUS-na-zi/a* ‘his person and his land...his person and his house’. I do not find it remotely credible that there is any linguistic difference in the variant spellings of /abassa-/ ‘his’ by the signs *a* and

10. I do wish to make explicit that the contrast of *a-wa/i* vs. *wa/i-X(-Y-Z)* for all other sequences is found in every region: Cilicia, Karkamiš, Tell Ahmar, Maraş, Malatya, Commagene, Amuq, Aleppo, Hama, Tabal, and the Assur letters. Naturally, one does find some examples of *wa/i-X(-Y)-'* where the final *a*-sign is a mere space-filler. That it is now filling this role and no longer represents “initial-*a*-final” is confirmed by the use of the *i*-sign likewise as a space-filler at the end of such sequences: *wa/i-tu-u-ta-ⁱ* (ISKENDRUN §4; cf. *ibid.* §7 without).

11. The alleged aphaeresis has never, of course, made any sense in linguistic terms, since CLuwian *a-at-ta* for /a=ta/ and *a-am-ma-aš* for /a=mmas/ with lengthening prove that the clause-initial conjunction was fully accented.

12. The final sign in *wa/i-na-* clearly must be taken as a space-filler, not as an instance of “initial-*a*-final”. Compare *a-wa/i-* in SULTANHAN §16 and §43, beside *a-wa/i* *passim*.

13. I am aware of only two exceptions to this statement. We find *á-mi-na* ‘my’ (acc. sg. com.) in KELEKLİ §2 and probably *á-pa-si-zi* ‘his’ in ALEPPO 2 §23 (see Hawkins 2000:238 on the latter).

14. That is, from the “House of Astiruwas”: KARKAMIŠ A6, A7, A15b, A24, A31, A4a, and CEKKE. It is also prevalent in less securely datable texts from Karkamiš, but see further below on other late Karkamiš texts.

15. Mid 9th-century texts from Hama have replaced the stem /aba-/ with /abi-/ in the demonstrative/third person pronoun.

16. I interpret this word in SULTANHAN §9 as a rhotacized variant of the word spelled earlier as **a-ta/i₄-ni-zi/*a-ta/i₄-na-za* and read the latter as /adunintsi~adunants/, modifying an idea of I. Yakubovich (pers. comm.). Dr. Yakubovich bears of course no responsibility for my formulation. For his own analysis see Rieken and Yakubovich in this volume.

17. The relatively short ÇINEKÖY text is consistent: *á-mi-ya-ti* (§§2,9), *á-mu* (§9), and *á-sa-tá* (/asanta/ Pret3PI) (§8).

á. Given this example, we must also take seriously the alternate spelling *a-sa_y-ta* ‘were’ (KARATEPE §XX, Ho, vs. regular *á-sa-ta* in Hu) *a-pa-ri+i* ‘on that side’ KARATEPE §XXXI, Ho vs. *á-pa-ti-i* in Hu),¹⁸ and the spelling *a-mi-ya-za* ‘my’ (dat.-loc. pl.) (KARATEPE §XXXV, Hu).¹⁹

The evidence just presented shows two things. First, the practice of replacing “initial-*a*-final” with an *á*-sign after the mid 9th century was not universal. There was a competing usage with an initial *a*-sign. Second, this variation argues strongly that the more common replacement of *a*- (in “initial-*a*-final”) by *á*- does not reflect any genuine linguistic change and that after the mid 9th century the initial signs *a*- and *á*- are functionally equivalent. Late usage in areas not yet discussed corroborates these conclusions. In texts from Amuq of uncertain date from the 9th to 8th century we find competing spellings: *á-mi-za* (KIRÇOĞLU §4), *á-pa-ti* and *á-sà-tu* (TULEIL 2 §d) vs. *a-mi-sa*, *a-mi-i*, and *a-mi-zi* (JISR EL HADID frag. 1 l. 2 and frag. 2 l.2), and in the single text TELL TAYINAT 2 *á-mu* and *á-pi-* (see n. 15) vs. once *a-mi* (TELL TAYINAT frag. 5a-b, l. 1).

