

Ilya S. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* (dissertation), Chicago, 2008, 556 pp. [http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/yakubovich\\_diss\\_2008.pdf](http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/yakubovich_diss_2008.pdf)<sup>\*</sup>

In his dissertation *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* the linguist Yakubovich has written down his results of research on linguistic contacts between Luwians and their neighbors in Asia Minor (modern Turkey) in the second and early first millennium BC. In this study he describes the structural interference, lexical borrowings, code-switching, and code alternation involving Luwian and Hittite, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Greek and he reconstructs the sociolinguistic situation in Ancient Anatolia of that time.

In the first chapter Yakubovich is looking for the history of the Luwian speech community by searching in a corpus of Hittite and Luwian texts. Around 1200 BC the Hittite Empire collapsed and the cuneiform script was replaced by Anatolian hieroglyphic, used for writing Luwian, the language of the Neo-Hittite states. In his basic assumptions he places Luwian next to Carian and Lycian with Luvic as common ancestor. Lydian and Hittite are assumed to have been split off earlier<sup>1</sup>.

Chapter 2 is a thorough study of dialects in Bronze Age cuneiform texts of Hattusa and Kizzuwatna and Luwian Iron Age texts in hieroglyphic. In the Iron Age, Luwian groups of Central Anatolia have migrated south-eastward, which has caused migration of other Luwian groups to Syria. By searching for linguistic changes a separation of Empire Luwian, together with Iron Age Luwian, from Kizzuwatna Luwian is worked out by Yakubovich. In his opinion the different forms of a nominative plural *-(n)zi* and accusative plural ending *-(n)za* in Kizzuwatna Luwian instead of one nominative/accusative ending *-nzi* in the other two dialects count for that<sup>2</sup>.

Other grammatical features that are dealt with extensively are rhotacism, the possessive singular/plural adjective in *-assa-* (only in Kizzuwatna Luwian with

<sup>\*</sup> We like to thank our colleague Jorrit Kelder for drawing our attention to this work. The author kindly informed us that the printed edition of his dissertation will be forthcoming with Brill later on in 2009.

<sup>1</sup> In distinction from the American preference for *Luvian* with a *v*, we will adhere in the following to the most common rendering as *Luwian*, unless we are referring to the supposed proto-language *Luvic*.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Yakubovich follows Hawkins *c.s.* in reading LH \*376 as *zi* and \*377 as *za* in every instance, whereas we consider these signs as polyphonic, so that the distinction between their old reading as *i* and *ī* and their new reading as *zi* and *za* depends from the context, see for the most recent overview the appendix to Woudhuizen *forthc.*

separate plural form *-assanz-*), the imperfective iterative *-zza-*, the verb *aya-* or *izzi(ya)*, ‘to do’, the conjunction *-pa*, the plural of the personal pronouns 1 *anza(s)* and 2 *unza(s)*, all this leads to his conclusion that Kizzuwatna Luwian was separated from Empire Luwian that went further in Iron Age Luwian, while Luwian hieroglyphic is just another writing system. The Luwian elite and the Hittites preferred the Luwian dialect of Ḫattusa already before the fall of the Hittite state.

The third chapter provides us with some interesting material on personal names in the search for the ethnolinguistic history of West Anatolia. In Hittite sources the name Arzawa is a broad geographical destination. In the 14th century BC Arzawa was getting bigger while Ḫatti was destructed. Tudḫaliyas III<sup>3</sup> and his son Suppiluliumas I restored the situation, whereas Mursilis II succeeded in bringing Mira, the Seḫa River Land, and Ḫapalla into vassalship. Yakubovich comes to the conclusion that the royal families of these still rebellious lands were Luwian. In his opinion, the names and suffixes are Luwian, with one or two morphemes in Carian.

