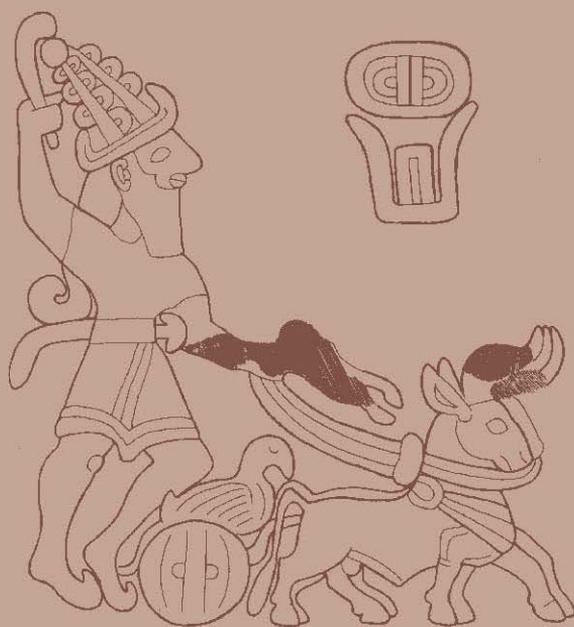


# Luwic dialects and Anatolian

## Inheritance and diffusion

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, José Virgilio García Trabazo, Mariona Vernet,  
Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach, Elena Martínez Rodríguez (eds.)



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Drawing of the Storm god Tarhunza in his chariot, copied  
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## The Etymology of Hieroglyphic Luwian *izi(ya)-<sup>di</sup>* ‘to do, to make’: an Athematic *i*-Present in Anatolian

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In recent years, the Hieroglyphic Luwian verb *izi(ya)-<sup>di</sup>* ‘to do, to make’ has been the subject of two etymological treatments. First, Rieken (2007) argued that, on the basis of the semantics of the inner-HLuwian derivatives *iziyatara-* ‘performance, ritual’ and *izisata-* ‘to honor’, the root of *izi(ya)-<sup>di</sup>* may be derived from the PIE root *\*H<sub>1</sub>iaǵ-* that usually is translated as ‘to honor’ (reflected in Skt. *yaj-* ‘to offer, to honor’ and Gr. ἄζομαι ‘to honor’).<sup>1</sup> According to Rieken (2007: 273), the original meaning of *\*H<sub>1</sub>iaǵ-* was not ‘to honor’, however, but rather ‘to do, to make’. She proposes that the original semantics of this verb was in ritual language restricted to ‘to make (a ritual for someone)’, and, later on, with deviating argument structure, to ‘to ritually honor (someone)’. Hieroglyphic Luwian would then have preserved both the original meaning ‘to do, to make’ and the derived meaning ‘to (ritually) honor’ (in *izisata-*), whereas in Greek and Indo-Iranian only the semantics of the ritual context was preserved. When it comes to the formal aspects of

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1. Rieken follows LIV<sup>2</sup>: 224 in reconstructing this verbal root as *\*H<sub>1</sub>iaǵ-*, but, personally, I would rather follow Lubotsky (1981: 135) in reconstructing it as *\*ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* (cf. Beekes 1988: 24-5). For the remainder of this article, the exact reconstruction of this root is irrelevant, however, since both *\*Hiǵ-<sub>i</sub>V<sup>o</sup>* and *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-<sub>i</sub>V<sup>o</sup>* are expected to yield the same result in Luwian.

this etymology, Rieken proposes that HLuw. *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* reflects the verbal stem \**Hīg-je/o-* (cf. the *-je/o-* formation as attested in Gr. ἄζουαι),<sup>2</sup> in which the cluster \**gi* has undergone a development to Luw. *z*.<sup>3</sup> In order to account for the fact that *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* takes lenited endings (cf. 3sg.pres.act. *i-zi-i-ti* / *i-zi-i-ri+i*, *i-zi-ia-ti-i* / *i-zi-ia+ra/i-i* = /itsi(a)di/, 3sg.pret.act. *i-zi-i-tà*, *i-zi-ia-tà* = /itsi(a)da/), Rieken assumes that the original verbal formation \**Hīg-je/ó-* (with the expected suffixal accentuation, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>: 19) underwent a secondary accent retraction to \**Hīg-je/o-*, after which in forms like 3sg.pres. \**Hīg-je-ti* and 3sg.pret. \**Hīg-je-to* Eichner's second lenition rule took place, yielding the attested forms /itsi(a)di/ and /itsi(a)da/, with lenited endings. In a lecture held in Barcelona in October 2014,<sup>4</sup> Ilya Yakubovich formulates some criticism on Rieken's analysis of HLuw. *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>*, and presents a different account. Although he accepts Rieken's root etymological connection with PIE \**H<sub>2</sub>iaǵ-*, he remarks that her semantic proposal that this root originally only meant 'to do, to make', is difficult: "[o]ne has to assume that *izzi(ya)-* has alone retained the original meaning of the root, while its internal Luwian and external Indo-European cognates have independently developed the secondary meaning 'to worship'". Moreover, he points out a formal problem: "the majority of the Luwian verbs in *-i(ya)-* normally do not lenite the endings, whereas *izzi(ya)-* does". Yakubovich himself therefore argues that *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* is in fact a univerbation of an adverb \**izzi* 'reverently' (derived from the PIE root \**H<sub>2</sub>iaǵ-*) and the verb *a<sup>-di</sup>* 'to do, to make', which would mean that *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* originally meant 'to do honorably'. He hesitatingly suggests that since the base verb *a<sup>-di</sup>* 'to do, to make' is never attested in royal inscriptions of the Iron Age, it may have been a lower register form, which would imply that *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* was its higher register variant, supporting the semantic analysis 'to do honorably'.