We may also, in light of the above, make reasonable sense of the usage of the Assur letters, which has been viewed as chaotic.²⁰ The Assur letters show a mixed system, but genuine variation is extremely limited. The first-person forms are spelled consistently *á-mi-* and *á-mu*. With equal consistency ‘to be’ is spelled *a-sa-*. Such regularity cannot be regarded as reflecting error, but the evidence presented above shows that it cannot represent any real linguistic contrast. Once again in the late period spellings with initial *a*- and *á*- are equivalent. Since the writer of the Assur letters clearly was familiar with both usages, we are not surprised to find some variation: */aba-/* is spelled three times as *a-pa-* (*a-pa-zi* in ASSUR b §8 and f+g §21 and *a-pa(-ha)* ‘then’ or ‘that (way)’ in a §6) and once as *á-pa-ⁱ-ya* (ASSUR f+g §38). It is noteworthy that we also find such variation in a word that before the mid 9th century was spelled with *á*-, not with “initial-*a*-final”: three times *a-zu-za* and twice *a-zu-sa* ‘we, us’ vs. twice *á-zu-ⁱ-za* (cf. *á-zi-ya-ti /antsiyadi/* ‘with our’ in IZGIN 1 §16).

The late texts just described show some spelling of initial /a-/ in words that previously had “initial-*a*-final” with the *a*-sign in its normal position, in competition with the more dominant innovative use of the *á*-sign. Another set of texts shows a different competition. The earliest of these is MARAŞ 4 (dated by Hawkins 2000:256 to the mid 9th century). This text follows the late pattern for sequences with initial conjunction /a-/: *a-wa/i* but *wa/i-mi-i*, *wa/i-tá*, etc. (as noted above, it also once employs *a-wa/i-tá* with full spelling). For other “initial-*a*-final” words it shows alternation between the use of initial *á*- and *no spelling* of the *a*-vowel! We thus find *á-mi-na* in §15 but *mi-i* in §17 for ‘my’ and *á-pa-ara/i* ‘thus’ (*/abari/*) in §15 vs. *pa-ti-i* ‘in that’ in §3.

The possessives *á-mi-na* and *mi-i* both precede their head noun and co-occur with the reflexive pronoun *-mi* in entirely parallel clauses. There is thus no basis whatsoever for supposing a true linguistic contrast between a fully accented /amin/ and a weakly accented /mi/ with aphaeresis. Likewise, since *pa-ti-i* (“ANNUS”) *u-si* ‘in that year’ resumes a preposed relative clause, it also must be fully accented. Given the alternation of spellings with and without initial *á*- for the very same

18. In view of other alternate spellings with initial *a*- and *á*- in texts after the mid 9th century, including in KARATEPE, these examples cannot be dismissed as errors, *pace* Kloekhorst 2004:297.

19. Against Hawkins 2000:53 and Kloekhorst 2004:297. There are *no* examples in KARATEPE in either version of non-spelling of initial /a-/ in *any* word previously spelled with “initial-*a*-final” (aside, of course, from clause-initial sequences with /a-, which follow a totally different convention).

20 For example, Kloekhorst (2004:33) quite unjustifiably dismisses the practices of the Assur letters as erroneous and of no probative value. This is patently untrue. In the spelling of initial sequences of /a-/ + /-wa-/ with and without further clitics the Assur letters follow without exception the standard practice of texts after the mid 9th century.

word, we must also suppose that *sa-ta* in §8 likewise spells expected /asanta/ (Pret3PI) and that the absence of alternate *á-sa-* is accidental.²¹

