



IX. ULUSLARARASI HİTİTOLOJİ KONGRESİ BİLDİRİLERİ

Çorum 08-14 Eylül 2014

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THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN SIGNS *128 (AVIS ‘BIRD’) = wa_x AND *30 = *HAPA*¹

Petra GOEDEGEBUURE*

1. Introduction²

Even though Luwian studies have since long moved beyond mere decipherment, it is still possible to discover phonetic values for hieroglyphs with unknown syllabic or symbolic value. Two such cases will be presented here: I propose that the signs AVIS (*128) and *31 be read as wa_x and *HAPA*, respectively. This leads to full readings of six words, including four new lexemes, and in a few cases to a better understanding of the passages in which these words occur.

Following Simon’s overview and discussion of the different uses of the bird-shaped sign AVIS (= *128) (this volume), when used as a logogram *128 covers several concepts. First, it overwhelmingly appears in the divine name Kubaba, written (DEUS)*Ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa*, (DEUS)*Ku*+AVIS-*pa*, (DEUS) *Ku*+AVIS, AVIS (DEUS)*ku* (GULBENKIAN seal), (DEUS.AVIS)*ku-pa-pa* (once, in KÂHTA 1 § 1 (Simon 2014:248)), or merely (DEUS)AVIS.

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- 1 I am most grateful to Zsolt Simon and Craig Melchert for making their conference papers available to me, to Annick Payne for allowing me the use of her Hieroglyphic Luwian signs, and finally the audience of the 9th ICH and in particular Ilya Yakubovich for their helpful remarks, suggestions and improvements. All remaining errors are my own.
- 2 The corpus on which this study is based consists of all texts from Hawkins 2000 and the following texts that were not included in Hawkins 2000, either because they were edited after 2000 or belong to the Empire period: AFYON, ALEPPO 1, 6, 7, ANCOZ 5, 11, 12, ANKARA 1, ARSUZ 1, 2, BEYKÖY, ÇİNEKÖY, DEMİRKÖPRÜ, DÜLÜK BABA TEPESİ 1, EMİRGAZI, EREĞLİ, FRAKTİN, GÜRÇAY, İSTANBUL 2, KÂHTA 1, KARAHÖYÜK, KARAKUYU-TORBALI, KARKAMIŞ X (stele of Sui I), KIRŞEHİR (+) YASSIHÖYÜK, KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, KÖYLÜTOLU, KUŞÇU-BOYACI, MALKAYA, POTOROO, ŞARAGA, SİRKELİ, SÜDBURG, TALL ŞTİB, TELL AHMAR 6, YALBURT, YUNUS.

Especially the latter three writings make it clear that without complements AVIS logographically represents the deity Kubaba, while the other writings of Kubaba show that AVIS cannot have a syllabic value but is simply a logogram surrounded by phonetic complements³. As D’Alfonso in his edition of the Sprenger seal suggests, another concept that might be hiding behind AVIS is *kukula-* ‘cuckoo’^{??} (2009:321 with n. 5). The reading *kukula-* seems to be the only feasible explanation for the alternation of the personal name *ku+AVIS-la-(i)a* and *AVIS-[l]a-i(a)* on the Sprenger seal and for the spelling of the personal name *ku-ku-AVIS-la* (Herbordt 2005:143, Kat. 169). And finally, as Simon argues in this volume, the logogram AVIS may stand for **kutta-* ‘wall’ or *kuttawanni-* ‘precinct’⁴, attested in SULTANHAN § 12 as abl. “AVIS”-*ta-wa/i-na-ri+i*.

The logogram AVIS was thus liberally used as a logogram representing different concepts based on the principle of *connectio homophonica* or phonetic assonance (Simon, this volume), but it does not end there. AVIS also has at least two, perhaps even three different syllabic readings. The least certain reading is without much support, but needs to be mentioned in view of the alternation *ku+AVIS-la-(i)a* and *AVIS-[l]a-i(a)* on the Sprenger seal. A syllabic reading of AVIS as *kú* and thus of *ku-kú-la-(i)a* and *kú-[l]a-i(a)* reminds one of the possible but not assured equation of the name *ku-la-na* (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 171) with *ku-ku-la-na* (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 172), as suggested by Hawkins (*apud* Herbordt 2005:259). Another syllabic reading, *zi*₄, has long been recognized and only occurs in KARATEPE 1 in REL-*zi*₄ (Ho. § XXVII; the duplicate Hu. has REL-*zi*) and *mì-ia-tí-zi*₄ (Ho. § LI; the duplicate Hu. has *mi-ia-ti-zi*). This value must have been derived through acrophony from a bird-name starting with *zi-*.

3 Given the equation AVIS = Kubaba, Simon (this volume) now suggests to read the name TONITRUS. GENUFLECTERE-AVIS, attested on a seal, as Halpa-Kubaba (Herbordt 2005:132, Kat. 111 suggests Halpasulupi). Another personal name where the equation AVIS = Kubaba might apply is *ku-AVIS-pi-da-na* (Herbordt 2005:142f., Kat. 165). Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005:259 suggests reading it as *kupapitana* and compares it with the Alalah names Kupapaduni and Kupapatanni.

