

# Remarks on Luwian: Open Problems and State of the Art

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## INTRODUCTION

The present paper is a review-article on the state of the art of the research in the field of Luwian linguistics<sup>1</sup>. In very recent years, significant discoveries in the area of its historical phonology and graphemics have triggered special attention to more advanced features of the language, including syntax and sociolinguistics. In this contribution, I will try to systematically organize and assess the most relevant problems of Luwian linguistics that emerged in the last few years.

## (PRE-)HISTORY AND TAXONOMY

The chronological boundaries of the documentary history of Luwian are quite well defined – first mentions of Luwian peoples in Old Hittite texts, and possibly a few personal names in Old Assyrian sources<sup>2</sup>, mark its beginning, while the Neo-Assyrian conquest of Syria and Anatolia and the rise of the Phrygian Kingdom mark its end. There is, however, much less of a consensus as far as the geographical pre-history – and, for what matters, history – of the Luwians is concerned.

The problem of the prehistory of the Luwian peoples is evidently connected to the problem of the Indo-European migration in Anatolia: did a

migration take place? If so from where, and when? As a matter of fact, internal evidence cannot provide clues that go beyond speculation regarding Proto-Indo-European movements, and since, as far as written documents are concerned, pre-history is by definition a sourceless phase, the problem of the very origin of Anatolian migrations should be left to the scholars who try to solve it using archaeolinguistic and anthropological approaches. Of course, it is always possible to speculate on the *linguistic* pre-history (when and where did a given historical language form); as H.C. Melchert (2003: 23ff.) convincingly argues, the hypothesis of an indigenous presence of Proto-Indo-European (and then Proto-Anatolian) in Anatolia ever since the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE (cf. C. Renfrew, 1990) is hardly conceivable, and definitely unsupported by any kind of (reconstructable) linguistic evidence. This has not changed in the last twelve years, although the supporters of the different hypotheses kept discussing the matter.

Linguists, however, can give a better contribution when languages start to be really attested. The position of the Luwian (and Luvic) peoples in Anatolia, once the original migrations (if any) had finally occurred, is an important and entirely different problem, and it has been discussed quite frequently in the last decades, especially starting from the publication of the volume *The Luvians*, ed. by Melchert in 2003.

A general scheme of the positions of the different Anatolian peoples at the end of the III millennium, that met, for a few years, an almost general consensus among the scholars, was published by Melchert (2003, Map 2). I reproduce it here in Fig. 1.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. I. Yakubovich, 2010, p. 2ff.



Fig. 1. Geography of the Anatolian populations at the end of the III millennium BCE.

Now, while Hittite and Lydian may have separated independently from Proto-Anatolian, Luwian, Carian and Lycian constitute the so called Luvic group, and the status of Palaic remains partly unclear<sup>3</sup>. I. Yakubovich (2010) proposed the order of separation reproduced in Fig. 2.

Along with the common trait of preterite 1st singular *-ha* (without the *-un* < \**om* found in Hittite), which Yakubovich duly cites, there are two other elements that emerged from recent literature and that may be worth mentioning as far as historical filiation is concerned: the distribution of participles (Giusfredi, 2015) and the distribution of geographical suffixes (O. Carruba, 2011).

PARTICIPLES

The distribution of participles in Anatolian appears to be the following<sup>4</sup>:

- Hittite: only *-nt* participle;
- Lydian: at least one *-nt* participle along with other forms<sup>5</sup>;
- Luwian: *-nt* and *-mi* participle (the former quite early crystalized);
- Carian: traces of *-mi* participle;
- Palaic: *-mi* and *-nt* participle;

According to this scenario, it appears very likely that the *-mi* participle survived in the languages that belong to the Luvo-Palaic group, while it does not emerge in Lydian and

<sup>3</sup> On what is now called Luvic group, but more precisely on the “Jungluwisch” languages of the Iron age, cf. also I. Hajnal, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> See Giusfredi 2017.

<sup>5</sup> See Gérard, 2005, 112f.