He further posits that the Arzawa scribes did not use Akkadian, but wrote in the local Luvic dialect, with the noted exception when dealing with foreign affairs, then Hittite was used, like in the diplomatic correspondence with Egypt. The Arzawa rituals were written in Arzawa and brought to Ḫattusa while the Arzawan specialists in Ḫattusa wrote in Hittite with Luwian words. When the local hieroglyphic texts on monuments, with lots of logograms and names, appeared, Arzawa was Hittite. This brings Yakubovich to a remarkable but not plausible conclusion: the Luwian hieroglyphic script is developed in Ḫattusa, in a bilingual environment, during an advanced stage of the Hittite Empire. The question why hieroglyphic should be invented there for Luwian while the cuneiform script was already at hand is answered by Yakubovich in section 5.8: the Hittite rulers had it developed for “nationalistic” reasons. The cuneiform script was ambiguous with its Akkadisms and Sumerograms, and less suitable for commoners to learn. In this manner he offers an alternative model for explaining the development and spread of Luwian hieroglyphic, but, as further elaborated below, in our opinion the script was clearly developed earlier. One may point in this connection to Hittite royal seals and seals of officials dating from the 17th century BC onwards, not to mention the silver bowl from Ankara with its fully fledged syllabary dating from the reign of Tudḫaliyas I (1430-1400 BC), who campaigned in the region of Karkamis, rather than from that of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC), in whose reign an inimical king of Karkamis named *Mai-Karḫuḫas* cannot possibly be situated as all members of the Karkamisian royal line planted by Suppiluliumas I, from his son Piyassilis up to

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<sup>3</sup> Note that Yakubovich has here Tudḫaliyas II. There is a lot of confusion about the number of Hittite great kings with the name Tudḫaliyas, leading to *ad-hoc* solutions in the relevant literature like “Tudḫaliyas I/II”, who should have ruled from *ca.* 1430 BC to *ca.* 1370 BC. In this review, we stick to the numbering of the king-list as in Gurney 1990, 181, which is now definitely proved by Freu in Freu & Mazoyer 2007.

the latter's descendant Kuzitesub, are known by name and to have been loyal<sup>4</sup>. In the Hittite laws new politic realities are reflected. Yakubovich discusses an interesting passage where the name Luwiya is replaced by Arzawa. After the Old Hittite period the name Luwiya went out of use.

The ethnicity of the Trojans is clearly not Luwian, Yakubovich argues that, for its formation in *-iya-*, the toponym *Wilusiya* reached the Hittites through the intermediary Luwians in Arzawa, the neighbors of the Trojans, whereas in a later stadium of direct contacts between the Trojans and the Hittites the variant form *Wilusa* became current<sup>5</sup>.

Another question to which Yakubovich has an answer is: What was the language of the Lukka people? After a thorough study of Bronze Age Anatolian texts Yakubovich states that the Lukka settlements must have laid in classical Lycia, not beyond. The language must have been Luvic, all autochthonous languages in Lycia were Luvic. He distinguishes two dialects: Lycian A and Lycian B (Mylian), the latter is intrusive in Lycia, only two inscriptions on monuments are Mylian in contrast with some two hundred in Lycian A. The dialect of the Lukka people must be regarded as the ancestor of Lycian A.

In section 3.8 of his study Yakubovich deals with the linguistic contacts between Luwian and Greek and states that there are not many examples of Luwian borrowings in Greek, more of Hittite and Semitic into Greek. All borrowings were results of trade-driven cultural contacts. Proto-Greek and Common Anatolian share word-initial occurrence of *r-*, which secondarily emerges in Iron Age Luwian after the simplification of certain consonant clusters, like in, for example, *Kuruntiyas* > *Kruntiyas* > *Runtiyas*<sup>6</sup>.