4 I herewith withdraw my tentative suggestion for *tawani-* as another word for stele in Goedegebuure 2007:324. Perhaps we should also read AVIS-*ni-na* = *kuttawannin* in POTOROO facet 8a: [NEG₃-s[a-p]a²-wa/i | AVIS-*ni-na*] (PES₂-PES) *tara/i-pi-ti* “or (if) he attacks **the precinct**, (may this deity [...] to that one)” (ed. Hawkins 2010:186f.). AVIS in SAMSAT 3 is utterly unclear (*za-wa/i AVIS-na x-na* [...] “[.....] this AVIS (acc. sg.)”, ed. Hawkins 2000:353f.). Alternatively, as suggested by Ilya Yakubovich (pers.comm.) we could read AVIS-*ni-na* as wa_x-ta-ni-na /wattanin/ ‘holding’ (see further below).

The final value is wa_x , proposed here. This syllabic value should be acrophonically derived from another designation for a bird species. The best option is the generic word⁵ for bird, *wattai-* (Sum. MUŠEN), only attested as nom.pl.comm. *wattaēš* in the phrase *ḫatugaēš wattaēš* ‘terrible birds’ (KBo 4.2 ii 32, also see [*wa-at*]- ḫtaḫ -i-e-eš in KBo 4.2 i 2⁶; for the latest discussion see Kloekhorst 2008:987). Still, this in itself is not enough to establish wa_x as the reading behind AVIS.

2. AVIS (*128) = wa_x

2.1 ARHA (MALLEUS) wa_x -*la-* ‘to remove’

The proof for the reading of *128 (AVIS) and its cursive form *71 as wa_x depends upon the rare spelling of the common expression *ARHA MALLEUS-la-* ‘to remove, erase’



*128



*71

as *ARHA* (MALLEUS) AVIS/*71-*la-* and the singular reading of the sign *280 = MALLEUS as wa/i_9 in TOPADA § 26. In the latter case MALLEUS occurs in the middle of a word (see Laroche 1960:147, sub *280 II., “valeur phon. wa_5 ”):

- (1) *pa+ra/i-zu²/za²-ta^x-MALLEUS= wa/i_9 -ni-sa-pa-wa/i-ta^x* (URBS) (ANIMAL) EQUUS-*sa₈* (*219) *ha+ra/i-pa-zi/a-ha* OMNIS.MI-*zi/a á-zu²/za²-sa₇-na* FINES+*HI HIC* (?) CRUS+*RA/I*

The Parzu/atean horse and all the rebels stood here (?) on our border. (TOPADA § 26, ed. Weeden 2010:54f., diff. Hawkins 2000:453; for reading za_x instead of zu^2 see Yakubovich 2010:66ff.)

5 Whether *wattai-* is genuine Hittite, a borrowing from Luwian, or both Hittite and Luwian cannot currently be decided. For the acrophonic derivation of the syllable value /wa/ this is not important. As Yakubovich (2008) has convincingly shown, both Hittite and Luwian served as source languages for the development of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script.

6 Watson (2008:95) suggests that Emar Akkadian *wattu* ‘pigeon’, written *PI-at-tu₄* and glossed *summatu* ‘(female) dove, pigeon’ (Emar 555: 71’, discussed in Penttuc 2001:139), was borrowed from Hittite. Besides the fact that this word might be Semitic after all (see Penttuc 2001:139, Cohen 2010:831), I would reject such a borrowing on the grounds that *wattai-/MUŠEN* does not mean ‘pigeon’ but ‘bird’, and that in the lexical lists in Ḫattuša *summatu* glosses TU^{MUŠEN} ‘(female) dove, pigeon’, not MUŠEN (KBo 26.3 + KUB 4.96 ii’ 24’, ed. Scheucher 2012:498). To my knowledge TU^{MUŠEN} is elsewhere only attested in KUB 42.29 rev.? v’ 14’.

MALLEUS occurs here as the first syllable of the suffix of appurtenance *-wanni-* /-wanni-/ in *pa+ra/i-zu²/za_x²-ta_x-MALLEUS-ni-* ‘of Parzu/ata, Parzu/atean’, and therefore was established already in the late thirties to represent /wa/ (Hrozný 1935:507 n. 8 “*va₄?*”; Meriggi 1937:90 with n. 2 “*wa⁵*”). The scribe of Topada added quite a few signs to the Luwian syllabary, using the acrophonic principle. If he could use MALLEUS to represent /wa/, then clearly the first syllable of the lexeme hiding behind the ‘hammer’ logogram started with /wa/.

Almost every other instance of MALLEUS occurs in the expression *ARHA MALLEUS* ‘to erase/remove (a name or object)’, with MALLEUS used as a logogram. In that use MALLEUS is often followed by a phonetic complement /la/. Typical examples are (2) and (3):

(2) he who ...

[NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tú* |*za-a-ti-ia-za* | (“SCALPRUM”) *ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-za* |*á-ma-za* |*á-lá/i-ma-za* | **ARHA** | “MALLEUS”-*la/i/u-i*

or **erases** my name **from** these orthostats,

(may against him celestial Tarhunt, Karhuha and Kupapa, and the Stormgod of Mount Arputa and the gods of the riverland of the river Šakura litigate.) (KARKAMIŠ A11c § 24, ed. Hawkins 2000:104)⁷

(3) [*wa/i-tú* |*za-a-z*]*i²* | (SCALPRUM)[*k*]*u-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi* |*zi-ri+i* | *pa-sa-na* | LO[CUS]-*la/i-ti* | **ARHA** || REL-*sa* “MALLEUS”-**i**

He who **removes** [the]se orthostats here **from** their location, ... (KARKAMIŠ A27e § 4, ed. Hawkins 2000:166)

The syllabic reading of MALLEUS as *wa/i₉*, and the use of the logogram MALLEUS in contexts like (2) and (3) probably led Laroche to suggest that MALLEUS could be read as *wala-* (“lect. ou compl. phon. *-wala?*”, 1960:147). The reading of MALLEUS-*la-* as *wala-* is supported by a very similar though not exactly cognate expression in Hittite, *laman wallanu-* ‘to erase/remove a name’⁸ (HW 242 (“*tilgen* (?), *ausstreichen* (?); *ändern* (?)), Tischler 2001:193, Kloekhorst 2008:945):

⁷ Also see KARKAMIŠ A14a § 8; A16b.