If MARAŞ 4 were the only text to show the pattern just described, we might attribute the alternation observed to the text being “transitional” from the use of “initial-*a*-final” to the later standard use of the initial *á*-sign. Note, however, that the text is not truly transitional: there are no examples of the older practice of “initial-*a*-final”. Furthermore, some other later texts also show the pattern of alternate spellings with an initial *á*-sign and with no spelling of /a-/ at all. One coherent set consists of texts from Commagene, of the “House of Suppiluliumas” datable to the period from the end of the 9th century through the first quarter of the 8th (see Hawkins 2000:333). BOYBEYPINARI 2 writes *á-mi-sá* in §5 vs. *mi-i-sa* in §2, *mi-sá* in §7 and *mi-i-sá* in §19; BOYBEYPINARI 2 §20 writes *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i* vs. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i* in BOYBEYPINARI 1§10; likewise *á-pa-sa* and *á-pa-si-i-na* in BOYBEYPINARI 2 §13 and §20 vs. *pa-sa-na* in BOYBEYPINARI 1 §3. Similarly, MALPINAR contrasts *mu-u* ‘I’ in §1 with *á-mi-i* in §2 and *á-mi* in §5. Once again, there can be no question of *mu-u* representing a weakly accented and aphaeresized form of /amu/: use of the first-person subject pronoun in an opening clause is precisely for emphasis. Nor is *á-mi-sá tá-ti-sa* ‘my father’ credibly more emphatic than *mi-i-sa* DOMINUS-*ni-sa* ‘my lord’. We happen to have attested in the Commagene texts only forms of ‘to be’ with initial *á*-sign: *á-sa-ta* (/asta/ Pret3Sg) in ANCOZ 4 §1, *á-sa-ta* (/asanta/ Pret3PI) in ANCOZ 8 §6, and *á-sa-tu-u* (/asantu/ Imv3PI) in ANCOZ 7 §14. There can be little doubt, however, that spellings in *sa-* existed.

The undeniable alternation of spellings with and without initial *á-* in the same word in the texts just described means that we should interpret likewise the variations found in a few late texts from other regions whose brevity (or fragmentary state) and uncertain dating would otherwise leave room for doubt. Thus e.g. when we find in KARKAMIŞ A18e §6 *pa-ti-pa á-mi-sa*, we should not strain to explain in linguistic terms why the one word “lacks” initial /a-/ while the other does not. We are dealing with purely orthographic variation for what are /aba-/ and /ami-/. Likewise, *á-mi-sa* beside *mi-i-sa* in MARAŞ 14 §2 and §5 justifies not only our reading *sa-tu* *ibid.* §7 as /astu/, but also our attributing no more significance to *pa-ti-i-*[]-*wa/i* in MARAŞ 11 §3 than to *á-mu* in MARAŞ 3 §3 and §9. That is, the former should be read /abati/ just as the latter is read /amu/.

The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the facts just cited is that some later scribes chose *at times* to apply the convention used universally for sequences of initial /a-/ + /-wa-/ plus further clitics to the other words that had previously been spelled with “initial-*a*-final”: that is, they chose not to indicate the initial /a-/ at all. Alternate spellings in both instances show that the initial /a-/ was still spoken, as all available linguistic evidence would suggest.²² The one clear finding of the present investigation is: there is no probative evidence for aphaeresis of initial /a-/ at any period of HLUwian, and the notion should be abandoned once and for all.

The discovery of “initial-*a*-final” and the preceding full survey of the orthographic practices that replaced it from the mid 9th century onward are ruinous for the claim of Kloekhorst (2004) that initial

21. As per Hawkins (2000:257-258), the forms *sá-ta* in §9 and *sá-a-ha* in §10 belong not to ‘to be’ but to a separate transitive verb /sa-/, though I now have growing doubts that it can be identified with (*69)sa- ‘release, let go’.

