

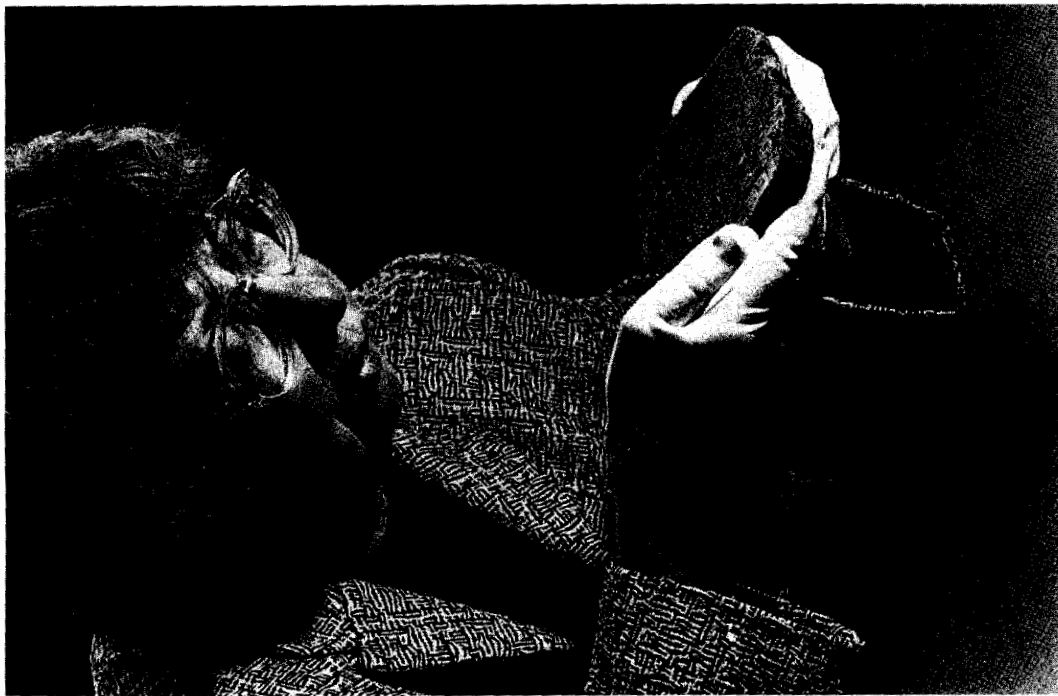
# Indo-European Perspectives

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*Studies in Honour of  
Anna Morpurgo Davies*

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Anna Morpurgo Davies (Photograph: Phil Sayer)

## A Luwian Dedication

H. Craig Melchert

We owe to Anna Morpurgo Davies an entire series of ground-breaking analyses of various aspects of Luwian grammar, encompassing phonology, morphology, and syntax. Admiration for these accomplishments is heightened among those of us who know just how difficult it has been merely to collect for H(ieroglyphic) Luwian all the relevant data needed to draw valid generalizations, much less to offer convincing solutions to the many problems raised. Thanks to the magnificent recently published corpus of Iron Age inscriptions by David Hawkins (2000), we now have greatly enhanced opportunities to use the two forms of Luwian in complementary fashion to elucidate both. I hope that both our honorand and others will find the following a persuasive example of this technique.

C(uneiform) Luwian attests two verbal stems *ūppa-* and *upa-*. One would expect the first to be cognate with Hittite *ūppa/i-* 'to bring', and the only two examples with enough context to determine a meaning are compatible with this assumption:

- (1) *anta-wa-aš-ta* *walluna(š)šan* *wāni* *uppania*<sup>1</sup>  
 in-QUOT.-them-PART. of lifting woman (DAT.) they brought

They brought them (*šarriyani*-objects) in to the midwife.

- (2) [*tum*]<sup>2</sup>*andahinza*<sup>HLA</sup> *anda* *šaltinninimin* *uppanda*<sup>2</sup>  
 ears (?) in s. they brought

They brought in *šaltinnimi* (as) the ears (?).<sup>3</sup>

The examples *ūppadda* at KUB 25. 39 iv 28, *uppa* at KBo 17. 36+ iv 14, and the *i*-stem form *ūpp[i]t[a]* at KBo 29. 35, 10 that may also belong here can contribute nothing towards determining the meaning of the stem.