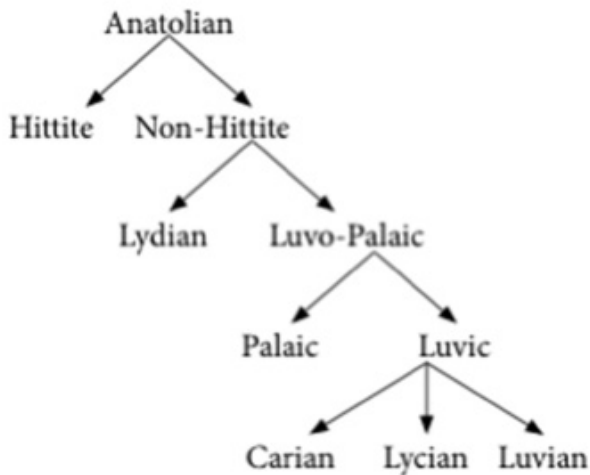


Fig. 2. Yakubovich's reconstruction of the filiation of Anatolian.

Hittite. Since the available data on Lydian are limited, this situation accepts two possible solutions (excluding that Lydian and Hittite lost the same form independently from each other):

1. Lydian had a *-mi* participle, and it simply did not yet emerge from the available sources. In this case, the loss of the *-mi* participle occurred in Hittite during or after its separation from the Non-Hittite branch;

2. Lydian and Hittite have a common forefather distinguishing them from the Luvo-Palaic group.

In this second case, the correct filiation would be that reproduced in Fig. 3.

Both taxonomies are currently acceptable: there is no substantial information regarding the separation of Lydian from the rest of the family; however, it is clear beyond any reasonable doubts that all data support: (a) the idea of a Luvic group, and (b) the proximity of this group to Palaic.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SUFFIXES

According to the distribution of the most productive suffixes for nouns and adjectives of geographical provenance proposed by Carruba (2011), Luwian would be opposed to the other languages of the family, as it would be the only

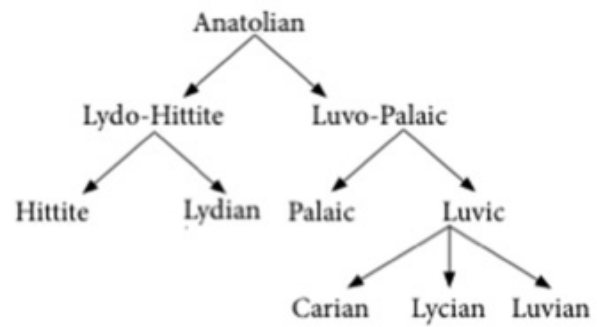


Fig. 3. Alternative reconstruction of the filiation of Anatolian.

one that has no productive suffix *-(i)li*. If his analysis is correct, regardless of the transcriptions of the single suffixes that may differ quite a lot in the different studies, the loss of the *-(i)li-* suffix should happen with the separation of Luwian from the Luvic group (as it exists in Lycian).

## THE ANATOLIAN MIGRATIONS

A major problem in the current understanding of the linguistic (and to some extent non-strictly linguistic) prehistory of Anatolian diffusion has been pointed out by Yakubovich in his book about Luwian sociolinguistics (2010). It regards the geographic name *Luwiya* occurring in the Old Hittite manuscripts of the Hittite Laws<sup>6</sup>, which for decades has been taken as a proof that early Western Anatolia - the area it was referred to - was populated by predominantly Luwian speaking peoples. Yakubovich, on the contrary, proposes to assume that the Anatolian and Luvic peoples that would dwell in the region during the Iron age were probably already settled in the area in the Late Bronze age, basing in part on the replacement of the toponym *Luwiya* with the name of kingdom *Arzawa* in a later copy of the same Laws. In a review to Yakubovich's book, J.D. Hawkins (2013, 4) challenged such a

<sup>6</sup> For a critical edition of the Laws, see H.A. Hoffner, 1997.

proposal, pointing out that such replacement occurs only once and is not systematic. Hawkins’s observations are correct, and we should conclude that at present neither Yakubovich’s theory nor the traditional interpretation are compelling. Probably, in order to separate the designation *Luwiya* from the idea of a Luwian-speaking population, it will be necessary to collect more substantial and more conclusive evidence. To date, the chronology and the very existence of Anatolian migrations within Anatolia during the Bronze age remain uncertain.

VARIETIES OF LUWIAN

The structure and internal differentiation of the varieties of Luwian (the word *dialects* may be out of place in this case) has been investigated through the years. Melchert (1993, 2003) distinguished between a common Luwian and a Istanuwa-Luwian, as far as Cuneiform Luwian is concerned. Yakubovich (2010) moved further on and distinguished an Empire Luwian, an Istanuwa-Luwian (that is receives limited discussion in his study of sociolinguistics) and a Kizzuwatna one, with Iron age hieroglyphic Luwian deriving from Empire Luwian. This scheme can be summarized as follows (Fig. 4).