In the present paper I will reevaluate Rieken's and Yakubovich's etymological analyses of HLuw. *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>*. I will not deal with the semantic sides of their proposals and (at least for now) take the root etymology with PIE \**H<sub>2</sub>iaǵ-* (or rather:

2. Within the framework that the PIE root had the shape \**H<sub>2</sub>iaǵ-*, Gr. ἄζουαι should reflect a full-grade formation \**H<sub>2</sub>iaǵ-je/o-* (thus LIV<sup>2</sup>: 224, Rieken 2007: 273), and thus be a different formation than HLuw. *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* < \**Hīg-je/o-*, which is reconstructed by Rieken as having zero-grade in the root. However, within the framework that the root had the shape \**ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* (see footnote 1), Gr. ἄζουαι can be interpreted as a zero-grade formation \**ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-je/o-*, and would thus be identical in structure (\**CC-je/o-*) to Rieken's reconstruction \**Hīg-je/o-*.

3. See Rieken 2007: 270-2 for a discussion of parallels for this development.

4. Yakubovich (p.c.) notified me that he is planning on publishing his account of HLuw. *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* shortly.

\**ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*, cf. footnote 1) as a given,<sup>5</sup> but instead I will focus on the reconstruction of the verb's suffix. I will argue that, from a formal point of view, both Rieken's and Yakubovich's analyses of *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup> cannot be maintained, and I will therefore offer an alternative.

§ 1. *A first criticism: accent retraction in a -ie/o-formation?*

A crucial step in Rieken's formal analysis of *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup> is the assumption of an accent retraction from earlier \**Híǵ-ǵé/ó-* to pre-Luwian \**Híǵ-ǵe/o-*, which is necessary to explain the occurrence of the lenited 3sg. endings /-di/ and /-da/. According to Rieken, this retraction has taken place by analogy to "wurzelbetonten Primärverben des Typs *anni-*" (2007: 273), which to her mind was a deradical verb with the suffix *-ǵe/o-* (2007: 264): CLuw. *ǻnnĩ*-<sup>di</sup> 'to carry out' < \**HénH-ie/o-*. However, this analysis of CLuw. *ǻnnĩ*-<sup>di</sup> is uncertain,<sup>6</sup> and, as Yakubovich (2014) rightly remarks, certainly not a general type: all Luwian verbs that securely can be reconstructed with the suffix \**-ǵe/o-* show unlenited endings, meaning that their suffix was accented (3sg.pres. \**-ǵé-ti* > Luw. *-itti*, with unlenited ending). Moreover, all verbal stems that end in *-ǵ-* and have lenited endings are generally thought not to reflect formations in \**-ǵe/o-*, cf. table 1, in which all securely attested Luwian verbal stem classes ending in *-ǵ-* have been gathered, one of which is non-leniting (type 1), and three of which are leniting (types 2-4):

5. I do share Yakubovich's criticism of Rieken's scenario, however: if the root \**Híǵ-* (\**ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*) originally would have only meant 'to do, to make', the semantic development to 'to honor' (both in HLuw. *izisata-* and the Greek and Sanskrit forms) would have to have taken place independently. Moreover, the assumed semantic development of 'to do, to make' > 'to honor' goes against the general principle that semantic change tends to go from concrete meanings to abstract meanings. To my mind, if the etymological connection with \**Híǵ-* (\**ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*) is indeed correct, we should rather assume a basic meaning 'to perform, to construct, to execute', which already in PIE was used as a more elevated way to denote 'to do, to make', especially in expressions with words like 'ritual' or 'honorary services' as object. In HLuwian, the meaning 'to perform, to construct' of the main verb was then bleached to 'to do, to make' (although, if Yakubovich's suggestion that *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup> is the high register variant of *a*-<sup>di</sup> 'to do, to make' is correct, it may still have had the more elevated meaning 'to perform, to construct'), but some derivatives still contained the specialistic meaning 'to perform (rituals / honorary services)'. In a prestage of Greek and Sanskrit (i.e. post-Anatolian Core-PIE?), the verbal root was then specialized to only mean 'to perform rituals / honorary services'.

6. For her interpretation of *ǻnnĩ*-<sup>di</sup> as a deradical *-ǵe/o-*formation with accented root, Rieken (2007: 264) refers to the overview of Luwian verbal stem formations as given by Melchert (2003: 199f.). However, Melchert does not mention *ǻnnĩ*-<sup>di</sup> in this overview at all, and the only example of a deradical *-ǵe/o-*formation he does mention, *wall(iya)*- 'to lift, to exalt', is in fact a non-leniting verb, cf. CLuw. 3sg.pret. *uallitta*, with fortis *-tt-*. The verb *ǻnnĩ*-<sup>di</sup> therefore cannot be assigned to this type.

	CLuw.	HLuw.	origin
1. <i>-i-ti /-i-</i>	3sg.pres. <i>aritti</i> ‘to raise’ 3pl.pret. <i>arinta</i>	3sg.pret. AUDIRE- <i>tita</i> ‘to hear’ --	*- $\check{i}$ - $\acute{o}$ -
2. <i>-i-di /-i-</i>	3sg.pres. <i>awiti</i> ‘to come’ 3pl.pret. <i>awinta</i>	3sg.pres. PES- <i>wiri</i> ‘id.’ 3pl.pres. PES- <i>winti</i>	* <i>Hóu-h<sub>1</sub>ei-ti</i> / * <i>Hóu-h<sub>1</sub>i-enti</i>
3. <i>-ī-di /-i(a)-<sup>7</sup></i>	3sg.pret. <i>īta</i> ‘to go’ 3pl.imp. <i>iyandu</i>	3sg.pret. <i>ira</i> ‘id.’ --	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>éi-ti</i> / * <i>h<sub>1</sub>i-énti</i>
4. <i>-ī-di /-ai-</i>	3sg.pres. <i>dupīti</i> ‘to strike’ 3pl.pres. <i>dupainti</i>	3sg.pres. <i>tupiri</i> ‘id.’ 3pl.pres. <i>tupainti</i>	*- $\acute{e}$ <i>je/o-</i>

Table 1. Luvian verbal stem classes ending in *-ī-*.