⁸ The only other attestation of *wallanu-* occurs in a broken context: *wallanuanza* KUR[-*eanza?*...] (OH/NS, KUB 34.19 rev. 9^r, CTH 538).

(4) This tablet must be placed before the Stormgod of Hatti, and [no one may take] it away from before (him). But anyone who take[s] this tablet away from before the Stormgod of Hatti, or melts it down

našma ŠUM-an wallanu[zzi]

or **removes** the name,

([or] carries it (the tablet) forth, [may] the Stormgod of Hatti, the Sungoddess of Arinna and all the gods completely destroy him together with his offspring!) (NH, KUB 26.43 rev. 37, CTH 225)

In three⁹ cases MALLEUS is followed by an extra syllable preceding the usual /la/, namely AVIS or *71 (Hawkins 2006:29):

(5) “MALLEUS”(-)*71-*la-ṛi* (early 8th c., BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 9)

“MALLEUS”(-)*71-*la-i* (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 2, § 12)

“MALLEUS”(-)AVIS-*la-i* (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6, § 29)

See for the context for example:

(6) ^m*ha-mi-i-ia-ta-sa-pa-wa/i-ta* |*á-lá/i-ma-za* |REL-*i-sa* |**ARHA** |“MALLEUS”
AVIS-*la-i* ||

He who **removes** the name of Hamiyata, (...) (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6, § 29)

The full rendering of our word could therefore be *71-*la* / AVIS-*la-*. Based on the alternation of *71 and AVIS (= *128) in the TELL AHMAR texts, Hawkins plausibly considers *71 as a cursive form of AVIS (2006:29). Following Laroche’s very tentative reading of *71 in TELL AHMAR 2, § 12 as *wa* (1960:44; “*arha* MASSUE-*wa??-la-a*”), and the reading of MALLEUS as /walla-/, we should now equate AVIS with *wa* as well. This gives us the full reading (“MALLEUS”) *wa*_x-*la-i*.¹⁰

9 There might be a fourth case: MALLEUS-*x+ra/i-i* (MARAS 8, § 12), where x is perhaps *71 (Hawkins 2000:255).

10 The expression *ARHA* (MALLEUS) *wala-* ‘to erase, remove’ should be kept separate from *ARHA* (MORI) *wala-* ‘to die’.

2.2. (DEUS)*wa_x-ti-* ‘(divine) mountain’

Another instance in which AVIS = *wa_x* leads to an acceptable full reading is TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, where we find a list of deities including the (DEUS) AVIS-*ti-zi* (Hawkins 2006:12f., 18f.; Rieken & Yakubovich 2010:212):

(7) **a-wa/i-mu* |*á-ia-lá/i-na* |INFANS(-)*282-*ni[?]-wa/i-ra+a* CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*ia*-[...] (DEUS)BONUS (DEUS)LUNA-*sa* |*á-ta-na* |(PES₂) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* (DEUS)SOL-*sa* (DEUS)CERVUS-*sa* ||

(DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS (DEUS)*hi-pu-da-sa* |EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si-ha* (DEUS)*sà-us-ka-sa* [(DEUS)]FORTIS-*sa* (DEUS)SARMA-*sa* |“CAELUM”-*ti-sa* |“TERRA”-REL+*ra/i-ti-sa-ha* (DEUS)AVIS-***ti-zi*** (DEUS)***30-*da-ti-zi*** *a-tá* |*ta-sa?-mi-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi* |(LITUUS)*á-za-ta*

Celestial Tarhunt, Ea, the Graingod, the Moongod, the benevolently inclined¹¹ Sun-God, Runtiya, Karhuha, Kubaba, Hipuda (= Hebat) and Šauska of the Army, Teššub, Šarruma, Heaven and Earth, the divine AVIS-*ti-zi*, the divine *30-*da-ti-zi*, the ... gods loved me, the first-born child. (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, ed. Hawkins 2006:12f.)

Together with two other unidentified divine groups, the (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* deities follow Heaven and Earth. A comparison with the divine witness lists of the Hittite Empire treaties (for which see Beckman 1999) shows that once the natural phenomena have been introduced all following deities are natural phenomena as well. The Bronze Tablet, for example, concludes its divine witness list with “heaven, earth, the great sea, the mountains, rivers, and springs of Hatti and of the land of Tarhuntassa” (Bo 86/299 iv 3-4, tr. Beckman 1999:121). The order of deities in the witness lists is not fixed, but we can establish a few groups whose members always appear in a certain order. These groups of natural phenomena, with their internally fixed order, are: (a) mountains, rivers, springs^{12/} Euphrates¹³, (b) the (great) sea, (c) heaven and earth, and (d) winds, clouds.