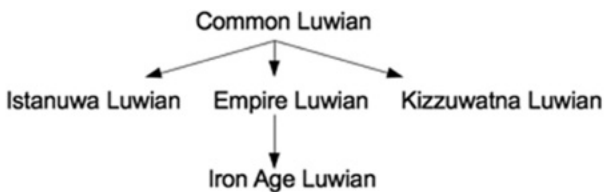


Fig. 4. The taxonomy and evolution of Luwian.

Yakubovich’s taxonomy - also accepted by A.H. Bauer (2014) and by myself (Giusfredi, 2015)<sup>7</sup> - is based on a large amount of evidence.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed discussion on the variety of Luwian employed in the cuneiform ritual texts, s. Melchert, 2013.

Hawkins (2013) considers most of the evidence not entirely conclusive; still, among the main arguments Yakubovich presented, the presence of genitival chains with an *-assa/i*-genitival adjective marked by a *-anz* plural ending and then inflected is extremely significant, as it proves the positive interaction with Hurrian (and its mechanism of *Suffixaufnahme*; on this very point see also Bauer, 2014<sup>8</sup>). Of course it is hard to provide conclusive evidence in linguistics, but Yakubovich’s taxonomy is still the most convincing and complete one proposed so far, and no reason exists to abandon it, as long as new compelling evidence does not appear.

THE ORIGINS OF LUWIAN HIEROGLYPHS

The problem of the geographic origin of the Anatolian Hieroglyphic script has been debated in the last few years; although it may appear to be a concern for historians and philologists, the solutions proposed are strictly intertwined with the different assessments of the history (and geography) of the Luwian language. To date, two main hypothesis (or types of hypoytheses) exist.

The first possible interpretation – the traditional one – places the origin of the Anatolian Hieroglyphs in areas that were probably inhabited by a Luwian speaking population. In general, such areas can be assumed to coincide with Western Anatolia (but one must not forget the debates on the ethnicity of Western Anatolian peoples outlined above).

The second interpretation, recently defended by I. Yakubovich (2008, 2010), is based on the fact that the acrophonic developments of quite a few signs of the syllabary derive not from the Luwian readings of the words represented by the logograms, but rather from the Hittite ones (a fact already noticed by M. Marazzi, 1990, 38f.;

<sup>8</sup> For a critical analysis of the origins, form and function of genitival adjectives and genitive case in Luwian, s. now Melchert, 2012. For an earlier analysis on the areal features of the genitival adjectives s. S. Luraghi, 1993.

P. Cotticelli Kurras, 2001, 63f.). According to Yakubovich, this phenomenon may depend on the fact that the development of the hieroglyphic syllabary took place in a Hittite-Luwian bilingual environment (most likely the Bronze age Hittite court<sup>9</sup>). Some scholars and reviewers have raised doubts about this interpretation, most notably Hawkins (2013) and L. Rietveld and F.C. Woudhuizen (2008-2009). The criticism moved by the British scholar basically aims at showing how the presence of Hittite acrophonic sign-values is no conclusive evidence in order to support the idea of a development of the script in Hattusha. The Dutch scholars, on the other hand, quite strongly reject Yakubovich's idea, by stating that the values derived from Hittite would be a tiny minority; unfortunately, they do not support their claim with any concrete examples.

Considering the evidence provided by Yakubovich's paper (2008), as well as the theoretical discussion that followed, it is in my opinion safe to summarize the situation as follows:

1) A significant number of phonetic signs of the Hieroglyphic syllabary have a Hittite acrophonic value (*pace* Rietveld and Woudhuizen, 2008-2009);

2) It is true that this does not prove that the *origin* of the script geographically coincided with the linguistic environment in which the syllabic values developed; the development of syllabic values can have started in a later historical phase, not necessarily in the same area in which the logographic script was first introduced.

3) No matter how tempting is the idea that the Anatolian Hieroglyphs were invented in Western Anatolia: the geographic distribution of the inscriptions, both in the Bronze and in the Iron age, simply provides no supporting evidence for such a claim.