This chapter provides us with two new sources for the name *Hiyawa*, evidence for an early Greek presence in Lycia. Already Hittite sources give us the name *Aḫhiyawa* for Mycenaean Greeks in the Indictment of Madduwattas and the Tawagalawas-letter, about 1400 BC. The form *Hīāwa*, with aphaeresis of the initial *a* comes to us in a bilingual text from Çineköy, dating from the Early Iron Age. The new evidence comes from two Akkadian excerpts of *ca.* 1200 BC. We like to add another source, as an even earlier date for the appearance of the name *Hiyawa* is provided by the hieroglyphic text of the disc of Phaistos, a Luwian letter to Nestor<sup>7</sup>, in which we come across the country name *Hiyawa*, in the first line, in connection with Nestor.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Woudhuizen 2004a, 121-123. Note that the first element *mai-* of this royal name shows a reflex of PIE *\*méǵh<sub>2</sub>-* "great", regularly characterized by the loss of the voiced velar as this is also the case with the related Luwian hieroglyphic *miāti-* "many" and Lycian *miñti-* "league, assembly".

<sup>5</sup> Note that Luwian contact with Wilusa is further underlined by a line from one of the Istanuwa-songs containing the form *Wilusati*, see Starke 1985, 341.

<sup>6</sup> According to Melchert 2003, 184 Luwian has no initial *r-* except in instances of the loss of a prehistoric initial cluster of palatal stop in front of *r-*; see further below.

<sup>7</sup> Achterberg, Best, Enzler, Rietveld & Woudhuizen 2004; note that this text can be dated to *c.* 1350 BC as a *terminus ante quem*.

In chapter 4 prehistoric contacts between Hittite and Luwian are proven by means of a prehistoric borrowing from Luwian to Hittite that transformed the system of Hittite reflexive pronouns. The enclitic forms of the dative pronominal singular in *-u* restricted the use of the datives with *i*-vocalism and those were analyzed as reflexives. Hittite borrowed Luwian *\*=ti/\*=di*, which developed further, in several stages, as reflexive pronouns. Yakubovich observes correctly that a grammatical interference only can take place in a bilingual environment and between geographically adjacent dialects.

Chapter 5 deals with the coexistence between Hittite and Luwian before *ca.* 1350 BC. A large part of this chapter is dedicated to onomastics. As the author sets out to demonstrate, there is discontinuity in the Hittite royal names between the Kültepe-Kanesh period (*ca.* 1920-1750 BC) and the Old Kingdom period (*ca.* 1680-1500 BC). In the earlier period the royal names are considered non-Indo-European<sup>8</sup>, whereas after the refoundation of Ḫattusa Hittite and Luwian names outnumber a third category, the Ḫattic ones, the latter of which are ascribed to the local population in the region in question. Hittite and Luwian names, on the other hand, have a longer history in the former capital of Kanesh or Nesa, where the Hittite ones are most prolific and have a bearing on all layers of the society. The focus in this chapter, however, is on the Luwian personal names in the Kültepe-Kanesh texts, which bear the testimony of numerous Luwian vocabulary words. What we consider most important here is the fact that typical Luwian sound changes are already attested for this early period, like the development of *kuru-* > *kru-* > *ru-* as exemplified by <sup>m</sup>*Ru-wa-tí-a* and <sup>m</sup>*Ru-tí-a* related to the divine name *Kuruntas* (< PIE *\*kerh<sub>1</sub>-* “horn”) and the loss of voiced velars as exemplified by names like <sup>l</sup>*Wa-wa-lá* and <sup>m</sup>*Wa-wa-li* and <sup>l</sup>*Mu-a-na-ni* and <sup>m</sup>*Wa-šu-na-ni* which are based on the elements *wawa-* “ox” < PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>ow-* and *nana/i-* “brother” < PIE *\*n-ĝenh<sub>1</sub>-*, respectively. By the way, the same verdict applies for the Luwian dialectal variant of Crete as attested from *ca.* 2000 BC onwards, as the counterpart of LH \*102-3 *KURUNT*, *rú* in the local hieroglyphic script, the deer-antler sign Evans no. 99 or CHIC 028, renders the value *rú* and as we are confronted here with the onomastic elements *muwa-*, like in Luwian hieroglyphic written as *m+UWA* by the ox sign with four strokes be it this time on top of its head (# 213, 1; cf. Woudhuizen 2006: 129), and *nana-* (# 287, 1: *Ná-ná-lu* = *Nanazitis*; see Woudhuizen 2009, 78, fig. 23; in general: 101-102).