In the case of CLuw.  $\check{a}nn\check{i}^{-di}$ , only the 3sg. form *(a-)an-ni(-i)-ti* is attested, but no corresponding plural form. This makes it impossible to decide which of the three types of leniting  $\check{i}$ -verbs it would belong to. In fact, if the reconstruction of  $\check{a}nn\check{i}^{-di}$  as \**HénH- $\check{i}$ e/o-* is correct, it would form a separate, fifth type of leniting  $\check{i}$ -verb, of which it would be the only clear example. I am therefore hesitant in following the analysis of  $\check{a}nn\check{i}^{-di}$  as reflecting \**HénH- $\check{i}$ e/o-*, and certainly do not think that it can be viewed as the representative of a type that may have influenced the change of the accentuation of a stem \**Hig- $\check{i}$ e/ $\acute{o}$ -* to \**Hig- $\check{i}$ e/o-*. All in all, we have to conclude (with Yakubovich 2014) that in Luvian no good examples exist of original \*-*ie/o-*verbs that show lenition of their endings, and that therefore the reconstruction of leniting *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* as a \*- $\check{i}$ e/o-formation is unattractive.

## § 2. A second criticism: syncope of *iziya-* > *izi-*?

The verb *izi(ya)<sup>-di</sup>* shows two variants of its stem, namely *izi-* and *iziya-*, as is clear from e.g. the 1sg.pret.act. form, which is attested both as *i-zi-i-ha* as well as *i-zi-ia-ha*, the 3sg.pres.act. form, which is both *i-zi-i-ti* and *i-zi-ia-ti*, etc. It is usually assumed that the stem *izi-* is the syncopated variant of *iziya-*.<sup>8</sup> Although

7. Since it is not *a priori* clear whether the *a* in forms like 3pl.imp. *iyandu* should synchronically be viewed as belonging to the stem or to the ending, I have put the *a* between brackets. Historically, it clearly is a part of the ending.

8. E.g. Mittelberger 1964: 75-6; Melchert 1994: 276; Melchert 2003: 183; Payne 2010: 16. Note that neither Rieken nor Yakubovich is explicit as to whether they follow this point of view; they both simply do not mention the alternation. It is interesting, though, that Rieken states that the 3sg.pres.form. \**Hig- $\check{i}$ e-ti*, through a stage \*/*itsyidi/*, would regularly yield HLuw. /*itsidi/*, spelled *i-zi-i-ti* (2007: 273). This seems to imply that she views this form, with the stem *izi-*, as original, which would mean that its byform *i-zi-ia-ti*, with the stem *iziya-*, must have been a secondary creation (as will be argued in the present paper as well). This point of view would then contradict the syncope

this view is the *communis opinio*, already Melchert (1994: 276) warns that “[t]he conditioning for the syncope [of *iziya-* to *izi-*] is far from clear”. In the following paragraphs, I will go a step further and argue that such a syncope never took place at all. There are two reasons for this.

First, when we look at the plural forms of *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup>, we see that they always show the stem *iziya-*: 3pl.pres. *i-zi-ia-ti* /itsiantil/, 3pl.pret. *i-zi-ia-ta/tá* /itsianta/, 3pl.imp.act. *i-zi-ia-tú* /itsiantu/. For none of these a syncopated variant is attested: we never find 3pl. forms of the shapes *\*\*i-zi-(i-)ti*, *\*\*i-zi-(i-)ta/tá* or *\*\*i-zi-(i-)tu*. This is a first fact that should worry us: why would the supposed syncope of *iziya-* > *izi-* never have taken place in plural forms?

Second, if we look at the singular forms of *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup>, we see an interesting phenomenon. It is indeed true that in singular forms we find both the stem *iziya-* and the stem *izi-*, cf. the following forms.

1sg.pres.	<i>i-zi-ia-wa/i</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-wa/i-i</i>
3sg.pres.	<i>i-zi-ia-ti, i-zi-ia+ra/i-i</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-ti, i-zi-i-ri+i</i>
1sg.pret.	<i>i-zi-ia-ha</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-ha</i>
3sg.pret.	<i>i-zi-ia-tà</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-tà</i>
3sg.imp.	<i>i-zi-ia-tu</i>	and	<i>i-zi-i-tu</i>

However, if we make a diachronic overview of all occurrences of *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup>, based on the dates of the inscriptions in which they occur, we see that there is an interesting chronological distribution: cf. table 2, in which plural forms are preceded by a square (□), singular forms showing the stem *izi-* are preceded by a dot (●),<sup>9</sup> and singular form showing the stem *iziya-* are preceded by an arrow (→) and, for the sake of clarity, have been marked in grey (including gerunds). Broken or unclear forms are not marked.

12th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i(a)-zi/a-ha</i> (KARAHÖYÜK (12th c. BCE) §17)
●	uninfl. <i>i(a)-zi/a</i> (KARAHÖYÜK (12th c. BCE) §15)
●	uninfl. <i>i(a)-zi/a</i> (KARAHÖYÜK (12th c. BCE) §9)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ʾhaʾ</i> (KÖTÜKALE (late 12th c. BCE) §3)
□	3sg./pl.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ti</i> (KÖTÜKALE (late 12th c. BCE) §6)

theory. Unfortunately, she does not make this explicit, however, nor does she provide a scenario according to which forms like 3sg.pres. *iziyadi* would have arisen.

9. This includes the 3sg. middle forms pres. *iziyari*, pret. *iziyasi* and imp. *iziyaru*, because here *-a-* is part of the ending: *izi-* + *-ari, -asi, -aru*.

11th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ha</i> (İSPEKÇUR (early 11th c. BCE) B §4)
●	3sg.pret.act.? <i>i-zi-ta</i> (ALEPPO 6 (11th c. BCE) §3) <sup>10</sup>
	inf. <i>i-zi-u-na</i> (ALEPPO 6 (11th c. BCE) §4)

10th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (IZGIN 1 (11-10th c. BCE?) §4)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (IZGIN 1 (11-10th c. BCE?) §5)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (IZGIN 1 (11-10th c. BCE?) §11)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (IZGIN 2 (11-10th c. BCE) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (IZGIN 2 (11-10th c. BCE) §5)
●	3sg.impt.act. <i>i-zi-i-tu</i> (IZGIN 2 (11-10th c. BCE) §9)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŞ A1a (10th c. BCE) §25)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-z[i]-i-[t]à</i> (ADIYAMAN 2 (10th c. BCE?) §1)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §17)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §21)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §15)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (ARSUZ 1 (late 10th c. BCE) §16)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §17)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tá</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §15)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §16)
	broken <i>i-z[i-...]</i> (ARSUZ 2 (late 10th c. BCE) §21)
●	1sg.pret.act.(?) <i>i-zi-i-ha(-)si</i> (ALEPPO 2 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §8)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARKAMIŞ A2+3 (10th - early 9th c. BCE) §24)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŞ A11a (10th - early 9th c. BCE) §19)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tá</i> (KARKAMIŞ A11a (10th - early 9th c. BCE) §8)
●	1sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-wa/i-i</i> (TELL AHMAR 1 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §24)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL AHMAR 1 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §15)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL AHMAR 1 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §16)