<sup>1</sup> KUB 35. 88 iv 12. All CLuwian passages may be conveniently found in the excellent corpus of Starke (1985).

<sup>2</sup> KUB 35. 107 iii 21.

<sup>3</sup> The restoration is not assured, but the context is that of turning a pot into the image of a human face by putting various objects into or on it to stand for various parts such as eyes, nose, and so forth.

However, the sense 'bring' seems confirmed by the following example of the derived stem *ūppanna-*:

- (3) DUMULÚ.ÜLU<sup>LU</sup>-*ni* ŠUM-ŠU *halzāi* *huidumar-ša* *ūppannandū*<sup>4</sup>  
 to the human his name calls life let them bring  
 To the human (one calls out his name) let them bring life!

As noted by Starke (1990: 520 n. 1921), Melchert (1993a: 242), and others, the stem *upa-* is at least synchronically distinct from *ūppa-*. The clear examples of *upa-* call for a sense 'grant, furnish' or the like:

- (4) URU *Ḫattušaya* *apparantin* *arin* *annarumāḫi* *ḫiitwalāḫi-ša-ḫa*  
 to Hattusa future time vigour vitality -and  
*upa*<sup>5</sup> grant (IMV.)

Grant to Hattusa during the future vigour and vitality!

- (5) *upatta-pa-wa-du* *šarriyanin* 2-ŠU 9-U[(n)za]<sup>6</sup>  
 furnished-CONJ.-QUOT.-to her s. twice nine  
 She furnished to her eighteen *šarriyani*.

As per Starke, only one instance of *upa-* seems to call for a meaning 'bring':

- (6) [M]UN-*ša-pa* *ālāti uwā[(niya)ti]* *upannan*<sup>7</sup>  
 salt-CONJ. from steep rock face — ed

While salt (is) — ed from the steep rock face.

However, the parallelism with the preceding 'water (is) led from the river' still holds if one translates 'while salt is furnished from/by the steep rock face'. That *ú-pa-am-ma-an* is an error for *ūppa-* 'to bring' is very unlikely, given that the latter is always spelt (*u*) *-up-pa-*, with the other *u*-sign.

One must agree with Starke (1990: 520) that CLuwian *upa-* with single *-p-* matches Lycian *ube-* 'to dedicate' (also Carian *wbt* 'dedicated' per Melchert, 1993b: 77 ff.). The basic sense 'to grant, give (permanently)' is also reflected in the derivative *upatit-* 'land-grant, demesne' (borrowed into Hittite as an *i*-stem *ubati-*, as per Starke 1990: 195 ff.). It is clear that one does not 'bring' land, and we must abandon any attempt to derive *upa-* 'to grant,

<sup>4</sup> KBo 13. 260 iii 18.

<sup>5</sup> KUB 35. 133 ii 30. The sense of the parallel *upa* in the preceding ii 28 must be the same.

<sup>6</sup> KUB 35. 88 iii 11.

<sup>7</sup> KUB 35. 54 iii 18. In the translation of *ālāti uwāniyai* I follow Watkins (1986: 59–60) against Starke (1990: 374 n. 1346).

furnish, dedicate' from the same preform as *ūpa/i-* 'to bring'.<sup>8</sup> Note that in accordance with their meanings the verb *ūpa-* may take the directional preverb *anta* 'in(to)', while *upa-* naturally does not.

The fact that HLUwian orthography does not distinguish voicing or gemination in stops creates problems in sorting out the various forms of *u-pa-* in that dialect. Indeed, Hawkins (2000: 260) suggests that all examples should be combined into a single verb, declaring that one cannot distinguish consistently 'to bring' from 'to dedicate' and raising the possibility that two originally distinct verbs may have fallen together. In fact, however, the situation is not so grave. The contexts and co-occurrence with preverbs (or lack thereof) do permit us to distinguish (CAPERE)*u-pa-* 'to bring' (=CLUwian *ūpa-*) from (PES)*u-pa-* 'to furnish, dedicate' (=CLUwian *upa-*). Unsurprisingly, one or two examples of HLUwian *upa-* without determinative are difficult to assign to one or the other, but this fact does not affect the validity of the contrast.