Reading (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* as (DEUS)*wa_x-ti-zi* /wattinzi/ immediately identifies them as the mountains: both in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Cuneiform Luwian the word for mountain is *watta/i-* (for Hieroglyphic Luwian *wa/i-*

11 For *antan tarzami-* as the equivalent of Hittite *anda nejant-* ‘benevolently inclined’, see Rieken 2004:459.

12 The springs are only absent in the treaty with Sattiwaza of Mitanni.

13 The Euphrates is only present in the treaty with Sattiwaza of Mitanni.

ti- ‘mountain’ see Hawkins 2000:350 with further references; for Cuneiform Luwian *watta/i*-¹⁴ see Gérard 2006:248f.).

2.3. (DEUS) *wa_x-ta-ni(-ya)-* ‘(sacred) holding’

Another case where AVIS = *wa_x* makes sense is for DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni*- and its alternative spelling LITUUS+AVIS-*ta-ni-*, attested four times. By assigning the value *wa_x* to AVIS, we now may read (DEUS) *wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* and LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za*. Since intervocalic *-ta-* represents /ta/, /nta/ or /nda/, the underlying lexeme is either /wa(t)tani(ya)-/ or /wanTani(ya)-/.

Hawkins established the meaning of this word as ‘day’ (Hawkins 2000:97f., 1986:95), and the related verb DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-sâ-* as ‘to endow with days’ (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 1, ex. 14). Although I will reject this translation further below following Ilya Yakubovich (pers.comm.) in favor of ‘(sacred) holding’ (see ex. 8*), ‘day’ fits the contexts of KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 7-8 (ex. 8) and the very similar KARKAMIŠ A11a § 10 (late 10th – early 9th c., (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za*):

(8) (§ 7) **a-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-ia-za* LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |REGIO-*ni-i a-tá*
(DEUS)BONUS-*na* (DEUS)VITIS(-)*ti-PRAE-ia-ha* || *ARHA* (CAPERE₂)*u-pa-ta*
(§ 8) *a-wa/i* **a-mi-ia-za* |LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |OVIS.ANIMAL-*i* 10 ASINUS
CRUS+*RA/I*

(§ 7) **In my days** he (Tarhunzas) brought away¹⁵ grain and wine into the country. (§ 8) **In my days** 10 donkey loads (of barley) stood for a sheep (late 10th – early 9th c., KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 7-8, ed. Hawkins 2000:109).

Under this interpretation the phrase *amiyaⁿza* LITUUS+AVIS-*taniyaⁿza* finds its parallel in the expression *apataⁿza* (“ANNUS”) *usaⁿza* ‘in those years’ (Hawkins 1986:95):

(9) |*a-wa/i* [|] *á[-pa-]tá*|-*za_x* (“ANNUS”) *u-sá-za* |(OVIS.ANIMAL)*ha-wa/i-i* 30 *ti-wá/i-ta-li-sa* “HORDEUM”-*za* |CRUS+*RA/I*

14 Attested as dat.-loc. sg. *watti* in KBo 29.25 iii 10’ and as abl. *waddati* in KBo 4.11 rev. 40 (for identification of the latter attestation see Goedegebuure 2010:311). The derived adjective *uwattant(i)-* in KUB 12.63 obv. 35’ means ‘elevated’ (Gérard 2006:249), and no longer ‘having a spring/source’ (so Melchert 1993:267). Another related word is *wattanni-* ‘small mountain > hill’ in Bo 2004/1:27 (MS, CTH 230). Lorenz and Rieken (2007:478) based their translation ‘small water’ on the now obsolete connection of *watti-* and *wattant-* with *watt-* ‘water’.

15 For the sense of this sentence see Melchert 2004:373.

In those years 30 *tiwattalli*-measures of barley stood for a sheep. (AKSARAY § 4, ed. Hawkins 2000:476)

Reading DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni*-/LITUUS+AVIS-*ta-ni*- as *waⁿtani(ya)*- allows for comparison with Cuneiform Luwian *wandaniya*-. Both words could then be related to the Hittite verb *want*- ‘to glow, to light’ and the noun *wanemma*- ‘glowing of the sun, lightning’. This suggests translating *wandaniya*- as ‘bright, radiant’ (Tischler 2001:194; Torri 2010). The adjective *wandaniya*- only occurs in the phrase “bright, radiant sky,” the day sky therefore, and thus belongs to the same semantic field as “day”:

(10) (18’) [*mā*]n ^dUTU-uš *wan^rdan^rya nepiši*¹⁶ (19’) [*anda ištam*]ašta

When the Sungod **in the radiant sky** heard about (it) ((KBo 43.223 +) KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 i 18’-19’ (MS, CTH 764, ed. Torri 2010:384f.))

There is another option that seems equally possible in the context of (8). ACLT translates AVIS-*ta-ni-ya*- as ‘holding’, and Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.) has now proposed reading it as /*wattaniya*-¹⁷. As ex. 13 shows, this lexeme is common gender, and in my view a (lexicalized) adjectival -*iya*- derivation of neuter REGIO-*ni(ya)*- ‘country’. The same formation, *wattaniya*-¹⁸, is also attested in Cuneiform Luwian:

(11) *ā-tta ādduwanza* ¹⁴ *pariyan adduwaliyan* ¹⁵ *wattaniyan uppanandu* §

Let them carry the evil across **that of the evil land** (or : **the holding of/pertaining to evil**) (NS, CTH 765, KBo 13.260 iii 13’-15’, ed. Yakubovich (2010: 237) “let them carry the evils over to an evil land”).