10. A 3sg.pret.act. form *i-zi-ta* is read thus by Hawkins (2011: 44) for ALEPPO 6 §3. However, *izi(ya)-<sup>di</sup>* is a leniting verb, so the ending of its 3sg.pret.act. form should be spelled with *tà*, not with *ta*, as is pointed out by Yakubovich (2016: 8121) as well. According to Yakubovich, the form *i-zi-ta* may therefore be interpreted as a middle form ‘became’ (2016: 81), but this does not fit the fact that all other attested 3sg.mid. forms of this verb (pres. *iziyari*, pret. *iziyasi*, imp. *iziaru*) contain an ending starting in *-a-*, not *-ta-*. I myself would hesitatingly suggest that we may read §3 as containing a form of the verb *izīsat(a)-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to honor’, which would require that the signs *i-sa* after COR should in fact be read after *i-zi*. We could then envisage that §3 mirrors the preceding line §2, which contains a form of *izīsat(a)-* as well. It must be admitted, however, that this suggestion is not a perfect solution either: many details of §3 remain unclear.

●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (TELL AHMAR 4 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) l.2)
●	3sg.imp.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (TELL AHMAR 6 (late 10th - early 9th c. BCE) §31)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (KARKAMIŠ A16a (10th or 9th c. BCE) §3)

9th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (MARAŞ 4 (mid-9th c. BCE) §14)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (HAMA 4 (mid-9th c. BCE) §5)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 1 (830 BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 2 (830 BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 3 (830 BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (HAMA 7 (830 BCE) §3)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (HAMA 6 (830 BCE) §3)

8th century BCE:	
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ANCOZ 7 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §7)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (ANCOZ 7 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §8)
□	3pl.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ti</i> (ANCOZ 7 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §3)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŠ A6 (end 9th - begin 8th c. BCE) §13)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (JISR EL HADID (9th or 8th c. BCE) 4 §2)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (BOROWSKI 1 (9th or 8th c. BCE) §2)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŠ A15b (800 BCE) §11)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (KARKAMIŠ A15b (800 BCE) §2)
●	3sg.pres.mid. <i>i-zi-i-ia+ra/i</i> (MARAŞ 14 (ca. 800 BCE) §5)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (MEHARDE (900-700 BCE) §2)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (NIGDE (early 8th c. BCE))
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (BOYBEYPINARI 2 (800-770 BCE) §13)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (ŞIRZI (early or mid-8th c. BCE) §1)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (BABYLON 2 (8th c. BCE?) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (BABYLON 2 (8th c. BCE?) §1)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ha</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §3)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-z[i]-ia-h[a]</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §4)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i<sup>2</sup>-zi<sup>2</sup>-ia<sup>2</sup>-x</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §11)
●	3sg.pret.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-si</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §6)
●	3sg.pret.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-si</i> (ÇİNEKÖY (8th c. BCE) §7)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ri+i</i> (KULULU 5 (8th c. BCE) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL TAYINAT 2 (8th c. BCE) l.1 fr.2a §iv)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (TELL TAYINAT 2 (8th c. BCE) l.1 fr.3 §i)
●	broken <i>i-z[i]-i-x</i> (TELL TAYINAT 2 (8th c. BCE) l.1, fr.2a §i)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (ALEPPO 3 (8th c. BCE?) §4)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia<sup>1</sup>-ha</i> (MARAŞ 3 (8th c. BCE?) §1b)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ha</i> (MARAŞ 3 (8th c. BCE?) §3)

●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti-i</i> (TEKİRDERBENT 1 (8th c. BCE?) 1.2)
→	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i-i</i> (TEKİRDERBENT 1 (8th c. BCE?) 1.4)
□	3pl.imp.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tú</i> (CEKKE (mid-8th c. BCE) §28)
→	ger. <i>i-zi-ia-mi-na</i> (CEKKE (mid-8th c. BCE) §10)
→	ger. <i>i-zi-ia-mi-na</i> (KARKAMIŞ A4a (mid-8th c. BCE) §4)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà-</i> ' (KARKAMIŞ A26f (mid-8th c. BCE) §3)
●	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-ti</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §13)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §7)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §5)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-ṛzi-i-tà</i> (KARKAMIŞ A31+ (mid-8th c. BCE) §1)
→	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-a-ha</i> (KULULU 1 (mid-8th c. BCE) §4)
→	3sg.impt.act. <i>i-zi-ia-tu</i> (KULULU 1 (mid-8th c. BCE) §11)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (KULULU 2 (mid-8th c. BCE) §2)
●	3sg.pres.mid. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i</i> (TÜNP 1 (mid-8th c. BCE) §7)
→	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi/a-ia-tà</i> (TOPADA (ca 730 BCE) §29)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (MALPINAR (770-750 BCE) §1)
	broken <i>i-zi[-...]</i> (MALPINAR (770-750 BCE) §14)
→	2sg.impt.act. <i>i-zi-ia-</i> ' (ASSUR letter <i>b</i> (late 8th c. BCE) §4)
→	1sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia-wa/i</i> (ASSUR letter <i>e</i> (late 8th c. BCE) §9)
→	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ti</i> (EREĞLI 2 (late 8th c. BCE) §1)
→	3sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i</i> (EREĞLI 2 (late 8th c. BCE) §2)
□	3pl.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ia-ta</i> (KARABURUN (late 8th c. BCE) §5)
●	1sg.pres.act. <i>i-zi-i-wa/i</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LXIX)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §VIII)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §X)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §XV)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §VIII)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §IX)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §X)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-há</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §XV)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-tà</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §XVIII)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-tà</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §III)
●	3sg.pret.act. [ <i>i-zi</i> ]- <i>i</i> -[ <i>tà</i> ] (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §XVIII)
●	3sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-ta<sub>5</sub></i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LXVII)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §L)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Ho. (late 8th c. BCE) §LV)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia+ra/i-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §L)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LIII)
●	3sg.impt.mid. <i>i-zi-ia-ru</i> (KARATEPE 1 Hu. (late 8th c. BCE) §LV)
●	1sg.pret.act. <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> (KIRŞEHİR (late 8th c. BCE) §23)
→	ger. <i>i-zi-ia-mi-na-</i> ' (SULTANHAN (late 8th c. BCE) §41)