The meaning 'to bring' for (CAPERE)*upa-* is assured by examples where it is accompanied by a directional preverb marking movement:

- (7) (I devastated those countries,  
 \**a-wa/i-ta* (SCALPRUM.CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-ni-zi a-tá* |  
 CONJ.-QUOT.-PART. spoils in  
 ('CAPERE')*u-pa-ha*<sup>9</sup>  
 I brought  
 and I brought in the spoils.

The phrase *upaminzi upaha* is obviously a *figura etymologica*, the noun referring to 'spoils' or 'trophies' that are brought from the conquered countries (cf. Hawkins 2000: 106). The same phrase recurs with a different directional preverb:

- (8) (I destroyed the city Alatahana,  
 \**a-wa/i-tú* | *pa + ra/i-i-ha-* | (SCALPRUM.CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-ni-na* |  
 CONJ.-QUOT.-to him forth-and spoils  
 (CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-ha*<sup>10</sup>  
 I brought  
 and I brought forth the spoils to him.

<sup>8</sup> The latter verb is a univerbation of the preverb \**au-* plus the stem *pi-* (Melchert 1994: 149, 265), which is in turn an earlier univerbation of \**pe+* (a)*i-* (Melchert 1989: 42 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> KARKAMIŠ A1ub + c, §13. All HLUwian texts cited may now be found in Hawkins (2000).  
<sup>10</sup> KARKAMIŠ A1a, §10. Cf. also *ibid.* §7. Hawkins (2000: 88) translates 'brought before him', but /*pari-*/ (=CLUwian *parri*) is a preverb 'forth' indicating the removal of the spoils from the city, *not* a postposition *parran* 'before' indicating their placement in front of the deity.

In KARKAMIŠ A2 + 3, §7 the grain-god and wine-god are the object of the verb, which is construed with a locative and two preverbs, one indicating movement towards and the other movement from: REGIO-*ni-i a-tá*... ARHA (CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-ta* 'he [Tarhunza] brought away... into the country'.<sup>11</sup> Finally, İSKENDERUN, §4 refers to bringing measures of grain into a granary: *a-ta* ('CAPERE')*u-pa-ha* 'I brought in(to it)'. In sum, all instances of (CAPERE)*upa-* refer to the movement of objects, thus confirming a meaning 'to bring'.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, (PES)*upa-* never co-occurs with a directional preverb indicating motion. Hawkins (2000: *passim*) translates this verb variously as 'to bring, present, produce', but a meaning 'to dedicate, furnish, give' is appropriate for all examples, and some exclude a sense 'to bring' implying movement. In SULTANHAN, §2 Sarwatiwara first describes his having set up an image of Tarhunza of the Vineyard (*ta-nu-wa/i-ha*), then *refers back* to this act in §4:

- (9) | *a-wa/i-na* | *u-pa-ha* HWI-*i*  
 CONJ.-QUOT.-him I dedicated when  
 When I dedicated him...

Likewise in SULTANHAN, §10 Sarwatiwara refers again to 'When I set him up...' and then says in §12: | \**a-wa/i-na* | *a-pi-i* |... ('PES')*u-pa-ha* 'I rededicated him...'. In this text the verbs *tanuwa-* and (PES)*upa-* refer to the same act. A meaning 'to bring' is thus excluded for the latter, whereas 'to dedicate' is fine, since it refers to a different aspect of the action from the physical one expressed by *tanuwa-*.

'I dedicated (to)' also fits the context of KIRÇOĞLU, §2, where a statue has been presented to a goddess (cf. Hawkins 2000: 384 'I produced'). A sense 'shall present' suffices for (PES)*u-pa-* in IZGIN 2, §8, where someone is to present his name and image (VAS-*tara/i-i-na* 'before his lord'. Obvi-

<sup>11</sup> *Comra* Hawkins (2000: 110), sentence-initial *wa/i-ta-* must be read as /*a-wa-ta/* with the local particle /-*ta*/, which is conditioned by the presence of the overt locative REGIO-*ni-i*. The cited absence of the particle in KARKAMIŠ A11a, §9 is irrelevant, since the end of the sentence is missing in that instance, and we have no reason to assume that even the verb is the same, much less the entire predicate. A transitive verb cannot take a clitic pronoun as subject (see further on this point below). In any case the context makes it clear that Tarhunza of Carchemish is the subject.