Luwian onomastics is represented among the Hittite royal names of the Old Kingdom period by *Ḫantili-* (< *ḫanta-* “in front of, first”), *Muwatalli-* (< *muwa-* “strength”), and *Zidanta-* (< *ziti-* “man, male”). Luwian royal names like these

<sup>8</sup> Note, however, that *Pithana-* is of similar formation as Kaskan *Pittaparas* and Thracian *Pittakos*, which are based on PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>u̯i-* “to procreate”, which probably occurs here in combination with a reflex of PIE *\*ĝenh<sub>1</sub>-* in the sense of “descendant” (as in German *Kind*)—the latter of which, for the laryngeal expression of the voiced velar, marks the name as of non-Luwian, or even non-IE Anatolian, type. For a similar laryngeal reflex of a voiced velar, cf. *Parḫa* < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>rĝ<sup>h</sup>(i)-* “high”.

and also those of lower functionaries are likely to be considered indicative of the actual presence of Luwians in the Hittite capital at the time, which is further underlined by the use of Luwian in religious texts from the Old Kingdom period—irrespective of the fact whether we take this for situational or, as Yakubovich wants to have it, metaphoric code-switching.

In the bilingual Hittite-Luwian milieu (for the sake of convenience we leave aside here the other languages of this truly multiethnic society) of the imperial capital Ḫattusa Yakubovich places the development of Luwian hieroglyphic. In order to substantiate his claim, he argues that this script developed into a true writing system only at a relatively late moment in history, namely during the Early New Kingdom period, and that it is originally based on the Hittite language. So, the earliest hieroglyphic inscription bearing testimony of signs expressing syllabic values is that of *Sà-tà-tu-ḫa-pa* on a sealing from Maşat-höyük, which renders the name of the consort of Tudḫaliyas III (1355-1344 BC), and the values of LH \*90 *ti*, \*391 *mi*, *má*, and \*41 *tà* are acrophonically derived from Hittite *tiya*- “to step, walk”, *meu-*, *miu* “4”, and *dā*- “to take” instead of Luwian *tiwa*- “to go”, *mauwa*- “4”, and *tà*- “to take”. The latter argument is subsequently further underlined by Elisabeth Rieken’s (2008) demonstration that LH \*41 is exclusively used to render the value of the voiced dental *da*, which in turn is subject to rhotacism (see also Yakubovich 2008)<sup>9</sup>. Apart from the fact that Rieken missed quite some instances in which LH \*41 *tà* interchanges with \*29 *tá* and \*100 *ta*<sub>4</sub>, the idea that Luwian hieroglyphic is based on Hittite can, in our opinion, not seriously be entertained. A glance at the overview of the acrophonic principle in Woudhuizen 2004b, 160-161, with 48 instances in sum, suffices to show that the overwhelming majority of the syllabic values is derived from Luwian vocabulary words and only a tiny minority from Hittite counterparts. An outstanding case among these examples of acrophonic values is formed by the ox-sign \*105 *UWA*, *u* < PIE \**g*<sup>w</sup>*ow-*, which shows the loss of the voiced velar typical of Luwian (note that Yakubovich’s objection that one should expect the form *wawa-* for “ox” disregards the fact that the interchange between *wa* and *u* is already attested for the Kültepe-Kanesh texts as exemplified by, for instance, *Uš-na-ni* alongside *Wa-šu-na-ni* or *Wa-áš-na-ni*). To this comes that the late date attributed to the development of Luwian hieroglyphic as a true writing system, which is instrumental in Yakubovich’s Hittite scenario, though defended by Clelia Mora (1991, 20, note 21; 1994) and, in a somewhat less pertinent manner, Isabella Klock-Fontanille (2007, 8), is in reality eccentric. John David Hawkins in his corpus (2000, 3) adheres to the old view of Emmanuel Laroche and others that the seal of Ispuḫsus, king of Kizzuwatna and contemporary of the Hittite king Telibinus (1520-1500 BC), provides the earliest evidence of the script. Before the appearance of the corpus, however, Jutta Börker-Klähn (1995) had already pointed to