→	3sg.pret.act. [i-zi]-ia-[tâ] (VELIISA (late 8th c. BCE) §2)
→	3sg.pres.act. ṽi-ziṽ-ia-ti-i (BULGARMADEN (738-710 BCE) §10)
●	3sg.pret.act. [...]i <sup>2</sup> -tâ (NIĞDE 2 (late 8th c. BCE - early 7th c. BCE) l.2)
undated:	
●	1sg.pret.act. i-zi-i-ha (KARKAMIŠ fr. A19b (undat.))

Table 2. A diachronic overview of all attestations of *izi(ya)*<sup>-di</sup>. Plural forms are marked with □; singular forms showing the stem *izi-* with ●; singular forms showing the stem *iziya-* (including gerunds) with → and in grey; indeterminate forms are unmarked.

Although 3pl. forms are in all time periods<sup>11</sup> attested with a single stem, *iziya-*, there is a clear chronological distribution when it comes to the stems used in singular forms. The stem *izi-* is attested in singular forms in all time periods, from the 12th to the end of the 8th century BCE, whereas the stem *iziya-* is attested in singular forms only in the 8th century BCE (although during this period the stem *izi-* is still clearly the most often attested one). These data therefore show that in singular forms *izi-* is in fact the original stem, and that the singular stem *iziya-* must be a very late innovation. This distribution clearly contradicts the idea that *izi-* is the syncopated outcome of *iziya-*: if this were the case, we would expect that in singular forms the stem *iziya-* would be attested in older texts, and *izi-* in younger texts, whereas the opposite is true.

All in all, we should reject the theory that the variation between the stems *izi-* and *iziya-* is due to the former being the syncopated outcome of the latter: in 3pl. forms no syncope of the stem *iziya-* is detected, and in singular forms the two stems show the exact opposite diachronic distribution: the stem *izi-* is the original singular stem, whereas *iziya-* is a very late innovation.

This recognition is incompatible with Yakubovich's formal analysis of *izi(ya)*<sup>-di</sup>. As was mentioned above, he proposed to interpret this verb as the univerbation of an adverb *\*izzi* 'reverently' and the verbal stem *a*<sup>-di</sup> 'to do, to make' (Yakubovich 2014). It has now become clear, however, that in the original singular forms of this verb, 1sg.pres. *i-zi-i-wa/i-i*, 3sg.pres. *i-zi-i-ti*, 1sg.pret. *i-zi-i-ha*, 3sg.pret. *i-zi-i-tâ*, 3sg.imp. *i-zi-i-tu*, which all show the stem *izi-* (which is the *only* singular stem that is attested in all texts from the 12th-9th century BCE), no element *-a-* is present that could be equated with the stem of the verb *a*<sup>-di</sup> 'to do, to make'. It thus becomes impossible that these forms reflect earlier *\*izzi + a*<sup>-di</sup>.

11. No 3pl. forms are attested in texts from the 12th and 11th century BCE, but this does not change the overall picture.

Having thus refuted both Rieken's and Yakubovich's formal analyses of HLuw. *izi(ya)-<sup>di</sup>*, it is time to offer a new morphological interpretation of this verb.

§ 3. *A new explanation for izi- vs. iziya-*

Given the diachronic distribution between the singular stems *izi-* and *iziya-* as discovered in the preceding section, it is clear that the singular stem *iziya-* is of a secondary origin, and I want to propose that it was created in analogy to the 3pl. forms, where *iziya-* was the only stem in use. In other words, the original pairs 3sg.pres. *i-zi-i-ti* /itsidi/ vs. 3pl.pres. *i-zi-ia-ti* /itsianti/, 3sg.pret. *i-zi-i-tà* /itsida/ vs. 3pl.pret. *i-zi-ia-ta/tá* /itsianta/, and 3sg.imp. *i-zi-i-tu* /itsidu/ vs. 3pl.imp. *i-zi-ia-tú* /itsiantu/ were in the course of the 8th century BCE by some speakers of HLuwian changed to 3sg. *i-zi-ia-tV* /itsiadV/ vs. 3pl. *i-zi-ia-tV* /itsiantV/ by taking over the 3pl. stem /itsia-/ into the singular. From here this stem spread to the entire paradigm (1sg.pres.act. *iziyawi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iziyaha*, ger. *iziyamina*).

Moreover, we should take into account that in the 3pl. forms of the structure /itsiantV/, the *a* may in fact belong to the verbal endings (which in consonant stems are 3pl.pres. /-anti/, 3pl.pret. /-anta/, 3pl.imp. /-antu/), so that these forms could actually be parsed as /itsi-anti/, /itsi-anta/, and /itsi-antu/, respectively, i.e. as containing a stem *izi-*. In fact, I find it an attractive possibility that a reanalysis of original 3pl. /itsi-antV/ as /itsia-ntV/ was the impetus for the spread of the newly analyzed stem /itsia-/ into the rest of the paradigm.

If we combine these insights, we can set up the original paradigm of *izi(ya)-<sup>di</sup>* as follows (as attested for the 12th-9th century BCE):

	pres.	pret.	impt.
1sg.	<i>i-zi-i[-wa/i-i]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[-ha]</i>	
2sg.	--	--	--
3sg.	<i>i-zi-i[-ti]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[-tà]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[-tu]</i>
1pl.	--	--	
2pl.	--	--	--
3pl.	<i>i-zi-i[a-<sup>n</sup>ti]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[a-<sup>n</sup>tá]</i>	<i>i-zi-i[a-<sup>n</sup>tú]</i>

Table 3. The original paradigm of *izi-<sup>di</sup>* 'to do, to make'.