Under this alternative interpretation the phrase *amiyaⁿza* LITUUS+*wataniyaⁿza* finds its parallel in the expression (TERRA)*taskwari* ‘in the land’:

(12) |REL-*i-pa-wa/i* | (“TERRA”) *ta-sà-REL+ra/i* |2 “OVIS”-*sa* 80 “HORDEUM” CRUS+*RA/I* ||

16 Also see on the same tablet *ta-ap-pa-aš-ša wa-an-da-ni-ya-an-za* (nom.-acc.sg.neut.) ‘bright sky’ (MS, CTH 764, KUB 35.107 iii 6), and [*ta-ap-pa-aš-ša wa-an-]da-ni-y[a-an-za]* (MS, CTH 764, KUB 35.107 iii 26). Fragmentary: *wa-an-da-ni-y[a(-)]* (MS, CTH 766, KUB 35.102 i 4’).

17 REGIO = */*wattani*-/ is derived from Luwian **wadni* ‘land’ through fortition of the etymological **d* and anaptyxis (Yakubovich 2010:237).

18 Yakubovich (2010:237) treats *wattaniya*- as a thematized form of **wattani*-‘land’ (attested in the dat.-loc. sg. in KUB 35.133 ii 24’). I prefer to understand the ending -*iya*- as the adjectival derivational morpheme in view of the preceding adjectival formation *adduwaliya*- ‘of evil’ < *adduwal*- ‘evil’ (now also see ACLT).

Indeed, **in the land** two sheep stood for 80 (measures of) barley. (SULTANHAN § 11, ed. Hawkins 2000:466)

The passage that helps decide between the two proposals¹⁹, (13) below, was originally used to support the temporal reading. By showing that temporal expressions can occur as accusatives, Hawkins assumes that the accusative (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-zi* in (13) means ‘during (my) days’ (2000:229). But temporal expressions occur only in the accusative in three contexts: (a) as the object of a verb, (b) to mark habituality when reduplicated (*usin usin* ‘yearly, every year’, *arin arin* ‘time after time, always’), or (c) to denote ‘for x amount of time’. Expressions locating the state of affairs in time, as would be the case in (8), only occur in the dative-locative. Translating according to option (c), ‘during my days’ (= ‘for the duration of my days’), is no longer a contextually viable option, because that would mean that it took the ruler’s whole life to settle the Anaitean districts. This seems hardly worthy of boasting. Letting the achievement take place ‘**in** my days’ would have been more appropriate, but this requires the dative-locative (DEUS) *wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-(ia)-za* (see ex. 8) instead of the accusative (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-zi*. The syntax of (13) therefore tips the scale in favor of ‘holdings’. The consistent use of DEUS or LITUUS might point at a religious nature of the holdings, hence ‘(sacred) holdings’:

(13) |**a-wa/i-mu* (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-zi* || |*á-na-i-tá*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na*-²⁰
|(SOLIUM)*i-sâ-nú-wa/i-h*[a]

I settled/established the Anaitean (districts) **as my (sacred) holdings**/*during my days (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 2 § 10, ed. Hawkins 2000:228, translating “during my days”)

I therefore translate ex. 8 as follows:

(8*) (§ 7) **a-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-ia-za* LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |REGIO-*ni-i a-tá*
(DEUS)BONUS-*na* (DEUS)VITIS(-)*ti-PRAE-ia-ha* || *ARHA* (CAPERE)₂*u-pa-ta*
(§ 8) *a-wa/i* **a-mi-ia-za* |LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |OVIS.ANIMAL-*i* 10 ASINUS
CRUS+*RA/I*

19 The spelling *wa_x-ta-ni* allows for a third option, *wattanni-* ‘small mountain > hill’ (see fn. 13), but this is contextually very improbable.

20 For the use of another headless neuter plural adjective as the object of *ismuwa-* ‘to settle, establish’, see |*a-wa/i* | (“VACUUS”) *ta-na-ta-* (“SOLIUM”) *i-sâ-* || *nu-wa/i-ha* ‘I settled the **devastated** (places)’ (MARAŞ 1 § 4, ed. Hawkins 2000:263).

(§ 7) **In my (sacred) holdings** he (Tarhunzas) brought away grain and wine into the country. (§ 8) **In my (sacred) holdings** 10 donkey loads stood for a sheep (late 10th – early 9th c., KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 7-8).

KARKAMIŠ A6 § 1 probably contains a verbal derivation of *watani-* / *wattani-*. Originally translated as ‘endowed with days(?)’ (Hawkins 2000:125), the participle DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa* = (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa*²¹ should now mean something like ‘endowed with holdings’:

(14) |EGO-*wa/i-mi-i^mi-a+ra/i-ri+i-i-sa* |IUDEX-*ni-sa*

(DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa* |LITUUS+*ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa*²² CAPUT-*ti-i-sá*

I am Yarri, ruler, Prince, **endowed with (sacred) holdings**, ..., (Prince, heard of by the west (and) the east, beloved by the gods) (end 9th – beginning 8th c., KARKAMIŠ A6 § 1, ed. Hawkins 2000:124)

2.4. *wa_x-sà-* ‘to lead here’

The last word with AVIS that needs to be discussed, “CAPUT”(-)AVIS-*sà-* in MARAŞ 4 § 5 (mid 9th century), is also the most problematic one. The violent context in which this lexeme occurs and the presence of CAPUT supports ACLT’s attribution of “CAPUT”(-)AVIS-*sà-* to the verb *kusa-* ‘to smash’²³, attested in TÜNP 1 (§ 2, (“CAPUT+SCALPRUM”) *ku-sà-mi-na*), KULULU 3 (§ 4, (“LONGUS”)REL-*sà-i*) and EMİRGAZİ (§ 8, 20, CAPUT+SCALPRUM). There is however very little evidence that AVIS should be read as /ku/, unless we accept that the name on the Sprenger seal discussed in the introduction should be read as *ku-kú-la-(i)a* and *kú-[l]a-i(a)*.