<sup>9</sup> Our thanks are due to Massimo Poetto for kindly drawing our attention to this paper.

the Old Kingdom sealing of Ḫattusilis I (1650-1620 BC), in which the latter's name is rendered in abbreviation by a ligature of the signs \*196 *h*á and \*278 *li*, which therefore patently render a syllabic value at this early time. Some years earlier, again, Rainer Michael Boehmer and Hans Gustav Güterbock (1987: 38-40; Abb. 26a) even went as far as to take into consideration the Indilima-seal attributed to Tarsos and dating to the same period as Tell Atchana-Alalakh VII (1720-1650 BC). In this sealing we do not only come across the LH signs \*369 *v*ita and \*370 *ASU*, which are often discarded as mere symbols, but also the titular expression (written in ligature to be read from bottom to top) \*398+\*14 *ta?*+*PÁRANA* “tabarnas” *written out phonetically*<sup>10</sup>. What everybody seems to have missed so far is that Luwian hieroglyphic legends can also be traced for the stamp-cylinder seal Louvre 20.138, originating from the region of the later kingdom of Arzawa and also datable to the period of Tell Atchana-Alalakh VII (Woudhuizen 2006-7), as well as sealings from Henri Frankfort's First Syrian Group, dating *ca.* 2000-1700 BC (Woudhuizen 2005). All these latter examples date from the period before the founding of the Hittite Old Kingdom, which problematizes Yakubovich's Hittite scenario to a great deal. As a sidelong remark, it is worth noting in this connection that as far as their *ductus* is concerned the signs of this earliest set of documents are closest to their Cretan hieroglyphic counterparts.

In chapter 6 the author focuses on the contact between Hittite and Luwian in the Empire period. In doing so, he presents numerous interesting examples of Luwian influence on New Hittite, like the extension of the A(m/f) pl. *-us* to that of the N(m/f) pl., emulating the identity of these two endings in Luwian hieroglyphic, and that of the A of the stressed pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amuk* to the N, in which New Hittite also appears to follow the example of Luwian *amu* being used for both N and A. Yet another case in point is formed by the semantically redundant doubling of clitics, according to which, for instance, *n=as=si* (-N-D) under the influence of cuneiform Luwian *a=du=as* (-D-N) becomes *n=as=si=as* (-N-D-N). In line with these observations, there can be little doubt that, as the author maintains, Hittite was a living language up to the end of the Late Bronze Age, which continued to develop under the influence of Luwian in a bilingual milieu.

In order not to bother the reader with all sorts of petty details on which opinion may vary, some attention may finally be paid to the Luwian core area which plays a crucial role in Yakubovich's linguistic and historical reconstructions. According to the author, this was of origin situated in the region of Konya and Acemhöyük-Purusşanda to the south and southwest of the Halys river. It had an extension, though, to the north into the Sangarios basin, where Yakubovich situates the Luwian dialect of the Istanuwa-songs (Starke 1985, 294-353). From

<sup>10</sup> Note that LH \*398 is a variant of the horizontal stroke for the number “10” of which the value *ta?* acrophonically derives from PIE \**dékmt-*, represented during the Early Iron Age by *tinata-* “tithe” (Sultanhan § 28).