In the 8th century BCE, some speakers of HLuwian adapted this paradigm to become as follows:

	pres.	pret.	impt.
1sg.	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-wa/i- <i>i</i> ]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [-ha]	
2sg.	--	--	--
3sg.	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- <i>ti</i> ]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- <i>tà</i> ]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- <i>tu</i> ]
1pl.	--	--	
2pl.	--	--	--
3pl.	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- <sup>n</sup> <i>ti</i> ]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- <sup>n</sup> <i>tá</i> ]	<i>i-zi-ia</i> [- <sup>n</sup> <i>tú</i> ]

Table 4. The innovated paradigm of *iziya*-<sup>di</sup>, as created in the mid-8th c. BCE.

Under this analysis, this verb originally only knew the stem *izi*-. The stem *iziya*- is not introduced until the 8th century BCE, when it was secondarily created on the basis of a reanalysis of the original 3pl. forms /itsi-antV/ as /itsia-ntV/, after which the new stem /itsia-/ spread to other forms of the paradigm.

In the map below (Fig. 1), all 8th century BCE inscriptions that contain a singular form of the verb ‘to do’ are indicated, with circles representing attestations of the original stem *i-zi-i-C*<sup>o</sup>, and with stars, triangles and squares indicating the innovated stem *i-zi-ia-C*<sup>o</sup>. Of these latter signs, the stars represent attestations dating to the mid-8th c. BCE, and the triangles represent attestations dating to the late 8th c. BCE, whereas the squares represent texts that are dated to the 8th c. BCE, without a specific refinement as to whether they are from the early, mid- or late 8th c. BCE. Although the material is on the scanty side, it seems that the innovated paradigm originated in the mid-8th c. BCE in Karkamiš and its surrounding region, and from there spread north-westwards: in the late 8th c. BCE the innovation has reached all the way to the area north of the Taurus as well. Nevertheless, the innovation was not shared by all speakers: throughout the 8th c. BCE, also in its latter half, we find the original paradigm being used in the entire HLuwian speaking area.

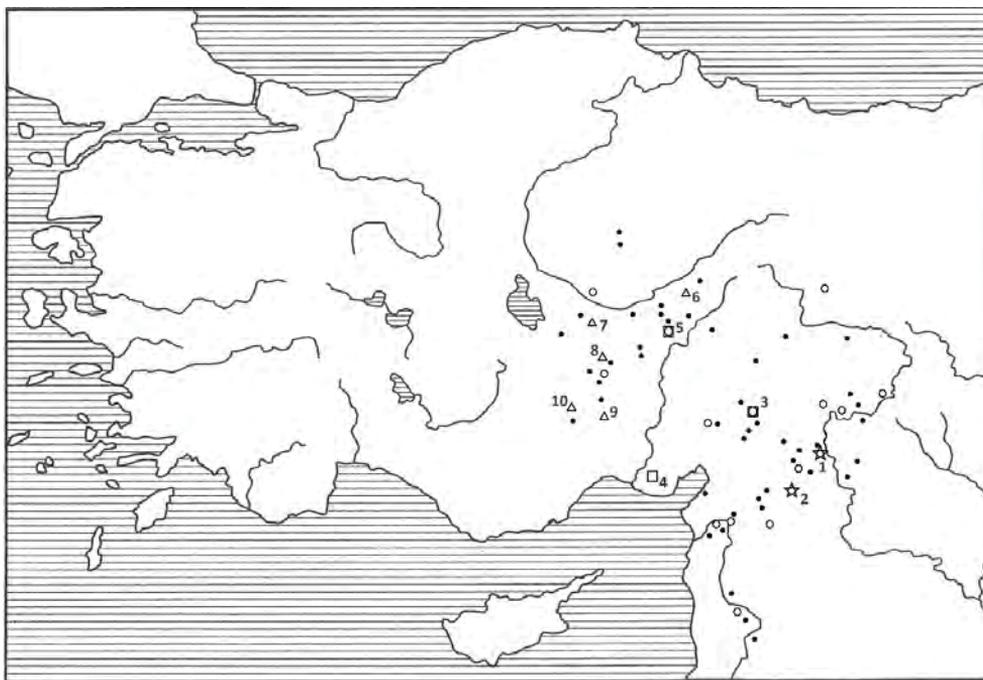


Figure 1. Map of the attestations of *izi(ya)-* in the 8th c. BCE. Dots indicate Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the Iron Age; small circles indicate 8th c. BCE inscriptions containing the singular stem *izi-*; stars indicate inscriptions containing the singular stem *iziya-* from the mid-8th c. BCE; triangles indicate inscriptions containing the singular stem *iziya-* from the late 8th c. BCE; squares indicate inscriptions containing the singular stem *iziya-* from the 8th c. BCE, without a specific refinement as to whether they are from the early, mid- or late 8th c. BCE.

1 = KARKAMIŞ; 2 = CEKKE; 3 = MARAŞ; 4 = ÇİNEKÖY; 5 = TEKİRDERBENT; 6 = SULTANHAN; 7 = TOPADA; 8 = VELİİSA; 9 = BULGARMADEN; 10 = EREĞLİ.

#### § 4. *Interpreting the plene spelling in i-zi-i-C°*

Another interesting phenomenon is the fact that *izi<sup>di</sup>* shows many forms with plene spelling, *i-zi-i-C°*. In fact, of the in total 72 forms of this verb that show the strong stem *iziC°*, 62 attestations (= 86%) show plene spelling, *i-zi-i-C°*, and only 10 (= 14%) do not, *i-zi-C°*. Moreover, of these 10 attestations spelled *i-zi-C°*, seven are found in the texts from the 12th and 11th century BCE. Since in this period plene spelling is hardly used at all (Vertegaal 2017: 248-9), these attestations are

irrelevant. If we therefore leave them out of the equation, the numbers would be 62 plene spelled forms of in total 65 attestations = 95%.