22. In the case of ‘to be’ no one has ever presented one iota of credible evidence for enclisis of the verb, because none exists (the desperation of my own speculation in Melchert 1994:276 is transparent). The word order of HLUwian ‘to be’ matches that of Hittite and CLuwian (typically clause-final), where plene spellings of the initial vowel confirm that the verb was fully accented, as expected. In the case of HLUwian /ami-/ ‘my’ accent on the *first* syllable is indicated by the syncope seen in forms like the abl.-inst. *á-mi-ti* (e.g. BULGARMADEN §6, KÖRKÜN §30), *á-mi-ti* and *á-mi-ra/i* (KARATEPE §XVIII, Ho) and the dat.-loc. pl. *á-mi-za* (KARATEPE §XXXII, Hu) and *á-mi-za* (KARATEPE §XXX, Ho).

a- in HLuwian spells [a-] while *á* spells [ʔ(a)].²³ First of all, it is not true that the words for ‘I, me’, ‘my’, ‘that; he, she, it’ and ‘to be’ are spelled overwhelmingly with *á* (Kloekhorst 2004:29). They are in fact spelled consistently with *a-* in all regions through the early 9th century. Nor can the post mid-9th-century spellings with *a-* in these words be dismissed as “aberrant” (Kloekhorst 2004:31-33).²⁴

Nevertheless, it is true that the predominant spelling of all these words in late texts is with *á-*. That is, from the mid 9th century onward the normal spelling for all words with initial /a-/ is with *á-*, aside from the clause-initial conjunction /a-/ and /anda/ ‘in(to)’ and derivatives. The upshot of this fact is that we cannot be sure whether words that are thus far attested only from the mid 9th century onward with *á-* were in fact spelled this way in the early period or were spelled with “initial-*a*-final”. One might venture that in the case of words of frequent occurrence the absence in late texts of any variants either with initial *a-* or with no spelling of /a-/ would argue for earlier spelling with *á-*. However, the rather restricted number of texts that employ the alternate spellings and the likewise very limited number of HLuwian words with initial /a-/ other than those already discussed that may be reasonably termed “of frequent occurrence” make this a hazardous supposition.

Therefore any claims that spellings with initial *a-* and *á-* reflect a synchronic (and/or diachronic) linguistic contrast must be based on the spellings of texts from the Empire through the early 9th century. Words in those texts spelled consistently with the sign *á-* are:²⁵ /a(ya)-/ ‘to do, make’ (*á* in EMIRGAZI altars §§25,27); /ak-/ ‘throw, hurl’ (INFRA *áka* ‘to subject’ in SÜDBURG *passim*); /ama-/ ‘my’ (*á-ma-za* [/amantsa/, nom.-acc. sg. neut.] in KARKAMIŠ A14a §§3,8 and 6x elsewhere in early Karkamiš texts, 4x in Tell Ahmar texts, and in MARAŞ 8 §12; *á-ma* [/ama/, nom.-acc. pl. neut.] in KARKAMIŠ A11a §§8,13 and A11b+c §5),²⁶ /asa-/ ‘to sit; seat’ (as (SOLUM.MI)*á-sa* ‘seat’ [dat.-loc. sg.] in KARAHÖYÜK §4 and (SOLIUM)*á-sa-ta* ‘sat’ [Pret3PI] in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §10); /assatsa-/ ‘to say’ (*á-sa₃-za-ta* [Pret3Sg] in TELL AHMAR 5 §11 and TELL AHMAR 6 §22); /asharmis(a)-/ ‘blood sacrifice’ (as (“*350”) *á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà* in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18a and A12 §11); /alaman-/ ‘name’ (*á-ta/i₃-ma-za* (IZGIN 2 §8, MARAŞ 8 §12, KARKAMIŠ A14a §8 and 5x more at Karkamiš, and 6x in Tell Ahmar); /atsa-/ ‘to love’ (*á-zi/a-ta* [Pret3PI] in YALBURT 4,§3, (LITUUS)*á-za-tá* [Pret3PI] in KARKAMIŠ A11a §7 and A11b+c §9, *á-za-mi* in FRAKTİN, (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-(i)-sa* KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §1 and twice more in Karkamiš, also as a personal name in IZGIN 1 and 2); /antsiya-/ ‘our’ (*á-zi-ya-ti* IZGIN 1 §16). Also noteworthy and problematic are /andan/ (in *á-ta-na tar-za-mi-* ‘(favorably) turned toward’ TELL AHMAR 2 §2 and TELL AHMAR 6 §2 vs. *a-tá* ‘in(to)’ *ibid.*!)²⁷ and the personal name *á-sa-tú-wa/i-ta/i_{4/5}-ma-za-*, *á-sa-tú-wa/i-la-ma-za-* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §1, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §1, KARKAMIŠ A27u), appearing also as *á-sa-tu-wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-* (MARAŞ 8 §1).