this core habitat, then, Luwian influence is assumed to have spread by movement of individuals or larger groups to the east into Kizzuwadna and to the west into Arzawa in the wake of the Hittite conquest of these regions. In these latter regions, the Luwians were confronted with on the one hand Hurr̥itic and on the other hand Luvic dialects like proto-Lycian and proto-Carian, or an IE Anatolian one more in general like proto-Lyidian. In our opinion, however, this interpretative framework is seriously flawed. In the first place, the mention of the river *Šahiriya* in one of the Istanuwa-songs (KUB XXXV 135 Rs 16; Starke 1985, 322) does not, as duly stipulated by del Monte & Tischler (1978, s.v.), refer to the Sangarios in northwest Anatolia, but to a namesake river in Hurr̥ian territory in eastern Anatolia<sup>11</sup>. As a consequence, the suggested northward extension of the Luwian core area into the region of the Sangarios river may safely be eliminated. This latter inference receives further emphasis if we take a look at the distribution zone of typical Luwian place-names in *-ss-* and *-nd-*, which covers the region of southwest Anatolia from Arzawa in the west to Kizzuwatna in the east, but from which the basins of the Sangarios and Halys rivers are excluded (see Fig. 1). If we next look at the distribution zone of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, it so happens that, if we realize that their spread into the aforesaid river basins may indeed be attributed to the Hittite imperial administration, there is a substantial overlap with that of the Luwian toponyms (see Fig. 2). At any rate, the region of Arzawa in western Anatolia is well represented with rock reliefs at Sipylos, Karabel, and Latmos, not to mention the inscribed Assuwan royal seals dating to the period from before the Hittite conquest (Woudhuizen 2006-7), and the same verdict applies to the region of Kizzuwatna and North Syria, where, as we have noted in the above, likewise early sealings with Luwian hieroglyphic legends have been found. As a *tertium comparationis*, it is relevant to note in this connection that, as deducible from the paradigm of the nominal inflection, Lycian and Lydian are straightforwardly Luwian dialects most closely related to Luwian hieroglyphic (note especially their sharing of the N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, the G pl. in *-ai*, and, under consideration of Lycian *-a* or *-e* < *\*-ai*, the D pl. in *-ai*, see Table I).

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the *Sagūru*, a tributary of the Euphrates near Karkamis, to which reference is made by the 13th century BC Karkamian royal name *Šahurnuwas*? Note in this connection that on account of the royal name *Aplaḥanda* (< PIE *\*apelo-* “strong” and *\*h<sub>2</sub>enti* “opposite, in front of”), Karkamis was already ruled by an IE Anatolian, if not actually Luwian dynasty during the 18th century BC.

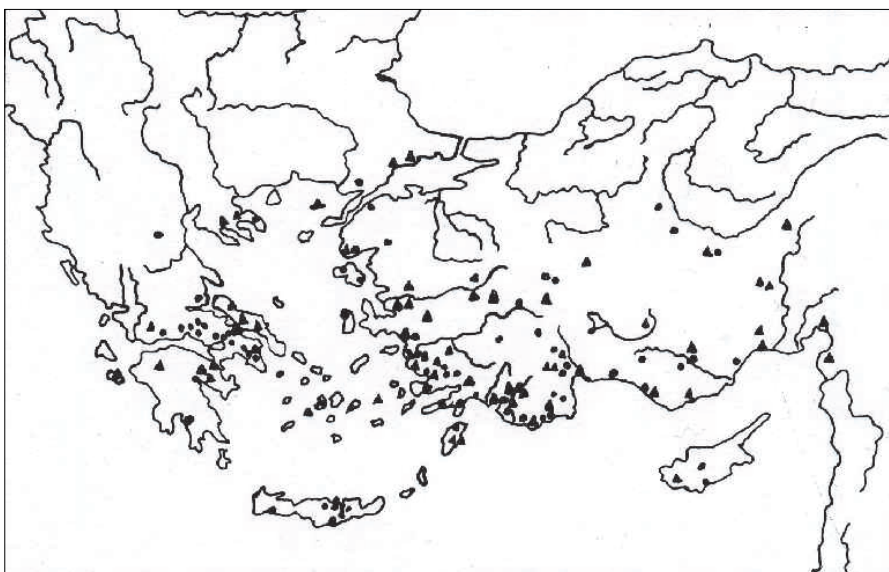


Fig. 1. Distribution of Luwian place names in *-ss* and *-nd-* (from Woudhuizen 1989, 194).