The alternative is to read “CAPUT”(-)AVIS-*sà-* as (“CAPUT”)*wa_x-sà-ha* and to relate it to (PES)*u-sa-* ‘to lead here’(see further below). I take the

21 This word is perhaps also attested in SUVASA inscription C as adj. LITUUS+AVIS ‘having/of holdings’.

22 For a discussion of LITUUS+*ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa* see Hawkins 2000:125.

23 ACLT translates the verb as ‘to erase’, but it is usually translated as ‘to remove’ (Hawkins 1995:94, 2000:155). I have suggested elsewhere (2012:435 w. fn. 100) that *ku-sà-* means ‘to smash, pound, crush’. The base *ku-sà-* is also present in the noun (CURRUS) *ku-sà-*, which should denote a wheeled entity for smashing or pounding, thus ‘battering ram’: *á-wa/i-ia-na-wa/i-na-pa-wa/i* (URBS) “CASTRUM”-*sà* 100 (CURRUS) *ku-sà-ti* |INFRA-*tá* “PUGNUS”-*sá-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A12 § 7, ed. Hawkins 2000:113) with suggested new translation ‘I brought down the fortifications of the city of Awayana with 100 **battering rams**’. ACLT translates *ku-sà* as ‘attack’. A hundred attacks makes as much or as little sense as a hundred battering rams. In both cases the number can be attributed to poetic license.

logogram CAPUT as a determiner that is restricting the semantic field of *ARHA* (PES)*u-sa-* to leading away humans, thus ‘I deported’:

(15) In what year I smote the town of Hirika (= Hilikka), in that year I seated Tarhunt of the desmene.

(§ 4) |*a-wa/i-tá* |*i-la/i/u-wa/i-si-na*(URBS) |*INFRA-ta* |(CAPERE)*la-ha*

(§ 5) (MONS.SCALPRUM)*á-tu+ra/i-sa-li-ia-za-pa-wa/i* |*ARHA* | (“CAPUT”)
wa_x-sà-ha

(§ 6) |*hi-ri+i-ka-pa-wa/i-ta*(REGIO) (“PES₂.PES”) *tara/i-[pa]-ha*

(§ 4) I took down the town of Iluwassi;

(§ 5) I **deported** (here) Mount Atursaliyanza;

(§ 6) I attacked the country of Hirika. (mid-9th c., MARAŞ 4 § 4-6, ed. Hawkins 2000:256f.)

Support for the equation of *wa-sà-* with *u-sa-* consists of several steps: (1) to show that the alternation *wa-/u-* is not always relevant; (2) to show that in this case the alternation *sà/sa* is not relevant. The alternation of *wa-/u-* is elsewhere attested, see for example *u-sa-la-li-* ‘to treat well (?)’ (TELL AHMAR 6 § 33) and *wa/i-sa-la-li-* (KARKAMIŞ A2+3 § 12)²⁴ or (BONUS)*u-li-ia-* ‘to favor, exalt’ (MARAŞ 1 § 1i) and (BONUS)*wa/i-li-ia-* ‘id.’ (MALPINAR § 11) in exactly the same context. How to interpret the alternation of *sà/sa* is a more complicated endeavor because this part of the argument depends on whether *wa* or *u* is original with our verb.

Rieken (2010) has recently shown that in the heydays of Luwian administration (ca. 1000-850 BCE) *sà* and *sa/sá* consistently represented different sounds. Following the closed vowels /u/ and /i/ and preceding /k/ and */w/, the alveolar sibilant /s/ palatalized as [ʃ], represented by *sà*. In all other contexts /s/ remained [s], and was represented by *sa* or *sá*. In word final position this allophony was neutralized in favor of [s]. After 850 BCE the signs *sà* and *sa/sá* were no longer strictly confined to their original environments and started to alternate, although in certain words free variation was extremely limited.

24 Per Rieken’s “wuki” rule, discussed immediately below, the date of the documents in the late 10th – early 9th c. shows that *wa/i-sa-la-li-* must have been the original writing (*usa-* would have been written *u-sà-*).

The verb *isnuwa-* ‘to set, settle’, for example, shows *sà* in all 24 instances where the word is spelled out²⁵.

The date of MARAŞ 4, around the mid 9th century, is on the cusp of the loss of the distinction between *sà* and *sa/sá*. In this text we indeed encounter *sà* in word final position (*mu-wa/i-ta-la/i/u-i-si-sà*, § 1) besides correct (“SOLIUM”) *i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha* (§ 3) and (“THRONUS”) *i-sà-tara/i-ti* (§ 17). The orthography of (“CAPUT”) *wa_x-sà-ha* is therefore either still according to the rules of 1000-850 BCE and should then represent *wi-sà-ha* ‘?’, *u-sà-ha* ‘?’, *wa-sà-ha* ‘I did good’²⁶ or it no longer correctly distinguishes between *sà* and *sa* and now also allows the readings *wa-sa-ha* ‘I bought’ and *u-sa-ha* ‘I led here’.