Put simply: the Hittite language *must* have been an important and influential language at the time

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9 On the origins of the Hieroglyphic script and its evolution, see also G. Neumann, 1992; C. Mora, 1995, who already discussed the role played by the Hittite scribal environment. More generally, for a very recent study of the Anatolian writing, see Waal, 2013.

and place of the acrophonic development of the syllabic values of the hieroglyphic signs (Marazzi, 1990; Neumann, 1992; Mora, 1995; Cotticelli Kurras, 2001; Yakubovich, 2008). This fact is also consistent with the strong relationship between Empire Luwian and Iron age Luwian that Yakubovich's work (2010) highlighted. However, at present any further claims, including the ones about the kind of script that the peoples of Arzawa may have used in the Late Bronze age, or the location in which the first hieroglyphic logograms may have been invented, can be neither proved nor disproved.

## THE PHONETIC VALUES OF THE LUWIAN CONSONANTS

The interpretation of a dead language critically relies on the accuracy of the readings of the graphic system(s) by which it was recorded and preserved. While the Luwian documents written in cuneiform during the II millennium BCE pose no significant problems as far as the phonographic rendering of the language is concerned - because the texts generally employed the same type of cuneiform used by the Hittite ones - the process of decyphering of the Hieroglyphic texts took longer. Most of the scholars today accept the readings proposed by D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann (1973), that obliterated the previous ones that were employed by the scholars who authored pioneering works on Luwians, such as E. Laroche and P. Meriggi<sup>10</sup>.

The 1973 readings - rendering logograms with latin words and phonograms mostly with conventional KV syllabic structures that may also

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10 Laroche's book on the "Hittite" hieroglyphs appeared in 1960. Meriggi's corpus and grammar of Luwian was published between 1966 and 1967; some scholars still employ evolved versions of his transliteration system, most notably the Italian scholar M. Poetto (see for instance his edition of the Yalburt inscription, 1993) and the Dutch scholar F. Woudhuizen.

indicate K(V) - has been updated whenever new values for specific signs were discovered. The most recent milestone in the history of transliteration of Hieroglyphic Luwian is represented by the publication of Hawkins's *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions - Volume I, Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, appeared in 2000. The British scholar collected all the readings and produced a description of the writing system (pp. 23-34) that took into consideration all the discoveries and theories emerged between 1973 and the end of the XX century. Nevertheless, after the publication of Hawkins's corpus, a new season of studies on Luwian phonology and phonetics provided the scholarly world with new hypotheses on the interpretation of quite a number of KV signs – most of them involving dental stops and fricatives<sup>11</sup>. The reception of most of these new proposals has been very positive, although some minor details still require to be discussed; as far as the reading of the Iron age signs TA<sub>4</sub> and TA<sub>5</sub> is concerned, Rieken and Yakubovich (2010, p. 208ff.) suggest a generalized *l*-reading of the consonant, while Melchert (2011, p. 76) prefers to describe the situation as follows: “intervocalic \*d fell together with \*l into a sound represented by the three signs *tà*, *ta/i*<sub>4</sub>, and *ta/i*<sub>5</sub>”.

In general, regarding all the readings of specific signs, huge steps forward have been made in the last fifteen years; still, two facts should be kept in mind. First, we do not know enough about possible dialect differences in the different Luwian states of the Iron age to account for possible minor anomalies. Second, no matter how precise the representation of single signs can be, the Luwian Hieroglyphic script is not an optimal

phonographic system: morphological endings were occasionally neglected, mistakes occurred, and some phonetic groups (notably K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>V) required approximated rendering. All in all, an absolute regularity and homogeneity of the system should probably *not* be assumed, and exceptions - albeit in some cases explainable basing on phonotactic or sociolinguistic contexts - should probably be expected<sup>12</sup>.

## THE HURRIAN CONNECTION

The current understanding of the internal taxonomy of the different varieties of Luwian relies quite strongly on Yakubovich's reconstruction as shown above in Figure 4. The crucial point in order to support Yakubovich's hypothesis is the possibility to distinguish between the so-called Kizzuwatna Luwian from the Empire one, and this distinction has been challenged by Hawkins (2014), who showed its possible limits basing on the weakness of its philological grounds. Indeed, several passages that present features of the Kizzuwatna Luwian (such as the *-nz(a)* accusative plural, the preference for the *-ass/i-* genitival adjectives where the Empire variant maintains the sigmatic genitives, and the construction of genitival chains by inflection of the genitival adjective) also exist in copies that present variants that agree with the Empire tradition (those texts should therefore be imperial copies of texts that originally were composed in Kizzuwatna).