<sup>12</sup> I concede that in the example in İSKENDERUN, §3, where the object of the verb is (\*255')*ka-nu-na-na* 'granary', it is far from obvious that any movement is present. However, as emphasized by Hawkins (2000: 260), all we know for sure about the word *karuna-* is that it is a storage place for grain that may be 'filled'. We have no assurance that everything covered by this term necessarily referred to a building or fixed object. In the face of the other consistent and overwhelming evidence for a transitive motion verb I remain confident of a sense 'to bring'.

ously, 'to bring' would also work for these two cases, but absolutely nothing requires such a meaning ('shall bring' for the second, as per Hawkins 2000: 316, is quite unnecessary).

In the following passage the meaning seems to be rather 'to furnish':

- (10) (I placed them for his tithes,  
 (PES) *u-pa-tá-pa-wa-f-tà-* <sup>1</sup> *á-za-mi-i-sá* PURUS.FONS.MI  
 furnished-but-quot.-them Azami  
 IUDEX-*ni-sa* SERVUS-*ta/f<sub>5</sub>-sá*<sup>13</sup>  
 ruler (GEN.) servant

but Azami, servant of the ruler Suppiluliuma, furnished them.

The speaker, Panamuwati, wife of Suppiluliuma, indicates that she placed the votive objects (a throne and table) on behalf of her husband, but they were furnished by his servant, Azami.

A final example shows again that the meaning of (PES) *upa-* cannot be 'to bring', which necessarily implies movement:

- (11) \*274-*ya-pa-wa/f* FEMINA.MANUS-*zi/a-ha* SERVUS-*sa*  
 demesne-CONJ.-QUOT. women children -and slavery  
 ('PES') *u-pa-ta<sub>x</sub>*<sup>14</sup>  
 surrendered

The land-holdings, the women (and) children they surrendered into slavery.

The first object, which as per Hawkins (2000: 456) must be standing for *upatit-*, a word referring to a land-grant or 'demesne', excludes 'brought' in the sense of physically moving something. This sentence, then, can hardly refer to *removal* of said objects by forces of Wasusarma. It must describe rather their surrender into slavery by the people of Parzuta in the face of the attack by Wasusarma's troops and chariotry.<sup>15</sup> All instances of (PES) *upa-* are compatible with a core meaning of 'voluntarily to transfer permanent possession of', hence 'to dedicate, present, grant, furnish'.<sup>16</sup> We may thus

<sup>13</sup> BOYBEYPINARI 1, §4.

<sup>15</sup> In TOPADA, §25, the same action is referred to again in virtually the same words, but the verb is ARHA *u-pa-ta<sub>x</sub>*. The meaning is precisely the same. NB: the preverb here does not mark direction of physical movement, but merely underscores the permanent alienation of the objects (cf. German *hin-geben*).

<sup>16</sup> The instance *u-pa-ha* in TOPADA, §5 without determinative remains unclear. Hawkins (2000: 455) finds it significant that the next sentence contains the verb *tuwa-* 'to place' (recalling the pairing of *tuwa-* and (PES) *upa-* in BOYBEYPINARI above). But this supposed linkage is a mirage, because §5 in TOPADA contains *no direct object*. So neither of our transitive verbs *upa-* seems appropriate. I can only venture the mere guess that, just as Hittite *unna-* and *penna-* can sometimes mean 'to drive' with suppression of the understood object 'horses', *upa-* 'to bring' is used here with ellipsis of the word for 'troops, infantry': 'I brought (my troops) with my royal horse (=chariotry)'.

confidently equate it with CLuwian *upa-*, which shows a similar range of usage.

If we assume that Anatolian \**üb(V)* - 'to present' directly reflects a PIE root, we are forced to seek one with a shape \**eub(h)-*. Since no suitable etymon is available, we are led to hypothesize that our stem also contains the same preverb \**au-* as seen in *úppa-*. We thus need a root of the form \**b(h)VC-*, where the second consonant is subject to loss in Anatolian (at least in Luwian and Lycian). Before we pursue this line of speculation further, however, we should first see whether we can find any independent support within Anatolian for a *base* verb of the shape *pV-* with the desired sense of 'to present, dedicate' or the like.