For the list of words spelled with initial *a-* or “initial-*a*-final” see above (for the sake of brevity I henceforth refer merely to “words spelled with initial *a-*”). Is any plausible linguistic pattern discernible

23. To his considerable credit, Kloekhorst himself notices (2004:47⁵⁴) the suspicious correlation between “aphaeresis” and the appearance of the sign *a* at the end of the word and calls for further study of “aphaeresis”.

24. Kloekhorst’s “synchronic” evidence for *á* representing [ʔ] is also problematic, namely the spelling *pa-á-li-ma-li* for Ba’al(ī)-malik. First, as he indicates, this spelling occurs only on Empire-period seals, never in HLuwian texts, so it is by no means certain that it is diagnostic for HLuwian. Second and more seriously, spellings on the Nişantepe seals such as *Mu-wa/i-á* beside *Mu-wa/i* for /Mu:wa/ suggest that on the Empire personal seals *á* was in fact used as a “plene” vowel sign just like *a* (see Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005:291-292). In any case, even if significant, the spelling *pa-á-li-ma-li* may represent mere hiatus.

25. I naturally ignore here most personal and place names, since their linguistic source and phonology are usually unknowable. I make exceptions only for those whose connection with known appellatives is transparent.

26. In consistent contrast with /ami-/ spelled *a-mi-* or **a-mi-*, a fact first pointed out to me by Elisabeth Rieken (pers. comm.).

27. Despite the problem presented by the contrasting spelling vs. /anda/ I follow here the persuasive interpretation of *á-da-na tar-za-mi-* of Rieken (2004:459-460), who compares Hittite *anda neyant-*.

in the data? The most immediately suggestive fact is the contrast between *á-ma-* and *a-mi-/a-mu*, where *á-* appears before a synchronically low vowel in the next syllable and *a-* before a following high vowel. This difference points to a contrast in quality, specifically in height, between the vowels spelled by initial *á-* and *a-*, the former being lower than the latter.²⁸ Since at least in *á-ma-* and *a-mi-* ‘my’ the two forms surely continue the same prehistoric vowel, the putative synchronic contrast also presupposes a regressive assimilation in one or the other.

Possible further support for the tentative analysis just suggested may come from the idiosyncratic usage of the 12th-century KARAHÖYÜK text. While all other texts up to the early 9th century consistently spell ‘to be’ with *a-*, in KARAHÖYÜK we find *a-sa-ti* /asti/ (§§20-21) and *a-sa-tu* /astu/ (§24) vs. *á-sa-ha* /asha/ (§10), i.e. with the same apparent contrast as in *a-mi-/a-mu* vs. *á-ma-*.²⁹ We may also attribute the peculiar spelling *á-tá* for ‘in(to)’ /anda/ in KARAHÖYÜK §11 to the same phenomenon.³⁰

Can we find any further support for the notion of a contrast between a higher vowel represented by initial *a-* (for the sake of argument perhaps a mid-vowel [ə]) vs. a lower one spelled with *á-* ([a] or [ɑ])? The answer appears to be a qualified yes, but the usable evidence is sparse, and some serious problems must be openly confronted. The stems for /amu/ ‘I, me’ and /ama/i-/ ‘my’ almost certainly reflect prehistoric **e* (thus with Rasmussen 2007:163 against Kloekhorst 2004:39). Likewise, of course, the strong forms of /as-/ ‘to be’ < **h₁es-*. Since CLuwian *ādduwa-* ‘evil’ shows the effects of “Čop’s Law” (see Čop 1970), it and HLuwian /addwa-/ must continue **h₁édwo-* (Melchert 1994:238). HLuwian /aduna/i-/ ‘enemy’ is derived from a related stem **h₁édun-o-* (see Schindler 1975:56 on Greek. *ódúνη* ‘pain’, Watkins 1982:261 on the connection of the latter to ‘bad, evil’, and especially Rasmussen 1999:147-148⁶ for its morphology and comparison with Tocharian B *yolo* ‘bad’).