While this observation is certainly correct, and demonstrates that the textual evidence is not entirely conclusive on a philological level, the idea of a Kizzuwatna “dialect” of Luwian that was highly influenced by the Hurrian interlinguistic environment is currently the best explanation for the behavior, distribution and apparent evolution of Luwian genitives and genitival adjectives from the linguistic point of view. The tendency

11 To mention the most relevant and most widely accepted ones, Rieken (2008, 2010) described the distinction between the signs TÀ and TÁ (the former representing a *da* syllable) and the behavior of SÀ; Rieken/Yakubovich (2010) made a compelling case for the signs TA<sub>4</sub> and TA<sub>5</sub> to be read, in the Iron age, *la/i* and *lá/i*, and Zs. Simon (2008) examined the occurrences of the sign SU, proposing a transcription *zax/zux*. On the treatment and values of laryngeals, see also Simon (2014b).

12 For some considerations and examples regarding the problem of graphemic regularity see Giusfredi, 2014.

of Luwian to replace genitives with genitival adjectives (the most productive formants being *-assa/i-* and *-iya-*) is explained by Yakubovich (2010, p. 198) as the result of the influence of the Hurrian *Suffixaufnahme*. The prevalence of this phenomenon in Kizzuwatna is consistent with the fact that the Hurrian influence, in Kizzuwatna, was much stronger than in other areas in which Luwian was spoken and written. The fact that genitival adjectives were prevalent in genitival chains involving oblique noun phrases (NPs) probably depended on the difficulty of organizing complex chains involving several genitives and oblique cases; such functional analysis is now paralleled by Bauer's (2014, p. 172f.) observation that in Hieroglyphic Luwian (that of course, deriving from Empire Luwian, retained the sigmatic genitives as well) the genitival adjectives were occasionally used in sentences that would risk to have sigmatic genitives confused with homographic sigmatic nominatives.

However, a functional interpretation is not sufficient to explain the genitival strategies of Luwian, as pointed out by the author of the present paper (Giusfredi, 2015). In fact, several Hittite nouns present sigmatic genitives that are identical to sigmatic nominatives, too (basically, all a-themed nouns can have a *-as* nominative and a *-as* genitive). Still, Hittite did not innovate by producing a comparably large class of genitival adjectives. Therefore, the diffusion of genitival adjectives in Luwian is better explained by Yakubovich's sociolinguistic hypothesis of a Hurrian influence, that was stronger in Kizzuwatna, but present in other "varieties" of Luwian as well.

#### THE SEMITIC CONNECTION(S)

Hurrian was not the only language that influenced specific phases of the historical development of Luwian. Bauer's recent monograph (2014) on the morphosyntax of the NPs in Hieroglyphic Luwian proved that, in

the Luvo-Phoenician bilingual texts such as the Karatepe and the Çineköy inscriptions, the anomalous alignment and position of deictic elements reflect the syntax of Phoenician, thus obliterating the hypothesis that the original versions of the texts were the Luwian ones (*contra* Giusfredi, 2010, 142f.). A similar interpretation is now supported also by I. Yakubovich (2015).

Interestingly, the Luvo-Phoenician bilinguals are not the only texts that may have reflected an influence of a Semitic language on the syntactic level. While the presence of possible Akkadian loans on the lexical level in the so called Assur Letters has been argued for (Giusfredi, 2010, p. 208-232; Giusfredi 2012), Bauer points out anomalies in the positioning of deictics that she tentatively and cautiously explains as a strategy to mark contrastivity (in a way similar to the way Ancient Greek marked contrastivity according to Bakker, 2009, pp. 76ff.). However, since the structure of definiteness and determination in Greek and Luwian is very different, and if the possible existence of loans from Akkadian in the Assur Letters were to be interpreted as a consequence of a positive interlinguistic contact, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that syntactic anomalies occurring in these texts could also depend on a phenomenon of influence of Semitic syntax.

Generally speaking, it is important to notice that the tendency of most recent historical studies<sup>13</sup> is to consider the Neo-Hittite states as rather multi-ethnic political formations, with a strong presence of Semitic populations even if the official inscriptions were composed in Luwian. Under this perspective, and in spite of the conservativity of the Iron age Luwian scribal tradition, Semitic influences on the use of Luwian can be expected to be quite frequent, not just in the Luvo-Phoenician bilinguals, and they are very likely to emerge during future researches on other types of documents as well.