The verb that comes closest to *wi-sà-* is *wis(a)i-* ‘to emerge’²⁷ (compare Cun. Luwian *wiš(a)i-*). Because this verb is intransitive, it needs to be rejected. The verbs *was-* ‘to buy’ and *wassa-* ‘to be dear (to)’ do not make much sense in the context, and a verb *u-sà-* does not (yet) exist (unless this is the correct spelling for *usa-* ‘to carry’. I will reject this option immediately below). This leaves us with *wa-sà-ha* = *u-sa-ha* ‘I led here’.

According to Rieken’s “wuki” rule the verb *usa-* should have been spelled *u-sà-*. To my knowledge, this verb and the verb *us(a)nu-* ‘to bless, treat’²⁸ are the only exceptions to the rule. Despite the /u/ both words are consistently written with *sa* or *sá*, starting with (PES) *u-sa-tá* in the 11th century BCE (ALEPPO 7 § 7, ed. Hawkins 2011:48f.). Yakubovich (2016:85-6) recently provided the solution that perfectly accounts for the spelling with <sa> instead of <sà> in (PES) *u-sa-*. He argues that *u-sa-* is the outcome of

25 The counts are based on ACLT (last accessed June 24, 2015). The one instance of *sa* in (“SOLIUM”) *i-sa(sic)-nu-wa/i-ha* in MARAŞ 1 § 4, so Hawkins (2000:263) and still Payne (2012:53), is a typo. The photo and handcopy clearly show *sà*.

26 *wa-sà-* represents /waja/ < */waswa-/; see Rieken 2010:659.

27 For the meaning ‘to emerge’ see Rieken 2010:654.

28 The verb *u-sa-nu-* ‘to bless, treat’ is a causative formation of the stem *was-*, also attested in *wasu* ‘well’, *wass-* ‘to be dear’, and *wassammi-* ‘beloved’ (for these four lexemes see Yakubovich 2002: 199). The verb *u-sa-nu-* = *usnu-* and its iterative *usnussa-* is attested eight times (BULGARMADEN § 8; ÇINEKÖY § 11; KARATEPE 1 § 14, 49 (Hu. and Ho.), 51 (Hu. and Ho.); KULULU 4 § 10 (with <sa4> instead of <sa>); ŞIRZI § 2), and never spelled **u-sà-nu-(sa-)*. Such a consistent flouting of the “wuki” rule is highly unlikely, and I therefore read this verb as [o:snu-]. How this then relates to its Hittite cognate *aš(sa)nu-* on the one hand and Luwian *wass-* on the other hand, requires further study.

**ūdh-so-*, which reflects the merger of the centripetal prefix *u-* ‘here, towards the speaker’ with the PIE iterative stem **udh-so-* (from PIE **uedh-* ‘to lead’). (PES)*u-sa-* thus means ‘to lead here’ instead of ‘to carry’. Because of the reconstruction of the dental we no longer have the environment for the application of Rieken’s Rule.

3. *30 = *HAPA*

3.1. (DEUS)*HAPA-da-ti-* ‘(divine) riverland, valley’

If the Neo-Hittite scribes of TELL AHMAR 6, in the shadow of Carchemish, continued the Hittite Empire tradition, we should expect the mountains to be followed by the rivers, *hapa/i-*. (see section 2.2). Because the Luwian nominative plural of *hapa/i-* is *hapi(n)zi*, this cannot be the form behind (DEUS)*30-*da-ti-zi*. In view of the preceding *-ant-* derivations “CAELUM”-*ti-sa* = *tipasaⁿtis* (< *tipas* n. ‘heaven’) and “TERRA”-REL+*ra/i-ti-sa* (*taskwaraⁿtis* < *taskwara/i-* c. ‘earth’), we should read instead *hapadaⁿtiⁿzi*, individuating *-ant-* derivation of (FLUMEN.REGIO)*hapada/i-* c. ‘riverland, valley’²⁹. I therefore suggest reading *30 as *HAPA*:

(16) § 2 **a-wa/i-mu* |*á-ia-lá/i-na* |INFANS(-)*282-*ní^o-wa/i-ra+a* CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* ... (DEUS)*wa_x-ti-zi* (DEUS)*HAPA-da-ti-zi* *a-tá* |*ta-sa^o-mi-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi* |(LITUUS)*á-za-ta*

Celestial Tarhunt, ..., the divine **mountains**, the divine **river valleys**, the ... gods loved me, the first-born child. (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, ed. Hawkins 2006:12f.)