The adverb /apan/ ‘behind; afterward’ < **óp-VN* and adjective /apara/i-/ ‘later’ < **opero-* and cognates in Hittite and CLuwian are based on a PIE adverb **op-* (with Morpurgo Davies 1983 against Dunkel 1982/83). The far-deictic demonstrative and accented third-person pronoun /aba-/ is cognate with Hittite *apā-/apē-* and must represent a virtual **obhó/é-*. Since it has direct cognates in Palaic, CLuwian, and Hittite *a-* and further in Lydian *ak-*, the HLuwian clause-initial conjunction must continue a form of the anaphoric/deictic stem **o-*.³¹

All words spelled with initial *a-* may thus reasonably be derived from performs with a mid vowel **e* or **o*. For words spelled with *á-*, however, the picture is not nearly so clear. We must first set aside /assatsa-/ ‘to say’. This verb must be derived from the Luwian word for ‘mouth’ (CLuwian *āšš-*), but there are few words whose prehistory is more complicated and controversial than that of the Anatolian word for ‘mouth’, so no arguments can be made based on this item. HLuwian /a(ya-)/ ‘to do, make’ reflects **Hyeh₁-* (Melchert 1984:14-15, 159-161 *et al.*), and by the very attractive analysis of Rieken (2007) HLuwian /ak-/ ‘to throw, hurl’ in INFRA *á-ka-* ‘to subject’ likewise is from **Hyeh₁k-*. The Lycian cognate *a(i)-* of the former suggests a low vowel reflex of the sequence **eh₁-*.

The adjective /antsiya-/ ‘our’ of the first person plural pronoun clearly shows a reflex of syllabic **ŋ*. A zero-grade base **ŋs-* is also possible for ‘to love’ (read /antsa-/; for the root etymology see Rasmussen

28. Rasmussen (2007) already correctly suggests that the difference between *á-* and *a-* is one of timbre, but his attempt to define *á-* as synchronic /e/ faces insuperable difficulties.

29. Given the overall facts of early spelling of initial *a-*, I now take the verb *sa-tá* of KARAHÖYÜK §12 as the transitive verb *sa-* (against Hawkins 2000:290): ‘The revered Storm-god of the land POCULUM ___-ed me in every place.’

30. Probably thus with Hawkins (2000:293) despite the well-founded doubts of Kloekhorst (2004:31).

31. Whether the conjunction represents the bare stem **o-* or a case form such as an instrumental **oh₁* (see Rieken 1999:86 on Hittite *ta* < **toh₁*) is immaterial for our present purposes. I reject categorically the claim of Kloekhorst (2004:42) that HLuwian *a-wa/i* is not to be analyzed as /a=wa/ with the quotative particle.

2007:164). HLuwian *á-ta/i₃-ma-(za)* is also most reasonably taken as /alaman=tsa/, with leveling of an ablauting prehistoric paradigm **laman/*anman- < *h₁neh₃m̃/*h₁nh₃mn-*. The *á-* would thus here also reflect **η*.³² I know of nothing to preclude the assumption that the *a* of *an < *η* was a low vowel.

Complications for our tentative hypothesis arise with /asharmis(a)-/ ‘blood sacrifice’, which clearly is based on **h₁ésh₂η* with **e*, and with /asa-/ ‘to sit; seat’. By the popular derivation of Hittite and Luwian ‘to sit (down)’ < **h₁éh₁so-* HLuwian /asa-/ could be classed under the examples of *á- < *éh₁*, but I follow Oettinger (2004:490-491, with references to the prior analysis) in supposing instead a preform **h₁éso-*.³³ Given the evidence of *á-ma-* vs. *a-mu-/a-mi-* (and the apparent supporting parallel of *á-sa-ha* vs. *a-sa-ti/tu* in KARAHÖYÜK), we may salvage our hypothesis thus far by assuming that the regular outcome of initial **e-* and **o-* in HLuwian was a mid vowel represented by *a-*, but that **e-* was assimilated to a low vowel spelled with *á-* when followed consistently by a low vowel in the next syllable. Both ‘blood’ and ‘sit; seat’ meet this condition, while in other instances of **e-* the presence of an *i* or *u* in at least some forms of the paradigm would have blocked the effect (it is reasonable to assume that the adjective /addwa-/ ‘bad, evil’ had “*i*-mutation” and thus some forms of the shape /addwi-/).