Although for a long time the function of plene spelling in Hieroglyphic Luwian has been unclear, and plene spelling therefore is usually ignored in linguistic analyses of this language, I do believe that in this case the plene spelling of the *i* in *i-zi-i-C*<sup>o</sup> is relevant. This is borne out from the following statistics. In all Hieroglyphic Luwian texts published up till now,<sup>12</sup> we find 774 occurrences of the sign *zi*. In 125 cases, the sign *zi* is followed by the sign *i*, resulting in the plene spelled sequence *zi-i*. These 125 cases form 16% of the total number of occurrences of *zi*. If plene spelling were a random graphical feature, we would thus expect that also in the verb *izi*-<sup>di</sup> we would find plene spelling in ca. 16% of its attestations. However, as we have seen, in the case of the strong stem of *izi*-<sup>di</sup>, we find plene spelling, *i-zi-i-C*<sup>o</sup>, in no less than 86% (or, if we ignore the texts from the 12th and 11th c. BCE, 96%) of the cases. This usage therefore is significant when compared to the HLuwian corpus as a whole.

This is supported by the fact that when we take into account where the 125 cases of the plene spelling *zi-i* are attested, they occur in only seven lexemes / morphemes:

62x	<i>i-zi-i-C</i> <sup>o</sup> ‘to do, to make’
41x	<i>-Ca-zi-i / -Ci-zi-i</i> (nom.pl.c. ending)
10x	<i>i-zi-i-sa-t</i> <sup>o</sup> ‘to honor’
7x	<i>zi-i-na</i> (abl.-instr. ‘this’)
1x	(“OCCIDENS”) <i>á-pa-zi-i-ti</i> ‘?’
1x	<i>i-zi-i-ia-tara/i-</i> ‘performance, ritual’
1x	(PES <sub>2</sub> ) <i>tara/i-zi-i-ha</i> ‘I routed(?)’
2x	broken forms

Moreover, of these seven cases, three are etymologically related to each other: *izi*-<sup>di</sup>, *izisat(a)*- and *iziyatara*-. To my mind, it therefore is very attractive to assume that plene spelling in these forms is linguistically relevant.

12. I.e., all texts edited in CHLI, to which are added all Empire Period texts and the Iron Age texts published after CHLI: ADANA 1, ALEPPO 4-7, ANCOZ 11-12, ANKARA 2, ARSUZ 1-2, BABYLON 3, BEYKÖY, ÇALAPVERDİ 3, ÇİNEKÖY, DÜLÜK BABA TEPEŞİ, EMİRGAZİ, EREĞLİ, FRAKTIN, GEMEREK, GÖSTESİN, GÜRÇAY, HATİP, İMAMKULU, İSTANBUL 2, JISR EL HADID 4, KÂHTA 1, KARABEL, KARAKUYU, KINIK, KIRŞEHİR, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, KUŞÇU BOYASI, MALATYA X, MALKAYA, PANCARLI, POTOROO, ŞARAGA, SPEARHEAD, SÜDBURG, TALL ŞTİB, TELL AHMAR 5-6, TELL TAYINAT fragments, YALBURT, YASSIHÖYÜK, YUNUS.

This is supported by a similar investigation for the sign *za*. In all Hieroglyphic Luwian texts published thus far, this sign occurs 1347 times. In 75 cases (= 5.5%), it is followed by the sign *a*, yielding the plene spelled sequence *za-a*.<sup>13</sup> These plene spelled forms are found in two lexemes only:

74x	<i>za-a-C<sup>o</sup></i> ‘this’
1x	[(INFANS)] <i>ni-za-a-sa</i> ‘child’

The preponderance of plene spelling in *za-a-C<sup>o</sup>* ‘this’ can hardly be coincidental, and should to my mind be connected to the plene spellings that we find in its cognates CLuw. *za-a-* and Hitt. *ka-a-* ‘this’, which are generally regarded as containing a long vowel: /tsā-/ and /kā-/ , respectively. It is therefore attractive to assume that the HLuw. plene spelling in *za-a-* ‘this’ indicates vowel length as well, and that this lexeme should be analyzed as /tsā-/.

Since the abl.-instr. form *zi-i-na*, which is one of the lexemes to show plene spelling of its *i*, belongs to the paradigm of *zā-* ‘this’,<sup>14</sup> it stands to reason to assume that its plene spelling marks the presence of a long vowel as well: /tsīn/. As a consequence, we may assume that the plene spelling in *i-zi-i-C<sup>o</sup>*, too, marks vowel length: /itsī-/.

After I first formulated this idea during the lecture that formed the basis for this article (held in Barcelona in March 2016), research by Xander Vertegaal has completely confirmed this analysis. He has been able to show that in HLuw. inscriptions plene spelling with the vowel signs *a*, *i* and *u* is very often used as a graphic means to fill out lines that otherwise would show gaps in their arrangement of signs (Vertegaal 2017), but that in cases where plene spellings do not have a space-filling usage, they mark the presence of long vowels or disyllabic sequences (Vertegaal 2018). This latter situation is applicable to the attestations of *izi-di*, and we can therefore interpret the attested forms of its original paradigm in the following phonological way:

13. Cases of *-za-* have not been included into this count. See now Vertegaal 2017 and 2018 for a treatment of this type of spelling.

14. Goedegebuure 2007.

	pres.	pret.	impt.
1sg.	/itsīui/	/itsīha/	
2sg.	--	--	--
3sg.	/itsīdi/	/itsīda/	/itsīdu/
1pl.	--	--	
2pl.	--	--	--
3pl.	/itsianti/	/itsianta/	/itsiantu/

 Table 5. Phonological analysis of the verb *izī<sup>di</sup> / izi-*.

Since plene spelling is confined to the singular forms *i-zi-i-C<sup>o</sup>*, and does not occur in the plural forms *i-zi-ia-t<sup>o</sup>*, we are in fact dealing with a paradigmatic alternation between a strong stem *izī-* and a weak stem *izi-*. From now on, we should therefore refer to this verb as *izī<sup>di</sup> / izi-*.