I believe that HLuwian supplies just such a verb in the form of (PES)<sub>2</sub> *pa-(za)*, whose syntax and meaning have up to now presented problems of their own. Hawkins (2000: 548 *et alibi*) tries to take (PES)<sub>2</sub> *pa-(za)* - as an intransitive motion verb, but most examples clearly must be transitive, and all may be so interpreted. The clearest instance is KARKAMIŠ A12, §§11-12:

- (12) \**a-wa/f-tú-[ta]* (\*350) *á-sa-ha + ra/f-mi-sà* | (PES)<sub>2</sub> *pa-za-ha* |  
 CONJ.-QUOT.-to him-PART. blood sacrifices I — ed  
 (\*273) *wa/f+ra/f-pi-ha-wa/f-tú* ('SCUTUM') *hara/f-li -ha* |  
 skill/craft -and-quot.-to him shield -and  
 (ARGENTUM.DARE) *pi-ya-[ta]ra/f-[-. . .]* | (PES)<sub>2</sub> *pa-za-ha*  
 gift I — ed

I used to — to him [the deity] blood sacrifices. I also used to — to him (my) craft, (my) shield, and gift(s).

Contra Hawkins (2000: 114) and Starke (1990: 556-7), the noun *asharmisa* cannot be animate nominative singular, but must be nom.-acc. plural neuter and thus *the object* of the verb. This is proven by the corresponding singular [ ] *á-sa-ha + ra/f-[mij]-sà-za* (*asharmisan-za*) (KARKAMIŠ A29h, frag. 3, 1): see in further detail Melchert (forthcoming). It should also be clear that the context, especially the last object (ARGENTUM.DARE) *pi-yatar-*, points to a meaning not far from that of our verb (PES) *upa-*: 'I gave, allocated, assigned'.<sup>17</sup>

A transitive verb with a similar sense is likewise demanded by the example of the base verb in ASSUR letter e, §24:

<sup>17</sup> For cognates confirming the existence of a noun *piyatar* 'gift' see Schürr (1999), but the HLuwian word represents the presumed verbal abstract itself, not a derivative thereof, as assumed by Schürr (1999: 27), wrongly following Hawkins in supposing that the verb is intransitive.

- (13) (Furthermore, send a good KWILAYANA- and SULUMASA-)
   
a-wa/i | FLUMEN.DOMINUS-ya ('PES<sub>2</sub>')pa-tu
   
CONJ.-QUOT. river-lord (DAT.) let them allocate/assign
   
and let them allocate/assign (them) to the river-lord.

That *patu* is transitive is proven by the absence of any clitic pronoun. Whereas discourse-conditioned omission of *direct object* pronouns is commonplace in the ASSUR letters, Luwian, like Hittite, requires *subject* clitic pronouns with intransitive motion verbs. These belong to the class of so-called 'unaccusatives': see Garrett (1996) for the facts of Hittite, which I have confirmed for both forms of Luwian (cf. for the real verb 'to go' TOPADA, §13: wa/i-sa... ('PES<sub>2</sub>')i+ra/i 'he... went').

The verb (PES<sub>2</sub>)pa(z)a- is also indisputably transitive in its special usage in tomb inscriptions, such as KARKAMIŠ A5b, §§1-2:

- (14) EGO-mu<sup>18</sup> nu-nu+ra/i-sá (DIES)ha-li (PES<sub>2</sub>)pa-za-ha
   
I-REFLEXIVE Nunuri days I — ed
   
ara/i-zi-pa-mu-ta ha-si-ha
   
times-CONJ.-REFLEXIVE-PART. I — ed

I, Nunuri, received my allocation of days. My times I lived to the full.

Hawkins (2000: 185) follows Meriggi in translating the first sentence as 'I passed my days' and offers the guess 'I recalled my times' for the second. There is no supporting evidence for either interpretation, and both sentiments seem oddly colourless for a tomb inscription. Given the other evidence for pa(z)a- as 'to allocate', I propose that with the reflexive pronoun the sense becomes rather 'to receive an allocation'. The deceased is declaring that he received his full and fair allotment of days of life. He then reinforces this by declaring that he in fact satiated himself in living. I agree with Hawkins that the verb *hasi(ya)* - has nothing to do with the verb 'to give birth, procreate'. It is rather a straightforward denominative from the attested HLUwian noun (LINGERE)*hasa* - 'satiety, abundance'. The active verb would have meant 'to satiate', but once again the reflexive turns this into 'satiated myself, was satiated', i.e. 'enjoyed to the full'. The two clauses now form together a coherent and suitable sentiment in the context. Unsurprisingly, the second clause also occurs repeatedly by itself in epitaphs (see the references in Hawkins 2000: 181).<sup>19</sup>

I assume the same meaning for SHEIZAR, §2, where the deceased boasts

<sup>18</sup> EGO-*mu* is not, as per Hawkins (2000: 185), an unusual writing for /amu/, but rather the subject /amu/ plus clitic /-mu/ functioning as a reflexive, as in the very next clause and elsewhere.