Notice, however, that there is a very serious contradiction in the status of **o* in the account just presented. For purposes of the putative lowering rule the reflex of **o* must be counted as a low vowel: in neuter nom.-acc. singular *á-ma-za < *émom+*, in *á-sa-* ‘sit’ < **h₁éso-* and putatively in KARAHÖYÜK *á-tá* ‘in(to)’ < **éndo*. However, initial **o-* appears to be spelled with *a-* pointing to a non-low vowel.

This difficulty is not insurmountable. First of all, there is independent evidence from “Čop’s Law” that pre-Luwian **e* and **o* remained distinct vowels: contrast **pérVN > CLuwian parran* ‘in front, before’ with **dóru- > CLuwian tāru-* ‘wood’. Second, in the case of *appara/i- < *opero-* and some forms of the paradigm of **obhó/é-* the initial **o* was certainly followed by a mid vowel **e*. By the derivation of the quotative particle < **wer(h₁)* (Oettinger 1979:344 *et al.*) the conjunction **ó-* would have regularly stood before **we*, and this is also possible by the alternate derivation < **-we/o* (Joseph 1981:96 after Przulski). The vocalism of the second syllable of /apan/ is indeterminate. One *could* therefore suppose that **e* led regularly to a Luwian mid vowel (such as [ə]), while **o* was regularly lowered to [a]. However, not only was **e* lowered before a following low vowel (including [a] < **o*), but also **o* failed to lower when it was followed by the mid vowel resulting from **e*. While the available facts appear to permit this account, its fragility is transparent.

Two complications require special explanation even with this revised scenario. First, if the personal name /Astu(w)alamantsa/ is (as it appears) a “Wunschname” meaning ‘let there be a name’ (i.e. ‘let him (the child) have renown’), then we require an explanation for why it is spelled consistently with *á-* in early texts where the verb ‘to be’ is spelled with equal consistency with *a-*. One can, of course, as always devise an ad hoc solution: perhaps instead of glide insertion there was instead desyllabification so that the name was /Astwalamantsa/. In that case the supposed mid vowel from **e* would have stood before the putatively low vowel resulting from a syllabic nasal and thus undergone lowering. I spare readers further speculative alternatives.

32. Space does not permit a full discussion of the complex issues surrounding ‘name’. cf. Kloekhorst (2004:40²⁷) and Rieken and Yakubovich in this volume. Suffice it to say that I assume that the result of the dissimilation of **n* before two following nasals in this word was a voiced continuant that was identified with /l/ in word-initial position (and spelled with the *la*-sign) and that interchanged with both /l/ and /r/ word-internally. Contrary to my previous claims (e.g. Melchert 1994:83), I no longer see any justification for assuming that **n* first dissimilated to a voiced stop [d].

33. As per Oettinger, HLuwian /is(a)nu-/ ‘to seat’ and /istarta-/ ‘throne’ with *i*-vocalism can only be derived from a lengthened-grade **h₁ēs-*. The derivation from **h₁éh₁s-* by Kloekhorst (2004:40-41) is quite impossible. See Melchert 1994:245 with references.