3.2. “*HAPA*”-*ri+i-nu-wa/i* - ‘to trade, deliver’

With *HAPA* as a possible value for *30, the verb “*30”(-)*ri+i-nu-wa/i-* in KARKAMIŠ A12 § 13 (ed. Hawkins 2000:114) reads as “*HAPA*”-*ri+i-nu-wa/i-*. Given the context this could very well represent *haparinu(wa)-*, causative of **haparī-*, and cognate of Hitt. *hap(pa)riya-* ‘to sell, trade, deliver, dispense, hand over’ (HED Ḫ, 126; HW² Ḫ, 216f.). With this reading of the verb, Melchert’s discussion of § 11-12 (2004:375), and Yakubovich’s translation of the verb (PES₂) *paza-* as punctual ‘to carry’ (2016:73ff.), the passage is finally fully understandable:

29 For a discussion of (FLUMEN.REGIO)*hapada/i-*, see Lebrun and De Vos 2006:54ff.

- (17) (§ 11) *a-[w]a/i-[t]ú-[ta] (“*350”)á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà |(PES₂)pa-za-ha
 (§ 12) |(*273)wa/i+ra/i-pi-ha-wa/i-tú (“SCUTUM”)hara/i-li-ha |(ARGENTUM)
 pi-ia-tara/i-[...] |(PES₂)pa-za-ha
 (§ 13) *a-wa/i-tú-wa/i-na |PRAE-na |“**HAPA**”-ri+i-nu-wa/i-ha
 (§ 11) I carried blood offerings to him [i.e., the deity].
 (§ 12) And I also carried to him (my) craft and (my) shield as gifts.
 (§ 13) And I **delivered** them (lit. it) in front of him³⁰. (KARKAMIŠ A12 § 11-13).

4. Conclusion

The strongest piece of evidence for a syllabic reading wa_x for AVIS (*128) was provided by the word (“MALLEUS”)AVIS-*la-i* ‘he erases/removes’ (TELL AHMAR 6, § 27). Combining Hawkins’s suggestion that *71 is the cursive form of AVIS (Hawkins 2006:29) with Laroche’s suggestion that *71 should be read as *wa* (Laroche 1960:44), I proposed to read syllabographic AVIS as *wa* as well. Although this does not apply to all words containing the sign AVIS (see the discussion in the introduction), we can now provide the full readings of four lexemes:

<i>ARHA</i> “MALLEUS” AVIS- <i>la-</i>	=	<i>ARHA</i> “MALLEUS” wa_x - <i>la-</i> /arha walla-/ ‘to remove, lift off’
(DEUS)AVIS- <i>ti-</i>	=	(DEUS) wa_x - <i>ti-</i> c. /watti-/ ‘divine mountain’
(DEUS)AVIS- <i>ta-ni-</i>	=	(DEUS) wa_x - <i>ta-ni(-ia)-</i> c. /wattani(ya)-/ ‘(sacred) holding’
AVIS- <i>sà-</i>	=	wa_x - <i>sà-</i> /wasa-/ = <i>u-sa-</i> ‘to lead here’

As a corollary of reading (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* as /wattinzi/ ‘divine mountains’ in TELL AHMAR 6, the lexeme (DEUS)*30(-)*da-ti-zi* in the same text might represent /habadantinzi/ ‘divine riverlands’, suggesting that *30 should be read as *HAPA*. This in turn led to a contextually acceptable reading of “*30”(-)*ri+i-nu-wa/i-* in KARKAMIŠ A12 § 13 as “**HAPA**”-*ri+i-nu-wa/i-* /haporinuwa-/ ‘to deliver’. We may thus add two more lexemes with full phonetic readings to the Luwian lexicon:

30 Differently Hawkins (2000:114): “I went to him (as) a living sacrifice. I went to him for skill and protection (“shield”) [and] profit (“selling”). And it before him I caused to ...”

(DEUS)*30- <i>da-ti-</i>	= (DEUS) <i>HAPA-da-ti-</i> c. /habadanti-/ ‘divine river valley’
“*30”- <i>ri+i-nu-wa/i-</i>	= “ <i>HAPA</i> ”- <i>ri+i-nu-wa/i-</i> /haporinuwa-/ ‘to deliver’.

With the establishment of AVIS = wa_x there are now ten signs representing /*wa*/. This highly unusual situation is less aberrant than it seems. Six of the ten signs only occur in the archaizing TOPADA and SUVASA inscriptions: wa/i_4 ³¹ (*207 = MONS /*watti-*/), wa/i_5 (*204), wa/i_6 (*201 = TERRA /*walilid-*/), wa/i_7 (*286), wa/i_8 (*160 = VITIS /*wiyani-*/), and wa/i_9 (*280 = MALLEUS /*walla-*/). The sign $wà/i$ (*165 = BONUS /*wasu-*/) is only attested as a syllabogram in KARATEPE and on the Empire Period Tarkandemos seal in the name *TARKASNA-wà/i* (*320). Of the remaining three signs, wa/i (*439) is the most common one and attested in documents from every region and time period. The other two signs are found in complementary geographical distribution: $wá/i$ (*166, probably a cursive form of $wà/i$ = *165 and *320) is attested in documents from Tabal (HÍSARCIK, KAYSERİ, NİĞDE 2) and Cilicia (KARATEPE), whereas wa_x is attested in documents from the regions of Carchemish (KARKAMIŞ, TELL AHMAR), Gurgum (MARAŞ), and neighboring Kummuh (BOYBEYPINARI). In other words, $wá/i$ is attested to the north and wa_x to the south of the mountain ranges separating Cappadocia and the Cilician plain from Syria.

The complementary geographical distribution of $wá/i$ and wa_x provides yet another piece of evidence for the existence of two distinct areas with slightly diverging scribal traditions. D’Alfonso (2012) already observed some differences in the development and distribution of the sign wa/i (*439) depending on geographic area. Undoubtedly future research will bring more evidence for separate scribal traditions in first millennium B.C.E. Anatolia and Syria.

31 The syllabic value wa/i_4 is also attested in names on Empire period seals (see Archi 2010:46 with references, and Dinçol & Dinçol 2008:52 Kat. 237).

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