<sup>19</sup> Expressions of having led a full and happy life are not common in Greek and Latin

that on account of her justice she received an allotment of a hundred years: | CENTUM-ni | ANNUS-si-na | (PES<sub>2</sub>)pa-za-ha<sub>x</sub>. Whether the omission of the reflexive pronoun is an error or a permitted ellipsis in what was surely a virtual cliché may remain open. That the meaning was 'received an allotment of' would have been transparent in the context.<sup>20</sup>

The attested meanings 'to allocate' and 'to receive an allocation' argue that our HLUwian verb *pa-* is a reflex of PIE \**bhag-* 'to apportion, allocate'.<sup>21</sup> The testimony of third singular (PES) *upai* points to an active *hi*-verb. This accords well with the 'simple' thematic present attested in Sanskrit *bhājati* 'apportions', medial *bhājate* 'receives a portion'. In Anatolian addition of the directional preverb \**au-* underscored apportioning something to some particular individual, whence the attested meaning 'to present, dedicate, furnish'.<sup>22</sup>

The proposed derivation certainly does further complicate the already vexing question of the conditions under which medial voiced dorsal stops are lost in Luwian and Lycian (see for a discussion of the issue Kimball 1994 and Melchert 1994: 254 ff.). The problem becomes especially acute if one accepts (as I now do, *contra* Melchert 2002: 137 ff.) the interpretation of HLUwian INFRA (*katta*\*) *aka-* as 'subjugate' or the like (Hawkins 1995: 28) and its derivation from PIE \*(*h*)*ag-* (Poetto 1998: 111 n. 21). However, it is important to note that we have *no* evidence for the inflectional type of HLUwian *aka-*. Acceptance of the root derivation just cited thus does not require us to assume that the verb reflects a thematic stem \*(*h*)*áge/o-*. If the Lycian animate noun *aχa-* is related, which seems likely whatever its precise meaning, then the Luwian verb could easily be denominative

sepulchral inscriptions, but note the one example cited by Lattimore (1942: 212): ἐνθάδε κέμμε Ἀμυνοβος, τρυφήν πάσης ὁ μετραοχών, ἰσοθέως ζήσας ποῦλιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμῶν 'Here I, A., lie, having enjoyed every luxury, having lived like a god for a plentiful number of years.' I thank B. Vine for the reference to Lattimore's work.

<sup>20</sup> A transitive reading 'assigned' or the like is also quite possible for ('PES<sub>2</sub>') *pa-zi(a)-ta*, in TOPADA, §23. *Contra* Hawkins (2000: 458), I take CRUS.CRUS not as an otherwise unattested participle, but as the noun (CRUS.CRUS) *nivyasha-* 'procession' (of soldiers) (cf. KARKAMIŠ A1b + c, §16 and see Hawkins 2000: 106). The TOPADA text would refer to the assigning/allotting of a military column accompanied by chariotry.

<sup>21</sup> I cannot accept the arguments of Götz (1987: 222) that the original meaning of the root \**bhag-* was 'to receive a share of'. For recent additional arguments in favour of the traditional 'to apportion, give a share' see Meier-Brügger (1994), following Neumann and Schlerath (2001) with reference to St. Zimmer. I am indebted to M. Meier-Brügger for these references.

<sup>22</sup> As suggested by Monika Hartmann for the comparable Hittite verbs *umia-* and *peda-* (per pers. comm. of Norbert Oettinger), addition of the preverb \**au-* reinforces the 'end-terminative' sense of *upa-* 'to dedicate, furnish'. This accounts for the absence of an 'iterative' form in -za- vs. *pa(z)a-*, just as the Hittite verbs cited never show the suffix -ške-.

from a similar noun, thus a virtual  $*(h_1)ágh_2-$  vs. a putative  $*bháge-$ . I cannot pursue this complex problem here. I assert only that my proposed derivation of HLuwian  $pa(za)$  - and of pan-Luwian  $upa-$  seems compatible with what we currently know of Luwian historical phonology.

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