### § 5. *Place of accentuation*

As we have seen above, a distinctive feature of *izī<sup>di</sup> / izi-* is the fact that it is a leniting verb, i.e. that the initial consonants of its 3sg. verbal endings have been lenited: 3sg.pres. /itsīdi/ < \*-ti, 3sg.pret. /itsīda/ < \*-to and 3sg.imp. /itsīdu/ < \*-tu.<sup>15</sup> From a historical linguistic point of view, this lenition can only have been caused either by Eichner's first lenition rule, which describes that Proto-Anatolian intervocalic consonants are lenited when standing after a long accented vowel (\* $\check{V}CCV > *V\check{C}V$ ), or by Eichner's second lenition rule, which states that Proto-Anatolian intervocalic consonants are lenited when standing between two unaccented (post-tonic) vowels (\* $\acute{V}...VCCV > *V\acute{...}VCV$ ).

As we saw above, Rieken (2007: 273) proposed that the verb's leniting character is the result of Eichner's second lenition rule, which implies that the first syllable of the stem was accented: \**Híḡ-ie-ti* > /itsi(a)di/. However, now that we have hypothesized that the vowel directly preceding the lenited consonants was a long one, /itsīdi/, it becomes a distinct possibility that the lenition was caused by Eichner's first lenition rule, and that /itsīdi/ reflects a preform \*/itsīti/, which was accented on the suffix syllable. In fact, this analysis is attractive for other reasons as well. According to Melchert (1994: 76), already in Proto-Anatolian all original unaccented long vowels underwent a shortening. This implies that, in the attested Anatolian languages, all synchronic long vowels should in principle reflect

15. This undoubtedly was the case in 1sg.pret. /itsīha/, as well, but, unfortunately, the hieroglyphic script does not make a distinction between fortis and lenis *h*.

accented vowels.<sup>16</sup> In the case of *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-*, this would mean that its strong stem was /itsī-/ , with an accented long /ī/.

### § 6. Determining the verbal class of *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-*

When we compare our new phonological analysis of this verb, /itsīdi, itsiánti/, to the four Luwian verbal stem classes that end in *-ĩ-* (see table 1, above), we see that the inflection of *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-* matches that of type 3, *-ĩ<sup>-di</sup>* / *-i(a)-*. Thus far, this type is only attested in the Luwian verb ‘to go’ (with diagnostic forms CLuw. 3sg.pret. *īta*, 3pl.imp. *iyandu*, HLuw. 3sg.pres. *iri*), which is generally reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ti* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-énti*. If we apply this reconstructing to the suffix syllable of *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-*, we arrive at the conclusion that it should reflect a PIE formation of the shape *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-éi-ti* / *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-i-énti*.<sup>17</sup>

### § 7. The Indo-European background of *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-éi-ti* / *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-i-énti*

The underlying structure of *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-* < *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-éi-ti* / *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-i-énti* is *\*CC-éi-ti* / *\*CC-i-énti*, with which it is morphologically identical to the PIE verbal formation *\*CC-éi-ti* / *\*CC-i-énti* that has left several traces in other IE languages, and which has been called the ‘athematic *i*-present’.<sup>18</sup> Its clearest representative is the Skt. verb *ḵṣéti* / *ḵṣiyánti* ‘to live’, which reflects *\*tḵ-éi-ti* / *tḵ-i-énti*, an athematic *i*-present of the verbal root *\*tek-* ‘to create, produce’,<sup>19</sup> but remnants of this type of inflection have been identified in Baltic<sup>20</sup> and Italic,<sup>21</sup> as well. In Kloekhorst 2006, I have argued that the Hittite verbal stem class of the type *dāi* / *tijanzi* ‘to put’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ó-i-ei* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-énti* represents the *hi*-conjugated version of this athematic *i*-present. If my analysis of HLuw. *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-* as reflecting *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-éi-ti* / *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-i-énti*

16. Unless they are the result of a contraction of an original disyllabic sequence, which is, for instance, the case in Hitt. *hūmant-* /*χōmánt-* / < *\*χaiumánt-* / < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eiu-uént-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 535-6.

17. Since with this new interpretation of *izī<sup>-di</sup>* / *izi-* we have left Rieken’s and Yakubovich’s analyses behind us, I will in the remainder of the paper refer to the PIE verbal root for ‘to honor’ as *\*ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* (instead of the reconstruction *\*Hiǵ-* that was used by Rieken and Yakubovich, cf. also footnote 1), and thus reconstruct this verb as *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-éi-ti* / *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-i-énti*. It should be stressed, however, that the exact shape of the verbal root is irrelevant for the argumentation, and that I do not in fact insist on a reconstruction that includes this specific verbal root.

18. Cf. Schrijver 2003 for this term.

19. Kortlandt 1989: 109; LIV<sup>2</sup>: 644.

20. OPruss. 3sg. *turrei* / 3pl. *turri* < *\*-ei-* / *-i-*, cf. Kortlandt 1987.

21. Lat. *capere*-type < *\*-ei-* / *-i-*, cf. Schrijver 2003.

is correct, it would represent the first clear case of the *mi*-conjugated variant of the athematic *i*-present in Anatolian.

### § 8. Conclusion

We may conclude the following points. The HLuwian verb that usually is cited as *izi(ya)*-<sup>di</sup> ‘to do, to make’ originally was inflected as *izī*-<sup>di</sup> / *izi*-: the stem *iziya*- as found in singular forms like 3sg.pres. *iziyadi* is in fact the result of a late (8th century BCE) analogical spread of the stem *iziya*- on the basis of the 3pl. forms of the shape *iziyantV*. The near consistent plene spelling in the strong stem *i-zi-i-C*<sup>o</sup> implies that the vowel of the suffix of this stem was long and accented: 3sg.pres. *i-zi-i-ti* = /itsīdi/. The verb’s inflection, 3sg.pres. /itsīdi/, 3pl.pres. /itsiánti/, is therefore identical to that of the verb ‘to go’ (CLuw. *ī*-<sup>di</sup> / *i*-), which points to a reconstruction *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-éi-ti* / *\*ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-i-énti*. Its basic structure, *\*CC-éi-ti* / *\*CC-i-énti* is thus identical to the PIE athematic *i*-present that can be found in e.g. Skt. *kséti* / *ksiyánti* ‘to live’ < *\*tǵ-éi-ti* / *tǵ-i-énti*, and shows that this inflectional type has been inherited into Anatolian as well.

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