Finally, most problematic is the spelling *a-tá* for /anda/ vs. *á-ta-na* for /andan/. These words have been reconstructed either with full grade as **(h)endo(m)* or with zero-grade as **(h)ndo(m)*: see Melchert 1994:245 vs. Kloekhorst 2004:42-43 and compare also Schrijver 1991:58-59. According to our tentative conclusions regarding the outcome of a syllabic nasal reached above, a zero-grade preform should give *á-*, but note further that by the putative lowering rule so should a sequence **endo!* I see no immediate solution to this problem.³⁴

Current available evidence is thus no better than suggestive of a qualitative contrast between *á-* and *a-*. We sorely need to know just what the early spelling was for words whose prehistoric vocalism is reasonably assured, such as ‘to eat’ (/ad-~ats-/ < **h₂ed-*), ‘horse’ (/atsu-/ < **(h₂)ek'wo-*), ‘back, again’ (/api/ < **ópi*), and ‘to come’ (/awi-/ < **auh₂ei-*), all of which are spelled consistently with *á-* from the mid 9th century. Pending the discovery of new texts from the period before the mid 9th century that enlarge our data base for words with initial /a-/, I can only declare the status of *a-* versus *á-* spellings a *non liquet*.

I must in closing briefly discuss one last issue regarding the spelling of initial /a-/. Alert readers will have noticed that I have not mentioned any words beginning with /ar-/. One reason for this is that we have only a single instance of an appellative in /ar-/ attested in texts before the mid 9th century: *a+ra/i-* [], an incomplete form of /ar-/ ‘to arrive’ in YALBURT 3,§2. We thus have no basis for determining whether other words with initial /ar-/ were spelled with *á-* in the early period.

There is, however, a more fundamental issue regarding the spelling of initial /ar-/. As correctly emphasized by Kloekhorst (2004:32), in the entire corpus that *is* available to us there is a virtually complete absence of any use of the oblique stroke that marks the presence of /r/ with the sign *á* (the single instance in EĞREK §3 is uncertain). One finds only *a+ra/i-* and the separate sign *ara/i-* in initial position. MARAŞ 2 §3 does show *á-ra+a* (i.e. *á-a+ra/i*) for /ara/ ‘made’, and presumably *á-ri+i* would have also been possible, but this option apparently was not exploited, leaving the status of the hapax *á-ra+a* quite unclear.

One must in any case agree with Kloekhorst (2004:32) that it is not credible that the spelling *a+ra/i-tu/arantu/* ‘let them eat’ in KULULU 5 §11 reflects a linguistically real variation in vocalism vs. *á-tà-tu-u* in SULTANHAN §33a and the other regular post mid-9th-century spellings with *á-ta-*. That rhotacism did not cause any such change is shown by the infinitive ‘to eat’ spelled *á-ru-na* (ÇİFTLİK §16 etc.). It is likewise hard to believe that there is any linguistic contrast between *a-ru-ti-* ‘basket’ (ASSUR letters c §9 and f+g §41) and the verb *á-ru-wa/i+ra/i-tu* (ŞIRZI §3), both with an initial sequence /aru-/.

That /r/ can cause neutralization of height contrast in preceding vowels is well established (cf. the merger of the vowels of ‘Mary’, ‘merry’, and ‘marry’ in American English dialects). The apparent equivalence of spellings with *a-* and *á-* in the case of initial /ar-/ could thus reflect a genuine conditioned merger of the putatively distinct mid and low vowels tentatively posited above. Obviously, however, the apparent lack of any functional difference in *a-* and *á-* in the presence of /r/ could just as well be taken as evidence against there being such a difference anywhere.

In sum, the present investigation has shown that with recognition of “initial-*a*-final” and the various orthographic practices that replaced it, there is no credible evidence for aphaeresis in HLUwian at any period. Nor is the overall usage of *a-* and *á-* in HLUwian texts at all compatible with the claim that the latter represents an initial glottal stop. Whether the largely complementary use of initial *a-* (including “initial-*a*-final”) and *á-* in early texts reflects a genuine difference in vowel quality remains uncertain.

34. It is true that the PIE morpheme **do* ‘in the direction of’ had an allomorph **de* (e.g. in Greek. οἴκα-δε ‘homeward’), but I am unwilling to invoke it merely to save what is by any measure a speculative hypothesis.

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