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Giusfredi, 2010, chapters 1 and 2, for further reference.

## THE MOPSOS-CONNECTION

Apart from the influence of the Hurrian and Semitic cultures and languages, Luwian was also exposed, to a still uncertain extent, to the Aegean (Greek) world. The contacts between Anatolia and the Mycenaean (the so-called Ahhiyawa-question) have been studied for almost one century (starting from the identification of the connection by E. Forrer in 1924): notwithstanding the discrepancies in the interpretations of different scholars (recently T. Bryce, 2003; M. Alparslan, 2005; P. Taracha, 2006; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, 2007, 2007a; G. Steiner, 2007; G. Beckman, T. Bryce, and E. Cline 2011), substantial historical evidence from the Hittite sources demonstrates that political contacts existed during the Bronze age. Less clear is the extent of contacts during the Iron age between the Aegean and the so-called Neo-Hittite (Luwian and Luvo-Aramaean) states. Sources from Cilicia contain hints, in particular the toponym *Hiyawa* and anthroponyms such *Awarikus* (name of the king of Adana/Hiyawa of the Karatepe inscription), *Warikas* (name of king of Hiyawa in the Çineköy text)<sup>14</sup> and *Muksas* (mentioned in Karatepe and corresponding to Phoenician *mpsh*, and therefore tentatively connected to the Greek name Mopsos<sup>15</sup>).

Apart from the historical contacts, however, a significant linguistic influence of the Greek language on the Luwian one has not emerged in the sources; it is limited to a few cases of possible loanwords (most notably, Luw. *matu-* < Greek *μέθυ*, “sweet wine”<sup>16</sup>), but it does not appear to have reached the levels of morphology and syntax (at least not during the centuries and in the areas in which Iron age Hieroglyphic Luwian is attested).

C. Watkins’s hypothesis of a connection of the alleged Homeric Greek particle *τάρ* - usually transcribed

as *τ’άρ* and interpreted as a sequence *τε ἄρα* - to the still problematic clitic particle *-tar* of Luwian - traditionally compared, but not identical, to Hittite *-san* - has been strongly debated (J. Katz, 2008; G.E. Dunkel, 2008; Yakubovich, 2010, pp. 141ff; Teffeteller, 2011; Giusfredi, 2014a). However, even if such an uncertain connection existed, the link should probably be interpreted as etymological, and not as a case of areal diffusion (or loan) of a sentence-particle capable of influencing the syntactic environment of the verb.

## SYNTAX AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

In the past few years, works have been dedicated to several aspects of Luwian syntax, morpho-syntax and sociolinguistics. The results of these studies improved the understanding of the Luwian corpus, changing the interpretation of problematic passages published in the available corpora (Starke, 1985, 1990; Hawkins, 2000). A major improvement is represented by the extension to Luwian of the long known rule that prevents Hittite enclitic personal pronouns from acting as (nominative) agents in transitive (and agentive) constructions (Melchert, 2011). Sentences like Karkemiš A21 §10f.<sup>17</sup>:

*wa/i-ma-sa tá-ti i-zi* (11) *wa/i-mu* INFANS-  
[x] REL-ti || |<(x)>ti-i+a-ta [*\*a=wa=mu=s tadi*  
*izi \*a=wa=mu nimuwizzan kwadi tiyariyata:*  
INTR=QUOT=“me”(D/A)=“she”(N)  
“father”(A) “make”(3SG,PRS) INTR=  
QUOT=“me”(A) “son”(A) “as” “watch”  
(3SG,PST)]

in which the verb *izziya-* was formerly understood as transitive (“she made me a father and watched over me like a child”), can now be analyzed according to the syntactic alignment typical of Anatolian: *\*a=wa=mu=s tadi izita/iziyasi \*a=wa=mu nimuwizzan kwadi tiyariyata* [INTR=QUOT=“me”(D/

14 On the uncertain identification of *Awarikus* and *Warikas*, see now Giusfredi, 2012 and Zs. Simon, 2014a, both with references to the former literature.

15 On this problem, see E. Lipinski, 2004; C. López-Ruiz, 2009, with former literature.

16 J.D. Hawkins, 2000, p. 373.

17 Abbreviations used for glossing: N “nominative”, D “dative”, A “accusative”, INTR “introductory particle”, QUOT “direct speech particle”, SG “singular”, PRS “present”, PST “past”.