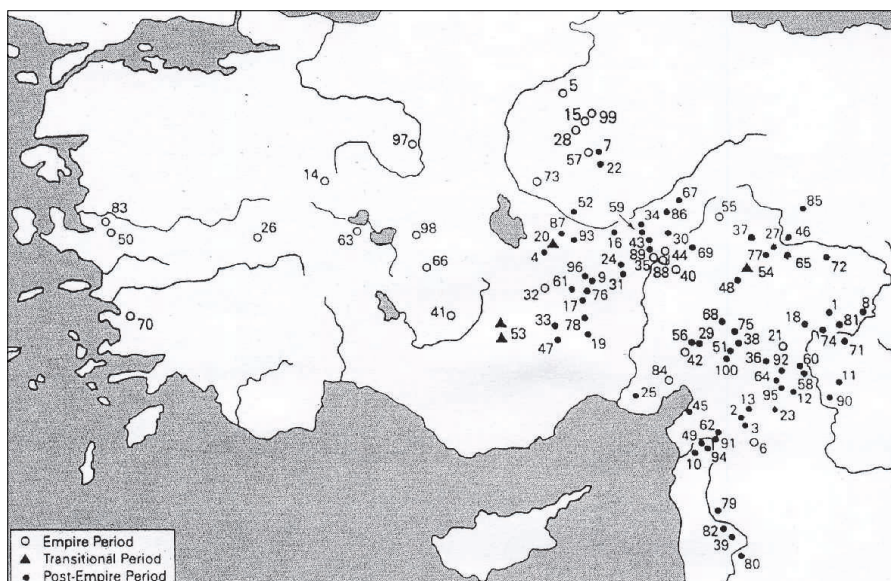


Fig. 2. Distribution of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions (from Melchert 2003, 142).



## NOMEN

	LUWIAN H.	LYCIAN	LYDIAN
sg. N(m/f)	—, <i>-sa</i>	—, <i>-s</i>	<i>-s, -ś</i>
A(m/f)	—, <i>-na</i>	—, <i>-ñ</i>	<i>-n</i>
Voc.	—		
N-A(n)	<i>-ī, -sa</i>	<i>-e<sub>1</sub>, -ije<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>-d, -i<sub>1</sub></i>
D	<i>-a, -ā, -i</i>	<i>-a, -i</i>	<i>-l, -l<sub>1</sub></i>
G	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-h</i>	<i>-l, -li-</i>
Abl.	<i>-ti(a), +r(i), +r(i)a</i>	<i>-di, -de</i>	<i>-di<sub>1</sub>, -d, -l<sub>1</sub></i>
Loc.	<i>-ti, +r(i)</i>		
pl. N(m/f)	<i>-i(a), -<sup>n</sup>zi</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i<sub>1</sub></i>
A(m/f)	<i>-i(a), -<sup>n</sup>zi</i>	<i>-as, -is</i>	
Voc.			
N-A(n)	<i>-a, -ā</i>	<i>-ā, -e<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>-a</i>
D	<i>-āī, -āī</i>	<i>-a, -e</i>	<i>-ai<sub>1</sub></i>
G	<i>-āī</i>	<i>-āī, -e<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>-ai<sub>1</sub></i>
Abl.	<i>-ti(a), +r(i), +r(i)a</i>		
Loc.			

Table I. Paradigm of the Luwian nominal inflection.

On the basis of the foregoing arguments, there can be little doubt that it were Luwians who occupied the coastal regions of western and southern Anatolia, and as such one should, *pace* Yakubovich (2008, 136-137), not be surprised to find references to them in Cretan Linear B (*ru-wa-ni-jo*) or even Egyptian hieroglyphic (*rīwn*)!

Notwithstanding our criticism as ventilated in the previous pages, we do welcome the study by Yakubovich as a stimulating contribution to the advancement of Luwology as a distinct scientific discipline.

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