A)=“she”(N) “father”(N) “make”(3SG,PST,MP)  
INTR=QUOT=“me”(A) “son”(A) “as” “watch”  
(3SG,PST)]

In this specific case, the defective writing *i-zi* was an abbreviation for a medio-passive (MP) third person singular, “becomes”, and the general meaning becomes “she became like a father to me, and watched over me like a child” (Melchert, 2011, p. 78).

Other significant advancements in the understanding of Luwian can be found in Yakubovich’s study on the Luwian sociolinguistics (2010); particularly interesting is the case of the meaning of the Hieroglyphic Luwian verb *izziya-* “to do, make”, that, when occurring in an apparently reflexive construction with a clitic personal pronoun, has the meaning “worship”, paralleling the construction *-za iya-* of Hittite. Regarding the verb *izziya-*, Yakubovich (2010, p. 55ff.) suggests that the “worship” meaning was indeed the original one, and that the meaning “do, make” was the consequence of a folk etymology based on a rianalysis as iterative to the similar verb *aya-*. Comparing the Hitt. similar verb *iya-* and its iterative *essa-*, that can have a meaning “worship” when combined with the particle *-za*, this explanation is certainly possible, but it appears to be ad hoc and a bit overcomplicated. Pending further clarification on the etymology and original function of Hitt. *-za*, and on the existence of an etymological and functional Luwian cognate of it, the similar behavior of the Luw. and the Hitt. “do”-verbs when combined with a marker of mediality (pronoun in Luwian, *-za* in Hittite), could very well be a case of influence of Hittite on Luwian (especially considering that in Late Hittite *-za* itself was sometimes replaced by a personal pronoun<sup>18</sup>). Another important discovery -

connected to the problem of the behavior of pronouns and verbs in the Luwian transitive verbs - was the identification of the grammaticalized use of Luw. *atra/i-* as a reflexive pronoun (Yakubovich, 2010, p. 164). Regarding *atra/i-*, it may be worth mentioning that a rather similar gradual shift towards the use of a grammaticalized element deriving from the semantic field “body, person” or “soul” in order to build reflexive and reflexive-like constructions is attested in the Indo-Iranian family and in Tocharian as well<sup>19</sup>.

Finally, the publication of A. Bauer’s (2014) study on the morphosyntax of the Hieroglyphic Luwian noun phrases also represents a highly significant contribution to the study of Luwian linguistics. Bauer’s work provides detailed information on word order, modification, deixis, genitival patterns and standard and anomalous phenomena of alignment and agreement. Her most important discovery, however, is probably the one regarding the criteria of inflection of nouns when determined by numerals, with singular endings regularly occurring when the numerals are 5 or higher. This pattern is not uncommon in Indo-European (Bauer, 2014, pp. 88ff.), and studies on Hittite seem to show that it also applied to other Anatolian languages (E. Rieken, in press). Bauer’s results shed light on several problems, and raise important questions on some open ones, which will require further investigation. The literature to come should review the discoveries about the structure of the Luwian noun phrase and integrate them in a comprehensive syntactical (and grammatical) model of the language.

## CONCLUSION

After the publication of Hawkins’s corpus (2000), several steps have been made towards a

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18 On this phenomenon see Yakubovich (2010: 187ff.); see also Melchert (2003, Chapter “Language”, p. 190), on the possible influences of Luwian on Hittite. On the origin and function of Hitt. *-z(a)* cf. E. Neu (1968), Kimball (1999); on its origin and connection to Luwian, see Rieken (2005); on its function in Hittite see Cotticelli-Kurras/Rizza (2011).

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19 S. H.H. Hock, 2007, L. Kulikov, 2007 and G.-J. Pinault, 2003; in Sanskrit, a language with a broader verbal system than the Luwian one, such constructions had a complex range of combinations with medio-passive and active verbs.

better and more systematic comprehension of the Luwian language. In the field of phonetics, phonology and graphemics, it is now possible to distinguish with higher precision between the values and rendering of different stops. In the fields of morphology and syntax, advancements have been made both from a descriptive and from a sociolinguistic point of view. New discoveries have been made, and they need to be systematically assessed. At the same time, some problems still require evaluation and further investigation, in order for us to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the Luwian language.

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